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UNITED NATIONS ASSOCIATION OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

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November 22, 1989

MEMORANDUM

TO: Board of Directors and National Council

FROM: Ed Luck

SUBJECT: Readings and Agenda for Annual Meeting on December 4th

Enclosed are an agenda, a background reading, and a draft 1990 budget for you to review before our Annual Meeting on Monday, December 4th.

As previously announced, it is scheduled from 10 a.m. to 3 p.m. that day, opening in the Oval Room of the Roosevelt Hotel, Madison Avenue at 45th Street, New York City.

We will look forward to seeing you there.

Anniversary Chairman
Katharine Graham

Co-Chairmen
Henry A. Kissinger
Cyrus R. Vance

Chairman of the Association
John C. Whitehead

Chairman, Board of Governors
Max M. Kampelman

Co-Chairmen, National Council
Elliot L. Richardson
Cyrus R. Vance

Chairman, U.N. Day 1989
Maurice R. Greenberg

President
Edward C. Luck

Vice Chairmen
Ruth J. Hinerfeld
Harry W. Knight
Estelle Linzer
Jean Picker
Arthur Ross
Richard J. Schmeelk

Secretary
William J. vanden Heuvel

Treasurer
John C. Bierwirth

Co-Chairmen, Economic Policy Council
Henry Kaufman
Jack Sheinkman

Co-Chairmen, U.S.-USSR Parallel Studies Program
Richard N. Gardner
John R. Petty

Chairman, U.S.-China Parallel Studies Program
John C. Bierwirth

Chairman, Quadrilateral Program on Asian Security
Frank C. Carlucci

Chairman, Advisory Group Multilateral Project
Matthew Nimetz

Chairman, WFUNA Committee
James F. Leonard

Governors
Patrick A. Gerschel
Mary Hall
Armand Hammer
Jerome Jacobson
William P. Laughlin
William A. Miller
Leo Nevas
William S. Norman
Alejandro Palacios
Louis Perlmutter
John R. Petty
Evelyn M. Pickarts
Frank E. Richardson
Rabbi Alexander Schindler
Jack Sheinkman
Helmut Sonnenfeldt
Marietta Tree
Michael Witunski

Vice President, Policy Studies
Toby Trister Gati

Executive Director, UNA Fund
Fred Tamalonis

Director, Special Events
Stanley Raisen

Executive Director, National Programs
James M. Olson

Director, Communications
John Tessitore

Founding Chairman
Robert S. Benjamin
(1909-1979)

Chairman Emeritus
James S. McDonnell
(1899-1980)

Honorary Chairman
Arthur J. Goldberg

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By Gov
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UNA-USA

AGENDA

Annual Meeting
United Nations Association of the USA
10 a.m. - 3 p.m., Monday, December 4, 1989

John C. Whitehead, Presiding

- | | | |
|------------|-------|--|
| 10:00 a.m. | I. | Welcoming remarks by John C. Whitehead, Chairman of the Association |
| 10:05 a.m. | II. | Presentation, discussion and approval of Minutes of 1988 Annual Meeting
William J. vanden Heuvel, Secretary |
| 10:10 a.m. | III. | Presentation by The Hon. John Bolton, Assistant Secretary of State for International Organization Affairs
Followed by discussion |
| 11:00 a.m. | IV. | Presentation by Elliot L. Richardson, representative of the UN Secretary General, on developments in Nicaragua
Followed by discussion |
| 11:30 a.m. | V. | UNA-USA at work
A. UNA-USA in the Community
B. UNA-USA in the Nation
C. UNA-USA in the World |
| 12:45 p.m. | VI. | Budget, finance and development
John C. Bierwirth, Treasurer
Edward C. Luck, President |
| 1:15 p.m. | | LUNCHEON IN THE COLONIAL ROOM |
| 2:00 p.m. | VII. | Comments by John C. Whitehead, Chairman of the Association, and Max M. Kampelman, Chairman of the Board of Governors, on the future of UNA-USA
Followed by discussion |
| 2:50 p.m. | VIII. | Other Business |
| 3:00 p.m. | | Adjournment |

November 22, 1989

Between Decades: UNA-USA in the 1980s and 1990s

A Report to the Annual Meeting
The United Nations Association of the United States of America
December 4, 1989

by
Edward C. Luck
President

Our Annual Meeting this year comes at a special time: the close of one tumultuous decade and the onset of another. Whether one looks at the world, the United Nations, or UNA-USA, the 1980s have resembled nothing so much as a roller coaster ride, full of ups, downs, and a few unexpected turns. For all the exhilaration of the ride, it is important to stop now and then to take stock and to get one's bearings. So, as we are about to mark our Association's Silver Anniversary, I thought that it would be timely to share some personal reflections about where our organization stands in a rapidly changing world, rather than to give a detailed report on our programs for the year.¹

The good news, of course, is that our roller coaster decade is ending at a much higher point than it began. Ten years ago the Soviets invaded Afghanistan, soon after Ronald Reagan was elected President with a decisive mandate to strengthen our defenses and to get tough with the Soviets. The United Nations, limping after a decade of North-South confrontation, seemed to be nowhere on the agenda either of the new President or of the ailing leaders in the Kremlin. American public attitudes toward the world body were veering

¹The Annual Report which you received a few months ago and the oral reports at the upcoming Annual Meeting will provide fuller programmatic details.

from indifference to skepticism to scorn, fuelled by the Zionism-Racism Resolution and a series of ideological disputes over various "new orders" proposed by the non-aligned and socialist states. By the middle of the decade, the US began to withhold assessed dues from both peacekeeping and the regular budget, it quit UNESCO, and it became increasingly alienated from the General Assembly, the World Court, and other UN bodies.

All of this is changing for the better. The non-aligned countries are more moderate, on the whole, and more truly non-aligned. Consensus and compromise have largely replaced vote-counting and name-calling in the General Assembly. Leaders of all the major powers -- including Gorbachev, Reagan, and now Bush -- have come to find the UN to be a useful tool as they seek stability abroad and progress at home. Praise for the UN has come more easily than making arrearage payments, of course, but at least no one disputes anymore that these are binding obligations that must be met over time. As the Cold War has begun to melt, the degree of harmony within the Security Council has reached a level unprecedented in the world body's forty-four year history. As a result, the UN has begun to fulfill the ambitious peace and security role envisioned in its Charter. Buoyed by the UN's recent peacemaking and peacekeeping successes, American public attitudes towards the world organization are at their highest point in two decades.

With all of this good news, we have much to celebrate. But we should avoid euphoria. The world situation is extraordinarily volatile these days and the heady positive momentum in Eastern Europe has to be seen in the larger context of uncertainty in the Soviet Union, steps backward in China, and continuing chaos and violence in many parts of the developing world (which is where the UN does most of its business). Roller coasters, after all, have a way of taking unanticipated plunges. Over the past decade, UNA-USA's job has been to help push the roller coaster car called multilateral cooperation up a track that at times seemed so steep and slippery that we felt a bit like Sisyphus. Now that we are reaching what looks like a peak, our work for the next decade should be focused on giving durability and depth to what has been achieved -- consolidating a plateau -- even as we prepare to begin the next ascent.

In my view, UNA-USA has been instrumental in the following:

- 1) Persuading the executive branch and Congress that a) the UN is important for American foreign policy and b) the US has a legal obligation to pay its dues -- current and past -- in full;
- 2) Getting the same message to large numbers of Americans through the media, our affiliated organizations, and our members, chapters, and divisions;
- 3) Convincing the new generation of Soviet leaders that their predecessors' tendency to give little more than lip service to the United Nations and other international organizations was counterproductive to their national interests and destructive to organizations which could play an important international stabilizing role while they focus on long overdue domestic reforms;
- 4) Encouraging much more extensive consultations between American and Soviet representatives at the United Nations, as well as conducting a far-ranging unofficial dialogue;
- 5) Sparking a serious process of administrative and financial reform within the United Nations system, even while outlining an agenda of far deeper reforms for the future;
- 6) Focusing public and official attention on a series of UN agencies and the issues they seek to address in order to identify ways they can be strengthened to meet the priority concerns of the American people; and
- 7) Fostering a convergence of views on global issues and institutions among disparate groups of Americans, such as labor and business, conservatives and liberals, students and senior citizens, and political elites and citizen activists, as a step toward rebuilding a broad-based constituency for multilateralism.

This is not a bad decade's work for an organization of modest size and means.

Our work, however, is not complete on any of these fronts. As much as attitudes in Washington toward the UN have improved, we are still a long way from achieving full funding and payment of arrearages. This will require far more concerted and sophisticated political work than we have achieved to date, especially in terms of mobilizing a politically effective constituency. We need to bolster our staff and financial resources in Washington, to improve

communications with our members and friends, and to establish a significant presence in certain key states and congressional districts where we are currently underrepresented. Our glass is certainly half full in these regards, but the degree of success we have achieved to date with a tiny Washington Office and relatively few members gives reason to believe that our potential would be enormous with sufficient effort and resources.

The growth in UNA-USA's visibility through the media is certainly one of our success stories. We are learning, rather belatedly, how to play the media game. And our tradition of strong publications has been maintained, even enhanced, through more efficient production and better marketing. But our video production efforts are still in their infancy, and public relations still tends to be an afterthought. Both of these deserve further attention and reflection, because they are becoming increasingly important tools for getting the word out.

By helping to turn around Soviet attitudes towards the UN, UNA-USA has made a very important contribution to revitalizing the UN, particularly in the peace and security realm, but also in human rights, environment, economics, and management reform. The challenge now is to sustain these new policy directions in Moscow at a time of great uncertainty in Soviet internal politics -- these trends are not yet irreversible -- and to establish a firmer institutional base for an expanding set of bilateral dialogues and programs. Our Board of Governors, as well as the Soviet UNA, recently gave a green light to Toby Gati's idea of creating a Soviet-American Institute on the United Nations, to be cosponsored by the two UNAs. We are now seeking an endowment earmarked for the new joint enterprise.

Over the past five years, we have made a concerted effort through a series of annual and ad hoc studies carried out under the Multilateral Project umbrella to examine how the UN and its affiliated organizations could be reformed and strengthened. In a number of cases these have influenced UN or US policies, but beyond this they have given substance to our mandate --reaffirmed by the Board of Directors in 1984 -- to be a "constructive

critic" of the UN, as well as its friend. They have enhanced our image, as well as our credibility, serving to reassert the founding purposes of UNA-USA enunciated a quarter century ago.

In the future, we should intensify these efforts, particularly regarding follow-up on the policy recommendations. As the US once again comes to embrace the world body with enthusiasm and to pay its dues with regularity, it will be natural for the balance of our work -- both in tone and substance -- to shift to a less defensive stance. It will be that much easier to focus on what weaknesses should be corrected to permit the UN to fulfill its new-found promise. In a sense, one of our tasks is to boost public support of the UN in the rough years and to hold down unreasonably high expectations in the boon years. These kinds of studies, moreover, should become more fundable as the UN comes back in vogue, and the expertise and reputation we have built up through all of the uphill years will give us a decisive comparative advantage over other organizations just jumping on the UN bandwagon.

In the long-term, the success of our efforts will depend on our ability to build and maintain a politically effective constituency. We have made some progress: membership, which shrunk throughout the 1970s and the first half of the 1980s, has grown steadily, albeit slowly, during the second half of the decade; the Washington conference two weeks ago on the US and the UN, which attracted 120 organizations as cosponsors and some 1,200 - 1,300 participants, demonstrated the continuing vitality of our network of affiliated organizations; the spirit of cooperation and common effort among the various branches of the Association seems to be growing, allowing increased effectiveness despite scant resources; and our hard-working Washington Office is giving the organization a reasonably high profile in the nation's capital. But a great deal needs to be done.

We should aim to double -- even triple -- our membership over the coming decade, and to achieve better geographic distribution throughout the country. We should focus on recruiting groups under-represented in our ranks: minorities; younger people and those in early to mid-career; conservatives, Republicans, and the business community. We need to help our weaker chapters

to learn from the successes of our stronger ones. And we need to make much better use of our Council of Organizations, a unique and not fully tapped resource.

All of this, as well as the new challenges before us, will require greater financial and staff resources. I don't believe in empire-building, but there are a few areas where our staff is stretched too thin, such as in policy studies, Washington, and constituency-building. Our staff today is half the size it was when I came to UNA-USA fifteen years ago, though the program is in many ways larger and more robust today. Our funding, though somewhat recovered from our 1987 slump, is still not sufficiently assured. My biggest challenge over the next few years will be to build a solid financial foundation for our work. This will entail raising 1) long-term general purpose and program grants, 2) a revolving capital fund of \$1 million to ease our perennial cash flow problems, and 3) an endowment of \$10 million, whose income will cover our core expenses. With sufficient organization-wide commitment, all these targets can be met over the next five years.

But what of the new challenges posed by a changing world? The dramatic developments in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe will have two somewhat contradictory implications. First, the new openness, pluralism and internationalism -- if they last -- will open up new horizons for international cooperation. Consensus will be easier to achieve in the UN and the ideological dimension to anti-UN attitudes here in the United States will be defused. Second, however, the depth of domestic economic and political problems in these countries will greatly inhibit the extent to which they will be able to make substantial material contributions to the work of the UN system. They will become more engaged and more enthusiastic, but they will hardly be in a position to take the lead on many issues. There will be important opportunities to expand our ties with the UNAs throughout the region -- especially with the newly entrepreneurial Soviet UNA -- but we should recognize that Soviet-American agreement is no longer a sufficient condition for moving the UN community. Neither power is on the ascendancy, and the Soviets are struggling to hold together as a viable country. Other actors at the UN are beginning to look on the growing Soviet-American cooperation with some apprehension.

For more than a decade, we have been calling attention to the diffusion of military, political and economic power to distant parts of the world. Among the consequences has been the growth of alternative power centers not only in Western Europe and Japan, but in parts of the third world as well. The views of many states have to be taken into account before a meaningful consensus or action plan can be reached on most issues before the UN, whether the subject is environment, trade, drugs, or disarmament. Now the political process, as well as the nature of issues, demands truly multilateral responses and decisionmaking structures. The UN and other international institutions are needed more and more to handle issues high on national agendas, yet at the same time it is increasingly difficult for any nation or group of nations to exercise effective leadership. The UN's agenda is also growing faster than its resources, yet no politically feasible way of limiting its tasks has been found. In an age of rising expectations, this could produce disappointment, even another round of disillusionment.

These trends suggest that we take a hard look at UNA-USA's substantive research and policy agenda. On the one hand, our emphasis on multilateral issues and institutions could not be more timely or relevant to the emerging "hot" issues facing our nation. On the other hand, we need to place increasing emphasis on North-South (and even West-West) interactions, even as we maintain our traditional strengths in East-West dialogue. The South-South and North-South dimensions of conflict, including their sub-national and transnational varieties, are becoming far more interesting than traditional East-West models based on European experience. As economic and debt issues come to the fore, our Economic Policy Council should be well placed to make an important contribution. Issues of human rights and the relationships between individuals, governments, and international organizations are being highlighted by developments throughout the socialist world and in many developing countries in the throes of change. The traditional decision-making structures of many international institutions are being challenged by countries on the rise, most notably Japan, seeking a larger voice more commensurate with their growing economic or political status.

Our Soviet programs have largely adapted to these changing circumstances, and our Japanese and Chinese programs are starting to follow suit. In returning to the World Federation of UNAs, we have stressed our interest in establishing closer ties with UNAs in the developing world, especially those in this hemisphere. This is a promising area for new programming by our chapters and divisions, as well as our national office. Over the past few years, we have begun to include more outstanding scholars and officials from developing countries in our programs, but we have hardly scratched the surface. One possibility would be to establish an annual research fellowship to bring a rising scholar or analyst from a developing country onto our staff for a year, just as we are now experimenting with a young Soviet researcher on our staff for two months. A similar exchange program might be arranged with the UN to give a promising secretariat official from the third world a reflective period at UNA-USA headquarters or even in our Washington office. The possibilities are endless.

The 1990s will clearly be a challenging decade for our Association. But it is opening, unlike its predecessor, on a note of great promise. It will be our happy task to try to turn potential into reality, and in the process to fulfill the noble aspirations which first brought this Association together a quarter century ago.

UNA-USA, INC. DRAFT NOVEMBER 21, 1989
DRAFT 1990 BUDGET WITH PROJECTIONS FOR 1989 INCOME & EXPENSES (1)
1990 V/S 1989

SECTION "A" PROGRAMS & ADMINISTRATION

	1990	1989	1990	1989	1990	1989	1990	1989	1990/1989
COLUMN "A"	COLUMN "B"		COLUMN "C"		COLUMN "D"		COLUMN "E"		VARIANCE
	GROSS EXPENSES		RESTRICTED FUND CONTRIBUTIONS		SELF GENERATED INCOME		EFFECT ON GENERAL BUDGET		(INCREASE)/DECREASE IN GENERAL SUP. REQUIRED
COMMUNICATIONS & CONSTITUENCIES									
1. MEMBERSHIP									
A. DUES RECEIVED	0	0	0	0	500,000	425,000			
B. MEMBERSHIP RECORDS	124,010	126,600	0	0	6,000	900			
C. DUES RETURNED TO CHAPS. & DIVS.	200,000	148,300	0	0	0	0			
D. DIRECT SERVICES TO CHAPS. & DIV.	125,410	127,500	20,000	8,800	3,500	12,300	(46,705)	(87,000)	40,295
E. THE INTERDEPENDENT	61,780	70,400	1,000	1,000	1,300	900			
F. PUBLICATIONS, PROMOTIONS & SALES	82,305	90,500	0	5,000	15,000	22,400			
2. PUBLIC RELATIONS (2)	37,230	161,300	0	161,300	0	0	(37,230)	0	(37,230)
3. COUNCIL OF ORGANIZATIONS	70,600	55,100	6,500	7,300	49,700	50,200	(14,400)	2,400	(16,800)
4. U.N. DAY PROGRAM	23,650	24,900	5,000	5,000	1,500	0	(17,150)	(19,900)	2,750
5. CONVENTION	99,030	13,000	0	0	93,225	0	(5,795)	(13,000)	7,205
6. GLOBAL EDUCATION, MODEL U.N. & YOUTH	114,630	158,600	75,000	25,500	49,000	54,500	9,370	(78,600)	87,970
7. ISSUES BEFORE THE 45TH G.A.	72,230	75,100	0	0	70,000	55,300	(2,230)	(19,800)	17,570
8. EDITORS' SEMINAR	27,045	32,800	15,000	9,000	0	0	(12,045)	(23,800)	11,755
9. NOVEMBER WASHINGTON CONFERENCE	0	141,500		78,500		82,000	0	19,000	(19,000)
10. 25TH ANNIVERSARY GALA	0	45,000		0		145,000	0	100,000	(100,000)
11. TOTAL COMMUNICATIONS & CONSTITUENCIES	1,037,810	1,270,600	122,500	301,400	789,125	848,500	(126,185)	(120,700)	(5,485)
POLICY ANALYSIS & DIALOGUE									
12. WORLD FEDERATION OF U.N. ASSOCS.	40,300	42,900	20,000	30,700	0	0	(20,300)	(12,200)	(8,100)
13. NEW MULTILATERAL PROJECT	60,000	86,100	100,000	60,000	0	0	40,000	(26,100)	66,100
14. WASHINGTON D.C. LIAISON OFFICE	134,125	125,300	0	0	6,000	7,300	(128,125)	(117,900)	(10,225)
15. ECONOMIC POLICY COUNCIL (3)	243,680	145,200	380,000	216,600	0	0	136,320	71,400	64,920
16. SOVIET-AMERICAN PARALLEL STUDIES	196,430	187,200	349,500	477,000	0	0	153,070	289,800	(136,730)
17. US JAPAN UN DIALOGUE	75,000	46,200	80,000	70,600	0	0	5,000	24,400	(19,400)
18. QUADRILATERAL PROJECT	122,350	38,800	135,000	25,000	0	0	12,650	(13,800)	26,450
19. UNIDIR (COMPLETED IN 1989)	0	56,200	0	53,500	0	0	0	(2,700)	2,700
20. RESTRUCTURING UNESCO (COMPLETED IN 1989)	0	125,200	0	138,800	0	0	0	13,600	(13,600)
21. TOTAL POLICY ANALYSIS & DIALOGUE	871,885	853,000	1,064,500	1,072,200	6,000	7,300	198,615	226,500	(27,885)
22. TOTAL PROGRAM EXPENSES	1,909,695	2,123,600	1,187,000	1,373,600	795,125	855,800	72,430	105,800	(33,370)
GENERAL ADMINISTRATIVE EXPENSES									
23. EXECUTIVE OFFICE & BOARD	232,925	229,300	0	0	0	0	(232,925)	(229,300)	(3,625)
24. ADMINISTRATIVE SERVICES	278,800	246,800	0	0	0	0	(278,800)	(246,800)	(32,000)
25. RENT, LIGHT & OTHER OVERHEAD	504,800	501,500	0	0	94,600	92,200	(410,200)	(409,300)	(900)
26. TOTAL GENERAL ADMIN. EXPENSES	1,016,525	977,600	0	0	94,600	92,200	(921,925)	(885,400)	(36,525)
27. SUBTOTAL	2,926,220	3,101,200	1,187,000	1,373,600	889,725	948,000			
NET EXPENSES TO BE COVERED BY GENERAL CONTRIBUTIONS							(819,495)	(779,600)	(69,895)

SECTION "B" GENERAL INCOME & DEVELOPMENT EXPENSE

DRAFT NOVEMBER 21, 1989

COLUMN "F"	1990		1989		1990/1989	
	COLUMN "G"	COLUMN "H"	COLUMN "I"	COLUMN "J"	VARIANCE*	NET CHANGE
GENERAL INCOME						
1. NET EXPENSES TO BE COVERED BY GENERAL CONTRIBUTIONS	(849,495)		(779,600)		69,895	
2. CONTINGENCIES						
A. GENERAL	(50,000)		0		50,000	
NET		(899,495)		(779,600)		(119,895)
INCOME GENERAL:						
3. FORD FOUNDATION GRANT (4)		200,000		0	200,000	200,000
4. SPECIAL EVENTS: (5)						
5. INCOME	825,000		1,160,400			
6. EXPENSES	394,475		420,800			
7. NET		430,525		739,600	(309,075)	(309,075)
8. GENERAL CONTRIBUTIONS/ANNUAL GIVING	350,000		350,000		0	
9. NEW CONTRIBUTIONS	60,000		20,100		39,900	
10. REQUESTS/PLANNED GIFTS	50,000		1,600		48,400	
11. ANNUAL GIVING COMMITTEE	50,000		0		50,000	
12. EARNINGS ON ENDOWMENT/SELECTIVE ENDOWMENT (6)	15,000		0		15,000	
13. TRANSITION FUND	0		87,100		(87,100)	
14. TOTAL GENERAL CONTRIBUTIONS	525,000		458,800		66,200	
15. LESS FINANCIAL DEVELOPMENT EXPENSE	255,730		227,900		(27,830)	
		269,270		230,900		38,370
16. SURPLUS/(DEFICIT)		1,799,290		1,750,100		(190,600)
17. SUMMARY:						
18. GRAND TOTAL INCOME	3,626,725			3,501,080		
19. GRAND TOTAL EXPENSE	3,626,425			3,470,005		
20. SURPLUS/(DEFICIT)	300			31,075		
1990 RECAP SUMMARY						
INCOME - SECTION "A" LINE 27, COLUMN C	1,187,000					
SECTION "A" LINE 27, COLUMN D	889,725					
GENERAL INCOME:						
SECTION "B" LINE 3, COLUMN H	200,000					
SECTION "B" LINE 5, COLUMN G	825,000					
SECTION "B" LINE 14, COLUMN G	525,000					
TOTAL INCOME - SECTION "B" LINE 18, COLUMN H	3,626,725					
EXPENSES - SECTION "A" LINE 27, COLUMN B	2,926,220					
SECTION "B" LINE 2, COLUMN G	50,000					
SECTION "B" LINE 6, COLUMN G	394,475					
SECTION "B" LINE 15, COLUMN G	255,730					
TOTAL EXPENSES - SECTION "B" LINE 19, COLUMN H	3,626,425					

*IN THE VARIANCE COLUMN, FIGURES IN PARANTHESES INDICATE A NEGATIVE OUTCOME IN COMPARISON TO THE PREVIOUS YEAR, AS DO THE PARANTHESES IN THE NET CHANGE COLUMN.

DRAFT NOVEMBER 21, 1989

FOOTNOTES

- 1) AT THE REQUEST OF MEMBERS OF THE BOARD OF GOVERNORS WE HAVE CHANGED THE FORMAT OF THE 1990 BUDGET. THE FORMAT THIS YEAR COMPARES THE 1990 PROPOSED BUDGET TO THE PROJECTED INCOME AND EXPENSES FOR 1989 INSTEAD OF THE 1989 BUDGET.
- 2) IN MID 1988 WE RECEIVED A GENEROUS EIGHTEEN MONTH GRANT TO START A PUBLIC RELATIONS PROGRAM. THIS GRANT WILL NOT BE RENEWED FOR 1990 ALTHOUGH WE SHALL CONTINUE THE PROGRAM AT A REDUCED LEVEL.
- 3) THERE IS A SUBSTANTIAL BUDGETED INCOME INCREASE FOR THE ECONOMIC POLICY COUNCIL FOR 1990. THE INCREASE IS TWOFOLD. THE SLOAN FOUNDATION HAS APPROVED A GRANT OF \$100,000 FOR 1990 AND THERE HAS BEEN A STEADY INCREASE IN MEMBERSHIP WITHIN THE ECONOMIC POLICY COUNCIL.
- 4) THE FORD FOUNDATION HAS COMPLETED AN IN DEPTH EVALUATION OF UNA'S PROGRAMS AND PRIORITIES. AS A RESULT, THE FORD FOUNDATION HAS AUTHORIZED A MAJOR GRANT TO THE ASSOCIATION FOR GENERAL PURPOSES AND/OR SPECIFIC PROGRAMS. THE LEADERSHIP OF THE ASSOCIATION IS CURRENTLY ENGAGED IN DISCUSSIONS WITH THE FORD FOUNDATION STAFF REGARDING THE SPECIFIC TERMS OF THE GRANT. WHILE THESE DISCUSSIONS WILL NOT BE COMPLETED TILL EARLY IN THE NEW YEAR, THERE IS EVERY REASON TO BELIEVE THAT THE AMOUNT FOR FISCAL YEAR 1990 WILL SUBSTANTIALLY EXCEED THE \$200,000 PROJECTED IN THIS LINE ITEM.
- 5) BECAUSE OF AN UNUSUAL SUCCESS WITH SPECIAL EVENTS, THE INCOME TOTALS FOR SPECIAL EVENTS FOR 1989 ARE UNUSUALLY HIGH. THEREFORE 1990 INCOME FROM SPECIAL EVENTS HAS BEEN PROJECTED CLOSER TO THE 1988 LEVELS THAN THE 1989 LEVELS.
- 6) IN 1990 THE ASSOCIATION WILL LAUNCH AN ENDOWMENT CAMPAIGN. THE INCOME SHOWN HERE WOULD BE FROM THE FIRST PLEDGE WHICH HAS BEEN RECEIVED FOR THE PLANNED CAMPAIGN.



The Conference is sponsored by the Council of Washington Representatives on the United Nations (CWRUN) in cooperation with the co-sponsoring organizations listed on the reverse of this sheet. CWRUN is an affiliate of the United Nations Association of the USA.

United Nations Association of the USA

Elliot L. Richardson

Chair

Edward C. Luck
President

Council of Washington
Representatives on the UN
Alejandro J. Palacios
Chair

Conference of UN Representatives
Mary Purcell
Chair

Conference Coordinator
Andrew E. Rice

Conference Director
Kathy Morrell

National Conference on The United States and the United Nations

Forging a New Relationship

November 9-11, 1989 • Ramada Renaissance Hotel at Techworld • Washington, D.C.

Suite 1100
1401 New York Ave., N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20005

Telephone (202) 393-1377

Fax: (202) 638-1374

11 July 1989

Ms. Edith J. Miller
Assistant to the President
Union of American Hebrew Congregations
838 Fifth Avenue
New York, NY 10021

Dear Ms. Miller,

Thank you for your letter dated 5 July, in which you acknowledge receipt of 2,000 brochures on the National Conference on the United States and the United Nations. We appreciate very much your willingness to send out these brochures, especially in view of the fact that your own conference requires, I am sure, much of your time.

I wish only to point out to you that the brochures contain a registration fee schedule whereby the rates go up after August 15. If you are planning to send the brochures out close to this date, we would like to accommodate your members and give them the opportunity to respond and to register at this lower rate. Perhaps we could plan to extend the deadline to your members - if you think this would be useful, could you please call me (202) 393-1377.

Best wishes for your conference, and thank you again in supporting us.

Sincerely,

Kathy Morrell
Conference Director

*Typed
Phoned
7/18/1989*



National Conference on the United States and the United Nations

Washington, DC

November 9-11, 1989

Altrusa International
Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union
American Association of Retired Persons
American Association of University Women
American Baptist Churches, USA
American Council for the United Nations University
American Ethical Union
American Federation of Teachers
American Home Economics Association
American Humanist Association
American Jewish Committee
American Society of International Law
American Veterans Committee
Americans for the Universality of UNESCO
The Atlantic Council
B'nai B'rith Women
Campaign for UN Reform
Church Women United
Citizens Network for Foreign Affairs
Committee for National Security
Conference of U.N. Representatives
Council on International Educational Exchange
Episcopal Migration Ministries
Esperanto League for North America
Friends Committee on National Legislation
General Federation of Women's Clubs
Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of North America
Hadassah
International Peace Academy
League of Women Voters
National Association for Foreign Student Affairs
National Association of Social Workers
National Audubon Society
National Council for International Health
National Council of Catholic Women
National Council of Churches
National Council of Jewish Women
National Council of Women
National Federation of Business and Professional Women's Clubs
National Federation of Temple Sisterhoods
National Fraternal Council of Churches
National Planning Association
National Rural Electric Cooperative Association
National Service Conference of the American Ethical Union
National Spiritual Assembly of Baha'is of the US
National Urban League
Pan Pacific and Southeast Asia Womens' Association of the USA
Pilot Club International
Population Communications International
Population Crisis Committee
The Population Institute
Presbyterian Church (USA)
Promoting Enduring Peace
Protestant Episcopal Church, USA
Quota International
Rehabilitation International
RESULTS/RESULTS Educational Fund
The Salvation Army
Union of American Hebrew Congregations
Unitarian Universalist Association
Unitarian Universalist Women's Federation
United Church Board for World Ministries
United Church of Christ, Office for Church in Society
United Methodist Church, Women's Division
United Nations Association-Capital Area Division
US Catholic Conference, Office of International Justice and Peace
United States Committee for UNICEF
United States Council for INSTRAW
Universal Esperanto Association
Women's League for Conservative Judaism
World Federalist Association
YWCA of the USA

Conference Co-Sponsors as of May 18, 1989

(Many additional invitations to co-sponsor are outstanding and this list is expected to grow markedly.)



RABBI ALEXANDER M. SCHINDLER • UNION OF AMERICAN HEBREW CONGREGATIONS
PRESIDENT 838 FIFTH AVENUE NEW YORK, N.Y. 10021 (212) 249-0100

July 5, 1989
2 Tammuz 5749

Ms. Kathy Morell, Conference Director
National Conference on the United States
and the United Nations
Suite 1100
1401 New York Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20005

Dear Ms. Morell:

As Rabbi Schindler is out-of-the-country, I am responding to your letter of June 28 and I thank you for sharing copies of the brochures for the November Conference.

Unfortunately, the Conference is scheduled for a date but a few days following the major Biennial Assembly of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations. Our staff and leadership will be deeply involved in planning and administering our convention and thus we cannot be of aid in organizing or participating in any part of the National Conference.

However, you should know that we have some 2,000 copies of the Conference brochure. These will be sent out in our next mailing to rabbis and presidents of the more than 800 Reform synagogues of the United States and Canada. Thus, we expect word of your Conference to be shared with members of all of our congregations. The mailing is going out a bit later this Summer.

With warm good wishes, I am

Sincerely,

Edith J. Miller
Assistant to the President



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United Nations Association of the USA

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Fax: (202) 638-1374

June 28, 1989

Rabbi A.M. Schindler
Union of American Hebrew Congregations
838 Fifth Avenue
New York, NY 10021

Dear Rabbi Schindler,

Our first brochure about the National Conference on the United States and the United Nations is finally here and we are pleased to enclose 10 initial copies to each of our co-sponsoring organizations. Please feel free to call the office to request additional copies.

Distribution of the brochure is in progress. Some co-sponsors are sending the announcements with other organizational mailings; others have supplied the conference office with mailing labels. In all, over 50,000 brochures will be distributed over the next few weeks. We greatly appreciate our co-sponsors' assistance in this promotion.

If your organization is interested in participating in the conference program and we haven't heard from you, please let us know. The program organizers are pleased to hear from co-sponsors who would like to help organize a panel, or be part of a discussion.

Most sincerely,

Kathy Morrell
Conference Director



National Conference on the United States and the United Nations

Washington, DC

November 9-11, 1989

Altrusa International
Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union
American Association of Retired Persons
American Association of University Women
American Baptist Churches, USA
American Council for the United Nations University
American Ethical Union
American Federation of Teachers
American Home Economics Association
American Humanist Association
American Jewish Committee
American Society of International Law
American Veterans Committee
Americans for the Universality of UNESCO
The Atlantic Council
B'nai B'rith Women
Campaign for UN Reform
Church Women United
Citizens Network for Foreign Affairs
Committee for National Security
Conference of U.N. Representatives
Council on International Educational Exchange
Episcopal Migration Ministries
Esperanto League for North America
Friends Committee on National Legislation
General Federation of Women's Clubs
Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of North America
Hadassah
International Peace Academy
League of Women Voters
National Association for Foreign Student Affairs
National Association of Social Workers
National Audubon Society
National Council for International Health
National Council of Catholic Women
National Council of Churches
National Council of Jewish Women
National Council of Women
National Federation of Business and Professional Women's Clubs
National Federation of Temple Sisterhoods
National Fraternal Council of Churches
National Planning Association
National Rural Electric Cooperative Association
National Service Conference of the American Ethical Union
National Spiritual Assembly of Baha'is of the US
National Urban League
Pan Pacific and Southeast Asia Womens' Association of the USA
Pilot Club International
Population Communications International
Population Crisis Committee
The Population Institute
Presbyterian Church (USA)
Promoting Enduring Peace
Protestant Episcopal Church, USA
Quota International
Rehabilitation International
RESULTS/RESULTS Educational Fund
The Salvation Army
Union of American Hebrew Congregations
Unitarian Universalist Association
Unitarian Universalist Women's Federation
United Church Board for World Ministries
United Church of Christ, Office for Church in Society
United Methodist Church, Women's Division
United Nations Association-Capital Area Division
US Catholic Conference, Office of International Justice and Peace
United States Committee for UNICEF
United States Council for INSTRAW
Universal Esperanto Association
Women's League for Conservative Judaism
World Federalist Association
YWCA of the USA

Conference Co-Sponsors as of May 18, 1989

(Many additional invitations to co-sponsor are outstanding and this list is expected to grow markedly.)

MEMORANDUM

From Edith J. Miller
To Rabbi David Saperstein
Copies
Subject

Date July 5, 1989

UAF USA

You will note the UAHC is one of the co-sponsors of the National Conference on the United States and the United Nations. We will be including the enclosed brochure in the next packet to rabbis and presidents. You might want to keep a few brochures on hand at the RAC for Summer visitors or localites who might be interested. It's so soon after the Biennial we can't do more than call it to the attention of our congregations.

Take care.



MEMORANDUM

From Ms. Edith J. Miller
To Mr. Arthur Grant
cc: Ms. Robin Riback

June 8, 1989
Date 5 Sivan 5749

UNA USA

The UAHC will be co-sponsoring a conference in Washington, November 9-11, 1989 with the UNA-USA. It will be a National Conference on the United States and the United Nations.

We have agreed to make available to our constituency a brochure on the conference. I have told the people at the UNA-USA that we will require 2000 brochures for mailings to rabbis and presidents. I have also indicated that I will advise them as soon as I have a idea when our next mailing is to go out. Their brochure will be ready on or about June 16, so I am confident we will have it in our hands well in advance of any mailings we do this Summer. But, please give me some idea as to the schedule.

Thank you.



Union of American Hebrew Congregations
838 FIFTH AVENUE, NEW YORK, N.Y. 10021 (212) 249-0100

Brochures to Very

PHONE MEMO

TO	Edie	DATE	5/26	TIME	12:25	AM PM
FROM	Glen Danvers	AREA CODE	202-393-			
OF	U. Nations Conference	NO.	1377			
		EX.				

MESSAGE
Re: UAITC Co-Sponsoring
Conference

[Signature]

SIGNED *[Signature]*

PHONED ☒

CALL
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WANTS TO
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איחוד
ליהדות
מתקדמת
באמריקה

From the desk of
EDITH J. MILLER

al - note

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RABBI ALEXANDER M. SCHINDLER • UNION OF AMERICAN HEBREW CONGREGATIONS
PRESIDENT 838 FIFTH AVENUE NEW YORK, N.Y. 10021 (212) 249 0100

May 10, 1989
5 Iyar 5749

Peggy Sanford Carlin
Senior Vice President (ret.)
United Nations Association
of the United States of America
485 Fifth Avenue
New York, NY 10017

Dear Peggy:

It was nice hearing from you, although I am most regretful that our lack of response to a UNA-USA letter was the reason for your note. My office is usually very prompt in responding to all mail and I don't know what went wrong in regard to the request to co-sponsor the November 1989 Conference.

Be that as it may, we will be pleased to co-sponsor the conference and to send the brochures to our constituents. Some of the subjects on the agenda are also on the agenda for our forthcoming 60th General Assembly to be held in New Orleans, November 2-6, 1989. The close proximity of dates precludes my participation in the UNA-USA sessions but I am confident we will be able to have a goodly number of Reform Jews among the delegates to this conference. We'll certainly do our best!

With warm personal regards and every good wish, I am

Sincerely,

Alexander M. Schindler

Jim Olson
697 3232

May 10, 1989
5 Iyar 5749

Peggy Sanford Corlin
Senior Vice President (ret.)
United Nations Association
of the United States of America
485 Fifth Avenue
New York, NY 10017

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With warm personal regards and every good wish, I am

Sincerely,

Alexander M. Schindler



United Nations Association of the United States of America

485 Fifth Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10017 212.697.3232

Peggy Sanford Carlin
Senior Vice President (ret.)

May 4, 1989

Alex

Dear Rabbi Schindler:

I am sending you a copy of the letter you received in February at the request of Ms. Edith Miller. We would be most grateful if you reviewed it and agreed to have your organization co-sponsor the conference. We would also appreciate your distributing the conference brochure (to be printed) to your constituents and to send as many delegates as possible. This will be a major undertaking that will need all hands on deck.

Thank you so much and my warmest regards to you.

Sincerely,

Rabbi Alexander M. Schindler
President
Union of American Hebrew Congregations
838 Fifth Avenue
New York, NY 10021

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Chairperson of the Council of
Washington Representatives on
the UN

Alejandro Palacios
U.S. Committee for UNICEF

First Vice Chairperson

Werner Fornas
The Population Institute

Second Vice Chairperson

Mark Haskell
Planned Parenthood Federation
of America

Secretary

Linda Dorian
National Federation of Business &
Professional Women's Clubs, Inc.

Treasurer

Erin Hurley
Youth for Understanding

Members

Nancy L. Alexander
Friends Committee on
National Legislation

Aileen Cooper
B'nai B'rith Women

David Dorn
American Federation of Teachers

J. David Edwards*
Joint National Committee for
Languages

Virginia M. Gray*
U.S. Committee for UNICEF

Jack Howard
American Federation of State,
County and Municipal Employees

Annette Kane
National Council of
Catholic Women

Russell Morgan
National Council for
International Health

Marilou M. Righini*
American Society of
International Law

Florence Schott*
Soroptimist International

June Willenz
American Veterans Committee

* Past Chairperson of Council

Members Ex Officio

Mary H. Purcell
Chairperson, Conference of UN
Representatives, UNA-USA

Peggy Sanford Carlin
Senior Vice President, UNA-USA

Andrew E. Rice
Consultant, UNA-USA

Chairman of the United Nations
Association

Elliot L. Richardson
President

Edward C. Luck
Director, Washington Office

Steven A. Dimoff

Council of Washington Representatives on the United Nations
—COUNCIL OF ORGANIZATIONS—

United Nations Association of the United States of America

485 Fifth Avenue, New York, NY 10017

212-697-3232 Cable: UNASAMER



February 2, 1989

Washington Address:
1010 Vermont Avenue, N.W.
Washington, DC 20005
202-347-5004

Rabbi Alexander M. Schindler
President
Union of American Hebrew Congregations
838 Fifth Avenue
New York, NY 10021

Dear Rabbi Schindler:

We are writing to invite you to join other significant national organizations as a co-sponsor of the National Conference on the United States and the United Nations, to be held in Washington, DC on November 9-11, 1989.

The basic idea of the conference is very simple: the time is ripe for Americans who believe in the importance of the United Nations system to make clear to policymakers and opinion leaders in Washington that there is a strong constituency for an active and constructive role by the United States in the United Nations and its specialized agencies.

The conference is something new: not in a generation has there been a national assembly of concerned citizens on the United Nations. Until only very recently, official U.S. policy towards the U.N. has been grudging. Now there is a change of atmosphere. U.N. action is being recognized as essential if the world is to cope with such critical problems as the deteriorating environment, the spread of AIDS, and the threat to our security of regional conflicts.

After you have read the enclosed brief conference prospectus, we hope that you will come or send a representative to one (or both) of the meetings we are holding in Washington (on February 15) and New York (on February 16) to present conference plans more fully and to receive your ideas about the conference's content and format. We enclose a note about these meetings and a reply form.

Whether or not you are able to decide now about becoming a co-sponsor, we will welcome your participation in the February 15 or 16 meetings. We look forward to hearing from you soon.

Sincerely,

Alejandro Palacios

Alejandro Palacios
Chair, Council of Washington
Representatives on the U.N.

Andrew E. Rice

Andrew E. Rice
Conference Coordinator

Council of Organizations of the United Nations Association of the United States of America

Adult Education Assoc. of the U.S.A.	Foreign Policy Association	National Association of Colored Women's Clubs	Promoting Enduring Peace
Allied Industrial Workers of America	Friends of the Earth	National Association of Negro Business and Professional Women's Clubs	Protestant Episcopal Church, U.S.A.
Altrus International	Fund for Peace	National Association of Social Workers	Quota International
American Association for Adult Continuing Education	General Federation of Women's Clubs	National Audubon Society	Salvation Army
American Association of Retired Persons	Global Perspectives in Education	National Council of the Churches of Christ in the U.S.A.	Seema Club
Amalgamated Clothing & Textile Workers Union of America	Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of North & South America	National Council of Catholic Women	Save the Children Federation
American Association of University Women	Hadassah	National Council of Jewish Women	Soroptist International of the Americas
American Baptist Churches, U.S.A. National Ministries	Industrial Union Department, AFL-CIO	National Council of Negro Women of the U.S.	Union of American Hebrew Congregations, Commission on Social Action of Reform Judaism
American Council for the United Nations University	Industrial Union of Marine and Shipbuilding Workers of America	National Council of Women of the U.S.	Unitarian Universalist Association, United Nations Office
American Ethical Union	International Advertising Association	National Education Association of the U.S.	Unitarian Universalist Women's Federation
American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations	International Association of Lions Clubs	National Federation of Business and Professional Women's Clubs	United Association of Journeymen & Apprentices of the Plumbing & Pipefitting Industry of the U.S. and Canada
American Federation of Teachers, AFL-CIO	International Association of Machinists & Aerospace Workers	National Federation of Music Clubs	United Church Board for World Ministries - Div. of World Service
American Friends Service Committee	International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers	National Federation of Temple Brotherhoods	United Furniture Workers of America
American Humanist Association	International Brotherhood of Painters & Allied Trades	National Federation of Temple Sisterhoods	United Methodist Church, Board of Church & Society
American Jewish Committee	International Brotherhood of Teamsters	National Fraternal Council of Churches of America	United Methodist Church, Board of Global Ministries - Women's Division
American Jewish Congress, Women's Division	International Chemical Workers Union	National Jewish Welfare Board	United Neighborhood Centers of America
Association for Democratic Action	International Ladies' Garment Workers Union	National Organization for Women (NOW)	U.S. Catholic Conference
Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith	International League for Human Rights	National PTA	U.S. Committee for UNICEF
Baptist World Alliance	International Peace Academy	National Service Conference of the American Ethical Union	U.S. SERVAS Committee
B'nai B'rith International	International Union of Operating Engineers	National Spiritual Assembly of the Baha'is of the U.S.A.	United Steel Workers of America
B'nai B'rith Women	International Union of Automobile, Aerospace & Agricultural Implement Workers of America (UAW)	National Urban League	Women's National Farm & Garden Association
Boys' Clubs of America	International Woodworkers of America	Oil, Chemical & Atomic Workers International Union	Women's Action Alliance
Brotherhood of Railway and Steamship Clerks	Iota Phi Lambda Sorority	Overseas Development Council	Women's American ORT
Campaign for U.N. Reform	Jewish War Veterans of the U.S.A.	Overseas Education Fund of the League of Women Voters	Women's International League for Peace and Freedom
CARE	JWV Ladies Auxiliary	Pan Pacific and S.E. Asia Women's Association of the U.S.A.	Women's League for Conservative Judaism
Carnegie Endowment for International Peace	Johnson Foundation	People-to-People	Women's National Book Association
Center for Population Communications—Intl.	Joint National Committee for Languages	Plat International	Women United for the United Nations
Church Women United	Laboren International Union of North America	Planned Parenthood Federation of America	World Federation Association
Committee for Economic Development	League for Industrial Democracy	Population Crisis Committee	World Peace Foundation
Communications Workers of America	League of Women Voters of the U.S.	Population Institute	World Without War Council
Cooperative League of the U.S.A.	National Alliance of Black School Educators	Presbyterian Church (U.S.A.)	YMCA - National Board
Council on Religion and International Affairs	National Association for the Advancement of Colored People		YWCA - National Board
Espersant League for North America			Zorra International
Experiment in International Living			

The membership of the Council of Washington Representatives on the United Nations is comprised of representatives of national organizations affiliated with the UNA-USA Council of Organizations. Membership is also open to representatives of non-affiliated associations which support the purposes and principles of the United Nations.



UNITED NATIONS ASSOCIATION OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

485 FIFTH AVENUE, NEW YORK, N.Y. 10017-6104 PHONE: (212) 697-3232 FAX: (212) 682-9185 CABLE: UNASMER
WASHINGTON OFFICE: 1010 VERMONT AVENUE, N.W., SUITE 904, WASHINGTON, D.C. 20005 PHONE: (202) 347-5004 FAX: (202) 628-5945

May 26, 1989

MEMORANDUM

TO: Board of Governors
FROM: Ed Luck
SUBJECT: June 13th Meeting

Our next Board of Governors meeting will be special for at least three reasons:

- 1) It will be John Whitehead's first as Chairman of the Association;
- 2) We will be able to welcome three newly-elected Governors to our ranks; and
- 3) We will meet in the newly refurbished Arthur Ross Conference Center (you will hardly recognize the place!).

As previously announced, it will be held from 1 to 5 p.m. on Tuesday, June 13th. Please indicate on the attached reply card whether you will be able to be with us.

A number of background readings are enclosed, while an agenda and additional materials will be sent to you closer to the date. The enclosures include:

- 1) Draft minutes of our March 14th meeting;
- 2) Two recent op-eds: one by Jeff Laurenti and me on the PLO-WHO controversy and one by Dick Gardner stemming from our recent meetings in Moscow on the future of the UN;
- 3) Two recent UNA Congressional testimonies (it is noteworthy that UNA has been asked three times in the last four months to testify on international debt, UN voluntary funding, and the PLO-WHO crisis); and
- 4) An analysis and summary of the recent Roper Poll which UNA commissioned.

As you can see, we have been more than a little busy in recent months.

Thanks very much. John, Elliot and I will look forward to seeing you.

Anniversary Chairman
Katharine Graham

Co-Chairmen
Henry A. Kissinger
Cyrus R. Vance

Chairman of the Association
Elliot L. Richardson

Chairman, Board of Governors
Ivan Selin

Chairman, National Council
Cyrus R. Vance

Chairman, U.N. Day
Stanley C. Pace

President
Edward C. Luck

Vice Chairmen
Ruth J. Hinerfeld
Harry W. Knight

Estelle Linzer
Jean Picker
Richard J. Schmeelk
Brent Scowcroft

Secretary
William J. vanden Heuvel

Treasurer
John R. Petty

Co-Chairman, Economic Policy
Council

Henry Kaufman
Jack Sheinkman

Chairman, U.S.-USSR Parallel
Studies Program
John G. Tower

Chairman, U.S.-China Parallel
Studies Program
Brent Scowcroft

Chairman, U.S.-Japan Parallel
Studies Program on Security
McGeorge Bundy

Chairman, Advisory Group
Multilateral Project
Matthew Nimetz

Chairman, WFUNA Committee
Christopher H. Phillips

Governors
John C. Bierwirth
Ann Fouts

Patrick A. Gerschel
Mary Hall

Armand Hammer
Jerome Jacobson

William P. Laughlin
Leo Nevas

William S. Norman
Evelyn M. Pickarts

Mary Purcell
Frank E. Richardson

Arthur Ross
Rabbi Alexander Schindler

Jack Sheinkman
Helmut Sonnenfeldt

Michael Witunski

Vice President, Policy Studies
Toby Trister Gati

Executive Director, UNA Fund
Fred Tamalonis

Director, Special Events
Stanley Raisen

Executive Director, National
Programs

James M. Olson
John Tessitore

Founding Chairman
Robert S. Benjamin (1909-1979)

Chairman Emeritus
James S. McDonnell (1899-1980)

Honorary Chairman
Arthur J. Goldberg

CONFIDENTIAL

MINUTES

UNA-USA BOARD OF GOVERNORS MEETING

MARCH 14, 1989

Arthur Ross Conference Center

EDWARD C. LUCK - PRESIDING

Present: John Bierwirth, Mary Hall, Ruth Hinerfeld, Jerome Jacobson, Harry Knight, Estelle Linzer, Edward C. Luck, William Miller, Leo Nevas, William Norman, John Petty, Evelyn Pickarts, Richard Schmeelk, William vanden Heuvel.

Staff: Carol Christian, Steven Dimoff, Peter Fromuth, Jeff Laurenti, James Olson, Sherry Polen, Stanley Raisen, Fred Tamalonis, John Tessitore, Patricia Wilber.

The meeting was called to order at 1:10 p.m. Item I was moved down on the agenda.

AGENDA ITEM II. UNA'S LEADERSHIP TRANSITION

Mr. Luck noted that, as they all knew, the Chairman of the Association, Elliot Richardson, had some time ago expressed a desire to step down as Chairman of the Association once a suitable successor could be found. The consensus choice among the Governors, as determined through private consultations, was John C. Whitehead, who had until recently been Deputy Secretary of State. Ambassador Richardson, Ivan Selin and Mr. Luck have had several discussions with John Whitehead, who has indicated an interest in the position. Ambassador Richardson, moreover, has expressed a willingness to remain active in the Association.

The By-laws require that an election be held by the Board of Directors. Since Ivan Selin's appointment to the Bush Administration left a vacancy for the chairmanship of the Board of Governors, both positions could be put on the same ballot if the timing works out. The transition, at least for the chairmanship of the Association, should be completed before the next meeting of the Board of Governors in June. A paper ballot will be mailed to the Board of Directors in May.

Several Governors expressed their great pleasure that John Whitehead was willing to assume leadership of the Association. A discussion of possible candidates to chair the Board of Governors followed. Mr. Luck urged the Governors to call him with their suggestions. It was agreed that Elliot Richardson will be asked to serve as Co-Chairman of the National Council with Cyrus Vance and to remain active in those programs, such as UN reform efforts, which are of particular interest to him.

AGENDA ITEM I. REVIEW AND APPROVAL OF MINUTES OF OCTOBER AND DECEMBER MEETINGS

The Secretary of the Association, William vanden Heuvel, presented the Minutes of the October 18th and December 5th, 1988 meetings. Motion was made, seconded and approved to accept the Minutes of both meetings without amendment.

AGENDA ITEM III. FINANCE AND DEVELOPMENT

A. 1988 results and 1989 prospects

Mr. Luck asked John Bierwirth, Treasurer and Chairman of the Finance and Budget Committee, and Fred Tamalonis, Executive Director of the UNA Fund, to present the report. The Transition Fund reached its goal of \$500,000 when two donations totalling \$150,000 of unrestricted funds were received. Dick Schmeelk was thanked for his hard work in heading the successful campaign. Reaching this target will enhance the Association's position as it seeks funds outside the organization. Mr. Bierwirth said that 1988 should be considered a transition year. 1989 should be a year in which the Association puts some concrete blocks under its foundation.

Mr. Tamalonis asked John Tessitore to update the Board on the plans for the 25th Anniversary gala to be held in December. Mr. Tessitore reported that it will be a \$1,000 a couple dinner to be held on Tuesday evening, December 12th. It is expected that there will be 300 paid guests, which will more than cover the costs. An anniversary committee is being set up and it is hoped that Mrs. Perez de Cuellar will be involved. A press kit has been sent out and it is generating good media attention. Good Morning, America has said that it would like to cover the event for broadcast the following morning.

Mr. Luck noted that President Bush has been invited to speak at the June 3rd event in New York City. It has been suggested to the President that it would be a good time to make his first public statement on the United Nations. The President's attendance will depend on his commitments at that time.

B. Development plans and the strategic planning process

Mr. Tamalonis pointed out that the meeting kits included a breakdown of 1988 financial results. Unrestricted income increased dramatically last year. There were over 800 first-time donors to UNA in 1988. This year letters will go out monthly based on the date of donors' contributions last year. A second reminder will go out to those who do not respond and perhaps a third reminder will be sent. Individual donor records are now computerized. The new computer can generate many different kinds of useful statistics. Another follow-up to the Elliot Richardson letter on bequests will be sent out and a brochure is being developed which will be sent to members in the fall.

Mr. Luck reported that the average contribution from a Governor in 1988 was \$20,000, which is high for any organization. He then called on Stan Raisen to report on special events.

Mr. Raisen announced that John Hennessy, Vice Chairman of CS First Boston, will chair the June 3rd UN Ball. The President has not yet appointed the 1989 National UN Day Chairman. This year the Ball will honor former UN Day Chairmen, who are being invited to attend. Their former corporations are also being asked to participate.

The Concert and Dinner in Washington, D.C. will be held on October 28th. The International Civil Aviation Organization (ICAO) will be honored and the Canadian Brass will perform. The Chairman of Boeing, Frank Shrontz, will chair the event.

Mr. Luck concluded the discussion by noting that there was a memo in the kits about an unexpected increase in the cost of employee medical insurance. This will add \$30,000 to UNA's budget for 1989, eliminating the budgeted surplus for the year.

AGENDA ITEM IV. QUESTION OF ACCEPTING GRANTS FROM THE UN OR THE US GOVERNMENT

Mr. Luck called attention to a memorandum which had been sent to the Board regarding the question of accepting grants from the United Nations or the U.S. government. After a brief discussion, it was decided that a guidelines committee would be set up to look at the matter. The committee will report back to the Board at the next meeting. Ruth Hinerfeld accepted the request to chair the group.

AGENDA ITEM V. PLANS FOR UNA'S 25TH ANNIVERSARY

John Tessitore reported on the planning for the Association's 25th Anniversary. A public opinion poll on the UN will be conducted by the Roper Organization in the spring. A conference on the United Nations and the media will be held in September. The final event of the year will be the Anniversary Gala in December at the United Nations, discussed earlier. A brief discussion followed during which a Board member said that there was an error in the press kit regarding Eleanor Roosevelt. It was noted that Mrs. Roosevelt was not a founder of UNA or AAUN, although she was Chairman.

AGENDA ITEM VI. WASHINGTON UPDATE: WHITHER THE BUSH ADMINISTRATION?

Mr. Luck called on Steve Dimoff to report on the UN stance of the new Administration in Washington. Mr. Dimoff said that there appeared to be both good and bad news on most of the issues. For example, the Secretary General was the President's first guest at the White House, but a planned working meeting did not take place. Ambassador Thomas Pickering, who has had a distinguished career, will be the new US Permanent Representative to the UN. But the post is no longer a cabinet level position.

The Bush Administration has put forward a request that would provide for full funding and payment of arrearages to the UN over six years. But the request for voluntary contributions is very similar to the request of the previous administration and would result in a 45% reduction from current levels of US support for UNICEF.

The Administration has indicated its intention to support UN peacekeeping operations but there is still no formal legislation on Capitol Hill to provide funding for it. They have also decided not to request full funding for UNIFIL (only about two-thirds). The recent successes in UN peacekeeping seem to have set the stage for a more deliberative attitude toward the UN. The budget reform process seems to be working, according to Mr. Dimoff.

The Kassebaum Amendment will probably be modified or eliminated in 1989, but the President will retain discretion over UN payments. John Bolton of the Justice Department has been nominated as Assistant Secretary of State for International Organization Affairs. Congresswoman Olympia Snowe referred to the UNA project on UNESCO and the Congressional visit to the UN during Congressional hearings in Washington.

The US Commission on the Effectiveness of the UN is getting underway. The White House and Congress are authorized to nominate commissioners. Many in Congress felt it was useful when it was first introduced because of the controversies surrounding US-UN relations, but there is some question now as to its purpose.

AGENDA ITEM VII. NOVEMBER CONFERENCE OF UNA'S COUNCIL OF WASHINGTON REPRESENTATIVES

Jim Olson reported that the Council of Washington Representatives will sponsor a major conference in Washington, D.C. on US participation in the UN. It will be held from November 9th through the 11th. It will be co-sponsored by a number of other organizations. The Ford Foundation has approved a grant of \$50,000 toward the cost of the conference. Participants will include UNA membership, media and the government.

AGENDA ITEM VIII. MULTILATERAL PROJECT

Jeff Laurenti reported on the activities of the Multilateral Project. A citizen's action guide has been sent to all chapters to assist them in following up on the recommendations of last year's annual study on US priorities at the UN. An updated news bulletin is sent out every month. Elliot Richardson has met with a number of Congressmen to discuss the recommendations. His meeting with the Vice President also included Ed Luck and Jeff Laurenti. Vice President Quayle expressed interest in the report's discussion of the drug convention, arms control in the third world, and human rights. He asked that future materials on these subjects be sent to him.

Mr. Laurenti said that a new UNA national poll on the UN will be conducted by the Roper Organization this spring. The UNESCO panel is moving ahead under the chairmanship of Robert T. Stafford. A conference on non-offensive defense will be held with UNIDIR in September.

Environment is the subject under consideration for the 1990 Multilateral Project study. This will probably be the global issue of the 1990's and hopefully it will be possible to obtain funding for the project.

It was suggested that UNA convene on a regular basis the human rights organizations to make the Universal Declaration of Human Rights more effective. UNA staff is to explore with other organizations how this might be done.

AGENDA ITEM IX. SOVIET-AMERICAN PROJECT ON MULTILATERAL SECURITY

Jim Olson noted that Toby Gati was in Japan and therefore unable to attend the Board meeting. She will be taking an American group to Moscow in April for discussions on the new multilateral security project. This project will receive a total of \$1.2 million over three years from the Ford Foundation, MacArthur Foundation and the Carnegie Corporation.

Among the outreach aspects of this project will be an acceleration of the Soviet-American Model UN exchanges and the preparation of a videotape to be distributed to chapters and affiliated organizations. There will be Soviet-American meetings on the UN in Moscow in April and on economics in Washington in June. Following the latter meeting, some of the Soviet participants will attend the CCDP annual meeting in Minneapolis. Another teleconference will be held in October of 1990 which will be tied into UN Day. It will originate from both the Soviet Union and the United States.

AGENDA ITEM X. ECONOMIC POLICY COUNCIL

Peter Fromuth indicated that 1988 was a critical year for the EPC. The program succeeded in bringing on new chairmen and new panel members, as well as bolstering its financial position. The third world debt panel was very timely and its final report received much attention in the US, Europe, Latin America, Japan and Canada. Rodney Wagner testified before the Senate Banking Committee on the report and its recommendations played an important role in shaping the new debt approach of the Bush Administration..

EPC has embarked on a series of new panels under the rubric of "Integration Without Order." These panels include: "Washington and the World: National Policy in a Globalized Economy;" "Competing in a Global Market: The Challenge to Business and Labor;" and "Trade and Investment Relations After Ricardo."

AGENDA ITEM XI. OTHER BUSINESS

The Board was reminded that the next meeting will be held on June 13th. The Arthur Ross Conference Center will have major renovation work done over the next few months, to be completed in time for the June meeting. Arthur Ross will underwrite the costs.

The meeting was adjourned at 4:35 p.m.

Los Angeles Times

Thursday, May 11, 1989

Los Angeles Times

Dollar Diplomacy at the U.N.

U.S. Can Stall the PLO Without Holding Health Fund Hostage

By EDWARD C. LUCK
and JEFFREY LAURENTI

In the furor over the effort by the "State of Palestine" to gain membership in the World Health Organization, the United States risks being outmaneuvered again. Fearful that a majority of member nations would vote to seat the Palestinians, the United States has upped the ante with threats of cutting off all funding to this well-regarded U.N. agency.

On the face of it, Yasser Arafat's claim to a seat seems preposterous. Membership in WHO and the other major U.N. agencies is limited to states, and no matter how much Palestinians may feel a national identity in their hearts, on the ground they have not succeeded in establishing a state. The United States is right in formally opposing the PLO application: U.N. specialized agencies are not set up to decide political questions of state legitimacy. The determination on whether the Palestinians yet have a state under international law belongs in the International Court of Justice, not the World Health Assembly.

But has our government no other option than to threaten the financial ruin of a universally respected agency that serves our own well-being, as well as the rest of the world's? Is it really in our interest to be chased out of one U.N. agency after another by this PLO mite? Does this not suggest an underlying poverty of American vision and leadership in the world?

Clearly, going it alone is no solution. The problems affecting us—drugs and disease as much as war and weaponry—require coordinated international action for their solution. There has been remarkable growth in the American public's support for international law and institutions. In a survey conducted by the Roper Organization and released last week by the United Nations Assn., Americans overwhelmingly

urge that the United States and other countries give the United Nations more money to tackle global problems, such as the environment, food production, disaster relief, population control, human rights and regional conflict. Far from supporting a funding cut for the World Health Organization, the poll respondents favored (53% to 8%) more funding for curbing disease and improving health care around the world. By a surprising 58% to 15%, they said that the United States should accept World Court decisions even if we disagree with them. And by 60% to 14%, Americans said that the United States should always pay its dues to the United Nations rather than use withholdings as leverage to compel changes that we favor.

Apparently, Presidents Reagan and Bush had rightly gauged the direction of public opinion when they pledged that the United States will pay its assessed dues and its arrearages to the United Nations. But now, in the first real test of this new-found commitment, we have taken a giant step backward.

This is the larger dilemma facing U.S. policy-makers: How can we exercise effective leverage in international organizations without resorting to illegal and increasingly unpopular tactics like withholding funds?

First, we need to regain a position of leadership and respect in international organizations, through constructive initiatives, the seeking of consensus and the advocacy of positive American values. A policy that is all sticks and no carrots provides neither influence nor credibility. And effective leadership requires building coalitions, not standing tall in splendid isolation.

We have to pick the right targets: in this case, the Palestine Liberation Organization and the WHO members that support Palestinian membership. The health or-

ganization is the victim here, not the culprit. It would make more sense to threaten to suspend the U.S. bilateral dialogue with the PLO. Or we could threaten to cut funding to the U.N. humanitarian agency that provides assistance to the Palestinian people—on the theory that the self-proclaimed state should take care of its own—than to cripple WHO.

If we feel we must withhold funds from the United Nations, we could cut our voluntary contributions rather than withhold the legally assessed dues. This distinction, too often ignored in policy-making, is important: The first course is legal, the second is not.

Finally, we should treat disputes in multilateral bodies as important factors in our bilateral dealings with other countries. Member governments, not WHO physicians or UNESCO teachers, are responsible for decisions about membership and other controversial matters. We have a host of bilateral relationships in areas such as aid and trade, for example, with countries supporting the PLO. If we really attached importance to the Palestinian membership question, then we would take a hard look at these relationships, not just WHO funding.

After all, U.S. participation in U.N. organizations is not a favor we bestow on the rest of the world. It is in Americans' own interests. The American people recognize this, as the Roper poll demonstrates. More than ever, they understand the vital importance of strengthening, not undermining, international organizations when faced with the growing need for global cooperation.

Edward C. Luck is president of the United Nations Assn. of the United States of America, a private organization based in New York. Jeffrey Laurenti is the group's executive director of multilateral studies.

MONDAY, MAY 8, 1989

Global Topics on the Superpower Agenda: Not So Utopian After All

By Richard N. Gardner

NEW YORK — When Secretary of State James Baker meets Wednesday with Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze in Moscow, the traditional items on the U.S.-Soviet agenda — arms control, regional conflicts, bilateral relations and human rights — will be supplemented by a new "fifth basket" of global issues. A recent meeting in Moscow of experts convened by the United Nations Association for the two countries suggested that this may be an opportunity to test Mr. Gorbachev's "new thinking" on foreign policy and match it with some "new thinking" from the Bush administration.

Until recently, the idea of superpower cooperation on global problems seemed utopian — even now, some in the Defense and State departments call it "global baloney."

Indeed, for years Moscow battered the core principles of the UN Charter: the nonuse of force save in self-defense, multilateral cooperation in solving economic and social problems, and universal respect of human rights.

But Mr. Gorbachev now calls for a broad repudiation of traditional Soviet foreign policy doctrines — a search for common interests instead of international class warfare, a respect of the concept of nonintervention instead of the export of revolution by force, a strengthening rather than a weakening of the authority of international organizations, and the entry of the Soviet Union into the world trade and financial system in place of a policy of autarchy. How far can we trust Mr. Gorbachev's version of neo-Wilsonianism? Experience justifies caution.

One reason not to dismiss Gorbachevian rhetoric is that Soviet leaders

are offering the same "new thinking" to domestic audiences as to foreign audiences — a speech last summer by Mr. Shevardnadze to his ministry's cadres is a case in point.

There is, moreover, the lengthening list of Soviet deeds in support of Soviet words: the payment of some back dues to the United Nations; the acceptance of World Court jurisdiction in interpreting five human rights treaties; the withdrawal of troops from Afghanistan; the effort, along with other nations, to help end the Iran-Iraq war and to create a peacekeeping force for Namibia.

In the Moscow meeting last month, senior Soviet officials and academics told American experts of their desire to go further. They underlined their interest in strengthening the UN's capacity to avoid and contain regional conflicts through preventive diplomacy and peacekeeping forces. They called for the speedy conclusion of a chemical weapons treaty, the creation of a common regime to limit missile exports to Third World countries, and the establishment of a UN Environment Council at the ministerial level to coordinate global action on various threats to the biosphere.

And they hinted that their government might accept the optional protocol to the UN Covenant on Political and Civil Rights, under which Soviet citizens could petition a UN committee over violations of their human rights by the Soviet government.

The reasons for all these changes, past and prospective, are not difficult to understand. An overstretched Soviet empire with a sick economy needs

agreed rules and multilateral arrangements to protect its interests in regional trouble spots while enabling it to maintain some political influence.

More responsible behavior on their part, the Soviets clearly hope, will open new possibilities for badly needed trade and joint ventures. Moreover, Mr. Gorbachev evidently believes that making new multilateral economic and human rights commitments will help him institutionalize his still fragile domestic reforms.

All this does not mean that the Cold War has ended or that we can ignore the need to maintain a secure balance of power through a strong defense and strong alliances. We cannot be sure that Mr. Gorbachev will survive or that, if he does, his "new thinking" will prevail against hardliners in the Politburo.

But his approach offers an opportunity to advance U.S. interests and the general human interest. America should seek to tie him to his rhetoric and to call the Soviets to account when their deeds fail to match their words — as with their sale of long-range SU-24 bombers to Libya and their votes to expel Israel from the General Assembly. As! the Bush administration should prepare an agenda to put alongside Mr. Gorbachev's, thus adding, at long last, a strong multilateral dimension to the U.S.-Soviet dialogue.

For if Mr. Gorbachev is able to complete the course on which he has embarked, the main threats to the future security of the superpowers may be not from each other but from ominous developments in the Third World — not only terrorism and drug-traf-

ficking, but the presence of missiles, chemical weapons and nuclear arms in the armories of unstable governments and a multiplication of conflicts fueled by underdevelopment, overpopulation and ecological catastrophe.

The Baker-Shevardnadze meeting could help in preparing proposals for global cooperation to be examined at the first Bush-Gorbachev meeting. Such a development would not be utopian but intensely practical. For

George Bush's America no less than for Mikhail Gorbachev's Russia, in a time of military, economic and environmental challenges, multilateralism has become realpolitik.

The writer, a professor of international law at Columbia University, chairs a UN Association dialogue with Soviet counterparts on multilateral cooperation. He contributed this view to the International Herald Tribune.

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STATEMENT OF
EDWARD C. LUCK, PRESIDENT
UNITED NATIONS ASSOCIATION OF THE U.S.A.

SUBMITTED TO THE
SUBCOMMITTEE ON INTERNATIONAL OPERATIONS
COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN AFFAIRS
MAY 9, 1989

Mr. Chairman, I very much appreciate the opportunity to appear before your distinguished sub-committee to present my personal views on the current controversy stemming from the application of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) for full membership in the World Health Organization (WHO). You should be commended for convening these hearings so promptly. Even as we meet here today, decisions are being made at the World Health Assembly in Geneva which could have a profound effect on the future of the UN system and American participation in it. Moreover, Mr. Chairman, so far debate on this question has produced far more heat than light.

The issue before us is not the PLO, Israel, or the Middle East peace process. Whatever one's views on these subjects, the problems at hand have to do (1) with international law and legal remedies, (2) with maintaining the integrity and effectiveness of WHO and other UN agencies, and (3) with how best to further American interests and leadership in the international system. If we ask the wrong questions, we will get the wrong answers -- and bad policy.

The first question, it seems to me, is whether the PLO is legally entitled to sit in the World Health Assembly as a full member "state," as opposed to its current "observer" status. My reading of customary international law is that it does not possess the full attributes of statehood as the concept is commonly understood. The PLO does not have a clearly defined territory, does not exercise effective authority over the population within that territory, and it is not responsible for the conduct of international relations nor capable of entering into treaties or fulfilling obligations under them. But as noted in the attached legal analysis prepared by my colleague Jeffrey Laurenti -- which I would like to submit for the formal record -- this is a somewhat fuzzy area of international law and there are legitimate contrary viewpoints, though we find the PLO claim to be the government of the "state of Palestine" to be far-fetched.

The United States and its western colleagues should welcome the opportunity to test the PLO claims in the International Court of Justice (the "World Court"), the only legal recourse in such a case, and should urge the World Health Assembly to seek an advisory opinion from the Court. There is no guarantee, of course, whether or how the Court would rule on the issue. If the Court chose not to take up the case, then at least WHO would have a year

until the next World Health Assembly to find another solution. If it does, then the Court's membership -- six judges from OECD countries, two from the socialist bloc, and seven from developing countries -- suggests a close decision. But it should be recognized that the question of the attributes of statehood, as opposed to sympathy for the Palestinian cause, is a very sensitive issue at the moment for the Soviet Union, China, and other countries with growing nationality problems at home. Indeed, there is reason to believe that the world is entering a period of global stability among the major powers coupled with chronic regional instability spurred by various subnational and transnational movements. In such an environment, there will be many challenges to the concept of statehood and a clear opinion from the World Court could be very helpful.

While the legal route poses risks both for the American position and for the already mixed reputation of the World Court, a positive outcome would serve to inoculate the whole UN system from similar PLO challenges in other bodies. There are UN agencies, after all, like UNESCO, where the US neither sits nor has any financial leverage. The various compromises currently under consideration in Geneva offer the possibility of defusing the present crisis, but they fail to address the underlying issues or to establish a precedent which would discourage similar PLO efforts in other agencies in the future. The US rests its case, moreover, on an important legal principle, so it makes more sense first to seek a legal recourse than to match one illegality (the seating of a non-state) with another (the withholding of assessed dues).

Treating the situation as simply a contest of political will and financial power also entails serious risks, not only for the good work of WHO but also for American prestige and leadership. Arafat's new moderate line has the PLO on a roll politically, and it is not in America's interest (nor Israel's) to have this issue treated as a popularity contest or as a referendum on the Middle East. If the PLO should balk at having the issue taken up by the World Court, however, that in itself would substantially enhance the American position in the controversy as the party most interested in upholding and strengthening international legal norms.

I have no doubt, Mr. Chairman, that the PLO action represents a grave challenge to the UN system and that the United States needed to find a way to demonstrate the depth of its concern as a way of spurring its allies and moderate developing countries to action. The central UN in New York, through its General Assembly and Security Council, was designed to handle international political controversies. It is meant to be a highly political and sometimes contentious place, because it is only through the airing of differences that sound compromise and consensus can be produced. But the UN's family of functional and specialized agencies is not. If bodies like the World Health Assembly are allowed to degenerate into mini-General Assemblies, then their valuable work of helping to raise the health, welfare and living standards of the world's people would be seriously compromised. The broad international consensus which sustains them, moreover, would be torn piece by piece.

There is a second reason, Mr. Chairman, why we should be concerned by this move toward politicizing WHO. The PLO effort is a throwback to the confrontational politics which characterized so much of the UN in the 1970s. That was an era in which the non-aligned countries tried to dominate the UN agenda through sheer weight of numbers and strength of political conviction.

Their tactics ended up undermining their interests and the reputation of the world body. As a result, the United Nations was plunged into a deep political and fiscal crisis, from which it is just emerging. With the UN gaining positive momentum on so many fronts, it would be tragic for its members to permit such an unfortunate step backwards.

I do have serious doubts, however, as to whether the Administration's threat to suspend all voluntary and assessed payments was the best available option. It, too, represents a throwback to an earlier era in which the US acted as if the only way it could exercise leverage was through withholding financial contributions. But the resort to illegal withholdings was, in fact, a sign of American weakness, not strength. President Reagan's pledge last fall that the US would henceforth meet its financial commitments and pay its arrearages to the UN seemed to mark the end of that unfortunate era. And, until now, President Bush had given every indication that he endorsed this important principle.

Over the years, the United States has resorted to financial threats too often. They stir resentment among the other member states and, as agencies adjust to reduced American participation, lose their clout with repeated application. A policy which is all sticks and no carrots builds neither influence nor credibility. Moreover, if other states employed similar tactics, the result would be chaos in the UN and fury in Washington, D.C.

The US has any number of legal options, most of which could be targetted at the PLO and its supporters, rather than at WHO. Our policy should at least make a clear distinction between the victim and the perpetrator.

First, if we feel that this issue is really so important, then it would make more sense to threaten to suspend the US bilateral dialogue with the PLO or to cut funding to the UN humanitarian agency which provides assistance to the Palestinian people -- on the theory that the self-proclaimed "state" should take care of its own -- than to cripple WHO.

Second, we should raise the visibility and priority given to multilateral questions in our bilateral dealings with other national governments which, after all, are responsible for decisions in international organizations. We have a host of bilateral relationships with countries supporting the PLO which could be altered if we really attach importance to this issue.

Third, we could withhold voluntary rather than legally assessed contributions.

Fourth, we could refuse to sit with the PLO in the World Health Assembly, thereby suspending our membership so long as the PLO is considered a member state, while providing substantial voluntary contributions to those WHO projects deemed most worthy and urgent. I do not recommend this action, especially in light of our UNESCO experience, where the previous Administration failed to live up to its promise to fund similar multilateral programs after our withdrawal from UNESCO. This option, however, would be a much more logical and legal response than the one chosen, though both punish the wrong party.

Whatever mix of punitive options seem best in the short-run, over the long-run the critical need is for the US to regain a position of leadership and respect in international organizations, through constructive initiatives, the seeking of consensus, and the advocacy of positive American values.

There is no doubt, Mr. Chairman, that the American people are ready for such a change in our posture at the United Nations. In a survey released by the Roper Organization and the United Nations Association last week, Americans overwhelmingly urged that the UN be given more money -- even from the US -- to tackle a variety of global problems including for WHO's mandate to curb disease and improve health care. By a 58 to 15 percent margin they said that the US should accept World Court decisions even if it disagrees with them. And by 60 to 14 percent, Americans said that the US should always pay its dues to the UN rather than use withholdings as leverage to compel changes in the UN we favor. The American people, more than ever, understand the vital importance of strengthening international organizations and US participation in them if we are to meet the growing demands of global interdependence. The events of the next few days will tell us whether our government and those of the other 165 members of WHO also understand this basic reality of contemporary life on this small planet.



Who Can Be A State for WHO?

CONSIDERATIONS OF LAW AFFECTING MEMBERSHIP FOR PALESTINE

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5/1/89

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The Problem. Yassir Arafat has written to director-general Hiroshi Nakajima asking for the admission of the "State of Palestine" into the World Health Organization. WHO's annual World Health Assembly convenes on May 8, and among the organizational business it takes up at the outset is the application of states for membership.

To Americans in particular, the affair reeks of crassest politics, since the PLO's motive for applying for WHO membership plainly has little to do with health, and everything to do with political legitimacy. However, unlike resolutions critical of Israeli occupation practices, the question of admission to membership is indisputably an appropriate item for an agency's agenda, and each agency's constitution specifies its qualifications for admission.

WHO eligibility. In the case of the WHO constitution, "Membership in the Organization shall be open to all States" (Article 3). Those that are members of the United Nations are automatically entitled to join; other states "may apply to become Members, and shall be admitted as Members when their application has been approved by a simple majority of the Health Assembly" (Article 6). (Territories not responsible for the conduct of their external affairs may, on application of the states responsible for their foreign relations, be admitted as "associate members" (Article 8).)

By contrast, admission to membership in the U.N. General Assembly is subject to a veto by any of the five permanent members of the Security Council. Hence the specialized agencies have long been a vehicle for states to acquire political legitimacy even when a great power refuses to acknowledge their right to existence. A number of states politically objectionable to either the U.S. or U.S.S.R. have gained admission to WHO and other specialized agencies first, with the hostile great powers only later relenting and allowing them into the U.N. proper. For years this was true of West Germany (and also, thanks to American veto threats, of East Germany); even today, South Korea is a member of WHO, UNESCO and the other specialized agencies but is barred from the U.N. by Soviet opposition.

Legality. Washington, of course, remains politically opposed to a Palestinian state, period; but this membership question raises profound legal issues as well as political concerns. After all, although nearly all U.S. allies support

a bistate solution in Palestine (and virtually all of them joined in the 138-vote, G.A. majority last fall recalling the 1947 U.N. partition plan and prescribing peace based on a Palestinian state in the Occupied Territories), they nonetheless deny recognition to Arafat's proclaimed State of Palestine on the sound legal ground that it does not meet the traditional fourfold criteria of statehood (territory, population, administrative authority and management of foreign relations)—attributes possessed by, say, the Vatican, but not (yet) by "Palestine."

In fact, the legal case against state status for Arafat's "government," and therefore against its admissibility into WHO, is strong (though not airtight). The Western democracies are persuaded by it. But a large number of other states have extended in varying degrees recognition of the Palestinian proclamation of statehood. (The PLO claims recognition of its state by over 92 nations. However, it counts some whose statements have been carefully nuanced; the Soviet Union's, for example, says artfully only that "it has supported the decision of the Palestine National Council to found a Palestinian State within the framework of a comprehensive Middle East settlement.") And an argument can be made in international law that an entity is a state if enough states say it's a state; indeed, recognition by legitimate states is one attribute of state legitimacy even under customary law.

Are the West's legal complaints fundamental or pretextual? And if they are fundamental, where can the legal merits of the issue be taken seriously?

Fundamental legal issues. While most scholars in international law believe the legal case is fairly one-sided, it is not transparently open-and-shut. First and foremost, no treaty or convention among a majority of the world's states has ever established the definition of statehood in international law, although the fourfold test was acknowledged in the inter-American Montevideo convention; the standards for state legitimacy derive from customary law.

The widely accepted criteria for legitimate statehood are:

- (1) the purported state must have clearly defined territory;
- (2) the described territory must have a resident population;
- (3) the purported state must have effective authority over the population within the territory; and
- (4) the purported state must be responsible for the conduct of its international relations, capable of entering into treaties and fulfilling obligations under them.

On criterion (1), the PLO has yet to specify its territorial claim. The G.A. resolution adopted last fall refers to "the need to enable the people of Palestine to exercise their sovereignty over their territory occupied since 1967." While this formulation makes fairly clear that the 138 countries supporting the resolution believe a Palestinian state should emerge in the West Bank and Gaza, the carefully chosen language of its clever drafters still allows hardliners to dream of asserting control over "their" other territory

that became Israeli twenty years before. However, in a court the claim to territory would almost certainly have to be made more, and for the PLO uncomfortably, clear.

The Palestinians' problem is dramatized by the stationery, which has no return address, on which Arafat requested admission to WHO: A map suggests a claim to all of traditional Palestine, including the entire territory of another internationally recognized member state. There might be some advantage to the peace process if the PLO did formally specify a territorial claim, although it could be painful to the PLO coalition. (Interestingly for the PLO legal case, the same G.A. text plainly if implicitly acknowledges that the Palestinians do not yet "exercise their sovereignty.")

On criterion (2), there is no doubt that a population resides within the assumed territory of the presumed state, and there is a powerful argument to be made that this population meets a far stricter standard of consciously identifying itself as a national entity.

On criterion (3), the PLO can muster some, but only a feeble, claim to exercise of any authority—if one counts the intifadeh as demonstration of "authority". While the Palestine National Fund purports to administer services to the Palestinian diaspora, within the claimed territory it does not seem to control the provision of government services. This criterion would probably be the central battleground of any legal proceeding.

On criterion (4), the PLO seems to act politically in its own independent fashion, and Arafat has clearly pursued his own policy of relations with states. His case on this count is strongly buttressed by the recognition that many states have afforded him as a legitimate government; but while many may allow that he can enter into treaties, it is harder to demonstrate his council's ability to fulfill treaty obligations.

It would seem that the PLO would have problems meeting this "declaratory" legal standard. Some therefore note that governments-in-exile have been recognized, and even allowed to participate in international fora, pending the liberation of their national territory. But all the cited instances involve a once-legitimate regime of an already recognized state during a period of dispossession from its territory by foreign invasion (e.g., German-occupied European states in World War II and the Khmer Rouge government in Cambodia); even militant anticommunists in the U.S. have acknowledged that U.S. recognition of an Afghan tribal government must await mujaheddin occupation of a city and establishment of a civil administration there. Extending this principle to a state not heretofore in existence would open up new and, for many, unwelcome possibilities for the future.

There are, of course, many other potential states waiting to be born. The three Baltic states still have successor "governments" holding legation status in Washington (and, to judge by recent events, continued sense of national identity among the native population). Tibet has indigenous leadership in exile with a clear and historical claim to rule and to recognition. Eritrea likewise has a historical claim of distinct identity. Only two decades ago another African

would-be state (with scant historical basis), Biafra, excited considerable sympathy in much of the world. Polisario guerrillas claim a right to statehood for an expanse of desert territory evacuated by Spain and annexed by Morocco. Each of these claimants of statehood, however, lacks essential criteria (most notably #3) for recognition as states under customary law; even if majorities of states were to recognize them politically, under application of a declaratory standard they could not today be considered "states" admissible as members of inter-state agencies.

The legal fallback for a PLO claim of existing statehood is "constitutive" recognition—that is, that recognition by enough states might overcome the declaratory deficiencies. (After all, the nice legal distinctions about governments-in-exile were made ex post facto of political decisions in legally gray areas; and other legal distinctions made by various State Department and Foreign Ministry lawyers—e.g., on "puppet governments" of divided countries—have been consigned to the dustbin after most countries decided politically to act contrariwise.) This is the best argument the PLO can muster in seeking to persuade scholars of international law to back off from the declaratory standard. Once lawyers and jurists conclude it's just a political question, the next political steps are obvious, and the PLO's assertion of statehood will become an accomplished fact.

After "the State of Palestine" is admitted to a single specialized agency, the constitutive argument becomes compelling to any tribunal. Hence if a legal case is to be made on "declaratory" grounds, it needs to be made before the Health Assembly (or, say, UNESCO's General Conference this fall) would vote to seat Palestine.

Fora for legal decision. If one believes that there really is a fundamental legal issue at stake—and with it, the credibility and legitimacy of the U.N. system—obviously the forum, for resolving it definitively is not a highly political body like the World Health Assembly (or the national legislature of a single member state). There are few fora that can authoritatively consider the question. Hence UNA's recommendation that the Health Assembly majority ask for an advisory opinion from the International Court of Justice, or at least (and less authoritatively) set up its own panel of legal scholars to review the issues.



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TESTIMONY BY RODNEY B. WAGNER

**VICE CHAIRMAN CREDIT POLICY COMMITTEE
OF
MORGAN GUARANTY TRUST COMPANY
OF NEW YORK**

Before the

**SUBCOMMITTEE ON INTERNATIONAL FINANCE
AND MONETARY POLICY**

Of the

**U.S. SENATE COMMITTEE ON BANKING,
HOUSING AND URBAN AFFAIRS**

FEBRUARY 8, 1982

Mr. Chairman and members of the Committee, first I want to convey Tony Solomon's regrets that due to an unexpected illness in his family he is unable to be here today to testify, and I am substituting for him.

Together we co-chaired a panel on Third World Debt during 1988 that was organized under the auspices of the Economic Policy Council of the U.S. United Nation Associates. The panel consisted of 29 members and included executives of commercial banks, investment banks, legal and accounting firms, labor unions and several senior officials from multilateral institutions and debtor countries serving in this own capacity. We had six meetings and a report was published on September 7, which was the result of this group's deliberations. Copies of the report have been provided to your staff.

For the benefit of those who have not had the opportunity to read the report, I will briefly summarize it.

Progress by the Lessor Developed Countries has been slow and many have not done well. There was concern by the Panel that the fragile consensus among debtor countries, commercial banks, and major creditor countries built since 1982 could well fracture and that the costs to both creditor and debtor countries would be high. A solution to the debt problem and economic recovery will require both domestic reforms and a reduction of the resource gap. This resource gap is unlikely to be bridged in most cases by the current level of new lending.

The panel focused on the debt problem and came up with four general principals:

- 1) The need for active leadership by the governments of the major industrial countries and by the multilateral institutions whose policies they largely set.
- 2) Continued structural reforms by the LDC's are essential.
- 3) A resource gap exists and must be met if growth is to occur.
- 4) Debt service reduction should be given more attention.

The panel then examined the shortfall in resources and this became a central focus of the Panel. To us there were two routes - new money flowing into the countries or reduce the amount being paid out.

New money has been successful for some. Brazil concluded a \$5.2 billion program in 1988 that included the IBRD, IMF, Paris Club, and the banks. However, new money is becoming increasingly difficult to get: Strategies have changed - in the U.S. many banks are concentrating on the domestic markets, and in Europe 1992 is fast approaching; larger reserves for bad debts and stronger capital have positioned some banks to turn away from and new money participations; risk based capital requirements; and tax and accounting rules also have not helped.

All of these make it increasingly difficult to marshal the funds needed.

Banks also pushed for some enhancements on new money from multilateral agencies. This was done through co-financing, cross default provisions, and guaranties, but there has been of limited success partly due to concerns over appearing to "bail out the banks".

Given the difficulties in continuing new money programs, we looked closer at the other way to close the gap - debt service reductions. These are already happening in various forms:

- 1) Debt for equity swaps, which Chile uses extensively.
- 2) Private sector debt for debt swaps - used in Mexico, Argentina, and Brazil.
- 3) Exit bonds, as in Brazil.
- 4) Debt buybacks used in Bolivia and Chile.
- 5) Nature swaps - though used infrequently, these could expand.
- 6) Debt for trade - a few were done in Peru and now provision has been made for these in Brazil's latest program.

All of these require exchanging bank debt for an instrument of added value.

Of these we focused particularly on debt for debt swaps. The swap can be done at a discount or at par with a reduction in the interest rate. In either case, the debt service drops. The key to a successful debt swap is enhancement of the new debt instrument. This can be done by a guarantee of principal and/or interest.

To be successful the Panel believes these swaps must be done on a voluntary and negotiated base, case by case. The Panel believes any global approach is too complex to be practicable.

The Panel was concerned with how conditionality can be maintained once a debt reduction program has been completed. This is difficult to do, but we believe these countries will have ongoing needs for financing and these will provide opportunities for review of progress made or not made as the case may be and a refusal of future funding.

We came down to six conclusions:

- 1) Governments need to exert strong leadership.
- 2) Structural reforms by the LDC's are essential.
- 3) The resource gap for some may be too great to cover with economic reforms, and governments and banks must work in concert to close the gap.
- 4) The Panel urged the U.S. Congress to approve the U.S. contributions to the World Bank's general capital increase.
- 5) The Panel believes voluntary debt service reductions should be pursued as a serious alternative or compliment to more lending with official encouragement and support when appropriate.

- 6) Recognition that if debt reduction is carried out cooperatively and voluntarily through negotiation and mutual agreement by the principal parties, it would have the desired effect not only of reducing outstanding claims against a country, but of aiding economic recovery and bringing about "creditworthiness"

Thank you for this opportunity to be here today.



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US Public Attitudes on the United Nations
A Poll conducted by the Roper Organization
Sponsored by the United Nations Association of the USA
March 1989

Q. 1 In general, do you feel that the United Nations is doing a good job or a poor job in trying to solve the problems it has had to face?

Good job	38%
Poor job	29%
Don't know	34%

Q. 2 Do you think that the U.S. should increase or decrease its participation in the U.N.?

Increase	34%
Decrease	16%
No change (volunteered)	31%
Don't know	19%

Q. 3 Do you think the United States and the other U.N. member countries should provide the United Nations with more money that it has now to (read items below), or less money, or are they providing the U.N. with the right amount of money now for that purpose?

	MORE	LESS	RIGHT AMOUNT	DON'T KNOW
a. Stop disease and improve health care around the world	53%	8%	28%	11%
b. Help poor countries develop their economies	40%	15%	35%	10%
c. Slow population growth by providing birth control information and devices	48%	11%	30%	12%
d. Help increase world food production	58%	7%	26%	9%
e. Improve and protect the environment	58%	6%	26%	10%
f. Bring peace to regional conflicts	46%	11%	31%	11%
g. Provide relief to victims of disaster	53%	6%	32%	9%
h. Help manage the world's economy	31%	20%	36%	14%
i. Monitor violations of human rights throughout the world	45%	12%	31%	12%

Q.4 (A) Should the member countries of the U.N. give or not give the United Nations the power to control the manufacture and spread of chemical weapons by the countries of the world, including the United States?

(B) What about nuclear weapons--should the U.N. have or not have the power to control the manufacture and spread of nuclear weapons in both the U.S. and other countries?

	CHEMICAL WEAPONS	NUCLEAR WEAPONS
Should	49%	46%
Should not	33%	36%
Don't know	18%	18%

Q. 5 When there are conflicts among other countries where the United States has an interest, should the United States be prepared to use U.S. forces so that the conflicts are resolved the way we think they ought to be, or should we support the use of United Nations forces so that they are resolved in a way that tries to accommodate all sides?

U.S. forces	17%
U.N. forces	49%
Depends (volunteered)	20%
Don't know	14%

Q. 6 Some say environmental problems are now worldwide and that unified international action on such things as pollution is needed. Others say different countries have different priorities, and environmental problems should be handled on a country-by-country basis. Do you think the United States and other member countries should or should not give the United Nations more power to deal with environmental problems on a worldwide basis?

Should	56%
Should not	27%
Don't know	17%

Q. 7 As you may know there is an organization called the "World Court" that tries to settle international disputes peacefully among countries that accept its jurisdiction. If the World Court finds that actions by the United States Government have violated international law, should the U.S. accept the Court's decisions or should it feel free to ignore the Court's decisions if it disagrees with them?

Accept Court's decisions	58%
Ignore the Court	15%
Don't know	26%

Q. 8 Do you think that an international agency on trade negotiations should be given the power to settle trade disputes among nations, or should the U.S. and other countries rely on their own actions against trade competitors?

International agency	25%
Rely on own actions	54%
Don't know	21%

Q. 9 Do you believe that U.N. member states, including the U.S., should always pay their full dues to the U.N. on a regular basis, or should a country--perhaps even the U.S.--hold back its dues to pressure other members to agree to changes it believes are needed?

Always pay	60%
Hold back	14%
Depends (vol.)	14%
Don't know	12%



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The U.N. at a Watershed in U.S. Opinion

Jeffrey Laurenti

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<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Use U.N. rather than U.S. forces to intervene in regional conflicts • Increase financial support for U.N. peacekeeping • Give to U.N. agencies control over the manufacture and spread of chemical weapons and of nuclear weapons 	
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<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Give good marks to the U.N. for its job performance -- making 1988/89 the turnabout year for the first positive U.N. job ratings by the U.S. public since 1975 	
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The U.N. at a Watershed in U.S. Opinion: Pragmatic Multilateralism in 1989

Jeffrey Laurenti

May 1989

The opinion survey conducted by the Roper Organization in March 1989 for UNA-USA uncovers swelling support in the U.S. public for pragmatic multilateralism. The survey demonstrates not only the persistence of Americans' traditional attachment to the U.N. system of international cooperation, but their increasing realization that many problems have outgrown the ability of national governments (even of a superpower) to solve alone. Hence Americans declare themselves ready -- far readier than many politicians and commentators may realize -- to assign to U.N. agencies greater responsibility for addressing these problems, and to give the U.N. system the authority and money needed to handle those global responsibilities.

Earlier surveys in this decade have shown continued U.S. public support for the purposes of the Organization and for U.S. participation in it, but mixed with deep frustration about its performance. Paradoxically, these surveys suggest that Americans' support for transferring more power to the U.N. system has grown even at a time when that system has come under harsh and sustained political attack in Washington.

The Roper Organization's questions posed tough choices between national and global perspectives. On most issues -- like environment, resolution of conflicts and arms control -- their answers suggest that Americans believe worldwide problems need addressing through worldwide institutions, and that they would entrust greater power to the U.N. system rather than leave these problems to various governments pursuing individual national interests. Such support ran across regional, class and partisan lines on question after question. And it was most pronounced in the "baby boom" generation born between 1945 and 1960.

Peace and Security

The Roper poll probed public thinking on a number of security issues.

- Asked whether the U.S. should intervene in **regional conflicts** to produce a result advantageous to U.S. interests, or support U.N. intervention to produce some accommodation for all sides, Americans by a **3-to-1 margin** support the multilateral rather than unilateral alternative (49% to 17%).

This finding would have obvious implications for U.S. policy choices in Lebanon and the Persian Gulf in the 1980s (where unilateral interventions proved unpopular with the public). For the future, it suggests that U.S. policymakers will find a far larger reservoir of public backing for efforts to involve -- rather than undercut -- the U.N. as peacemaker in regional conflicts.

The "baby boom" generation is particularly emphatic in this preference for U.N. intervention -- at 52%, its level of support is five points higher than all the other age groups in the population. Interestingly, support for military unilateralism is highest among the young and drops with increasing age (from a high of 20% among those under age 30 to a low of 14% among those over 60). There is some regional variation -- the margin for U.N. intervention is "only" 2-to-1 in the South (41% to 21%), a 20-point spread compared to the 32-point spread nationwide.

But *even those who want to reduce U.S. involvement in the U.N.* prefer U.N. peacekeeping intervention over U.S. involvement (42% to 33%). Those who rate the U.N.'s job performance poorly also would rather have the U.N. intervene (50% to 25%) as do those who support withholding of U.N. dues (45% to 25%).

While two thirds of respondents state a general principle on intervention, 20% demur, instead volunteering that their preference for either U.S. or U.N. intervention would depend on the particular circumstances of the crisis situation.

- Americans support **higher funding for U.N. peace and security activities**. By a 4-to-1 margin, they believe the U.N.'s member states, specifically including the U.S. government, should provide *more* tax money, rather than less, for U.N. efforts to bring peace to regional conflicts (46% for more money and 11% for less money, compared to 31% satisfied with maintaining current expenditure levels).

- Consistent with Roper's findings of support for stronger U.N. peacekeeping, a 1988 poll conducted for "Americans Talk Security," part of a year-long series of studies on U.S. attitudes on national and global peace and security issues, found a 3-to-1 majority in support of creating a U.N. "standing peacekeeping force to help resolve regional conflicts" (71% in favor, 23% opposed).

- **Trends.** Support for U.N. peace and security activities may be growing as a consequence of media attention to the U.N.'s recent successes in winding down several long-running conflicts. In 1983 another Roper poll found only a narrow plurality that thought the U.N. should "be given

more power to deal with preventing local conflicts" (41% to 31%). While a trend cannot be directly drawn between that result and Roper's 1989 question about funding, the fact that the latter raises the specter of money out of the taxpayer's pocket yet *still* shows more positive numbers than in 1983 suggests considerable movement of public opinion in support of U.N. peacemaking activities.

- Americans support giving U.N. agencies power to **control the spread and manufacture of chemical weapons** (49% to 33%) -- and even of **nuclear weapons** as well (46% to 36%). The one third that is skeptical of a U.N. role -- a relatively large minority -- shows there is more willingness to rely on unilateral policies to provide for national defense than there is to intervene in overseas conflicts. Yet these numbers still show substantial pluralities for a U.N. role in policing worldwide arms control; they suggest that many Americans hopefully see in the U.N. a way of safely lightening the defense burden of all sides.

While on most other questions there is little difference between men's and women's attitudes, men give stronger backing to control by U.N. agencies over both kinds of weapons. A clear majority of men favors U.N. control over chemical weapons (53% vs. 32%); a small but statistically significant bloc of these (five percentage points) shifts on nuclear weapons (48% vs. 37%), evidently seeing in them too important a U.S. advantage to yield to international supervision. A higher percentage of women is undecided on U.N. control of both (22% undecided on chemical and 20% undecided on nuclear arms, compared to 15% among men on both); unlike men, women give equal support to international control of nuclear weapons (44%) as to control of chemical weapons (45%).

Adherents of *both parties give equal support* to U.N. policing on chemical and on nuclear weapons, and both show equal minorities in opposition to such a U.N. role on chemical weapons. However, a slightly larger minority of Republicans (41%) opposes U.N. control over *nuclear* weapons than of Democrats (35%). Among regions, Southerners are less supportive and correspondingly more undecided (*not* more hostile) on such U.N. arms control powers (43% support on chemical weapons, compared to 52% in the rest of the country; 41% on nuclear weapons, compared to 49% in the other three regions).

While even those giving negative job ratings to the U.N. favor U.N. control on chemical weapons (50% to 42%), a narrow plurality of these opposes U.N. control on nuclear arms (45% to 48%). The small minority of harsh U.N. critics -- those who want to diminish U.S. participation in the Organization -- reject multilateral controls over either category of weapons.

International Law and the World Court

- Asked whether the U.S. government should abide by an adverse decision of the **World Court** or feel free to ignore it, an overwhelming **4-to-1** majority of Americans opts for accepting the rule of international law as defined by the Court (58% to 15%).

Today's 30-to-45-year-olds are the strongest multilateralists (65% to 13%); senior citizens are the least favorable age group, yet even these heavily support the Court as legitimate arbiter of international law by a 3-to-1 margin (49% to 16%). There is little difference in respondents' views regardless of income, profession, region or education. Democrats are marginally more supportive than Republicans, but

self-described conservatives are equally as strongly behind the Court as liberals.

Americans giving the U.N. poor marks for performance nonetheless give the World Court better than 2-to-1 backing (57% to 25%). Those backing U.S. military intervention in conflicts nonetheless favor adherence to Court rulings, 49% to 34% (the margin among those who favor U.N. intervention is a lopsided 75% to 12%). And even those who want to reduce U.S. involvement in the U.N. are evenly divided on the U.S. government's obligation to accept Court decisions (42% to 41%).

- Another survey for "Americans Talk Security" in 1988 found wide support for the concept of an international tribunal to adjudicate international law. A proposal for "an international court within the U.N. to deal with hijackers and terrorists" drew support from 82% of respondents and opposition from 15%.

Environment

The Roper survey found strong backing for a more ambitious U.N. role in protecting the global environment.

- Even when reminded of the argument that different countries have different priorities and may want to address environmental problems on a case-by-case basis, Americans nonetheless call for **giving the U.N. power to deal with environmental problems worldwide by a 2-to-1 margin** (56% to 27%).

Once again it is "baby boomers" whose preference is most dramatically multilateralist (61% to 26%, a 35 point spread). Those over age 60 show the smallest, though still a solid, margin of support (48% to 32%). On this issue there is some regional variation -- the margin for giving the U.N. more authority in environmental matters is some 23 points in the West and South and 36 points in the Northeast and Midwest.

Among those who rate the U.N.'s job performance poorly a large majority wants to increase U.N. power in this area (58% to 34%), as does a plurality of those who back withholding of U.N. dues (49% to 43%). But a majority of those who want the U.S. to reduce its U.N. participation opposes a strong environmental role for the world body (41% to 52%).

- By a **10-to-1 margin** -- 58% to 6% -- respondents call on the U.S. and other member states to **increase funding** for U.N. efforts to protect the environment rather than decrease it; 26% say that spending need not be raised but should not be reduced. Of all spending categories tested in the survey, the environment, together with food production, drew the strongest support for greater financial effort -- presumably a reflection of the growing media attention being given to environmental dangers to human survival.

- One may see some evidence of waxing public support for global action on the environment. A 1983 Roper survey found a 5-to-1 margin in support for a briefly stated proposition to give the U.N. more power for "conserving natural resources" (64% to 13%). The questions in the 1989 survey posed tougher choices -- international action at some sacrifice of national autonomy, and a commitment of financial resources.

Economic issues

Americans make clear that there is one major area where they are not convinced there is much of a need for leadership by the U.N. system: guiding the global economy.

- Respondents reject the notion that a multilateral agency should have the power of refereeing **international trade disputes**. Asked whether they would rely on a global trade agency to settle trade disputes, or on national governments' retaliation against trade competitors, a large majority favors unilateral action (25% to 54%).

Contrary to the other questions on the multilateral-unilateral spectrum, on this question it is the highest income and best educated respondents who are the most "unilateralist" in their answers. Even a majority of those who say the U.N. is doing a good job prefer relying on unilateral national trade retaliation.

- On spending, hardly a third of respondents think that the U.N. system should have more money to manage the problems of the global economy (31%) -- and fully a fifth (20%) insist that whatever the U.N. is spending now is too much and ought to be reduced. (The largest bloc, 36%, thinks no change in funding, either up or down, is warranted.) Of all spending issues, this one generated the most negative response.

The modest 11-point margin of support for more funding over less is significantly lower among men than among women; among 45-to-59-year-olds compared to other age groups; among upper-income households compared to other income groups; among Republicans; and among Midwesterners in comparison with residents of other regions.

- The 1983 Roper survey asked if the U.N. should have more or less power for "managing the world economy," to which 47% said more and 26% less. The 1989 question about sinking government money into this program area drew a much more negative response.

Funding U.N. Programs

As some of the questions relating to the above issue areas suggest, Americans display discriminating judgment in what they think most requires increased financial support. Three different clusters of issue areas emerge: those in which an absolute majority favors raising contribution levels; those in which spending increases enjoy plurality backing; and those where opinion seems to favor just maintaining existing levels of funding. Yet overall the survey's most notable finding on funding is the **substantial public support for increasing funding for the U.N.** In no category -- not even the least popular one on "managing the world economy" -- does a plurality of the U.S. public favor reducing contributions. Although those framing the political debate in Washington over U.N. "reform" in recent years have focused almost exclusively on reducing the

U.N. budget, the public evidently is prepared to support funding increases.

The two issue areas on which increased expenditure has the largest **majority support** -- 58% of respondents -- are **protection of the global environment** and world **food production**. Majorities of the public at large, including pluralities of those negative on the U.N.'s job performance, also call for higher funding for **disease control** and for **disaster relief**.

Almost as strong is the backing for **more spending on U.N. birth control programs** (for which the Reagan administration halted U.S. funding): 48% favor the U.S. and other governments' providing more money for U.N. population efforts, and only 11% favor less. **Peacekeeping** and **human rights monitoring** draw slightly weaker but still lopsided **pluralities**; on both these "political" issues, as with population, the percentage favoring higher funding exceeds the combined share of the few who would like to cut spending and those who think current levels are adequate.

The same cannot be said for "**helping poor countries develop their economies**." The largest group of respondents professes to favor higher spending (40%), but those satisfied with current expenditures are close behind (35%). Taken together, these 75% plainly far outnumber those who favor reducing development assistance (15%); conversely, a 50% plurality can be seen as unwilling to support channeling more tax dollars to development of Third World economies. (The contrast with the lopsided support for funding food production suggests that Americans differentiate between agricultural development, which they overwhelmingly want to help, and "economic" development.)

Also in the go-slow group of issues -- in fact, the one area that sparks **substantial resistance** -- is **managing the world economy**. This is the only category where sentiment for freezing expenditures exceeds that for increasing them. Americans seem clearly reluctant to give the United Nations much money or responsibility for directing economic affairs.

There is no discernible gender gap on any of these spending priorities; men and women's support levels are statistically identical on almost all issues. Increasing age is generally related to a downward slope in support for higher spending in most categories.

The poll occasionally bears out conventional wisdom: Self-identified liberals consistently and by statistically significant margins call for higher spending than the population as a whole -- usually by margins of five to eight percentage points. By contrast, self-identified conservatives (nearly half the sample) are rarely more than a single point less supportive of spending than the population as a whole. As for party identification, Democrats tended in most (but not all) issue areas to be slightly more favorable toward higher U.N. spending than Republicans, usually by only two to four percentage points; but Republicans were no more likely to favor U.N. spending cuts than Democrats (except in the area of economic management).

Those critical of how the U.N. has been doing its job nonetheless want governments to give it more tax dollars to deal with some of the world's pressing problems. Indeed, even among the small band of Americans who want to diminish U.S. involvement in the U.N., *a majority favors increased spending for the environment and food production*.

The Roper inquiry identifies program areas where public opinion believes higher U.N. spending levels are needed. These findings of Americans' support for higher U.N. spending do not necessarily mean that they are prepared to pay more taxes for any of these program activities; perhaps they are, but that is not what Roper asked. The survey does show broad support in the public at large for increasing U.S. contributions for key U.N. program activities in tandem with other countries' raising theirs.

U.N. Job Performance

One of the most significant Roper findings is that after wide press coverage of U.N. success in bringing several stubborn conflicts to an end in 1988, American assessments of the **U.N.'s job performance** have turned **positive** for the first time since 1975. The March survey found a nine-point positive edge (38% saying the U.N. is doing a "good job" compared to 29% saying it is doing a "poor job") -- and a large bloc of undecideds.

Younger age groups are most positive, as they are on most questions. However, on this question appears a rare **gender gap**: While women rate the U.N. as doing a good job by a 2-to-1 margin (41% to 20%), men rate it slightly negatively (35% to 38%).

The group that Roper identifies as civic influentials -- "political and social activists" -- is evenly divided (43% to 44%) on the good/poor job rating. While adherents of both political parties now evaluate U.N. performance positively, Democrats do so by a 13-point margin, Republicans by 8 points. Likewise, the spread of favorable ratings is higher among self-identified liberals (12 points) than conservatives (5 points).

• **Trends.** The Roper finding of positive performance ratings for the U.N. confirms a similar finding by Gallup in October 1988, which showed an even larger 13-point spread and fewer undecideds. The two surveys represent the first favorable job ratings for the U.N. in American public opinion since the General Assembly adopted a resolution linking Zionism and racism late in 1975. Over the past two decades the question has yielded the following results:

	1970	1971	1975 ¹	1975 ²	1977*	1980	1982	1983*	1985	1988
Good job	44%	35%	41%	33%	32%	31%	36%	35%	38%	46%
Poor job	40%	43%	38%	51%	39%	53%	49%	42%	44%	33%
No opinion	16%	22%	21%	16%	29%	16%	15%	23%	18%	21%

¹ January 1975

² December 1975

* Roper Organization poll; all others by Gallup Organization

The Roper survey probed people's reasons for **why** they assess the U.N.'s performance as good or poor. *Among those who give it a positive grade*, fully a quarter gave as their explanations that the U.N. is "keeping world peace," "halting conflicts," or helping ensure that there is "no war now"; more than a fifth say it is doing a good job because it is a place to discuss problems, a forum for talking out contentious issues.

Among those critical of the U.N.'s performance, a quarter simply see it as ineffective -- "nothing gets accomplished" was how many phrased it. Twelve percent say the problem is that the U.N. *does not have enough power*. (This reason is cited by 23% of critics in executive/professional occupations; by 20% of political/social activists; and by 17% of Republicans critical of U.N. performance -- while only 7% of Democratic critics think a lack of power is the U.N.'s problem.)

However, criticisms reflecting a general irritation with or hostility toward the U.N., common in political polemic, are mentioned surprisingly rarely by the citizenry. Only 4% of those negatively evaluating the U.N.'s performance complain that the U.S. is "treated disrespectfully" there (8% among seniors); only 6% grumble that the "U.S. pays too much of U.N. costs" (13% of seniors). Another 6% (12% in the Northeast) fault the U.N. for the fact that there is still no Mideast peace. Barely one percent *of critics* thinks the U.N. is "too pro-Communist," while 3% are convinced the U.N. has "too much politics," 6% that there is "too much bickering" between nations. Just 3% say that third world countries "have too much say."

How Much Should We Be Involved?

Perhaps one of the best measures of overall public support for the U.N. is citizens' readiness to **increase or decrease U.S. participation** in the United Nations. By a **2-to-1 margin** respondents favor getting the U.S. more deeply involved in the U.N. system (34% to 16%). Another third (31%) wants to maintain America's current level of participation. These findings suggest that a large majority opposes efforts to distance the U.S. from the U.N. system (65% vs. 16%, or 4-to-1 public disapproval).

Even those who rate the U.N.'s job performance *negatively* are evenly split on whether to increase or decrease American participation in the U.N. (Fully 33% of these want to *expand* America's U.N. involvement!) So are those who favor unilateral U.S. military intervention in regional conflicts (30% to 30%).

• **Trends.** Roper asked the same question in 1980 and found an identical 2-to-1 margin in favor of a stronger U.S. role at the U.N. (40% to increase, 21% to decrease, 26% to make no change). In 1988 "Americans Talk Security" asked a comparable but somewhat different question and found a 39%-vs.-12% split for more U.N. involvement, with 45% for no change.

U.N. Dues

- Americans overwhelmingly -- by a *4-to-1 margin* -- insist that governments, including their own, **must pay their full dues** to the U.N. on a regular basis rather than hold them back to try to force other member states in the organization to agree to reforms (60% to 14%). This suggests a rather negative assessment of a strategy that the U.S. repeatedly invoked in the 1980s.

The Roper survey turned up no difference on party lines or by political ideology on this question, although there are surprising variations by region (the Northeast gives "only" a 38-point spread to full payment over withholding, 55% to 17%, while the margin in the West is 60 points, 69% to 9%). *Those giving the U.N. poor job ratings overwhelmingly favor always paying dues* (64% to 19%). So do those favoring unilateral U.S. intervention in conflicts (57% vs. 20%), as do those who oppose a strong U.N. role in protecting the global environment (55% to 22%). Even those who want to reduce U.S. participation in the U.N. (48% to 32%) favor full dues payment.

- **Trends.** In 1983 the Roper Organization posed a somewhat different question on withholding. Rather than stating a general principle applicable to all countries, including our own, the 1983 question asked whether "*the U.S. should withhold financial support from the U.N. when the U.N. does things that the U.S. disagrees with.*" This question, which narrowly focused on U.S. financial leverage without suggesting others might claim a right to do the same, also did not distinguish between assessed dues obligations and voluntary contributions. Half the 1983 sample agreed with the notion of U.S. withholding "financial support" in 1983 while a third opposed it (51% vs. 32%).

Depth of Awareness

The Roper survey in March 1989 also included questions on public knowledge about the United Nations commissioned by the U.N.'s Department of Public Information; the Department's questionnaire is the first in an international series it is sponsoring. According to the survey:

- The United Nations is universally known and recognized in the United States. Its recognition level ranks with those of the leading institutions of American government (Congress, the Presidency, the Supreme Court, etc.), and far above other international organizations. Fully 92% report they have heard of the United Nations -- compared with 73% for NATO, the basic U.S./European defense relationship, 51% for Amnesty International, and 34% for the European Community.

A 1988 survey by Market Opinion Research for "Americans Talk Security" revealed that fully 78% of those polled could come up with a fairly correct definition of the role of the U.N. ("open forum between countries," "nations working for peace"), compared to only a third who showed a reasonably accurate understanding of NATO's function ("military alliance," "defense against communism").

- But there is not too much depth to this recognition. Only 15% can pick Javier Pérez de Cuéllar as the current Secretary General; only 16% can think of the name of even one U.N. body, agency or institution. The most widely known U.N. entity is UNICEF, the U.N. Children's Fund -- named

by only 9%. After that, UNESCO (the U.N. Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, from which the U.S. withdrew in 1984), the General Assembly and the Security Council are recalled by a mere 3% each. Two percent could name the World Health Organization; no other U.N. body or agency rates mention by more than 1%.

However, factual knowledge about the U.N. is not correlated to support for the organization. Those who can name at least one agency are evenly divided in their assessments of the U.N.'s job performance (46% good job, 44% bad job).

•School instruction about the U.N. is a crucial variable in forming public awareness of it. On issue after issue, those who were not taught about the U.N. in school are about ten percentage points less supportive of U.N. actions and potential roles than those who were, with their numbers in the "undecided/don't know" category larger by a corresponding amount. Negative U.N. responses, however, do not vary regardless of whether one has or has not been taught about the U.N. in school. The one region that often shows up as somewhat less supportive of active U.N. roles than the others (though its negative numbers are no higher), the South, also has the largest number of people who cannot recall having ever been taught about the U.N. in school (42% in the South, compared to 32% in the other three regions of the country).

Conclusion

The 1989 survey demonstrates Americans' enduring and pragmatic multilateralism. They want to see the U.N. succeed and are convinced that it has begun to be successful once again. They carefully identify global problems that they know individual nations cannot solve on their own, and increasingly appreciate the U.N. as the arena for addressing them. They know that this means it must have more authority -- and money. National political leaders need not fear public rejection for defending the United Nations and fighting to strengthen it. Indeed, on the U.N. as on other issues the American public seems far out in front of its politicians.

A Note on Methodology

The Roper survey was conducted between March 11 and 18, 1989, and involved 1,978 in-person, at-home interviews nationwide. One hundred counties, stratified by population, were selected nationwide at random, and within each selected county towns, streets and residential blocks and interviewer starting points were selected at random. Interviewers then went from one door to the next conducting interviews until they had fulfilled their demographic targets.

Ms. Edith J. Miller

January 11, 1989

Mr. Fred Cohen

5 Shevat 5749

Please let me have a check for \$300.00, payable to the Council of Organizations UNA-ESA. This is our 1989 participation fee and is to be charged to the Contingency line. Please send it to me for transmittal.

Thank you.

UNA USA

February 1, 1989
26 Shevat 5749

Mr. Ivan Selin
c/o UNA-USA
485 Fifth Avenue
New York, NY 10017-6104

Dear Ivan:

Your letter of January 25 and the wonderful news of your government appointment was a source of delight. I was probably one of the few people who didn't know that you have been named Under Secretary of State for Management as I was flying out-of-the-country on January 25 and did not read a newspaper.

Needless to note, I am very happy for you and delighted that your superb talents and qualities have been recognized by the new Administration. You will bring much of value to your new responsibilities and I write to wish you well. It is my fond hope you will derive a good measure of personal and professional satisfaction, happiness and fulfillment as you undertake your new work.

My work takes me to Washington often, indeed to many meetings at the State Department. Thus, I do hope we will see each other from time to time. You will be missed at our UNA-USA deliberations but you will be doing very important work out of Washington and that's to the good!

With all good wishes and warm regards, I am

Sincerely,

Alexander M. Schindler



UNITED NATIONS ASSOCIATION OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

485 FIFTH AVENUE, NEW YORK, N.Y. 10017-6104 PHONE: (212) 697-3232 FAX: (212) 682-9185 CABLE: UNASMER
WASHINGTON OFFICE: 1010 VERMONT AVENUE, N.W., SUITE 904, WASHINGTON, D.C. 20005 PHONE: (202) 347-5004 FAX: (202) 628-5945

January 25, 1989

Rabbi Alexander M. Schindler
President
Union of American Hebrew Congregations
838 Fifth Avenue
New York, N.Y. 10021

Dear Alex:

As you may have read in today's papers, President Bush is appointing me to the position of Under Secretary of State for Management. I had hoped to get this letter to you by the time this position was announced, but apparently it slipped out of the White House sooner than we anticipated.

The position offers a number of challenges, which I very much look forward to and it relates in many ways to the issues of concern to this Association. I have enjoyed and benefited from my time at UNA, and was very much honored to serve as Chairman of the Board of Governors. There is, of course, life after government and I will no doubt rejoin your ranks at some point in the future.

The last year has been a time of enormous flux and progress for the Association. Your work and that of the Strategic Planning and Development Committee are laying the foundations for a much stronger UNA in the future.

It is a great compliment to the Association that so many of its leaders have been tapped to go into the new Administration in key foreign policy and national security positions. As you know, Brent Scowcroft, a Vice Chairman, Governor, and Chairman of our China program, is National Security Advisor and John Tower, Chairman of our Soviet program, has been nominated to be Secretary of Defense. This will insure that the Association will once again have excellent points of access at the White House, State Department, and Defense Department.

I very much appreciate the efforts that all of you have made on behalf of our Association and I have no doubt that I will be hearing more and more about the organization's good work in the months and years to come. With all best wishes for your continued success.

Sincerely,

Ivan Selin

Chairman of the Association
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MEMORANDUM

From Rabbi Alexander M. Schindler
To Mr. Fred Cohen

Date August 29, 1988
16 Elul 5748

Please let me have a check for \$50.00 for the United Nations Association-USA-Greater St. Louis Chapter. This is a special gift for Educational Programs and I would like to have the check sent to me for transmittal.

Thank you.



Union of American Hebrew Congregations
838 FIFTH AVENUE, NEW YORK, N.Y. 10021 (212) 249-0100



GREATER SAINT LOUIS CHAPTER of the UNITED NATIONS ASSOCIATION



7359 FORSYTH BOULEVARD • SAINT LOUIS, MISSOURI 63105 • (314) 721-1961

August 10, 1988

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**AMERICAN COUNCIL FOR THE
UNITED NATIONS UNIVERSITY**

Adelaide M. Schlafly

Rabbi Alexander N. Schindler
Union of American Hebrew Congregations
838 Fifth Avenue
New York, New York 10021

Dear Rabbi Schindler:

We are happy to tell you that the United Nations Association of Greater St. Louis is establishing a fund to endow annual educational programs in honor of Mary Taussig Hall. The Board resolution is enclosed.

As you know, Mary has given long, devoted and effective leadership to the United Nations Association both locally and nationally. Her wisdom and drive have made the St. Louis Chapter one of the strongest in the nation. As a member of the UNA/USA Board of Governors, she has important influence at the national level.

The Mary T. Hall Seminars and Study Programs on United Nations Issues will perpetuate Mary's efforts to involve the St. Louis community in the study of international problems and to stimulate widening participation in the search for peace.

Our initial goal is \$40,000. We have a wonderful start with a contribution of \$10,000 from Mary's devoted brother, Fred Taussig.

This significant program will be launched at the United Nations Day Dinner on October 24, 1988. Mary will be presented with a scroll listing every contributor. You are cordially invited to attend this dinner. An invitation will be mailed at a later date.

Enclosed please find a pledge sheet and envelope for your convenience.

Sincerely,

Joy C. Guze

Mrs. Samuel B. Guze, Chairman
Committee for the Mary T. Hall Fund

Priscilla B. McDonnell

Mrs. James S. McDonnell, Jr.
Honorary Chairman

Enclosures:

*Edie - check
Cert \$50. - check
from
free. Dispute
Fund
mail*

EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR
Mary Hamm

SHOP MANAGER
Timothy S. Wright

to study, support and improve the United Nations and its agencies

UNITED NATIONS ASSOCIATION/USA

GREATER ST. LOUIS CHAPTER

Yes! I want to support the Mary T. Hall Seminars and Study Programs on United Nations Issues.

I shall contribute a total of \$_____ to be paid at the rate of
\$_____ a year for _____ years.

SIGNED _____ DATE _____

NAME _____

ADDRESS _____

TELEPHONE _____

Please make check to:
United Nations
Association
of Greater St. Louis and
write
"Mary Hall Fund"
on the memo line.

Send contributions to:
United Nations
Association
7359 Forsyth Boulevard
St. Louis, MO 63105

Attn: Mary Hamm

List my name on the presentation scroll as _____



RESOLUTION

BOARD OF DIRECTORS OF UNITED NATIONS ASSOCIATION
GREATER ST. LOUIS CHAPTER
JUNE 7, 1988

1. There is hereby established THE FUND FOR THE MARY T. HALL SEMINARS AND STUDY PROGRAMS ON THE UNITED NATIONS ISSUES. The purposes of the fund are:
 - a. To honor Mary T. Hall for her long and devoted leadership and service to the United Nations Association, by continuing, through the programs described below, her work to educate the St. Louis community about the United Nations.
 - b. To provide a funding source for educational programs to be conducted from time to time on the subject of the United Nations and the issues before it, including but not limited to the expenses of teachers, speakers, lecturers, publicity and study materials. Such programs shall be called The Mary T. Hall Seminars and Study Programs on the United Nations Issues.
2. The Board shall raise money for the fund by soliciting donations to the United Nations Association for the specific purposes of the fund. No general funds of the United Nations Association or moneys contributed and not specifically designated for the fund shall be added to the fund.
3. The fund shall be kept separate from all other funds or accounts of the United Nations Association. The assets of the fund shall be held in interest bearing accounts, and all interest earned by such accounts shall benefit the fund purposes as herein provided.
4. The management of the fund shall be the responsibility of the treasurer with the advice and consent of the executive committee. The treasurer shall establish a book account showing all interest earned and expended.
5. Ninety percent (90%) of the accumulated and unexpended income from the fund shall be available as a source of funds for a program or programs approved by the Board of Directors to implement the purposes stated above. The remaining ten percent (10%) of the income shall be added annually to the principal of the fund.



UNITED NATIONS ASSOCIATION OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

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WASHINGTON OFFICE: 1010 VERMONT AVENUE, N.W., SUITE 904, WASHINGTON, D.C. 20005 PHONE: (202) 347-5004 FAX: (202) 628-5945

October 12, 1988

MEMORANDUM

TO: Board of Governors
FROM: Ed Luck
SUBJECT: October 18th Meeting

As previously announced, we will convene at Noon next Tuesday, October 18th, in the Arthur Ross Conference Room at our headquarters at 485 Fifth Avenue, 2nd floor. A light lunch will be served. Please review the enclosed draft budget for 1989 and the Development Report by Fred Tamalonis before the meeting.

This will be Ivan Selin's first session in the chair. He has decided to focus the agenda (enclosed) on a relatively few related themes in order to avoid the laundry-list, once-over-lightly character of past meetings when we attempted to review UNA's whole range of programs and activities at each sitting. Therefore the meeting will be in two parts: the first devoted to the communications and constituency-building steps underway and the second (in executive session) to budget, finance and strategic planning.

One agenda item requires further explanation. As many of you know, the Ford Foundation has been conducting a detailed evaluation of UNA's purposes, programs and priorities. Crauford Goodwin, the Duke University Provost who is consulting with the Foundation on the review, will join us for the first half of the meeting. He will describe the whys, whats and hows of their evaluation process, but it would be premature for him to comment in any way on their conclusions, since the review is not yet completed. He is also interested in observing the dynamics of our Board meetings and in learning more about how our field restructuring is progressing. We assume that he will take away a positive impression on both accounts (and of course he will not remain for the budget and finance discussion.)

Following the meeting, we will take a bus to the US Mission to the UN for a meeting with Charles Wick, Director of the US Information Agency, who has asked to speak to the UNA-USA leadership. In the evening (from 7 to 8:30 p.m.) Ambassador and Mrs. Korn will host a reception/buffet dinner in honor of Wick and the UNA-USA Board of Governors. It will be held at the Waldorf Astoria Towers residence (Apartment 42A) of Ambassador Walters, who is expected to join us as well and to say a few words. You should have already received invitations to both events and please note that spouses are also invited to the reception. Other friends of UNA-USA and leaders of the New York business community have also been invited. Please make every effort to attend both events.

This will be an important day for the Association and we will look forward to seeing you. All the best.

Chairman of the Association
Elliott L. Richardson

Chairman, Board of Governors
Orville L. Freeman

Chairman, National Council
Cyrus R. Vance

Chairman, 1988 National
U.N. Day
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Chairman, U.S.-China Parallel
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Chairman, U.S.-Japan Parallel
Studies Program on Security
McGeorge Bundy

Chairman, Advisory Group
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Arthur J. Goldberg



United Nations Association of the United States of America
485 Fifth Avenue, New York, NY 10017-6104 212•697•3232

AGENDA

BOARD OF GOVERNORS MEETING

Tuesday, October 18, 1988

12:00 to 3:45 p.m.

Ivan Selin, Chairman

Open Session

- 12:00-12:15 pm I. Welcome and approval of Minutes of June 6th
- 12:15-12:45 pm II. Ford Foundation's ongoing review of UNA
A. Remarks by Professor Craufurd Goodwin, Provost of
Duke University and consultant to the Ford
Foundation
B. Discussion
- 12:45-1:30 pm III. Revitalizing communications and constituencies
A. Field restructuring - Jim Olson
B. Public relations and media - John Tessitore
- 1:30-2:00 pm IV. Washington agenda - Steve Dimoff

Executive Session

- 2:00-2:30 pm V. Strategic planning process - Ivan Selin
- 2:30-3:15 pm VI. 1989 draft budget and financial guidance - Jack Bierwirth
- 3:15-3:45 pm VII. Transition Fund and development plans - Fred Tamalonis
- 3:45 pm -- Meeting adjourned and bus available to go to the US
Mission to the United Nations, 799 UN Plaza at 45th St.
- 4:15-5:15 pm -- Address by and discussion with Charles Wick, Director of
the US Information Agency (USIA)
- 7:00-8:30 pm -- Reception in honor of Wick and UNA Board of Governors at
Ambassador Walters' residence, Waldorf Astoria Towers,
Apartment 42A; Ambassador and Mrs. Korn will host and
Ambassador Walters is expected to attend and to welcome
the group.

CONFIDENTIAL

MINUTES

UNA-USA BOARD OF GOVERNORS MEETING

MONDAY, JUNE 6, 1988

Arthur Ross Conference Center

ORVILLE L. FREEMAN, PRESIDING

Present: John Bierwirth, Sybil Craig, Ann Fouts, Orville L. Freeman, Mary Hall, Ruth Hinerfeld, Jerome Jacobson, Harry Knight, Estelle Linzer, Edward C. Luck, Leo Nevas, Evelyn Pickarts, Mary Purcell, Elliot L. Richardson, Frank Richardson, Arthur Ross, Richard Schmeelk, Ivan Selin, Jack Sheinkman, Helmut Sonnenfeldt.

Visitors: Anatoly Gromyko, Grigory Morozov, Grigory Kovrizhenko, Patrick Gerschel, Luisa Kreisberg, Patrick Milliman.

Staff: Peggy Sanford Carlin, Carol Christian, Steve Dimoff, Peter Fromuth, Toby Gati, Max Hilaire, Jeff Laurenti, James P. Muldoon, James Olson, Sherry Polen, Stanley Raisen, Fred Tamalonis, John Tessitore, Patricia Wilber.

The Chairman called the meeting to order at 12:20 p.m. Board members then went into executive session to discuss Agenda Item II. At the conclusion of the executive session, motion was made, seconded and approved to accept the Minutes of the meeting of March 7, 1988.

AGENDA ITEM III. IMPROVING UNA'S PUBLIC RELATIONS

The Chairman introduced Luisa Kreisberg and Patrick Milliman of The Kreisberg Group, Ltd. Ms. Kreisberg explained that Patrick Gerschel had invited her to meet with UNA to explore the possibilities for a public relations campaign. After several meetings, the Kreisberg Group has identified a four-point strategy: 1) saturate the media with information about UNA and its mission; 2) provide news stories and update an opinion poll on the UN such as was done in 1977, 1980 and 1983; 3) hold a high-level, high-visibility conference on the American news media and the UN; 4) have several special events, including a 25th anniversary event in New York City and a gala in the Los Angeles area. Mr. Milliman said that a chairperson for the 25th anniversary should be named soon.

The Chairman also introduced Patrick Gerschel. Ambassador Richardson thanked Mr. Gerschel for making the new initiative possible and expressed his desire to strengthen the communication links between the national office and the membership and between the organization and the public. The organization, he stressed, needs to find more effective ways to reach out to the public with the significance of the work done by the Association. Arms control captures the public's imagination, he noted, but this organization is dedicated to the larger goal of the elimination of war.

A discussion followed and it was agreed that a public relations campaign is needed. The Chairman thanked Ms. Kreisberg and Mr. Milliman for making their presentation to the Board.

AGENDA ITEM IV. PROGRESS REPORT ON FIELD RESTRUCTURING

Jim Olson reported that progress has been made in the efforts to strengthen the field through a restructuring of the organization, which was approved by the Board at its last meeting. The changes in the dues structure were examined and adopted by the Dues Restructuring Committee. All chapters and divisions were sent a memo describing the proposal and they have been urged to send delegates to the National Convention in July. Some chapter representatives have expressed concern about several parts of the proposal.

Mr. Olson also reported that the Syracuse, New York chapter is the first demonstration chapter under the restructuring. They are doing a membership recruitment campaign with letters and phone calls. Membership in the chapter is expected to double. Phoenix and Atlanta will be the next demonstration chapters.

AGENDA ITEM V. MODEL UN AND YOUTH PROGRAMS

James Muldoon showed a short segment from a videotape of a Model UN session. He reported that an effort was underway to raise substantial financial support for a Model UN Consortium. It would include UNA's coordination of all Model UN programs across the country, student summer camps, teacher training, seminars, media and public relations. An international exchange program is already underway. Five Soviet students have come to the US and ten American students will be going to the USSR.

The Chairman asked for a memorandum providing further details about this new project.

AGENDA ITEM VI. CONVENTION UPDATE

Peggy Carlin presented the Convention timetable and urged the Governors to attend. The Convention opens on Sunday, July 10th. She announced that President Arias will not be able to attend. Judy Collins will perform and an auction will be held during the Convention.

Ambassador Richardson announced that the first Eleanor Roosevelt Leadership Award will be presented at the Convention. Mr. Luck explained that a committee has been set up to determine the recipient of the Award. The committee will include Ambassador vanden Heuvel, who will represent the Roosevelt Family, the US Permanent Representative to the United Nations, who will serve as ex officio members of the committee, and Ambassador Richardson. The UN Secretary General will also be consulted about the choice.

AGENDA ITEM VII. UN REFORM/US FUNDING ISSUES

The Chairman called on Jeff Laurenti to summarize the various components of the Multilateral Project. Mr. Laurenti said that the final report of the UN Management and Decision-making Project is still being circulated and discussed by key policymakers around the world. All foreign ministers have

been contacted by letter and meetings have been held with key ambassadors. It was discussed at a major conference in Pittsburgh which Elliot Richardson addressed.

He said that Steve Dimoff in the Washington Office has been very busy working on the UN funding issue, in particular on the US assessments which have not been paid. He believes that the budgetary reforms at the UN should be sufficient to justify release of the funds since the UN is complying with US legislative requirements.

For 1989, there will probably be a follow-up to this year's study on US priorities at the UN. Three of the recommendations of the UNA report on space have been incorporated into the House version of the NASA authorization bill.

Mr. Laurenti introduced Max Hilaire, the new research associate for the project on UNESCO. An international panel for the project is being set up.

The Chairman then noted that Arthur Ross was present and called on Elliot Richardson to make a presentation.

Ambassador Richardson said that he was very happy to note that the Board Room has been named the Arthur Ross Conference Center and that a reception had been held to honor the occasion. On behalf of the Board, Ambassador Richardson presented a scrapbook to Mr. Ross, which held mementos of the reception. He thanked Mr. Ross for his generosity to UNA and for his valuable ideas and suggestions. Mr. Ross accepted the scrapbook and thanked everyone.

AGENDA ITEM IX. PARALLEL STUDIES

Toby Gati reported that the proposed quadrilateral project seems to be getting off the ground. Also, a joint report with the Japanese will be published in Tokyo. The Soviet program continues to expand, as a new study group on the UN is being formed with the Soviets. A Model UN program is underway with them and several Soviet students have visited the US. She indicated that all of the programs are expected to be self-supporting. She then gave a brief summary of the background of the Soviet visitors, who were due to arrive shortly to address the Board.

The Chairman said that he wanted to take a moment away from the agenda to express his thanks to Stan Raisen and his staff for their excellent work in organizing the UN Ball held on June 3rd. He noted that UN Day Chairman Stanley Pace had also paid high compliments to Stan.

AGENDA ITEM VIII. ECONOMIC POLICY COUNCIL

Peter Fromuth gave an update on the EPC panels. The Global Integration series will include three panels: Integration Without Order, Trade and Investment Relations After Ricardo, and Productivity in a Global Market. The panel on third world debt is expected to release its final report in September.

AGENDA ITEM XI. DISCUSSION WITH BOARD MEMBERS OF SOVIET UNA

The Soviet visitors arrived and were introduced by Toby Gati. She explained that the Soviet UNA has a Board of about fifteen people who oversee the work of the organization. The three representatives of the Soviet UNA are deputy chairmen. She then introduced and welcomed Anatoly Gromyko, Director of the Institute of African Studies of the USSR Academy of Sciences; Grigory Morozov, Department Head of the Institute of World Economy and International Relations of the USSR Academy of Sciences; and Grigory Kovrizhenko, Deputy Chairman of the UN Association of the USSR.

Mr. Morozov thanked the Board for their invitation to address the group. He said it was the first time the Soviet UNA had met so many governors of the UNA-USA. He then spoke about the changing climate in US-USSR relations and pointed to the new arms control agreement recently signed by General Secretary Gorbachev and President Reagan. He expressed his feeling that the common efforts of the two leaders as well as the peoples of the two UNA organizations are contributing to an improvement in the whole international climate and that there is now more optimism and hope for the future.

Mr. Morozov said that the Soviet UNA is increasing its activities because it is important to promote UN activities. The Board and membership of the Soviet UNA are more actively supporting their efforts and the Peace Fund is also providing more support. Staff is being increased. He noted the longstanding relationship between the two UNAs and that in the past discussions focused on disarmament and economics. But now they would also be interested in supporting UNA-USA's new program on the role of the UN. A new program of student exchanges is also underway between the two UNAs. Mr. Morozov said they were a bit unhappy with UNA-USA for having left the World Federation of UN Associations and they hoped it would soon rejoin the Federation.

Mr. Kovrizhenko, as a vice chairman of the Soviet UNA, conveyed cordial greetings from the President, council and membership of the organization. He said that UNA-USA's reproaches toward WFUNA were understandable and that there is a need to improve the structure and activities of the Federation. However, he felt that UNA-USA's withdrawal was not the best way to deal with the problems. He felt that there were some signs of improvement at the last Plenary in Ottawa. Mr. Strong was elected the new President of WFUNA, a new format for the Plenary was created, and a commission was created to examine the role of the UN in global security. The next WFUNA Plenary will be held in Moscow in 1989 and it will be regrettable if the United States is not a participant. He asked to be informed of UNA-USA's plans.

Mr. Gromyko spoke of three global problems which he considered to be of utmost importance: 1) the desire for military superiority; 2) underdevelopment which is not being tackled and becoming more dangerous to the world; and 3) ecology, which is deadly dangerous. He called attention to the book, Breakthrough, which has been published in both countries. He expressed a desire that there be hundreds of books written by Soviets and Americans together explaining how to defuse those three different problems, or bombs. Mr. Gromyko said that he had spoken to his father before coming to the US. The elder Gromyko, who is probably the only person who signed the Charter who is still alive, pointed out to him that the United Nations is now in the hands of those who were not at the helm of events when it was created. Mr.

Gromyko said that the UN is a unique organization and a mirror of the world. It has also become a vehicle to help improve Soviet bilateral relationships. He concluded by wishing good health to the UN.

The Chairman thanked the Soviet visitors for their remarks. Ambassador Richardson said that UNA-USA shares their sense of potential for the UN and expressed his hope that a way would be found for UNA-USA to rejoin WFUNA. He also asked Mr. Gromyko to convey best wishes to his distinguished father. He also sent regards to Georgy Arbatov and the message that UNA-USA looks forward to continued association with him and all the other members of the Soviet UNA in the years ahead and to the kind of continuing role that has been possible between the two organizations that has transcended national boundaries.

A discussion followed. Mrs. Gati announced that the Soviet UNA had made some lovely donations for the auction at the National Convention.

AGENDA ITEM X. OTHER BUSINESS

Mr. Luck announced that the next meeting of the Board of Governors will be held on October 18th. The meeting was adjourned at 4:10 p.m.

UNA-USA, INC.
BUDGET COMPARISON
1989 V/S 1988

SECTION "A"

Column "A"	1989 Column "B"	1988	1989 Column "C"	1988	1989 Column "D"	1988	1989 Column "E"	1988	1989/1988 Variance
	Gross Expenses		Restricted Fund Contributions		Self Generated Income		General Support Required/(Contributed)		Increase/(Decrease) General Sup. Required
COMMUNICATIONS & CONSTITUENCIES									
1. Membership									
A. Dues Received	-0-	-0-	-0-	-0-	600,000	351,000	(32,540)	187,755	(220,295)
B. Membership Records	135,660	111,225	-0-	-0-	-0-	-0-			
C. Dues Returned to Chapters & Divs.	237,895	191,000	-0-	-0-	-0-	-0-			
D. Direct Services to Chapters & Divisions	116,030	111,740	10,000	-0-	23,000	5,000			
E. The Inter Dependent	65,925	65,440	1,000	1,000	1,800	1,800			
F. Publications, Promotions & Sales	66,750	84,650	-0-	-0-	19,000	17,500			
2. Public Relations	125,000	-0-	125,000	-0-	-0-	-0-	-0-	-0-	-0-
3. Council of Organizations	73,400	65,125	6,500	6,500	47,700	26,100	19,200	32,525	(13,325)
4. U.N. Day Program	27,060	27,850	15,000	-0-	2,500	-0-	9,560	27,850	(18,290)
5. Convention	18,190	67,000	-0-	-0-	-0-	67,000	18,190	-0-	18,190
6. Global Education, Model U.N. & Youth Program	98,130	39,850	30,000	13,000	68,000	41,400	130	(14,550)	14,680
7. Issues Before the 44th General Assembly	64,850	55,565	-0-	-0-	65,000	54,000	(150)	1,565	(1,715)
8. Editors' Seminar	28,050	25,470	13,000	13,000	-0-	-0-	15,050	12,470	2,580
9. Total Communications & Constituencies	1,056,940	844,915	200,500	33,500	827,000	563,800	29,440	247,615	(218,175)
POLICY ANALYSIS & DIALOGUE									
10. World Federations of U.N. Associations	61,740	40,000	35,300	10,000	-0-	20,000	26,440	10,000	16,440
11. Research and Development	-0-	87,910	-0-	85,000	-0-	-0-	-0-	2,910	(2,910)
12. U.N. Priorities	-0-	160,085	-0-	200,000	-0-	-0-	-0-	(39,915)	39,915
13. New Multilateral Project	60,000	-0-	60,000	-0-	-0-	-0-	-0-	-0-	-0-
14. Restructuring UNESCO	124,645	-0-	125,000	-0-	-0-	-0-	(355)	-0-	(355)
15. Washington, D.C. Liaison Office	120,000	110,885	-0-	-0-	5,000	5,000	115,000	105,885	9,115
16. Economic Policy Council	160,100	166,700	180,000	235,000	-0-	1,000	(19,900)	(69,300)	49,400
17. Soviet-American Parallel Studies	186,800	104,590	324,500	200,000	-0-	1,000	(137,700)	(96,410)	(41,290)
18. East Asian Project	70,000	140,540	70,000	155,000	-0-	-0-	-0-	(14,460)	14,460
19. Quadrilateral Project	80,150	56,730	70,000	50,000	-0-	-0-	10,150	6,730	3,420
20. UNIDIR	82,415	-0-	82,600	-0-	-0-	-0-	(185)	-0-	(185)
21. Total Policy Analysis & Dialogue	945,850	867,440	947,400	935,000	5,000	27,000	(6,550)	(94,560)	88,010
22. Total Program Expenses	2,002,790	1,712,355	1,147,900	968,500	832,000	590,800	22,890	153,055	(130,165)
GENERAL ADMINISTRATIVE EXPENSES									
23. Executive Office & Board	198,310	94,550	-0-	-0-	-0-	-0-	198,310	94,550	103,760
24. Administrative Services	223,775	259,485	-0-	-0-	-0-	-0-	223,775	259,485	(35,710)
25. Rent, Light & Other Overhead	449,000	449,945	-0-	-0-	77,180	71,080	371,820	378,865	(7,045)
26. Total General Administrative Expenses	871,085	803,980	-0-	-0-	77,180	71,080	793,905	732,900	61,005
27. Sub-Total	2,873,875	2,516,335	1,147,900	968,500	909,180	661,800			
NET EXPENSES TO BE COVERED BY GENERAL CONTRIBUTIONS							816,795	885,955	(69,160)

SECTION "B"

		<u>1 9 8 9</u>		<u>1 9 8 8</u>		<u>1989/1988</u> <u>Variance</u> <u>Increase/</u> <u>(Decrease)</u>	<u>Net</u> <u>Change</u>
	<u>Column</u> <u>"F"</u>	<u>Column</u> <u>"G"</u>	<u>Column</u> <u>"H"</u>	<u>Column</u> <u>"G"</u>	<u>Column</u> <u>"H"</u>		
<u>General Income</u>							
1. Net expenses to be covered by General Contributions		816,795		885,955		(69,160)	
2. Contingencies							
A. General		75,000		50,000		25,000	
Net			891,795		935,955		(44,160)
3. Income General							
4. Special Events							
5. Income		660,000		630,000			
6. Expenses		364,250		381,105			
7. Net		295,750		248,895		46,855	
8. Capital Campaign		- 0 -		300,000		(300,000)	
9. Earnings on Endowment		50,000		-0-		50,000	
10. Corporate Campaign		150,000		105,000		45,000	
11. General Contributions/Annual Giving		350,000		105,000		(245,000)	
12. New Contributions		100,000		400,000		(300,000)	
13. Bequests		100,000		- 0 -		100,000	
14. Net General Funds Available		1,045,750		1,158,895		(113,145)	
15. Less Financial Development Expense		218,855	826,895	222,940	935,955	(4,085)	(109,060)
16. New Funds To Be Raised			(64,900)		- 0 -		64,900
17. Summary							
18. Grand Total Income			3,467,080		3,170,380		
19. Grand Total Expenses			3,531,980		3,170,380		
20. New Funds To Be Raised - This Amount Will Not Be Spent Until Additional Income Is Raised.			(64,900)		- 0 -		

1989 RECAP SUMMARY

INCOME - Section "A" Line 27, Column C	1,147,900
Section "A" Line 27, Column D	909,180
General Income	
Section "B" Line 5, Column G	660,000
Section "B" Line 10, Column G	500,000
Section "B" Line 11, Column G	100,000
Section "B" Line 12, Column G	50,000
Section "B" Line 13, Column G	100,000
<u>TOTAL INCOME - Section "B" Line 18, Column H</u>	<u>3,467,080</u>
EXPENSES - Section "A" Line 27, Column B	2,873,875
Section "B" Line 2, Column G	75,000
Section "B" Line 6, Column G	364,250
Section "B" Line 15, Column G	218,855
<u>TOTAL EXPENSES - Section "B" Line 19, Column H</u>	<u>3,531,980</u>

Footnotes

- 1) The budgeted expenses for 1989 exceed budgeted income by \$64,900. The \$64,900 represents new funds to be raised. We are now seeking several major foundation grants that will more than offset this amount. In the event that the additional income is not received, the additional amount will not be spent.
- 2) The Executive Office and Board expense has increased \$103,760 over the preceeding year. 100% of the President's salary and that of his assistant are now allocated to this account. In the prior year, only 50% of the President's salary and 1/3 his assistant's salary were allocated to this account. The balance was allocated to projects that ended in 1988. \$12,000 of the increase reflects the expense of the annual report which was previously included as part of the publication's department expense.
- 3) The increase in income in the "Chapters, Divisions, Membership and Dues" program reflects the dues restructuring, the new program for membership recruitment and the demonstration chapter program.
- 4) The 1989 budget is \$361,600 greater than the 1988 budget. Approximately \$332,000 of this increase is attributable to the following three new programs instituted; Public Relations, Restructuring UNESCO and UNIDIR. The expense of these programs is totally offset by grant income. The cost of the Soviet-American Parallel Studies program has increased by about \$82,000 and has been offset by an estimated increase in income of \$124,000. Applying a 5% inflation factor to the prior year's budgeted expenses of \$3,170,380 would, on its own, add about \$160,000 to the budget.
- 5) The Multilateral Program is budgeted to expend only \$60,000 in 1989, which is the amount of the grant from the James S. McDonnell Foundation. In order to carry out a full program during the year, it will be necessary to raise other funds.

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UNA-USA
STRATEGIC PLANNING AND DEVELOPMENT COMMITTEE
DEVELOPMENT REPORT

Prepared for
Board of Governors and Directors

October 18, 1988

by
Fred Tamalonis
Executive Director
United Nations Association Fund

UNA-USA
DEVELOPMENT REPORT

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OVERVIEW

The importance of attracting private gifts for non-profit institutions is widely recognized in this country. Gift solicitation programs are now acknowledged by the private and public sectors as a viable way for non-profit organizations to increase financial support for operating purposes, while at the same time offering a sound approach to the solution of long-range fiscal problems due to growth and uncertain economic conditions.

Faced with multiplying demands for services and increased expenses associated with program quality, there is a need to establish a comprehensive Development Program and to coordinate all gift and grant solicitation activity conducted in the name of the United Nations Association of the United States of America.

Throughout its history, UNA-USA has been fortunate in having a loyal and dedicated leadership and membership supporting its activities on issues of American foreign policy and international affairs in relation to the United Nations and other multilateral institutions.

In the past five years major changes within and without UNA-USA have made it necessary to review its historical approach to seeking gift and grant support of its program:

- . The Association has been repositioned politically, philosophically, and programmatically to lead mainstream American thinking and to influence American policymaking on global issues and international institutions.
- . The staff has been trimmed and restructured to produce a much more efficient and streamlined operation.
- . The Membership program has been restructured with a great deal of program and financial incentive for the national office and field operation to increase and diversify membership.
- . The Board has formed a Strategic Planning Committee among its members and has guided the restructuring process internally.

It now seeks to improve and develop a quality program compatible with the mission of UNA-USA.

- . The Association is an organization now in position to do its best work. In order to strengthen existing programs and to take advantage of new opportunities, the Association will require a major "enabling grant" to accomplish program goals and objectives. All indications are favorable that a keystone grant from a leading foundation will be forthcoming.
- . The Development office has coordinated existing staff and is becoming fully computerized in order to efficiently manage complimentary and reinforcing gift solicitation programs.
- . The UNA-USA has become much more visible in the press, at the UN, and in Washington, D.C. as it has sought to combine strong advocacy with less partisanship and greater credibility. This public visibility could not have come at a better time...
- . The United Nations peacekeeping forces have been awarded the 1988 Nobel Peace Prize. To the attentive public, this award is the crown jewel that pays honor to the United Nations for a series of major accomplishments during the past several years including administrative reform for which UNA-USA can take some credit.
- . The United Nations and the United Nations Association are now received in a positive light by the public. Both organizations must work together and with other supporting institutions to keep this positive "momentum" moving forward. This will be accomplished by strong leadership developing sound programs. Fortunately, at present, both organizations can count on generating increasing support--and in the case of the United Nations, back payment of dues--from the public and private sectors.

In summary, if the United Nations Association receives a major two to three million dollar foundation grant, it will be well on its way to expanding its program, national influence and constituency. At the same time, it must organize a development plan that goes beyond reacting to its annual and capital needs. This can be accomplished by creating a comprehensive development program under the aegis of a standing Development Committee which will oversee and be responsible for the current as well as the longer-range financial needs of the United Nations Association.

The proposed standing Development Committee of the Board of Directors will oversee the development and coordination of the following programs:

- Annual Giving
- Bequests and Annual Giving
- Corporate Gifts and Grants
- Foundation Grants
- Selective Endowment

In my opinion, each one of these programs is important to UNA-USA. If the Strategic Planning Committee recommends, and the Board approves the formation of a standing Development Committee to develop these programs, a timetable for program implementation will be set before the end of the year.

UNA-USA
DEVELOPMENT PROGRAM RECOMMENDATIONS
1989 - 1990

INTRODUCTION

During the past three years, a major ten to twenty million dollar endowment campaign has been the main focus of attention at the United Nations Association.

Since joining the Association eighteen months ago, I have conducted a development program audit and a \$500,000 Transition Fund Campaign and now conclude, after careful analysis and first-hand experience, that the "yardsticks" used to determine campaign readiness for the above endowment goal are not in place at UNA-USA at this time.

In brief, the yardsticks used to determine campaign readiness are as follows:

1. A history of financial leadership in place necessary to reach the goal.
2. A compelling "Case Statement" that demonstrates past accomplishments, as well as a list of urgent priorities requiring funding consistent with the mission, program, resources and future goals and objectives of the Association.
3. Volunteer and Campaign leadership in place ready to "give and get" necessary major gift donations. As a rule, 40-60% of a campaign goal should be donated by "family" members. For a 20 million dollar campaign, several gifts of 1 million, in addition to ten gifts at the \$500,000 level, and twenty gifts of \$100,000 or more, would be necessary. Also, there is no evidence that the remaining ten million dollars could be raised among UNA's membership. It would be unrealistic to expect campaign contributions of another 10 million from "other friends" of the Association or the general public.
4. A "feasibility study" by an outside professional fund-raising firm to "test" the Case Statement, and to objectively determine if the goal is set too high or too low.

5. A Development office with professional staff in place to provide the research and logistical support necessary for a successful campaign.

In the past year, a great deal has been done to strengthen the Association's fiscal, policy studies, and membership and development programs. However, much of what still needs to be accomplished as outlined in President Luck's March 28th "Next Steps" Memorandum (see ADDENDUM "I") is "evolutionary" in nature and will require a few more years to complete. Meanwhile, the Association's current program is fully consistent with its raison d'etre and must proceed and be funded.

Although there may be some disappointment in not being able to conduct a major comprehensive endowment campaign at this time, by directing volunteer leadership and professional staff attention to the planning and development of donated income from the four "basic" areas of fund-raising we may, over the same period of time normally allocated for a major campaign, be able to accomplish the same financial goals.

The four basic areas of fund-raising are as follows:

1. Individual Giving
2. Corporate Gifts
3. Foundation Grants
4. Major Gift Solicitations

A brief overview of each area, current status, and future recommendations follow.

ANNUAL GIVING AT UNA-USA

BACKGROUND

Throughout its history, the Association has been fortunate in having a handful of benefactors and a small number of influential members in the foreign policy and foundation communities who have helped to sustain its program through individual gifts, corporate and foundation grants and, since the early 1970's, four "special funding" and endowment campaigns.

The important point to make here is that the attention and emphasis in seeking annual gifts from this limited number of individuals has been in major gift and grant solicitations and not on building a broad base of support.

Like most non-profit organizations, the Association has been caught between increasing costs and changes in its funding sources during the past decade. In general, as foundation grants have increased, special events and corporate gift income have fallen while membership dues income and donations by individuals have remained flat. In recent years, the Association has come to rely upon major foundation grants to undergird its core programs, but foundation personnel and program priorities do change, and in 1987, the loss of two expected foundation grants made it particularly important to find alternative sources of support to stay afloat. For 1988, the special events income will exceed its goal for the first time in several years while corporate income primarily from the Economic Policy Council is expected to break even or to provide a modest surplus. While membership dues will be increased in January 1989, there are limits to the extent that can be done and the Association should only expect future membership growth to completely offset field program costs.

In summary, the pattern of annual giving at UNA-USA lacks the predictability of reliance income funding from recurring sources that characterize healthier non-profit organizations. And while major gift support will remain a top priority for the Association, it must now seek to reduce the volatility inherent in relying upon designated major gift funding from a limited number of sources by expanding its donor base and promoting various gift programs and levels of giving that increase undesignated or unrestricted support for UNA-USA.

I. INDIVIDUAL GIVING

A. ANNUAL GIVING PROGRAM

A formal Annual Giving Program should be established to provide a growing amount of unrestricted support for the purpose of balancing the Association's annual operating budget.

In analyzing the Association's sources of unrestricted support (see Exhibit "A") for 1987, there are some worthwhile observations which warrant recommendations:

- 1) Although annual giving participation by Governors is high, the average gift and total amount of unrestricted giving from Governors, given UNA's terrible financial condition, is low. Governors set the example for others to follow and the Association must strive to increase the average gift of this category of giving to \$10,000 within the next three years.
- 2) There is an enormous gap between the participation and donations of Directors -- the overall governing body of the Association -- and Governors. It will be important to increase both participation and average gift contribution over the next three years.
- 3) At present, there is no program or strategy to promote annual contributions at the \$1,000 or \$500 levels of giving. The Association must develop "Donor Categories" e.g. Patrons (\$1,000), Sponsors (\$500), and Contributors (under \$500) and solicit members and other friends to fill these categories. All contributors, by category, should be listed in the UNA's Annual Report.
- 4) National Council members, because of their many years of affiliation with UNA-USA, should participate and be giving at substantially higher levels. A careful review of this category by the By-Laws Committee should determine what governance function it performs. If honorary in nature,

perhaps a selective "Director Emeriti" category should be considered for those whose service to the Association has been exemplary.

- 5) An analysis of other leadership contributors (see Exhibit "B") reveals that the Association has not been soliciting its field leadership effectively. It is arguable that the Chapter and Division Presidents and other Chapter and Division leadership are perhaps the most active members of UNA-USA. However, Exhibit "B" indicates that a very small percentage of this vital leadership group makes donations to the Association. It is interesting to note that in 1987, the 165 Chapter Presidents, as a category, gave the lowest average gift and had the lowest participation rate of any category listed. This result is uncharacteristic of individuals who are interested, involved and participants in the programs and activities of an organization -- those with a sense of ownership -- and suggests that the Association has not effectively requested direct support from members of these important leadership groups.

Now that the Development office has computerized its donor records, members of each leadership group will receive a personal request for support. Done effectively, over the next three years, the Association should be able to dramatically increase participation and donations from its leaders.

- 6) Overall membership participation in annual giving is good but not great. Membership donations increased dramatically in 1985 from 525 members contributing \$35,522 to 1813 members contributing \$101,801 in 1986 due to effective "UN Emergency Funding" appeals that produced good -- albeit temporary -- results. The key objective in an effective Annual Giving Program is to retain and increase contributor support -- year after year -- based on the overall accomplishments and donor renewal effectiveness of the Association.

- 7) The "Other Friends" category reflects unrestricted donations from individuals, corporations, foundations and unions and organizations that were received by the Association in 1987. While the primary objective of the proposed Annual Giving Program for the next three years will be to increase donations from members, we will seek to increase donations from all sources. For example, many corporations have employee and director "matching gift" programs. These corporate programs will match individual donations on a one or two-to-one or even three dollars for every one dollar contributed basis by an individual to a non-profit organization. As the Association increases the number of donors and dollars donated through Annual Giving, these additional "matching gift" dollars from corporations will be sought.
- 8) The last observation and recommendation has to do with the overall amount and predictability of unrestricted annual giving to the Association. Although there is no absolute "rule of thumb" for how much unrestricted income should be generated, most non-profit organizations would prefer all gift income to be unrestricted because it can be applied to "where the need is greatest."

In 1987, unrestricted income of \$184,000 was approximately five percent of its operating budget. The two important objectives of an Annual Giving Program for UNA-USA will be to raise restricted as well as unrestricted donations and to provide predictable and increasing unrestricted donations to the Association.

The essence of a solid Annual Giving Program is to develop a broad base of support and to increase this base and average gift donation year after year. A realistic breakdown (see Exhibit "C") of income goals for various leadership categories is included in this report and should be a goal set by the Board for 1988 and 1989.

RECOMMENDATIONS

Formation of an Annual Giving Committee. This would be a sub-committee of the proposed standing Development Committee.

During 1989, the majority of members again will be solicited by mail. While such an approach has been effective and turned up many new donors in the past, I do not expect to produce many gifts of \$500 or more. To obtain such contributions, a more personalized approach is needed and it is in this undertaking that an Annual Giving Committee will help.

In Brief, members of the Annual Giving Committee will be asked to identify about a half-dozen members known well enough to speak to in person to urge a generous donation to the Association. The entire program will be coordinated by the Development office realizing that a committee member's time is limited. The work of this committee will substantially increase the number of gifts of \$500 or more.

B. BEQUESTS AND PLANNED GIVING PROGRAM

This program represents another opportunity for the Association to begin to strengthen its endowment in the near future. The potential here for substantial endowment growth over the next decade is enormous.

BACKGROUND

The United Nations Association has not assertively pursued a Bequest and Planned Giving Program in the past. There are normally several classic reasons why institutions do not hasten to develop this important program:

First, when a non-profit organization decides it needs a development officer, it usually does so because of an immediate need for additional annual income. In most cases, donations from annual giving, corporations and foundations and large gift solicitations can produce results within the year and these programs, therefore, become high priority. In contrast, results from a bequest program cannot be managed to produce a specified amount of annual income.

Second, with income less predictable and results less manageable, both the institution and development officer are less inclined to spend a great deal of time and expense in developing a bequest program. In many organizations where there is only one development officer and limited support staff involved in several fund-raising programs, time spent on a Bequest Program is time taken away from achieving budgeted goals.

The final disincentive at work in most organizations is that a Bequest and Planned Giving Program requires a great deal of time and professional training. Because of constant changes in charitable laws, estate taxes, and financial planning techniques, those organizations that have been most successful in this area have full-time planned giving officers, who spend a minimum of 50% of their time keeping updated in several legal and financial planning areas while effectively managing a Bequest and Annual Giving Program. They spend a great deal of attention on prime future prospects and, more importantly, on cultivating those who have already made known their bequest intentions or are in the process of devising an estate plan with the charitable organization as beneficiary. In general, an individual who can play this kind of "stewardship" role requires someone who has patience and specific professional training versus the dynamism and "management by objectives" personality necessary for a general development officer.

CURRENT STATUS

On September 5, 1988, Elliot L. Richardson wrote to all members of UNA-USA outlining the importance of a bequest to the United Nations Association (see Exhibit "D"). The response, as of October 12, to that mailing is as follows:

<u>Category</u> A - Included in will	18	
B - Plan to include	9	
C - Would like to include please send information	38	
D - *Other	32	*(written response but <u>no commitment</u>)
E - Declined	21	

In addition, the Association has maintained a bequest expectancies file from a bequest mailing conducted years ago that includes the names of seven members who have indicated that the Association is in their will.

RECOMMENDATIONS

The demographic profile of our membership indicates that a great majority of the 17,000 members of record are 60 years of age or older. Indicators also show that a considerable number are well into their 70's and 80's. This is an ideal age cohort for a Bequest and Planned Giving Program and, because of life expectancy tables, near term rather than longer range results can be expected.

If members continue to respond to the Richardson mailing by indicating that UNA-USA is in their will or that they plan or would like to put UNA-USA in their will, I recommend that the Association form a Bequest Committee to help the Development office structure and develop a program.

There are many good reasons why we should immediately launch this kind of program.

1. Our senior members -- those 70 years of age and over -- are mostly retired and will not be our prospects for gifts of \$1,000 or more. In most cases, these members are no longer earning high income salaries from which they can make generous annual gifts from earned income. These members would be more likely to respond to bequest or financial planning arrangements aimed at providing additional annual income for themselves while reducing current income taxes and minimizing estate taxes. The negotiation and planning techniques for such arrangements usually involve lawyers, accountants, financial advisors and many of the kinds of people who are on our Board of Directors and can serve on a Bequest and Planned Giving Committee.
2. No other program with the exception of a full scale Endowment Campaign or a proposed Selective Endowment Campaign can be as effective in building an endowment portfolio as a well-planned and executed Bequest and Planned Giving Program.

3. Forming a Bequest and Planned Giving Committee and developing a program today will enable the Association to explore and refine ways in which senior members can be approached and asked to participate in a major comprehensive endowment campaign that will be conducted in the 1990's.

It is a fund-raising "fact of life" that the key motivating force behind the donation of time and money to an organization is to have its work continue. If this is true, starting a properly planned and managed Bequest and Planned Giving Program for the United Nations Association could offer many long-time members of the Association the opportunity and means to help continue, if not endow, the work of UNA-USA.

2. CORPORATE GRANTS AND CONTRIBUTIONS

Quite apart from the Economic Policy Council Program which solicits dues paying subscribers and provides services that businesses can deduct as operating expenses "above the line," many business organizations provide corporate grants and gifts outright or through their corporate foundations.

For the most part, these contributions are made for reasons of "enlightened self interest" and are directed for purposes that will directly or indirectly benefit the corporations and its shareholders and employees. A good example of this kind of "corporate citizenship" would be a major corporate contribution to the United Way in a community where the corporation has a major facility and employs many people.

The Association needs to develop a dynamic and exciting program primarily for the chief executive and operating officers of our country's largest multinational corporations. If these individuals of wealth, power and influence are in place and involved in UNA, there is no question that they would support a future capital or endowment campaign. More importantly, and in the short run, a business leadership group of this stature provides the social, political, and intellectual cachet that is and will continue to be important for UNA-USA. For example, many American corporations who do business internationally have an in-depth understanding of how their host country

functions politically, economically, socially and on issues concerning human rights, the environment, national security, etc. Many corporations maintain offices and staff engaged in "risk analysis" who must remain well informed on these issues, the understanding of which is necessary in order to start and stay in business in foreign countries.

At present, there is no program that imaginatively attracts and keeps the heads of these corporations informed, interested and involved in an on-going dialogue on the tremendous programs, research, data, and potential information resources of the United Nations and other multilateral institutions.

In my opinion, developing a "UNA-USA Forum," of business leaders that seeks to accomplish much more than hosting luncheon and dinner meetings with UN ambassadors and top business executives should be a top priority for the Association.

If the Association does not develop this kind of "quid pro quo" relationship with the corporate community, we will, of course, continue to seek corporate and matching gift contributions but our return on investment of time spent will be much smaller than if we entered into a full partnership with this all important constituency.

3. FOUNDATION GRANTS

BACKGROUND

The Association has been fortunate in obtaining grants from foundations to supplement program and operating costs for many years. A special -- but precarious -- relationship between the Association and these foundations over the years has provided a regular source of funds and income that in 1987 amounted to \$927,000 down from the \$1,020,000 contributed a year earlier.

CURRENT STATUS

General operating foundation grants directly related to UNA-USA policy studies and other "Specially Funded" programs have been the best way to increase annual operating income to the Association. These grants as well as

funds resulting from individual participants donating personal, corporate and private and family foundation gifts have provided the extra income necessary to go beyond what normal budgetary dollars from recurring sources allow.

In my opinion, additional foundation grants for programs that UNA-USA will begin to develop as a result of its restructuring and new program opportunities will continue to have tremendous funding potential.

RECOMMENDATIONS

Foundation grant management and administration is a specialty area that requires full-time UNA-USA professional staff and support to be most productive. A job description for a foundation grants officer would encompass, but not be limited to the following:

1. Identification and up-to-date monitoring of all corporate and foundations providing grants for international purposes.
2. Research into those granting organizations for areas of mutual interest.
3. Cultivation of foundation officers and program staff to inform them about the work of the Association and to discuss areas of mutual interest.
4. Working with Policy Studies, EPC and Multilateral Project staff in developing grant proposals.
5. Administration of all grants on a timely and professional basis.
6. Identifying all Association, Policy Studies, and EPC members who are officers and directors of corporate and private foundations to discuss possible grant program opportunities.
7. Creatively exploring program grant possibilities with foundations having no affiliation with the Association -- "cold call" prospecting and cultivation.

8. Professional affiliation directly or indirectly with the Council on Foundations, the Foundation Center and other grant-related organizations and their members in order to network and encourage "program grants" for the study of foreign policy issues.
9. To establish a solid and professional grants program, timetable, and strategy for the Association that will increase revenue on an annual basis.

SUMMARY

A well planned and managed corporate and foundation grants program will guarantee excellent results. There is no question that additional grant funding from a number of large and not so large foundations could be forthcoming with proper time and devotion to the success of this program.

4. MAJOR GIFT AND SELECTIVE ENDOWMENT PROGRAM

BACKGROUND

There will always be opportunities for growth at the United Nations Association. New growth will require new resources and ways must be found to make resources available to fund these programs. This work can be promoted by the formation of a Selective Endowment Committee under the leadership of a campaign chairman.

One way in which this can be accomplished is through an on-going selective endowment campaign where specific programs and other endowment opportunities exist. For example, in the draft Strategic Planning Document dated September 22, 1988, the following endowment opportunities were described more fully and are listed here for purposes of selective endowment illustration:

<u>United Nations Association Programs for Endowment</u>	<u>Gift required for naming opportunity</u>
Washington D.C. Building, Fellow and Program	\$5,000,000
Media and Public Opinion Center	3,000,000
Model UN Program	2,500,000
Senior Fellow for Soviet Affairs	2,000,000
Senior Fellow for East Asia	2,000,000
Senior Fellow for Global Economics	2,000,000
Senior Fellow for International Organizations	2,000,000
Visiting Developing World Fellow	<u>2,000,000</u>
	\$20,500,000

Endowment of these and other program areas currently funded by non-endowment income sources would allow these dollars to be re-allocated to new program areas or to strengthen existing needs within the Association such as the recruitment of a Vice President for Administration.

There is also donor recognition and memorial gift endowment opportunity that will be made available by having rooms, conferences, forums, lectures, and special meetings named in honor of individuals, key leaders, family and other friends of the Association. A good example of this, of course, is the Arthur Ross Conference Center. Many existing or new UNA programs and activities could also be funded by major gifts for a specific purpose or period of time such as an annual UNA Forum series underwritten by a corporation for \$100,000, for example.

RECOMMENDATIONS

A major gifts and Selective Endowment Campaign should be an on-going part of a development program along with Annual, Bequests and Planned Giving, Corporate and Foundation and the occasional -- once in a decade -- Capital Campaign. Also, with proper planning and leadership support, several or more selective endowment campaigns -- each directed to specific members, individuals or corporate or foundation "targets of opportunity" -- can take place

concurrently. In this way, total endowment principal and annual income derived from these endowment gifts generated between capital campaigns could equal, perhaps even exceed, the amount generated by a "once in a decade" capital campaign.

SUMMARY

A formal list of Selective Endowment opportunities showing a breakdown of staff and program cost items, ranked by priority, is now being developed. At the same time, the Association will identify those who may have an interest in endowing these programs and activities.

Finally, the best prospects for major gift or selective endowment donations are members who have made generous contributions to the Association in the past. If no match is made or selective endowment interest determined, we can pursue increased Annual Giving, Planned Giving, or a Bequest with these members as a fall-back strategy.

All possibilities will be explored in conducting a Selective Endowment and Major Gifts campaign.

MANAGEMENT AND ADMINISTRATION

MANAGEMENT

A program-by-program, step-by-step, date-by-date, development program for 1989 will be developed, once approved by the Board of Governors.

Each program will be developed and analyzed as a "profit center" with the overall objective of decreasing annual development program costs to raise \$1 to the .10 — .15 range by 1995.

ADMINISTRATION

The follow-up work in conducting any one of the fund-raising programs listed is considerable.

The development office is moving slowly towards the computerization of all donor records. The next step will be the "integration" of member/donor information from all sources -- annual, corporate, foundation, etc. -- for

reporting purposes. Proper gift recording and acknowledgements, pledge payment reminders, daily, weekly, and monthly campaign financial reports, major gift prospect tracking, etc., will be important to master if we hope to conduct one or more campaigns at the same time.

Additional personnel will be required. As a guide, one professional and support staff person should be assigned to each program area listed if we wish to achieve good results.

BOARD LEADERSHIP

Perhaps no other action than the formation of a Standing Development Committee of the Board of Directors of the United Nations Association will be more important for the future of a well-organized and effective development program.

An overall Development Committee Chairperson and sub-committee chairpersons for Annual Giving, Bequests and Planned Giving, Corporate Gifts, Foundation Grants and Major and Selective Endowment Donations working with other Association leaders and professional staff should be the long-range objective at the United Nations Association of the USA. The work of this kind of Development Committee and its sub-committees will ensure that agenda items and fund-raising objectives are addressed and goals met.

The tangible commitment and leadership of the Board of Directors through the standing Development Committee and the personal assistance of individual Directors will be vital to the success of fundraising efforts at UNA-USA. There is no possible substitute for this kind of leadership direction.

CONCLUSION

Planning, marketing, resource development and management are the skills necessary for the non-profit executive in the 1980's and beyond. We have already made a major step forward with the establishment of a Strategic Planning and Development Committee, under the overall leadership of Ivan Selin, to develop a long-range plan for the Association's future -- not one that is only an extension of its past. The Association and its membership and programs are in a constant state of change; our future development program must be in tune with these new realities.



UNITED NATIONS ASSOCIATION OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

ADDENDUM "1"

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March 28, 1988

MEMORANDUM

TO: Board of Governors and Strategic Planning and Development Committee

FROM: Ed Luck

SUBJECT: Next Steps

The March 7th meeting of the UNA Board of Governors marked a turning point in the Association's history. The Board adopted unanimously a series of interrelated steps to insure the organization's growth and vitality for years to come. It did so in recognition of the severe strain the organization has been under and the immensely promising opportunities before it. The new plan, put forth by Ivan Selin on behalf of the Strategic Planning and Development Committee, builds on the reorganization of staff and program functions carried out over the last six months.

The Board plan includes the following steps:

- 1) The reinvigoration of the Board itself, through a greater involvement of its members in the financial and programmatic affairs of the Association and the recruitment of new members of great promise in order to inject new blood into the organization's leadership;
- 2) The restructuring of financial relationships between the National Office and local Chapters and Divisions in order to more equitably share the burdens of serving the membership, along with a vigorous national program for the recruitment of new members and for the further development of "model" or "demonstration" chapters;
- 3) The raising, over the next three months and from within the UNA "family," of a \$500,000 Transitional Fund to retire accumulated debts and to establish a modest working capital fund to assist the Association in times of cash flow problems;
- 4) The laying of the groundwork during 1988 for a major Capital Campaign, to be carried out in 1989 and 1990 with the aim of establishing a far stronger and more durable financial foundation for the future of the Association;
- 5) The intensive review, to be launched at UNA's National Convention in July, of the organization's By-Laws and decisionmaking structure; and
- 6) The continuing exploration by members of the Board and the Strategic Planning and Development Committee of the possibility of a merger with other compatible organizations.

Chairman of the Association
Elliot L. Richardson

Chairman, Board of Governors
Orville L. Freeman

Chairman, National Council
Cyrus R. Vance

Chairman, 1988 National U.N. Day
Stanley C. Pace

President
Edward C. Luck

Vice Chairmen
Ruth J. Hinerfeld
Harry W. Knight
Estelle Linzer
Jean Picker
Richard J. Schmeelk
Brent Scowcroft

Secretary
William J. vanden Heuvel

Treasurer
John R. Petty

Chairman, Strategic Planning & Development Committee
Ivan Selin

Co-Chairmen, Economic Policy Council
Henry Kaufman
Jack Sheinkman

Chairman, U.S.-USSR Parallel Studies Program
John G. Tower

Chairman, U.S.-China Parallel Studies Program
Brent Scowcroft

Chairman, U.S.-Japan Parallel Studies Program on Security
McGeorge Bundy

Chairman, Advisory Group Multilateral Project
Matthew Nimetz

Chairman, WFUNA Committee
Christopher H. Phillips

Governors
John C. Bierwirth
Sybil S. Craig
Ann Fouts
Mary Hall
Armand Hammer
Jerome Jacobson
Leo Nevas
William S. Norman
Evelyn M. Pickarts
Mary Purcell
Frank E. Richardson
Arthur Ross
Rabbi Alexander Schindler
Jack Sheinkman
Helmut Sonnenfeldt
Michael Witonski

Senior Vice President, Communications & Constituencies
Peggy Sanford Carlin

Vice President, Policy Studies
Toby Trister Gati

Executive Director, UNA Fund
Fred Tamalonis

Director, Special Events
Stanley Raisen

* * *

Founding Chairman
Robert S. Benjamin (1909-1979)

Chairman Emeritus
James S. McDonnell (1899-1980)

Honorary Chairman
Arthur J. Goldberg

These decisions address both the Association's immediate needs and the more fundamental restructuring necessary for the long haul. The organization needs an immediate injection of funds to meet its cash crisis, as well as a basic programmatic and financial reorientation of its public outreach efforts to make them self-supporting. I am enormously encouraged by the enthusiasm with which field representatives on the Board embraced the proposed steps and by the subsequent approval by the Dues Restructuring Committee of the National Convention of the changes recommended in dues levels and in the division of revenues between national and local programs. The benefits will be more than financial, for the membership recruitment and model chapter elements of the program will result in a larger and more active public constituency for the Association's work.

The Board has thus identified three priorities for 1988: 1) to raise the Transition Fund; 2) to revitalize itself through the recruitment of new Board members; and 3) to put in place, with the Convention's approval where necessary, the plans for making the field operations self-sustaining and for increasing membership. Once these goals have been achieved, the Association will be well-positioned to launch a capital campaign and to revise our By-Laws. When we have achieved these first three objectives, donors will have much greater confidence in investing in the future of the Association, for these are the essential building blocks toward a much stronger organization.

In larger strategic terms, UNA is very well positioned to build on encouraging trends in the international environment. The international system is entering an age of multipolarity in which the cooperation of many countries will be required to resolve common problems. American policymakers are coming to recognize that this will demand a greater commitment to making the UN and other international institutions work better. Moscow's new emphasis on the UN and multilateral diplomacy, along with the increasingly pragmatic stance of non-aligned countries, has enhanced the possibility of a renaissance in international cooperation and in the functioning of the United Nations.

So as we get our internal affairs in order, the Association will be able to benefit from a rising tide politically and substantively. In planning to take advantage of these new opportunities, the Association must now begin to anticipate its program and resource requirements for the next decade. These needs will be identified in a case statement which we will soon begin drafting for UNA's Capital Campaign. Once we no longer have to swim against the political tide, UNA's work will pick up enormous momentum. Putting it another way, having survived a long, hard Winter, Spring is about to blossom for our Association.

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UNA-USA Strategic Planning Document

Draft of
September 22, 1988

by
Ed Luck

For discussion at September 29th meeting of the
UNA-USA Strategic Planning and Development Committee

UNA-USA is devoted to finding innovative ways of addressing global problems through international cooperation and multilateral institutions. The Association seeks to strengthen the UN system, to reassert constructive US leadership, and to promote the exchange of ideas among key member states. This mandate defines a unique place for UNA-USA among the major foreign policy organizations in this country.

Audiences and Functions

To carry out this mission, UNA-USA needs to reach the following priority audiences with its message:

- 1) Policymakers
 - a) US Administration and Congress
 - b) UN and other international organizations
 - c) Foreign leaders
- 2) American public
 - a) Core constituency (active participants and members)
 - b) Broad politically-aware public and media

Policymakers are our first target because their decisions, day-by-day, affect the issues of greatest concern to the Association. In the short-term, our highest priority should be to influence policy choices by bringing our views and proposals to the attention of responsible decision-makers in ways which are persuasive and compelling. From a longer-term perspective, the Association should with equal vigor seek to shape public attitudes and to build a core constituency in support of the principles for which the Association stands. Over the years, this effort to reach the larger public can help to define the political environment within which day-to-day policymaking takes place.

Among policymakers, our first priority should be key members of Congress and the Executive Branch in Washington, DC, since we are an American organization whose first responsibility is to address our national posture and interests in world affairs. The second policy target should be key decisionmakers in the United Nations, its specialized agencies, international

financial institutions, and regional organizations. It would be both one-sided and ultimately unproductive to focus all of our attention on American policies, since our agenda is global and multilateral. As a New York-based organization with unusual credibility and access at Turtle Bay, we are very well positioned to reach the international bureaucracy and the UN diplomatic community. And third, we should seek to reach top policymakers in other key countries, such as the Soviet Union, the rising states of Asia, US allies and leading non-aligned nations. In the end, of course, multilateral action requires the cooperation of many countries, so for two decades UNA-USA has carried out high-level international dialogue and research.

Trying to reach these three groups of policymakers at the same time is a demanding, but mutually reinforcing, task. UNA-USA gains credibility in Washington by the fact that it expresses its concerns in foreign capitals and at the UN, rather than simply blaming Washington for all of the world's ills. It gains access in foreign capitals because of the perception that it has political clout in Washington and with the American public and media. And UN officials accord the Association special stature in appreciation of its role in shaping policies and opinion in the UN's most important member state. Besides, to attempt to move multilateral issues and institutions requires reaching multiple audiences here and abroad.

It is not enough, however, for UNA-USA to seek to reach national and international policymakers with its message. If the Association is to make a difference over the long term, then it will have to be equally effective in shaping public attitudes and media coverage of global issues and institutions. This effort should be accorded equal status with the short-term efforts to persuade policymakers on individual issues. This 50-50 split of organizational effort is reflected both in UNA-USA's budget priorities over the past few years and in the staff restructuring carried out last fall.

In order to influence long-term attitudes, UNA-USA needs: 1) to engage direct public participation in its programs and 2) to conduct broad communication efforts through the media, educators and the Association's network of affiliated organizations. Direct participation, whether through membership or participation in outreach programs such as the Multilateral Project and Model UNs, helps to develop a strong, bipartisan, and active group

of core supporters of the organization and its policy goals. These are the people we can call upon at relatively short notice to bring their voices to bear on the policymaking process both through Congress and the White House. The ability to mobilize active, knowledgeable and concerned constituents is often a key to deciding controversial political issues in Washington. The Association has made progress on this front, but this effort will need continuing attention in the coming years.

At the same time, it is necessary to supplement a core constituency with intensive efforts to keep the media, educators and affiliated organizations informed of UNA's views and proposals. In the efforts to restore US funding to the UN, for example, our growing credibility as a source for journalists helped to spark the media barrage of criticism of the US withholdings and ultimately to persuade the President to call for full funding of the United Nations. Traditionally this has been a weak spot for the Association, but through a combination of greater credibility, more consistent attention, and the infusion of new resources, we are beginning to realize our potential to affect the national debate on multilateral issues. It should be recognized, however, that the growing visibility of UNA-USA and the UN itself has come at a price in terms of the large proportion of top staff time now devoted to dealing with the media.

UNA-USA does not need to choose between reaching policymakers or the broader public. The organization's structure, history and mandate all underline the importance of doing both. They are mutually reinforcing goals because the stronger our public constituency then the easier it will be to affect policy, and the more influential UNA is perceived to be in the policy realm the easier it will be to recruit and hold members and to attract media interest.

For many years, UNA-USA suffered from negative trends on both fronts, as negative national policies were reflected in declining UNA membership. Now that the tide has turned, the Association must learn to take positive advantage of the encouraging trends both in Washington and in the country at large. We have a rare opportunity to turn from the defensive to the offensive, but our ingrained tendency to think small and to expect the worst may not help. Our staff is one-half as large as a decade ago and our finances

remain precarious. Our lean years, moreover, have left us with a spotty chapter, division and affiliated organization structure. We must rebuild a more vibrant and balanced constituency if we are to have a sustained impact in Washington, particularly during the "bad" times when our perspectives are out of vogue. In recent years, the Association has sought to further this goal by acting as a citizens' think tank, building both ideas and constituencies to advocate them.

The effort to reach such diverse audiences here and abroad entails considerable functional breadth as well, since we must employ a number of different tools to advance our institutional goals. We need to maintain 1) the participation of outstanding lay leaders in policy, financial and governance questions, 2) in-house substantive expertise, 3) an active professional presence in Washington, 4) a series of dialogues with other key countries, 5) a broad network of members and core constituents, and 6) strong outreach programs for the media, affiliated organizations and publications. Each of these helps to advance our basic goals and, together, they offer the variety of tools needed to reach each of our key audiences. At the same time, we should review periodically how well UNA is performing in each functional area and whether there are new approaches that would be more effective.

Issues

In considering how broad UNA's substantive agenda should be at any particular point in time, it is essential to recognize that the organization has limited resources. Even with a significant influx of funds, only a handful of issues could sensibly be dealt with by the organization's leadership and staff at one time. Moreover, since UNA-USA's mission demands addressing a wide range of audiences through a number of different functional avenues, then there would be a real danger of system overload if the organization decided to try to make a difference on too many issues simultaneously.

Hence, it would seem best to base our future plans on a philosophy of functional breadth and substantive depth. In other words, the organization should be very selective in terms of substantive priorities, but should pursue each of the chosen issues intensively and in a wide variety of ways. It is

better to make a real difference on a few issues than to scratch the surface of many. Hundreds of organizations produce quality reports, but few of these have lasting influence either on policy or on attitudes.

The Association admittedly has a broad mission, but at any point in time it should choose to focus its efforts on only a few items of promise and importance, with this agenda evolving year by year depending on the course of events. From time to time, the Association should return to earlier themes in order to spur the implementation of policy recommendations or in light of changing circumstances.

UNA-USA is primarily concerned about three clusters of issues:

- 1) international institutions and US leadership in them, including questions of UN reform, US funding and US priorities, international financial institutions, and regional organizations;
- 2) building a consensus for international action through communication among key member states, including a) US-Soviet relations and Soviet policies toward international institutions and global issues, b) the increasingly important role of Japan, China and other East Asian countries in international organizations, global economic affairs and international security, and c) the policies of other nations, both allies and developing countries, toward international issues and institutions; and
- 3) global issues, including a) global economic issues (on which UNA-USA should have standing in-house expertise and programs), and b) a range of other issues -- human rights, food, refugees, health, environment, drugs, terrorism and security -- which would be addressed one or two at a time through the Multilateral Project and other mechanisms.

Of these three substantive areas, it is expected that about 40 percent of the organization's efforts -- both research and outreach -- would be devoted to the first and 30 percent to each of the other two. Of course, this rule of thumb might vary from time to time depending on needs and opportunities.

Among the international dialogues, clearly the most important (and the one in which UNA has the greatest comparative advantage) is the series of study groups with the Soviet UNA. With the remarkable shift in Soviet attitudes toward the UN and multilateral cooperation, for which the Association can claim some credit, the possibilities for expanding a

constructive dialogue with the Soviets on ways to rebuild and utilize the UN and other international institutions have multiplied. UNA-USA is extremely well-positioned to take advantage of this positive turn in events and it should receive our second highest substantive priority after strengthening international institutions and the US role in them. The improvement in Soviet-American relations and the change in Soviet attitudes have been important factors in sparking the renaissance in UN peacemaking and peacekeeping efforts. Therefore it would make little sense to focus on the latter without consideration of the former.

The Association has had a series of successful dialogues with groups in Japan and China, though they have not had the continuity of the two-decades-old Soviet exchanges. Neither Japan nor China is as yet as significant a player in international institutions, at least in political and security terms, as is the Soviet Union, but they, along with other countries of East Asia and ASEAN, hold great promise for the future. By developing strong ties with countries in that region, UNA-USA will be in a position to help influence their evolving roles in the international community. This would be a valuable investment in the future, though dealings with the Soviets have a higher priority for the present.

While there is little doubt about the utility of maintaining intensive dialogues with the Soviet Union, Japan and China, the question of their substantive focus has stirred some controversy. Over the years, the question of how to strengthen multilateral cooperation has been only one of several agenda items and, at least for some high-level participants, not the most engaging one. A number of the top figures in these dialogues would not have joined if the focus had been on international institutions to the exclusion of central issues in the bilateral relationship. Multilateral questions have been perceived as at best of secondary importance by much of the foreign policy community here and abroad in recent years. That perception is changing, however, in part because of UNA's efforts and it should be possible to begin to shift the balance among competing priorities as public and official attitudes evolve in a positive direction. In the meantime, some flexibility should be retained in the substantive agenda even as questions of international organization and multilateral action come to the fore.

Among the global issues of concern to UNA-USA, economic questions should get special attention. The realities of global interdependence are nowhere so clear as in the challenges of the global marketplace. These issues have enormous domestic implications, but their solutions must be worked out through multilateral mechanisms, since unilateral action is rarely sufficient. Over the past year, our Economic Policy Council has begun to focus in a much more concerted manner on the challenges of global economic interdependence, bringing its substantive themes much more in line with those of UNA-USA as a whole. In our future planning, we need to further this integration of effort and priorities.

Opportunities and Needs

Structurally, UNA-USA's greatest needs are 1) to reinforce its financial base, 2) to reinvigorate its Board, and 3) to revise its By-Laws and decision-making structure. These are clearly interrelated goals of immediate importance. The steps that are underway to address these problems are noted in another memo -- Rebuilding UNA - A Brief Status Report -- prepared for the September 29th meeting of the Strategic Planning and Development Committee.

Programatically, the organization needs: 1) to broaden the base of its constituency and membership, 2) to develop a higher profile and greater visibility, 3) to enlarge its Washington presence, and 4) to deepen the base of its substantive work. Ways of meeting these needs over the short term (the next two years, through 1990), the medium term (the next two to five years, 1990 to 1993) and the long term (the next five to ten years, 1993 to 1998), are discussed below, followed by a time line indicating how these would be phased over the next decade.

The critical first steps toward rebuilding and broadening the Association's membership -- its core constituency -- are now well underway, having been approved by the Board and then the National Convention this past summer. A new dues structure has been adopted which, when it goes fully into effect on January 1st, will increase the funds available for membership recruitment, ease the strain on the national budget, and make the national field program financially self-sufficient for the first time. The demonstration chapter program, based on its initial success in Syracuse,

appears to be a promising vehicle for attracting large numbers of new members and for diversifying the membership base. The enthusiasm with which these steps were adopted by the National Convention is encouraging, particularly because they may entail a significant short-term financial sacrifice on the part of most chapters and divisions. Discussions are also underway with the Ford Foundation about the possibility of its providing financial incentives for chapters which develop innovative methods for attracting new members.

In essence, the Association has decided to rebuild its field program piece by piece, building on strong local foundations wherever they exist. There are no shortcuts to recasting UNA's membership or field structure. It is important to seek a significant growth in the quantity of members to give a sense of momentum, to add to the organization's political clout, and to achieve economies of scale in the operations of the field program. At the same time, an at least equal priority should be given to the quality, balance and diversity of UNA's membership in order to insure a broad mainstream constituency for the organization and its objectives.

In addition to these steps, greater emphasis should be placed on youth programs, especially Model UNs, and on realizing the outreach potential of UNA-USA's network of 135 affiliated organizations, which include major national education and teacher groups. The plans for establishing and financing a Model United Nations Consortium are well underway, and an endowment should also be sought to provide long-term income for a sustained effort to reach America's future leaders. It will be impossible to realize the potential inherent in the unusually broad range of organizations affiliated with UNA-USA, now that Peggy Carlin is on the verge of retirement, unless a high-level staff person is hired for the task. This job requires maintaining direct and personal contact with the heads of the organizations, not just with their representatives in New York or Washington, and developing more extensive programming for the groups. In all of this, it is essential that UNA-USA get far beyond talking to the like-minded and reach out to people with a wide variety of political viewpoints. We should make it clear that international organization and multilateral cooperation is in the interest of all Americans, not just Republicans or Democrats, conservatives or liberals.

Through a happy coincidence of international trends and UNA interests and through the generosity of Patrick Gerschel, the Association is beginning to raise its public and media profile. But steps need to be taken to give this trend a more permanent character. Two steps come to mind. First would be to establish a Media and Public Opinion Center which could serve as a beacon to journalists needing information or analysis on international organizations or global issues. It would be manned by two articulate and knowledgeable staffers, such as the person who has been hired for eighteen months under the terms of the Gerschel grant, and a secretary. The group would also coordinate annual public opinion polling, which is an excellent device for generating media interest, for providing guidance on future policy directions, and for giving members of Congress and the Executive Branch a better sense of public attitudes toward multilateral issues and institutions. It would be best to endow such a center, which would offer a good naming opportunity, or at least to secure a long-term gift for its operation.

The second, and somewhat less ambitious, possibility would be to produce monthly half-hour videotapes for distribution to chapters and divisions, affiliated organizations, and local television stations. There could be two formats: one with news about UNA-USA activities, programs and priorities aimed at our core constituents and one with leading experts and officials addressing UNA's substantive agenda for use by local and public TV stations. The quality and expense of the latter would be substantially higher than for the former.

At present, the Association's Washington Office has one professional and a single administrative assistant to provide representation on Capitol Hill, to offer information to UNA-USA members, to facilitate contacts with other like-minded organizations, to edit and produce the Washington Weekly Report, to organize a variety of meetings for congressional aides and members, and to serve the informational and programmatic needs of the New York office. Clearly our staffing is not adequate to the task, especially in light of the growing emphasis throughout the Association's programs on reaching key policymakers in the Washington community. Apparently this will be one of the major conclusions of the ongoing Ford Foundation review of the work of the Association.

The Washington office could use a full-time researcher/writer/editor, a second professional in addition to the Director to represent the organization on Capitol Hill, and a full-time secretary. It would be better if it had greater office space, with a small conference room, and a Capitol Hill location. In addition to its ongoing efforts, additional funding and staff resources would permit the office to carry out more frequent meetings to introduce the Washington and Turtle Bay communities to each other and to do a more professional and more thorough editing of the Washington Weekly Report, along with more energetic efforts to promote its circulation. In addition, we have done a spotty job at best in harnessing the intellectual and political resources of our members and friends in the Washington area. With additional staff support, it should be possible to organize the outstanding people associated with the organization in the nation's capital in a much more concerted and coherent manner. Again, this would seem to be an attractive endowment opportunity, particularly because the new office could be dedicated to the donor.

In many ways, the work of the Washington office in recent years has become more fully integrated both with the policy research programs and the public outreach efforts of the New York office. But it would be very helpful to have a full-time Washington Fellow based in the office there, who could help to represent the organization and particularly its substantive programs, especially in the Executive Branch. At the present time, a large portion of our interactions with the Executive Branch are carried out from New York either by phone or through visits to the nation's capital. The presence of a relatively senior policy studies staff member in Washington would multiply the access and profile of UNA's research programs with the policymakers who in the end are asked to implement its recommendations.

The Association has a reputation for strong substantive work. In terms of substantive staff resources, however, the organization is perilously thin. Four staff members, including the President, provide the bulk of the organization's professional substantive expertise, as well as organizing and funding the Association's wide variety of substantive programs. In some cases, this has led to administrative or financial bottlenecks, in other cases to inadequate representational work in terms of publications, speeches and

media or public appearances. As the organization's profile has grown, so too have demands, especially from the media, for information and ideas from the Association's staff. Through the years, UNA-USA has attracted a stellar group of former government officials, academics and business and labor leaders to its programs, but to utilize their talents fully would require additional staff support. The staff of the Economic Policy Council is especially thin given the importance of its constituency to the future of the Association.

Because most UNA-USA programs are grant-driven, a large proportion of our policy staff's time is spent on generating proposals, courting foundations, and then reporting the results back to the grant-giving foundations. This is terribly time-consuming, threatens to warp our priorities, and gives the whole enterprise a rather ad hoc and short-term perspective. We need to build long-term programs and to develop in-house expertise on the core issues of concern to the Association: international organization affairs, the Soviet Union, East Asia and global economics. Short-term projects would continue to be funded through individual foundation grants, while endowments could be developed for a Senior Fellow in each of these four areas. In addition, we could establish a Developing World Fellowship, which could cover the costs of bringing on board a promising third world official from the UN, one of its agencies or a national government for a year of work at the Association on either a specific global issue or on international institution reform. Each of these, of course, would present an attractive endowment opportunity and would broaden and enhance the Association's intellectual horsepower, programmatic opportunities and international stature.

In addition, the organization should develop a series of forums where leading experts and officials could meet with selected audiences either from the business community, the Association's lay leadership, or specialists and journalists from around the New York or Washington communities, as well as with members of the Association in those areas. There are any number of formats and ways to go about this, all with the same basic objective of engendering greater intellectual ferment in the organization, stimulating new ideas, and broadening the organization's outreach and visibility. They would allow a much wider group of key supporters and friends of the Association to

feel a sense of participation in its activities. In this regard, a merger with the Business Council for the UN would make a great deal of sense for both organizations. But whether or not a merger is feasible, UNA-USA on its own should undertake to develop a series of such forums in the near future if sufficient funding and staff time can be put together.

It will also be important to fill in a missing piece from UNA's organizational structure, that is the position of Vice President for Administration. The position of Executive Vice President was eliminated in the 1983-1984 restructuring largely as a cost-saving measure. As the programs and demands on the organization have grown since then, however, it has become increasingly apparent that it would be cost-effective to bring aboard someone to handle day-to-day administrative chores. Fred Tamalonis has taken on some of this burden but to that extent it has distracted from his more critical long-term development work, and this is not a good use of my time when the organization is seeking to increase its visibility, to strengthen its board and to develop a secure financial footing. This might be a more difficult position to endow, but if sufficient earmarked gifts are secured for other purposes, then there should be room for this under general operating income.

Relatively little has been said here about how to enhance the Association's relationships with leaders and organizations in developing countries. This is a difficult and expensive task, particularly because of the lack of compatible organizations to work with in most third world countries. It is envisioned, however, that this objective could be furthered in four ways. First, UNA-USA would continue to involve top third world intellectuals and leaders in individual programs whenever possible. The UN Management and Decision-making Project was a successful example of this. Second, we will continue to work actively with leading third world ambassadors to the UN through a variety of programs and activities. Third, the development of a Developing World Fellowship program would ensure that a third world perspective would be available in-house for all of UNA's programs. And fourth, if Maurice Strong is successful in bringing new life to the World Federation of UN Associations (WFUNA) then it can provide an institutional vehicle for reaching out to groups with similar interests in many developing countries. Strengthening third world UNAs is a goal which we very much share with him.

Short-, Medium- and Long-term Goals

Clearly these goals cannot all be achieved at once. We are more likely to reach our objectives of a substantially revamped and reinvigorated UNA through evolution rather than revolution. We can maintain the organization's traditional strengths even as we build a new superstructure around them. But at the same time, we should aim high with a clear plan in mind about how each step will lead toward our ultimate objectives.

By the end of 1990, a bit over two years ~~from now~~, we should seek to achieve the following:

- 1) Strengthen the Board by recruiting new members with major financial potential, stature and a willingness to work actively to turn the organization around;
- 2) Build a reserve fund of \$2 million and an endowment of \$5 million, while accumulating successive annual surpluses sufficient to counterbalance the large 1987 deficit;
- 3) Conduct a successful 25th Anniversary Celebration in 1989 and continue to raise the Association's media profile;
- 4) Increase membership by 25 percent, consolidate network of Demonstration Chapters, spark revival of affiliated organization structure, and secure funding for Model UN Consortium;
- 5) Revise By-laws;
- 6) Develop a series of ongoing UNA Forums;
- 7) Bolster staff of Washington office;
- 8) Recruit and endow global economics Fellow; and
- 9) Recruit and fund position of Vice President for Administration.

Over the medium-term, 1990-1993, we can build on these initial stages in the following ways:

- 1) Build the endowment to \$20 million, while maintaining balanced budgets or small surpluses every year;
- 2) Double membership from the 1988 base and recruit a new generation of leaders for most chapters and divisions;
- 3) Establish and endow a Media and Public Opinion Center;
- 4) Recruit and endow Senior Fellows in Soviet affairs, East Asia and

international organizations;

- 5) Establish and endow the visiting Developing World Fellowship; and
- 6) Complete the expansion of the Washington Office facilities and staff, create the position of Washington Fellow, and endow both the office and the position.

Long-term goals, to be reached between 1993 and 1998 -- a decade from now -- include:

- 1) Building the endowment to \$40 million, while maintaining annual financial stability;
- 2) Acquisition of a separate building for UNA or possibly of a campus setting outside of New York, so that the organization can hold major conferences in its own facilities;
- 3) Development of a high-quality global network through the resurgence of the World Federation and through a series of relationships with groups and individuals in other parts of the world; and
- 4) A second doubling of membership to four times the 1988 level.

By this point, UNA would be a very different and far more effective organization than it is today. Its fundamental sense of purpose, however, would remain steadfast throughout the sweeping changes in its operations and capabilities.

EXHIBIT "A"

UNA-USAANALYSIS OF UNRESTRICTED SUPPORT1987

<u>CATEGORY</u>	<u>TOTAL NUMBER</u>	<u>TOTAL GIFTS</u>	<u>PERCENTAGE OF CONTRIBUTORS IN CATEGORY</u>	<u>DOLLAR AMOUNT</u>	<u>AVERAGE GIFT AMOUNT</u>
Governors	28	*22	78	43,596	1,982
Directors	98	**50	51	22,825	457
National Council	66	29	43	6,395	221
Members	<u>17,395</u>	<u>1,419</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>70,362</u>	<u>50</u>
<u>SUB TOTAL</u>	17,587	1,520	8%	\$143,178	\$ 95
<u>Other Friends</u>					
Individuals		104		7,750	75
Corporations		9		17,850	1,983
Foundations		3		13,750	4,450
Unions & Organizations		<u>4</u>		<u>1,850</u>	<u>463</u>
<u>TOTALS</u>		1,640		\$184,378	\$ 112

* Three other Governors provided a total of \$176,689 in personal support for special purposes i.e. UNA Endowment Fund, Special Events.

** Two other Directors provided a total of \$7,720 in personal support for special purposes.

EXHIBIT "B"

UNA-USA

ANALYSIS OF UNRESTRICTED SUPPORT
BY
LEADERSHIP CATEGORIES1987

<u>CATEGORY</u>	<u>TOTAL NUMBER</u>	<u>TOTAL GIFTS</u>	<u>PERCENTAGE OF CONTRIBUTORS IN CATEGORY</u>	<u>DOLLAR AMOUNT</u>	<u>AVERAGE GIFT AMOUNT</u>
Governors	28	23	79	\$ 44,596	\$ 1,917
Directors	98	50	51	22,825	457
National Council	66	29	43	6,395	221
Chapter Presidents	165	13	7	395	30
Other UNA Leadership	358	39	10	4,732	121
Members	<u>16,872</u>	<u>1,367</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>65,235</u>	<u>47</u>
<u>SUB TOTAL</u>	17,587	1,520	8%	\$143,678	\$ 95
<u>Other Friends</u>					
Individuals		104		7,750	75
Corporations		9		17,850	1,983
Foundations		3		13,750	4,450
Unions & Organizations		<u>4</u>		<u>1,850</u>	<u>463</u>
<u>TOTALS</u>		1,640		\$184,378	\$ 112

EXHIBIT "C"

UNA-USA
UNRESTRICTED INCOME PROJECTIONS
BY CATEGORY
FOR
1988 - 1989

1988

1989

CATEGORY	1988					1989				
	TOTAL NUMBER	TOTAL GIFTS	PERCENTAGE OF CONTRI- BUTORS IN CATEGORY	DOLLAR AMOUNT	AVERAGE GIFT AMOUNT	TOTAL NUMBER	TOTAL GIFTS	PERCENTAGE OF CONTRI- BUTORS IN CATEGORY	DOLLAR AMOUNT	AVERAGE GIFT AMOUNT
Governors	29	29	100	\$245,000	\$8,448	30	30	100	\$270,000	\$9,000
Directors	93	60	64	30,000	500	100	75	75	56,250	750
National Council	70	30	42	10,000	333	75	50	66	17,500	350
Chapter Presidents	165	75	45	3,750	50	165	125	75	9,375	75
Other UNA Leadership	358	100	27	10,000	100	358	150	41	15,000	100
Members	16,872	1,500	8	75,000	50	16,872	2,000	11	120,000	60
SUB TOTAL	17,587	1,794	10 %	\$373,750	\$ 208	17,600	2,430	13 %	\$488,125	\$ 201
*Other Friends		120		41,200	343		200		50,000	250
TOTAL		1,914		\$414,995	\$ 217		2,630		\$538,125	\$ 205

* For purposes of projected growth, a modest increase in unrestricted income from friends mainly due to corporate matching gift income is included in this chart.

UNITED NATIONS ASSOCIATION OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

485 FIFTH AVENUE, NEW YORK, N.Y. 10017-6104 PHONE: (212) 697-3232 FAX: (212) 682-9185 CABLE: UNASMER
WASHINGTON OFFICE: 1010 VERMONT AVENUE, N.W., SUITE 904, WASHINGTON, D.C. 20005 PHONE: (202) 347-5004 FAX: (202) 628-5945

September, 1988

Dear Member & Friend:

You and I share membership in an Association which for a quarter century has helped shape public debate and national policy concerning the United Nations and world affairs. It has not sought to preach a doctrine or to engage in partisan politics. But it has consistently, and forcefully, stood for a stronger United Nations system and a stronger US role in it. I believe that you will agree that the accomplishments of the United Nations Association in spurring progress over the past twenty-five years have been substantial. Today we are witnessing a renaissance in UN peacekeeping capabilities around the world and a resurgence in public interest in the humanitarian and peacemaking work of the world body.

The coming decades will see challenges and dangers at least as critical as those of the past fifty years. Certainly the challenges will be more complex, and meeting them will require all the wisdom and experience our country can bring to bear. It is a fact that we live in an increasingly interdependent world where solutions to global problems will depend more and more on multilateral cooperation. I can think of no private organization as well placed to convene the nation's considerable human resources for the sustained consideration of those problems as the United Nations Association of the USA. If provided with adequate financial resources, the Association will continue to make significant contributions to shaping American foreign policy, and to world peace at a critical stage in human history.

UNA-USA's loyal members have responded generously to our requests for annual contributions and their support has enabled the Association to maintain its basically sound financial condition. But there are limits, as well as uncertainties, to the amounts that can be secured through Annual Giving. A bequest, of whatever amount, will help build a long-term endowment for the Association, assuring a continuing and substantial source of income for years to come.

(over, please)

The Association has been fortunate in receiving several generous bequests from members over the years. Knowing about this generosity helps us to plan better for the future. In order to determine the likelihood of future bequests and planned gift arrangements to the Association, I am writing to ask you, if you will, to complete and return the enclosed questionnaire.

As UNA-USA members, and as citizens, we have benefited from its work during our lifetime. I hope that as members and citizens, we will do what we can to assure that the Association will be in a position to meet the increasing demands that lie ahead. I believe the time has come for members and friends of the Association to think more in terms of testamentary gifts to the Association to supplement their annual giving. Thanks very much.

With warm regard,

Sincerely,



Elliot L. Richardson
Chairman of the Association

Enc. Confidential Questionnaire

(DUPLICATED BELOW)

Confidential

Dear UNA-USA member:

The United Nations Association of the USA has been fortunate in receiving several bequests from Association members over the years.

Knowing about this generosity helps us to plan better for the future. Please take a few moments to complete this form and return it to me in the enclosed envelope.

This information will be kept strictly confidential.

Thank you.

ELLIOT L. RICHARDSON
Chairman of the Association

- ☐ I have included UNA-USA in my will.
- ☐ I plan to include UNA-USA in my will.
- ☐ I would like to include UNA-USA in my will. Please send me information on bequest arrangements.
- ☐ Please call me about a bequest or planned gift arrangement to UNA-USA.

My telephone number is:

Home

Office

Signed

INTERNATIONAL

The UN through the American Door

Teaching about the United Nations offers benefits in subjects from social studies to art—and an American organization makes teaching about the UN a lot easier.

October is a month when many classes spend some time studying the United Nations in preparation for UN Day, Oct. 24.

What students learn about the UN can be a resource for them again and again. When they're not studying world problems in school, they're likely to confront them outside of school—problems like the arms race, epidemics, air or water pollution, the third-world debt crisis, the uneven distribution of food (or bauxite, or petroleum), illiteracy, the population explosion.

These are problems that can be solved only when governments work on them together. And the United Nations is the forum where governments have gotten together to do just that—through bodies like the World Health Organization; the UN Environmental Program; the Food and Agriculture Organization; the Educational, Scientific, and

Cultural Organization; the Security Council; and the Children's Fund, UNICEF.

By studying the UN, students can learn much about a range of world problems, but they can also learn about cooperation and about hope.

The UN agencies offer information and materials about their work for people who contact them directly. But a U.S. organization has taken on the task of helping the public learn about the UN. The United Nations Association of the United States of America (UNA/USA) helps find speakers, recommends or sometimes lends audiovisual materials, provides information and print materials, and runs some programs of its own.

More than likely there's a UNA/USA chapter near you.* And more than likely, if you're teaching about the UN or any subject that reaches across national boundaries, UNA/USA has something to offer you.

Eddie Faye Gates has been teaching social studies at Edison High School in Tulsa (Okla.) for 20 years. And for 20 years she's been sponsoring the school's Model UN team—a year-long project.

"Usually about 10 or 15 kids, in grades 9 through 12, stay with the project all

year," Gates reports. "They write to the United Nations in New York or to embassies for information on the countries they represent. They study world problems; they polish up their parliamentary procedure. During the preparation period, the University of Tulsa allows them to use its library—they enjoy that."

The Model UN itself takes place at the University of Tulsa in April. Representing permanent and temporary members of the UN Security Council, students propose, debate, and act on resolutions. "They love taking part—and they love winning," says Gates, whose students have captured numerous awards for best delegation or delegate.

"The UNA provides materials, pays for the prizes (miniature gavels) and for buses so we can visit another Model UN, at the University of Oklahoma," Gates notes.

Paula Miller of Frankfort, Ky., gets a less formal kind of help from UNA/USA. Association member Miller attends monthly lectures on different countries (especially as they relate to the UN) sponsored by the local UNA/USA chapter. She takes notes or tapes the lectures, then incorporates the information wherever it fits into her social studies classes at Elkhorn Middle School.

"For speakers, they draw on Kentucky State University here in Frankfort," says Miller, "or bring speakers in from Louisville or Lexington—mostly people from overseas or from the foreign service."

UNA/USA in Frankfort also offers an annual project on a topic of worldwide concern—hunger, for example, or the nuclear weapons non-proliferation treaty. UNA's New York office sends background material on the topic, participants study up, then come together to work out proposed solutions. UNA/USA eventually submits the ideas it collects nationwide to UN Secretary General Javier Perez de Cuellar.

Teachers in Washington State get a lot of help from REACH, the state's Recognizing Ethnic And Cultural Heritage consortium. As project director for REACH, Association member David Tremaine of Lake Stevens is responsible for organizing five inservice days a year. Participants are teachers and administrators from some 25 high schools in subscribing districts around the state. Topics have ranged from global environmental issues (a workshop held in a state park) to Washington State's relations with countries around the Pacific Rim and throughout the world. REACH

also helps high schools develop year-round programs on global issues.

The local UNA/USA chapter provides resource people for the workshops, and REACH's resource center includes UNA/USA materials on teaching about the UN. Sometimes Tremaine asks UNA/USA's New York office to recommend a resource person from UN headquarters. Then Tremaine (who's on leave half-time from teaching social studies at Lake Stevens High School) goes to work with other organizations to share expenses or fund the trip.

UNA/USA also cooperates with NEA to help teachers teach about the UN. Two jointly-developed brochures, *ABC's of the United Nations* and *Choosing Your Future*, are due out this fall. They'll be available through both UNA/USA and NEA's Office of Peace Programs and International Relations.

Advice, information, recommendations, support—the UNA/USA offers all these to teachers looking for new ways to teach their students about the world, its problems, and how people can work together.

—Jane Power

* Check your phonebook for a local UNA/USA chapter or get the address (and a free publications list) from the main office: UNA/USA, 485 Fifth Ave., New York, NY 10017-6104, 212/697-3232. Through Dec. 31, UNA/USA is offering introductory individual memberships (normally \$35 a year) for \$25. Annual membership fees for retired people and students are \$15 and \$10 respectively.

Women's Rights Join Human Rights On World Agenda

The tide is turning worldwide. Women's influence on domestic and international issues is growing, and from all points of the globe women's voices are ringing louder and clearer. In the United States, the women's agenda has become the nation's agenda, and globally, there is an increasingly clear linkage between women's rights and human rights.

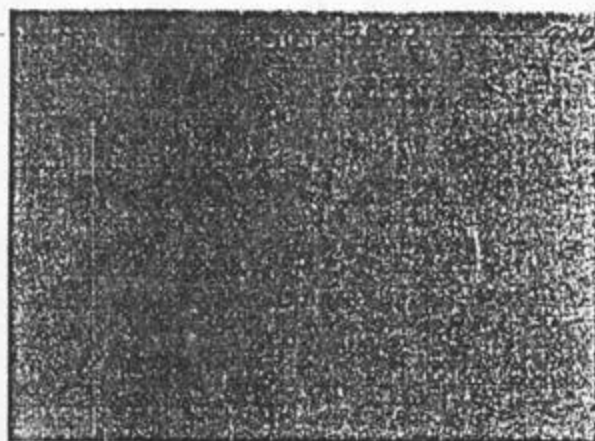
A focal point of this international evolution will be December 10, when the 40th anniversary of the United Nations Universal Declaration of Human Rights is observed. Forty years ago, governments worldwide for the first time agreed on a standard against which to measure their treatment of citizens. In adopting the declaration, nations pledged to recognize and observe such human rights as life, liberty, and security of persons; equality before the law; freedom of thought, conscience, and religion; freedom of opinion and expression; the right to work and to free choice of employment; the right to a standard of living adequate for health and well-being; the right to education; and the right to participate in the cultural life of one's community.

buoyed by the achievements of the U.N. Decade for Women, individuals and women's groups have pressed their governments to respond more effectively to the needs and rights of women on issues from family violence to economic opportunity. The U.N. has been key to the increasing influence of women in the fight for international human rights, and never more clearly than when, on December 19, 1979, the General Assembly adopted the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women. Ninety-four countries have ratified the convention, obligating them to pursue a policy of eliminating discrimination against women and to report on such progress to a U.N. committee within one year of ratification, and every four years thereafter.

Noticeably absent from the list of nations that have ratified the Convention is the U.S., which is also close to \$500 million in arrears in its assessed contributions to the U.N.

An Activist Tradition

AAUW has a sturdy tradition of action and support in the field of in-



Eleanor Roosevelt displays the U.N. Declaration of Human Rights.

ternational human rights, beginning in 1916 with a resolution put before the Association of Collegiate Alumnae—AAUW's precursor—to support Alice Masaryk, a distinguished scholar being tried for high treason by the Austrian government. From 1921 to 1935, AAUW legislative programs supported U.S. ratification of the League of Nations, which was never approved by Congress.

When World War II broke out in Europe in 1939, AAUW again asked its members to respond to the needs of an imperiled continent. The Committee on International Relations urged the Association to do everything possible to meet the critical situation of displaced university women and other refugees. In 1940, the Association Board declared "aid to university women and their children an urgent and immediate task," and 3,000 members offered to take British women and children into their homes.

In the postwar period, AAUW was one of the first organizations to call for the creation of a forum for the resolution of international conflict—this time the United Nations. As a result of its early support, AAUW was accorded permanent "observer" status at the U.N.

AAUW's support of the U.N. has also included steadfast lobbying of Congress for full U.S. funding of the U.N. and its related agencies and aid programs. AAUW has partici-

pated in several successful coalition efforts to block attempts in Congress to cut funding of U.N. programs such as the U.N. Development Fund for Women (UNIFEM).

The Association took a further step into the international arena with its 1986 Equity by 2000 conference, which gathered 600 women from 30 countries to build upon the momentum of the 1985 U.N. Decade for Women Conference in Nairobi, and to work toward implementation of that conference's "Forward-Looking Strategies." And in 1988, the AAUW Educational Foundation used the occasion of its fiftieth anniversary to hold a symposium, "Preparing for the 21st Century," which focused on society's future agenda—one which participants agreed must involve greater global awareness and interdependence.

The Foundation Centennial also saw the introduction of the Eleanor Roosevelt Fund for Women and Girls: Intergenerational Partnerships, whose namesake was the prime mover in the creation of the U.N. Universal Declaration of Human Rights. Roosevelt's vision of a more

humane world through the development of human potential will be clearly reflected in the fund's focus on the special strengths and creative potential of intergenerational partnerships between women and girls. It will focus on removing barriers in education, promote appreciation of the ways women work and think, and transcend traditional boundaries of gender, race, class, generation, and culture.

International Matchmaking

According to AAUW President Sarah Harder, the Association can be most effective in the fight for international cooperation and human rights as a connector of organizations and builder of coalitions. "We can be a kind of matchmaker between those very specialized organizations that understand and deal with international issues on a daily basis and AAUW and other women's organizations," Harder said.

One such connection members, branches, and divisions can make is with the United Nations Association of the United States of America (UNA-USA). UNA-USA is a non-profit, nonpartisan membership organization that—through policy research, public outreach, and international dialogue—works to build a national and international constituency for global cooperation. Through 165 chapters nationwide, UNA-USA offers debates, speakers, and events focusing on such issues as international human rights, economic development, security, and protection of the environment. Interested members, branches, and divisions may contact UNA-USA, 485 Fifth Avenue, New York, NY 10017-6104; 212/697-3232.

Through their connection to organizations like UNA-USA, AAUW members can continue to expand the Association's mission of education, equity, and change beyond the borders of the U.S.

Jonathan Kronstadt, Associate Editor, Publications Office

Harder to Co-Chair Peace Convocation

AAUW President Sarah Harder will be co-chair of the Common Security Through Structures for Peace convocation February 24-25, 1989, in Washington, D.C. With sponsors as the Better World Society, United Nations Association-USA, Institute for Policy Studies, and AAUW, the convocation will bring together national and international peace and justice leaders and other concerned citizens to work on common security initiatives and structures necessary to achieve peace. For further information, please contact Evelyn Fakowski, Common Security Through Structures for Peace, 519 Seventh Street, S.E., Washington, D.C. 20003-45950.

U.N. Pledges Okayed

In a move scheduled to be signed in the relationship between the United States and the United Nations, President Bush has agreed to pay \$520 million in past debts to the U.N. and ordered the State Department to work out a plan to pay \$520 million in past debts to the U.N. The Reagan administration had withheld these payments in the past to protest what it saw as ineffectual and poor financial management of the U.N. and the recent move reflected the U.S. President's appreciation of U.N. efforts to cut costs and improve management.

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May 27, 1988

TO: Board of Governors

FROM: Ed Luck

SUBJECT: June 6th Meeting

When we meet here on Monday, June 6th -- from 12 to 4 p.m. in our newly-named Arthur Ross Conference Center -- there will be a lot to talk about. Elliot Richardson will chair the session.

As indicated on the enclosed agenda, we will begin with a serious financial review. Never before have I seen such an extraordinary mix of bad and good financial omens, and your oversight is needed as we move through a most precarious period. Please note that this will be handled in executive session.

We will then be joined by Luisa Kreisberg and Patrick Milliman, who have taken on the task of sprucing up UNA's public relations thanks to the generosity of Patrick Gerschel. I cannot recall a similar review of our p.r. deficiencies and prospects, even though all of us know that this has not been one of the Association's strengths. Your input at this early stage will help guide their work over the next year to year and a half.

Next on the agenda will be a review of the restructuring of the field mandated at your last meeting and of proposals for dramatically expanding our Model UN activities. We are continuing to push for UN reform and full US funding, and we will also want your views on a different approach to the Multilateral Project which has been proposed for next year. This will be followed by discussion of some new wrinkles in the Economic Policy Council and the Parallel Studies Programs.

The final act of a busy afternoon will be to meet with three representatives of the Soviet UNA, led by Anatoly Gromyko (the son), who is Director of the Institute of African Studies of the USSR Academy of Sciences. Coming directly on the heels of the Moscow summit and at a time of expanding relations between the US and Soviet UNAs, this promises to be an interesting give-and-take.

So please plan to be with us and to review beforehand the enclosed materials, which are ordered to correspond with the agenda. I will look forward to seeing you.

Tentative Agenda

UNA-USA Board of Governors Meeting

June 6, 1988
12 to 4 p.m.

Executive Session

- I. Approval of minutes of meeting of March 7, 1988
- II. Budget and Finance
 - A. Transition Fund
 - B. Cash flow
 - C. Prospects
 - D. Follow-up on rejuvenation of Board and merger possibilities

Open Session

- III. Improving UNA's public relations
 - A. Preliminary assessment by Luisa Kreisberg and Patrick Milliman of The Kreisberg Group, Ltd.
 - B. Discussion
- IV. Progress report on field restructuring
 - A. Dues and finances
 - B. Demonstration chapter program
- V. Model UN and youth programs
 - A. Model UN Consortium
 - B. Soviet-American exchange
 - C. Funding prospects
- VI. Convention update
- VII. UN reform/US funding issues
 - A. Management reform follow-through
 - B. Funding issues: US assessment, Presidential determination, Shultz meeting
 - C. Multilateral Projects and UNESCO
- VIII. Economic Policy Council
 - A. Global integration trilogy
 - B. Membership drive

- IX. Parallel Studies
 - A. East Asia
 - B. Quadrilateral
 - C. Soviet
- X. Other business
- XI. Discussion with board members of Soviet UNA:
 - Anatoly Gromyko, Director of the Institute of African Studies of the USSR Academy of Sciences
 - Grigory Morozov, Department Head of the Institute of World Economy and International Relations
 - Grigory Kovrizhenko, Deputy Secretary General of Soviet UNA

CONFIDENTIAL

MINUTES

UNA-USA BOARD OF GOVERNORS MEETING

Monday, March 7, 1988
UNA BOARD ROOM

ORVILLE L. FREEMAN - PRESIDING

Present: John Bierwirth, Sybil Craig, Orville L. Freeman, Mary Hall, Ruth Hinerfeld, Jerome Jacobson, Harry Knight, Estelle Linzer, Edward C. Luck, Leo Nevas, William Norman, John Petty, Evelyn Pickarts, Mary Purcell, Alexander Schindler, Richard Schmeelk, Ivan Selin, William vanden Heuvel.

Visitors/ James Leonard, Christopher Phillips, Maurice Strong, Sidney
Observers: Willner, Robert Zurbach.

Staff: Peggy Sanford Carlin, Carol Christian, Peter Fromuth, Toby Gati, Jeffrey Laurenti, James Olson, Sherry Polen, Stanley Raisen, Fred Tamalonis, Patricia Wilber.

The Chairman called the meeting to order at 12:15 p.m.

AGENDA ITEM I. APPROVAL OF MINUTES OF THE LAST BOARD MEETING

In the absence of the Secretary, who arrived later, the Chairman presented the Minutes of the Board of Governors meeting held on October 26, 1987. It was noted that the list of Board members who attended the meeting did not include Sybil Craig. Her name was then added to the list. Motion was made, seconded and approved to accept the Minutes as corrected.

The Chairman announced that Item VI would be moved up on the agenda.

AGENDA ITEM VI. OTHER BUSINESS

A) The Chairman introduced Robert Zurbach, President of the Pasadena Chapter and a member of the Dues Restructuring Committee, who was attending the meeting as an observer.

B) The Chairman asked the members to examine the biography of Frank Richardson which was included in the kits. On Arthur Ross' recommendation, Elliot Richardson and Ed Luck met with Frank Richardson last year to explore his potential interest in the work of the Association. He held subsequent meetings with staff members to learn more about specific program activities in which he might participate, and subsequently made a generous pledge to support the work of the Association. Elliot Richardson and Ed Luck have since recommended that Mr. Richardson be added to the Board. Motion was made, seconded and approved unanimously to accept Mr. Richardson on the Board of Governors.

C) Announcement was made that the UNA Board room will be named the Arthur Ross Conference Center in honor of Mr. Ross' many contributions to the work of the Association. A reception will be held on March 29th honoring Mr. Ross for all he has done and continues to do for the Association. Board members were invited to attend the reception.

AGENDA ITEM II. STRATEGIC AND FINANCIAL PLANNING AND CONSIDERATION OF PLANS FOR STRENGTHENING FIELD OPERATIONS AND MEMBERSHIP

The Chairman called on Ed Luck to open the discussion. A financial summary was included in the kits. He announced that 1987 had ended with a deficit of \$590,000, which represented over one-sixth of the Association's budget. Mr. Luck termed such a deficit unacceptable. About \$3 million had been raised last year. However, special events were not very successful financially, New Funds did not reach the projected \$252,000, and the capital campaign had not been launched during the year. Foundation grants were solid but not spectacular for the year, bringing in \$800-900,000.

The Association spent \$270,000 more than anticipated in 1987, largely because of unexpected costs associated with the move of headquarters and new projects whose additional expenditures were offset by earmarked income. The former included a bill for \$80,000 from an escalating clause in the old lease at 300 East 42nd Street and \$43,000 construction costs borne by the owner of the Fifth Avenue building. There were additional costs of \$54,000 in the development area. Mr. Luck warned that the Association has financial obligations going back almost a year totaling about \$300,000 and about \$100,000 in receivables. The cash flow situation was terrible, he stressed, even though the projects for foundation grants for this year look good.

A brief discussion followed.

Ivan Selin was asked to report on the progress of the Strategic Planning Committee. He explained that the Committee was set up last summer to find ways to end the downward spiral of year-after-year cutbacks. He then reported on the recommendations put forward by the Committee.

1) He called attention to the memorandum by Ed Luck regarding a restructuring. It recognizes that the Association can no longer afford to subsidize the field, though building a public constituency for the Association's work remains a high priority. The plan seeks both to revitalize field activity and to reduce the net cost of the field for 1988 and 1989 to the point where it becomes self-sustaining financially. It should be explained to the chapters and divisions at the National Convention that the Association is privatizing chapters in terms of giving an incentive for financial and programmatic entrepreneurship at the local level. There will be a real and positive change in the relationship between National and the field, providing a much stronger foundation on which to build the future of the Association.

2) The membership of the Board of Governors has to evolve in such a way so that the Board itself will be able to help more financially. This should occur through the injection of new blood into the Board.

3) The capital campaign should begin by the end of the year.

4) There will be a serious cash flow problem until the beginning of the capital campaign. The Committee recommends that a Transition Fund be established with a goal of \$500,000 to be raised from Board members and close friends of the Association. \$300,000 of the Fund would be used to repay the outstanding debts and the remaining \$200,000 would be a working capital fund to ease difficult cash-flow periods. Dr. Selin announced that he was prepared to start the Transition Fund with a "reasonably handsome gift." The Fund will be chaired by a member of the Strategic Planning Committee.

5) Discussion should go forward with the Business Council for the United Nations and other organizations with similar objectives about the possibilities for joint programming or mergers.

6) The National Convention should launch a serious study of the Association's By-Laws and structure.

After a discussion, the Chairman called on Ed Luck to explain the proposals for the restructuring.

Mr. Luck explained that the current financial arrangement with the field could not be continued. The untapped potential in the field is not being utilized because the financial base of the Association is not adequate to the task. He also noted that the National Office is now required to carry all the costs for fulfillment to the field. Mr. Luck made several recommendations. A demonstration or model chapter program would be initiated which would involve intensive work with the most active chapters. Youth membership would be raised from \$10 to \$15. The Senior category would increase to \$25 from the current \$15. A new category would be available for \$25 as an introductory rate for the first year. Two dollars of every membership unit would be put into a fund to cover the costs of membership mailings, etc. WFUNA dues would no longer be taken out of membership dues. The remaining dues funds would be split 50/50 between National and the chapters and divisions.

Mr. Luck noted that projections through 1991 were included in the kits. He also said that a UNA 25th anniversary fund for 1989 was under consideration but was not included in the projections. Mr. Luck indicated that the proposed dues changes should be discussed at the National Convention, although he would like to initiate the \$25 introductory dues and the \$2 a member fund before the Convention. He would also like to begin the Model Chapter program immediately.

Following a discussion, the Board members agreed on the recommendations. A motion was made, seconded and approved unanimously.

AGENDA ITEM III. RELATIONSHIP WITH THE BUSINESS COUNCIL FOR THE UN (BCUN)

It was reported that some of the leaders of the Association would be in contact with the BCUN to discuss the programs of the two organizations and to see whether it would be useful to consider a merger. If these inquiries proved fruitful, then they would report back to the Board.

AGENDA ITEM IV. FUTURE PLANS OF THE WORLD FEDERATION OF UN ASSOCIATIONS

The Chairman introduced Maurice Strong, the President of the World Federation of United Nations Associations, who had been invited to address the Board. He also thanked Mr. Strong for his generous gift to UNA-USA toward the payment of WFUNA dues.

Mr. Strong said that it had been forty-one years since he came to New York to join the UN Secretariat and that he felt a very strong devotion to the world body. When he was asked to take on the presidency of WFUNA, he had been uncertain about accepting but after some reflection he decided to rearrange his business affairs and make a strong and serious commitment to it.

He felt that there were some hopeful signs for the UN even though the United States has never been more negative toward it. The Soviet Union has suddenly taken a new and more flexible approach to the UN. There is a great need for a degree of multilateralism that goes far beyond what led to the creation of the UN in the first place.

Mr. Strong expressed his belief that it is just as important for UNA-USA to operate within the framework of the global constituency of the United Nations as it is for the United States government. He recognized UNA's strong efforts for reforms within WFUNA and supported a number of those efforts. He indicated that he would not try to make too many changes immediately, but would take a look at some new positive initiatives. He pointed out that WFUNA is the only organization in the world that is a global organization dedicated to the UN and to making it more effective.

Mr. Strong congratulated UNA-USA on the completion of its UN management and decision-making study and noted that several members of the UNA panel are helping him in strategic planning for WFUNA.

He then explained several of the initiatives he is proposing. In an effort to extend WFUNA's constituency, a proposal is under consideration to make available individual memberships in countries where there is no UNA. This could result in new UNAs eventually being established in some of those countries. The goal would be to have members in every UN member country. Mr. Strong has also proposed the creation of a foundation to support the work of the World Federation. WFUNA would not be the exclusive beneficiary of these funds. It might be possible to have WFUNA-sponsored forums preceding the opening of the General Assembly.

Mr. Strong concluded by expressing his hope that UNA-USA will rejoin the World Federation. He would like to see changes in the formula for membership dues and that issue will be addressed. Since he lives in the United States, Mr. Strong said that he will be prepared to work closely with UNA on the financial problems it is having with WFUNA. He said that the 1989 Plenary Assembly will be held in Moscow and he wanted UNA-USA to be a part of it.

The Chairman thanked Mr. Strong for his comments and the meeting was opened for questions and discussion.

AGENDA ITEM V. DISCUSSION OF PROGRAM ACTIVITIES.

The Chairman asked Toby Gati to open the discussion on the activities of the Policy Studies programs.

A) Ms. Gati said that the Soviets have been trying to open new doors and several topics have been added to the discussions with UNA. A working group on the UN has been established with the Soviets. She also noted that an article on Soviet initiatives had been written by her and Ed Luck and they were hoping to have it published in a major journal.

In December, Ms. Gati had met with the Soviet UNA to discuss the possibility of sending students to the United States to participate in Model UN programs. Five students will be arriving shortly. They will be visiting Tufts, Harvard and Columbia universities.

A proposal has gone to the MacArthur Foundation requesting a three-year grant for a Soviet-American program on ways to strengthen the UN, including a policy dialogue, publications, the Model UN exchange, public outreach and the media. Core funding has been received from the Ford Foundation for the Soviet program and other foundations will be asked to support parts of the project.

Ms. Gati reported that the group which went to Moscow in December was able to get very high level meetings. The American delegation was headed by John Petty. The group was put on Soviet television as part of a pre-summit program and part of videotape was played for the Governors.

B) Jeff Laurenti then reported on the activities of the Multilateral Studies program. The briefing book had been sent out for the 1988 annual study on developing an American agenda for a more effective UN. A questionnaire had been sent out to all the presidential candidates, with a possibility that their replies could appear in The Inter Dependent.

Follow-up work is going on for both the food study and the UN management report. Funding has been received from two foundations for the new UNESCO project, which will have an international panel.

C) Peter Fromuth announced that the Economic Policy Council Plenary will be held on September 19th and 20th. The Vision panel has completed all its meetings and is drafting its final report, which should be out in the summer.

The debt panel was just launched a few weeks ago. Its report should be out by mid-summer. Three quarters of its membership is drawn from outside the EPC. A panel on global economic coordination is being formed and support is being sought from foundations.

D) Peggy Carlin explained that the field and publications departments had been integrated into the communications and constituencies department.

Mr. Olson said that there were a number of new chapters. It is hoped that there will be very extensive participation in the annual study this year.

The Annual Lions Day at the United Nations will draw some 300 participants this year. The National Education Association is considering the possibility of having some joint activities with UNA. The Model UN department is looking forward to the arrival of the five Soviet students.

Carol Christian reminded the Board members that the UNA National Convention will be held on July 10-12 at the Omni Park Central Hotel at 56th Street in New York. President Arias of Costa Rica has accepted our invitation to be the keynote speaker, if affairs of state do not intervene. Singer Judy Collins is also expected to perform at the Convention. An auction will be held to raise funds.

The meeting was adjourned at 3:10 p.m.



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May 27, 1988

TO: Board of Governors
FROM: Ed Luck
SUBJECT: UNA's Role in Preparations for the UN Special Session on Disarmament

On May 31st, the UN General Assembly will convene for the third time in its history in a special session devoted to disarmament. At least two dozen heads of state will participate, along with throngs of foreign ministers. The US team will be led by Secretary of State Shultz, unless the President or Vice President decides to make an appearance. Despite all the high level attention, however, the media is likely to give the event a cold shoulder since its opening coincides with the Moscow Summit and there are widespread doubts about whether the conference will represent a step forward or backward in terms of spurring multilateral approaches to arms control and disarmament. There is particular concern that US isolation on several key issues could make it very difficult to achieve a consensus concluding document. So the UN has asked UNA-USA to play a leading role in the effort to find common ground and to increase the chances for a positive outcome.

Last November, Yasushi Akashi, the Under Secretary General in charge of the Department for Disarmament Affairs, asked if I would organize and chair a two-day conference outside of New York, to be paid for by the UN, to help move forward the work of the Preparatory Committee of the Special Session. We convened two dozen key diplomats and officials for a frank, friendly and far-ranging discussion of the role of the Special Session and what we could realistically expect from it. From the initial discussion it was clear that the Soviets had far too grand a vision, many of the non-aligned and Northern Europeans expected much too much, and the Americans had not given serious attention to the subject other than to react with an instinctive negativism to almost all proposals. Others were skeptical of the possibilities of progress and fearful of the consequences of failure. By the end of the weekend, we had at least narrowed the differences between the extremes, opened a dialogue, and identified the chief stumbling blocks.

Early in the New Year, the official Preparatory Committee met again, but produced meager results, with the US opposing the convening of any further meetings of the group before the opening of the Special Session. Worried that much work remained to be done and discouraged about prospects for the session, a number of diplomats asked Yasushi Akashi if UNA-USA could convene a second conference in May on the eve

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of the session (again to be paid for by the UN). In the meantime, I was asked by the Quakers to give an opening context-setting speech in Geneva in March to the ambassadors to the 40-nation Disarmament Conference on prospects and priorities for the Special Session. I also met with key US officials in Washington.

On the weekend of May 14-15th, we held our second conference for the two dozen key players from around the world. This time our discussion paper and agenda were aimed at developing a consensus on the format, thrust and content of a concluding document from the upcoming session. Many of the participants, including those from the major powers, commented that they had never had the opportunity to sit down with their counterparts from other regions and blocs to seek common ground and consensus language on this range of issues. The group, with our nudging, did manage to agree on the format of a concluding document, much of its content, and working procedures for the session. The American side showed a bit more flexibility and the Soviet and non-aligned positions were much more pragmatic than they had been before. Everyone was pleased with the spirit of the session -- the Dutch Ambassador later wrote that he only hoped it could be maintained for the session itself -- and the fact that some positive momentum had been regained.

There is no guarantee, of course, that the session will produce positive results. Personally, I have always been skeptical about its possibilities and about the wisdom of scheduling it in the midst of a US election year. My prime argument has been that UN disarmament deliberations in general, and its special sessions in particular, still face a major identity crisis, unsure of their role in the larger arms control and disarmament process. We have also long preached the importance of a balanced approach which gives conventional as well as nuclear arms high priorities and which treats arms control as a global and not just Soviet-American affair. What has been encouraging over the years is the extent to which both the questions of role and balance have begun to be addressed seriously by the representatives of many countries. And in this process of evolution in the thinking of the international community, UNA-USA continues to play an important role as a catalyst for constructive change.

Attached are a list of participants at the May conference and an op-ed on the subject. Other papers are available if you are interested.

PARTICIPANTS LIST*

Conference on
SSOD III: Planning for Success
May 14-15, 1988
Arrowwood Conference Center

Mansur Ahmad
Permanent Representative of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan to the UN Office
at Geneva; Chairman, Preparatory Committee for the Third Special Session of
the General Assembly Devoted to Disarmament

Yasushi Akashi
Under-Secretary-General
UN Department for Disarmament Affairs

Marcos Castrioto de Azambuja
Representative of Brazil to the Conference on Disarmament

Peter Bruckner
Deputy Permanent Representative of Denmark to the United Nations

Richard Butler
Permanent Representative of Australia to the UN Conference on Disarmament

Prvoslav Davinic
Chief, Monitoring, Analysis and Studies Service
UN Department for Disarmament Affairs

Nelson Kojo Dumevi
Deputy Permanent Representative of Ghana to the United Nations

Rolf Ekeus
Representative of Sweden to the UN Conference on Disarmament

Paul Engo
Permanent Representative of the Republic of the Cameroon to the United Nations

Mohamed Nabil Fahmy
First Secretary, Permanent Mission of the Arab Republic of Egypt to the United
Nations

Fan Guoxiang
Permanent Representative of the People's Republic of China to the UN Office at
Geneva

*Confirmed as of May 13th

Lynn Hansen
Assistant Director
United States Arms Control & Disarmament Agency

Davidson L. Hepburn
Permanent Representative of the Commonwealth of the Bahamas to the United Nations

Max Hilaire
Research Associate, United Nations Association of the USA

Miljan Komatina
Secretary-General of the UN Conference on Disarmament

Boris Krasulin
First Deputy Head of the International Organizations Dept.
USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs

Jeffrey Laurenti
Executive Director, Multilateral Studies
United Nations Association of the USA

Edward C. Luck
President, United Nations Association of the USA

Pierre Morel
Representative of France to the UN Conference on Disarmament

Douglas Roche
Canadian Ambassador for Disarmament

Tessa Solesby
Representative of the United Kingdom to the UN Conference on Disarmament

Jaskaran Singh Teja
Permanent Representative of India to the UN Conference on Disarmament

Robert J. van Schaik
Permanent Representative of the Netherlands to the UN Office at Geneva

Paul von Stulpnagel
Permanent Representative of the Federal Republic of Germany to the UN Office at Geneva

Chusei Yamada
Permanent Representative of Japan to the UN Office at Geneva

OPINION

A new role for the UN in the era of 'multipolarity'

By Edward C. Luck

MAY 31: All eyes will be focused on Moscow, where Ronald Reagan and Mikhail Gorbachev will be midway through their fourth summit.

In New York that day, the United Nations General Assembly will convene a special session devoted to disarmament. But hardly anyone will notice. The priorities are understandable. The bilateral effort to prevent nuclear Armageddon is of transcendent importance. But it is only half the story, and we neglect our own security, as well as that of other nations, if we fail to pay equal attention to the global arms race.

Nuclear proliferation, chemical weapons, the trade in advanced conventional arms, terrorism, regional conflict: The daily violence of contemporary life cannot be controlled by two national leaders, no matter how powerful or farsighted, negotiating over a table in Moscow or Washington. These are multilateral issues, whose complexities demand the cooperation of a variety of countries, large and small. Soviet-American cooperation is a necessary but not sufficient condition.

Unconsciously, Mr. Reagan and Mr. Gorbachev are negotiating the end of the bilateral era. They are seeking to halve their enormous arsenals of unusable strategic nuclear weapons — once the symbol of "superpower" status — at a time when their relative positions in the world in terms of usable political, economic, and military power are on the decline. Should they succeed, all the major remaining arms control issues, including further nuclear reductions, will be essentially multilateral.

The world has entered an age of multipolarity, of many autonomous power centers, not all content with the regional or global status quo. As we enter the 1990s, our notions of security and arms control had better

reflect this reality. Neither truculent unilateralism nor dreams of a bilateral condominium can address adequately the threats to regional and global stability: the export of Chinese missiles to Iran and Saudi Arabia; Iraq's use of chemical weapons; attacks on Gulf shipping; and the acquisition of nuclear and advanced conventional arms by many developing countries.

Neither the United Nations community nor United States policymakers have fully appreciated the new realities. But the UN special session might be a good place to start to get the message out.

After years of blaming the Soviet-American nuclear

Unconsciously, Ronald Reagan and Mikhail Gorbachev are negotiating the end of the bilateral era.

competition for most of the world's ills, most developing countries have come to recognize the need to address conventional arms and regional issues. And the so-called nonaligned bloc is now divided on security issues and losing its anti-American bias, as many countries have come to recognize that their neighbors may pose more of a security threat than do the "once super" powers.

Despite these encouraging trends, US policymakers continue to be suspicious of global deliberations. Ironically, the initially anti-Soviet Reagan administration has come to prefer bilateral talks with its chief adversary to dealing with the broader international community. The contrast is striking. The US has stubbornly resisted efforts by the 40-nation Conference on Disarmament in Geneva to seek multilateral understandings on nuclear testing and outer space, while acceding to Soviet

demands for bilateral negotiations on the same topics. In the UN General Assembly, the US repeatedly casts the lone negative vote against compromise resolutions supported by its closest allies.

Last year, the US stood alone in boycotting the UN conference on disarmament, development, and security, which should have been an ideal forum in which to compare American deeds favorably with Soviet words.

The US will attend the special session next week, but has sought to restrict its agenda and preparatory sessions. It is unclear why the administration acts as if it fears this purely deliberative forum. What is clear is that a golden opportunity to make a strong case for multilateral efforts to advance common security interests is about to be lost in a spasm of naysaying.

In contrast, the Soviet Union has voiced uncharacteristic support for UN peacekeeping, peacemaking, and disarmament efforts. At the UN, Washington should test the sincerity of Gorbachev's new global posture. Has the Kremlin, not known as a hotbed of idealism, made a hard-nosed calculation that declining Soviet global power calls for the building of international coalitions on individual issues when there is sufficient common interest? Even as the Reagan administration has learned to do business with Moscow, the Kremlin has apparently adopted a two-track bilateral and global strategy.

Now that President Reagan has revived the Soviet-American relationship, he can leave a second strategic legacy to his successor: the enunciation of a global security strategy. And for that purpose, what better pulpit than the UN special session?

Edward C. Luck is president of the United Nations Association of the USA, a national membership and research organization devoted to strengthening the UN and US participation in it.

UNA~USA

1987

THE YEAR AT A GLANCE



UNITED NATIONS ASSOCIATION
OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

THE UNITED NATIONS ASSOCIATION IS
MAKING THE U.N. WORK.
THROUGH POLICY RESEARCH, PUBLIC
OUTREACH, AND INTERNATIONAL
DIALOGUE, UNA-USA IS BUILDING A
NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL
CONSTITUENCY FOR GLOBAL
COOPERATION.
A NONPROFIT, NONPARTISAN
MEMBERSHIP ORGANIZATION, UNA-
USA PARTICIPATES ACTIVELY IN THE
PUBLIC DEBATE ABOUT AMERICA'S ROLE
IN THE WORLD, SERVING AS A MAJOR
SOURCE OF INFORMATION FOR
CONGRESS, THE EXECUTIVE BRANCH,
STUDENTS, AND THE MEDIA.
STEP BY STEP, UNA-USA IS BRINGING
THE U.S., THE U.N., AND THE GLOBAL
COMMUNITY CLOSER TOGETHER.

LETTER FROM THE CHAIRMAN AND PRESIDENT

New ideas. New faces. Nineteen eighty-seven was a vintage year for both.

As tensions mounted in the Gulf, threatening to draw U.S. forces into the bloody war between Iran and Iraq, UNA-USA put forward a bold new plan for U.N. escort and flagging of nonbelligerent commercial vessels through international waters. The proposal sparked wide media attention, bipartisan legislation in both houses of Congress, hearings in the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, and the interest of foreign ministers of many countries. Details have been worked out, and the plan is ready to be implemented the moment conditions are ripe.

In September, UNA-USA released its blueprint for revitalizing the United Nations, the consensus product of the highest-level group of world leaders ever to consider the future of the global organization. Some of the recommended reforms have already been adopted, while others define the agenda for ongoing global negotiations. The year also saw the completion of an important study of world food problems and the launching of new projects on America's priorities in the U.N. system, on UNESCO, and on international disaster relief. On the East-West front, UNA-USA and its Soviet counterpart agreed to undertake a series of exchanges designed to strengthen international organizations and Soviet-American cooperation in them.

Innovative thinking is only the first step in UNA-USA's work. More time and energy than ever are being devoted to follow-up—with the public, the media, Congress, the Executive Branch, the U.N., and foreign governments—all geared to transforming ideas into action. And, moving up the high-tech ladder, 1987 witnessed

the Association's first, and highly successful, nationwide teleconference, with a focus on U.N. peacekeeping efforts.

The past year was also a time for bringing in new faces to re-energize the Association's programs. Senator John Tower took the helm of the Soviet-American Parallel Studies Program; Maurice Strong assumed the presidency of the World Federation of United Nations Associations; and Henry Kaufman and Jack Sheinkman became Co-Chairmen of the Economic Policy Council. And, in an effort to extend glasnost to the classroom, the Soviet and American UNAs launched an unprecedented Model U.N. exchange—part of UNA's growing leadership of the national Model U.N. program.

Facing a world in flux, UNA-USA continues to find opportunities behind every challenge. The increasing complexity of today's international environment only serves to underscore the need for better and stronger international institutions. Our mandate, therefore, is creativity and progress as we build for the future.

ELLIOT L. RICHARDSON
Chairman

EDWARD C. LUCK
President

MAKING THE U.N. WORK

THE U.N. MANAGEMENT & DECISION-MAKING PROJECT

In a crowded U.N. conference room on the eve of the 42nd General Assembly last October, five world leaders presented to members of the national press a far-reaching proposal for the reform of the world organization. The five were part of a 23-member international panel of policy-makers, diplomats, and management experts that was the centerpiece of UNA-USA's U.N. MANAGEMENT AND DECISION-MAKING PROJECT.

Taking a broad view of the U.N.'s difficulties, the panel had sought a new and sharper definition of the Organization's role in world affairs—and the means of giving that role fuller expression. Its final report, *A Successor Vision: The U.N. of Tomorrow*, outlines the Organization's strengths and abilities in the economic, social, and security areas, and recommends a set of structural and managerial changes to enhance the U.N.'s effectiveness as it goes about doing the things it does best.

A Successor Vision has generated enormous interest in the U.N. Secretariat, the U.S. and other member governments, among U.S. business leaders, and in the press. During 1988, UNA-USA will continue its intensive follow-up activities designed to gain endorsement of some of the report's near-term proposals before the 43rd General Assembly this fall.

THE WASHINGTON OFFICE

Meeting the special information needs of the U.S. foreign policy community is an important part of the Association's effort to make the U.N. work. To this end UNA-USA maintains a permanent Washington Office, whose regular contact with U.S. policy-makers helps to ensure that the findings and recommendations of the Association's nationwide programs and study projects receive an attentive hearing at the highest-levels of the U.S. decision-making process.

An ongoing INTERNATIONAL ISSUES SPEAKER SERIES, co-sponsored by UNA and the Stanley Foundation for a Capitol Hill audience, addressed several areas of U.S.-U.N. cooperation, including the fight against AIDS, the war on drug abuse and illicit drug trafficking, efforts to enhance the role of women in economic development, and reform of U.N. administrative and budgetary procedures. Another program under Washington Office auspices brought U.N. Secretary-General Javier Pérez de Cuéllar and U.S. Ambassador to the U.N. Vernon Walters before an audience of representatives of national organizations for discussions of the state of U.S.-U.N. relations.

Developments in the Capital affecting U.S. participation in international organizations are explored in *The Washington Weekly Report*, now celebrating 13 years of continuous publication.

UNESCO

The U.S. withdrawal from the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) in 1985 was only one expression of widespread disappointment with that important Paris-based agency. But with a new Director-General at the helm of UNESCO and a new U.S. ad-

ministration soon to arrive in Washington, UNA sees a timely opportunity to reassess this specialized agency and U.S. involvement in it.

An international panel of experts under the direction of UNA's policy studies program will examine the agency's aims and programs and how these relate to U.S. interests. The panel's final report, to be presented to UNESCO officials, member states, and the U.S. government in 1989, will recommend ways to improve management and decision-making in the agency and outline the global needs UNESCO can hope to satisfy. A supplemental report by the panel's American members will note the U.S. interests to be served by rejoining a reformed UNESCO.

INTERNATIONAL EMERGENCY RELIEF

The African famine of 1983-85 was a still-vivid memory when UNA embarked on a two-year project to help clarify and evaluate those aspects of international humanitarian relief—whether coordinated by the U.N. or by others—that had become the focus of public criticism. Now, amid signs of renewed crisis, the INTERNATIONAL EMERGENCY RELIEF PROJECT takes on particular urgency and relevance. Project staff continue their on-site investigations at major relief sites in East Africa and South Asia, and their final report in 1988 will recommend practical steps to improve media coverage and public understanding of the emergency aid process.

FOSTERING INTERNATIONAL DIALOGUE

UNA-USA's ongoing Parallel Studies Programs with the Soviet Union, Japan, and the People's Republic of China unite top scholars and policy-makers in discussions of critical arms control, security, economic, and U.N.-related issues. These far-ranging and candid discussions help to sharpen emerging policy options and to find new solutions to common problems. Through outreach meetings organized by UNA chapters, the debate is enlarged to include a broad national constituency.

For 20 years the PARALLEL STUDIES PROGRAM WITH THE SOVIET UNION, with the cooperation of the Soviet U.N. Association, has addressed the increasingly global interactions of the two superpowers. In recent years the UNA dialogue has focused on

- (1) U.S.-Soviet interaction at the United Nations;
- (2) a future U.S.-Soviet role in international economic organizations and the international economy; and
- (3) the settlement of regional conflicts.

UNA's pioneering work on the utility of a U.N. naval peacekeeping force for the Persian Gulf sparked unprecedented Soviet interest in a U.N. presence in the region, leading to a round of high-level discussions in Washington, Moscow, and other capitals and to the introduction of legislation in both Houses of Congress supporting the Association's proposal. Private, informal discussions on the situation in Afghanistan—the terms of a cease-fire and of U.N. involvement—also

helped to pave the way for a shift in Soviet policies on these issues.

In a major new development that enlarges the U.S.-Soviet dialogue, Soviet newspapers and TV have offered a platform to American members of the bilateral program. In October, Senator John Tower, Chairman of UNA's panel on arms control and security issues, published an article in the Soviet daily *Pravda* entitled "To Be Free of Fear," airing American concerns about particular Soviet domestic and foreign policies and assessing recent changes in such policies. In December, three U.S. and three Soviet economists were featured on the Moscow television show *International Panorama* for a 30-minute discussion of the global economy and the role of U.N. economic institutions.

In the 14th year of their relationship, UNA-USA and its counterpart, the Asia Pacific Association of Japan (APAJ), are at the midpoint of a three-year study on U.S.-JAPANESE RELATIONS AND THE SOVIET UNION, focusing on regional issues, global and bilateral economic relations, arms control initiatives, and Asian security problems. Chaired by former National Security Advisor McGeorge Bundy and former Ambassador of Japan to the U.S. Yoshio Okawara, the panel includes prominent American and Japanese security specialists, individuals who have occupied key positions in past and present U.S. administrations, and Japanese advisors to the ruling Liberal Democratic Party.

Through contacts with the Beijing Institute for International Strategic Studies, UNA's PARALLEL STUDIES PROGRAM WITH THE PRC addresses ways in which the changing strategic and political circumstances in the Asia-Pacific region affect ties between the U.S. and China.

As a consequence of these discussions, policy-makers and scholars in China have a keener appreciation of trends in the region and the effects of one country's policies on the region as a whole. With the establishment of a United Nations Asso-

ciation of China, UNA-USA is now able to explore with the PRC ways of strengthening multilateral institutions, particularly those that enhance the U.N.'s role in the maintenance of peace and security. A UNA-USA delegation led by Lt. General Brent Scowcroft visited the PRC in mid-1987 and was received at the highest levels.

BUILDING A NATIONAL CONSENSUS

THE NATIONAL NETWORK

UNA-USA's network of 165 CHAPTERS AND DIVISIONS extends the work of the Association into cities and towns throughout the United States, with new UNA Chapters chartered in 1987 in Alaska, California, Florida, Michigan, and Ohio. In addition, UNA's COUNCIL OF ORGANIZATIONS—some 130 affiliated organizations with membership in the tens of millions—provides the Association with the broad national consensus needed to bring the U.S. and the U.N. back together again.

Gathering in homes, town halls, churches, and synagogues, Chapters and Divisions maintain a lively calendar of debates, speakers, and events that focus on such pressing issues as international security, economic development, human rights, and the protection of the environment. Many chapters operate UNA Centers that offer the public daily access to UNA publications and other educational materials and gift items from around the world.

April found 200 representatives of UNA's

field network in a day-long conference at the Department of State, co-sponsored by UNA, in anticipation of the U.N.'s International Conference on Drug Abuse and Illicit Trafficking and its call for strategies for community action. In September, field audiences at ten sites across the country were active participants in UNA's first national teleconference. Downlinks arranged by 20 other Chapters and Divisions brought the viewing audience to several thousand. The two-hour live program featured a panel of five international experts, moderated by Richard Threlkeld of ABC News. Addressing such issues as the role of the U.N. in resolving ongoing conflicts in the Middle East and the Persian Gulf were Special U.S. Envoy Philip Habib, Canada's U.N. Ambassador Stephen Lewis, U.N. Assistant Secretary-General James Jonah, U.S. Deputy Permanent Representative to the U.N. Herbert Okun, and Soviet U.N. Mission Counselor Igor Yakovlev. Tapes of the event have been aired by scores of schools, universities, and cable and educational TV stations—the successful use of a new medium to transmit UNA's message.

THE MULTILATERAL PROJECT

UNA's unique combination of policy research and public outreach has led one observer to dub the Association a "citizens' think tank." Nowhere is this bonding more apparent than in the Multilateral Project, an annual study that involves thousands of UNA members and dozens of affiliated national organizations, as well as top U.S. and international officials, in the search for innovative solutions to problems of global complexity. The number of community groups participating in the project has grown dramatically—from some 30 UNA chapters at the project's launching five years ago to nearly 100 in 1987—and the action agendas proposed by these study panels have not only sparked immedi-

ate interest among government leaders but continue to influence policy in Washington and at the U.N.

Memories of the 1983-85 African famine, and growing signs of a recurrence, lent special urgency to the 1987 project—*FOOD ON THE TABLE: SEEKING GLOBAL SOLUTIONS TO CHRONIC HUNGER*. The findings and policy recommendations submitted by UNA chapters and other community groups were reviewed by a National Steering Committee headed by former Secretary of Agriculture John Block. The project's final report, *A Time to Plant: International Cooperation to End Hunger*, puts forward concrete policy recommendations and has received wide praise from policy-makers at the World Bank, the U.S. Department of Agriculture, and the food agencies of the U.N. system.

Encouraged by the success of UNA's U.N. Management and Decision-Making Project (described above) in boosting structural reform at the United Nations, the Association has undertaken a new study aimed at increasing the U.N.'s effectiveness in addressing global issues. The 1988 Multilateral Project, *A STRONGER HAND: SHAPING AN AMERICAN AGENDA FOR AN EFFECTIVE UNITED NATIONS*, identifies a variety of global problems that can be tackled by common action and seeks to explore ways in which, with American leadership, the tackling of these problem may become a U.N. priority.

ECONOMIC POLICY COUNCIL

UNA's Economic Policy Council (EPC), born amid the oil shocks and stagflation of the mid-1970s, teams up America's business and labor leaders to explore the international economic trends that will shape tomorrow's economic headlines and quarterly income statements, and to recommend responses to new risks and opportunities.

The EPC's various reports, offering policy options for labor, management, and government, are the result of extensive research combined with frank and spirited discussion that, nonetheless, manages to achieve a notable degree of consensus between business and labor. This makes EPC reports an invaluable resource for U.S. policy-makers, who often call upon Council members and staff to present their findings to congressional committees, presidential task forces, and other high-level bodies. For these same reasons, the EPC's annual plenary meetings in Washington, D.C., regularly attract members of Congress and the Cabinet.

In the fall of 1987 an EPC panel headed by Thornton F. Bradshaw (former Chairman of the Board, RCA) and Robert D. Hormats (Vice President for International Corporate Finance, Goldman Sachs and Company) released its report on *U.S. Policy Toward the Newly Industrializing Countries (NICs)*, presenting copies to the House-Senate Conference Committee on the Omnibus Trade and Competitiveness Act of 1987. In mid-1988 another EPC panel will issue a report on the economic trends and competitive challenges of the international economy in the coming decade. Led by Felix Rohatyn (General Partner, Lazard Frères and Company) and Victor Gotbaum (Special Advisor, District Council 37, American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees), the group has focused its efforts on two interrelated tasks the U.S. must undertake to compete more effectively: correction of the huge imbalances in our domestic and external accounts and a strengthened U.S. investment in technology. The panel's report, *Vision for the 1990s: Managing Adjustment in the International Information Age*, will recommend to U.S. presidential candidates and the electorate some tough but necessary steps to improve the strength and competitiveness of America's economy.

INVOLVING THE NEXT GENERATION

Involving future national leaders in the study and discussion of international affairs is a tradition at UNA-USA, and during the last year the Association's Model U.N. & Youth Department increased its efforts to involve an even greater number of junior high school, high school, and college students in such programs. The approach is one of "learning by doing," primarily through the medium of the Model U.N.—a simulation of the General Assembly, the Security Council, and the Economic and Social Council, in which participants assume the role of representatives of U.N. member states, debating and negotiating items on the Organization's wide-ranging agenda.

Through sponsorship of an annual Model U.N. Seminar and regular contact with some 200 Model U.N. groups and international relations clubs across the country, UNA-USA reaches more than 60,000 students each year. Its much sought-after *Model U.N. Survival Kit*, containing the annual *Guide to Delegate Preparation* and *Issues Before the General Assembly*, among other valuable materials, is a long-time staple of Model U.N.-ers.

UNA staff are in regular consultation with teachers and administrators who wish to introduce international affairs in the school curriculum. For students who are considering a career in the field, the Model U.N. & Youth Department offers a new edition of its *Internships and Careers in International Affairs*—a listing of employment opportunities in the U.N., the U.S. government, and non-governmental organizations.

GETTING THE MESSAGE OUT

UNA-USA is a major information resource not only to its membership but to the press and general public as well. To meet the enormous demand for information about the U.N., its specialized agencies, and a wide spectrum of international issues, UNA's Communications division produces a wide variety of books, tabloids, fact sheets, and newsletters.

UNA's bimonthly, *The InterDependent*, now in its 14th year, is widely recognized as an important source of news and analysis, where the events and trends that affect our world are examined in a thorough, thoughtful, and unbiased fashion. For a broad overview of global political issues and the complex U.N. agenda, UNA's annual *Issues Before the General Assembly of the United Nations* has long been an essential reference for diplomats, journalists, and scholars both in the U.S. and abroad.

EDITORS' SEMINAR

Responding to an invitation from UNA, some 70 editorial writers from newspapers, television, and radio stations throughout the country converged in New York for the 13th Annual Editors' Seminar at the U.N. The event, timed to coincide with the opening of the General Assembly, provides journalists outside the regular U.N. "beat" the opportunity for candid discussions with senior members of the U.N. community. As a special highlight of this year's seminar, the editors took part in a widely covered press conference on UNA-USA's two-year study, "U.N. Management and Decision-

Making" (described above), presided over by Elliot L. Richardson, Cyrus Vance, Robert McNamara, Prince Sadruddin Aga Khan, and Sir Brian Urquhart.

UNA & THE MEDIA

Because UNA has repeatedly demonstrated its importance as a source of information and policy innovation—balanced, perceptive, nonpartisan—UNA materials and personnel are regularly featured in such influential forums as *The New York Times*, *The Washington Post*, *The Christian Science Monitor*, *The Wall Street Journal*, *Newsweek*, *Good Morning America*, *Nightline*, and all major television and radio news programs. This past year witnessed a continuation of the surge of requests for information and interviews, reflecting a growing interest among U.S. citizens in the work and future of the U.N.—particularly the concern that the U.S. retain a leading role in the world organization.

SUSTAINING THE MOMENTUM

The 1987 National U.N. Day Program was inaugurated with a June 6 dinner-dance at the New York Marriott Marquis Hotel. This prestigious event honoring the Secretary-General of the United Nations and the 159 Permanent Representatives to the world organization provided an important opportunity for American business leaders to meet with the international diplomatic community and with senior members of the U.N. Secretariat. Welcoming the guests were J. W. Marriott, Jr., Chairman of the Marriott Corporation and, by appointment of President Reagan, the 1987 National U.N. Day Chairman; Ambassador Herbert S. Okun, U.S. Deputy Permanent Representative to the U.N.; Paul H. O'Neill, Chairman Designate of the Aluminum Company of America and Inaugural U.N. Ball Chairman; and Ambassador Elliot L. Richardson, UNA-USA Chairman.

The 27th Annual U.N. Concert and Dinner in Washington, D.C., under the patronage of President and Mrs. Reagan and Vice President and Mrs. Bush, honored the Chiefs of the Diplomatic Missions accredited to the United States and the Ambassadors accredited to the Organization of American States. The October 31 event also commemorated the 42nd anniversary of the United Nations and saluted the International Fund for Agricultural Development (IFAD) on its tenth anniversary.

The Chairman of the event, Donald R. Beall, President and CEO of Rockwell International, and Secretary of State George P. Shultz co-hosted the concert and dinner. The evening's salute to IFAD was chaired by Ralph P. Hofstad, President of Land O'Lakes, Inc.

FINANCIAL HIGHLIGHTS

In 1987, for the first time in several years, the United Nations Association failed to raise sufficient funds to balance its budget. The Association received approximately \$3 million in income in 1987, about \$320,000 short of budget projections. On the expense side, UNA spent some \$270,000 more than it had projected. Part of this was program-related, but two-thirds (\$180,000) was a result of one-time nonprogram developments, mostly costs associated with moving UNA headquarters in February 1987. The Association ended 1987 with a deficit of about \$590,000. After three years of balanced budgets, this was a major and unacceptable step backwards. UNA must take action to ensure that 1988 produces not just a balanced budget but a significant surplus to get the Association back on an even financial keel and moving in the right direction.

WHAT MUST BE DONE

In the nearly quarter-century of its existence, UNA-USA has earned a reputation for clear thinking on important global issues and on ways to make effective use of multilateral organizations. It has done so in the face of scarce financial resources and a decline in the status of the United Nations in the eyes of the general public. Over the past year, reaffirming the importance of its mission, UNA undertook a self-evaluation. Today, UNA has streamlined its organizational procedures and restructured its activities, setting a course for continued excellence in its efforts at making the U.N. work. If such efforts are actually to succeed in helping the U.N. fulfill its obligations to this and future generations, however,

the Association must enlist the clear thinking, interest, and support of all citizens.

Because many aspects of our own nation's future depend on the success of this endeavor, the challenge to succeed is not to be left to U.N. member governments or even to private foundations and a handful of wealthy individuals. The responsibility to succeed is everyone's.

Paradoxically, at a time of increasing interdependence of national economies, only a very few corporations are interested in funding international programs. Nationally, less than 1 percent of all charitable giving (approximately \$87 billion in 1987) has been designated for international programs. In the past two years, as a result of the Tax Reform Act of 1986 and the October 1987 market crash, the trend in philanthropy has been toward social services, with decreasing support for international and cultural programs.

Over the next year or two, when the full impact of tax reform is better understood and confidence in the economy restored, the nonprofit sector can expect charitable support to continue to grow, but some patterns of giving may have been permanently affected or at least modified for some time to come.

This trend in charitable giving presents a formidable challenge to the small community of foreign policy organizations. Special efforts will be required to increase annual support for programs in the international field.

We must also conclude that, although the pool of charitable resources will most likely continue to grow, philanthropy will not keep pace with the needs and responsibilities of the nonprofit sector. To ensure UNA's future we cannot continue to rely on annual funding alone. Annual contributions by members, corporations, and foundations will always be needed, eagerly sought, and very much appreciated. But to plan effectively, to attract the best people possible, to take advantage of short as well as long-term op-

**UNITED NATIONS ASSOCIATION OF THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, INC.
FINANCIAL HIGHLIGHTS
Year Ended December 31, 1987**

	UNRESTRICTED	RESTRICTED	SUBTOTAL	JAMES S. McDONNELL PERMANENT RESERVE FUND	TOTAL
FINANCIAL POSITION:					
Total Assets	\$ 708,600	\$ 1,031,500	\$ 1,740,100	\$ 394,900	\$ 2,135,000
Total Liabilities	1,401,800	1,031,500	2,433,300	-0-	2,433,300
Fund Balance	\$ (693,200)	\$ -0-	\$ (693,200)	\$ 394,900	\$ (298,300)
GENERAL SUPPORT AND REVENUE:					
Contributions	\$ 581,300	\$ 1,206,900	\$ 1,788,200	\$ -0-	\$ 1,788,200
Annual Special Events, Net	407,400	-0-	407,400	-0-	407,400
Membership Dues and Other	591,600	-0-	591,600	22,400	614,000
	1,580,300	1,206,900	2,787,200	22,400	2,809,600
EXPENSES:					
Program Expenses	1,080,900	1,206,900	2,287,800	-0-	2,287,800
Supporting Expenses					
Management and General	608,300	-0-	608,300	-0-	608,300
Membership Development and Fund Raising	503,600	-0-	503,600	-0-	503,600
	2,192,800	1,206,900	3,399,700	-0-	3,399,700
Excess of Income (Deficit) Over General Support and Revenue	(612,500)	-0-	(612,500)	22,400	(590,100)
Fund Balance (Deficit) Beginning of Year	(80,700)	-0-	(80,700)	372,500	291,800
Fund Balance (Deficit) End of Year	\$ (693,200)	\$ -0-	\$ (693,200)	\$ 394,900	\$ (298,300)

(The complete financial statements are available upon request.)

portunities, to build upon our strengths and to rectify our weaknesses, UNA-USA cannot depend only upon annual donations, with all the attendant uncertainties. To accomplish its important mission, UNA must have the financial security of a sufficient, predictable income, which only endowment can guarantee.

In the international field there is a desperate need for new ideas, new leadership, and new money. Our most important challenge for 1988 and for the remaining year of this decade is to put UNA's financial house in order and to build a financial base that ensures its work for generations to come.



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**Cooperative
Action in a
Troubled World:
Multilateralism
and U.S. Foreign
Policy**

by Franklin A. Thomas

A Ford Foundation Reprint

Franklin A. Thomas is president of the Ford Foundation. He delivered the following remarks as the Ninth Mordecai Wyatt Johnson Memorial Lecture at Howard University on Nov. 20, 1987.

Additional copies of this reprint, as well as a complete list of Ford Foundation publications, may be obtained from the Foundation's Office of Reports, 320 East 43 Street, New York, N.Y. 10017.

It is a great pleasure to be here, and a tremendous honor to be asked to give the Ninth Mordecai Wyatt Johnson Memorial Lecture. Dr. Johnson devoted his life to the service of truth, to the pursuit of intellectual excellence, and to the ideal of shared understanding among all races, all people. The values and principles he espoused are enduring ones; we must turn to them again and again if we are to meet the complex challenges facing this country and the world.

I am going to speak this afternoon about multilateralism—cooperative action among nations. There is a link between that subject and the vision Dr. Johnson brought to Howard University. I've been told by some distinguished Howard alumni of their vivid recollections of Dr. Johnson, and especially of his lectures on Gandhi, Lincoln, and Jesus—a formidable team. Dr. Johnson's vision was global—even cosmic—but it was also rooted in the realities of life in twentieth-century America. That blend of vision and practicality is just one of Dr. Johnson's great legacies.

Howard University is also intimately connected with the history of multilateralism in the twentieth century through a former faculty member who was one of the most effective pioneers of multilateral diplomacy in history. Ralph Bunche won the 1950 Nobel

Peace Prize for an achievement that was widely believed to be impossible—the negotiation in 1948 and 1949 of armistice agreements between the new State of Israel and her Arab neighbors. In his career as one of the world's preeminent peacemakers, Dr. Bunche often reflected on the nature of nationalism and internationalism and on the essential balance between national sovereignty on the one hand and international responsibility on the other. In 1952 he wrote:

The time will come, if it has not already arrived, when thoughtful men must ponder whether peace can ever be made secure without greater sacrifice of national sovereignty—or whether national sovereignty is always to be more deeply cherished than collective peace. If national self-interest is to take invariable precedence over the international common good, the future may well be bleak for mankind.

Thirty-five years have passed since Ralph Bunche wrote those words, but they continue to speak loudly to us today. The need for this nation—every nation—to look beyond its own borders to help solve problems and meet critical challenges has not diminished. Indeed, it has grown. Each year we become aware of new fields of human activity that no single government, no matter how powerful, can manage alone.

Before I turn to what I think are the particular challenges facing the United States that cry out for multilateral approaches, it might be useful to step back and look at where we've been, where we are, and what forces are shaping our future choices.

Our heritage is a proud one: the United States has been the greatest force behind this century's multilateral experiments. President Woodrow Wilson was the founding father of the League of Nations and President Franklin Roosevelt the moving spirit in

the evolution of the United Nations. When he returned from Yalta in 1945, President Roosevelt described the new world organization to the U.S. Congress in these terms:

It spells, and it ought to spell, the end of the system of unilateral action, exclusive alliances, spheres of influence, balances of power, and all the other expedients which have been tried for centuries and have always failed.

Under United States leadership, a collective system of peace and security was going to replace national security systems and the arms race. Arms limitation and disarmament would logically follow.

In 1945 we were the unquestioned leader of the international community, the sole nuclear power, and by far the richest country in the world. U.S. generosity and statesmanship in the postwar era are among the crowning glories of our history. The fruits of that statesmanship included the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration, which started the rebuilding of the war-shattered world; the Bretton Woods arrangements, which set up the postwar economic framework, including the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund; the United Nations and its specialized agencies; the Universal Declaration of Human Rights; the Marshall Plan; and the international program for the peaceful uses of atomic energy. All of these were pioneering multilateral efforts. They set the shape and tone of the postwar world. They articulated the vision of a multilateral, cooperative system that alone would manage the increasing complexities, opportunities, and dangers of the second half of the twentieth century.

It was perhaps only natural that time and experience would bring about a retreat from this radical ideal of a new world order.

In 1945 a number of developments that now appear obvious were not, in fact, clearly foreseen. To give a prominent example: it was not fully appreciated that the ideological gulf between East and West, with all of its military and political consequences, would soon become the single most dominant feature of international politics. Thus the collective system of security and disarmament that was the centerpiece of the U.N. Charter would never become a reality. It was also not clearly foreseen that nuclear weapons would fundamentally alter the political role and military weight of the most powerful states. Nor did we take into account the pace of decolonization and the emergence of what is now called the "Third World." Finally, the scope of the technological revolution and its fundamental impact on virtually every aspect of human life was scarcely noted.

These and other developments profoundly modified the enthusiasm and self-confidence with which most Americans originally viewed the postwar world—so much so that in recent years a strong movement has grown up to reject many of the multilateral structures that we ourselves first took the lead in developing. We see its manifestations in negative attitudes toward the United Nations and the International Court of Justice; in the refusal to ratify the Law of the Sea Convention; and in the U.S. withdrawal from UNESCO, to name just a few.

In part, I think we are witnessing a backlash of resentment at the misuse and manipulation of these instruments by nations hostile to the United States and its ideals. But there are also some Americans who seem to reject both the wisdom *and* the necessity of multilateral arrangements. At best they accept them only on terms of U.S.

control and ownership, terms that ultimately undermine multilateral cooperation.

When aspirations are set high, reality almost always falls short. This country's experience with the struggle of the 1950s and 1960s to put an end to racism and poverty is in some ways a good analogy. Expectations soared so high that our inability to fully reach the goals was interpreted by some as complete failure. Disappointment bred a sense of defeat and a pulling back from the original goals. The spirit of the times contracted, and in many quarters expansiveness and hope gave way to a narrowing of vision and a tendency to blame the victims for their plight.

America's postwar internationalism may have been naive, and perhaps even excessive. But surely it is no answer to swing radically in the other direction. That early vision of world community was, after all, the hard-won lesson of the Second World War. It may not have worked as intended, but who can say that the instincts behind it were wrong? If anything, forty years of tempestuous change have added compelling *new* reasons for effective multilateral action.

Those reasons are evident in the worldwide impact of the recent stock market crash, the global threat of the Chernobyl disaster, the world oil situation, the vast problem of the international drug trade, environmental hazards that threaten to deplete the ozone layer, and the spread of infectious diseases such as AIDS. We see them, too, in the tragic waves of human migration, people fleeing threats to their lives and seeking opportunities that respect no national boundaries. And we see them in the effects of massive urban growth and in the global imbalance between surplus food production and starvation. None of these

will be solved by any *one* nation. None will be solved at all, absent cooperative efforts.

There is still another fundamental dimension to the U.S. need for multilateral arrangements and institutions, especially the United Nations. As a global power we have an abiding interest in all forms of international stability. But we must also steer clear of direct involvement in many regional conflicts. At the present time, the United Nations is centrally involved in negotiations on the Iran-Iraq war and on Afghanistan. It is also playing an important peacekeeping role in Cyprus, Kashmir, and Southern Lebanon. The peaceful management of such disputes is critical to America's global interests; clearly the United Nations is a very useful vehicle for us to use in dealing with aspects of a number of troublesome regional conflicts and crises.

As I said earlier, the United States has traditionally been the leader in trying to establish, through the United Nations, an effective permanent system for international peace and security. This has proved to be a frustrating and elusive task. As you know, under the U.N. system there are five permanent members of the Security Council—the United States, the Soviet Union, China, France, and Great Britain. The original intent was for these nations to take the lead in facing threats to peace and, if necessary, pool military resources to deal with them. Of course, in the past forty years this system has been incompatible with the realities of the times and especially of the East-West relationship.

Nonetheless, in dangerous situations governments *have* tended to come back to the United Nations when all other approaches have failed. That happened recently with respect to the seven-year war between Iran

and Iraq. Perhaps the one positive aspect of that long tragedy has been the new unanimity it has brought to the permanent members of the Security Council.

Moreover, in recent months there have been signs of what may be a significant change in the Soviet attitude toward the United Nations. The change is summed up in General Secretary Gorbachev's statement published on September 17, outlining a new Soviet international stance, particularly with regard to its participation in the United Nations. In this striking reappraisal, Gorbachev appears to be suggesting a far more active and positive Soviet role in multilateral and international organizations within the context of managing peace and security in a post-nuclear world.

The Soviets have also announced their intention to pay arrears of some \$200 million owed to the United Nations for international peacekeeping going back to 1973. In September the Soviet Foreign Minister suggested that the security of shipping in the Persian Gulf should be a U. N. responsibility. The Soviets have also urged the revival of the Security Council Military Staff Committee, which consists of the Chiefs of Staff of the five permanent members.

Whatever one may think of these developments or the motives behind them, they require serious consideration and response from the West. Pragmatically, it seems now to be agreed that there are some threats to world peace—in the Gulf, for instance—that are simply too dangerous and too complex for East and West *not* to cooperate on. Personally, I very much hope that this trend toward a renewed spirit of multilateralism will widen to take in other vital world problems. I am thinking, for example, of the situations in Southern Africa and in the Middle

East. As long as the international community's response is divided along East-West lines, it will be that much more difficult to resolve these and other serious regional conflicts.

In light of past experiences, caution is certainly in order. But if there really is a chance to increase the effectiveness of multilateral action and responsibility in dealing with international conflict and stability, we should at least actively examine that possibility. We should *not* let the high ground of international leadership be lost to us.

There is much to build on. The United States has a long and often successful record of using the United Nations to rally and lead an effective international constituency on a wide range of global problems. We can and must continue to do so. This is not only a matter of justice and of respect for human rights, central as those are. It is also increasingly a question of human survival in any reasonably acceptable conditions. And before us lies perhaps the greatest challenge of all—to release the human spirit and human creativity from the bondage of poverty, prejudice, violence, and ignorance under which it has labored for far too long.

Our knowledge and technological mastery run on a two-way street. They can lead to human progress and improvement previously undreamed of. Or they can lead to lingering global disaster. This is a choice not presented so sharply to previous generations. In other words, if we are to survive in reasonable conditions, we have to manage not only our conflicts but also our progress.

This, I believe, is the major challenge of the last years of the twentieth century—a challenge that concerns every man, woman, and child. When one comes to terms with it, it is essentially a very practical

matter, requiring hard work, clear thinking, and resistance to shortcuts or ideological schemes. The United States is fortunate to have great human resources to face this challenge. It is vital that we use them well.

By its very nature, this challenge requires two essential qualities: leadership and cooperation.

In the postwar years, the United States provided an extraordinary degree of international leadership. It is critically important to revive that role. There is an urgent need for international leadership in many areas that have a direct bearing on the future of our planet. There is also, I believe, a new majority forming in the world of moderate, pragmatic states, but they await an inspiring lead.

What must this leadership entail? First of all, it has to balance national interests with those of the world community as a whole. We need to identify clearly what developments and events *must* be managed cooperatively, regardless of political, economic, or ideological differences. We must learn to use international and regional institutions more effectively. The new leadership will also have to dispel popular apathy and non-involvement, which can so quickly nullify the most imaginative of enterprises.

Much of the multilateral machinery to achieve these goals already exists, although important parts of it have long lain dormant. We need to get the machinery out, modify it, overhaul it, and *use* it. It is easy to pronounce such general exhortations. It is very difficult to make them a reality.

Before I close, I'd like to speak briefly about some of the work that my own institution, the Ford Foundation, is supporting. The Foundation is an American institution with a global mission aimed at advancing human

welfare. At its inception as a national foundation in 1950, five core concerns were identified—the establishment of peace, the strengthening of democracy and promotion of the rule of law, education in a democratic society, the strengthening of the economy, and improvement of human relations. Today, those concerns find expression in a grants program organized into six areas: urban poverty, rural poverty and resources, human rights and social justice, governance and public policy, education and culture, and international affairs. Through that program we seek, above all, to build the capacity of individuals and institutions to understand and cope with the problems they confront and to fashion strategies to solve them.

About two-thirds of our grant making is done in the United States, the other one-third largely in developing countries throughout Asia, Africa, and Latin America. But the geographical diversity of our work is subsumed into a single program that recognizes that the struggle to improve the human condition, to meet the age-old aspirations of people for peace and liberty and freedom from want, is one struggle, global in its dimensions.

Neither within nations nor between nations can enduring solutions be crafted unless all voices are heard. We believe it is critically important to develop the capacity across the broadest possible range of countries and people to articulate and analyze the problems that face them. Thus, for example, the Foundation puts explicit emphasis on the training of the next generation of social scientists and other analysts throughout the developing countries. We are now also exploring how we might assist in expanding the cadre worldwide of inter-

national public practitioners who can understand and work within the vast array of international laws and institutions. At the same time, a significant amount of the Foundation's support for higher education in the United States goes to strengthening American university curricula in international and foreign-area studies. This line of our work recognizes the need to build domestic understanding and expertise about the ways in which the interests and concerns of the United States intersect with those of the broader world community.

Confidence in the operations of established international bodies, most particularly the United Nations, is vital to their effective functioning as forums for promoting peace and stability. With that in mind, we recently supported a major analysis by the United Nations Association of the United States, which made recommendations for reform of the U.N.'s management and decision-making processes. We are also much concerned with strengthening regional organizations through which developing nations are attempting to forge cooperative approaches to problems ranging from the use of international waterways to trade and disarmament. In addition, we directly promote the inclusion of developing-country participants in commissions, conferences, and other important international gatherings concerned with seeking cooperative solutions to pressing international problems.

In these and in many of our other programs, we are seeking to help put in place the foundation for an international system that is truly participatory, truly multilateral in the broadest sense. We are engaged in what Ralph Bunche characterized as the slow and tortuous process of building "an international order in which freedom, justice

and mutual respect shall prevail." And we recognize, as did he, that "with nations—as with people—organized effort is needed to induce them to live and get along together in community." It is that international community, and that organized effort, which must be a priority for all who cherish human advancement and for all who desire to leave our children a legacy of which we, and they, can be proud.

Howard University—with its commitment to excellence—is part of that struggle and I commend you for it as I thank you for this platform and for your courtesy and attention this afternoon.

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TO: Ed Luck
FROM: Communications and Constituencies Department
RE: Activities since last Board of Governors Meeting

May 26, 1988

Communications

The Communications Division (formerly Publications) has been particularly active this past year as it continues to expand its scope of activities and responsibilities, working closely with department heads in such areas as membership recruitment, fund raising, special events, and the 1988 convention, as well as stepping up its public relations efforts.

*The division has produced a number of direct mail packages for recruitment and fund raising, the most recent mailed the week of May 23. As part of this mailing, and as a much-needed "who we are" publication, the division has produced an inexpensive (cost: 10¢) epitomized annual report--designed for broad use by national headquarters and the field (copy enclosed).

Recently, and for the first time, the Communications Division assumed the production of all printed materials for special events (programs, invitations, seating lists, etc.), resulting in an improvement in overall quality and a dramatic reduction in costs.

*The manuscript for Issues Before the 43rd General Assembly is now at Lexington Books for typesetting and, as in the past two years, will be available for sale the first week of September--well before the opening of the General Assembly. Sales in 1987 totaled \$53,600; sales in 1988 are expected to exceed \$60,000.

*Also in preparation are several publications designed for broad educational outreach, including (a) a new Fact Sheet on the world refugee problem; (b) a revision of the popular but long-out-of-print "ABCs of the U.N."; and (c) a new brochure to be entitled "The U.N.: What's In It for You."

Funding for these publications is provided by a grant from the National Educational Association.

*Work has begun on UNA's annual two-day Editors' Seminar at the U.N., to be held at the opening of the General Assembly in September. With funding from the U.N. Department of Public Information, some 100 editorial writers from throughout the U.S. will come together at the U.N. for discussions with senior U.N. and U.S. diplomats. Last year this event generated dozens of magazine and newspaper articles and scores of radio programs on the important--and all too little known--work of the U.N. and its specialized agencies.

*The division has negotiated the publication of "A Successor Vision: The United Nations of Tomorrow" and all ten support papers of the U.N. Management and Decision-Making Project in a one-volume paperback by University Press of America. The entire production cost is borne by the Press. UNA will be paid royalties and has the option to purchase copies at substantial discount. Finished books are expected in July.

Constituencies

The National Education Association has provided a grant of \$11,500 to produce two pamphlets, an update of ABCs of the UN and a pamphlet on the student's stake in a more effective United Nations. Discussions proceed with the NEA on other joint projects, including an article on UNA-USA in Education Today (1.8 million readers).

The two working arms of the Council of Organizations will hold their annual meetings in June. The annual meeting of the Conference of U.N. Representatives will be held June 14; Mary Purcell, U.N. Representative for the American Association of University Women, has been nominated for re-election to the Chair of the Conference. The Council of Washington Representatives for the U.N. will hold its annual meeting on June 21, with Richard Williamson, Assistant Secretary of State for International Organization Affairs, as speaker. Alex Palacios of the U.S. Committee for UNICEF is the nominee for Chairman of the Council, succeeding Rev. J. Bryan Hehir of the U.S. Catholic Conference.

The scaled-down United Nations Day Program is emphasizing the fortieth anniversary of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the theme of the 1988 Multilateral Project. Stanley C. Pace, 1988 National United Nations Chairman, will assist with the production of the final report for the President of the U.S., and we are working on placing an op/ed piece in the Wall Street Journal by Mr. Pace on U.N. Day. A new element in the 1988 program is a cooperative venture with Amnesty International and the Franklin and Eleanor Roosevelt Institute. We are promoting a National Sabbath for Human Rights during the weekend of October 22-23, including an interfaith service at the Cathedral of St. John the Divine.

The third annual high school essay contest has been completed. The first prize recipient is Vincent Ricci from Acalanes High School in northern California; second prize recipient is Jamesina Tapper from Huntington Beach High School in southern California; and the third prize recipient is Yuri Soares from Gainesville High School in Gainesville, Florida. This program is funded by a generous grant from the Dailey Foundation (Amb. Peter Dailey).

In late March a delegation of five Soviet students from Moscow State Institute for International Relations spent two weeks in Boston and New York taking part in Model U.N. at the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy and the National Model U.N.

We are pursuing significant funding for the establishment of a Model United Nations Consortium to be housed at UNA-USA. The consortium will enhance and

expand the services and programs for Model U.N.'s in the U.S. and abroad. A proposal is being prepared, for submission to several multinational corporations.

The national staff has been able to continue field visits, albeit on a more modest scale than in 1987. Ed Luck visited the Michigan Division meeting and Michigan chapters in April; while on vacation Peggy Carlin addressed the annual meeting of the UNA-UK; Jeff Laurenti spoke to UNA chapters in Atlanta, New Orleans, Pittsburgh, and four Florida cities as part of the 1988 Multi-lateral Project; Jim Olson has visited 19 chapters in Illinois, Ohio, Oregon, Michigan, and Pennsylvania this spring; and J. P. Muldoon represented UNA at the American Forum on Education and International Competence, St. Louis, May 13-16.

Since the last Board of Governors meeting, three new chapters have been chartered: Detroit, Oakland County (Michigan), and San Luis Obispo (California).

The demonstration chapter program has been launched. The first demonstration chapter is the Central New York Chapter (Syracuse). At the end of May the national staff worked with the chapter to conduct a membership campaign aimed at over 700 prospects. The Atlanta and Phoenix chapters will be demonstration chapters in the fall of 1988, as will two additional chapters.

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Registration Fees (good through June 23)

- ☐ Advance Registration \$125 ☐ Youth Advance Registration \$100
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- ☐ Tuesday Reception at U.S. Mission \$35
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Checks, made payable to UNA-USA, must accompany registration.

So that we can provide appropriate space, please indicate whether or not you will attend the following events that are included in your registration fee:

- ☐ Meet and Greet Reception, Saturday, July 9 at 5:30 p.m. Please indicate your Skill-building Seminar preference (select one):
- ☐ U.N. Seminar, Tuesday, July 12 at 3 p.m. ☐ A ☐ B ☐ C ☐ D ☐ E

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Mary Purcell, *Chairman, Conference of U.N. Representatives (Wallingford, Pa.)*

Lawrence Royball, *President, Albuquerque Chapter UNA (Albuquerque, N.M.)*

CONVENTION COORDINATOR

Carol Christian, *UNA-USA*

CONVENTION INFORMATION

REGISTRATION FEES

Registration Fees include all meetings, skill-building seminars, United Nations seminar, materials, and the Meet and Greet Reception on Saturday, July 9.

Advance Registration Fee \$125. Good only for registrations postmarked on or before June 23, 1988.

Registration Fee \$150. After June 23, 1988.

Youth Advance Registration Fee \$100. This fee is to encourage participation of members 25 years of age or less. Applicable to registrations postmarked on or before June 23, 1988.

Youth Registration Fee \$125. After June 23, 1988.

Please note: Advance Registrations will be acknowledged by mail. Credentials, tickets, and materials will be waiting at the registration desk on the Mezzanine of the Omni Park Central Hotel.

Refund Policy. Full refund of registration fee if cancellation notice is postmarked no later than June 23. Cancellations bearing a later postmark will be subject to a 50% administrative fee. No cancellations after July 7, 1988.

UNITED NATIONS INFORMATION

Because of security regulations at the United Nations, only those holding tickets will be admitted on Tuesday, July 12. Tickets will be included in registration packets.

NEW YORK CITY INFORMATION

Maps of the city, shopping, theater, museum, and restaurant guides will be available in the Hospitality Suite and the Convention Office, both located on the Mezzanine of the Omni Park Central Hotel.

HOTEL ACCOMMODATIONS

Hotel reservations (at special UNA Convention rates) should be made directly with the Omni Park Central Hotel, 7th Avenue at 56th Street, New York, N.Y. 10019, no later than June 7. Reservation cards are enclosed for your convenience. If you do not use the card to register, be sure to specify that you are attending the UNA-USA Convention. Rates are: Single \$80; Double \$95; Triple \$110; Suites \$125.

Lower-priced rooms are available at the Vanderbilt YMCA, 224 East 47th Street (between 2nd and 3rd Avenues), New York, N.Y. 10017. Phone: (212) 755-2410; or the West Side Y, 5 West 63rd Street, New York, N.Y. 10023. Phone: (212) 787-4400.

TRAVEL INFORMATION

American Airlines is the official carrier for UNA's Convention. An exclusive Meeting Saver Fare has been arranged. A flyer is enclosed for your further information. Call 1-800-433-1790 and ask for STAR File #S-82563 to take advantage of these savings.

UNA-USA, 485 Fifth Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10017

THE UNITED NATIONS:

MAKING A WORLD OF DIFFERENCE



**UNA-USA
NATIONAL CONVENTION
JULY 10-12, 1988**

OMNI PARK CENTRAL HOTEL

SEVENTH AVENUE AT 56TH STREET NEW YORK CITY

THE UNITED NATIONS: MAKING A WORLD OF DIFFERENCE

When the United Nations was born in San Francisco 43 years ago, could any of its founders have foreseen what a different world the Organization would be facing in a few short years? And could anyone have imagined the U.N. would be asked to address every conceivable human concern?

Yet the United Nations and its Specialized Agencies are taking on that changing world and that enormous agenda. Their efforts have already eased the lives of millions and are helping to overcome the obstacles to a better, safer, healthier life for all.

Ask women of the Third World about the effect of the U.N. Decade for Women on their role in development, and they will say that *the United Nations has made a world of difference.*

Canvass the fishermen plying their nets in the Mediterranean about the results of U.N. Environment Programme-sponsored efforts to clean up their sea, and they will tell you that *the United Nations has made a world of difference.*

Speak with the mothers in over 70 areas where U.N. intervention defused a conflict before it threatened their children's lives, and they will testify that *the United Nations has made a world of difference.*

Consult with doctors about the eradication of small pox, with lawyers on international treaties, with teachers on the fight against illiteracy, with citizen groups about the battle against drug abuse, and they will agree that *the United Nations has made a world of difference.*

Ask yourself how you can help the United Nations continue making a world of difference.

**FIND OUT.
COME TO YOUR CONVENTION.**

PRELIMINARY PROGRAM

SATURDAY, JULY 9

At the Omni Park Central Hotel

PRE-CONVENTION*

- 9 a.m.-5 p.m. Registration
5:30-7 p.m. Meet and Greet Reception
Welcome to New York Party—the opportunity to meet old friends and make new ones before the work of the Convention begins.
7-9 p.m. Registration
7-9 p.m. Meeting of Credentials and Rules Committees

SUNDAY, JULY 10

At the Omni Park Central Hotel

PRE-CONVENTION

- 8 a.m.-5 p.m. Registration
8 a.m.-Noon Exhibits, Film & Videotape showings.
Examples of other people's work
8-10 a.m. Open Hearing on Resolutions and Bylaws (including report of the Dues Restructuring Subcommittee)
10 a.m.-Noon Open Hearing on Substantive Issues
Noon Gala Auction Opening

CONVENTION

- 2-5 p.m. Convention Opening Plenary
Judy Collins Sings!
Welcome by Chairman of the Association
Reports from the Rules, Credentials, and Nominating Committees

*The Steering Committee of the Council of Chapter and Division Presidents will meet Friday, July 8. The annual meeting of the Council of Chapter and Division Presidents will take place on Friday and Saturday, July 8 and 9.

SUNDAY, JULY 10 (Continued)

- 2-5 p.m. Keynote Address: President Oscar Arias of Costa Rica
5:30-6:30 p.m. Champagne Reception honoring the very special people who have made the UNA-USA Auction possible
8:30-9:30 p.m. Report of the President
UNA-USA's President will bring you up to date on the work of the Association. There will be time for questions from the floor.

MONDAY, JULY 11

At the Omni Park Central Hotel

- 8-Noon Convention Plenary
Consideration of the Report of the Resolution and Bylaws Committee, including Report of the Dues Restructuring Subcommittee
Noon-1 p.m. Reception for Presidents of Chapters and Divisions and Organizations in the Council of Organizations
Noon-1 p.m. Dutch Treat Bar
1:15-3 p.m. Luncheon honoring Presidents of Chapters and Divisions and Organizations in the Council of Organizations
*Speaker: The Secretary-General of the United Nations**
Presentation of the Arnold Goodman Award for Chapter Leadership
3:30-5:30 p.m. Skill-building Seminars with special focus on Universal Declaration of Human Rights. All seminars will cover their specific topic by considering (1) the role of the United Nations; (2) coalition-building; (3) legislative strategies; and (4) practical applications.
A. Women
B. Children
C. Refugees
D. Education and Literacy
E. Civil, Political, and Religious Rights

* Invited

MONDAY, JULY 11 (Continued)

- 8-9:30 p.m. Convention Plenary:
"THE SUCCESSOR VISION"
A presentation of UNA's proposals for the reform and strengthening of the United Nations. Speakers will include members of the UNA international panel that created the report.

TUESDAY, JULY 12

At the Omni Park Central Hotel

- 8-9 a.m. Plenary Workshop on Funding
The Who and How and When and Why of successful fund raising
9-Noon Convention Plenary
Considering the Report of the Substantive Issues Committee
Noon-1 p.m. Closing Plenary
Auction Successful Bidders
Election Results
Speaker: Newly Elected Chairman of the Association
2:15 p.m. Buses will take delegates to the United Nations

At the United Nations

- 3-5:30 p.m. World Issues Seminar
SPECIAL SESSION ON DISARMAMENT III
*Speaker: Mansur Ahmad, * Chairman, Preparatory Committee for SSODIII*
PEACE IN THE MIDDLE EAST
*Speaker: Diego Cordovez, * Under-Secretary-General for Special Political Affairs*
THE U.N. AND YOUR FUTURE
*Speaker: H.E. Mr. Stephen Lewis, * Canadian Ambassador to the U.N.*

At the United States Mission to the United Nations
799 United Nations Plaza

- 6-8 p.m. Reception honoring the new officers and Board of Directors of the Association



United Nations Association of the United States of America
485 Fifth Avenue, New York, NY 10017-6104 212-697-3232

TO: UNA Board of Governors

FROM: Jeff Laurenti

RE: Management report followup

DATE: May 27, 1988

UNA has pursued a vigorous followup on the report of the international panel it organized on U.N. management and decision-making. Major followup activities have included:

(1) A letter went to all U.N. member states' Foreign Ministers describing and enclosing the report and was signed by Elliot Richardson and, depending on the region, Helmut Schmidt (Europe), Enrique Iglesias (Americas), Olesugo Obasanjo (Africa), Sadruddin Aga Khan (West Asias-North Africa) and Tommy Koh (East Asia). It has elicited lengthy replies from several foreign ministers directly (including France, Italy and West Germany), expressions of interest from many more undersecretaries, and flurries of calls from U.N. missions responding to inquiries from their FMs.

(2) Elliot Richardson met with Japan's FM on the report in Tokyo.

(3) Elliot Richardson, Robert McNamara and Mohamed Sahnoun discussed the report with select ambassadors in three group meetings: Western group, Soviet bloc and non-aligned.

(4) Ed Luck and I discussed the recommendations at length with six ambassadors over a lunch hosted for this purpose by Singaporean ambassador Mahbubhani.

(5) We have met individually with the Mission counsellors of Germany (West and East), Italy, Japan, Netherlands, Denmark, Sweden, Peru, India, Tunisia, Egypt, Indonesia, Australia and the USSR, keeping the report recommendations on the table as the debate in the U.N.'s special commission on restructuring has sputtered on.

(6) UNA co-sponsored a regional conference at the University of Pittsburgh on the future of the U.N. and A Successor Vision. It included a panel discussion of the report (with myself) and a major speech by Elliot Richardson.



United Nations Association of the United States of America
485 Fifth Avenue, New York, NY 10017-6104 212-697-3232

TO: UNA Board of Governors

FROM: Jeff Laurenti

RE: Multilateral Follow-up: Secretary Shultz

DATE: May 27, 1988

UNA Chairman Elliot Richardson led a UNA-USA delegation to see Secretary Shultz on May 3, with discussion focussing on three areas:

(1) Food Report. John Block, the 1987 Multilateral Project national steering committee chairman, outlined the process and conclusions of the project's study on world hunger and agricultural policy. Secretary Shultz praised the project for raising broader consciousness of the issues involved, and particularly for the report's focus on agricultural economics and trade policy rather than on food aid. However, he challenged the report's criticism of the shift of foreign aid resources from development assistance to military aid, insisting that political security is the sine qua non for economic development.

(2) U.S. Assessment. Chairman Richardson reported to the Secretary on meetings with U.N. ambassadors on UNA's U.N. Management Report. When he conveyed the depth of hostility among U.S. allies toward American failure to honor its funding commitments, the Secretary asked what had been their reaction to a proposal under active debate in the Administration to lower the U.S. share from 25% to 15% of U.N. costs--and, for that matter, Chairman Richardson's own reaction. "I think it's a lousy idea," he answered, to which Shultz rejoined, "So do I." Apparently his first comment on the subject, the Secretary's answer has chilled the advocates of a lowered assessment, and sources say the idea may be shelved as politically inopportune.

The text of an op-ed article that UNA has submitted to the New York Times for publication is enclosed.

(3) U.S. Withholding. The Secretary was also asked about the Department's intention on recommending payment of the balance of the (underfunded!) appropriation for U.N. dues. Shultz indicated there was lively argument in the Administration about whether to pay the remaining \$44-million in the account, which would require a Presidential "determination" that the U.N. has made progress on budgetary reform; some, he volunteered, want to use the money for Afghanistan instead.

This is an urgent issue on which UNA is seeking to build public awareness with an op-ed opinion piece, copy enclosed, which is now before the Los Angeles Times.

Chairman Richardson's followup letter to Secretary Shultz touching on these three issues is included.

Enc: 3

UNITED NATIONS ASSOCIATION OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

485 FIFTH AVENUE, NEW YORK, N.Y. 10017-6104 PHONE: (212) 697-3232 FAX: (212) 682-9185 CABLE: UNASMER
WASHINGTON OFFICE: 1010 VERMONT AVENUE, N.W., SUITE 904, WASHINGTON, D.C. 20005 PHONE: (202) 347-5004 FAX: (202) 628-5945

May 13, 1988

The Hon. George P. Shultz
Secretary of State
7th Floor, Department of State
2201 C Street, NW
Washington, D.C. 20520

Dear George:

Thanks very much for taking the time to meet with us last week to discuss UNA-USA's study on world hunger and food policy, and explore our mutual concerns about U.S. funding for the United Nations.

I am reassured that you share our skepticism about seeking a lower U.S. assessment. Congressional pressures for withholding U.S. contributions are motivated more by political than financial considerations, and there is no guarantee that they would disappear at a lower assessment level. Besides, the question of America's relative role in the U.N. is properly one that the next administration should answer as it sorts out its domestic and international policy priorities.

On your immediate agenda, however, is the question of U.S. payment of the remainder of this year's already underfunded appropriation for U.N. dues. I mentioned to you our meeting with Western-group ambassadors and their bitter criticism of American arrearages, a problem which now threatens progress toward further U.N. reform. To them I could reply that at least the Administration had requested full funding for 1988, and that it was Congress' decisions in the face of the budget squeeze that resulted in a reduced appropriation. But denial of the \$44-million second payment, from money that Congress has already appropriated, would clearly put the onus for U.S. default on the Administration--the same administration that had made a commitment of full funding as part of the U.N. budget agreement of 1986. Surely this is not the kind of legacy you would like to leave your successor.

I understand the rationale--if not the legality--of a withholding strategy as leverage for reform; but it is an effective lever only when you have a full appropriation to bargain with. When we announce we will refuse payment of 31% no matter what the world body does, we cannot expect to win substantial concessions by threatening to withhold another 21%. (Perversely, U.S. withholdings have penalized some of the U.N. programs most important to U.S. values and interests, such as human rights and peacekeeping.)

I strongly urge you to advise the President that he determine that progress on reform has indeed been made at the U.N., and to include in that message to Congress a finding that its failure to



Chairman of the Association
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• • •

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provide a full appropriation has undercut the President's ability to use the withholding as effectively for leverage as he otherwise might. Both American credibility and the U.N. reform effort are at stake.

The evidence of progress is clear. On budgetary reform, spending and staffing reductions provide ample justification for a determination of progress. The new consensus procedures established by the 1986 reform agreement produced a budget last year to which there was virtually no opposition; real spending has actually been reduced and senior staff positions have been trimmed 15%.

There has been real, albeit modest, progress on secondment, as we would expect in trying to reverse a deeply ingrained practice that the U.S. and other member states have accepted for over four decades. Secretariat employees from the Soviet Union who had been housed in the Soviet Mission's residential compound in Riverdale--underlining their dependence on their government--over the past year have been made to sever that relationship and enter New York's housing market like the U.N.'s other employees. Seconded Soviet employees also are being granted longer terms of U.N. service. This, combined with fresh thinking about the U.N. in Moscow, gives hope that continued pressure will eventually result in Soviet Government acceptance of independent career service at the U.N. by Soviet citizens.

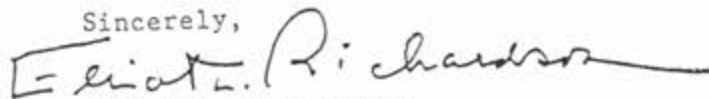
It is not surprising that progress on secondment has been slow. Since the issue divides the U.N.'s two largest contributors, most member states have been reluctant to force the issue, and the U.N. Secretariat has insufficient leverage of its own with which to press for swift, radical change. Accelerating that progress will require strong American advocacy in bilateral discussions with the Soviets, not just remonstrations with the Secretariat. It might strengthen the determination message if you could commit yourself to raising the issue in your own talks with Foreign Minister Shevardnadze.

In any event, there is sufficient evidence to support a Presidential determination of "progress" on reform. Given the hostility we now face even from our own allies, which undermines our U.N. diplomacy, we can ill afford to withhold more than the shortfall in our appropriation. Based on my conversations with members of Congress, I believe it unlikely that majorities in the Senate or House would vote to reject the President's determination.

In closing, let me express my continuing admiration for your determined dialogue in the Middle East in the face of long odds. All best wishes for success in your efforts there and on other fronts.

With warm regard,

Sincerely,



Elliot L. Richardson
Chairman of the Association

cc: John Whitehead
Richard Williamson
Vernon Walters
Herbert Okun



United Nations Association of the United States of America
485 Fifth Avenue, New York, NY 10017-6104 212-697-3232

The US at the UN: The 15 Percent "Solution"

by

Edward C. Luck and Jeffrey Laurenti

An odd assortment of United Nations supporters and opponents are urging the United States to seek a lower dues assessment at the world organization. Frustrated by Congress' failure to pay our full dues of 25 percent of the UN budget, US Ambassador Vernon Walters has reportedly called for bringing our dues down to the 15 percent level, about what Congress has agreed to fund this year. Some UN member states, resentful of US dominance of the organization to which they are far more wholeheartedly committed, see this as a way of lessening UN dependence on the unreliable Americans. For UN bashers, on the other hand, any excuse to reduce America's role in the UN would be welcome.

What's wrong with a plan that would save face, save money, and save the UN from a capricious Congress? Plenty, particularly because of what it says about America's place in the world.

When the UN was founded in 1945, the US share was 40 percent of the budget, reflecting our relative economic and political position in the world. In 1972, when George Bush was Ambassador, the U.S. assessment was dropped to its present level. According to the UN's assessment formula, based on

Edward C. Luck is President of the United Nations Association of the USA (UNA-USA) and Jeffrey Laurenti is Executive Director of UNA-USA's Multilateral Studies.

national wealth, the US share should be higher than 25 percent even today. Now, with all the speculation about America's relative decline, do we want the world to see us as no more than a 15 percent nation? Are we little more than one-third as important in the world as in 1945?

As Secretary of State George Shultz put it, a reduced assessment would be "tantamount to accepting a diminished American role in world affairs -- a diminished ability for America to pursue our most fundamental security, humanitarian and economic interests around the world." He understands that most nations see the UN as the hub of global problem-solving and political competition, and as well worth their investment. Having seen Congress slash our diplomatic capital, from foreign aid to the foreign service, he worries about the resulting ebb of American influence and leverage in capitals and in international forums. A vicious cycle may be in the works.

And who will make up the difference? If the US share of the UN budget falls then other nations' shares must rise. Almost certainly, the dues of the next two largest contributors, the Soviet Union and Japan, would be raised to close to the 15 percent level. The vision of parity with the Soviet Union is especially disturbing, given our competition for influence and stature. What makes this doubly embarrassing is that the US has become the chief deadbeat at the UN, with more than \$250 million in arrearages, just when the Soviet Union is paying off all of its outstanding dues.

In all of this, a subtle but important distinction is often missed. The controversy concerns US assessments to the central UN, running a little over \$200 million a year, not American voluntary contributions to the UN system as a whole, which are several times larger. So the 15 percent proposal would have the effect of giving the Soviet Union something close to parity in

the UN's central political decision-making apparatus, while the US on a voluntary basis continues to give 30 times as much as the Soviet Union to the valuable humanitarian and functional work of the rest of the system. In terms of power politics, this is the equivalent of shooting oneself in the foot.

The consequences would be practical as well as symbolic. As a 25% Power, the United States has enormous leverage over the operations of the United Nations system: key positions within the U.N. Secretariat are allocated among nationalities in rough proportion to each nation's contribution, so Americans now have the lion's share. If the U.S. pays less, other contributors will demand, and take, those jobs for their own nationals -- led by the Soviet Union. Indeed, once the Soviet Union attains financial parity with the United States, its nationals will be entitled to a larger number of influential positions than they have enjoyed to date.

Some members of Congress have come to assume that they have a right to dictate United Nations policy to the organization's 158 other members, attaching one condition after another to the appropriations for U.S. assessments, often with the connivance of ideologues in the Administration. They succeeded, once, in stirring the organization to reforms; but their repetition has become counterproductive. Indeed, by shrinking our contributions they are throwing away much of America's leverage. Who will care what conditions Congress attaches when it only pays 15 percent? It will no more succeed in bullying the world body than would the Supreme Soviet in attaching conditions on Soviet payment of dues.

The logic of those who believe that a diminished American financial stake will be good for the UN is also faulty. The UN needs a more, not less, active United States. Besides, there is no reason to believe that Congress would be

any more faithful, year after year, in coming up with a 15 percent or even a 10 percent assessment. With UN dues requiring only 1/5,000th of the federal budget -- 87 cents per capita -- money is plainly not the real issue. The UN will remain the most convenient scapegoat on which to blame the ills of the world no matter what the US pays. Besides, one cannot bargain with 535 independent-minded legislators, or guarantee the predilections of a future Congress.

There is a great risk that this "15 Percent Solution" will take us down the slippery slope to a shattered United Nations from which a surly and increasingly isolationist United States has effectively withdrawn. Even the UN's harshest critics do not admit that this is their ultimate goal, knowing it would be unacceptable to the US public. Americans recognize that in an increasingly interdependent and multipolar world, the United States cannot effectively address its chief problems -- whether drugs, AIDS, the environment, trade, terrorism, or security -- without the cooperation of other countries. By overwhelming margins, the American people in poll after poll have rejected the idea of US abandonment of the UN. They want a stronger, not weaker, United Nations in which the US exercises positive leadership.

The only choice is for the President and Congress to recognize that America has a binding legal obligation to pay its full assessed dues to international organizations, whether set at 25 or 15 percent. We need leadership, not gimmicks, if we are to rebuild the United Nations and to reassert America's role in the world. Surely that is the kind of legacy which President Reagan could leave with pride to his successor.

"No Time to Throw Our U.N. Leverage Away"

--Jeffrey Laurenti

A quiet struggle now taking place within the Administration could gravely affect America's role and leadership in the world community. At stake is the reliability of the United States as a negotiating partner--and our leverage in promoting needed restructuring of global institutions.

President Reagan must soon determine whether the United Nations has made progress in implementing budgetary reforms it adopted at the end of 1986. The President's determination should be easy; the United Nations has complied with the letter of the reform agreement--itself just the first step of the far-reaching reform that is needed. But political forces anxious to weaken the world organization by withdrawing American support are pressing the Administration to deny the real progress made and withhold U.S. funding.

It is a paradox of this decade that at just the moment when the realities of global interdependence have become clear to average Americans, diehards of isolationism have re-emerged to undercut the institutions of global cooperation. Scorning international law as a constraint on American power and insisting the world can never be good enough for America, they have worked feverishly to undermine the American role in the international system, from the World Court to the central U.N. They are now moving to wreck the 1986 United Nations reform agreement.

Forsaking its treaty obligation, the United States halved its U.N. contribution two years ago purportedly as pressure for reform. It demanded, and won, U.N. adoption of budgetary reforms desired by the major contributor nations in exchange for promised U.S. payment of our full contribution.

Now, as Secretary of State George Shultz told Congress, "We're on the line at the U.N. We said that if they change, we would live up to our obligations." But while the United Nations has been honoring its side of the bargain with 10 percent reductions in spending, 15 percent reductions in professional staff, and changes in decision-making procedures, the United States has reneged.

For 1988 Congress underfunded the account for assessments to all international organizations by 16 percent, and the Administration's allocation of the reduction fell disproportionately on the United Nations, placing us fully 31 percent below the U.S. treaty obligation. The rest of the world can only conclude that the U.S. cannot be relied on to honor its commitments, and that it will constantly invent new conditions, demands and excuses to avoid making payment.

The President's formal recognition now of the U.N.'s progress on budgetary reform is essential because it is required for further U.S. payment on our dues from last year. Congressmen thought that the threat to withhold a portion of our assessment would sustain the pressure for U.N. reform, and directed the President to report on reform progress before releasing the unpaid balance.

Unfortunately, withholding can be an effective lever only when the U.S. has a full appropriation to bargain with. When we announce we will refuse payment of 31% of our assessment no matter what the U.N. does, we cannot expect to win substantial new concessions by then threatening to withhold yet another 21%. Yet senators asked for lightning action on a new demand--a change in the Soviets' forty-year practice of allowing their nationals only short-term contracts in U.N. posts.

Despite the merits of the issue (and very real progress is underway) by underfunding its appropriation the U.S. has given up much of its leverage for speedy action. After all, the deal between the U.S. and the U.N.'s other members was for full U.S. funding in return for budgetary reforms--not for 69% funding in exchange for budget reforms plus new demands.

The United States does indeed have considerable leverage over the organization when it pays its assessment of a quarter of the U.N. budget: Americans hold key posts throughout U.N. agencies, and any substantive U.N. action effectively requires U.S. assent. But the U.S. maintains its influence, and particularly its leverage for reform, only when it puts its money on the table. Otherwise our "leverage" becomes illusory and our credibility as a reliable bargaining partner is shattered.

American leverage and leadership are urgently required to accomplish real reform at the U.N.--for our own interests as well as the world community's. Reform at the United Nations, after all, must go beyond simply cutting budgets or reducing staff. Rather, it must rescue the organization from a marginal role in world affairs.

With problems clearly outrunning the ability of even the largest states to control them, it is obvious that the international system needs a stronger, not weaker, center to coordinate governments' actions. No government on its own can prevent ozone depletion, the "greenhouse effect" or rapid capital movements; nor can even two superpowers together ban chemical weapons, stop nuclear proliferation or halt the transfer of advanced armaments to Third World belligerents.

The U.N. presents the institutional framework for concerted global action. But while current U.N. institutions have been helpful in developing world consensus on many urgent transnational problems, they are creaky, unwieldy and inefficient. How can the U.N. effectively coordinate the purposes and power of sovereign states?

This is the real question that should concern U.N. critics and inspire U.S. action for reform. Yet the critics have been strangely uninterested in proposals to strengthen the U.N.'s structural capabilities. One of the most far-reaching proposals for reform emerged late last year from an international panel headed by Elliot Richardson, chairman of the United Nations Association of the United States. Yet Washington seems oblivious to its call for strong U.N. leadership to identify emerging global problems before they become explosive crises--and to forge consensus for common action to address them.

The group's proposal for creation of a small, high-level "ministerial" board to provide that leadership, composed of the world's major states and representative smaller ones, is the kind of ambitious reform agenda to which strong American leverage should be constructively applied. On pressing issues the board would assemble government ministers, so that those with actual decision-making authority in their capitals would decide on common programs globally. And it would oversee a full integration of the autonomous specialized agencies, ranging from the Food and Agriculture Organization to the World Health Organization, into a better coordinated, centrally accountable U.N. system.

Effecting such necessary reform would seem an obvious priority for American leadership. Its accomplishment requires leverage as well as vision, both of which the United States once brought to U.N. affairs. But not only has the United States government lost its farsighted vision in recent years; it is acting with perverse eagerness to throw away its leverage by begrudging the U.N. the modest dues that cost its citizens only 87 cents per capita.

This is why it would be tragic for President Reagan to allow a further weakening of America's standing in the world organization by refusing payment of the \$44-million remaining in Congress's appropriation. The U.N. is, after all, the central arena of global competition as well as cooperation, and the U.S. cannot afford to give up the field.

Americans expect the United States to be recognized as a vigorous great power. Their government must no longer act the part of an insecure, declining nation, chronically on the defensive in world forums, regretfully looking backward to the simpler world it dominated in 1945. We need to re-engage ourselves in the peaceful global system represented by the United Nations today--and then apply American leverage and power to make the U.N. system more responsive to the global needs of tomorrow.

Jeffrey Laurenti is Executive Director of the Multilateral Studies Program of the United Nations Association of the United States (UNA-USA).



United Nations Association of the United States of America
485 Fifth Avenue, New York, NY 10017-6104 212-697-3232

TO: UNA Board of Governors

FROM: Jeff Laurenti
Executive Director, Multilateral Studies

RE: Implementation on Space Report

DATE: May 26, 1988

Several key recommendations of UNA's 1986 multilateral project report on outer space have been included in legislation just released from committee. Chapters have been asked to follow up by contacting their congressmen urging support for the bill when it comes up for a vote in the House of Representatives in mid-June.

The House Committee on Science, Space and Technology in mid-May reported out the authorizing legislation for program activities of the National Aeronautics and Space Administration for FY 1989. The bill, H.R. 4561, includes the following provisions implementing UNA recommendations:

(1) It directs NASA to establish as a major goal an International Manned Mission to Mars, and to seek the participation of the Soviet Union and other interested nations in the pursuit of this goal. This effort is to begin in 1991 as a major focus of the International Space Year.

(2) It establishes a 12-member National Mars Commission to prepare a strategy for multilateral cooperation among the U.S. and any other interested nations on unmanned Mars projects in anticipation of a cooperative manned mission to Mars.

(3) It requires NASA to establish before 1992 a "Mission to Planet Earth" designed to obtain a comprehensive understanding of the "biogeochemical" processes that influence global change.

UNA (and more specifically Steve Dimoff and Ann Florini) had worked closely with the President's National Commission on Space, which incorporated these UNA recommendations into its own report. We have sent follow-up letters and copies of the 1986 final report to the chairman and key members of the House committee over the past six months stressing these issues. Chapters are presumably communicating to congressmen their satisfaction that these provisions have now made their way into pending legislation, and urge a "yes" vote.



United Nations Association of the United States of America
485 Fifth Avenue, New York, NY 10017-6104 212-697-3232

TO: Board of Governors

FROM: Jeff Laurenti

RE: Disaster Relief Project

DATE: 5/26/88

The fitfully moving disaster relief project, reinvigorated by a grant at year's end from Weyerhaeuser, is moving to completion this year.

Deborah Scroggins and Colin Campbell resumed research on the project in late winter and early spring with extended visits to Sudan and Ethiopia. Their description of what they discovered appeared in a series of articles in the Atlanta Journal Constitution (one is enclosed).

Their more rigorous final report for UNA, to be focused on international relief operations, will be delivered in mid-summer.



DEBORAH SCROGGINS/SLM

A Dinka family sits in Dhein without food, shelter or water. They paid to be trucked out of Sudan's Safaha refugee camp.

Many hungry Sudanese find only death at refugee camp

APR 15 1988

By Deborah Scroggins

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SAFAHA, Sudan — Each day more than 500 starving people pour out of the war zone of southern Sudan and into this isolated army outpost on the banks of the Bahir el-Arab River. Many are so withered that they die when they get here.

Safaha, itself under threat of immediate attack, has attracted more than 35,000 refugees from the south's nightmare of civil war and famine since early February. About 20,000 remain, and new graves dot the ground between the campsites of huddled families.

Five exhausted European doctors and nurses are working night and day in a largely futile effort to feed the children nearest death.

■ Safaha, an army outpost in Sudan's Darfur province, is so remote that few Sudanese know the facts of the disaster there. Police have tried to conceal the refugees' plight by barring journalists from the camp. This is the first eyewitness account of the tragedy that famine and war is bringing to southern Sudan.

They want to feed as many children as they can before heavy seasonal rains, expected in a week or two, turn the dirt tracks that lead out of Safaha into impassable mud. Before that happens, the Europeans and the Sudanese army will have to evacuate the camp, or they could get cut off for months from the rest of Sudan.

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Sudan

From Page 1A

One doctor describes conditions in Safaha as worse than the Ethiopian famine of 1984-85. Some parents sell their children to save them from starvation — and to pay for their own escape northward in hopes of finding food.

From dawn until late afternoon, crowds of wasted human beings, most of them women and elderly people dressed in rags, wade across the Bahr el-Arab River, which marks an approximate boundary between Sudan's Arab and Moslem people in the north and the black Christians and animists in the south. Over their heads they carry their naked children, whose skin hangs from their abdomens in grotesque folds of loose flesh. Many collapse after they pass through the police registration site on the Safaha side of the river.

The refugees are herdsmen and farmers of the Dinka tribe from northern Bahr El Ghazal province, where they say they left many more people dead or dying.

They say the Dinka have no food in Bahr El Ghazal because drought has destroyed their crops and because other tribes, armed by the government, have stolen their cattle.

The Dinka have been herding cattle in southern Sudan for a thousand years and, until the beginning of this century, they were a favorite prey of Arab slave traders.

Many other Dinka, according to the refugees, have died getting here. Armed Reizegaat, the Arab



tribe that controls the dry savannah around Safaha, killed some of the starving wanderers and kidnapped their children.

A group of about 20 Dinka who arrived here March 29 provided the names and ages of seven children and one woman who they said had been abducted by Reizegaat tribesmen the night before.

The young boys in the group and some of the women said they had been tortured, and they showed off new welts and bruises on their necks, arms and backs.

Four Dinka chiefs described with horror in their faces how wild animals killed and devoured weak children and old people as they struggled toward the camp.

Two weeks ago, doctors at Safaha were treating a 9-year-old boy

who had survived a wolf attack. The wolf had ripped off the right half of his face, including his nose and eye.

Although reports of famine in Bahr El Ghazal have increased in the past six months, international relief agencies have not been able to work there. The province has been torn apart during the 5-year-old civil war between the Sudanese government, which is dominated by Moslems, and southern rebels, led by the Sudanese People's Liberation Army (SPLA).

In February, the governor of Bahr El Ghazal asked for emergency food for 2 million people he said were starving there. None of it arrived.

Erik Hendricke, a Belgian doctor in Safaha, said the situation here is much worse than anything he saw in Ethiopia during the great famine of 1984-85.

Hendricke and his colleagues, members of the Belgian chapter of Medecins Sans Frontieres, can feed only those children who have lost nearly half their weight.

Many more children in the camp desperately need emergency care, but the Europeans are physically incapable of dealing with more than the 200 children and their mothers, whom they feed hot milk every three hours.

A visitor here literally stumbles over people in pitiful condition. One afternoon a shriveled little boy was found lying in the dirt beside his mother.

He was barely breathing, barely able to blink his enormous eyes against the flies swarming around them. The boy weighed 10 pounds. His mother said he was 3.

Safaha's Sudanese army com-

mander, Maj. Hussein Hamid Ali, believes the SPLA will attack the camp soon. He said three SPLA units are only 11 miles away. They are hungry, and they need the food in Safaha, but until a few weeks ago they were commanded by a man from Bahr El Ghazal province who refused to obey an order to attack his own people.

The reluctant SPLA officer has been replaced by a man from Upper Nile province who is expected to obey the order to overrun Safaha.

The camp swelters with heat and stinks of urine. At night the wailing and coughing of children cuts through the light of campfires. The scene resembles a medieval painting of the damned.

Yet right in the middle of thousands of emaciated people, there is an open market stocked with fresh meat, bread and medicine. The Reizegaat merchants in their clean white robes will sell only to people who can pay.

To escape Safaha, some mothers and fathers are selling the only things they have left: their children. A ticket on a merchant's truck to the nearest town, Dhein, costs 50 Sudanese pounds, the equivalent of \$5.

Europeans in Safaha said the price for a healthy boy of 8 or 9, whom the Reizegaat can use as a cattle herder, was as high as 300 Sudanese pounds in February. By the last days of March, the price had sunk to 50 Sudanese pounds — exactly the price of a ticket to Dhein.

What awaits those who have paid so much to get out of here are conditions that in some places are worse.



United Nations Association of the United States of America
485 Fifth Avenue, New York, NY 10017-6104 212-697-3232

TO: UNA-USA Board of Governors
FROM: Jeff Laurenti, Executive Director
Multilateral Studies
RE: Genocide Convention Legislation
DATE: May 26, 1988

The legislation required for U.S. ratification of the genocide Convention of 1948 has at last made its way to the floor of the Senate. A vote may be scheduled within the next four weeks.

A "Unagram" mailing went out last week to UNA chapters asking that they call and write to their senators urging that they: (1) co-sponsor the bill, S. 1851; and (2) vote for it as reported by committee, without amendment.

Several chapters have already called UNA offices to express their enthusiasm for this task. (Other organizations are ginning up their own networks as well.) The following is the background that was also supplied to chapters.

BACKGROUND

Passage of the legislation, which provides criminal penalties for those convicted of genocide, would satisfy requirements attached by the Senate in 1986 for final U.S. ratification of the Genocide Convention. The House of Representatives passed an identical bill in April by voice vote. There has been an effort in the Senate to insert the death penalty for the crime of genocide; the House-passed bill and S. 1851 provide penalties of up to life imprisonment for genocide offenses.

Senate Approved Convention in 1986

The Senate only consented to ratification of the 1948 International Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide in 1986 (83-11), but forbade the president from completing U.S. ratification until implementing legislation had been enacted into law. As a result, U.S. ratification of the Genocide Convention has been further delayed, awaiting passage of implementing legislation like S. 1851.

Provisions

As defined by the Convention, genocide is described as the commission of any of several acts with the intent to destroy, in whole or in part, a national, ethnic, racial, or religious group. Basic offenses include murder; serious bodily injury; permanent impairment of mental faculties; destructive physical conditions of life; prevention of birth; or forced transfer of children from one group to another group. The bill provides a penalty of \$1 million fine and life imprisonment upon conviction of killing a member of one of the abovementioned groups. The legislation, like the Convention, also prohibits incitement to commit genocide, punishable by a fine of up to \$500,000, imprisonment for up to five years, or both.

Death Penalty Proposal Controversial

In the Senate Judiciary Committee Sen. Strom Thurmond (R-SC) unsuccessfully offered an amendment authorizing the death penalty for conviction of genocide. The current legislation does not provide for the death penalty because there are no Federal death penalty procedures, even though the death penalty is authorized for treason and espionage: application of the death penalty has been a state matter.

The House Judiciary Committee leadership has stated its vehement opposition to inclusion of the death penalty in this legislation; chairman Peter Rodino (D-NJ), who guided the bill to passage in the House, has vowed he won't even meet with the Senate side on a compromise if the Senate attaches the death penalty to S. 1851. Some supporters of S. 1851 view the death penalty drive as a "killer amendment" intended to scuttle the implementing legislation. (Amendment advocates Thurmond and Charles Grassley of Iowa voted against the treaty two years ago). Failure to pass the bill would kill ratification of the Genocide Convention during the 40th anniversary of its adoption.

ACTION!!!

Express your views to your Senators by letters addressed to them at:

The Honorable _____
Senate Office Building
Washington, D.C. 20510

Also call and ask to speak to the appropriate legislative assistant to learn your senator's position on the bill. The Capitol switchboard number is: (202) 224-3121.



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1987/1988 Panels and Panel Chairmen

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VISION FOR THE 1990s: MANAGING ADJUSTMENT IN THE INTERNATIONAL INFORMATION AGE

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THIRD WORLD DEBT: A REEXAMINATION OF LONGTERM MANAGEMENT

Anthony M. Solomon
Chairman of the Board
S.G. Warburg (U.S.A.) Inc.

Rodney B. Wagner
Vice Chairman Credit Policy Committee
Morgan Guaranty Trust Co.

Integration Without Order: The Global Economic Challenge

A three-part study project to be conducted
by the Economic Policy Council, UNA-USA,
from 1988 through 1990.



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Global Integration Panel Series:

On May 10, 1988 the EPC Steering Committee approved a plan to conduct a series of policy panels on the subject of global economic integration. Panel 1, "National Policy-making in a Supranational Economy" will explore the issues and obstacles, at the political and institutional level, to improving global economic coordination. Panel 2, "Trade and Investment Relations After Ricardo" will examine the implications for U.S. economic policy of the emergence of investment, rather than trade, as the dominant force in the global economy. Panel 3, "Productivity in a Global Market: The Challenge to Business and Labor" will explore the nature of the choices and changes at the microeconomic level that business and labor must make to preserve a world class industrial base and enable the U.S. to be an attractive export platform for U.S. and foreign investors.

The following two-part outline describes the context of the study project (part one) and the focal point of each of the three panels (part two).

Part I

Three factors are causing an upheaval in the environment faced by decisionmakers in government, business and labor: the growth and volatility of capital flows; the globalization of markets and production; and the speed, cost and dispersal of technological change.

1. Global Capital

The combination of floating rates and their volatility, the progressive liberalization of national capital markets, the recycling of large surpluses in the 70's and 80's, the explosive growth of unregulated Eurodollars and the electronic linkage of financial markets has produced a global environment for capital with the following characteristics:

- Size. The global credit market is accessible to a large part of the world unimpeded by national frontiers, currencies, time zones or institutions:
- Scale. Daily flows of money and credit dwarf the volume of real trade transactions (the London Eurodollar market handles between \$200 and \$300 billion daily, about 12 times more than the value of goods and services exchanged).
- Mobility. Under floating rates global capital is both cause and effect of exchange rate volatility as traders, fund managers and others exploit opportunities in different currencies and hedge risks.

Consequences include:

- Discipline. Economies, governments and their policies are exposed as never before to the judgments of international markets with the result that even slight deviations, or perceived deviations, from good financial housekeeping can elicit immediate penalties in the form of huge movements out of the currency in question.

- Currency instability. Between 1983 and 1985 the dollar rose by 34% against the currencies of America's trading partners; since then it has fallen by 42%.

- Increasing volatility. Even though integration tends to narrow the spreads between national interest rates, even slight differences can prompt huge transfers of financial assets. Telecommunications advances will make these transactions cheaper, faster, more plentiful. Without coordinated economic policies currencies will be more volatile.

- Limits of intervention. Whether or not markets are correct (and they are not always) governments cannot make them go away by leaning against them. Despite massive central bank intervention the Louvre Agreement could not be sustained; the dollar fell, U.S. interest rates climbed to support the Louvre level, a bond-to-equity yield gap opened, setting the stage for successive collapses in bond (August-September) and stock (October 19) prices.

- Uncertainty. Traditional economic theory holds that international capital flows and exchange rates reflect trade in goods and services. Today they move independently, with the cart often leading the horse. This wreaks havoc on cost-based business strategies for production, investment and distribution and leads to disruptions in employment and in communities dependent on globally affected business.

- Loss of policy independence. Increasingly, tax, public spending, public borrowing and money growth policies unaccompanied by compatible actions in other major economies tend to boomerang, producing results counter to the desired objective.

2. Globalization of Markets and Production

The growing tendency for corporations to locate not just production, but total business systems at or near the market has been accelerated by currency rate volatility and the long over-valuation of the dollar. But there are more fundamental forces at work too:

- The demand patterns of the 600 million residents of U.S., Japan and Europe are increasingly similar, permitting these countries to be viewed as a single market;

- Declining transport costs are making it easier for countries geographically remote from one another to compete in each others' markets;

- As products and their inherent technologies mature, lose their differentiation, and become commodity-like, they can be made by a larger number of competitors. The competitive edge then goes to the firm that has strong local distribution

channels, can anticipate consumer needs, respond to changes quickly, offer just-in-time delivery and so on--all of which push companies to produce close to markets;

- Protectionist pressures reinforce produce-at-market considerations. In a global climate of slow growth and industrial change, companies that export to their markets face a potentially fragile earnings base. More and more firms therefore seek "insider" treatment by locating as producers--and employers--near the market;

Consequences for the public and private sector include:

- An increasing proportion of U.S. imports--as much as 20% in one recent estimate--are exports to the U.S. market from American affiliates abroad;

- Increasing numbers of U.S. owned corporations have foreign workforces while an increasing proportion of U.S. workers have foreign bosses;

- The relevance of the "national origin" rule, keystone of GATT and national commercial policies, declines dramatically. As companies organize themselves globally, parts, components, processes are intermingled, research carried out in one country is applied to products in another, personnel are shifted from location to location and so on;

- The same intermingling applies to firms themselves, many of whom are losing their uniquely American identities. For example, Fairchild's employees were American, as was its headquarters, but the shareholders and directors were largely French;

- The internationalization of investment and production activities raises questions about accountability and a divergence between corporate interests, which must focus on profits and longterm competitiveness, and national interests, which must be concerned with output and jobs.

3. Accelerating pace, cost and diffusion of technology

Technological developments are intensifying integration, changing the character of industrial production, trade and competition in the process.

- The growing capital intensity of manufacturing (autos, consumer electronics, chemicals, steel, textiles, etc.) has lowered labor costs as a percentage of total product costs, reducing the significance of labor price differentials as a competitive and locational factor in manufacturing decisions;

- In a recent international study of competitive companies, McKinnsey & Co. found that labor price advantages were often offset by the cost of transporting components for assembly in cheap labor countries;

- As capital inputs grow in importance, U.S. industry's comparative advantage increasingly depends upon its ability to develop and utilize commercially, cutting-edge technology and industrial processes;

- R&D costs of perfecting each new generation of technology are escalating rapidly, raising the cost of remaining in the high-tech race and compelling companies to exploit a technology's global market potential in order to recoup R&D investments;

- In most of the vanguard technologies, the time frame between development of a technology and the point at which it is copied by the competition has virtually disappeared with the result that technologically advanced companies can no longer rest on their laurels but have to be able to market a product as soon as it is developed;

- Technological advances are also making industrial production less raw material intensive. As Drucker has observed, the typical product of the 1920's, the auto, had a raw material content of 50% the typical product of the 1980's, the semi-conductor, has a raw material content of 1%. Old copper cable had a 50% raw material content, the glass fiber that replaces it has 12% raw material ingredients, and so on.

Consequences include:

- To recoup high R&D and product development costs, firms are increasingly resorting to strategic alliances through licensing or direct investment--to gain access to distribution networks in key markets, to tap into new flows of technology allowing their own efforts to be more concentrated (e.g., ATT-Olivetti, Toshiba-Pitney Bowes, NTT-IBM, Yamatake-Honeywell, 3M-Sumitomo, Caterpillar-Mitsubishi, Xerox-Fuji).

- Reduction of labor content affects U.S. workers in different ways. It is positive in the sense that it reduces the motivation to locate production where labor is cheapest and forces more companies who sell to the U.S. market to manufacture there. It also increases the skill levels required of workers. On the other hand it threatens low and medium skilled workers with job loss due to labor saving advances in production processes, robotics and so on;

- As labor and materials costs become less significant as competitive factors, the determinants of competitive advantage will be such things as skill and knowledge levels, managerial competence, availability of investment capital, process technology, management of foreign exchange risks, and product quality, innovation, design, marketing, distribution and servicing;

- For developed countries, this suggests integration will intensify, probably leading to less conglomeration and more concentration and putting a premium on knowing one's customers and competition; for developing countries it suggests the development models based on raw materials exports or low labor costs exports will no longer apply.

Part II. "Integration Without Order" Panel Series

Panel 1: Integration Without Order: National Economic Policy-making in a Supra-National Economy

Because economic integration has intensified without parallel development of public policy means for managing its consequences, conventional economic tools are repeatedly swamped by market forces. The purpose of a panel on this theme will be to examine the principal issues and obstacles associated with improving economic policy cooperation by the governments of the industrialized countries:

The record so far. Notwithstanding ambitious declarations of intent by the G-7, actual cooperation has largely been confined to exchange rate management--or mismanagement--most notably in the Louvre Agreement of February 1987 between the U.S., Germany and Japan. Louvre's failure, and eventual contribution to the instability it sought to eliminate, demonstrated that exchange rate "cooperation" unaided by domestic policy realignment can be worse than no cooperation at all.

Going further. Coordination that is more than talk may require binding commitments on domestic money growth, interest rates, public spending and borrowing, and so on, policies that are the essence of perceived economic sovereignty. But even non-binding agreements to follow "indicators" in these areas are regarded as interference in national prerogatives.

Is "sovereignty" a red herring? There may be less than meets the eye in the sovereignty argument since the openness and integration of OECD economies constrain economic choice far more often than recognized. During Mitterand's first term, France tried and aborted a policy of fiscal stimulus through deficit spending: too much of it leaked out to neighbors; inflation increased; and the franc fell. Today, with domestic policy on hold until after the election, Alan Greenspan's dilemma is that the global capital market could deal equally harshly with interest rate and monetary easing (inflation and dollar collapse) or tightening (recession and stock market collapse). Moreover, few Americans seem aware that their standard of living--everything from the price of a mortgage to the cost of delivering the mail--is subsidized by foreign central bank and private lending to the U.S.

Paradox of U.S. leadership. Although the United States has the largest economy, the principal reserve currency, and the greatest systemic responsibilities, when Mr. Baker joins his fellow finance ministers he has one of the weakest hands at the table. With monetary policy the preserve of the Fed, and fiscal policy arduously battled over with Congress, the U.S. Treasury Secretary has very weak internal policy-making powers, little real flexibility, and little ability to deliver on his end of any coordination package.

Global economic governance: An Agenda for Consideration

* Creation of a single medium of exchange, backed up by a basket of currencies, which could be used to reduce currency risk in international trade;

* Integration of the currencies of the US, Japan and Europe into a single currency area like an expanded European monetary system;

* G-7 meetings to negotiate, then monitor, indicators for coordination of OECD economies;

* Agreement to "referees"--e.g., IMF, OECD Secretariat--to provide baseline forecasts acceptable to G-7, monitor performance, flag deviations from policy commitments;

* Institutional reform designed to increase the flexibility of US fiscal policy, allowing it to rapidly adjust the demands it makes on the international capital market; and

* Exploration of the merits of a world currency administered by a world central bank;

Panel 2: Trade and Investment Relations After Ricardo

Monthly preoccupation with the U.S. merchandise trade report has obscured two major developments that are transforming international commerce: the growing amount--almost 50 percent--of U.S. multinationals' total exports emanating from outside the U.S.; and the emergence of investment, rather than trade, as the dominant force in the world economy. For a large and growing proportion of global commerce the law of comparative advantage, like the national origin rule, is no longer relevant. Because of the high mobility of capital and technology and sharply declining raw material and unit labor costs, multinationals can allocate their production and investment across a wide range of eligible host countries. And with the new mobility of factor endowments the interests of multinational firms are increasingly uncoupled from those of their geographical home countries. This panel would examine the implications for national and international public policy of this emerging transformation.

* At least one third of world trade in manufactured goods is intra-firm, in effect investment-led. It is the fastest growing portion of global output, but it is occurring without the benefit of any international agreement about how it should take place, despite many years discussion of the subject at the United Nations. What should a GATT for investment look like? What is the best trade-off between a stable predictable environment for investors (protection of trademark and intellectual property rights, security against expropriation, guarantees on repatriation of capital, etc.) and host country safeguards against inappropriate investor behavior?

* A very large portion of world trade in services is also investment-led and here too we are operating without agreed norms. Ironically, while the U.S. is seeking the extension of GATT to services, since the huge American markets in telecommunications and financial services have already been deregulated, we are in a sense trying to play for the most advantageous rules after we have given away much of our bargaining power.

* Even as the U.S. share of world trade in manufactured goods has declined, the share of American multinationals' foreign affiliates has strengthened. Is this a reflection of the trend to produce at market, or are there also circumstances and policies peculiar to the U.S. that have been making the country less attractive as a platform for manufacturing trade? Given effects on national output, tax revenues, investment capital and such positive spin-offs as worker training and research, how much should the U.S. seek to offset disadvantages as a host country in the manufacturing sector?

* Some part of the outflow of U.S. direct foreign investment reflects a kind of shadow trade in social policy. In effect, the aggregate of U.S. microeconomic policies--labor standards, environmental regulation, job safety, anti-trust policy, tax policy, etc.--is spurned in favor of a looser regulatory setting. Competition to duplicate those conditions would engage the U.S. in a "race to the bottom" in which everyone loses. Are there ways to minimize some of these non-economic distortions through the use of international standards (occupational safety, child labor, right to organize, etc.)?

Panel 3: Productivity in a Global Market: The Challenge to Business & Labor

In a world of global production and global markets the determinants of competitiveness will have less to do with wage and raw material price differentials than with the cost of capital, the effective use of technology, and systems of management and production. For three of these four criteria, human resources are the critical component. Using a case study approach, like that of the 1983 EPC report on U.S. productivity, this panel would examine the nature of the choices and changes management and labor must make to enable the U.S. to preserve a world class industrial base and remain an attractive export platform for U.S. and foreign investors. Among the issues to be explored are:

* Workforce flexibility and mobility. Some commentators argue that U.S. labor faces a stark choice between a declining standard of living (U.S. hourly wages have been declining for over a decade), and changes in work patterns that will raise productivity. Some of these changes may involve greater flexibility of work tasks within firms, others may require more workforce mobility between firms and sectors. What can be learned from experience here and overseas?

* Workforce mobility between sectors appears to succeed when accompanied by active adjustment policies with substantial attention to, and investment in, training and education. Sweden and Japan are examples of industrial democracies with very active, and moderately successful labor adjustment policies.

* An employee training group in Washington, D.C., estimates that by the year 2000, 75 percent of all workers currently employed will need to be retrained because of job changes that require skills they have not had before. A large and growing number of U.S. companies already invest heavily in worker retraining because they are unable to exploit advances in production systems without higher levels of reading, writing, math and other skills among their workers. What can be learned from the most successful examples?

* Many of the new production requirements will demand a higher level of abstract, theoretical and communication skills--abilities normally developed in formal schooling. How can companies and unions best signal their need for such skills to U.S. educators? How can corporate-union collaborations reinforce the direct education that takes place in schools? How much of a direct role is appropriate for corporations and unions?

* What companies have been most successful in the application of new production processes and technologies? What has made the difference? For example, the panel might examine centralized production processes versus decentralized (e.g., Volvo or the Fremont plant under Toyota) and compare the results and the applicability to other sectors.

* An empirical look at the relationship between employee participation (ESOPs, etc.) and productivity, performance and profitability, both in the U.S. and overseas would also be instructive.

UNITED NATIONS ASSOCIATION OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

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May 27, 1988

To: UNA-USA Board of Governors

From: Toby Trister Gati
Vice President for Policy Studies

Re: UNA's Parallel Studies Program with Japan

UNA's third meeting in a series on "US-Japanese Relations and the Soviet Union," held in New York City on May 24-25 in conjunction with Asia Pacific Association of Japan (APAJ) focused on regional conflicts and their significance for US-Japanese relations and relations with the Soviet Union.

The seven papers presented at the meeting analyzed US and Japanese perspectives on the Philippines, the Persian Gulf, Korea and Southeast Asia. Lists of the papers and of the US and Japanese participants at the meeting are attached.

A highlight of the meeting was the broad overview of Soviet policies towards regional conflicts provided by Ambassador Harold Saunders, Visiting Fellow at The Brookings Institution, and the presentation by Seweryn Bialer, Director of the Research Institute on International Change at Columbia University, on Soviet domestic change and the impact on foreign policy.

The culmination of this joint project will be a US-Japanese report to be issued in March 1989 in Tokyo.

Papers for a Joint Meeting
Between
UNA-USA and The Asia Pacific Association of Japan
on
"Regional Issues: Soviet Policy and US-Japanese Interests"
for a Joint Project on
"US-Japanese Relations and the Soviet Union"

May 24-25, 1988
New York City

American Papers

1. "Soviet Policy in Korea: Implications for US-Japanese Relations" by Dr. Norman Levin, Senior Staff Member, The RAND Corporation;
2. "The Persian Gulf: United States, Japanese, and Soviet Interests" by Dr. Gary Sick, former member, National Security Council Staff;
3. "The Philippines: A Pawn in Asian Politics?" by Dr. Richard Kessler, Professor of International Relations, American University; and
4. "The Situation in Southeast Asia and the Role of the Soviet Union" by Dr. Guy Pauker, Senior Consultant, The RAND Corporation.

Japanese Papers

1. "The Gulf and World Politics" by Mr. Hisahiko Okazaki, Former Japanese Ambassador to Saudi Arabia;
2. "Soviet Policy in Korea: Implications for the US and Japan" by Vice Admiral Naotoshi Sakonjo, Research Associate, Research Institute on Peace and Security; and
3. "The Philippines in Crisis?" by Professor Takashi Shiraishi, Associate Professor, Southeast Asian Studies, Cornell University.

US Participants
in the
Joint Meeting
Between
UNA-USA and the Asia Pacific Association of Japan
on
"US-Japanese Relations and the Soviet Union"

May 24-25, 1988

The Vista International Hotel
New York City, NY

CHAIRMAN

McGeorge Bundy
Professor of History
New York University

Kenneth Auchincloss
Editor
Newsweek International

Seweryn Bialer
Director
Research Institute on International Change
Columbia University

June Donenfeld
Program Officer
US-Japan Foundation

Ellen Frost
Director
Government Programs
US-Japanese Relations
Westinghouse Electric Corporation

Toby Trister Gati
Vice President for Policy Studies
UNA-USA

Gregory Grossman
Professor of Economics
University of California at Berkeley

Harry Harding
Senior Fellow
Foreign Policy Studies
The Brookings Institution

Arthur Hartman
Former Ambassador to the Soviet Union

Lori Howard
Program Coordinator
UNA-USA

Richard Kessler
Professor of International Relations
American University

Robert Legvold
Director
W. Averell Harriman Institute
for Advanced Russian Studies
Columbia University

Norman D. Levin
Senior Staff Member
The RAND Corporation

Edward C. Luck
President
UNA-USA

William Luers
President
The Metropolitan Museum of Art

Mike Mochizuki
Assistant Professor of Political Science
Yale University
Consultant
UNA-USA Panel on "US-Japanese Relations and the Soviet Union"

Guy Pauker
Senior Consultant
The RAND Corporation

Harold Saunders
Visiting Fellow
The Brookings Institution

George Skurla
Senior Management Consultant
Grumman Corporation

Gary Sick
Adjunct Professor
of Middle East Politics
Research Associate, Research Institute on International Change
Columbia University

Edward Warner, III
Senior Staff Member
The RAND Corporation

William Watts
President
Potomac Associates

Katy Wille
Administrative Assistant, Policy Studies
UNA-USA

Donald Zagoria
Professor of Political Science
Hunter College

Japanese Participants

Joint Meeting
Between
UNA-USA and the Asia Pacific Association of Japan
on
"US-Japanese Relations and the Soviet Union"

The Vista International Hotel
New York City

May 24-25, 1988

Chairman

Yoshio Okawara
Advisor
Ministry of Foreign Affairs
Former Japanese Ambassador to the United States

Yutaka Akino
Lecturer
Tsukuba University

Shigeki Hakamada
Professor
School of International Politics,
Economics and Business
Aoyama Gakuin University

Tsuyoshi Hasegawa
Professor
Slavic Research Center
Hokkaido University

Hiroshi Kimura
Professor of Political Science
Slavic Research Center
Hokkaido University

Hisahiko Okazaki
Former Japanese Ambassador to Saudi Arabia

Naotoshi Sakonjo
Research Associate
Research Institute on Peace and Security
Vice Admiral JMSDF (Retired)

Seizaburo Sato
Professor of Political Science
University of Tokyo

Tsuneaki Sato
Professor
Nihon University

Nobuo Shimotomai
Professor of Economics
Hosei University

Takashi Shiraishi
Associate Professor of Southeast Asian Studies
Cornell University

Akihiko Tanaka
Associate Professor
Department of International Relations
University of Tokyo

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May 27, 1988

To: UNA-USA Board of Governors

From: Toby Trister Gati
Vice President for Policy Studies

Re: UNA's new Quadrilateral Study on Asian Security

After a year of intensive discussion and on-again, off-again negotiation with the Chinese, Russians and Japanese, quadrilateral approval has at last been obtained by all concerned to begin the UNA-USA-sponsored quadrilateral project on "Asian Security Problems: Opportunities for Reducing Tensions Among the Major Powers."

This study will provide a unique opportunity for the United States, the Soviet Union, the PRC and Japan to explore the changing security environment in Asia as seen by the four largest actors in the region. It is truly a "first"-- until now there has not been a forum where informal exchange among the four countries on a wide range of political and security issues could be carried on on a sustained basis.

Among the themes we propose to address are:

1. Stability in the strategic relationship: Looking Towards the year 2000;
2. Arms Control and confidence building measures suitable to Asia (including a discussion of the European experience and its relevance to Asia); and
3. Proliferation risks, the perception of political and military tensions, and ways to strengthen the nuclear nonproliferation regime.

UNA-USA envisages a series of three meetings involving five participants from each of the four countries to be held approximately once every nine months. The program is funded by a three-year grant from the Rockefeller Brothers Fund.

A natural outgrowth of the ongoing Parallel Studies Programs with all three nations, the new quadrilateral study promises to expand the possibilities for developing more constructive relations among all states in the region.

United Nations Association of the United States of America



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FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

CONTACTS: John Tessitore or
Susan Woolfson (New York)
(212) 697-3232

"GLASNOST" GOES TO COLLEGE!

Soviet students Coming to Boston and New York for
First-Time Soviet/U.S. Collaboration in Model U.N. Program.

On March 29 - April 2 (New York) a Soviet student will perform the role of a U.S. diplomat in a simulation of the U.N. Not even under "detente" has such a program been possible.

PICTURE AND STORY OPPORTUNITIES ABOUND.

Four students of the Moscow State Institute on International Relations will participate in this historic event -- joining students from the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy of Tufts University, Harvard University International Relations Council, Bentley College, Columbia University School of Law, and the National Model United Nations.

New York: Students arrive March 27 and depart April 3. National Model United Nations Conference scheduled at Grand Hyatt Hotel March 29 - April 2. PRESS CONFERENCE with Soviet and American students scheduled April 1, 10:00 a.m. Grand Hyatt Hotel.

For further information and a detailed summary of events, please use the contacts listed above. Coverage available at all events.

This Program is sponsored by the UNITED NATIONS ASSOCIATION OF THE USA and the SOVIET U.N. ASSOCIATION.

Soviets from the
Moscow State Institute for International Relations
Participating in the Model UN Program

Boston and New York City
March 20, 1988 - April 3, 1988

Boris Karlov - representing The United States

Maria Popova - representing Argentina

Alexander Rudakov - representing The United Arab Emirates

Vladimir Titov - representing Bulgaria

Advisor

Alexander Shadrin
Post-graduate Student at the Institute

Superpowers suddenly in harmony — in classroom

By George Jahn
Associated Press

MEDFORD — Soviet and American representatives, meeting in a "special session" that ended yesterday, agreed on how to defuse international tensions — but the unparalleled cooperation between the superpowers was only an exercise.

The negotiators were Soviet and American students.

They met at Tufts University's Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy in a mockup of a UN Security Council session. Unlike their official counterparts at the United Nations, they found quick solutions to delicate problems.

Take the Gulf War, for instance.

It took months last summer for the real Security Council to draw up a resolution with language acceptable to both superpowers. The two-day mock meeting accomplished the same feat in just hours.

The two sides at the Tufts session also found common ground while discussing the Israeli-occupied territories and tensions in southern Africa and Namibia, issues that have split East and West for years.

Laughter, applause

As in New York, there were speeches made. But unlike the ordinarily somber, ponderous affairs in the real-life Security Council chamber, the classroom meeting also held laughter, applause and a palpable sense of excitement.

Participants insisted their conference had tangible worth, even though it wasn't the real thing.

"I think you can get an objective idea of the positions of different countries," commented Vladimir Titov, a 25-year-old from the Moscow State Institute on International Relations. "At the same time, we learn to understand each other."

Another student from the same institute, 20-year-old Maria Popova, said the session "will help me greatly to cooperate with people with different opinions and find something that will unite us."

The Americans also were enthusiastic.

"It's working beautifully," said Pam Burlanek, 25, of Atlanta. "We are really experiencing a great rapport with the Soviets who are here."

Students paired

Four Soviet students and four from the Fletcher School were paired to act out the negotiating and maneuvering of an actual Security Council meeting.

They — along with 22 other students from other colleges and countries — represented Britain, China, France, the Soviet Union, the United States, Bulgaria, Congo, Ghana, the United Arab Emirates, Venezuela, Argentina, West Germany, Italy, Zambia and Japan.

The Soviets came to the United States under a program sponsored by the US United Nations Association and the United Nations Association of the Soviet Union. The Soviets plan to participate in related events in New York on March 28 and March 29.

Spokesman Jim Muldoon of the US United Nations Association, a privately funded organization of 20,000 members, suggested the event had more than just symbolic significance because the lessons learned by the students would be used later.

"At least on the Soviet side, many of them will be brought into the Foreign Ministry," he said, during a break for "caucusing," coffee and cookies. "Many of the students that are at the school from elsewhere are already in their ministries."

Moscow chaperone

Alexander Shadrin, a 25-year-old graduate student at the Moscow Institute who was chaperoning the Soviets, said "those represented here will someday be officials, maybe diplomats, and this conference will help them understand each other better."

For Burlanek, who wants to join a nonprofit international organization after graduation, "the shaking of hands, the eye contact, the upfront discussion" will remain as impressions with "much more educational value than something that's in books."

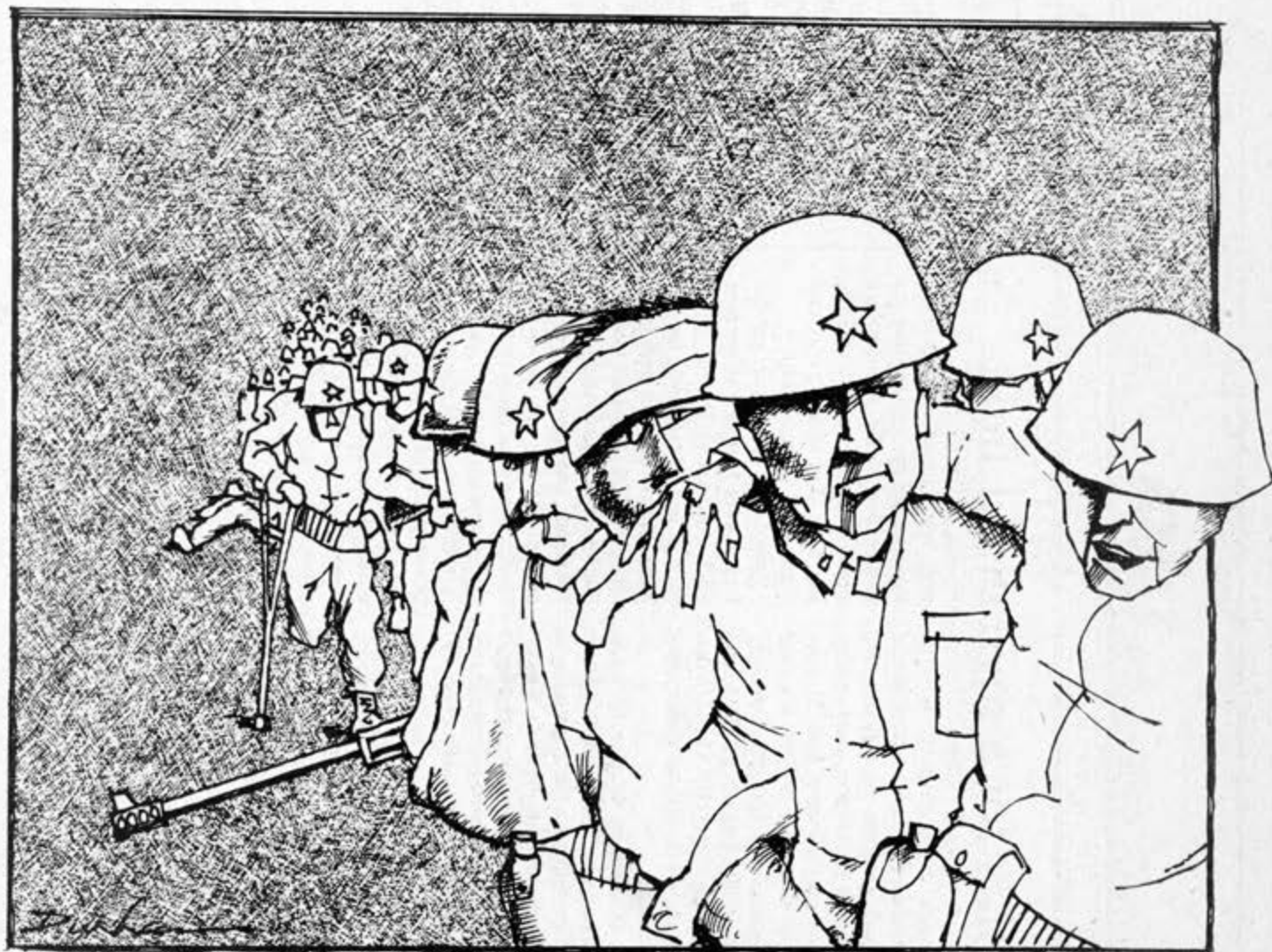
Titov, who teamed up with Fletcher student Allison Avery to represent Bulgaria, said he was most impressed by the cooperation of the US-Soviet teams, despite their different ideological backgrounds.

"Now I know it's possible to bridge any gap," he chuckled. "Both of us are working very hard for Bulgaria here."

the inter dependent

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Spring 1988

Volume 14, Number 2



1 After Afghanistan:
A new Soviet
direction

1 Putting
the heat
on FAO

4 The Gulf:
Politics of
impasse

the inter dependent

Notes & Quotes

Soviet capital

Moscow's first foreign bond issue—\$70 million for "general financing purposes"—went on sale in January. Despite "a low 5% coupon with a ten-year maturity" and "debt repayment troubles in parts of the Eastern bloc," the bonds "are being snapped up," reports Forbes. It wasn't the money the Russians were after, said a Swiss banker whose institution heads the 17-bank syndicate of underwriters; they just wanted to "see how far a little glasnost goes" in Western capital markets.

Sacrifice

As South tells it, "Zambians are slowly coming to terms with the unthinkable—life without Coca-Cola" and other imported soft drinks. A highly unpopular decree, some citizens are asking whether the "small saving in foreign exchange" isn't a false economy—one that "will deal a body blow to the faltering tourist industry," "deprive the government of much-needed tax revenue," and jeopardize "hundreds of jobs." Coke executives have met with President Kenneth Kuanda to urge a softening of drink policy.

Tragedy

Although atmospheric physicist Michael Oppenheimer admits that forecasts about the effect of global warming fall "between speculation and hard fact," he and co-contributors to a new study (published under U.N. auspices) indicate that natural systems will fare badly—particularly in North America, where warming may be severe. Humans can migrate to survive a shift of climate, explains New Scientist, but "with the exception of Birnam Wood walking to Dunsinane, forests cannot move that quickly."

Breaking the habit

Thai opium production has plummeted, thanks to coffee seedlings, a U.N. Development Programme-U.N. Fund for Drug Abuse Control crop substitution project, a government drive on illegal growers, time, and patience. Today's Thai farmer, according to UNDP's new bimonthly, World Development, "earns more from a crop that retails for \$5 a pound in New York than by producing opium for heroin—which has a street value of \$1 million a pound."

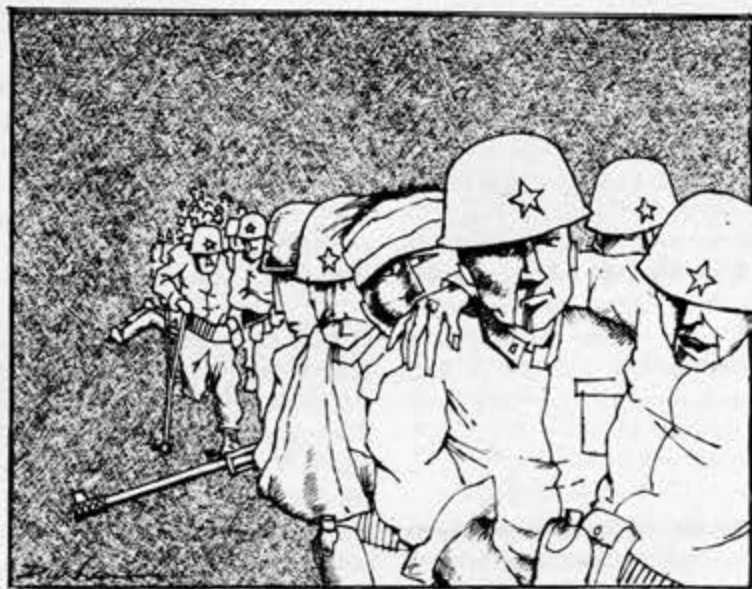
Soviet reform to include major role for U.N.

by George L. Sherry

Three years into the Gorbachev era, the surprising thing about the Soviet Union is not the scope of changes accomplished but the vision of changes to come. A revolutionary transformation is taking place and, far from denying it, high-level Russians say, in effect, "You ain't seen nothin' yet."

For Americans it is imperative to grasp the nature of these changes and to figure out how they will affect both the Soviet-American relationship and the prospects for peace. For those of us interested in the United Nations the issue is a crucial one. Born of the assumption that the Grand Alliance of World War II would survive to safeguard the postwar peace, the U.N. had to carve out a new and more limited role with the onset of a cold war that proved the assumption faulty. The collapse of détente in the late '70s and the resulting American turn to unilateralism and hostility to the U.N. have tended to jeopardize even this diminished U.N. role. On the other hand, a constructive refashioning of the Soviet-American and the broader East-West relations would, almost of necessity, create new and important functions for the U.N. to perform. Consequently, Moscow-watching from the U.N. is a must in the days of glasnost (openness) and perestroika (restructuring).

In February of this year I attended back-to-back meetings of the "Dartmouth" regional conflicts and political relations panels in Moscow, co-chaired by Harold



H. Saunders of The Brookings Institution, former Assistant Secretary of State for Near Eastern and South Asian Affairs, and Seweryn Bialer, Professor of Political Science at Columbia University and Director of its Institute on International Change. The two Soviet teams were headed, respectively, by Academician Evgeny Primakov, Director of the Institute of World Economy and International Relations, and Vitaly Zhurkin, Director of the new European Institute.

International problems were discussed in the light of internal developments—heretofore forbidden territory. The Soviets made it a point to describe with disarming candor some of the domestic problems they face and their impact on foreign policy. Among other things, they stressed that *novo myshlenie* (new thinking) was still very much in a state of flux and that

they sometimes had trouble keeping up with the development of their leader's ideas.

As might have been expected of men (there were no Soviet women at the meetings) schooled in Marxism, the Russians based their presentations on an analysis of the USSR's economic problems and on a rethinking of some fundamentals of their ideological and political system. The economy, according to the Russians, is in a "pre-crisis" state that calls for radical reforms not as a matter of choice but because "we have no alternative; we have tried literally everything else and it has not worked."

The ultimate goal was described as the establishment of an "open socialist economy," which would be in a position to join the world economic and financial system as a full-fledged participant. Even-

(Continued on page 2)

FAO head object of Western inquiry

by Ted Morello

Major U.N. donors are giving the "M'Bow treatment" to another United Nations chief executive: Director-General Edouard Saouma of the Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO). Like Amadou-Mahtar M'Bow of Senegal, ousted in last November's election as head of the U.N. Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), Saouma has come under fire on charges of mis-managing the U.N.'s biggest specialized agency. And as in M'Bow's case, the accusations include high living, nepotism, favoritism, and the use of agency funds to reward governments that support him.

Unlike M'Bow, however, the FAO's Lebanese director survived the "dump Saouma" campaign waged by a dozen donor nations—the so-called Camberley Group—winning a third six-year term in last November's balloting at FAO headquarters in Rome. One of the key questions that Saouma's critics have not answered is what tactics he used to defeat his opponent, Moise Mensah of Benin, Assistant President for Operations of the U.N.'s International Fund for Agricultural Development. Mensah was favored by governments that provide the lion's share of FAO's assessed and voluntary contributions.

Long-simmering discontent
(Continued on page 5)

Special: UNA National Convention update

The 1988 National Convention will be an occasion for learning and sharing—and for having a good time doing it. On hand to sound the opening notes on opening day, Sunday, July 10, will be singer Judy Collins and President Oscar Arias-Sanchez of Costa Rica, author of the "Arias plan" for peace in Central America and the most recent winner of the Nobel Peace Prize. The excitement continues with the start of bidding on items donated for the Convention Auction (see story, page 7).

"The United Nations: Making a World of Difference" is the Convention's general theme, with a spotlight on human rights. The Universal Declaration of Human Rights, 40 years old this year, will be a subject of President Arias's Sunday keynote address as well as the focus of Monday's Skill-building Seminars. On the agenda for the Monday-evening plenary is

UNA's own study, "The U.N.: A Successor Vision," with speakers drawn from the international panel whose two-year labors resulted in a final report now generating enormous interest in government circles the world over.

On Tuesday, July 12, Convention participants will board buses at the Omni Park Central Hotel, Convention headquarters, to travel to the United Nations for an afternoon seminar on some of the hottest issues facing the world body today. The Convention ends some hours later with the traditional reception at the United States Mission to the U.N., directly across the street from U.N. headquarters.

There will be much to do and see even before the first gavel. The Omni Park Central will be lined with exhibits prepared by Chapters and Divisions, member organizations of UNA's Council of Organizations, the U.N. Bookstore, and

prominent book publishers. The Ballroom level will offer a display of Auction items to tempt passersby to bid "high and often." There will also be showings of selected U.N. films and of video tapes made by Chapters and member groups of the Council of Organizations. (Those with a tape to share with Convention attendees are invited to send it to Carol Christian, Convention Coordinator, UNA-USA, 485 Fifth Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10017.)

Who Is Eligible to Come?

- All members of the UNA-USA Board of Directors and the National Council of the Association.
- Two representatives from each organization in good standing with UNA's Council of Organizations.
- Two delegates from each recognized Chapter, and additional delegates according to the following

formula: "for regular members in excess of 250, one additional delegate for each additional 250 members or major fraction thereof." Each Chapter represented by three delegates is also entitled to an extra youth delegate of 25 years of age or less, provided that delegate is a member of the Chapter.

•The President (or other designated representative) of each recognized Division. Divisions are treated as a single Chapter for purposes of assigning delegates, and representation is calculated according to the same formula.

Each Chapter, Division, and organization delegate may designate an alternate; and Chapters, Divisions, and organizations may send any number of observers.

Getting There

American Airlines is the official carrier for UNA's Convention. A
(Continued on page 6)

U.S. Mission assesses 42nd General Assembly

(The following is a press release dated February 18, issued by the U.S. Mission to the U.N. at the conclusion of the 42nd U.N. General Assembly.)

Major Successes: Regional Conflicts, Universality of Membership

United States interests advanced on several fronts during the 42nd General Assembly despite massive withholding by the United States of its assessment to the United Nations. Overwhelming record majorities demanded the withdrawal of foreign forces from Cambodia and Afghanistan despite strenuous efforts by Vietnam and the Soviet Union to rally support for their positions. The recent Soviet announcement on Afghanistan is a major step towards a longstanding U.S. goal, one which 123 nations endorsed at the General Assembly—the earliest possible withdrawal of Soviet troops. The resolution calling for Vietnamese withdrawal from Cambodia passed by 117 votes. On the crucial issue of Israeli credentials and universality of membership, a record 79 other member states voted with the United States to reject an effort to bar Israel from the General Assembly.

Human Rights

Promoting human rights and ending the double standard in human rights debates are longstanding U.S. goals. U.S.-supported resolutions criticizing human rights abuses in Iran and Afghanistan obtained larger margins of support this year than ever before. In addition, resolutions concerning human rights in Chile and El Salvador were more balanced than in past years. Throughout the Assembly, the U.S. repeatedly drew attention to Cuba's deplorable human rights record.

U.S. Reelected to International Court of Justice

American Justice Stephen M. Schwebel handily won reelection to the International Court of Justice for a 9-year term with the support of all 15 members of the Security Council and 113 of the 159 members of the General Assembly.

Important Consensus Resolutions

The 42nd United Nations General Assembly adopted 55% of its resolutions without a vote—an increase of 10.7% over the 41st United Nations General Assembly. Examples of important issues on which the U.S. joined consensus resolutions are:

- Uniting all countries in an effort to prevent and control AIDS
- Strengthening international cooperation in the war on Drugs
- Endorsing the Secretary-General's role in directing U.N. Peace-keeping Operations
- Protection of the Environment
- Peaceful uses of Outer Space

Name-calling of U.S. Dwindles

U.S. diplomatic insistence has caused the near disappearance of name-calling, an explicit and gratuitous negative reference to the United States. Name-calling has all but vanished from United Nations General Assembly resolutions relating to apartheid and the Middle East and this year there was no name-calling in any of the Namibia resolutions.

Soviets Lose Support on International Security Initiative

The U.S. and other Western countries defanged and then eroded support for the major Soviet initiative on international security. The Soviet proposal for a new "comprehensive system of international security" was a vaguely-worded but pernicious attempt to rework the U.N. charter. Despite vigorous Soviet diplomacy, most third-world nations abstained, whereas last year a large majority had voted yes.

Difficult Operating Environment—some setbacks

In assessing the 42nd General Assembly, it is important to realize that the successes mentioned above took place against a backdrop of massive withholding by the United States of its assessment to the United Nations. The U.S. took this action to further budgetary reforms; significant reforms did occur this year. For the first time ever, the current two-year U.N. budget is lower in real terms than its predecessor. Reorganization and streamlining measures are now under way throughout the U.N. system.

On some issues, the United States did not achieve the progress we sought. Among these, the Assembly criticized the U.S. trade embargo against Nicaragua. For the second consecutive year the Assembly also adopted a Nicaraguan-sponsored resolution demanding U.S. compliance with the International Court of Justice ruling on Nicaragua. Opposing views on external debt forced an erosion of the consensus achieved at the 41st General Assembly. The United States introduced a draft resolution linking self-determination to periodic free elections, but was forced to withdraw it upon the submission of unacceptable amendments. Finally, while the Assembly's draft resolution on terrorism met our principal objectives, it contained language on self-determination susceptible to harmful misinterpretation. We therefore voted against it.

Security Council—the Gulf War

Throughout the General Assembly session, the Security Council continued to build upon the impetus of Resolution 598 calling for an immediate end to the Iran-Iraq war.

Prospects for the 43rd General Assembly

"Creeping realism" continued to spread at the 42nd General Assembly, producing some major advances for U.S. and Western interests. In the 43rd General Assembly we expect more cooperation and, with a continued muting of rhetoric, even greater progress.

Soviets

(Continued from page 1)

tually this might involve convertibility of the ruble.

Perhaps of greater significance, the Soviets spoke of ideological changes that could have a fundamental effect on the shape of East-West relations. For a long period, some of them noted, socialism had been regarded as an advanced historical stage that would inevitably supersede capitalism. This view has now been discarded, along with the notion of the historically inevitable decline of the West. Socialism is now described as an alternative to capitalism; the two systems will develop concurrently; Western technological, economic, cultural, and even institutional advances will be acknowledged and, if need be, borrowed. The thesis of the "monolithic" nature of socialism is rejected; the Soviets now speak of "socialist pluralism." This will involve encouraging diversity and allowing significant free play for clashing interests and opinions. Some Soviet participants even spoke vaguely of the eventual introduction of elections in which two or three candidates would vie for office, each advocating distinct alternative policies.

Zhurkin, as co-author of a piece that had just appeared in *Kommunist*, called for a rethinking of national security priorities and the elimination of excessive secrecy and offered a slashing critique of the counterproductive effects of Soviet secretiveness in present circumstances, noting that secrecy impelled the Soviet Union's potential adversaries to plan for "worst case" scenarios. The article also stated that the trauma of June 22, 1941—a surprise invasion from the West—was no longer a danger: There was no East-West conflict that could tempt any Western armies to stage an invasion of Soviet territory, and there were "no influential political forces, either in the United States or in Western Europe, that would set themselves such a task." (So much for the image of incurably aggressive imperialism.) In fact, as Zhurkin et al. added in a breathtaking aside, "bourgeois democracy does serve as a certain barrier" to the unleashing of a "major war between the two systems" and "democratic institutions" have managed to curb the Pentagon's "military ardor." Despite these facts, the article warns, the threat of war may be increasing—not in the sense of premeditated aggression but in the sense of an accidental nuclear outbreak and of rapid, uncontrolled escalation. What is most alarming is the lag in the Soviet Union's relative economic and scientific/technological power during "the years of stagnation," which "has begun to affect...dangerously the dynamics of the correlation of forces between the two systems."

How do these ideas—some of them in sensational contrast with traditional Soviet rhetoric—trans-

(Continued on next page)

Follow up

Stratospheric heights

The U.S. Senate, responding to last September's agreement among 31 nations to limit the production and use of the ozone-depleting chemicals called chlorofluorocarbons, or CFCs (October/November issue), voted unanimously on March 14 to approve ratification of the historic protocol. The United States is the first major producer of the chemicals to approve the agreement, which will first freeze and then roll back their production and consumption. To date only Mexico has ratified the treaty, though others are expected to follow.

Widely used as refrigerants, in plastic foam, in computer cleansers, and (except in the U.S., Canada, and Scandinavia) as aerosol pro-

pellants, CFCs destroy the Earth's stratospheric ozone belt—the protective layer that filters out the sun's harmful ultraviolet waves. Since the protocol was signed last fall, however, scientists have concluded that ozone depletion is occurring at a far greater rate than had been thought, prompting a call from many legislators and environmentalists for even more sweeping action.

U.S. vs. PLO

On March 3, 18 congressmen introduced a bill to rescind legislation requiring the closing of the Palestine Information Office in Washington and the Palestine Liberation Organization's Observer Mission to the U.N. in New York (February/March issue). The original legislation introduced by Senator Charles Grassley (R-Ia.), passed on December 22, has caused consternation within the administration, the State and Justice departments, and the U.N. Secretariat.

Representative George Crockett, Jr. (D-Mich.), a congressional delegate at the 42nd U.N. General Assembly and a sponsor of the rescinding legislation, called the closures "a matter of national and international embarrassment that Congress can and should resolve." The Grassley amendment, says Crockett, (1) violates a treaty obligation under the Headquarters Agreement between the U.S. and the U.N.; (2) violates First Amendment rights of American citizens; (3) creates "but another obstacle to a peaceful solution of the Middle East conflict"; and (4) sets a "dangerous precedent" that could be used to silence other groups considered by some to be "undesirable."

On March 11, U.S. Attorney General Edwin Meese notified Zehdi L. Terzi, head of the PLO Observer Mission, that in accordance with the December legislation (officially, the Anti-Terrorism Act of 1987) "as of March 21, 1988, maintaining the PLO Observer Mission to the United Nations in the United States will be unlawful." Should the Mission fail to comply, concludes the letter, the Department of Justice will take action in U.S. federal court.

the inter dependent

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UNA panel to address Third World debt

Recent developments among the major debtor countries and in the world economy, and shifts in the attitude of the U.S. government and creditor banks, suggest that the international debt problem has reached a bend in the road, presenting opportunity, and risk, for the growth and stability of the world economy. Despite growing agreement that the time is ripe for change, there is no agreement about what those changes should be. Responding to the need for a strategy to surmount the debt crisis, UNA-USA's Economic Policy Council has convened a high-level panel on "Third World Debt: A Reexamination of Long-Term Management." The panel will release its final report at the EPC plenary on September 19, in time to influence discussions at the joint

World Bank-International Monetary Fund meeting scheduled for later that month, as well as to help shape the policies of a new Congress and new administration.



Anthony M. Solomon.

The panel held its inaugural session on February 26 under the

direction of co-chairs Anthony M. Solomon, Chairman of S. G. Warburg (USA) and former President of the Federal Reserve Bank of New York, and Rodney B. Wagner, Vice Chairman of Morgan Guaranty Trust's Credit Policy Committee and principal architect of the debt-for-bond initiative proposed jointly by Mexico and Morgan Guaranty late last year. Rare among study groups on debt, the EPC panel brings together representatives of all the major parties to the debt-management process: debtor countries, U.S. and European creditor banks, the U.S. Congress, the IMF and the African Development Bank, and affected sectors of U.S. labor and management, as well as legal and regulatory experts. Four more meetings will be held between March

and June 1988.

Before making their policy rec-



Rodney B. Wagner.

ommendations, the panelists will examine the major developments of the last 18 months that not only have changed the environment for debt management but, cu-

mulative, have rendered debt management a process without a strategy. These developments include changes in the regulatory, tax, accounting, and competitive conditions facing creditor banks; new global economic concerns; new attitudes at the U.S. Treasury and in Congress; and an uncertain economic and political outlook in the debtor countries. Because of the sheer magnitude of the Latin debt and the trade and geopolitical significance of the area to the United States and Europe, the panel will focus on the debt-management problem as it affects the middle-income Latin American debtor countries and the climate for democracy in the region, considering new approaches that can narrow the gap between a nation's debt and its financial resources.

Soviets

(Continued from page 2)

late into foreign policy? One Russian answer was that the two superpowers, locked in the strait-jacket of an adversary relationship and military competition, are becoming less and less relevant to the rest of the world: "Together we account for just 10 percent of the population of the globe; soon we shall have only each other to rely on."

Having in mind the economic and political reforms already under way and the more far-reaching ones that lay ahead, the Russians stressed that their foreign-policy goals for the foreseeable future were security and stability in an interdependent world, with the control of regional conflict situations an important element in reaching those goals. This is where the Russian interlocutors advocated Soviet-American understanding on assigning important but so far vaguely delineated functions to the United Nations. As one of them put it: "We want to reconstruct, but only in order to become members of the modern world community." More specifically, "We are in the process of reviewing critically and redefining our country's foreign policy interests, with a view to getting our concepts out of the ossified state of the past 15 years."

The Russians clearly understood that some of their policies over the past decades had unavoidably caused the U.S. to feel threatened and to react accordingly. A major element of the new Soviet approach is evidently to mitigate, and eventually reverse, this sense of threat, for the simple reason that the American response to it has tended to jeopardize Soviet security, which in turn could make it impossible to undertake the wide-ranging economic and political reforms called for by *perestroika*.

The Russians came up with a number of interesting ideas concerning regional conflicts, which,

they insisted, should not be viewed through the distorting prism of U.S.-Soviet confrontation. Both sides should seek to promote national reconciliation in places like Afghanistan, Kampuchea, and Nicaragua. Conspicuous by its absence was the traditional Marxist approach, which sees such conflicts as manifestations of irreconcilable class struggle. Indeed, a senior Soviet participant baldly stated that socialism was mostly irrelevant to Third World needs.

While it would be difficult to devise superpower rules of conduct applicable to widely different situations, the Russians suggested that both sides should refrain from responding to regional conflicts by introducing a military presence. From the American point of view it would, of course, be difficult not to respond effectively to the perceived danger of Communist takeovers. On the other hand, we would be well advised to think of alternative approaches should it become evident that the Russians are serious about a nonexpansionist interpretation of socialism and of their own foreign policy.

In his now famous article in *Pravda* last September, General Secretary Gorbachev indicated a new interest on the part of his government in the extensive use of multilateral institutions—specifically the United Nations—as instruments of good offices, conflict control, and peacekeeping. Similar themes were sounded in Moscow in February.

Gorbachev's reasoning and that of his advisors seems to be based on the premise that regional conflicts tend to involve the interests of the superpowers and therefore to invite competitive intervention on their part. The obvious solution is the use of impartial United Nations machinery to fill the political or military vacuum and thus make superpower intervention unnecessary. In other words, each superpower should be assured that restraint on its part will not open the door to unimpeded intervention by the other. This concept of the

role of the U.N. has far-reaching implications that hark all the way back to Dag Hammarskjöld and Ralph Bunche. For, clearly, the Russians do not seem to be talking about the U.N. as a propaganda forum or as a politicized instrument designed to score points on behalf of one of the sides in conflict situations—the procedure that,

having been so often used against U.S. interests by the nonaligned, with Soviet support, has led to the current crisis in U.S.-U.N. relations. What the Russians seem to have in mind is a redirection of the political functions of the United Nations toward impartial peace-keeping and peacemaking. If this analysis is tested and proved accurate, we may be at a turning point

in the history of the U. N.

George L. Sherry, former U.N. Assistant Secretary-General for Special Political Affairs, is the Stuart Chevalier Professor of Diplomacy and World Affairs at Occidental College, Los Angeles, and a Senior Fellow of the United Nations Institute for Training and Research (UNITAR).

A Stronger Hand



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The Gulf: Politics of impasse

U. N. watch

by Michael J. Berlin

International institutions, like human beings, find it difficult to talk and chew gum at the same time. There are, of course, imperatives (such as the Hungarian Revolution and Suez crisis of 1956) that produce a dual political focus. But once the crisis atmosphere fades and a new issue cries out for attention, governments, international institutions, and the media all stop chewing and limit themselves to talk. So it has gone for the Persian Gulf war.

A year ago, as the Reagan administration sought to recuperate from the Iran-Contra debacle and fears grew elsewhere that the collapse of Iraq might loose the scourge of Islamic fundamentalism across the Middle East, the five big powers began gnawing away in earnest on a Security Council resolution that would end the eight-year-long bloodbath. It was assumed from the start that Iran was likely to resist a cease-fire and that a second resolution, imposing penalties on Teheran, would be needed to increase pressure for compliance.

What emerged on July 20 was resolution 598, one of the few Council edicts that has (like resolution 242 of 1967 on the Arab-Israeli dispute) become a household number, at least in select households. It demanded an end to the fighting and a withdrawal to borders, and proposed a commission that would apportion blame for the war. London, Paris, and Washington made clear they would press for an arms embargo on whatever side failed to accept the U.N.'s terms. Beijing indicated it wouldn't stand in the way. Moscow said it agreed—in principle.

Iraq promptly accepted the resolution. Iran's U.N. ambassador at the time, Said Rajaie-Khorassani, privately cautioned that his government was likely to refrain from accepting or rejecting the plan for as long as possible. It was clear that Iran sought to buffer pressures for the Council's adoption of an embargo, to squeeze the U.N. for the best possible interpretation of the resolution's terms, and to permit the military pressure on Iraq to continue.

In the time that has elapsed since the adoption of resolution 598, these basic stances have remained unchanged, as has the diplomatic process. What have changed are the nature of the fighting and the status of the issue, which has lost its spotlight and its urgency.

The State Department would like to brand Teheran as the recalcitrant party to help legitimize the American naval presence in the Persian Gulf, but the need is less pressing than earlier. After a shaky start, the U.S. tanker escort operation has proved relatively safe and has helped Iraq's allies ship their oil successfully.

The United States has continued to lead the campaign for an arms embargo against Iran, but even these statements have become less frequent and less loud. In late March, Washington even permitted the Iranians to score propaganda points by granting landing rights to an Iranian plane carrying five young Kurdish victims of an Iraqi poison gas attack. These children could have been treated more promptly in Europe—as was the case with some other victims—but were brought to New York instead.

America's fences in the Arab world have been rebuilt. As the threat to oil exports and the possibility of an Iraqi political or military collapse have dissipated, so too has Arab pressure for an end to the war. At the same time, the Pal-

estinian riots in the West Bank and Gaza Strip have assumed top priority in the Arab world.

Moscow has not budged from its position that the time is not yet ripe for an embargo against Iran because the path of negotiation remains open. Most diplomats believe the Kremlin will not antagonize Teheran so long as there remains a danger that Iran might interfere with Soviet plans for a painless withdrawal from Afghanistan—Moscow's top priority. In theory, a superpower deal could establish a joint policy toward the Persian Gulf, but the issue has clearly dropped to the bottom of the agenda of the May summit in Moscow.

It has been proposed that Washington call Moscow's bluff and put an embargo resolution to the vote in the Security Council. But this fails to take account of the fact that 12 of the 15 Council members—all but Britain, France, and the U.S.—would prefer not to act. West Germany, Italy, and Japan are all major suppliers of Iran. Yugoslavia, Algeria, and other Third World members of the Council are reluctant to join the big powers in a hegemonistic imposition of punitive measures against one of their number. The most likely fate of such an American resolution would be a 12-3 vote to pigeonhole it.

The effectiveness of Iranian diplomacy in sustaining its policy of constructive ambiguity toward resolution 598 has been matched by Iraq's diplomatic ineptitude and its military hamhandedness. Because Baghdad has been unable to reduce the scope of Iranian oil exports over a sustained period of time, which would have constricted the cash necessary for the purchase of arms, it has been drawn into highly publicized attacks on civilian targets and the use of poison gas to blunt an Iranian offensive in the north, both of which have hurt Iraq's claim to international sympathy without providing a compensatory military advantage. They have also enabled Iran to evade a response to U.N. demands for a cease-fire and have caused some Security Council members to suggest the imposition of an arms embargo against both.

Despite the ongoing attacks on oil tankers and the increase in civilian casualties, the intensity of the fighting has in fact declined in the year since the big-power diplomatic initiative began at the U.N. Experts point to several military factors: the American naval presence, greater difficulty in obtaining arms, and the reluctance of Iran to return to "human wave" tactics on the battlefield. But certainly the diplomatic constraint created by resolution 598 and the prospect of punitive action if either side goes too far is a factor in the lessening of military intensity. To that extent, the resolution has proved a success.

Michael J. Berlin is a regular contributor to The InterDependent.

From Foggy Bottom

Labor pains

This spring, President Reagan will put his signature to two conventions that the International Labour Organisation adopted in 1976 and that received the consent of the U.S. Senate in early 1988—the first ILO conventions to be ratified by the U.S. in 35 years. The conventions Concerning Tripartite Consultations to Promote the Implementation of International Labor Standards (No. 144) and Concerning Minimum Standards in Merchant Ships (No. 147) bring to nine the number of ILO covenants that have received formal approval by the U.S. out of a field of 166 adopted by the ILO since its birth in 1919.

Americans pioneered the sort of labor standards enshrined in the ILO conventions, but the U.S. has reserved its seal of approval mainly for those affecting maritime workers—No. 147 among them. Two exceptions have been a postwar convention linking the ILO to the U.N. system and now No. 144. This last provides for a periodic review of American labor laws and of ILO conventions by a board made up of government, union, and business representatives—the same uniquely "tripartite" group that the ILO enlists in all its deliberations.

Maritime matters are a purely federal concern, explains Marion Houstoun, Director of the Office of International Organizations in the Bureau of International Labor Affairs, whereas other labor matters raise concern for states' rights. In spearheading the recent ratification drive in the Senate, Orrin Hatch (R-Ut.) and Daniel Patrick Moynihan (D-N.Y.) cited America's inaction on ILO covenants and the need to enhance U.S. credibility when broaching such issues as free trade unions in Poland. No. 144—one of only 26 ILO conventions ever to bear a presidential recommendation when submitted to the Senate for its advice and consent—"makes a nice political statement," notes Mrs. Houstoun, "because it implies the right of employers and employees to form their own associations."

Legal aid

In a strongly worded document, the American Bar Association's policy-setting House of Delegates has called for full U.S. funding of the U.N. and has cited U.S. withholdings as the "major cause" of the world body's financial crisis. The ABA resolution "urges the executive and legislative branches of the United States Government to take cooperative action so that payment will be made without delay to the United Nations, including its specialized agencies, of all amounts assessed to the United States."

The full report of the House of Delegates declares that U.S. withholdings under Kassebaum, Gramm-Rudman-Hollings, Sundquist, and other legislation are in violation of international law; that the U.S. "cannot afford to let the U.N. go bankrupt"; and that "for all its flaws, the United Nations remains one of the best hopes for advancement of the rule of law in the world."

Church & State at Oxford

When leaders of the five major faiths met with legislators of eight countries in the New York suburb of Tarrytown some three years ago, they founded the Global Forum of Spiritual and Parliamentary Leaders on Human Survival and began organizing a "Global Survival Conference." On April 11 the concept became a reality at Oxford University's Christ Church college and in the public arena of the Oxford Town Hall, where the High Priest of Togo's Sacred Forest rubbed shoulders with Congressman Jim Scheuer of New York, and Cosmonaut Valentina V. Tereshkova moved in the same orbit as the Archbishop of Canterbury.

For five days, leaders from 12 religious communities met with politicians from 52 countries as well as eminent journalists, businessmen, educators,

U.S. and European Forces

The following listing and summaries of U.S. and European naval forces in the area have been prepared by the Center for Defense Information. The information reflects the situation on March 9, 1988, and includes

U.S. Navy Ships

In the North Arabian Sea & Indian Ocean	In the Persian Gulf	
Aircraft carriers	1	Command ships
Cruisers	1	Amphibious ships
Destroyers	3	Cruisers
Frigates	1	Destroyers
Amphibious ships	1	Frigates
Attack submarines	1	Minesweepers
Support ships	10	
Other ships	3	Total U.S. Navy ships
		38



m to Turtle Bay

ists, and scientists to discuss issues of planetary survival. Despite the extraordinary mixture of participants, there was no disagreement that the planet was at risk. Said the Dalai Lama: "We cannot blame a few politicians, a few fanatics, or a few troublemakers. The whole of humanity has a responsibility."

The religious and political leaders at Oxford committed themselves to work collaboratively at all levels—local, national, and regional—and to vitalize useful structures, such as the United Nations. "Special attention" will be given to three critical areas: elimination of the perils of nuclear and chemical armaments; realization of appropriate balances between resources and populations; and promotion of the well-being of vulnerable groups, particularly women and children.

the rain in Bahrain

Advanced environmental monitoring system to give early warning of drought, crop failures, and insect plagues in Africa is being launched this year by the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations (FAO). The system may well save millions of lives by enabling agricultural and public health authorities to prepare for major food shortages before they occur.

As announced in FAO's World Food Report, the project will enhance the Global Information and Early Warning System for Food and Agriculture, a one-based service that alerts governments to potential famine conditions. Initially FAO will make use of data received directly from a weather satellite of the European Space Agency and an environmental satellite of the American National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration. These satellites record cloud temperature fluctuations over Africa at hourly intervals and report on the state of vegetation every ten days. Their readings will be combined, allowing continuous monitoring of rainfall and vegetation across the continent. By comparing satellite information with the statistics and analyses in supportive data bases, the system's computer will produce maps pointing out abnormal rainfall patterns and suspected insect breeding areas. In the longer term, the information gathered by satellites for the food-alert system will be used in agricultural planning.

ork genes

After five years of debate and study the U.N. has established the International Centre for Genetic Engineering and Biotechnology, a research and training facility that will use advanced genetic engineering techniques to address problems of hunger and disease in developing countries. The new center will be based in New Delhi and Trieste, where research teams will work closely with affiliated facilities throughout the Third World in such fields as plant cell culture and propagation, vaccine development, and malaria chemotherapy. The program's initial funding comes from grants by the Italian government (\$10 million), the Research Area of Trieste (\$7 million), and India (\$17 million in kind and \$500,000 in hard currency). "The recent revolution in genetic technology, until now the exclusive domain of the richest countries, may benefit the medicine and agriculture of the world's poorest regions most of all, according to a recent study published by the International Labour Organisation. The study notes that a third of the world's food potential is being lost to insects, diseases, and weeds—a share that could be recovered with the development of pest- and disease-resistant plant varieties. Clonal propagation of timber crops can dramatically reduce shortages and deforestation in the Third World. And new strains of micro-organisms can efficiently convert biomass—the world's most abundant resource—into primary fuels.

a the Persian Gulf Area

ships located in the Persian Gulf, the North Arabian Sea, and the Indian Ocean.

European Navy Ships in and Near the Persian Gulf

France	Italy	
Aircraft carriers	Frigates	3
Destroyers	Minesweepers	3
Frigates	Support ships	2
Minesweepers		
Support ships	Belgium	
	Minesweepers	1
	Support ships	1
United Kingdom		
Destroyers	Netherlands	
Frigates	Minesweepers	2
Minesweepers		
Command ships		
Support ships	Total European Navy ships	36

FAO

(Continued from page 1)

over Saouma's performance came to a head earlier this year when Fred J. Eckert, the top U.S. representative to the agriculture agency, presented the director-general with a "letter of inquiry" aimed at clarifying accusations against him. In a preface, Eckert observed that FAO activities have been increasingly portrayed in an "unfavorable light" and that the purpose of his questionnaire was to get "to the truth of these matters." The Saouma administration's initial reaction was to shrug off the inquiry with the comment that the requested information is contained in public documents—a reply that donor-country representatives say is untrue.

Eckert's letter does not necessarily reflect the consensus of the Camberley Group, which—besides the United States—includes Canada, Japan, Australia, and the West European nations of Denmark, Finland, West Germany, the Netherlands, Norway, Sweden, Switzerland, and the United Kingdom. One delegate said flatly that "there is no link between the group and the letter," which he called "a bilateral matter" between the U.S. and FAO. Nevertheless, others in the group said that their governments were "interested" in the exercise and even shared some of the concerns suggested by Eckert's questions.

Most of the questions focused on reports that Saouma bought the support of governments through pork barrel allocations of FAO funds and development projects and other favored treatment. A particular target is the Technical Cooperation Program, through which Saouma can allocate up to \$400,000 to any development project of his choice without accounting for the expenditure. The money comes from FAO's \$60 million biennial projects budget.

What Eckert requested is a list of projects financed through the program in the past two years and the purpose of each. A Western delegate cited the case of the FAO representative of a country "that shall remain nameless" who had used Saouma's "discretionary" allocation to build himself a house. Donor sources agreed that Saouma is generous to a fault in rewarding governments that back FAO policies.

Related questions focus on what one source called "suspiciously coincidental" actions during Saouma's feverish campaign to build up a constituency for his reelection. Thus, Eckert asked whether it was true that some FAO staff members, dependent on the director-general for promotions and even for their jobs, also served on voting delegations at the November conference that returned the incumbent to office.

"The question is rhetorical," one delegate noted. "We already know it's true."

Eckert went on to request lists of national delegates or former delegates—as well as their family



members and those of senior FAO officials—who are on the agency's payroll. "We know of cases of delegates' sons, daughters, and wives who have FAO jobs," a Western delegate said. "Most of them are from countries whose governments are unquestioning supporters of Saouma and his policies."

The Eckert letter also asks for an accounting of travel expenses paid by FAO for delegates attending the November sessions that reelected Saouma. The U.S. wants to know how much the agency spent, and for whom. Saouma critics point out that any delegation so favored could have been expected to take a kindly view of his candidacy.

Reports of a more circuitous approach to winning friends involve the purchase and disposal of official vehicles. As a Camberley representative explained the procedure: The FAO purchasing department buys a vehicle, operates it for a period far short of its normal lifespan, declares it obsolescent or surplus, and then sells it at a nominal price to a friendly diplomat.

"We have been told of cases in which FAO has bought Mercedes limousines for thousands of dollars, written them off as junk a couple of years later, and—while they were still virtually in mint condition—sold them to favorites for a song," a European delegate said. He added that such accusations are the reason Eckert is asking Saouma how many vehicles FAO owns, who has the use of them and for what purposes, and who made the purchases and for what price. Eckert also wants to know how long the vehicles remained in use by FAO, how and to whom they were disposed of, and for how much.

At a more personal level, Saouma has been asked about the total value of his "compensation package." That includes not only his salary but the cost to FAO of such perquisites as an entertainment allowance, official residence, servants, and travel budget. He was asked to provide the same information about other senior staff and to make a list of those who receive entertainment allowances.

Canada has long been in the forefront in demanding an accounting from the Saouma administration and in calling for reforms. However, rather than targeting the director-general personally, Ottawa has concentrated on broader administrative, operational, and program shortcomings.

Indeed, one Canadian source said of Saouma: "We have no reason to criticize him at this stage. But he should be watched."

Canada's insistence on depersonalizing its criticism was exemplified by its reaction to a charge by Richard Lydiker, director of FAO's information division, that Ottawa was engaged in "character assassination" against Saouma. In the face of a stiff, formal Canadian protest, Saouma apologized for his press aide.

Besides the U.S. and Canada, other major donors that have been outspoken about the way the agency operates include the U.K., Australia, and Japan. Among the Scandinavians, Denmark is "especially vociferous," a diplomatic source said.

As one remedial step, Australia has been trying to enlist other major donors in its campaign to enact a two-term limit on U.N. agency chief executives. A delegate sympathetic to the proposal agreed that, however good a director-general may be, "fresh ideas are always welcome."

The Eckert initiative is part of a continuing campaign to unravel FAO's administrative and financial tangle and to inject a measure of accountability into its operations. For more than a year the Camberley Group has been trying unsuccessfully to introduce efficiency into what critics regard as an increasingly ineffective and even irrelevant bureaucracy. Then, during last November's sessions of the agency's 49-member Council and the 158-nation FAO Conference, the Nordic bloc (Denmark, Finland, Norway, and Sweden) put on the agenda a formal proposal calling for a top-to-bottom FAO management review by outside experts. The measure was voted down and a milder French resolution adopted.

The Camberley Group and like-minded delegations will make another attempt at reform in late May during parallel meetings of FAO's powerful finance and program committees. "We will try to get something rolling then," a committee member said. He explained that one goal is to establish a panel similar to the U.N.'s Group of 18, which in 1986 drafted a comprehensive blueprint for improving the U.N.'s efficiency.

Ted Morello, a former President of the U.N. Correspondents Association, covers the world organization for The Far Eastern Economic Review.

UNA launches plan for a revitalized field

UNA-USA's Board of Governors has adopted a far-reaching plan to strengthen the Association's field operations, especially the work of chapters and divisions. Among its components is a modification of UNA's dues structure to make the field operation self-supporting and increase the size of UNA's membership, building on the momentum gained in 1987. This measure has been endorsed by a nine-member Dues Restructuring Committee chaired by Larry Stern of North Carolina.

The proposed adjustments in the dues structure include the inauguration of a first-year membership fee of \$25 as an inducement to enrollment; a sharing of the cost of promoting and processing membership among chapters, divisions, and the Association; and an increase in the student and retiree membership fees to \$15 and \$25, respectively (individual and family memberships would remain at the current levels of \$35 and \$40). These proposals will be submitted for ratification by the National Convention in July.

A "demonstration chapter" program, aimed at reaching out to community leaders in the fields of business, the professions, government, education, the media, and voluntary organizations to expand and diversify UNA's membership, is another of the measures for strengthening chapters and divisions.

Five chapters will be selected this year to receive special guidance from the national field staff in recruitment, fund-raising, and programming, and 20 more will be selected in 1989. The final element of the plan is the launching of a 25th Anniversary Fund campaign to support UNA's public outreach, youth, and communications activities.

In adopting the plan by unanimous vote, the Board of Governors confirmed the importance of the chapters and divisions in creating a constituency for international cooperation and a more effective United Nations—the essential work of UNA.

The plan is timed to take advantage of the momentum in constituency-building developed last year, when 57 chapters and divisions obtained growth rates that met, and sometimes far surpassed, the 10 percent target set by the Council of Chapter and Division Presidents. A 250 percent increase in size was registered by the Frankfort (Kentucky) Chapter, whose expansion from 46 to 161 members made it the hands-down winner among the smaller chapters. The Southern Oregon Chapter (83 percent) and the Salem (Oregon) Chapter (73 percent) placed second and third in this category.

Among chapters with 150 members or more, the fastest growing

were San Francisco (31 per cent), Pasadena (28 percent—raising the membership of the Association's largest chapter from 730 to 932), and East Bay (California) and Houston (19 percent each).

Other signs of growth are the formation of four new chapters in 1987 (Anchorage, Detroit, Tallahassee, and Cleveland); the expected birth of two new units in the spring of 1988 (San Luis Obispo, California, and Oakland County, Michigan); and organizing efforts now under way in Texas and Oregon. The total membership of the Association grew by 2 percent in 1987, continuing the modest growth pattern of recent years.

In a related development, UNA is delighted to announce that it has received, as the gift of a generous donor, the services of a major New York-based public relations firm. The Kreisberg Group, Ltd., with vast experience in the nonprofit field, will be working with the Association over the next 18 months to communicate our message and mission to a broad American constituency.

Full information on the new field plan has been sent to all UNA chapter and division presidents. Additional information may be obtained by calling or writing Jim Olson, National Field Director, UNA-USA, 485 Fifth Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10017; (212) 697-3232.

UNA notes

Humanitarian award

Jihan Sadat, wife of the late Anwar Sadat of Egypt, received the UNA of San Francisco's Eleanor Roosevelt Humanitarian Award presented each year at a benefit dinner scheduled to coincide with the International Day for the Elimination of Racial Discrimination, March 21. Also honored were Patricia K. DiGiorgio, former chapter president, founding president of the San Francisco-based World Center, and member of the UNA-USA Board of Directors, who received the Lifetime Achievement Award; William G. Gaede, managing partner of Touche Ross and Co.; and Emilio R. Nicolas, Jr., general manager and president of KDTV, Channel 14.

Travels with UNA

Several UNA chapters are organizing tours to U.N. Headquarters in New York City or to UNAs abroad

as a service to members and the general public. The Louisville Chapter arranged a visit to New York in April for briefings by diplomats and U.N. officials at the U.N. and at UNA-USA's national office. The Pasadena Chapter organized an April tour to China, including a stop-off at the headquarters of UNA-PRC. May will find members of the Tucson Chapter at the UNESCO office in Paris, at WHO and ILO in Geneva, and at the World Court in The Hague, following a rewarding visit to UNA-Norway in 1987. UNA Field Director Jim Olson may be contacted for further details about these trips and is ready to assist chapters, divisions, and affiliated organizations in planning future tours.

Disarmament

A number of UNA-USA chapters and affiliated organizations are planning for the U.N.'s Third Special Session on Disarmament, May 31-June 24. Information on activities during the session, including a march and rally in New York City scheduled for June 11, is available from the National Coalition in Support of the Third U.N. Special Session on Disarmament, 11 John Street, Room 803, New York, N.Y. 10038. Information on the preparations for the session itself is available in *Disarmament Times* (\$15 a year; c/o NGO Committee on Disarmament, 777 United Nations Plaza, New York, N.Y. 10017).

Book notes

Participants in the 1988 Multilateral Project, among other U.N. watchers, will find food for thought in *Politics in the United Nations System* (Duke University Press; 503 pp.; \$65.00/\$22.50). The volume's 15 essays chart the evolution of U.N. programs, policies, and processes in such areas as refugees, atomic energy, peacekeeping, trade, development, environment, and human rights. On the evidence, and contrary to the common wisdom, concludes editor Lawrence Finkelstein, "there has been movement, uneven to be sure, toward centralized authority in the [U.N.] system." Foreword by Secretary-General Javier Pérez de Cuéllar.

Complementing UNA's International Emergency Relief Project, which has been asking hard questions about the politics, management, and press coverage of international relief efforts, is J. Bruce Nichols's *The Uneasy Alliance: Religion, Refugees and U.S. Foreign Policy* (Oxford University Press; 337 pp.; \$24.95). Nichols looks closely at the interaction of church and state in setting and carrying out U.S. refugee policy during the postwar period, focusing on Honduras, Thailand, and Sudan. (Available from Oxford or from the Carnegie Council, Dept. DC, 170 E. 64 Street, New York, N.Y. 10021; add \$1.25 postage and handling.)

A Special Invitation to Members

On Friday, June 3, UNA-USA will inaugurate the National U.N. Day Program with a formal ball honoring the Secretary-General and the 159 Permanent Representatives to the U.N., and we cordially invite you to join us for this truly gala evening.

Tickets to this important UNA fund-raising event are being sold to the general public at \$375 per person, but to show our gratitude to our invaluable members, we have created a special UNA "supporter" category at only \$100 per person—the Association's basic cost for the evening of cocktails, a sumptuous sit-down dinner, and dancing in the Broadway Ballroom of the New York Marriott Marquis Hotel. (Of course, anyone who wishes to do more is encouraged to become a "donor" [\$250 per person] or a "sponsor" [\$375 per person] of the event.)

Members, whether singles or couples, will be seated with ambassadors and with members of UNA's national staff, and are assured of a lively evening of conversation and camaraderie. Or, if you prefer, you may reserve a table especially for your Chapter or Division—places for eight members, who will host an Ambassador and escort as the group's personal guests. Such a table for ten is \$1,000.

The evening of friendship and festivity is punctuated by a very brief ceremony at which U.S. Ambassador to the U.N. Vernon Walters will install Stanley Pace, CEO of General Dynamics Corp., as National U.N. Day Chairman. Also on hand will be the top three winners of UNA's National High School Essay Contest.

For further information and to reserve seating, please call UNA Headquarters at (212) 697-3232, Extensions 361 or 362. Because time and space are limited, reservations should be made soon.

Auction mania

A Henry Kissinger autograph, original art works by Sophia Loren and Mohammad Ali, a five-foot-long embroidery from Bhutan, an antique needlepoint from a Provence abbey, and airline tickets to romantic places are among the more than 100 items valued at from \$5 to \$5,000 donated by U.N. Missions, individuals, and businesses for the UNA-USA National Convention "silent auction." The bidding begins even before convention day to permit all members and friends of the Association, as well as conventioners, to register their claim on a piece of the world.

An auction catalogue with bidding sheet will be distributed to chapter and division presidents, Council of Organizations members, and registered convention delegates, alternates, and observers at the end of May; members and friends may obtain additional copies by sending in the coupon below.

Mail bids received at the National Office by July 6 will be entered in the fray. Those highest bidders in attendance at the Convention will take their items with them; mail bidders will receive theirs by freight or mail upon receipt of payment.

A team of hard-working volunteers has been gathering and appraising the international array of items, whose sale will benefit UNA-USA. (Proceeds from the original artworks, submitted by Annabelle Wiener of WFUNA, will go to that organization.) Rita Singer, Janice Peterfreund, Dagmar Sawyer, Annabelle Wiener, Monique Golby, and Elizabeth Boudreau, the backbone of the Auction Committee, have provided the kind of spirit and effort that guarantee the auction will be a fun-filled event and a financial success.



To: UNA Auction, 485 Fifth Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10017

Send me _____ copy[ies] of the Convention Auction Catalogue & Bidding Sheet.

Please type or print clearly: This becomes a mailing label.

Name: _____

Street Address: _____

City: State: Zip: _____

(The InterDependent welcomes letters to the editor. For readers who wish theirs to be considered for the Correspondence column, a length of not more than 300 words is suggested. The InterDependent reserves the right to edit letters chosen for publication.)

Let UNA-USA put you in the corridors of power.

If you are among the 85% of Americans who say they want a stronger United Nations so it can do a better job solving the world's problems, then UNA-USA is for you! The United Nations Association of the USA is dedicated to making the U.N. work. In an increasingly dangerous and chaotic world, peace and prosperity cannot be secured without better international institutions and stronger U.S. leadership. UNA-USA is helping to achieve both through a unique blend of policy research, international dialogue, and public outreach.

UNA-USA is a national, nonpartisan, nonprofit "citizens' think tank." Through it, thousands of Americans



come together to weigh the choices facing U.S. foreign policy makers; and for more than twenty years, decision-makers at the highest levels of government have listened to them. Join us and you too can be heard.

UNA-USA has over 175 local chapters, each with a lively program of discussions, debates, speakers, and special events designed to inform and entertain you.

With your membership comes a subscription to *The Interdependent*, UNA's

acclaimed bimonthly publication. Its timely investigative reporting takes you behind the headlines of today's news, and offers a range of views seldom found in the domestic press.

Also available, on request, are Fact Sheets, Reports, and Alerts derived from UNA's ongoing coverage of the United Nations, from its close contacts with business, labor, and government leaders, and from its high-level bilateral programs with the Soviet Union, Japan, and the People's Republic of China.

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<input type="checkbox"/> \$90 Family	<input type="checkbox"/> \$10 Student	<input type="checkbox"/> \$50 Sponsor
<input type="checkbox"/> Additional contribution for my local chapter: \$_____		
<input type="checkbox"/> Additional contribution for UNA's national programs: \$_____		
Dues and contributions are tax deductible.		
Total enclosed \$_____		
<input type="checkbox"/> My check is enclosed (Make check payable to UNA-USA)		
<input type="checkbox"/> Please bill me		



Name _____
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Return this form with your check to: UNA-USA, 300 East 42nd Street, New York, N.Y. 10017

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UNA USA

May 19, 1988

file

Rabbi Alexander M. Schindler
President
Union of American Hebrew Congregations
838 Fifth Avenue
New York, NY 10021

Dear Rabbi:

Let me add my own words of thanks and appreciation for your recent contribution to the Transition Fund. It is an important vote of confidence in the future of the Association.

In these difficult times, when our organization faces critical challenges and opportunities, one discovers who are the true friends of the Association. It pleases me enormously to be able to count you both a friend and a leader of UNA.

Thank you again for helping to turn this organization around.

All best wishes.

Sincerely,

CL

Edward C. Luck
President

By the way, while your modesty is becoming, we think of you as far more important than a "poor parish priest"!

UNA USA

May 11, 1988
24 Iyar 5748

Mr. Elliot L. Richardson
Chairman
United Nations Association
of the United States of America
485 Fifth Avenue
New York, NY 10017-6104

Dear Elliot:

Thank you so much for re-nominating me to the UNA Board of Directors. Needless to say, I am flattered- especially because you waived the provision that sets a limitation of two consecutive terms.

I only regret that my financial contribution isn't up to what one would normally expect from a member of the Board of Trustees, after all I'm only a humble parish priest. But if that is of no major account in my case, I will be glad to ~~serve~~ in any possible way.

Sincerely,

Alexander M. Schindler



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May 9, 1988

Rabbi Alexander M. Schindler
President
Union of American Hebrew Congregations
838 Fifth Avenue
New York, NY 10021

Dear Rabbi Schindler:

The UNA Nominating Committee has completed its review of the slate of officers and directors that will be submitted to the Association at our forthcoming Convention, and I am pleased to inform you that you have been re-nominated to the UNA Board of Directors for another five-year term.

As you know, UNA's by-laws provide that a Director may serve only two consecutive terms, "except under unusual circumstances," in which case exception may be made. The Nominating Committee has, with my wholehearted agreement, waived this provision in your case. Your distinguished service to the Association over the years is powerful reason to retain you as a valued member of the Board. You might want to note on your calendar that the next Board meeting will be held in New York on December 5th.

As a current Director, you are also eligible to be a delegate to our forthcoming Convention, which will be held in New York July 10 - 12. You will be receiving some more information about the Convention in the next few days, and I hope that you will be able to attend some of the sessions.

Your contribution to the UNA has meant a great deal to the success of the organization, and we look forward to your continued leadership and counsel on our Board of Directors. Please call Lori Howard at UNA by May 16 if you do not wish to serve another term.

Sincerely,

Elliot L. Richardson
Chairman

Tell them I am pleased to have Alexander Schindler on the Board. I only regret that my financial situation is not what it should be. After all I am only

UNA-USA

May 11, 1988

Mr. Richard J. Schmeelk
Vice-Chairman, UNA-USA
485 Fifth Avenue
New York, NY 10017-6104

Dear Dick:

I am enclosing herewith a small contribution to the UNA-USA Transition Fund campaign. It would much to be were I able to send a larger gift, alas such is not the case. But please know, and tell Ed Luck, that this gift comes with my best wishes for a successful campaign and move into the "The Next Steps."

Of course, I stand ready to be of assistance to you and Ed and the UNA-USA in any way possible.

With warm good wishes and kindest regards, I am

Sincerely,

Alexander M. Schindler

Encl.

WHEN CHECK IS READY Rabi.
EXT 210 Schindler
PLEASE CALL

Ms. Edith J. Miller

May 5, 1988
18 Iyar 5788

Mr. Fred Cohen

On April 27, I asked for a check for the UNA-USA in the sume of \$100. and suggested this check come out of Rabbi Schindler's Discretionary Fund.

This is really a contribution to an organization for which he represents the UAHC. Instead of taking the check from the Discretionary Fund, will you please arrange to have it charged to the contingency line ~~for~~ contributions of for subventions to other contributions.

Edith J. Miller

April 27, 1988

Fred Cohen

DISCRETIONARY FUND

1/ Please let me have a check for \$100. for the UNA-USA (United Nations Association of the U.S.A. Rabbi Schindler is making a contribution. Please send the check to me for transmittal.

2/ Please let me know where stand in regard to balances in both of the Discretionary Funds.

Thanks.



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Honorary Chairman
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May 5, 1988

Like that's whole check's for.

Rabbi Alexander M. Schindler
President
Union of American Hebrew Congregations
838 Fifth Avenue
New York, NY 10021

Dear Rabbi:

As a fellow Governor of the United Nations Association, I know you share with me a deep interest in the Association's future. In an attempt to insure the viability of that future, the Association is now engaged in a Transition Fund campaign to raise \$500,000 to retire accumulated debt and to provide modest operating funds to implement steps approved at the March 7th Board of Governors meeting. Personally, I have endorsed these efforts by making a generous gift and in encouraging other Governors and Directors to participate. In April, we raised over \$170,000 in pledges and, to date, \$107,000 has been collected.

The Transition Fund is the key to implementing "The Next Steps" Ed Luck outlined in his March 28th memorandum, a copy of which was sent to you with my earlier letter. Raising these funds has been going slower than I had hoped or expected. If we are to maintain the very good sense of momentum that we achieved when the campaign was initiated, I believe that it will be essential to urge full participation within the next week. This will be important for two reasons: First, it will provide UNA with the necessary funds it needs to do its important work. Second, it will demonstrate total commitment and participation of UNA leadership. This, in turn, will enable the Association to re-approach a very good friend of UNA who has already indicated a donation as high as \$100,000 based on "what the other Directors do."

For these reasons, I hope this follow-up appeal will receive your favorable consideration and generous pledge of support at this time.

Sincerely,

Richard J. Schmeelk
Vice Chairman, UNA-USA

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Robert V. Roosa

Acting Chairman, U.S.-Soviet
Parallel Studies Program
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United Nations Association of the United States of America



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October 16, 1987

TO: Board of Governors
FROM: Edward C. Luck
SUBJECT: October 26th Meeting

As previously announced, the next meeting of the Board of Governors will be held from 1:00 to 4:00 p.m. on Monday, October 26th, in our offices on the second floor of 485 Fifth Avenue, New York City. A traditionally modest lunch will be served.

The October meeting of the Board of Governors is always an important one, since it offers an opportunity to review the Association's budget for the coming year. Given our extraordinarily tight financial situation, a particularly careful review of priorities will be in order this year.

Over the summer, the newly formed Strategic Planning and Development Committee of the Board has been meeting with senior staff members to discuss proposals for restructuring the staff and reformulating the Association's mission statement. The Board of Governors should review these proposals before they are put into action and before a formal budget is adopted for the coming year. A memo describing what we have in mind on the restructuring front is enclosed and a revised mission statement will be circulated before or at the Board meeting. A detailed development audit, prepared by Fred Tamalonis, will also be sent to you before the session.

While recent months have been very lean financially, they have been rich in terms of program developments. There is a great deal to bring you up to date on and your input would be greatly valued on a number of items. A few clippings are enclosed and background materials about program developments will be mailed to you before the meeting or available at that time.

I very much hope that you will make every effort to be with us for this crucial session. Please indicate on the enclosed reply card whether you will be able to attend.

Thanks very much and all the best.

*Responding
No*

*Can change if you want
Revised me possibly but not likely*

AGENDA

UNITED NATIONS ASSOCIATION OF THE USA

BOARD OF GOVERNORS MEETING

Monday, October 26, 1987

1:00 to 4:00 p.m.

- I. Approval of Minutes of Last Board Meeting
- II. Proposed Staff Restructuring and UNA Mission Statement
- III. Review of Current Financial Situation and Projections for 1988 Budget
- IV. Financial Development Plans
- V. Recommendations of Membership Task Force
- VI. Report on WFUNA Plenary Assembly and Future Plans
- VII. Discussion of Vance/Richardson proposal on UN Flagging of Persian Gulf Shipping
- VIII. Follow-up to Final Report on UN Management and Decision-making
- IX. Program Reports and Discussion
 1. Final report of the 1987 Multilateral Project: A Time to Plant: International Cooperation to End Hunger
 2. Nationwide teleconference on UN peacekeeping and peacemaking
 3. Plans for 1988 Multilateral Project on US priorities in the UN
 4. Meeting in Moscow on security, arms control, and the UN
 5. Economic Policy Council
- X. Other Business

Proposals for Staff and Program Restructuring
for consideration by the
UNA-USA Board of Governors

by
Edward C. Luck
President and CEO

September 25, 1987

UNA's 1986 Annual Report describes its mission as follows:

The United Nations Association is making the U.N. work. Through policy research, public outreach, and international dialogue, UNA-USA is building a national and international constituency for global cooperation. A non-profit, nonpartisan membership organization, UNA-USA participates actively in the public debate about America's role in the world, serving as a major source of information for Congress, the Executive Branch, students, and the media. Step by step, UNA-USA is bringing the U.S., the U.N., and the global community closer together.

To carry out this mission, UNA must do the following tasks well: 1) develop innovative and practical policy proposals, 2) communicate them to critical constituencies, including the American public, US decisionmakers, and the international community, and 3) spur action on them by the UN, the US, and other countries. Ideas, communication, action: each step in the chain requires priority attention and careful integration with the others. The production of ideas, for example, is a barren enterprise unless dedicated follow-up efforts are undertaken to gain their implementation. Efforts to influence the US government, on the other hand, are most effective if they are supported by a broad and informed public constituency. And since UNA's focus is on global issues demanding multilateral solutions, it is not enough simply to persuade the US government alone to take action. UNA must reach key decision-makers in other countries and in international institutions as well.

UNA's current programs and structure envelop each of these functions, but their interaction is not as automatic as it ought to be and some links in the chain are far stronger than others. In developing a strategic plan for the future of the Association, it will be possible to build on what is already the broadest programmatic base of any foreign policy organization, but it will be necessary to pull the parts together in a far more creative and concerted way than has been done in the past. At the same time, the weakest links -- communication and grassroots constituency building -- will need to be addressed in much more innovative and intensive ways.

The restructuring exercise undertaken by UNA four years ago was designed in part to spur the integration of UNA's relatively strong policy research programs with its relatively weak outreach capabilities. To a certain extent, this has worked and these program areas reinforce each other in a much more natural and consistent way than ever before. It is now accepted gospel at UNA that policy recommendations have far more political clout, particularly over the long run, if both their adoption and their implementation involve our field constituencies. In this way, both sides of UNA's programs gain a sense of "ownership" in the Association's messages and activities. It has been possible, moreover, to convince foundations that a unique aspect of UNA's proposals is that they encompass both so-called elite and grassroots participation. So the integration now has financial as well as programmatic roots.

This combination, embodied most vividly in the Multilateral Project, constitutes an important area of comparative advantage for UNA in its competition with other foreign policy organizations for scarce resources and for public attention. This integrative process, however, has just begun. It will require sustained attention for many years to come.

At the same time, it has become clear that there is insufficient coordination among UNA's three major substantive programs: the Multilateral Project, the Policy Studies Program, and the Economic Policy Council. In a real sense, this problem is a product of our success in broadening our substantive programs and capabilities. When I first arrived at UNA thirteen years ago, there was a single Policy Studies Program which involved one set of discussions with the Soviet UNA, one with the Asia Pacific Association of Japan, and two individual policy panels. Then in 1976 a handful of business and labor leaders initiated the Economic Policy Council, which was seen as much as a fundraising tool as an ongoing substantive program. Today the EPC has over one hundred members, several ongoing research projects, and a strong track record of reports and books to its credit. The Policy Studies Program now encompasses six separate dialogues, two each with the Soviet Union, Japan and China. The Multilateral Project, which got off the ground only four years ago, has truly become the core program of the Association, involving a wide range of publications, international conferences, policy panels, study trips

and a nationwide teleconference, in addition to the annual study project. Unlike the situation a decade ago, almost all of UNA's research and policy activities are underwritten by direct grants from foundations and corporations.

The burgeoning of UNA's research and policy work, while boosting the image, credibility, and influence of the Association, has at the same time created three major strains on the structure of the Association which badly need to be addressed. The first, as noted in the discussion paper for the first meeting of the Strategic Planning and Development Committee, has been the overburdening of UNA's infrastructure in terms of its ability to provide the services necessary to run so many projects and to produce so many publications simultaneously. Second, while the influx of major foundation grants to support these programs has virtually saved the organization from financial bankruptcy as other sources of income have fallen away, it has at the same time made the organization far too dependent on a handful of major foundation decisionmakers for its financial viability and has made sensible long-term planning extraordinarily difficult. Third, because of my own background and predilections, it has tended to place far too heavy administrative demands on this office, since I am the only one under the present structure with an overview of all of these activities and an institutional motivation to spur their coordination and integration.

This third problem can be eased by changes in organizational structure. The simplest, and I believe most sensible solution, is to create a single Studies Committee which would include some of the top volunteer leaders of each of these three program areas. Its tasks would be to identify issues which should be of surpassing concern to the organization and to identify which UNA programs would be best placed to tackle them programmatically. This would permit a high-level overview of the whole menu of UNA programmatic alternatives, choosing which are best for a given topic. This would assure that UNA's resources are utilized to the fullest in addressing priority issues.

The creation of such a group, moreover, might well provide a magnet to attract additional top foreign policy or business figures to UNA's leadership, since the opportunity to motivate and guide the unusually broad programmatic resources of the Association should prove to be quite attractive. The leadership could be chosen in a way to stress UNA's bipartisan and broad-based approach to issues. For example, Cy Vance and Henry Kissinger have been working together on developing joint bipartisan approaches to foreign policy issues. They might be approached as to whether through such a committee UNA might be a good place to float their joint ideas and to promote such a bipartisan approach to global issues. The group might meet twice a year and over time incorporate the functions of the moribund Policy Studies Committee, the Multilateral Project Advisory Group and the Steering Committee of the EPC. The EPC group has probably been the most active of the three and its relationship to the Studies Committee could evolve step-by-step over time.

A similar coordination of effort should be made on the staff side. UNA is fortunate to have three strong staff heads of these programs in Toby Gati, Peter Fromuth, and Jeff Laurenti. They have agreed to work together on a regular basis to sort out priorities, to define a clear division of labor on particular topics, to consider joint programs and foundation proposals, and to identify emerging issues which should be of concern to the Association for consideration by the Studies Committee and UNA's leadership. Toby Gati, with her seniority and breadth of programmatic and fundraising experience, will take the lead, though each of the three will exercise considerable autonomy in directing their own programs. This will ease my burdens considerably, though I plan to continue to devote considerable time to the substantive side of the organization's work and will work with the individual program directors directly when needed.

This proposed arrangement has developed through a series of meetings among senior staff members this summer, which were marked both by candor and by a reassuring degree of consensus about what is wrong with the Association and what we should be doing about it. My strong sense is that the bureaucratic tendency to develop independent fiefdoms, while to some degree inevitable, will not be a major problem in the coming years. While we do not contemplate a formal merger of the support staffs of these three programs, the

proposed integration at the top will necessitate and facilitate a far greater sharing of human resources among the three program areas, the demands for support by each of the three seem to be cyclical depending on their scheduled publications, trips and meetings. Each staff performs very similar functions and over time this arrangement may be able to produce some modest economies of effort and cost. In the past, the main barrier to cooperation has not been the spirit of the individuals so much as the artificial bureaucratic barriers imposed by our structure. It should be possible now to recognize that we are all engaged in a common enterprise and the success of each depends to a real extent on the success of the whole.

There is another, somewhat more subtle, reason for moving in this direction. Faced with necessarily limited financial, human and intellectual resources, UNA must decide how to husband them in a way to best forward its basic objectives. At this point, UNA has both functional breadth -- the range of types of activities which it undertakes -- and substantive breadth -- the range of policy issues it addresses at any one time. As noted at the outset, to make a real difference in terms of moving our national or international political and economic systems, it is necessary to reach a variety of potentially influential constituencies through a number of different kinds of program activities. For most important issues, it is important that the reactions of the American public, our government, other governments, and the relevant international institutions be mutually reinforcing. If we focus only on one of these, our chances of success are usually diminished. In a few instances, it may be possible to target just one or two constituencies, but it is always helpful to have some flexibility in choosing among various options for seeking the implementation of our ideas and proposals. It is hard enough to make a difference in this world without having one's organizational structure itself impose constraints on our programmatic choices. In the foreseeable future, UNA will not have the resources to maintain both functional and substantive breadth. It would thus seem to make more sense to maintain our functional breadth while being somewhat more selective on the substantive side. UNA is most likely to make a difference -- and to be seen to be making a difference -- if it focuses on a relatively few issues and pursues them vigorously through a variety of program activities.

I remember some years ago Harlan Cleveland commenting at a meeting of the Substantive Issues Committee for one of our Conventions that UNA had simply become another general foreign policy organization. He did not mean the comment to be pejorative, but it struck me at the time that that description, which rang all too true, did not make UNA sound like a very special place either to work or for others to invest. So we have made a conscious effort, beginning with the 1983-84 restructuring, to focus on the substantive areas (global issues and institutions) in which UNA clearly should have a comparative advantage. That strategy has resulted in a reassertion of our basic identity, a higher profile in the media, Washington and the international community, and a much better spirit and sense of common purpose among our diverse constituencies. It has also led to some major foundation gifts. At the same time, it is clear that many of the top people whom we have been able to attract to the Policy Studies Program and the EPC are not fundamentally motivated by concerns about the fate of the United Nations and other international institutions. They are, however, attracted both by the quality of our programs and by a recognition of the importance of global issues and the inevitability of global interdependence. Our strategy with the Multilateral Project has been to emphasize global issues of broad public concern and then to point out the necessity of strengthening international institutions to cope with them, rather than putting the institutional emphasis first. That same strategy, it seems to me, should apply to the EPC and the Policy Studies Program. Our emphasis should be on global problem-solving, which will entail a much greater degree of international cooperation and much stronger international institutions. This mix should permit us both to attract a broad range of top leaders -- including conservative skeptics of international institutions --while maintaining the integrity of our fundamental mission.

As we address these structural changes designed to enhance the production of UNA's message, we are then faced with the nagging problem of how best to communicate it to our target audiences. UNA has never been terribly good at public relations. This in turn has affected our ability to reach the American public and to raise sufficient general support from corporations and individual donors. We need, quite simply, to raise the organization's public profile. In an ad hoc fashion, we have in recent years greatly increased the

number and quality of references to UNA in the print and electronic media. But we have only begun to scratch the surface, and our current structure and resources will not permit a concerted public relations effort. John Tessitore, in his brief tenure as Director of Publications, has done an excellent job of ensuring the quality, efficiency and economy of our publication efforts. But his department has had neither the resources nor the personnel to engage in broad public relations activities, other than organizing the annual Editors' Seminar at the UN and helping arrange occasional press conferences for the release of major reports. I have asked John to organize and chair a staff committee to review ways UNA could better utilize mass media and new communications techniques. They will have a written report laying out options and costs by early November for discussion by this committee or the Board.

The time has come to assert, in structural as well as theoretical terms, the centrality of public relations as a core organization-wide function. These concerns need to have a voice near the top of the bureaucratic structure, rather than simply being a small independent office tucked away in the middle of the bureaucracy. Our two basic functions -- the development of ideas and their communication -- should be put on the same level.

At the same time, UNA needs to face squarely the basic question of how best to pursue public outreach and constituency-building. Our field network is increasingly being seen as both a fundamental constituency and as a conveyor belt for the Association's message. (The conveyor belt, of course, must work two ways in relaying messages back and forth between the national program and the field constituency, which through the Multilateral Project and other means must be fully integrated in the development and shaping of UNA's ideas and messages.) The field should be seen as an integral part of UNA's public relations efforts, as our individual members become in a very real sense our "domestic ambassadors" for spreading the word to both the general public and to their representatives in Washington.

These considerations suggest that a second consolidation of programs be brought together under the heading of Communications and Constituencies. This would bring together, on an equal basis, UNA's efforts to communicate to the general public and its efforts to rebuild and revitalize its field network of chapters, divisions and affiliated organizations. Peggy Carlin, with her vast experience, is the logical head for this area. Jim Olson and John Tessitore, who have done excellent work with our members and our publications respectively, will be key to making this combined enterprise work. They are already working together on developing new communications techniques, as noted above, and recognize the necessity for closer coordination among their programs. Jim worked closely with Jeff Laurenti on organizing and implementing our recent nationwide teleconference on UN peacemaking and peacekeeping. It was in many ways a heady experience, in that we were able to reach many thousands of people in some thirty cities simultaneously with a high quality substantive program. The resulting edited 45-minute video will provide a very good educational and recruitment tool for the future as well. While UNA's greatest strengths have been in use of the printed word, we very much hope in the future to supplement it with a much more creative use of new electronic techniques for mass communication.

While we view the consolidation of our policy and communication activities as important steps forward, they will make relatively little difference unless we also make major changes in development, finance and administration. The organization's financial development efforts were in essence placed "off limits" at the time of the 1983 restructuring so this past summer Fred Tamalonis has been undertaking the first broad assessment of how UNA goes about raising money that has been done in many years (see his "Audit of Development Activities and Recommendations" prepared for this meeting). It is clear that a number of changes in our administrative structure, as well as the bolstering of our infrastructure, will be necessary before a new Capital Campaign can be successful. In Finance and Development, as in other areas, there has been too much "ad hocery" in the way UNA conducts its business. Administration, Finance and Development are closely related functions which need to be performed well and efficiently if the more visible studies, communications and constituency-building programs are to succeed.

It is important to recognize that the 1983 restructuring eliminated the office of Executive Vice President and took other steps to streamline UNA's bureaucracy and reduce overhead. This did serve to streamline decision-making and to reduce costs, but by eliminating a layer at the top of the hierarchy, it increased the administrative pressures on the President. An effort was made to vest day-to-day administrative responsibilities with the Senior Vice President, Peggy Carlin, but she also retained responsibility for the field operation. Now that Peggy is working less than fulltime, the temptation to go around her on some administrative questions has become a necessity at times. Moreover, with UNA's enormous cash-flow problems in recent months, administrative decisions with financial implications have had to rest with the Controller's office and with the President. An Ombudsman has been appointed and a Staff Committee established to deal with specific administrative issues as they arise.

Under the proposed new structure, responsibilities for development, finance and administration would be brought together under Fred Tamaloni's direction. In his short time at UNA he has shown a knack for organizational issues as well as for planning new development efforts. Lou Provenzale and Stan Raisen will be able to give him strong support in the areas of finance and special events, as they have in the past. The one risk of such an arrangement would be that too much of Tam's time could be absorbed by day-to-day administrative questions, thereby sapping his energies from the new Capital Campaign. It is our intention, however, that Tam would delegate administrative matters to one of the key figures in his new department, who would carry out the responsibilities for day-to-day administrative tasks, which are closely linked to financial questions in any case. Moreover, it has become increasingly clear that to the extent that Tam and his colleagues are successful at generating interest in and new prospects for capital development, I will have to spend more and more time following up on them and encouraging Board members to do so as well. I am sure that Tam and I, along with our outstanding group of lay leaders, will make a good team, but the experience in most organizations is that the involvement of a top development officer, like Tam, means not only that the President makes much better use of his time on the fundraising side but also that he will end up spending more time in this vital area.

The division of UNA's staff and programs into three broad areas of approximately equal size -- Policy Analysis and Dialogue, Communications and Constituencies, and Development, Finance and Administration -- would permit me to focus more attention on priority issues affecting the future of the Association. At present, some fourteen programs report directly to me, permitting insufficient time to handle any of them properly. After three years of experimenting with the last restructuring, it is time to broaden the top levels of our hierarchy so that I will have somewhat fewer people and matters to deal with on a day-to-day basis.

Three years in this office have also underlined that there are four priorities demanding the President's constant attention. The first is representation, that is giving the Association visibility through writing, speaking, and the media. Second is to devote a growing amount of time and attention to capital development, which is essential to everything else we do and believe in. Third is to recruit, motivate and involve our Boards and volunteer leadership more actively in the affairs of the Association. Progress in this area will be essential to making our efforts to raise money and to raise our profile work, and I feel that I have been unable to devote sufficient time to this task in the past, and it is absolutely vital that we begin to attract some major individual donors to our side. We badly need more top corporate and financial figures in our leadership. Fourth, I would like to devote more thought to strategic planning regarding our future programs, structure and finance. The President is the only member of the staff who is well-positioned to take a broad overview of where the organization is going and what it can hope to achieve.

My strong feeling is that UNA is on the verge of a renaissance. Most of the pieces are in place, but our structure has made it difficult to pull them together properly. The proposed structural changes will help, but they are only a first step. In the months ahead, we need to take a hard look at our By-laws, the composition of our Boards, the content of some of our programs, our development efforts, and medium and long-term goals of the Association.

Proposed Staff and Program Structure

President (Ed Luck)

Executive Office

- Representation (writing, speaking, media)
- Major capital development
- Boards and lay leadership (recruitment, motivation, involvement)
- Strategic planning (program, structure, finance)

Policy Analysis & Dialogue

Toby Gati

Peter Fromuth - Jeff Laurenti

- Economic Policy Council
- Multilateral Studies
- Parallel Studies
- Ad hoc projects
- Global watch
- Washington Office

Communications & Constituencies

Peggy Carlin

Jim Olson - John Tessitore

- Public and media relations
- Membership, chapters and divisions
- Affiliated organizations
- Publications
- Convention
- UN Day
- Model UN and Youth
- Internships
- (WFUNA?)

Development, Finance & Administration

Fred Tamalonis

Louis Provenzale - Stan Raisen

- Capital and endowment development
- Annual giving
- Bequests & planned giving
- Special events
- Administration & Personnel
- Budget
- (revived CCIP?)

Let the U. N. Reflag Gulf Vessels

By Cyrus R. Vance
and Elliot L. Richardson

The specter of a widened conflict in the Persian Gulf raised by prospective United States reflagging of Kuwaiti ships and provision of safe transit for Kuwaiti cargoes on Soviet vessels leased to Kuwait has created consternation in Congress, quiescence among our allies and concern even in the Administration.

Despite the risks, America feels compelled grimly to press on for fear that retreat, in Senate majority leader Robert C. Byrd's words, "Would further injure the already severely damaged credibility of the United States."

Without retreat or loss of credibility, however, America can attain its goal with substantially lower risk. It can meet its commitment to Kuwait and achieve its policy goals under the mantle of international sanction by supporting United Nations reflagging of nonmilitary vessels in the gulf.

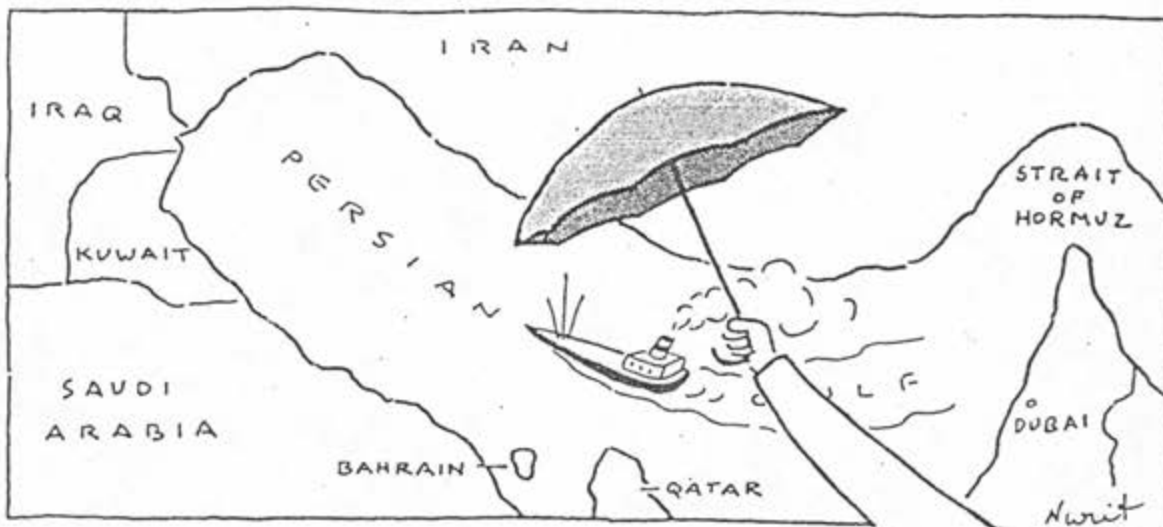
This would not involve creation of a United Nations naval flotilla patrolling the gulf, as some have proposed. The United Nations is not an appropriate instrument of gunboat diplomacy. Rather, it is a unique instrument for peacemaking diplomacy: Its peacekeeping forces are widely respected and rarely attacked, even in zones of bitter conflict.

United Nations reflagging would not wave a red flag before Iran, but American reflagging would fuel tensions in the Gulf. Iran would see the United States, which it considers an enemy, as inserting itself into the gulf on behalf of an ally of Iraq, the other belligerent in the seven-year war.

By contrast, United Nations reflagging would cool tensions by assuring commercial shipping of peaceful passage. In other words, this approach provides the best guarantee for America's goal of securing peaceful passage.

A United Nations peace-building

Cyrus R. Vance, former Secretary of State, is chairman of the National Council of the United Nations Association of the USA. Elliot L. Richardson, former Secretary of Defense, is chairman of the organization.



mission would begin after passage of a Security Council resolution that endorsed freedom of navigation for peaceful shipping in the gulf, noted the perils to it from the ongoing conflict and called on all member states to safeguard innocent traffic from attack while efforts at ending the Iran-Iraq war continued.

A Council resolution should authorize seafaring United Nations peacekeepers to place a United Nations flag on vessels entering the gulf that asked a United Nations guarantee of safe passage and that submitted to United Nations inspection to insure that no war matériel was on board.

Once under a United Nations flag, oil tankers and other peaceful vessels desiring an escort could request an unarmed United Nations patrol boat to accompany it, or a naval vessel from member states authorized by the Council to carry out this function.

The guiding principle of the United Nations reflagging plan is diplomatic deterrence, which is likely to be more effective than military deterrence furnished by a nervous superpower.

Most important, such United Nations peace-building is in the interest of all parties involved. (We recognize, of course, that our proposal would die stillborn if any permanent member of the Council vetoed it. We believe that this would not happen because to do so would be to vote against the self-interest of every permanent member.)

For Kuwait, which initiated the

American reflagging imbroglio, United Nations reflagging would provide international guarantees for its vessels yet avoid overt dependence on America or the Soviet Union.

For America, it would achieve the aim of protecting innocent passage while substantially reducing the risk of stumbling into an unwanted war. It would allow America to return to a more even-handed and flexible posi-

All parties would benefit.

tion, permitting it to play a more active role in ending the bitter and bloody conflict.

For the Soviet Union, the plan would provide similar advantages. Further, it would reduce American pressure on gulf states for bases to support an enlarged American presence.

What about the belligerents themselves? Why should they respect the United Nations flag?

There is, of course, the general desire of third world countries to bolster the credibility of the United Nations. Moreover, Iran and Iraq would have

to think twice before attacking vessels under the protection of the international community, including the major powers.

For Iran, the plan would make it more likely that international tankers going to Iranian oil ports would safely transit the gulf, thus removing an obstacle to Iran's oil exports. If Iran's oil traffic were safeguarded, Iran's incentive to deliver retaliatory strikes against the shipping of its Arab neighbors would diminish.

For Iraq, which initiated the attacks on tankers and remains the source of most of them, the United Nations offers the main hope of bringing the unwinnable war to an end. Nor can Iraq afford to ignore the wishes of the Arab gulf states that have been bankrolling Iraq and that want their shipping protected. Moreover, Iraq has shown its willingness to step back from other face-offs with the United Nations.

Above and beyond all this, given the animosity between Iran and Iraq the United Nations must look to step-by-step peace-building. Thus, shielding shipping from attack could be a stepping stone toward a general ceasefire that halted the land war.

This month, an international panel of the United Nations Association of the USA will make recommendations on the conditions necessary for the United Nations to be successful in all security matters, as well as in economic and social development.

The recommendation presented here for a United Nations reflagging role in the Persian Gulf meets the panel's key criteria for likely success. It serves the common security interests of all concerned, it can be rapidly implemented (at modest cost) and it draws on what the United Nations does best — mediate impartially from above the fray.



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REPORT OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL ON THE WORK OF THE ORGANIZATION

Letter dated 30 September 1987 from the Permanent Representatives
of Colombia, Denmark, Luxembourg, Singapore and the United
Republic of Tanzania to the United Nations addressed to the
Secretary-General

We have the honour to transmit herewith the text of the executive summary of the final report, adopted in August 1987, by an international panel convened by the United Nations Association of the United States of America (UNA-USA), to study ways of strengthening the United Nations. The report is entitled "A successor vision: the United Nations of tomorrow" (see annex).

Although at this time we do not wish to pass judgment on the panel's report as it is summarized in the attached document, we believe that it represents a valuable and constructive contribution to the current discussion about reform of the United Nations and feel that these reflections deserve to be brought to the attention of the entire United Nations community.

We would, therefore, be most grateful if you could have this letter and its annex circulated as an official document of the General Assembly under agenda item 10.

(Signed) Dr. Enrique PEÑALOSA
Ambassador,
Permanent Mission of Colombia
to the United Nations

(Signed) Jean FEYDER
Ambassador,
Permanent Mission of Luxembourg
to the United Nations

(Signed) Ole BIERRING
Ambassador,
Permanent Mission of Denmark
to the United Nations

(Signed) Kishore MAHBUBANI
Ambassador,
Permanent Mission of the
Republic of Singapore
to the United Nations

(Signed) Dr. Wilbert KUMALIJA CHAGULA
Ambassador,
Permanent Mission of the United Republic
of Tanzania to the United Nations

ANNEX

United Nations management and decision-making project:
a successor vision: the United Nations of tomorrow

Final report dated September 1987 of the international panel
convened by the United Nations Association of the United
States of America

Project description

1. The United Nations management and decision-making project, a two-year research programme of the United Nations Association of the United States of America (UNA-USA), is dedicated to strengthening the effectiveness of the United Nations and its immediate affiliated organs by offering constructive criticism regarding the management, governance, and role of the world organization. Financed by a grant from the Ford Foundation, the project reflects an effort to identify ways of making the United Nations work better in an era of increasing interdependence and of growing demands on the world body.

2. The project consists of two parts. Its centerpiece is a high-level, 23-member international panel that unites individuals with senior political experience and those with outstanding managerial skills. This panel will publish a final report in 1987 that sets out a rationale, priorities, and feasible agenda for the United Nations for the remainder of the century and proposes the type of changes in structure, procedures, and management that are necessary to carry out such an agenda. A preliminary report entitled United Nations leadership: the roles of the Secretary-General and the Member States was released in early December 1986.

3. Second, in addition to the meetings and reports of the panel, the project staff will produce several research papers over the course of 1986 and 1987. These papers will provide a background for the deliberations of the panel and will serve as a source of information and analysis for the wider policy-making public in the United States and other countries. As with all of the staff papers that will appear over the next several months, this study reflects the view of its author. It was reviewed by the panelists before publication, but does not necessarily represent the views of the panel as a whole or the position of any individual member.

International panel

United Nations management and decision-making project

Elliot L. Richardson

Chairman, United Nations Association of the United States of America

Former Secretary of Commerce

Former Attorney General of the United States

Former Secretary of Defense

Former Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare

Andres Aguilar Mawdsley

Permanent Representative of Venezuela to the United Nations

Former Ambassador of Venezuela to the United States

Otto Borch

Ambassador of Denmark to NATO

Former Ambassador of Denmark to the United States

Former Permanent Representative of Denmark to the United Nations

Andrew F. Brimmer

President, Brimmer & Company

Former Governor, Federal Reserve System

Enrique V. Iglesias

Minister for Foreign Affairs, Uruguay

Senator Nancy L. Kassebaum

Prince Sadruddin Aga Khan

Former United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees

T. T. B. Koh

Ambassador of Singapore to the United States

Former Permanent Representative of Singapore to the United Nations

K. B. Lall

Chairman, Indian Council for Research on International Economic Relations

Former Ambassador of India to the Economic Community, Brussels and Luxembourg

Former Permanent Representative of India to the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development and the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade

Jacques Leprette

Former Permanent Representative of France to the United Nations

Former Ambassador of France to the European Economic Community

Robert S. McNamara

Former President of the World Bank

Former Secretary of Defense of the United States of America

Frederic V. Malek
President, Marriott Hotels and Resorts
Former Deputy Director, Office of Management and Budget

Olusegun Obasanjo (Major-General)
Former President of Nigeria

Philip A. Odeen
Regional Managing Partner, Management Consulting Services
Coopers & Lybrand
Former Principal Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense

Sadako Ogata
Professor, Sophia University (Tokyo)
Former Minister, Mission of Japan to the United Nations

Paul H. O'Neill
Chairman and Chief Executive Officer, ALCOA
Former Deputy Director, Office of Management and Budget

Olara A. Otunnu
Former Minister for Foreign Affairs, Uganda
Former Permanent Representative of Uganda to the United Nations

Mohamed Sahnoun
Ambassador of Algeria to the United States
Former Permanent Representative of Algeria to the United Nations
Former Ambassador of Algeria to France and Germany

Salim A. Salim
Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Defense and National Service, United Republic
of Tanzania
Former Permanent Representative of Tanzania to the United Nations
Former President of the United Nations General Assembly

Helmut Schmidt
Former Chancellor, Federal Republic of Germany

Brian Urquhart
Scholar-in-Residence, The Ford Foundation
Former United Nations Under-Secretary-General for Special Political Affairs

Cyrus R. Vance
Senior Partner, Simpson, Thacher & Bartlett
Former United States Secretary of State

Members of this panel serve in their individual capacities. The conclusions and recommendations set forth in this report and other publications of this project do not necessarily reflect the official views or negotiating positions of any country or group of countries.

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY*

1. Crises in the lives of organizations often spark a rethinking of basic purposes, strategies and agendas. The purpose of this report is to help ensure that the current situation of the United Nations, which is one of deep crisis, leads to a sharper definition of goals, a more effective deployment of means, and a revitalized mandate.
2. A paradoxical situation confronts the United Nations and other international organizations today. On one hand, the gap between the legal and political sovereignty of nation States and their ability to give sovereignty concrete shape - whether in air quality, energy security, jobs, surety against nuclear warfare, etc. - has never been larger. Yet, while this "sovereignty gap" seems to cry out for international solutions, it has actually produced very little innovation to equip our existing international machinery to do the job. In parts of the international system, some cautious modernizing is taking place. At the centre of the system, however, there is deep skepticism about the present capacity of the United Nations to respond usefully to most global problems.
3. Many factors lie behind this skepticism: frustration with the ineffectiveness of the United Nations in the security field; its frequent failure to contribute usefully to the management of many global problems outside the traditional security area; deficiencies in its management and in its public information programmes; the junior level of many of the delegates who sit on its many main intergovernmental committees, especially those in the economic and social area, etc.
4. In the face of such problems, the prevailing skepticism is unsurprising, yet it does not reflect a balanced evaluation either of United Nations performance or of the nature of the factors which affect that performance. The United Nations has rendered many services of incalculable value to its members and to the world community: the fostering of decolonization; peace-keeping and peace-making efforts; defence of human rights; assistance to refugees; the development and extension of international law; promotion of collective action on such common problems as environment, population, resource strain, et. al.
5. While this is an impressive record, many of the achievements mentioned belong to a time when the United Nations played a more central part in the co-operative management of world problems than it does today. Many diagnoses have been offered to explain this increasing marginalization: management handicaps embedded in the staff structure and institutional culture; lack of intellectual leadership; lack of political will; excessive politicization. The panel considered each of these but

* The United Nations numbers more than 24 organizations of varying degrees of independence from the centre of the system, i.e. the "United Nations proper". The subject of this report is the United Nations proper, which is composed of those programmes that are included in the United Nations regular budget and those which, while funded voluntarily, are subordinate to the General Assembly and the Economic and Social Council.

found none of them completely satisfactory. Instead, it believes that the current situation of the United Nations derives from two more basic problems: the ambiguity of its specific world role and its failure to change that role as the world has changed.

6. The panel believes that the role of the United Nations at the close of the twentieth century is determined by two factors, each pulling in opposite directions: the causes and the effects of most major challenges facing Governments are international, while the authority for dealing with those problems remains vested in nation States. This mix of opportunity and constraint dictates a responsibility to promote international co-operation by connecting an unsentimental assessment of national interests with an uncontestable vision of common goals.

7. Yet the present system of international organizations, of which the United Nations is theoretically the centre, is not organized to carry out this mission owing to weaknesses in its structure and flaws in the assumptions that determine how it defines its work. To correct that situation, this report proposes a new vision for the United Nations composed of three essential parts:

I. RELATING FUNCTIONS TO STRUCTURE

- (1) The United Nations should identify common interests among its members;
- (2) It should convert those common interests into common views;
- (3) It should strive to convert those common views into co-operative action.

8. This formula already typifies the United Nations most successful efforts, but for the generality of United Nations activities it remains the exception rather than the norm. A sharper definition of the functions of the United Nations in relation to the United Nations system, and a new structure, particularly in the economic and social area, are indispensable.

A. Global watch

9. In order to identify the issues on which convergence of interests exists, the United Nations needs: (a) a setting where emerging issues of urgent global significance can be spotlighted and their implications for national and international policy choices and human welfare given prominent international attention by a small senior body; (b) a capacity at the staff level to monitor, and put into usable form, data on "global watch issues", to examine systematically implications for national and international security and welfare, and to identify overlapping interests and the margins for potential agreement.

B. Consensus-building

10. A more systematic approach to consensus-building at the United Nations is indispensable. It should incorporate the following elements:

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(a) Affected parties: communities of interest are more easily formed and collective action taken when negotiations and decisions include only those countries most directly affected by the issue;

(b) Equity-security: links between economic equity and security (in the broadest sense of human security) are increasingly direct, and future consensus-building efforts, particularly as they relate to the crossover between economic, technological, and environmental concerns, must reflect that linkage;

(c) Representational diplomacy: to assure speed of consultation, minimal procedural and parliamentary delay, and participation at senior levels, global watch discussions should not be conducted in universal membership bodies, but in a forum which, while of limited size, would be composed of countries drawn from the entire membership of the United Nations according to a system of rotating representation.

C. Consensus conversion: stimulating collective action

11. As the need for effective management of international issues grows more acute, a more acute, a more direct United Nations role in defining and proposing specific mechanisms for co-operation - occasionally even in helping to set up the necessary logistical apparatus - will be necessary.

II. STRENGTHENING STRUCTURE

12. The panel has given considerable attention to the deficiencies of the present United Nations structure in the economic and social area, and these include: a generally low level of representation; overlapping between the General Assembly, the Economic and Social Council, and the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD); a lack of intellectual authority; the absence of a system for identifying emerging global issues; and the weakness of co-ordination and joint planning in the United Nations system. While institutional changes are clearly needed, a balance has to be struck between what may be desirable ultimately, and the kinds of constructive practical steps that Member States could undertake immediately. Consequently, the panel has made the following recommendations:

A. Ministerial Board

13. To provide a high-level centre for the conduct of global watch consultations described above, a small Ministerial Board of not more than 25 Governments should be established in affiliation with the Economic and Social Council. The Board would be composed of delegates with the seniority and expertise to consult effectively, issue communiqués and initiate or propose ad hoc actions with regard to matters on which there is agreement that enhanced international management is essential.

(a) Functions: (i) Global watch - high-level consultations and exchange of views on any urgent international problems not within the jurisdiction of the Security Council; (ii) Consensus-building - through ad hoc working groups of the most affected countries, the Board will forge communities of interest on matters before it; (iii) Converting agreements into action - when appropriate the Board shall propose actions by or under the aegis of the United Nations proper (General Assembly would have to authorize), by other international agencies, by individual member countries of the United Nations;

(b) Agenda: the Board could address any issues of imminent or clearly foreseeable consequence for human security and welfare not within the jurisdiction of the Security Council, for example, matters associated with natural disasters, the global biosphere, the special problems of the least developed countries, international debt, disease control, illegal capital flight, international narcotics trafficking, cross-border population movements, urban overpopulation, etc.;

(c) Composition and procedures: the 25 members would consist of a core of permanent members made up of the largest developing and developed countries, and a larger number of rotating members (criteria for determining "permanent" and "rotating" might be population and economic size); it is expected that Governments would be represented at a high level by ministers or other officials from the ministries which are most directly relevant to the agenda subject; meetings would be held on an as-needed basis, normally one to three days in duration; all decisions would be taken by consensus;

(d) Support: the Board would be supported by a Bureau of Global Watch located in the Department of International Economic and Social Affairs of the United Nations Secretariat. Drawing heavily upon electronic and computer-based information networks such as Earthwatch of the United Nations Environment Programme, and utilizing the existing resources of the Department of International Economic and Social Affairs, the Bureau would gather, update, monitor and analyse a global data base on each item that the Board has placed on its "human security" agenda;

(e) Organizational status: while ultimately the Board should be given an explicit basis in the Charter of the United Nations, for the present it should be attached to the Economic and Social Council, but report to the General Assembly directly once a year at the same time as the Council makes its report;

(f) Why a new body?: existing United Nations machinery is inadequate to address, authoritatively and effectively, urgent issues of human security and welfare. The Second and Third Committees and the Economic and Social Council are too large, too comprehensive in their agendas, and their delegations often too junior to have the authority for so important a task.

B. A two-step approach towards a more integrated
United Nations system

14. Why is a more integrated system necessary?: It is essential to create an apparatus for identifying, analysing and proposing responses to the kinds of issues described above that is integrated intellectually and employs the sectoral expertise of the economic and social agencies of the United Nations in a co-ordinated manner. Most problems requiring international management overlap the spheres of several agencies and United Nations programmes. YET THERE IS NO CENTRE AT THE CENTRE OF THE UNITED NATIONS SYSTEM and therefore no means for putting to work the system's rich potential for interdisciplinary analysis to identify the global issues on which national interests converge and where high levels of co-operation are necessary and feasible.

15. The two-step approach: the panel recommends the creation of a single commission, composed of the Directors-General of all the main agencies in the economic and social fields, mandated to develop integrated responses to global issues through joint programming, and development of a consolidated United Nations system budget. Such a commission, however, is not feasible for immediate implementation owing to the scale of the constitutional, structural and budgetary changes involved. The panel therefore adopted the commission as a medium-term goal towards which the United Nations system should evolve. As an immediate step in the direction of the United Nations commission, it calls for a commission with advisory powers only.

1. Step 1 - the United Nations Advisory Commission

(a) Composition: The Advisory Commission would consist of five persons, selected by the Secretary-General, with outstanding international reputations in the economic and social field;

(b) Function: It would identify emerging issues of a global or regional scale that cross over several agencies fields or concern. Following consultations with agency heads, it would propose joint approaches to these problems. It would also present proposals to the new Ministerial Board, suggesting actions by Member States or international institutions regarding these "cross-over" issues. It would conduct regular reviews of the major programme emphases in the economic and social area in the light of global trends. Finally, it would prepare the agendas and follow-up on the decisions of the annual United Nations system summits (a proposal of the Group of 18 adopted last December), and participate in the summits on a co-equal basis with the specialized agency heads;

(c) Support: The Advisory Commission would be served by a small inter-agency staff seconded from the main economic and social agencies of the United Nations.

2. Step 2 - the United Nations Commission

(a) Composition: The Commission would be composed of 15 to 18 commissioners, including Directors-General of the principal specialized agencies and the Bretton Woods organizations. The Commission would be nominated by the Ministerial Board and confirmed by the General Assembly, except for the heads of the International Monetary Fund (IMF), World Bank and the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) whose appointment procedures would not change;

(b) Function: The Commission would have the same functions as the Advisory Commission, except that it would also prepare a consolidated United Nations system programme budget from the submissions of every participating agency (except for the IMF, World Bank and GATT) for submission to the General Assembly for its approval;

(c) Support: The Commission would have its own budget and, like the Ministerial Board, would draw upon the Department of International Economic and Social Affairs for substantive support.

III. DEVELOPMENT ASSISTANCE BOARD

16. In order to improve the quality and coherence of United Nations development assistance and to reduce overlap and duplication, the separate executive boards of the United Nations Development Programme, the United Nations Fund for Population Activities, the World Food Programme and the United Nations Children's Fund should be replaced by a single Development Assistance Board. The Board would exercise oversight of all programme proposals, conducting reviews before the start of the fund-raising efforts in order to ensure influence upon the overall scope and content of work programmes. The Board would also be responsible for development of a conceptual framework for United Nations development assistance which leads gradually to appropriate specialization.

IV. ELIMINATION OF SECOND AND THIRD COMMITTEES; EXPANSION OF THE ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL COUNCIL TO PLENARY SIZE

17. To eliminate the nearly complete duplication of agendas and debates between the Economic and Social Council and the General Assembly's committees dealing with economic and social matters (Second and Third), and to end the waste of scarce human resources that results from this duplication, the Second and Third Committees of the General Assembly should be discontinued and their duties assumed by the Economic and Social Council, which would be enlarged to plenary size and strengthened by structural and procedural reforms, including the addition of a Reports and Agenda Committee.

V. MERGER OF THE SPECIAL POLITICAL COMMITTEE INTO THE FOURTH COMMITTEE

18. In view of the steady decline in the agenda and responsibilities of the Fourth Committee as the global movement toward decolonization nears completion; in view of

the overlap in significant parts of the agendas of the Fourth Committee and the Special Political Committee; and in view of the Secretary-General's recent decision to combine the secretariats for special political questions, regional co-operation, decolonization and trusteeship, and the Council on Namibia into a single department, the Special Political Committee and the Fourth Committee should be merged. The new committee should be called "Committee for Non-Self-Governing Territories and Special Political Questions".

VI. MERGER OF THE DEPARTMENT OF INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL AFFAIRS WITH THE OFFICE OF THE DIRECTOR-GENERAL FOR DEVELOPMENT AND INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC CO-OPERATION

19. To improve the identification, study and management of interrelated economic and social issues by the United Nations, the main economic and social secretariats (the Department of International Economic and Social Affairs and the Department of Economic Co-operation) should be combined into a single department headed by the Director-General. The expanded Department of International Economic and Social Affairs should be reorganized along interdisciplinary lines, it should support the work of the Ministerial Board and the Advisory Commission and it should have expertise and data-monitoring capability in every major economic and social areas embraced by the United Nations system.

VII. PEACE AND SECURITY

20. The panel believes that the limitations of the United Nations in the peace and security field are more the product of contemporary international relations than of shortcomings in United Nations management or structure. Unlike social, economic and humanitarian affairs, major structural changes in United Nations peace and security mechanisms appear unpromising. Instead, consensus-building, practical implementation, and selectivity in focussing on tasks where the United Nations has a comparative advantage are critical to improving United Nations performance. This will entail some rethinking of priorities, strategies, goals and directions along lines elaborated in the report. Among the specific proposals recommended are the following:

(a) Strengthening co-operation with regional bodies: the Secretaries-Generals of the United Nations and of regional organizations and their deputies should meet on a regular basis to exchange information regarding emerging disputes that might threaten international peace and security, to discuss joint measures where appropriate, and to consider common problems of financial, logistical and political support;

(b) Multilateral inspection teams: arms reductions, because they impose higher security risks than traditional arms control steps, demand thorough, reliable and impartial verification, often beyond the capabilities of national technical means based largely on satellites. In cases involving the production or storage of weapons, satellite reconnaissance is clearly not sufficient and on-site inspection by one's adversary is generally unacceptable. There may be instances

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where the United Nations could provide multilateral inspection teams from a politically balanced mix of countries for third-party inspection and reporting;

(c) Ad hoc compliance review groups: ad hoc review groups could be established under the aegis of the Security Council to examine compliance questions related to multilateral agreements and questions arising from the reports of the proposed multilateral inspection teams. After considering reports of questionable practices or apparent violations, review groups could initiate consultations between the parties, and could refer serious breaches to the full Security Council.

VIII. THE SECRETARY-GENERAL

21. In choosing an individual to serve as Secretary-General, the most important international civil servant, Member States have a responsibility to select someone with the qualities of leadership, integrity, vision and intellect necessary to carry out this enormously demanding job.

22. The Secretary-General should vigorously defend his duties and prerogatives as chief executive and recognize that his responsibilities under the Charter require him to be an initiative-taker rather than a caretaker in the service of efficient management.

23. The Secretary-General should make explicit and binding delegations of authority to capable individuals with executive responsibility for: (a) planning and development of the programme budget; (b) financial aid and administrative policy with particular emphasis on the personnel area; (c) and co-ordination of related activities of the United Nations proper and the United Nations group.

24. To establish a coherent administrative structure of manageable proportions, responsibility for the departmental activities funded by the United Nations regular budget should be co-ordinated in a small cabinet chaired by the Secretary-General and including among its members the Under-Secretary-General for Administration and Management and the Director-General.

25. Effective as of the next election, Secretaries-Generals should be elected for a single term not to exceed seven years.

Blueprint to Help the U.N. Work Better

By PAUL LEWIS

Special to The New York Times

UNITED NATIONS, N.Y., Sept. 16 — Proposals to make the United Nations and its agencies more effective in dealing with emerging world crises are outlined in a report by a panel of international policy makers, diplomats and businessmen that was made public here today.

The report, "A Successor Vision: The United Nations of Tomorrow," says the organization, in addition to countering threats to peace, should be given a new brief to maintain a "global watch" and alert the international community to any new economic or social threats to mankind's well-being.

It also proposes several far-reaching changes in the way the United Nations and its specialized agencies are organized with the aim of increasing efficiency and encouraging them to use resources more effectively in dealing with emergencies.

"Crises in the lives of organizations often spark a rethinking of basis purposes, strategies and agendas," the report says, adding that its aim is to insure that the present "deep crisis" in the United Nations leads to "a sharper definition of goals, a more effective deployment of means and a revitalized mandate."

22 on the Panel

The report was drawn up by a 22-member panel headed by former Attorney General Elliot L. Richardson, who is also chairman of the United Nations Association of the United States, the sponsoring organization.

Other members include former Secretary of State Cyrus R. Vance; Robert S. McNamara, the former Defense Secretary and World Bank president; Helmut Schmidt, the former West German Chancellor; Prince Sadruddin Aga Khan, the former United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees; Olusegun Obasanjo, the former President of Nigeria; Salim A. Salim, Deputy Prime Minister of Tanzania, and Mohammed Sahnoun, the Algerian Ambassador to the United States.

Jeane J. Kirkpatrick, the former United States representative to the United Nations, took part in the panel's preparatory work but did not sign the final report.

Another panel member, Senator Nancy L. Kassebaum, Republican of Kansas, a co-author of United States legislation reducing America's contribution to the United Nations budget until changes are achieved, welcomed the report's recommendations. She said they would help the United Nations "respond more quickly, efficiently and effectively to emerging global problems."

Changes Under Way

The United Nations is already committed to modest changes at American insistence, notably an agreement that future budgets should be adopted unanimously rather than by a simple majority of member countries. This effectively gives the United States, which pays 25 percent of the United Nations' budget, a veto over new programs and spending.

But the report, which concedes that the United Nations often fails to address global problems effectively, goes much further.

Its central recommendation is the creation of a new 25-nation ministerial council and secretariat to maintain a "global watch" and identify emerging world problems in what it calls the field of "human security." The council would then seek to concentrate the resources of the United Nations and its agencies on solving them.

New Commission Proposed

The panel also proposes the creation of a United Nations commission that would complement the work of the global watch council by coordinating the work of groups like the World Health Organization, the United Nations Children's Fund, the International Atomic Energy Agency and the Food and Agricultural Organization in dealing with new world emergencies.

As a first step, the panel suggests the

appointment of a five-member advisory commission to seek better coordination between all United Nations' agencies. This would eventually be transformed into a commission of 15 to 18 members that would include the

heads of all the United Nations' specialized agencies.

A copy of the report may be obtained for \$5 from the United Nations Association of the United States, 485 Fifth Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10017.

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COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS

WASHINGTON, DC 20510-6225

October 5, 1987

The Honorable Elliot Richardson
United Nations Association of the
United States of America
485 Fifth Avenue
New York, New York 10017-6104

Dear Elliot:

Thank you for sending the final draft of the international panel's report, A Successor Vision: The United Nations of Tomorrow.

The report contains worthwhile recommendations which, if implemented, would help the United Nations to "refocus its efforts on the things it does best." Of particular interest to me were the structural recommendations to improve coordination and reduce overlap in the economic and development area.

The panel's report is a detailed response to concerns about how the UN can best meet the challenges of the future. It offers a thorough analysis of the problems which the UN faces in a rapidly changing world and a rational plan for the UN of tomorrow. The international panel's report should receive the thoughtful attention of the UN member states and the U.S. Congress.

In closing, I would like to commend the panel's very constructive role in encouraging the adoption of UNGA Resolution 41/213 last December. I hope that these efforts will continue in order to assure the successful implementation of these reforms.

Warmest regards,



Nancy Landon Kassebaum
United States Senator

The U. S. Thumbs Its Nose

By Edward C. Luck

Representatives of nations around the world will gather in New York City beginning today to discuss the relationship between reducing military spending and increasing funds for economic development. One country, the United States, will stage a lonely boycott of the United Nations-sponsored conference.

Last month, in a similar gesture of negative diplomacy, the Reagan Administration sent a middle-level Foreign Service officer — who described himself as a “traveling insult” — to represent it at the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development.

Why has the Administration once again chosen to stand alone, thumbing its nose at the rest of the world? Is it standing up for some cherished principle? Not really. Is it avoiding a high risk or hostile event? Not really. Is it foregoing a prime opportunity to voice its views before the world? Quite possibly.

United States officials worry that the conference will become nothing more than a platform for anti-American rhetoric and Soviet propaganda. Considering the preparatory work, however, there seems to be little cause for concern. But by its absence, the United States might turn an otherwise benign event into a forum for grumbling about American arrogance.

The subject of the conference, moreover, is one that should prove more embarrassing to Mikhail S. Gorbachev than to Ronald Reagan. While the Soviet Union may produce disarmament initiatives at a breath-

taking rate, it is still laggard when it comes to assisting economic development in poor countries.

Most of the Soviet Union's meager foreign assistance budget goes to prop up a handful of client states whose economies have withered through slavish adherence to the pre-Gorbachev Soviet economic model. The Soviet Union also continues to spend a far greater portion of its gross national product on the military than does the United States. Moscow is hardly in a position to claim that the United States' position on disarmament is contributing to the eco-

Ignoring
a U.N.
parley on
arms and
development
is pointless.

nomical backwardness of the developing countries.

Despite reduced support for foreign aid and the United Nations system, the United States does far better than the Soviet Union in both regards, and the American private sector remains a strong supporter of people in need around the world.

Under the Reagan Administration, the United States has actually lost its position as the world's leading arms exporter. The Soviet Union is now the world's chief arms merchant, and Britain and France have made inroads among developing countries that were once American markets exclusively.

American officials also assert that no relationship exists between disarmament and economic development and that they therefore would have nothing to talk about at the conference. But a draft of the final document for the conference states that “disarmament and development are distinct processes.”

The United States could present its argument that money saved by disarmament could not automatically be transferred to development purposes. Appropriations measures require the participation of Congress. Nonetheless, the interrelationship is worth exploring.

Washington could also tell developing countries that if they are truly interested in releasing funds for development, they should focus their disarmament efforts on reducing conventional forces and military expenditures worldwide. Although public attention is focused on the nuclear menace, 80 percent of the world's \$1 trillion military expenditure is for non-nuclear forces.

During the last two decades, the proportion of gross national product devoted to military outlays has grown in poor countries and shrunk in wealthy ones. In disarmament, as in development, less developed countries need to look at their own priorities as well as those of the major military powers.

The United States could have said many things at the forum. It has a good case, but it won't be there to present it. It might have found some attentive ears for its message, given the growing trend towards pragmatism, moderation and flexibility among nonaligned countries.

Rather than confidently setting forth its ideas and exercising global leadership, the Reagan Administration is content once again to hide its head in the sand, fearful of an open competition with competing ideologies and perspectives. □

Edward C. Luck is president of the United Nations Association of the United States of America.

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Boycotting Guns and Butter

By staying away from the current U.N. conference on disarmament and development the United States escapes some simplistic oratory, silly Soviet propaganda and requests to commit funds it can't commit. It also throws away a chance to learn and to lead on critical issues, and moves further down the regrettable path of thwarting rather than encouraging international cooperation.

The State Department's explanation for boycotting the conference, now under way in New York, is: "we believe disarmament and development are not issues that should be considered interrelated." That's not far-fetched. People gathered to talk over these two topics are unlikely to switch easily from spending for guns to spending for butter.

Yet the conference grows out of broader thinking. It's the brainchild not of some radical kook but of France's President, François Mitterrand. The world's resources are limited and arms eat up a towering proportion, nearly \$1 trillion a year. The arms industry is the leading moneymaker in many industrialized countries. Little wonder that human imagination seeks new ways to beat swords into plowshares.

The Soviet Union, with its new public relations skill, came to the conference brimming with ideas on how development might progress if less were squandered on arms. Yet it is the world's foremost

arms merchant, having overtaken the U.S. It spends a greater percentage of its resources on arms than any other major power. Its spending on development assistance is dismally small.

Developing countries are coming to see that their future depends on finding their own economic answers. The West has much to gain by encouraging this pragmatism, and by helping governments see their security more in the health, education and opportunities open to their people than in the size of their armed forces. All of America's NATO allies are at the conference valiantly making these points. The U.S. sits out the opportunity.

This boycott is part of a larger trend, which has found the U.S. in the Reagan years resisting international cooperation — in the Law of the Sea treaty, World Court jurisdiction in the Nicaragua conflict, and in withholding funds for family planning. Washington sent such a low-level delegate to a recent U.N. conference on trade and development that he aptly described himself as a "traveling insult."

The insult is to the American people. Encouraging worldwide community and cooperation is very much in the American interest. That does not require saintly acceptance of bombast at international conferences. The U.S. would have had a strong case against some of the glib oratory at this one. Would that it were there to make it.

Trading nukes for conventional weapons

Prospective Euromissile treaty would open new opportunity

By Alex Gliksman

A "GRAND compromise" was last year's catchword for bridging the gap separating Washington and Moscow at the "star wars" and strategic offensive arms talks. A different kind of grand compromise may help remove the final hurdles to a European missile treaty and breathe new life into the NATO alliance. Rather than involving the superpowers, this deal would be negotiated between Europe's left and right.

As major obstacles to a Euromissile treaty have fallen away, the prospect of a radical solution has replaced earlier modest hopes.

Since last February Soviet party chief Mikhail Gorbachev has untangled Europe's intermediate-range nuclear force (INF) from the Geneva star-wars talks and further simplified the arms control process by placing a series of zeros next to weapons of major concern.

First, Gorbachev dropped his preconditions to the so-called "zero option." This would free Europe of all missiles with a 600-to-3,000-mile range. Second, when critics objected to exempting shorter-range missiles from the deal, the Kremlin added a second zero by tendering all missiles with a range greater than 300 miles. Finally, in July, the Soviets sweetened the pot with a third zero, offering to scrap the last 100 Soviet INF warheads in Asia.

The numbers are impressive, with cuts weighing most heavily on the Soviet Union. Under the first zero, Moscow destroys some 1,300 warheads, to 200 on the United States side. The second zero removes a further 130 shorter-range missiles, ending a Soviet monopoly in weapons of this type. The last zero places a further 100 Soviet INF warheads on the heap in exchange for a US commitment to dismantle rather than relocate 100 INF warheads to Alaska.

ONE would think that this triple zero would lead all but the most die-hard arms control critics to declare victory. Instead one hears security specialists express reservations. Some, like the just-retired NATO commander, Bernard Rogers, are troubled by the "rush" to agreement and warn of the danger of "denuclearizing" Europe. This is an odd reaction to an accord that is six years in the making and will leave NATO with 4,000 nuclear weapons in place, to say nothing of the nukes that remain in British and French hands. Others, including Richard Nixon and Henry Kissinger, claim that security demands going ahead with deployment of the 572 cruise and Pershing 2 missiles arsenal. This is also a peculiar argument. The threat posed by Moscow's fleet of Soviet SS-20 missiles provided the impetus for NATO's "dual track" deployment plan, and the new arms deal will eliminate all the SS-20s.

More astonishing still is the high anxiety found in West Germany. As the deal began to gel this spring, German Chancellor Helmut Kohl felt abandoned when Washington, joined by London and Paris, welcomed Mikhail Gorbachev's offer to destroy the Kremlin's shorter-range missiles. Responding to demands by the most conservative elements in his Christian Democratic Party, Mr. Kohl voiced a preference for building up a Western shorter-range arsenal instead. With that option gone, Kohl sought to preserve 72 aging Pershing-1A missiles. Over the summer, Bonn's fear of losing this symbolic force and Washington's apprehension over further upsetting Bonn slowed movement toward an accord. Bonn has now cleared this barrier.

Hence there is more to the critics' objections than just the fear of losing 72 ancient nuclear weapons or even 572 newer ones. As one senior US official put it, what really worries the Kohls and the Kissingers is "the slippery slope."

To the critics, signing this treaty is less an issue than what might come after. In their view, the triple zero opens the door to pressures for bargaining away NATO's remaining nuclear forces. What it fails to create is the political underpinning for a conventional defense struc-



'Swords to Plowshares' statue at the Tretyakov Art Gallery in Moscow

security policies of the European left exacerbated this concern.

The dominance of nuclear arms in NATO shows the allies' inability to tackle hard financial choices. This problem dates back to NATO's early days. Whenever a decision about countering Soviet military capabilities has arisen, the allies have consistently taken the cheap way out - favoring more bang-for-the-buck nuclear weapons over more costly conventional arms.

Two examples: After the 1950 invasion of South Korea, European fears that the attack was part of a larger plan of communist expansion led the allies to decide to build a 75-division conventional force. But as fears waned, so did enthusiasm for a conventional buildup. To the extent that the allies wanted forces beefed up, the less demanding option of installing US battlefield nuclear systems was thought sufficient.

In 1978, after another bold look at NATO defense requirements, the allies agreed to correct deficiencies in 10 areas, nine conventional and one nuclear. Of these, only the nuclear component - the INF deployments - is being fulfilled, while the entire array of conventional improvements have been neglected. Behind this failure is Europe's default on commitments to required defense funds.

While the growth of the antinuclear movement in the 1980s marked an end to the public's tolerance of nuclear weapons, it has not led to a newfound readiness to back the conventional alternatives. On the contrary, public resistance to funding anything military has been magnified.

When the INF battle began, opposition leaders declared that if the missiles were not deployed they would support conventional arms programs. But the ideas they have since adopted leave many with no confidence that the nuclear opponents will live up to this pledge.

In giving substance to its ideas, the antinuclear community has come up with "defensive defense." This amounts to a plan to place a rifle in every basement and an antitank weapon on every block. Instead of a standing army, the left would turn the citizenry into a militia, with every man and woman guerrilla ready to take on Soviet tanks. To the defense community, defensive de-

suggests no commitment to defense preparedness.

What worries Dr. Kohl and his American cohorts even more is the prominence given such ideas by Europe's left and left-of-center political parties. They fear that if they trade away a few weapons, then if the left returns to power it will have few reservations and perhaps even feel an obligation to give away the rest. When the left's aversion to funding conventional programs is added to this, treaty critics conclude that according to a European arms accord puts the West on the slippery slope toward Western disarmament.

Throughout his tenure as NATO commander, General Rogers repeatedly warned that in the event of Warsaw Pact aggression, NATO would quickly have to go nuclear. But while NATO maintained a strong nuclear capability in Europe, conventional inadequacies seemed tolerable to allied governments, especially when financing the alternatives threatened defeat by a disgruntled electorate. Now with nuclear reductions in sight and the conventional balance favoring the Warsaw Pact, even traditional arms control proponents are wary. Sen. Sam Nunn, for one, wants Soviet conventional forces trimmed in follow-on talks. If they are not, Senator Nunn would have the US exercise the treaty's escape clause.

Admittedly, there are things the allies can do to make more efficient use of resources. Joint weapons development and production would reduce weapons costs. Standardization of military hardware could permit different nations' weapons to use the same munitions and allow commanders to speak over a common communications grid. As Elizabeth Pond's recent series of Monitor articles indicates, new forms of intra-European cooperation would help facilitate this process and perhaps ease Bonn's concern.

Such fixes have limits. With the nukes reduced, NATO will have far less slack. Painful choices will be difficult to avoid, including ones that require devoting added resources to conventional forces. Thus, until a pro-defense climate emerges, some officials will drag their feet on INF - dimming prospects for other future agreements.

The political left's disregard for defense preparedness has helped create this climate. Until it demonstrates that its zeal for ridding Europe of nukes is matched by a readiness to fund conventional arms programs, movement toward a nonnuclear based defense structure will be slow.

But if the logjam provides the left with an incentive to change in its attitude, it could be a blessing in disguise. In these circumstances, conditions may be ripe for a grand compromise: The right would end its objections to nuclear arms agreements in return for a pledge from the left to back conventional defense.

Deterrence rather than war fighting is key to European security. An aversion to large military budgets partly explains Europe's reluctance to fund new programs. The absence of nonnuclear deterrence options has also played a role. New arms technologies could change this.

THE Soviets believe that Western technological developments will yield conventional weapons that will be as destructive of military forces as nuclear weapons are today. This view has been expressed by General Secretary Gorbachev and others.

The Soviets are close to the mark. While star wars has gained the bulk of the publicity, conventionally relevant arms technologies have received 9 out of 10 research-and-development dollars. If continued in the decade ahead, this effort may produce a new class of weaponry that can identify and destroy military targets at long range and with high precision. The word "conventional" may no longer describe the capabilities of nonnuclear weapons.

Such a deterrent could threaten armies without holding mankind at risk. It would provide NATO with a substitute to the threat of nuclear first use. The left and the right could make common cause of abolishing Europe's nuclear dependence.

Alex Gliksman is director of Strategic Defense Studies, United Nations Association of the U.S.A.

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July 27, 1987

H.E. Mr. Javier Perez de Cuellar
The Secretary-General of the United Nations
United Nations
New York, N.Y. 10017

Dear Mr. Secretary-General:

On behalf of the Board of Governors of the United Nations Association of the United States of America, I would like to express their support for steps to expand access to the War Crimes Commission's files that are in the possession of the United Nations. We believe that the past practice of restricting access to governments is not adequate, and that it should now be broadened to include those with legitimate professional interest in these materials.

We very much appreciate the efforts you have made to consult with the governments which were represented on the Commission and are pleased to hear that the position of our government may be shifting in a more positive direction on this matter. At the same time, the Board is mindful of the difficult position in which the United Nations finds itself in this affair. We very much hope that through your efforts it will be possible to resolve this issue in a way that will enhance the image of the United Nations, which has unfortunately been the target of considerable criticism regarding its handling of this sensitive issue.

If there is any way we can be of assistance, please do not hesitate to call on us.

Thank you very much for all that you do and all best wishes for success in your continuing efforts.

Sincerely,

Orville L. Freeman
Chairman
Board of Governors



THE SECRETARY-GENERAL

6 August 1987

Dear Mr. Freeman,

I would like to thank you for your letter of 27 July 1987, on the subject of the archives of the former United Nations War Crimes Commission (UNWCC), which you wrote to me as Chairman and on behalf of the Board of Governors of the United Nations Association of the United States of America.

I shall give every consideration to the support expressed by the Board of Governors for steps to expand access to the archives, and have particularly noted the Board of Governors' belief that the past practice of restricting access to Governments is not adequate and that access should now be broadened to include those with legitimate professional interest in such materials.

In this connection, as you may know, I took the initiative last month to write to all Governments that were members of the UNWCC stating that further consultations between them, on the broadening of access to

Mr. Orville L. Freeman
Chairman, Board of Governors
United Nations Association
of the United States of America
485 Fifth Avenue
New York, N.Y. 10017

the archives, would in my view be desirable. These consultations are scheduled to be held in the fourth week of September. It is my hope that they will lead to a solution acceptable to all concerned.

I am most grateful to the Board of Governors for the kind sentiments expressed in your letter. I shall certainly bear in mind your words of encouragement and your offer to be of assistance in any way possible.

Yours sincerely,


Javier Pérez de Cuéllar

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December 16, 1987

Dear Board Member:

The Nominating Committee is in the process of examining suggestions for nominations to the Board.

In the light of the unfortunate financial situation in which we find ourselves, we have the need for further suggestions of nominees who might be of some assistance to us in meeting our financial needs. We have had many suggestions of very worthy individuals from chapters, scholastic areas, and similar fields, but have a shortage of suggested nominees with the above qualifications. We welcome your suggestions and would appreciate any information that you can furnish us about such individuals.

We also feel that there is a need for further nominations from minority groups. We hope that such suggestions will likewise be forthcoming.

Thank you for your help and we look forward to receiving your proposals.

Sincerely,

Leo Nevas
Leo Nevas

LN:gc

Recommend
Norma Nevas
12/23/87

*Mr. Schindler
UNA-USA*

April 15, 1988
28 Nisan 5748

Mr. Edward C. Luck
President
United Nations Association
of the United States of America
485 Fifth Avenue
New York, NY 10017-6104

Dear Ed:

Thank you so much for your gracious letter in regard to the forthcoming "Presidents' Luncheon" to be held during the UNA-USA's National Convention. I so wish that I might be with you but I find that it is simply not possible. Unfortunately, I have a very critical meeting on the very same date and it is of the nature which precludes my even absenting myself for a brief period of time to attend the "Presidents' Luncheon."

Please convey my regrets to one and all. I much regret that I am unable to be with you.

With warm good wishes and kindest greetings, I am

Sincerely,

Alexander M. Schindler



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April 6, 1988

Rabbi Alex M. Schindler

President

Union of American Hebrew Congregations/

Commission on Social Action of Reform Judaism

838 Fifth Avenue

New York, NY 10021

*regret
+ why*

Dear Rabbi Schindler:

It gives me great pleasure to invite you most cordially to the "Presidents' Luncheon" to take place on the occasion of UNA-USA's National Convention on Monday, July 11, 1988 at the Omni Park Central Hotel in New York City.

This event has become an honored tradition at the National Convention of the United Nations Association of the U.S.A. and is highly regarded by the heads of the 130 non-governmental organizations that are affiliated with UNA-USA's Council of Organizations. The Presidents' Luncheon, is also considered an important event by the Secretary-General of the United Nations who will be the principal speaker. The Luncheon, beginning at 1:00 o'clock, will be preceded by a Reception at 12:00 noon at which the leaders of organizations will have the opportunity to meet one another, exchange ideas, opinions and experiences. Following the Reception, the presidents will be escorted into the Ballroom, introduced individually to the audience and seated on the dais. Because this is a personal invitation, it cannot be transferred to another representative of your organization.

I look forward very much to greeting you among our guests of honor on July 11th. I would also like to extend to you an invitation to participate in any or all of the exciting events that are scheduled during the three-day National Convention. I hope that you will be able to participate in several of them. A program brochure will be mailed to you in early May.

Please let me know at your earliest convenience that you will be able to join us at the Presidents' Luncheon.

Sincerely,

EL

Edward C. Luck
President

*7/11-13 mem. to
NYC
7/10-12 UNA-
NYC
Both OK*

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UNA
USA

no further

December 21, 1987

Rabbi Alexander Schindler
President
Union of American Hebrew
Congregations
838 Fifth Avenue
New York, NY 10021

Dear Rabbi:

Cy Vance and I are enormously grateful for your recent donation to the work of the Association.

All of us in the UNA family appreciate your generosity as well as your leadership on behalf of the organization.

Thanks again for your very tangible expression of support.

With warm regard,

Sincerely,

Elliot L. Richardson

cc: The Honorable Cyrus R. Vance
Edward C. Luck

December 18, 1987
27 Kislev 5748

Mr. Elliott L. Richardson
Chairman
United Nations Association of the
USA
485 Fifth Avenue
New York, NY 10017-6104

Dear Elliott:

In response to your recent appeal for contributions to the UNA, I am pleased to enclose a small gift herewith. I regret that it is not possible to make a larger contribution. However, know that this gift is sent with my very good wishes for the continued excellence of the UNA of the USA.

With every good wish for a lovely holiday season - happy 1988,
I am

Sincerely,

Alexander M. Schindler

AMS:RH
encl.

Rabbi Alexander M. Schindler

12/15/87

Fred Cohen

I would like to have a check for \$100 as a contribution to the United Nations Association of the USA. Perhaps you can take the funds from our subvention or contingency line. In any event, let me have the check for transmittal. Thank you.

AMS:rh

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from me
I own
funds -
maybe Subventions
Contingency.*

December 1, 1987

Rabbi Alexander M. Schindler
President
Union of American Hebrew Congregations
838 Fifth Avenue
New York, NY 10021

Dear Rabbi Schindler:

Within the past two months you received a letter from
Cy Vance and myself urging you to make a contribution to UNA.
I am now following-up on that appeal because we need your help.

As a Governor, your ideas, energy and financial support
are vital to the Association. As we approach the year's end,
I am appealing to you again for a generous donation to UNA
at this time.

With best wishes for a healthy and peaceful holiday
season and New Year.

With warm regard,

Sincerely,

Elliot L. Richardson
Chairman

ELR:gc

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May 29, 1987

MEMORANDUM

TO: Board of Governors
FROM: Ed Luck
SUBJECT: Readings for June 5th Meeting

As previously announced, the next Board of Governors meeting will take place from 1 to 4 p.m. on Friday, June 5th, at our new headquarters on the second floor of 485 Fifth Avenue (at the corner of 41st Street). Please join us for some stimulating and important conversation and a modest lunch.

You will notice that the enclosed stack of background readings is somewhat thinner than usual. The reason is to focus your attention on the two memos from Fred (Tam) Tamalonis and Jeff Laurenti, because they raise some important points about our future plans. Also enclosed are 1) a request from our Southern New York State Division that the Board consider taking a position on the opening of the War Crimes Commission files, 2) a memo from Peggy Carlin regarding the status of that situation, and 3) two recent op-eds by Jeff Laurenti and Alex Gliksman of our staff.

Toby Gati -- who is guiding UNA groups through a series of meetings in Japan and China -- called yesterday from Tokyo with the good news that Senator John Tower has accepted the chairmanship of our Soviet-American Parallel Studies Program. Onward and upward!

I look forward to seeing you next week.

*had
address
out of
6/1/87*



United Nations Association of the United States of America
485 Fifth Avenue, New York, NY 10017-6104 212•697•3232

AGENDA

UNITED NATIONS ASSOCIATION OF THE USA

BOARD OF GOVERNORS MEETING

Friday, June 5, 1987

1:00 to 4:00 p.m.

- I. Approval of Minutes of Last Board Meeting
- II. Finance and Development
 - A. Financial Report - Ed Luck
 - B. Building a Financial Base for UNA - Fred (Tam) Tamalonis
- III. Multilateral Studies
 - A. Future Plans - Jeff Laurenti
 - B. Conclusions of the UN Management and Decision-Making Project - Peter Fromuth
- IV. Public Outreach
 - A. Peacekeeping Teleconference - Jeff Laurenti and Jim Olson
 - B. CCDP Meeting and Drug Conference - Peggy Carlin and Jim Olson
 - C. Public Service Announcements - Jim Olson and J.P. Muldoon
- V. War Crimes Commission: Should UNA Take a Position on Opening the Files? - Peggy Carlin
- VI. Relations with WFUNA: Update by Ed Luck
- VII. Policy Studies - Ed Luck
- VIII. Economic Policy Council - Peter Fromuth
- IX. Other Business
 - A. Resolution on Bill Buffum's Retirement
 - B. Future Meetings



United Nations Association of the United States of America

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AGENDA ITEM II.B.

UNA-USA FUND

DATE: May 22, 1987
TO: Edward Luck
FROM: Fred Tamalonis
SUBJECT: June 5, 1987 Board of Governors Meeting - Development Report

As we begin to plan for a long-term capital funding campaign, it is important to review the basic principles of a development program, to assess the effectiveness of current development activities, and to determine the development organization structure most suitable to achieve our financial support objectives.

The Role of Development

The role of Development is: 1) to create an understanding among members and other friends of the financial needs of the organization which are not met by earned income and 2) to implement a plan by which these financial needs can be met through private gift support.

To fulfill these purposes, it should be the responsibility of the Office of Development to coordinate an organized program for obtaining gift support from members, friends, corporations, and private foundations on both an annual and capital basis.

After a summary review of development activities at UNA-USA, I would like to offer recommendations on how the organization should proceed in establishing a comprehensive development program.

Preliminary Observations

Successful development programs base their efforts to obtain financial support on three fundamental means of fund-raising. These are the ABC's of development work -- Annual Giving, Bequest and Planned Giving, and Endowment and Capital Funds solicitations. Every development program should have, or plan to develop, these three basic areas.

UNA-USA has been involved in soliciting annual operating donations from its leadership, corporations and foundations. UNA-USA has been active, but not too successful, in organizing and conducting capital campaigns, and inactive with regard to a Bequest and Planned Giving Program. It will be useful to briefly review each area:

I. ANNUAL GIVING

A. Background Information

The key ingredients in a successful Annual Giving Program are:

- 1) A clearly stated description of the mission, programs and financial resources of the organization.
- 2) Leadership from the Board of Directors and Governors as donors and solicitors.
- 3) A written plan to obtain support from various constituencies -- Directors and Governors, former Board members and Directors Emeriti, members of UNA-USA, corporations, foundations and other friends of the organization.
- 4) Creation of an Annual Giving Committee of volunteers to work in planning the overall annual fund strategies, to advise on mailings and publications, to identify and solicit top prospects, and to help in other ways.
- 5) Appropriate Donor and Volunteer recognition.

B. Current Situation

Annual Giving for operating support at UNA-USA is the most developed of the three basic programs mentioned. However, it still lacks the basic elements of the five key ingredients and, based on budget analysis, is currently a top priority for short-term funding.

- 1) The program suffers by not having a variety of printed brochures and other supporting fund-raising literature which could be used to effectively solicit new and increased donations from members and other friends of UNA.
- 2) There is currently no ad hoc or standing Development Committee of the Board of Directors and Governors. Having a formally recognized standing Development Committee with a chairman and committee would stress the importance -- and responsibilities -- of development within UNA. It would also afford its chairman, committee members, and professional staff the recognition and "clout" necessary to personally solicit contributions. Sub-committee chairmen in specific program areas, such as Annual Giving, Bequests and Planned Giving, Corporate Gifts, Foundation Grants and on-going Selective Endowment and Capital Funds Solicitations should provide leadership in setting program goals and objectives and work together to develop a comprehensive development program.
- 3) At present, there is no formal written plan of action for fund-raising at UNA. Since Annual Giving for operating program and project support is the key fund-raising activity, a carefully planned and organized Annual Giving Program directed to Individuals, Corporations and Foundations listing goals and objectives, strategy, action steps, timetables, responsibilities, and accountability for this program in 1987 and 1988 is imperative if the organization is to raise \$500,000 in additional operating income for each of the next two years. During this period of

time, Annual Giving for unrestricted support will need to be coordinated with the fund-raising activities of other UNA departments to achieve maximum results.

- 4) The volunteer leadership that has been working on UNA's behalf to raise funds are few in number and the appeals to various constituencies appear to be uncoordinated. The Directors and Governors of the UNA are influential. As a leadership board, there is no reasonable financial goal that cannot be reached if they are informed and involved in UNA matters, concerned enough to actively participate in fund-raising activities that are an investment in the organization's future. This commitment on behalf of the Board will be the sine qua non of a successful endowment campaign. One way to begin this "leadership in financial affairs" movement at UNA is to create a standing Development Committee, Fund or Foundation.
- 5) Finally, all good work needs recognition. People like to be recognized for their accomplishments. A Board Member may look forward to a 40th year class reunion gift ceremony at Harvard with all the sparkle and ballyhoo of a political convention, including balloons. The same member would most likely repel the suggestion of this kind of activity at UNA-USA. Even so, it was Napoleon who conceded that baubles won no wars, but it was Napoleon himself who founded the Legion of Honor. Starting as soon as possible, appropriate and creative ways must be developed to sincerely show our appreciation to volunteers and donors for their active support of our people and programs.

II. BEQUEST AND PLANNED GIVING PROGRAM

A. Background Information

Bequests and Planned Gifts are an important part of an on-going Development Program. Nationally, bequests and other deferred gifts annually account for about 10% (approximately \$8 billion) of all philanthropy. In its most recent Capital Campaign, 30% of all pledged gifts to Harvard University came through a bequest provision or planned gift arrangement.

UNA should launch and sustain a continuing effort to obtain support through bequests, outright charitable gifts, life insurance policies, gifts of appreciated property including real and personal property, etc. In time, more sophisticated programs could include support through charitable lead trusts, pooled income funds, gift annuities and other devices.

A program to obtain these types of gifts should include:

- 1) Advisory or Bequests Committee consisting of professionals such as attorneys, trust officers, accountants, investment and insurance officers.
- 2) Dissemination of information about estate planning to UNA members in Inter-Dependent and to a select list of key prospects including Emeriti, Presidents and Directors, current Directors and Governors, and senior UNA members (over 70 years of age) throughout the country.
- 3) A seminar or workshop in estate planning highlighting the Tax Reform Act of 1986 and its consequences in 1987, 1988 and later years, sponsored by UNA.
- 4) Recognition, if appropriate and desired, of support received through bequests or other forms of estate planning. Printed literature for the proposed capital funding campaign should include ways in which these gifts

can support the campaign for UNA and be credited to the donor.

B. Current Situation

In July 1984, UNA sent a Bequests letter to its membership with satisfactory results. It is now important to follow-up on these earlier positive responses with current information about planned giving opportunities as a result of the Tax Reform Act of 1986.

Membership statistics indicate that a large percentage of our members are 70 years of age and older. These are members who have lived through two World Wars and the creation of the United Nations organization. UNA is well positioned to seek bequest and planned giving donations from individuals who wish to help strengthen the effectiveness of the United Nations by supporting UNA-USA programs and activities.

III. CAPITAL AND ENDOWMENT GIFTS

A. Background Information

Every non-profit organization that depends upon public or private support should have a long-range plan which identifies capital and endowment requirements for years ahead, including new or renovated facilities, modern equipment such as computers, and program enhancement or expansion through increased endowment. An organization may seek to meet the gift requirements of these capital and endowment objectives through a continuing special gifts effort tied into a Bequests and Planned Giving Program or through an intensive capital or endowment campaign. In either case, a successful campaign effort requires:

1. A well-developed "Case" for the support of the organization and the capital project or endowment campaign.
2. A feasibility study to determine leadership commitment, the validity of campaign objectives, gift potential, and a compelling need in order to receive major gift donations.
3. Strong and committed leadership by Directors in "giving and getting."
4. Emphasis on major gifts. It is still true that 90% of major gifts come from 10% of the donors in a campaign.
5. Proper use of the influence of Directors and volunteers. Staff is essential for support services and follow-through, but top gifts are obtained by top volunteers bringing influence to bear on top prospects.
6. Scheduled follow-through on contacts made. Rarely has a major gift resulted from first contact.
7. Seeking advice and campaign guidance from outside fund-raising counsel.
8. Adequate staff and budget. It costs money to raise money.
9. Total commitment on behalf of the Campaign Committee and staff of the organization. Capital and Endowment campaigns require extraordinary effort from all concerned. In the 1950's, Princeton conducted a \$25 million campaign and the title of its campaign plan was "Mobilizing for War". This kind of commitment and attitude in the preparation and conduct of a campaign was perhaps best expressed by St. Paul to the Corinthians: "If the trumpet give an uncertain sound, who shall prepare himself to the battle".

10. Favorable economic conditions during the campaign period and some
Good Luck!

B. Current Situation

In the twenty-three year history of UNA, there have been several attempts to conduct major gifts campaigns. It appears that none have been successful. It must be assumed that a good deal of time and energy was spent in preparing for these campaigns. There are printed campaign brochures, statements of need, campaign goals and campaign leadership with chairmen and committee members in place. Based on this evidence, it is clear that there is significant leadership enthusiasm to talk about a major gifts campaign but a poor record of follow-through beyond the initial stage of development. There are now compelling reasons why UNA should conduct a capital funding campaign. Before commencing, however, it will be important to do the necessary preparatory work in order to achieve desired results.

As a general rule, there are five yardsticks to measure readiness for a major gifts campaign. They are: rated gift potential; commitments in hand, leadership in place adequate to the task; staff support, budget and the organizational infra-structure necessary to conduct a three to five year campaign. Based on initial observations, none of these yardsticks come near to signaling campaign readiness.

During the summer of 1987, a development program audit and report will analyze these key measurements, and enable us to make preliminary

recommendations to the Board pertaining to available options. The options are:

- 1) Continue leadership gift phase (campaign nucleus fund) for a period of time necessary to raise \$10 million dollars (50% of the proposed \$20 million goal) before public announcement of the campaign and:
 - a) raise the campaign goal
 - b) lower the goal
 - c) leave the goal at \$20 million dollars
- 2) Establish a target date to announce the campaign and:
 - a) raise the goal
 - b) lower the goal
 - c) leave the goal at \$20 million dollars
 - d) begin to "Mobilize"

A recommendation to extend the leadership gift phase before announcing the campaign would include a series of tasks, including setting a dollar goal, to be achieved by a specific date. This is a campaign plan strategy which combines solicitation of leadership gifts, extensive cultivation, education and sight raising among all constituents, prospect screening on a broad scale, and use of UNA's long-range plan as the basic reference point in cultivation and solicitation calls.

As we prepare for this important effort, it is necessary to choose the best development structure for UNA, in order to conduct its campaign.

UNA-USA FOUNDATION, INC.

Based on the fact that there has not been a standing Development Committee in place at UNA and that earlier major gifts campaigns have not been successful, my own experience indicates that UNA would be in the strongest possible position to immediately raise major gifts by establishing the UNA-USA Foundation, Inc. (A model organizationally-related foundation outlining the salient issues of its construction and operation is attached as "Exhibit A".) The main advantage of recommending the Foundation at this time is a growing expression of interest among the Board and other friends of UNA that top business leadership could be brought together to serve as founding directors of the Foundation, with a primary fund-raising objective of organizing and conducting a capital funds campaign.

At present, the composition of the UNA Board is heavily weighted with many distinguished public and foreign policy people. The primary criterion for selection to the Board has not been financial leadership in raising or donating money to the organization. Consequently, even though many Board members enjoy national and international reputations in the foreign policy community (and are therefore in the best position to judge the substantive merits of UNA's capital campaign aspirations) and provide moral support to the campaign, the majority of membership may not have the personal wealth, power, and influence in the financial community necessary to raise \$20 million or more dollars for the proposed capital campaign. For those who do, as highly sought members of many non-profit organizations including their college or university, local hospital, religious and community organizations, etc., UNA may not be at or near the top of their personal charitable giving priority list for major gift (\$100,000 or more) contributions. UNA needs these gifts to successfully achieve a capital or

endowment campaign goal. It is estimated that sixty gifts between \$50,000-\$500,000 and two of \$1 million or more will be necessary to reach the proposed goal. The history of giving among UNA constituents, with a few notable exceptions, is such that reaching our goal from these sources is highly unlikely.

It is highly probable, however, that the UNA Board of Directors and Governors are able to identify prominent business leaders who would provide leadership and financial support to the organization, but who are not necessarily foreign policy experts, as directors of an organizationally-related UNA-USA Foundation, Inc. Its formation would establish a partnership in which both groups exchange ideas, criticisms and prescriptions for growth as equals. As a separate entity, with its own board, by-laws and committees, there is the sense of ownership and "self-determination" that Bob Waterman refers to in his book In Search of Excellence. It motivates individuals to set and achieve goals and to be committed to the organization. Ideally, what this means for UNA is that by assigning the right people to key positions -- public and international affairs experts to develop policy and programs while financial leaders, in partnership, seek the means to support these programs -- UNA could substantially increase its annual and endowment income and overall financial strength by the creation of the UNA-USA Foundation, Inc.

In reality, foundations have no other purpose but to serve the institutions they represent under laws of public trust under which they are created. As a fiduciary, promotional, receiving and distribution agency, they have enormous responsibilities fulfilled or unfulfilled. Therefore, their construction is first an organizational issue -- neither legal, nor financial, nor a staff problem. Composition of the foundation board as an interface with the present

Board and with outside constituencies; structure for promotion as well as financial custodianship; these basic operational policies constitute major a priori organizational considerations; then management and support staff. Interrelationships with the parent institution -- and its mission, goals, and objectives -- are basic considerations which must be mutually supportive and progressive.

In summary, UNA will not lose any momentum in preparing itself for a capital gifts campaign to begin in 1989. Meanwhile, professional attention must be paid to current and anticipated development activities, including the need for short-term fund-raising, that will also affect long-term capital funding performance. The attached ("Exhibit B") Proposed Five (5) Year Development Program and Timetable is a preliminary recommendation on how the organization can best prepare itself to be successful in its current and future funding efforts.

EXHIBIT "A"

An Overview

of

An Organizationally - Related Foundation

Background

An organizationally - related foundation is a separately incorporated non-profit 501 (c) (3) Corporation formed for the sole purpose of serving and supporting its sponsoring institution.

The foundation has its own Charter and Bylaws, Board of Directors, Committees, policies and procedures, operating budget and holds regularly scheduled board and committee meetings throughout its program and fiscal year.

The foundation does not engage in self-serving attempts to set priorities for its sponsoring institution. The institution sets its own priorities and looks to the foundation to help it achieve its goals. The foundation responds by raising and managing funds and administering gifts totally in support of the sponsoring institution.

Statement of Purpose

An organizationally - related foundation is created to primarily do two things: To raise and manage money for its sponsoring institution.

In order to be successful, the foundation depends on a close working relationship between the sponsoring institution and its foundation administrations. This relationship is based on mutual support, respect for each other's roles, and goals and policies that they develop jointly.

Incorporating

The first step in forming a foundation is to identify persons who can serve as incorporating directors. Next, employ an attorney to draft a Charter to be filed with the Secretary of (New York) State. After obtaining a Corporate Charter, the next step is to file with the Internal

Revenue Service for 501 (c) (3) tax-exempt status.

The IRS will provide a determination letter of tax status in 60 to 90 days. Legal fees for this usually range from \$1,500 to \$2,000.

Appointing Board Members

After filing for incorporation, the foundation has to be organized into a workable body made up of "inside" and "outside" directors. The large majority of the board should be people from the outside selected for their ability as civic and opinion leaders and for their abilities to raise and manage money. Of the criteria used for selection, raising gifts is the most important.

The size of the board should be commensurate with the size of the goal and constituency from which donations will be sought. The most common term of office for a foundation director is three years. At many foundations, re-election for three consecutive terms (9 years) before having to leave the board for a minimum of one year provides leadership continuity and a gracious way to clean out the "deadwood."

Determining a Budget

Whether a foundation operating budget is large or small, it is usually supported with funds from one or more of the following six sources:

1. Funds from the Sponsoring Institution

Mostly in the form of "seed money" to start-up foundation operations.

2. Undesignated Outright gifts to the Foundation

Most public university foundations support about 10 percent of their operating budgets from these gifts.

3. Reimbursement received from constituent funds

Many foundations receive up to 25 percent of operating costs from these sources. A potential growth area for the UNA-USA Foundation.

4. Earnings from long-term investments for endowments

Investment income from long-term endowment provides an average of about 5 percent of the operating budget at most foundations.

5. Earnings from short-term investments, primarily from the investment of the "cash float" of the foundation

A large portion of the budgetary support for most foundations. The range reported is between 5 and 80 percent of foundation operating costs come from the investment of cash float funds.

6. Other miscellaneous sources of income such as income from contracts, real estate, and patent or copyright royalties

As the operations and scope of foundation and sponsoring institution activities expand, growing income potential provide opportunities to support the foundation operating budget.

For new foundations forming for the purpose of conducting a major gifts campaign, sufficient operating income can be immediately generated from the campaign, to sustain the budget.

Soliciting funds

Fund-raising techniques used by foundations are no different than those used by development offices in non-profit organizations.

The important point to note is that at a foundation, a comprehensive development program involving annual giving, bequests and planned giving, corporate gifts, foundation grants, selective endowment gift solicitations and the occasional, once in a decade, capital or endowment campaign is the full-time activity and on-going purpose and program of the foundation trustees and professional staff. This kind of sustained commitment by a volunteer Development Committee of a non-profit research institution is hard to achieve even during a capital campaign and harder to maintain once major gifts are received and fund-raising no longer remains the top priority of the institution's board of directors.

Managing and investing funds

Formulating a sound investment policy is one of the most important tasks the leaders of a foundation will undertake. It is imperative to develop a philosophy to underpin a sound investment policy. An investment committee must formulate investment objectives, policies and procedures in managing funds. Very often, an investment counselor who will function within the broad parameters established by the investment committee will be retained to manage the portfolio on a "day-to-day" basis.

Few tasks are more vital to an institution than the conscientious performance of the foundation's stewardship function on behalf of its donors and the institution it serves. It is a sacred trust calling for the highest performance standards.

Accountability

The foundation, in its position of public trust and as the administrator and manager of gifts, must make sure that the institution uses the funds as directed by the donor. Budget shortages and pressure to fund emergency projects can lead to stretching the terms of the gift by the users. Institutional business offices by their very nature are "expenditure control" oriented and seldom share the "asset management" philosophy which the foundation's investment policy must embrace.

A principal asset of a foundation is its integrity. Those who are asked to contribute to it must feel certain that all funds are handled in the most prudent fashion and strictly within the terms of the gift. Both the donors and the Internal Revenue Service must feel confident that the foundation strictly maintains appropriate legal and accounting procedures in order to protect the donors' reputation and tax-exempt status for the gift.

Summary

Each non-profit organization is unique, as is each foundation. The ways in which foundations are created, developed, financed, budgeted, and managed are likewise unique.

If the concept of a UNA-USA Foundation is approved by the Board of Governors, it will be the responsibility of the appointed steering Committee of Incorporating Directors to formulate organizational and operational criteria for the foundation and to establish standards of performance that will distinguish the UNA-USA foundation as a model to emulate in the foreign policy community.

Proposed 5-Year Development Program and Timetable

DEVELOPMENT OBJECTIVES	1987	1988	1989	1990	1991
A. FUND-RAISING					
1. Short-Term (1987-1988)	1. New and increased Annual Giving Donations from <u>Individuals and Corporations</u>	(If appropriate, Individual, Corporate and Foundation donors will be asked to continue Annual Giving in addition to pledging a one-time "Campaign for UNA-USA" donation)			
2. Longer-Term (1988-1991)	2. a.) New and increased Annual Giving Donations from United Nations Association of the United States of America <u>Members</u> b.) New and renewed Grant support from Foundations. c.) Bequest and Planned Giving Program implemented.				
3. Endowment Campaign	3. "The Campaign for United Nations Association of the United States of America"				
B. UNA DEVELOPMENT PROGRAM AUDIT & REPORT (Summer, 1987)					
	-Review, Evaluate, and Recommend Development Program Policy, Guidelines and Procedures -Implement approved policy and planning, programming, budgeting systems for conducting comprehensive development program and "The Campaign for United Nations Association of the United States of America"				
C. UNA STRATEGIC & LONG-RANGE PLAN (In Progress)					
	-Strategic and Long-Range Planning Committee sets agenda, meetings and submits final report in 1988				
D. THE CAMPAIGN FOR UNA "CASE STATEMENT"(Fall, 1987-Spring, 1988)					
	-UNA president and staff directors in coordination with planning committee determine program priorities and endowment needs.				
	-Selected List of UNA leadership responds to Case Statement, making recommendations				
	-Revised Case Statement reviewed and discussed at board meeting				
	-Board votes on conducting campaign for UNA-USA				
E. CREATION OF UNA FUND OR FOUNDATION, INC. (In Progress)					
	-Appointment of Steering Committee to establish criteria for UNA Fund or Foundation	-Organize leadership and committee of UNA Fund or Foundation	TARGET DATE FOR "THE CAMPAIGN FOR UNITED NATIONS ASSOCIATION OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA"		
			-Campaign "Leadership Gifts" phase begins	-Campaign "Major Gifts" phase begins	-Campaign for United Nations Association of the United States of America completed
CAMPAIGN EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE FORMED					
	-Steering Committee recommends organizational criteria, mission and structure of Fund or Foundation	-Hold organizational meeting -- If Fund: -Establish Fund and subcommittees, goals and objectives, and		-Campaign for United Nations Association of the United States of America publically announced	
	-If Foundation is recommended, Board resolution, Certificate of Incorporation, by-laws, etc., prepared for UNA Board review and approval	If Foundation -Nominate and elect Board of Directors -Elect Officers -Approve By-laws If "Campaign for UNA-USA" approved by Board of Directors, appoint Campaign Chairman and Executive Committee -Organizational meeting of Executive Committee to approve goal, campaign fund, committee and prospect assignments		-Campaign membership phase begins	



United Nations Association of the United States of America
485 Fifth Avenue, New York, NY 10017-6104 212-697-3232

TO: Members of the Board of Governors
FROM: Jeff Laurenti, Executive Director/
Multilateral Studies Program
RE: TOPIC FOR 1988 MULTILATERAL PROJECT
DATE: May 28, 1987

It is in the annual multilateral project each year that much of the Association's energies are invested--in the field, in Washington, at the U.N., and in the office. Thanks to the tireless work of past project director Ann Florini the project has earned its reputation for quality. The staff is now preparing to research, write and distribute a briefing book on next year's topic by December 1, for discussion in a hundred-odd communities by next spring. The final report, drawing on the recommendations of the local chapters and the wisdom of the project steering committee, will be released on U.N. Day, October 24, 1988--two weeks before the national election.

The date suggests the topic. Our four study projects to date have focused on carefully defined subject areas (nuclear nonproliferation; peacekeeping and local conflicts; peaceful uses of outer space; food policy) where the case for multilateral regimes in complex issue areas is evident and compelling. Now we see an opportunity, and a challenge, in tackling a broader topic-- an American agenda for U.N. action. We believe that the year in which the next president is elected is the opportune time to put the U.N.'s role in U.S. foreign policy on the public

agenda.

Staff is convinced that defining U.S. purposes to pursue in the United Nations system meets every one of the customary criteria for the multilateral project. Most of all it meets the most telling criteria--for UNA is clearly the right vehicle, and 1988 the right time.

Why timely? In historical terms, a cycle seems to be drawing to a close--one in which a tendency for strident radicals to dominate the newly emerged Third World majority has faded in the face of both renewed American self-assertiveness and the disappointing results of many radical programs. Pragmatic moderates and reasoned rhetoric are now ascendant, of which recent U.N. management reforms are evidence.

In institutional terms, it is the logical sequel and "public outreach" for UNA's landmark project on U.N. decision-making, now being completed by a distinguished international panel. The annual project will become the vehicle for wide public discussion of the report, and for keeping it fresh on the public agenda in local districts throughout 1988. Local chapters will move beyond the management focus of the decision-making project to consider a substantive policy agenda to which the project's concluding chapter points.

In political terms, the multilateral topic can equip American policy makers with the ideas and program to take advantage of the new opportunity for U.S. leadership. Embarrassingly, now that the U.N.'s climate is changed, our political leaders seem to have no idea of what they want it to

do. Both parties' national tickets next year will need to think on that, and we are uniquely placed to help their thinking.

Because of its far-reaching scope, and because it will be competing for national press attention with the presidential election, the project steering committee should ideally have leadership of the most senior level. Staff would hope that Presidents Ford and Carter might join as its co-chairmen. Happily, the subject has strong appeal to possible funders. The Ford Foundation has responded very positively to our approach about it, and sees it as a dynamic follow-up to the decision-making study.

The subject is an admittedly broad one, and it will be the task of the staff and panel advisors to identify the most salient areas for treatment in the briefing book. Unlike UNA's previous multilateral projects, this one takes American foreign policy interests as primary, and the identification of a strategy to pursue those interests in the U.N. as its problem. It will be an ethnocentric prism for an internationalist program, one which asks how the U.S. can advance American hopes, American ideals, American purposes through the United Nations system.

We believe this subject can make for lively and provocative debate in 1988. We hope it will enjoy the confidence of the board of governors.

UNA



USA



Working Together for Peace, Freedom and Justice

SOUTHERN NEW YORK STATE DIVISION

of the

UNITED NATIONS ASSOCIATION of the UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

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~~Mrs. Wida C. Whitmore~~
Chairman
Nominating Committee

~~Mrs. Linda M. Horkitz~~

April 27, 1987

Dear Ed:

I understand that after I had left the Division's Board of Directors meeting on April 19th, Herman Scherk, of Queens, wanted to know the UNA-USA position on the issue of the United Nations opening its files on war criminals.

Jim Olson volunteered to pursue this matter which, when I learned of it, I greatly appreciated.

I gather that up to now UNA-USA has taken no position on this matter. Consequently, the Division would appreciate it, if this matter would be placed on the agenda of the June 5th meeting of the Board of Governors.

Thank you for your consideration of this official request so that I may convey UNA-USA's position to our Board.

Cordially,

Mrs. Walter Bishop
President

Mr. Edward Luck, President
UNA-USA
485 Fifth Avenue
NYC, NY 10017

UNA-USA
Interoffice Communication

AGENDA ITEM V.

TO: Ed Luck

DATE: May 26, 1987

FROM: Peggy Carlin

APPROVED:

SUBJECT: United Nations War Crimes Commission

As you requested, I have looked into the facts to do with the files of the United Nations War Crimes Commission (UNWCC).

1. The War Crimes Commission was established in 1943 as a result of a diplomatic conference of Allied and Dominion Representatives, convened by the United Kingdom. It was not part of the UN which came into being two years later, in 1945. Seventeen states participated as members of the WCC.
2. The WCC ceased functioning in March 1948 and asked Trigve Lie, first Secretary-General of the United Nations, to be custodian of the WCC archives, with the understanding that rules for custody would be worked out between the WCC and the UN.
3. Unrestricted access to records related to specified individuals was not provided for in the rules of the WCC, with the concurrence of its members, because the sources of the material in the individual charge files were not checked and because the allegations contained in the files against the individuals concerned had not been submitted to judicial process or otherwise subjected to proper legal evaluation.
4. The UNWCC archives have always been fully accessible to governments. Over the years, several requests have been made by governments and the UN has never declined access. Several governments, the U.S., the U.K. and others among them, are also in possession of War Crimes files and need not have gone to the United Nations for information contained in the UNWCC archives.
5. The allegation that the UN was shielding or protecting individuals is not correct; it is simply a case of governments failing to ask for the files.
6. The Secretary-General of the UN, as custodian, cannot change the rules; he must be guided by the 17 member states of the UNWCC. The rules do provide access to general records for research within the purposes and spirit of the UN Charter, including war crimes, providing that the confidentiality of a criminal investigation prevails. The restricted part of the records is accessible only to governments.
7. In 1986, requests came to the Secretary-General to give full public access to the files. He contacted the 17 member states of the WCC. All but one was for maintaining the status quo. When pressure built, the Secretary-General again entered into negotiations with these states. This time, many among them were for access to the files by qualified researchers for historical purposes. Public access is unlikely. The United States originally felt that access by governments was sufficient. The U.S. is now, in principle, for relaxation of restrictions to access and will send the Secretary-General a letter to that effect. But at this time, it has not decided on the wording of such a letter. The question is whether to give access to the files to bona fide scholars, how to determine "bona fide", and whether or not those who are given access should be accredited by the government.

This is where matters stand at the moment.

American Brickbats Ignore U.N.'s Efforts at Reform

By JEFFREY LAURENTI

Pavlov could not have trained them better. In American political circles the instinct to froth at just the mention of the United Nations is now so ingrained that even when it fulfills American goals, congressional critics rush to attack it.

The United States has insisted on stricter control over the U.N. budget process, even withholding much of its dues in an effort to force the United Nations to act—and it has won fundamental budget reforms. Congress reacts by repeating last year's deep cuts in dues payments, and the Reagan Administration, while publicly enthusiastic about the reforms, still has not submitted a request for full funding.

The United States pushed the United Nations to place a "peace-keeping" force in southern Lebanon after the 1978 Israeli invasion. Yet for the past two years the United States has withheld 60% of the its share of the peace-keeping force's funds, jeopardizing the force's existence.

Now, after the United Nations has accepted American suggestions for an information-gathering unit in the secretary general's office, several senators are threatening to block it.

In 1985 and 1986 the United Nations Assn. of the U.S.A. called on the world body to establish an information office to handle research and evaluate reports on conflict-prone regions. The association's blue-ribbon commission on U.N. management reform, with distinguished representatives of current and past U.S. Administrations, such as former Ambassador Jeane Kirkpatrick and former Secretary of State Cyrus Vance, repeated the call for an "early warning" system last December.

The proposal had a clear purpose: better peace-keeping. It would have the U.N. Secretariat gather information *before* a festering situation exploded, not after, so that the secretary general would have more than the morning's news to guide him. With such an "early warning and prevention" capability he could help defuse crises before they erupt into hostilities—which might, for example, have averted Iraq's invasion of Iran.

Meanwhile, the United States and other Western democracies have been pressing for years to bring the United Nations Political Information News Service under the secretary general's control. Administered under a department directed by a Soviet national, the service's news summaries showed a persistent anti-Western bias that the democracies demanded stopped.

In one stroke Secretary General Javier

Perez de Cuellar has accommodated all these U.S. proposals by creating an Office of Research and Information Collection. He has assigned to it precisely the early warning role recommended by the American United Nations Assn. He has yanked the Political Information News Service out of its Soviet-led department and made it part of the new office, under an assistant secretary general who reports directly to him. He has even added yet another responsibility sought for years by Western countries—the monitoring of conditions that spawn refugee flows.

The secretary general has appointed James Jonah of Sierra Leone, a respected international civil servant whose credentials should encourage Western democrats, to head the office. A champion of the independence of international civil service, Jonah is nobody's stooge. And because news agency personnel will be drawn from the reorganization of other offices, it will not require any increase in costs.

On every count the secretary general should expect Americans' applause. Instead he has gotten brickbats.

Anonymous Administration officials have leaked charges that the secretary general's initiative was prompted by Soviet "manipulation and illegal penetration." Senators intone that the new office will "facilitate the operations of foreign intelligence agencies." Ultraconservative foundations warn that the new office is a plot for "consolidation of Soviet control."

No wonder that the secretary general is frustrated.

The querulous response to positive U.N. reform bespeaks American confusion about what we expect the organization to accomplish. Certainly the vast majority of Americans, judging by the polls, want to see international institutions succeed. And in the two decades since Vietnam, the timing for a fresh approach has never been more favorable. The harsh, polarizing rhetoric from the developing countries has abated; we have forced management reform. Now what do we want it to do? Are there American goals, hopes and ideals that the organization can advance?

When we finally have the world saying "yes" to us, it's time for America to assert real leadership—not backbite from paranoia. An opportunity for leadership is within our grasp. Let's take it.

Jeffrey Laurenti is executive director of the multilateral studies program of the United Nations Assn. of the U.S.A.

Deterrence Without Nukes

By Alex Glikson

The truth is out. After more than 40 years of life under the nuclear umbrella, we are addicted to the bomb. For many on both sides of the Atlantic, the breakdown of disarmament talks at the Reykjavik summit meeting was good news, while the prospect that missiles in Europe may be reduced to zero now causes considerable distress.

The irony is that while Western officials recognize that a nuclear exchange means Armageddon, it is the certainty of devastation that gives comfort. Nuclear disarmament connotes a world in which Moscow's quantitative arms advantage matters and enables one to envision an end to restraints that keep Soviet armies from sweeping west to the Atlantic. In sum, taking away nukes makes Europe safe for conventional aggression.

This specter has transformed arms control. The experts have ceased to search for alternatives to nuclear-based security and are now engaged in an exercise of formulating stable nuclear balances. Unfortunately, this preoccupation with current threats has led policy makers to overlook both nuclear risks and technological developments that could end our dependence on nuclear weapons.

This is not to say that conditions are ripe for disarmament, nor to deny that on more than one occasion nu-

clear weapons have contributed to the avoidance of war. But there is no reason for complacency.

The nuclear balance remains precarious. Deterrence assumes that while the West possesses nuclear weapons no Soviet leader would start a war, and risk suicide, no matter what the possible gains. But what is troubling are the 101 ways that a nuclear exchange could start other than through calculation. Even the late Herman Kahn, a strategist with no qualms about thinking the unthinkable, rated accident, miscalculation or unauthorized use high on his list of nuclear triggers.

Advances in science that previously gave us the bomb are now forging another revolution in military affairs, and it may allow us to dispense with nuclear deterrence. Developments in microelectronics, sensors, computers and software are beginning to change the face of the battlefield. While "Star Wars" research has heightened our awareness of the role that technology plays in directing strategic thinking, strategic defense is not at issue here.

Indeed, our fixation on the Strategic Defense Initiative has blinded us to a larger reality: Not only is the prospect of deflecting a nuclear attack bleak but, despite the S.D.I. hype, most of our

The key lies in new technologies.

Security will not be cheap.

defense research focuses on technologies that have direct application to conventional warfare. Western defense experts express confidence that these developments will radically alter conventional military planning.

In the decade ahead, as these technologies are made available, the word "conventional" may no longer suffice to describe either the capabilities or the consequences of these so-called one-shot, one-"kill" weapons, which can distinguish and destroy tanks, artillery, command posts and other military targets.

General Secretary Mikhail S. Gorbachev and the current and former military chiefs of staff, Marshals Sergei F. Akhromeyev and Nikolai V. Ogarkov, have noted these developments and have expressed fears that exotic weapons could be as threatening to military forces as nuclear weapons are today. Moscow has good reason for concern. If these technologies fulfilled their promise, they could place at risk what the Soviet Union values most — its military. That would neutralize Moscow's quantitative advantage and counsel against armed adventure.

This is not an issue about turning swords into plowshares but about weapons of an especially deadly character. The high probability that an at-

tacker's forces would be decimated is what could provide nonnuclear deterrence. The advantage of this form of dissuasion lies in its ability to threaten military forces without placing all of mankind in jeopardy.

Nevertheless, all weapons are double-edged. Even this form of deterrence is not risk-free. Some fear that the temptation to pre-emptively strike East bloc forces before they can attack would be particularly strong during crises. Arms control has a role to play here. Creating weapons-free zones on both sides of the East-West borders would be one way to reduce the danger that defensive measures would be misinterpreted as preparations for an attack.

Since these new weapons will not be available overnight, there is time to negotiate a stable transition. In the interim, nuclear deterrence remains a fact of life. Those who portray the zero missile option as disarmament are missing the big picture. Some 4,600 tactical weapons would remain in Europe and, with 300,000 American troops on the ground, Moscow is not about to dismiss American strategic forces as irrelevant in the regional security equation.

A final problem: Exotic weaponry will not be cheap. One reason for our current nuclear dependence is the North Atlantic Treaty Organization's failure to make the sacrifices required for an expensive conventional defense. This reluctance is understandable when traditional conventional options could not possibly deter the enemy. But emerging technologies may help change this. If new weapons can offer security without the nuclear threat, the public may be willing to bear the cost. □

Alex Glikson is director of strategic defense studies at the United Nations Association of the United States.

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April 10, 1987

Rabbi A. M. Schindler
Union of American Hebrew Congregations
838 Fifth Avenue
New York, NY 10021

Alex
Dear Rabbi Schindler:

The UNA-USA sponsored conference "Strategies for Community action: Conference on Drug Abuse and Illicit Trafficking" was held last Friday, April 3rd, in the Department of State and was, according to the audience of 200 community and organization leaders, an outstanding success. I would like to thank your organization most sincerely for being a participating organization and for your contribution of \$100 in support of the conference.

Within the next few weeks, we hope to have a report ready for you that will give you a sense of the excellence of the day's program. Each one of the outstanding speakers added to the overall impact on the participants, who left with the determination to take the fight against the drug scourge into their communities.

It was, we believe, an important conference and your contribution helped to make it so.

Thank you again.

Sincerely,

Peggy Sanford Carlin
Senior Vice President

PSC:rl

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 Guest Scholar, The Brookings Institution

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 President, James S. McDonnell Foundation

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November 21, 1986

MEMORANDUM

TO: Board of Directors and National Council

FROM: Edward C. Luck, President

SUBJECT: Background Readings for December 2nd Meeting

Enclosed are background readings for the upcoming Annual Meeting of the Board of Directors and National Council. It would be very helpful if you could review the Program Report and draft 1987 budget before the meeting. Additional materials will be distributed in your packets that day.

As previously noted, the meeting will be held from 9:00 a.m. to 3:30 p.m. on Tuesday, December 2nd, at the United Engineering Center, 345 East 47th Street, New York City. As indicated in the agenda, which was distributed to you last week, we will have several top speakers, including Ambassador Alan L. Keyes, Assistant Secretary of State for International Organization Affairs; Ambassador Tom Eric Vraalsen, the Permanent Representative of Norway to the UN and the Chairman of the Group of Eighteen; Kishore Mahbubani, Permanent Representative of Singapore to the UN and a member of the Group of Eighteen; and Philip Odeen, a member of the UNA-USA International Panel on UN Management and Decision-making.

Elliot Richardson joins me in expressing the hope that you will make every effort to be with us. We will look forward to seeing you.

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Hold for meeting if I go -

Readings after about

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November 19, 1986

MEMORANDUM

TO: Board of Directors and National Council

FROM: Edward C. Luck, President

SUBJECT: 1986 Program Activities

1986 has been an extraordinary year for UNA, full of challenge and excitement. It has certainly not been an easy year, given the severity of the UN financial crisis, but the pressure of events has compelled the Association to raise its sights, to stiffen its resolve and to assert its principles with greater vigor and authority. Difficult times like these, after all, remind us both about how critical the work of the Association is and about how much more we need to accomplish in the future.

My strong feeling is that UNA has responded admirably to the political, media, and programmatic challenges presented by this crisis, which has served to reinvigorate, not stifle, our initiative and our enthusiasm. While our resources are still inadequate to the task before us, we have managed to patch together a broad-gauged response drawing on all of UNA's traditional strengths in public outreach, Washington presence, policy analysis, and international dialogue. These will serve us well in the tough years still ahead.

In the following pages are brief reports by our program officers on their primary activities over the past year. Two thoughts struck me in reviewing them. First is how much our ongoing programs were able to accomplish despite all of the added burdens imposed by the UN crisis. Second is a deep sense of pride in being associated with such a dedicated and capable group of lay leaders and staff, who have accomplished so much in the face of considerable adversity.

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Report of the Washington Office

Steven Dimoff, Director of the Washington Office

In 1986, the Washington office led UNA-wide efforts to stress the urgency of the United Nations financial crisis to the nation's lawmakers and administration officials, their aides, and national organizations concerned about U.S. policy toward international organizations. These activities took many forms. In early June, the UNA Board of Governors held its summer quarterly meeting in Washington. The day's program included visits to Members of Congress during the morning to dramatize the Association's concern over the crisis.

In late June, sixty organizations cosponsored an emergency consultation on the U.N. financial crisis. Nearly 300 national organization representatives attended the briefing to learn about potential reductions in U.S. contributions to the U.N. system. UNA Chairman Elliot Richardson served as Chairman of the event which included addresses by Stephen Lewis, Canadian Ambassador to the U.N., and James P. Grant, Executive Director of the U.N. Children's Fund (UNICEF). Offering perspectives on the crisis were James Sutterlin, Office of the U.N. Secretary-General; Dennis Goodman, Bureau of International Organization Affairs, Dept. of State; Rep. Jim Leach (R-IA), Committee on Foreign Affairs; and David Lonie, Staff Member of the Committee on Foreign Affairs. Rep. Dante Fascell (D-FL), Chairman of the House Committee on Foreign Affairs, was the luncheon speaker.

Under the auspices of the International Issues Speaker Series for congressional staff sponsored by UNA and the Stanley Foundation, a series of programs featured prominent speakers dealing with current issues of U.S. participation in the U.N. These included Virginia Housholder, U.S. member of the U.N. Advisory Committee on Administrative and Budgetary Questions, on "The United Nations Budget: Fact and Fantasy;" William Buffum, U.N. Under-Secretary-General for Political and General Assembly Affairs, on "An assessment of the U.N. Fortieth General Assembly;" Patricio Ruedas, U.N. Under-Secretary-General for Administration and Management, on "Further Developments in the United Nations' Financial Crisis;" Idriss Jazairy, President, International Fund for Agricultural Development, on "IFAD's Grass-Roots Approach to Rural Development;" and newly-appointed UNDP Administrator William Draper on "The United Nations Development Program: Cooperation for Development." These ongoing programs, highly regarded among professional congressional staff, continue to be well attended and often attract Members of Congress having committee jurisdiction over these issues.

UNA was one of ten organizers of a September 11 Capitol Hill briefing, "Responding to the crisis in the U.S. Foreign Aid." The program dealt with diminished resources for foreign aid, shifting U.S. priorities, and the future of U.S. leadership in humanitarian development assistance. The briefing was cosponsored by 52 organizations including the Rockefeller Foundation, the Johns Hopkins University School of Hygiene and Public Health, Union of American Hebrew Congregations, and the Bretton Woods Committee. Rep. Silvio Conte (R-MA) made a presentation on the crisis in U.S. foreign aid, and Elliot Richardson was among the respondents. All resource groups contained one discussion leader who was uniquely able to deal with the multilateral assistance component of foreign assistance. Sen. Daniel Inouye (D-HI), a member of the Senate Appropriations Committee's Foreign Operations Subcommittee, delivered the luncheon address.

Throughout the course of 1986, Washington-based UNA leaders made significant contributions to increasing congressional awareness about the U.N. financial crisis and the organization's efforts to implement meaningful management and administrative reform. Ambassador James Leonard, member of the Board of Directors, agreed to oversee Washington office efforts in this area. By the adjournment of the 99th Congress in mid-October, local members of UNA, including especially Chairman Elliot Richardson, had paid personal visits to a significant number of House and Senate members having special responsibility for U.S. policy toward the United Nations.

At the staff level, the Washington office arranged personal meetings with every congressional committee and administration staff member having responsibility for ongoing policy toward the U.N. Many of these visits were arranged in conjunction with Washington visits of New York staff. These meetings provided an excellent opportunity for the Association to evaluate the seriousness of current challenges facing multilateral institutions. They also gave staff members an opportunity to discuss ongoing Association projects designed to make the U.N. a more effective institution.

The Washington Weekly Report, now in its twelfth year of continuous publication, has been an important part of UNA's effort to increase public awareness of national policy affecting multilateral cooperation. Since the June 1985 Senate adoption of the Kassebaum amendment, the newsletter has covered each aspect of the U.N. financial crisis. It has also covered related issues of importance to the U.N. financial crisis, such as the adoption of the Gramm-Rudman-Hollings deficit reduction measure and its impact on U.S. financial obligations to international organizations; the administration FY1987 budget request for the conduct of foreign affairs; and severe congressional reductions proposed for U.S. contributions to U.N. peacekeeping operations. The Weekly Report is widely circulated in the Executive Branch, on Capitol Hill, at missions to the U.N., throughout UNA chapters and divisions, and among nongovernmental organizations as a concise and up-to-date legislative record.

As part of the UNA effort to encourage a broad range of national organizations to become interested in multilateral issues, the Washington office has helped to organize an ongoing, ad hoc U.N. Advocacy Group. With Capitol Hill as a principal focus, the group attempts to increase awareness of the importance of multilateral cooperation to United States foreign policy. Working with the Council of Washington Representatives on the United Nations, the group includes representatives of Church World Service; Friends Committee on National Legislation; and the American Public Health Association, among others.

Report of the Multilateral Project

Ann Florini, Peter Fromuth and Alex Gliksman, Project Directors;
and Deborah Scroggins, Public Information and Program Development Officer

The Multilateral Project, buoyed by a series of major foundation grants, greatly expanded its range of activities in 1986. Chief among these have been the UN Management and Decision-making Project, the nationwide study on international cooperation in space and associated work on strategic defense issues, background preparations for next year's nationwide project on world hunger, continuing public outreach and research efforts concerning nuclear non-proliferation and the control of regional conflicts, a major international conference in Bonn on western initiatives in the UN, and preparatory work on an international emergency relief project. The Multilateral Project truly has become UNA's core program, seeking to turn ideas into action on a broad global agenda.

Report of the U.N. Management and Decision-Making Project

Peter Fromuth, Project Director

The steadily increasing urgency of the U.N.'s cash flow problems, the political crisis underlying them, the continued deterioration in the level of U.S. payments and the general view that the report by the U.N. Group of 18 represents only a limited--although positive--first step toward reform, have caused the debate over U.N. management and decision-making to reach a tumult in the current General Assembly and greatly sharpened international interest in the potential contributions of the UNA panel. A summary of the project activities follows:

Plenary Meetings

Following a very successful first full panel meeting in May, the international panel held its second full meeting on October 31 and November 1 at the Vista International Hotel in Washington, D.C. On the 31st the panel reviewed papers by the project staff on U.N. personnel policy issues; budgetary decision-making and the scale of assessments; and the program, planning, budget and evaluation process, giving particular attention to recommendations which might be incorporated in the panel's Final Report. During a private luncheon meeting with U.S. Deputy Secretary of State John Whitehead, panel members discussed Administration views regarding the progress of U.N. reform efforts and their implications for future prospects for full funding of U.S. assessed contributions. During the afternoon of the 31st, the panel discussed its first report, which deals with the responsibilities of the

Secretary-General and the member states to provide leadership in the programmatic and administrative areas, and directed the staff to revise the report to reflect the discussion. During the second day, panelists took part in an introductory discussion of means to strengthen the U.N. role in the peace and security area and directed the staff to prepare a paper on the subject for the next meeting. For the balance of the morning and afternoon discussion on November 1st the panel focused on U.N. activities in the economic and social area and considered a number of alternative functional and structural approaches designed to improve the U.N.'s performance in this field.

First Panel Report

Under the guidance of a panel sub-group chaired by Tommy Koh, Singapore Ambassador to the United States, the project staff drafted an initial panel report, entitled Leadership at the United Nations: The Role of the Secretary-General and the Member States. The report analyzes the interrelated responsibilities of the Secretary-General and member states for the formulation of a common vision of the U.N.'s role, for the provision of leadership in translating vision into programmatic goals and for the cultivation of consensus in support of those goals. If a revised draft of the report is acceptable to the panel, it will be released publicly on or before the first of December. In addition to Ambassador Koh, the sub-group included: Elliot Richardson (chairman of the full panel); Philip Odeen, Managing Partner of Coopers & Lybrand; Andres Aguilar, Ambassador of Venezuela to the United Nations; Salim A. Salim, Minister of Defense and Deputy Prime Minister of the United Republic of Tanzania; and Brian Urquhart of the United Kingdom, Scholar-in-Residence at the Ford Foundation.

Staff Papers

The research papers which were discussed at the second panel meeting were: U.N. Personnel Policy Issues, written and researched by Peter Fromuth and Ruth Raymond under the guidance of a panel sub-group chaired by Philip Odeen and composed of Ambassador Aguilar, Ambassador Koh, Paul O'Neill, President of International Paper Company, Elliot Richardson, and Andrew Brimmer, President of Brimmer & Company; Fairness and Accountability in U.N. Financial Decision-making, written by Fred Lister, a project consultant; and The U.N. Program, Planning, Budget and Evaluation Cycle, drafted by Maurice Bertrand, the senior consultant to the project.

Study on International Cooperation in Space

Ann Florini, Project Director

On Friday, October 24, we released the final report of the 1986 Multilateral Project nationwide study on international cooperation in the peaceful uses of outer space. The report, entitled "The Next Giant Leap in Space: An Agenda for International Cooperation," represents the consensus findings of some 90 community study panels. Advance copies of the report were distributed to key people in Congress and the Executive Branch, and to policymakers in other spacefaring countries. Although some of the recommendations are controversial, the response has been quite positive. The timing of the study has been ideal--the nation's space program is floundering, and policymakers are searching for new initiatives.

Many activities have been carried out or are planned to bring attention to the report:

- While in Moscow with the Policy Studies delegation in late September, I had a private lunch with Academician Roald Sagdeev, director of the Soviet Space Research Institute and a strong supporter of increased international cooperation in space. We discussed the report and the prospects for implementation of its recommendations, particularly those dealing with US-Soviet cooperation.
- On October 23, Elliot Richardson and Dr. John McLucas, chairman of the National Steering Committee for the study, held a press conference in Washington. The story was picked up by the wire services and carried by papers in many parts of the country.
- On October 29, UNA sponsored a press roundtable in New York, featuring Academician Sagdeev and Dr. McLucas, who discussed the UNA study and the prospects for cooperation in space. The session was well attended and led to articles in Aviation Week & Space Technology, The New York Times and elsewhere.
- In early October, at the annual congress in Austria of the International Astronautical Federation, I delivered a paper describing the study, and discussed the recommendations with key space policymakers from all over the world.
- Articles on the study will appear in the November/December issues of the Planetary Report (the magazine of the 100,000-member Planetary Society) and in the next quarterly issue of the journal Space Policy.
- I have been asked to speak at the next annual meeting of the American Association for the Advancement of Science in February in Chicago, at the International Studies Association meeting in April in Washington, and at various forums being organized by UNA chapters.
- Key members of Congress and congressional staffers have expressed interest in holding hearings on the report when Congress reconvenes next year.

Strategic Defense Studies Program

Alex Gliksman, Project Director

Since the advent of the Strategic Defense Initiative in 1983, the issue of strategic defense has become central to the security concerns of the United States, and its friends and allies around the world. Strategic defense is the key to the future direction of US-Soviet relations, particularly with regard to arms control. And, in neutral and nonaligned states this new initiative is viewed as having implications that reach beyond the East-West rivalry.

While a great deal has been said and written about strategic defense in general and the SDI in particular, much of this information has focused on what appear to be relatively narrow political-military and technical issues. For instance, is a perfect defense feasible? How much will it cost? The UNA-USA program on strategic defense seeks to address and bring attention to: 1) the global implications of strategic defense; 2) the potentially revolutionary security consequences of currently emerging military technologies; and, 3) the implications of these developments for arms control and international security. In late 1985, the Carnegie Corporation awarded UNA a major grant to fund a two-year program encompassing both this year's Multilateral Project study on the peaceful uses of outer space and a program of research, writing and international dialogue on the global implications of strategic defense.

In particular, research conducted under the program has examined the views and implications of strategic defense for nations in the Pacific and Asia regions. This work represents the most extensive effort to date on what SDI means to the Pacific allies, the People's Republic of China, and to smaller developing states.

The program has examined how emerging technologies may transform the security environment in the future and what this could mean for the US-Soviet relationship. Writing in the New York Times last February, the Director was the first to suggest that conventional arms spin-offs of SDI technology is a key Soviet concern. This idea has since become the common wisdom on Soviet views of SDI.

An underlying theme of this effort has been the consideration of how these developments may affect arms control. In this regard, research and writings generated during the first year of this effort have considered US and Soviet arms control interests and have sought to suggest methods of resolving the impasse that divides Washington from Moscow.

In the first instance, the key principal audience for research results has been in the specialist community of policymakers and security and arms control experts in the US and abroad. To provide timely, policy-relevant analysis, the program has prepared opinion articles for leading US newspapers. Since the program began in October 1985, a total of 9 have been published in outlets such as the Christian Science Monitor, the New York Times and USA Today.

Additionally, the program has produced 12 journal articles, 6 book chapters and 2 conference papers. The journal articles have appeared in the US and overseas in publications such as National Defense, Quadrant (Australia) and Asian Perspectives (Korea).

The program has also involved the Director in day-to-day interactions with members and staff on Capitol Hill, senior Administration officials and representatives from defense industries.

In extensive overseas travel, largely funded by outside sources, the Director has also been in contact with foreign government and military officials, academics and members of the media. In addition to delivering lectures on research findings in the US, at institutions such as the Woodrow Wilson Center of the Smithsonian Institution, Lawrence Livermore National Laboratories and Stanford University, the Director has delivered some forty talks to official and public audiences in Mexico, Canada, Japan, China, Indonesia, Australia and Korea.

As work has advanced, the project has sought to unify the diverse set of issues addressed in the first year through the mechanism of an international conference of specialists. The international conference on strategic defenses, held October 7-11 in Talloires, France, brought together a wide range of experts from all parts of the world. The highly successful conference, chaired by Dr. Michael May of Lawrence Livermore National Laboratory and organized by UNA's Director of Strategic Defense Studies, focused on the broad political and technological dimensions and implications of strategic defense and emerging military technologies. Several follow-up activities are now being planned, including a series of Congressional briefings on the technological implications of strategic defense research, the preparation of a conference report, and the publication of a book of background research papers.

1987 Multilateral Project Study on World Hunger

Ann Florini, Project Director

Research for the 1987 Multilateral Project study on world hunger is nearly completed. The brochure advertising the study is done and has been widely distributed. The briefing book will go into production in November and will be available in January under the title "Food on the Table: Seeking Global Solutions to Chronic Hunger."

The study will focus on the role of the many international institutions involved in the battle against chronic hunger. To that end, I spent four days in Rome in early October meeting with officials from FAO, IFAD, and the World Food Council. The Multilateral Project's Research Associate, Neal Spivack, has held similar discussions in New York and Washington.

As has happened every year, this fourth Multilateral Project study is likely to see an increased number of participating chapters, divisions, and affiliated organizations. We hope to receive reports from more than 100 community groups next May. We are also working with farm and agriculture groups in the United States in order to involve this new constituency in UNA.

Follow-Up to Previous Multilateral Project Studies

Ann Florini, Project Director

A. Nonproliferation

In April 1986, with funding from the Rockefeller Brothers Fund and the MacArthur Foundation, UNA conducted a week-long study tour to the Vienna headquarters of the International Atomic Energy Agency. The trip included 11 members of chapters that submitted outstanding reports for the 1983-84 Multilateral Project study on nuclear proliferation, along with four journalists. The four days in Vienna consisted of meetings with high-level Agency officials, beginning with IAEA Director-General Hans Blix. The sessions were made especially interesting by the fact that our arrival coincided with the first reports of the disaster at Chernobyl. From Vienna, the group went to Washington for a series of briefings with Congress, the State Department, and other non-governmental organizations interested in proliferation issues. Upon their return to their communities, the participants wrote articles for the local press, appeared on radio and television, and gave talks to community groups about the IAEA and nonproliferation policy.

For the final activity under our grant from the Rockefeller Brothes Fund, we are sponsoring a lecture tour. In the spring of 1987, David Fischer, former Deputy Secretary General of the IAEA, will travel throughout the United States, speaking at community forums organized by UNA chapters and divisions. To date, ten chapters have committed themselves to sponsor forums, and more commitments are expected.

B. Regional Conflict

Planning is underway for the spring study trip to the United Nations for selected outstanding participants in the 1985 Multilateral Project's study on containing regional conflict. Ten people will be chosen from each of three categories: participants from chapters and divisions; participants from affiliated organizations; and journalists. This group will meet with top U.N. and U.S. officials concerned with preventing and managing regional conflicts. Plans are also underway for a nationwide teleconference to be held in late 1987 that will focus on regional conflict.

Escalation and Intervention: Multilateral Security and Its Alternatives, edited by Arthur Day, senior consultant to UNA, and Michael Doyle, a UNA consultant in 1984-85, was published in August. The book is the culmination of a two-year Multilateral Studies Project that examined six current or recent local wars to determine what forms of outside intervention worked best in moderating or resolving them, assessed the likelihood of these local wars escalating into superpower conflict, and considered the dilemma of providing security to small states without compromising their independence.

Report on Bonn Conference
and International Emergency Relief Project

Deborah Scroggins

I. Bonn Conference

From October 5th through 8th, UNA-USA and the United Nations Association of the Federal Republic of Germany co-sponsored "Making the United Nations Work: Initiatives for the Industrial Democracies," a joint conference that brought together policymakers, scholars, and public figures from Western Europe, North America, and Japan in an effort to mold a common platform of western ideas and initiatives to reinvigorate the United Nations. The conference was held in Bonn and co-chaired by former Secretary of State Cyrus Vance and former West German Minister of State Hans-Jurgen Wischnewski. The forty-six participants included former West German Chancellor Helmut Schmidt and former French Foreign Minister Claude Cheysson, along with other government officials, diplomats and journalists.

The work of the conference was divided into two parts. The participants began by analyzing the underlying factors that have prevented the western nations from adopting a more unified and coherent approach to the world body through a series of papers and presentations on United States, West German, Japanese, and West European strategies and objectives at the United Nations. The papers, which include two on American policy at the U.N. prepared by Edward Luck and Deborah Scroggins, have been edited and submitted to Foreign Policy for consideration. The participants also broke up into four groups in order to identify ways in which the industrial democracies can be more effective in four key issue areas at the U.N.: human rights, security and regional conflicts; economic and political cooperation on North/South issues; and U.N. management and budgetary problems. The recommendations of the working groups have been presented to the Secretary-General. They will also be submitted to United States Secretary of State George Shultz and to West German Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher, and circulated among European, North American, Japanese and United Nations officials. The UNA staff is now preparing a joint conference report to be widely distributed. UNA is also evaluating the prospects for holding a similar conference with UNA-FRG again in the future.

II. The International Emergency Relief Project

UNA-USA plans to undertake an eighteen-month program of policy research, analysis, and public education designed to improve public understanding and press coverage of international emergency relief operations, if and when funding is available. The total cost of this project is estimated at \$227,950.

Joined by Colin Campbell, a reporter from The New York Times, who will be heading the project once it gets underway, the UNA staff spent considerable time over the last nine months establishing the groundwork for this project. A first-rate Advisory Committee, whose members include Sir Robert Jackson at the U.N.; Jean Mayer, President of Tufts University; Karl Meyer of the Times

Editorial Board; Matthew Nimetz; and William Shawcross, author of The Quality of Mercy, has been assembled to guide the work of the project. UNA has also gained the enthusiastic endorsement of a number of senior figures in the news media, relief organizations, and the U.S. government, including Sydney Gruson, Vice-Chairman of the New York Times Company and William French Smith, former Attorney General. The staff has conducted a survey of attitudes towards emergency relief among local UNA chapters around the nation to ensure that the project addresses the concerns of UNA members.

UNA is now in the process of submitting the formal project proposal to foundations and corporations for consideration. Fred Hechinger, President of The New York Times Company Foundation plans to strongly recommend that the Times Foundation support the international emergency relief project--we hope to the \$50,000 level--at its next board meeting in March. If other foundations prove equally forthcoming, the project will begin work early next spring.

Report of the Policy Studies Program

Toby Trister Gati, Vice President for Policy Studies

UNA-USA's Parallel Studies Programs with the Soviet Union, Japan and the People's Republic of China continued apace this past year, engaging some of the best political minds in each country in resolving major political and economic issues confronting the international community. They have been instrumental in clarifying the positions of each government as well as recommending constructive policy options.

Soviet-American Parallel Studies Program

The Soviet-American Parallel Studies Program is in full swing, having in the past year completed three joint conferences on arms control and security issues and another on bilateral and global economic issues. In early December 1985, a delegation of six visited the Soviet Union following the Reagan-Gorbachev Geneva Summit to discuss issues concerning the future of the strategic relationship, nonproliferation, and UN issues in the years ahead.

Dr. Georgy Arbatov and Dr. Roald Sagdeev co-chaired meetings held in Washington, DC in early April. Discussions focused on a number of key issues: a comprehensive analysis of the broader interconnections between offense and defense as they relate to all elements of the force structure; the future of the ABM treaty; problems surrounding a comprehensive test ban treaty; the use of the UN for the management of regional conflicts (with a great deal of the discussion focusing on Afghanistan) and the implications of the UN's financial crisis for management, personnel and decisionmaking tasks. While in Washington, DC the delegation met with Mark Palmer, then Deputy Assistant Secretary in the Bureau of European and Canadian Affairs at the State Department and now Ambassador Designate to Hungary. Dr. Sagdeev met with Richard Smith, Principal Deputy Assistant Secretary of the Bureau of Oceans and International Environmental and Scientific Affairs at the State Department, to discuss prospects for joint peaceful space activities.

In September, a small delegation traveled to Moscow under the chairmanship of Ivan Selin. Discussions centered around three main topics: political relationships between the two countries; strategic and intermediate nuclear forces; and political and financial management issues and the future of the United Nations.

The October joint meeting on global economic issues was chaired on the US side by John Petty and on the Soviet side by Aleksandr Anchishkin, a personal advisor to General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev on long-range economic planning and an expert on the consequences of economic reform on the Soviet industrial and technological base. On the agenda for discussion were recent trends in the Soviet and US economies, global trade patterns and shifting comparative advantages, and the evolution of the world monetary system and global debt. This meeting, almost entirely "international" in its thrust, focused on the growing interdependence of national economies and the growing importance of international economic institutions. This represents a remarkable shift in Soviet thinking and presents a challenge to the international economic institutions still dominated by the Western industrial powers.

Before returning to the Soviet Union, the Soviet arms control group traveled to Chicago, Illinois to meet with local chapter members, foreign affairs groups and local business and community leaders in an outreach program, and a group of Soviet economists traveled to Dallas and Denver for similar meetings. These programs were expertly arranged by the Chicago, Dallas and Denver chapters of UNA-USA.

The desire of both countries to meet at such frequent intervals attests to the value each side places on these exchanges and to the seriousness of the substantive dialogue. The complexity of the ongoing negotiations guarantees that points of contention will arise that can best be discussed in informal fora like UNA's. On many of the issues concerning UN affairs there is literally no other avenue for an exchange of opinion other than the Parallel Studies Program. And on global economic issues, the long-term relationship between UNA-USA and the Soviet UN Association has enabled us to nurture an exploration of economically important, but politically sensitive subjects such as third world debt and common US-Soviet interests in effective global economic management.

Japanese-American Parallel Studies Program

1) Arms Control and Security Panel

Since the last Board meeting, the Japanese panel on arms control and security issues met once in New York in May. On the agenda for discussion were four topics: the security environment in East Asia and its impact on US-Japanese bilateral relations; US and Japanese assessments of Soviet foreign policy in Asia; nuclear strategies and arms control policies; and crisis prevention and conflict management. Papers were prepared by both US and Japanese participants and will be included in a volume entitled Geopolitics and Strategy in East Asia: Testing the US-Japanese Alliance to be published next year. The US delegation was chaired by the late Ambassador Richard Sneider and the Japanese side was chaired by Toshiaki Ogasawara, the new President of the Asia Pacific Association of Japan, UNA's counterpart group. Other members of the Japanese delegation included the President of Seiko, several top advisors to Prime Minister Nakasone, and other top businessmen.

Both US and Japanese groups had the opportunity to hear Mark Palmer, former Deputy Assistant Secretary of State in the Bureau of European and Canadian Affairs and Ambassador-Designate to Hungary, speak on Soviet strategic objectives in Asia, and to listen to Richard Solomon, Director of the Policy Planning Staff at the Department of State, discuss nuclear dilemmas and Asian security.

2) The Future of the Global Economy

The Japanese and American economic groups met in May, following the meeting on arms control and security issues. The groups discussed macroeconomic issues, trade adjustment policies, the impact of the newly industrialized countries (NICs) on the global trading system, and the role of the US and Japan in strengthening the global economy.

Prior to the May Tokyo Economic Summit, UNA and the APAJ published a Joint Statement which called for greater macroeconomic policy coordination by the two governments. The Joint Statement received wide press coverage in the US and Japan and served as the basis for several Washington briefings, one involving Deputy Secretary of State John Whitehead and another Dante Fascell, Chairman of the House Foreign Affairs Committee.

In the future, the focus of the arms control component of the program will shift to an emphasis on US-Japanese relations and the Soviet Union. The chairmen of the panel on the study of policy towards the Soviet Union will be former National Security Advisor McGeorge Bundy and former Japanese Ambassador to the United States Yoshio Okawara. Meetings of both the economic and security groups will be held in Tokyo in May 1987.

3) Parallel Studies Program with the PRC

Ambassador Elliot Richardson visited Beijing in November to lay the groundwork for joint sessions with the Beijing Institute on International Strategic Studies (BIISS) and the Chinese UN Association to be held in early Spring 1987. Through contacts with Bi Jilong, President of the Chinese UNA, we are finalizing an agenda on UN-related topics including the UN's role in the maintenance of peace and security, and UN finances, decisionmaking and management. UNA is also working closely with the Deputy Chairman of BIISS, General Xu Xin, to discuss arms control and security issues with particular emphasis given to Chinese-American-Soviet relations, Soviet strategy and Asian security, regional issues, and the interrelationship between regional and global arms control negotiations.

The exchanges on UN questions are particularly exciting because they are the first to be held with the newly-formed Chinese UNA. They will explore Chinese perceptions of its role in the world organization and ways to enhance contacts between our two Associations. Given the importance UNA-USA attaches to the strengthening of multilateral institutions in general, and the UN in particular, working with the Chinese UN Association will allow UNA-USA to reach a group of policymakers in China who were previously unavailable through the discussions with BIISS on security issues.

Conclusion

UNA provides an excellent forum for dialogue between high-level experts on arms control, security, economic topics, and the UN, and for involving in these discussions groups of experts and concerned citizens not normally exposed to such substantive exchanges.

Looking ahead, UNA-USA will continue to expand both the policy-oriented discussions of these critically important issues and broaden the dialogue with the informed general public of these three countries.

Report of the Economic Policy Council

Daniel F. Burton, Executive Director

The Economic Policy Council has had a busy year and has a full schedule ahead. The EPC opened 1986 with its eleventh annual Plenary Session, which was held in Washington, D.C. on January 16th and 17th. The panel on the Newly Emerging Industrial Countries is continuing its deliberations and is reviewing preliminary drafts of its report. The EPC also launched a new panel on Visions for the 1990s: Managing Adjustment in the International Information Age. And the Family Policy Panel released its final report in January of this year and a companion book in October.

I. 1986 Plenary Session

Over one hundred people attended the Plenary and the policy discussions were covered by television, radio, and several major newspapers.

The EPC Plenary program began with a policy dinner on Capitol Hill on January 16th. Senators Daniel P. Moynihan, Richard G. Lugar and Charles McC. Mathias joined in an informal roundtable discussion on the new pressures facing American workers and the search for appropriate human resource policies. The discussion focused primarily on the EPC's report on Work and Family in the United States: A Policy Initiative and the need to address the widespread socioeconomic changes that have reshaped the workplace and the family.

On January 17th substantive sessions were held at the Madison Hotel. Three different, but interrelated topics were on the agenda. The first session dealt with US Policy toward the Newly Emerging Industrial Countries. Ambassador Tommy Koh of Singapore, Thornton Bradshaw (former Chairman of RCA), Elliot L. Richardson and Richard N. Cooper (Maurits Boas Professor of International Economics, Harvard University) led-off the discussion by focusing on the evolving role of the NICs and the need for the US to recognize their emergence as important players in the world economy and to differentiate among them concerning their individual characteristics. The Council is conducting a major panel study on this topic and will be releasing its report next year.

The second policy session focused on "The US in the International Information Age." The Economic Policy Council's co-chairmen Robert O. Anderson and Douglas A. Fraser gave major addresses, while Henry Kaufman and Jack Sheinkman made commentaries on the emergence of the post-industrial economy. The speakers all concurred that if the US is to meet the competitive challenges of the coming decade, we need to enhance our understanding of the major bottlenecks and opportunities we face in an increasingly competitive international economy.

The Plenary concluded with a luncheon session that featured W. Allen Wallis, Under Secretary for Economic Affairs, Department of State, as the keynote speaker. His address focused on "The Facts and Fallacies of the US Economy." Ray Marshall (former Secretary of Labor) followed-up with commentary that prompted a lively discussion about the merits of current US international economic policy.

II. Progress of EPC Panels

The EPC panel on the Newly Emerging Industrial Countries, co-chaired by Thornton Bradshaw and Robert D. Hormats (Vice President for International Corporate Finance, Goldman, Sachs & Company) met throughout the year with various experts in an effort to develop appropriate US policy recommendations for our changing economic relationships with the NICs. At the panel's January 17th meeting, Ambassador Tommy Koh of Singapore was the guest speaker. On March 27th the panel met with Ambassador Michael Smith, Deputy US Trade Representative, and Donor Lion, Deputy Assistant Administrator, Bureau for Program and Policy Coordination and Chief Economist, Agency for International Development (AID) to discuss US trade, debt and foreign investment with the NICs and the near-NICs. At the May 19th meeting, the panel discussed US economic and trade policy with Bruce Smart, Under Secretary of International Trade, US Department of Commerce, and Jay Mazur, International President, International Ladies' Garment Workers Union. On September 25th, panel members met with Professor Robert F. Dernberger, University of Michigan and East-West Center, Hawaii, and Professor R.S. Eckaus of M.I.T., gave presentations on the emergence of China and India as potentially major players on the international economic scene. The final panel meeting will be held on November 20th to review the draft of the panel's report.

The new EPC panel on Vision for the 1990s: Managing Adjustment in the International Information Age, co-chaired by Victor Gotbaum (Executive Director, District Council 37, American Federation of State, County & Municipal Employees, AFL-CIO) and Felix Rohatyn (General Partner, Lazard Freres & Company), held its first meeting on June 4th. The panel discussed the issues confronting the US economy as it enters the 1990s and considered the areas it might pursue for further study. The second panel meeting was held on October 14th. At this session, presentations were given by Admiral Bobby Inman, President of MCC Corporation, and Pat Choate, Director of Policy Analysis at TRW, Inc. The next panel meeting is December 3rd.

III. Publications

The Family Policy Panel's report, Work and Family in the United States: A Policy Initiative, was released in January. This study, co-chaired by Alice Ilchman, President, Sarah Lawrence College, and John Sweeney, International President, Service Employees International Union, AFL-CIO-CLC, has received extensive press coverage and has also enjoyed a tremendous reception from government officials and unions and companies seeking to revise their human resource policies. Articles on the report have appeared in papers across the country, including The New York Times, The Washington Post, USA Today, The Boston Globe, The Chicago Tribune, The LA Times, and The Cleveland Plain Dealer. Due to the great demand for this panel report, it went into a second printing in March.

The Family Policy Panel book, a companion to the report, was published in October by Ballinger Publishing Company. This volume, entitled Family and Work: Bridging the Gap, is edited by Sylvia Ann Hewlett, Alice S. Ilchman, and John J. Sweeney, and contains chapters on family and work issues in both the United States and other advanced industrialized countries. Topics covered range from Senator Moynihan's thoughtful piece on "Government and Family Policy" to Olga Baudelot's description of "Child Care in France," and Governor Mario M. Cuomo's compelling chapter, "The Least of These." This book has already elicited comments from leading government figures, including Secretary of Labor William Brock, who stated that, "The book discusses a variety of issues that are, and will continue to be, extremely important to society at large..." and Congresswoman Patricia Schroeder, who remarked, "Family policy is the issue of the 80s. This book tells you why."

IV. Outreach

Alice Ilchman (President, Sarah Lawrence College), the EPC Family Policy Panel co-chair, was a guest speaker at a press conference hosted by Senator Christopher Dodd in Connecticut on September 22nd. Senator Dodd praised Dr. Ilchman for her leadership of the panel and her work on its report, which helped to focus national attention on work and family issues. Plans are also underway for an outreach program with UNA chapters to discuss the important issues contained in the Family Policy report with panel members.

Report on Field Department Activities

Peggy Sanford Carlin, Senior Vice President

Chapters and Divisions- James M. Olson, National Field Director

Personnel. James M. Olson assumed the position of National Field Director on February 3, 1986, succeeding Kevin Canavan. Jim Olson has experience as a UNA-USA chapter president and division officer, as Executive Director of the Unitarian Universalist United Nations Office, and as a member of the UNA-USA Board of Directors.

James P. Muldoon, Jr. began serving as Assistant Field Director on August 1. He was Secretary-General of the Midwest Model UN and worked with the American Enterprise Institute and the White House before joining UNA-USA. His duties include coordination of the National United Nations Day program and the Model United Nations and Youth Department, as well as assisting Jim Olson with chapter/division development.

Membership. The membership of UNA-USA grew by 2% during the first six months of 1986. In addition to routine solicitation of current members, we have established a procedure for soliciting former members. A new membership brochure was issued in mid-March.

The Board of Governors formed a Membership Development Task Force, chaired by Dr. Wilbert LeMelle, to prepare recommendations on ways to enlarge and diversify the membership of UNA-USA. The Task Force has met twice, and expects to make a report to the Board of Governors in 1987.

Chapters and Divisions. As of November 1, 1986, UNA-USA has 168 chapters and divisions. Five new chapters have been added during this year: Berrien County, Michigan; Richmond/Berea, Kentucky; Ocala, Florida; Southern Oregon (including the cities of Medford, Ashland, and Klamath Falls); and Westport, Connecticut. Chapters are in formation in Kentucky, Alaska, Nevada, and Michigan.

A new system of Quarterly Mailings to chapters and divisions was launched in July. This system is designed to improve communication between the national office and chapters and among chapters.

The field staff has made personal visits to ninety chapters and divisions during 1986. During the visits the field staff meets with students, the local media, and the members and leaders of the chapter. Membership development, action on the UN funding crisis, and implementation of the Multilateral Project are emphasized.

A new edition of the 120-page "Chapter and Division Leaders' Handbook" was published in September.

The Council of Chapter and Division Presidents, chaired by Ann Fouts of Lansing, Michigan, held its Annual Meeting June 30 - July 3 in Menlo Park, California. Over 100 chapters and divisions were represented. York Langton of Minnesota received the Arnold Goodman Award for field leadership at this meeting.

Plans for the 1987 Annual Meeting of the CCDP are well underway. The meeting will be held April 2 - 5 in Washington, DC, and will feature sessions on the UN's International Conference on Drug Abuse and Illicit Trafficking (June 1987). It is hoped that the CCDP meeting will prepare UNA chapters to lead community coalitions to implement the recommendations of the UN Conference.

Chapters and divisions continue to play an important role in the Association's campaign to deal with the UN's financial crisis. Individual members and chapters contributed generously to a special appeal for funds to finance the campaign. Virtually every chapter and division has sent communications to members of Congress or encouraged their members to do so. Other activities include op-ed pieces, forums, personal visits to members of Congress, and questionnaires submitted to candidates for office.

Multilateral Project. The work of ninety chapters is represented in the final consensus report of the 1986 Multilateral Project study on international cooperation for the peaceful uses of outer space. Many chapters are making plans to participate in the 1987 study.

Representatives of chapters and divisions in Syracuse, NY; Minneapolis, MN; Maplewood, NJ; Frankfort, KY; Pasadena, CA; Washington, DC; Utica, NY; and Monterey, CA traveled to Vienna and Washington, April 27 - May 2 for a follow-up trip to the 1983-84 study on nuclear non-proliferation. In addition, six journalists, recommended by the participating chapters, accompanied the group.

In 1987 chapters and divisions will participate in several Multilateral Project follow-up activities. In March they will participate in a lecture tour by former IAEA Deputy Director David Fischer. Two activities will build on the 1985 study of the role of the UN in containing conflict: a study tour in April will visit UN Headquarters and Washington, and a national teleconference in the autumn or early winter will link at least eight regional conferences sponsored by UNA chapters and divisions across the country.

National United Nations Day Program - James P. Muldoon, Assistant Field Director

The 1986 United Nations Day program focused on the theme of the Multilateral Project: international cooperation for the peaceful uses of outer space. Over 500 mayors and governors appointed UN Day chairpersons -- double last year's total. Several hundred more communities observed UN Day.

The National United Nations Day Chairperson, Roger Birk, was featured in a television public service announcement aired on ABC, the Group W Stations, and the Turner Broadcasting Network. The production costs were donated by Merrill, Lynch & Co.

Plans are underway to expand and improve the national United Nations Day program, which is UNA's largest public outreach program.

Model United Nations and Youth Department

UNA's services and publications to those who run Model United Nations classes, conferences and clubs include the publication of the Model United Nations Survival Kit (including the Guide to Delegate Preparation) and a calendar of MUN Conferences.

In June the annual Model UN Secretariat Seminar was held in New York for student secretaries-general and faculty advisors. The 1987 seminar will be held June 5 - 7.

The goals of this department include upgrading the preparation of MUN participants, and building bridges between MUN programs and UNA chapters in order to bring young people into our chapters.

Council of Organizations - Carol Christian, Director for Field Administration

During 1986, many of the national organizations affiliated with UNA-USA's Council of Organizations, concentrated their UN-related efforts on the UN financial crisis. Beginning in early March, we sent organizations alerts--UNAGRAMs--on Congressional action affecting U.S. contributions to the UN regular budget, together with packets of background information. These included sample letters to Members of Congress, sample editorials and other information. Organizations' response was immediate. Several requested large numbers of information packets from UNA for distribution to their own affiliates. Among organizations who reported their actions to us were:

- Friends Committee on National Legislation
- Interfaith Action for Economic Justice
- Women's International League for Peace and Freedom
- International Advertising Association
- Union of American Hebrew Congregations
- Unitarian Universalist UN Office
- National Spiritual Assembly of the Baha'is of the U.S.
- American Association of Retired Persons
- American Association of University Women
- Business Council for the UN
- International Association of Lions Clubs
- League of Women Voters
- National Council of Catholic Women
- National Council of Women of the U.S.
- SANE (resolutions adopted at national convention)
- United Methodist Church/Board of Global Ministries - Women's Division
- World Federalist Association (resolution adopted at national convention)
- YMCA
- YWCA

Judging by the number of phone calls and inquiries received from local organizations all over the country, the message was received and acted on by large numbers of people. As always, there is never enough feedback to evaluate precisely what influence action by national and local organizations had on lawmakers and the Administration. But, combined with the sustained efforts of chapters, divisions and individual members, organizations helped greatly in changing the climate vis-a-vis the UN, and in proving that there is a constituency for the United Nations in the U.S.

A mailing, planned to reach organizations on or about December 1st, will contain an update on the UN financial situation and outline further steps to be taken.

Since early spring, UNA staff members have addressed meetings and conferences of organizations about the UN crisis, and have put the subject on the agenda of several organizations' conferences.

Lions Day With the United Nations, 1986 and 1987

In addressing close to 200 leaders of the International Association of Lions Clubs last March 10, the Secretary-General of the United Nations gave detailed information on the state of the UN's financial situation. He took note that on the same day, Lions Clubs all over the world were focusing their programs on the United Nations in collaboration with UN agencies, UN Information Centres, UN Resident Representatives and UNAs. This was a first in the Lions organization's UN activities, initiated and arranged by UNA-USA. The 9th Annual Lions Day With the United Nations will take place on March 2, 1987, with a program concentrating heavily on the Lions' work in fighting drug abuse.

UN Seminar for Executive Committee of the National Education Association

The governing body of the NEA, the Executive Committee, composed of 25 educators, will come to the United Nations on March 20th for a full-day seminar session. The organization, with a membership of 1,750,000 classroom teachers, has had an excellent cooperative relationship with UNA-USA for many years. This will be the second visit of the Executive Committee to the UN within three years.

The NEA has been very helpful in distributing UNA's Multilateral Project Publications to its International Relations Committees in all 50 States, and in publicizing UNA's High School Essay Contest in 1985.

Conference of UN Representatives

In June, 1986, the leadership of the Conference of UN Representatives passed from the competent hands of Edith Segall (League of Women Voters) to Mary Purcell, former President of the American Association of University Women. The Conference's Annual Meeting, at which Ms. Purcell was elected, was arranged by Edith Segall and focused primarily on the UN's financial crisis. Ed Luck spoke at the meeting and asked for the support of non-governmental organizations in UNA's campaign; other speakers were Peggy Galey, Staff Consultant, U.S. House Committee on Foreign Relations; Bernard Roshco, Director, Office of Plans and Opinion Analysis, State Department, Bureau of Public Affairs; Robert Manoff, Co-founder, Center for War, Peace and News Media; Sandy Sedacca, Director of Community Programs, Foreign Policy Association; and Kofi A. Annan, Director of the Budget, United Nations.

A Working Group of the Conference, chaired by Colleen Sullivan, took on the study of the Multilateral Project on Outer Space. An "Open Hearing" was held for the entire membership of the Conference of UN Reps. to hear their views and comments for inclusion in the Conference's final report.

Under Mary Purcell's leadership, an Orientation Course for new national non-governmental organizations' UN representatives was planned for November 18th, to help new NGOs become effective representatives of their organizations at the United Nations. Part of the program highlighted UNA's work on the UN Management and Decision-making project and updated the group on latest Washington actions affecting the United Nations.

Council of Washington Representatives on the UN

During 1985-86, the Council of Washington Representatives on the UN moved into the area of co-sponsorship of their luncheon programs with other organizations, with the Council making the arrangements and co-sponsoring organizations helping with promotion.

A series of luncheon meetings during the program year heard prominent speakers on the topics of "Long Term Planning for Food Security," "OPEC's Role in Development" and "UNESCO - One Year Later." The Swiss Ambassador to the U.S. explained his country's vote against membership in the United Nations at an April luncheon.

Ambassador Vernon Walters was introduced to a large Washington NGO audience shortly after he took office at a late afternoon meeting, co-sponsored by the Council, the Foreign Policy Association and UNA's Capital Area Division.

The Council combined with the UNA Capital Area Division in the study of the Multilateral Project on the peaceful uses of outer space. It also played a major role in preparations for the Washington consultation of the United Nations Fund for Population Activities. The rules of operation of the Council were updated to permit officers to serve two-year terms.

The Executive Committee of the Council welcomed Elliot Richardson at its meeting in March and pledged its full support to UNA-USA's campaign on behalf of UN funding.

William Jewett, Chairman of the Council, led a vigorous effort to find a successor. He and the Chairman of the Nominating Committee were successful in getting the agreement of Father Brian Hehir (U.S. Catholic Conference) to become Chairman. He was elected at the Council's Annual Meeting on November 13th.

National Essay Contest. The first National Essay Contest for high school students concluded in the spring of 1986 with honors going to Charlotte Veaux (Cape Coral, Florida), Kent Pekel (St. Paul, Minnesota), and Sarah S. Kiser (Erlanger, Kentucky). The prize recipients and their teachers were honored at the UNA's United Nations Dinner, June 3.

The 1987 Essay Contest will run at the local level in January and February, 1987 with presentation of the awards in New York City at UNA's spring event.

The funding for both years was provided by Ambassador Peter Dailey, the 1985 National United Nations Day Chairman.

World Federation of United Nations Associations

Peggy Sanford Carlin, Staff Liaison

Our membership in the World Federation of UN Associations brings with it benefits and difficulties. On the plus side is our good relationship with the new UNA of the People's Republic of China and our continuing parallel studies program with the UNA of the Soviet Union. Some of our chapters find the cooperation with other UNA's mutually productive and are looking to UNA's Field Department to act as marriage broker between third world UNA's and UNA-USA chapters.

On the troublesome side is our continuing problem in meeting our assessed WFUNA dues. UNA-USA pays a quarter of WFUNA's budget, or over \$50,000, at today's dollar rate. Last year, we paid WFUNA \$27,000 as part of its closing out our arrears for 1983 and most of 1984. We made a serious stab at catching up with our payments for 1985 and have, in fact, paid \$40,000 to WFUNA this year for the last of the '84 and most of the '85 dues, leaving about \$18,000 to be paid for '85. We owe all of 1986.

The situation is vexing because we simply cannot meet the WFUNA dues of \$50,000 from the amount assessed each UNA member. Our regular members pay \$2 each toward WFUNA; Retirees and Youth members each pay \$1. Because of the shift from regular to retiree member and the (happy) influx of youth members, the amount we projected to meet our WFUNA dues has fallen far short of expectations. We raise about \$15,000 to \$16,000 from these sources, leaving \$35,000 to be met from UNA's general funds.

Sidney Willner, Helen Muller and Hilary Barrat-Brown continue their generous giving toward our WFUNA dues but, in the long run, something needs to be done to turn the situation around.

Christopher Phillips, the UNA-USA member of the WFUNA Executive Committee and Sidney Willner, Honorary President of WFUNA, attended the Executive Committee meeting in March, in Warsaw, Poland, and the European Regional Conference, held in East Berlin, German Democratic Republic. Two items preoccupied the Executive Committee: WFUNA's serious financial condition and the admission of the UNA of Afghanistan to the World Federation. The latter has not yet been resolved to the satisfaction of several UNAs, notably those of Canada and the USA; the former almost caused WFUNA to close its doors last May. However, a last-minute rescue attempt by several UNAs, including UNA-USA, saved it from that fate.

At the last Biennial Plenary Assembly of WFUNA in 1985 in Geneva, Ed Luck, as head of the UNA-USA delegation, submitted proposals for restructuring the Plenary Assembly to make it more responsive to the UN's needs as put forward in the Secretary-General's Report, and less of an arena for political controversy. He also suggested several steps to reduce the cost of the Plenary Assembly and the cost of attending it. So far, only scant attention has been paid to the proposals, though several delegations have assured us of their support.

At the request of the Board of Governors, a small WFUNA Review Committee has been set up to review UNA-USA's relationship with the World Federation and make recommendations for the future. Chairing the Committee is Ambassador James F. Leonard, former President of UNA-USA and former Deputy Permanent Representative of the U.S. to the United Nations.

Report of the Publications Department

John Tessitore, Director of Publications

I. The InterDependent

For a year now the I.D. has been produced and mailed on schedule -- the second week of each alternating month. The November/December issue, including an exclusive interview with the new Soviet Permanent Representative to the United Nations, Alexander Belonogov, and a lead article on the forthcoming ABC mini-series AMERIKA, is scheduled to be mailed December 12.

II. Issues Before the 41st General Assembly

On September 9, precisely on schedule, we received our initial shipment of 4,000 copies of Issues/41. By October 1 all 4,000 copies had been sold and shipped, and an additional 1,000 copies were received. These were sold before the end of October, and we have since received a third shipment of 1,500 -- 6,500 copies in all. I anticipate that, at an average selling price of \$8.00 (taking into account volume and membership discounts), we shall realize income of some \$50,000. This is somewhat higher than in earlier years, due, I believe, primarily to the earlier availability date and a modest publicity effort begun in August.

As to our arrangement with Lexington Books, the publishers of Issues/41, I am very impressed with their quality and commitment to schedule and recommend we continue the arrangement initiated this year.

III. Editors' Seminar at the U.N.

The 12th Annual Editors' Seminar at the U.N. was held on September 15 and 16. The event attracted some 70 editors from around the country, and from all indications (i.e., verbal comments, letters, newspaper articles on the U.N.) it was very well received.

Guest panelists and speakers included a large number of ambassadors and senior U.N. officials. Indeed, U.N. personnel were extremely cooperative during the preparation of this regularly scheduled event, and, of course, it was largely funded by the U.N. Department of Public Information.

IV. Fact Sheets

Three new fact sheets and two revisions are in production and will be available in early December:

- *1987: The U.N. International Year of Shelter for the Homeless
- *The U.N. and the World's Women: The Decade and Beyond
- *The U.N. Fight Against Drug Abuse
- *Financing the U.N. (revised)
- *The U.N. at a Glance (revised)

V. Annual Report

In 1986 we accelerated the production of our annual report by many months, with finished product in-house in early May. This year we shall move that date up still further, with expected delivery by mid-April. Particular attention will be paid to producing a document compatible with and supportive of UNA's fund-raising efforts.

VI. Multilateral Project and Other Publications

The Publications Department oversees preparation and provides production of all Multilateral Project publications: flyers, Briefing Books, and Final Reports. Similarly, we have copyedited and supervised production of all papers produced by the U.N. Management and Decision-making Project. We have provided similar copyediting, design, and production services to all UNA departments throughout the year.

Report on Special Events
and the Corporate Council for International Policy

Stanley Raisen, Director of Special Events

The 1986 National UN Day Inaugural Dinner commemorated the 41st anniversary of the UN and included the presentations of the first National High School Essay Contest Awards sponsored by the United Nations Association, through the generosity of Ambassador Peter Dailey. Ambassador Herbert S. Okun, Deputy Representative to the United Nations made the presentations.

Also included in the speaking program were Secretary-General Perez de Cuellar, Elliot Richardson, the 1986 National UN Day Chairman Roger E. Birk, (the Chairman Emeritus of Merrill Lynch & Co.) and a keynote address by President Reagan's Chief of Staff, The Hon. Donald T. Regan.

The guests were also treated to a slide presentation with commentary by the Executive Director of The Planetary Society, Dr. Louis D. Friedman.

The income from the Dinner, held on June 3rd at the New York Hilton, fell short of our projections by \$42,500. This can, in part, be attributed to the fact that the effectiveness of the UN Day Chairman in soliciting the corporate and financial community was diminished by his retirement from the active leadership of his firm. We also were unable to secure a Dinner Chairman to lend additional fundraising support for the event.

The 28th Annual UN Ball, in honor of the Secretary-General, the President of the Forty-First General Assembly and the Permanent Representatives to the United Nations on October 17th at the Waldorf, also fell short of our projections by \$10,000. Our Chairman, Dr. Anthony J. O'Reilly, the President and CEO of H.J. Heinz Company, was out of the country during almost all of the campaign period and was concurrently involved in other fundraising activities.

On the other hand, the Chairman of the Washington Concert & Dinner on October 25th, Donald Petersen, Chairman of the Ford Motor Company, made all of his top suppliers available to us for solicitation over his signature. He was also assisted by Roberto Goizueta, Chairman of the Coca-Cola Company, who served as Chairman of our Salute to UNICEF on its 40th Anniversary. Their combined efforts resulted in our raising a net of \$125,000 over our projected income.

The week-end activities included a Friday evening reception in the Diplomatic Rooms of the State Department, in honor of James Grant, Executive Director of UNICEF, on the occasion of his agency's 40th anniversary. Participating in the program that evening were Elliot Richardson, Donald Petersen, Deputy Secretary John Whitehead, Ambassador Alan Keyes, and Mr. Grant.

The Concert in the Kennedy Center, on October 25th, featured Cleo Laine and the John Dankworth quartet. Preceding the entertainment, brief remarks were made by Elliot Richardson, Donald Petersen, Deputy Secretary of State John Whitehead, and UNICEF Goodwill Ambassador Danny Kaye. The Dinner which followed in the International Ballroom of the Washington Hilton featured dance music by Lester Lanin and his orchestra.

The total net income for 1986's Special Events is \$75,000 over the projected income.

The Corporate Council for International Policy presented several interesting dinner meetings this year, highlighted with presentations by the Chairman of the Federal Reserve System, Paul Volcker, and by the United States Trade Representative, Ambassador Clayton Yeutter. The lack of a Chairman for the CCIP, retirements and corporate mergers have resulted in a dwindling membership for the CCIP, however. The total anticipated income this year is \$46,500.

Report on the Capital Campaign and Short Term Funding

Bonnie Bailer, Director-Capital Campaign

I. The Capital Campaign

At its meetings in June and October, the Board of Governors discussed the possibility of launching a major Capital Campaign, a central goal of which would be to establish an endowment fund to insure the future financial stability of UNA's ongoing programs and to permit the undertaking of new initiatives. The anticipated duration of the one-time Capital Campaign is five years. A specific target has not yet been set, but it may be reasonable to aim for one-half of the total from the business community, one-quarter from an intensive deferred giving campaign and one-quarter from the Board of Directors, individual donors, private foundations and UNA's membership. The initial thrust has been to develop background information on the corporate side of the campaign since it might represent one-half of our eventual goal.

A series of meetings have been held with Board members, corporate executives and fundraising professionals to enlist their advice and support and, at the same time to recruit members for the Corporate Campaign Committee. While this Committee is only in the early stages of formation, John Bierwirth, Bill Laughlin, John Petty, Arthur Ross, Richard Schmeelk and Brent Scowcroft have already agreed to serve. Richard Schmeelk has agreed to assume the additional responsibility of chairing the Investment Committee which will oversee all Endowment Fund investments made by the Fund's professional managers.

Among the preparatory steps that have been undertaken so far are the following:

- A select group of chief executive officers have been targeted and researched as potential candidates to chair the Capital Campaign. However, no one has yet been approached about heading the effort.
- Ideas for new program initiatives have been developed by the director of each UNA program department. A series of quotes and working slogans were compiled for the brainstorming sessions on the packaging of the campaign which took place on October 27th and 28th.
- A UNA-USA Board of Directors Profile has been compiled which includes UNA giving history, biographies, affiliations, etc. A more concise chart on the Directors compares their 1985 and 1986 contributions.
- A Corporate Campaign card file has been set up which includes UNA-USA contributors, the remaining Fortune 500 industrial companies plus most of the 300 non-industrial, major foreign firms operating the U.S., other companies which contribute to any of the following organizations: Brookings Institute, Business Council for the U.N., Council on Foreign Relations, Center for Strategic Studies at Georgetown University and the Japan Society.
- Major corporations were researched to ascertain the percentage of their income derived from exporting as well as foreign sales. Campaign files have also been developed in private foundations, unions and associations for both donors and non-donors.
- Materials have been gathered and meetings attended regarding the structuring of a comprehensive program involving bequests, annuities, gifts of life insurance and pooled income.

On October 27th and 28th, two brainstorming sessions were held which focused on the most effective capital campaign marketing approaches for the UNA. It was determined that before officially launching this campaign, a professional strategic plan should be developed. Bill Laughlin, former chairman of SAGA Corporation, hosted these events and has taken a leading role in spurring the effort to develop a more substantial and reliable financial foundation on which to build UNA's future. Harry Knight, a long-time Board member and Vice Chairman of the Association, has organized and hosted two luncheons with business leaders and management consultants aimed at building interest in and support for the campaign.

II. Short Term Funding

In an effort to raise funding for the 1987 Multilateral Project: "Food on the Table - Seeking Global Solutions to Chronic Hunger," proposals were sent to ten private foundations and 82 major corporations in food/agriculture related industries, including 10 foreign firms doing business in the United States, in October. In addition, a select group of chapters that will be participating locally were asked to write to those corporations headquartered or with major operations in their communities. The letter was drafted and telephone contact made by Jim Olson and J.P. Muldoon. This constitutes a first step toward joint fundraising with our chapters.

Several year-end appeals are under way in an effort to reduce the possibilities of a substantial deficit for the year and to increase the funding base of some ongoing programs. An appeal focusing on the impact UNA has had on U.S. policies toward the UN and on the implications of the U.N.'s financial crisis was sent to 100 corporations supportive of the U.N., 35 of which were former UNA donors. A second appeal, focusing on UNA's Japanese-American Dialogue on the Future of the Global Economy, was sent to past supporters of the Policy Studies Program as well as to other corporations that have shown a particular interest in Japan.

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 Orville L. Freeman
Chairman, National Council
 Cyrus R. Vance
Vice Chairmen
 Ruth J. Hinerfeld
 Past President, League of Women Voters, USA

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

Jean Picker
 US Representative, UN Commission
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 Managing Director & Member of the
 Executive Committee
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Co-Chairmen, Economic Policy Council
 Robert O. Anderson
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 Atlantic Richfield Company

Douglas A. Fraser
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 Nevas, Nevas & Rubin

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Edith B. Segall
 Chairman, Conference of UN Representatives

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

Helmut Sonnenfeldt
 Guest Scholar, The Brookings Institution

Michael Witunski
 President, James S. McDonnell Foundation

United Nations Association of the United States of America



300 East 42nd Street, New York, NY 10017
 212-697-3232
 Cable: UNASAMER

President
 Edward C. Luck

Founding Chairman
 Robert S. Benjamin
 1909-1979

Chairman Emeritus
 James S. McDonnell
 1899-1980

Honorary Chairman
 Arthur J. Goldberg

National Chairman, UN Day 1986
 (By appointment of
 the President of the U.S.A.)
 Roger E. Birk, Chairman Emeritus
 Merrill Lynch & Co., Inc.

November 18, 1986

MEMORANDUM

TO: Board of Directors and National Council

FROM: Edward C. Luck

SUBJECT: Annual Meeting, December 2, 1986

As previously announced, the Annual Meeting of the UNA-USA Board of Directors and National Council will be held from 9:00 a.m. to 3:30 p.m. on Tuesday, December 2nd. A light lunch will be served, as will coffee and danish in the morning.

This will be an especially critical session, given the very deep financial and political crisis facing the UN. We need your ideas on how UNA can best play a constructive and forceful role in helping to turn this crisis into an opportunity to strengthen the UN and the US role in it.

As the enclosed agenda indicates, we can look forward to presentations by and discussion with several of the key actors from the UN and US sides of this drama. In addition, you will have an opportunity to shape our budgetary and programmatic priorities for the upcoming year. A packet of background materials will be sent to you in the next few days.

Please indicate on the enclosed reply card whether you can attend. Attendance, of course, is expected of every Director at this once-a-year meeting.

Thanks very much and we will look forward to seeing you.
 All the best.

Senior Vice President
 Peggy Sanford Carlin

Vice President
Policy Studies
 Toby Trister Gati

Vice President
Economic Studies
 Sylvia Ann Hewlett

Assistant Treasurer
and Controller
 Louis J. Provenza

Director
Special Events
 Stanley Raisen



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

AGENDA

ANNUAL BOARD OF DIRECTORS MEETING

9:00 a.m. to 3:30 p.m., Tuesday, December 2, 1986

at the

United Engineering Center
345 East 47th Street, New York City

Elliot L. Richardson, Chairman

- I. Call to Order and Chairman's Opening Remarks
- II. Ratification of Minutes of Directors' Meeting of December 3, 1985
- III. "UN in Crisis: Prospects for Reform and Renewal," an Open-ended Discussion with: Ambassador Tom Eric Vraalsen
Permanent Representative of Norway to the UN
Chairman, Group of Eighteen

Ambassador Kishore Mahbubani
Permanent Representative of Singapore to the UN
Member, Group of Eighteen

Philip A. Odeen
Regional Managing Partner, Coopers & Lybrand
Member, UNA-USA International Panel on
UN Management and Decision-making
- IV. UNA on the Move: Program Reports and Discussion with Staff
- V. Membership Development: Discussion with Dr. Wilbert LeMelle,
President of Mercy College and Chairman
of UNA-USA Membership Development Task Force
- VI. 1987 UNA-USA Budget: Review and Action
- VII. Building a Strong Foundation: Steps Toward Launching a UNA-USA Capital Campaign
- VIII. Luncheon Address by Ambassador Alan L. Keyes, US Assistant Secretary of State for International Organization Affairs (followed by question and answer period)
- IX. Other Business

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Chairman, Board of Governors
Orville L. Freeman
Chairman, National Council
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Vice Chairman
Ruth I. Hinerfeld
Past President, League of Women Voters, USA

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Treasurer
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Chairman, Marine Midland Bank, N.A.
Chairman, Finance & Budget Committee
Ivan Selin
Chairman, American Management Systems, Inc.
Co-Chairmen, Economic Policy Council

Robert O. Anderson
Chairman of the Executive Committee
Atlantic Richfield Company

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President Emeritus
International Union—United Auto Workers
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Roger E. Birk, Chairman Emeritus
Merrill Lynch & Co., Inc.

November 17, 1986

MEMORANDUM

TO: Board of Directors and National Council

FROM: Edward C. Luck

SUBJECT: Draft 1987 Budget for Action at the
December 2nd Meeting

A draft budget for 1987, with comparisons to our 1986 budget, is enclosed for discussion and action at the December 2nd meeting. This draft budget was approved by the Board of Governors on October 28th for submission to the Board of Directors for its action. Please note the new format, which lists the 1986 budget figures (as approved by the Board last December) next to the proposed 1987 figure, to make comparisons easier. As you can see, there are variances in a number of areas, but the basic shape of the program in 1987 will be similar to that for this year.

It is too early to know precisely where we will stand financially at the end of this year. I am very concerned, however, that we might well be facing a six figure deficit after two years of balanced budgets. The problem, as always, is more on the income side than in expenditures, which once again should be less than projected for the year. While it is too early to predict our year-end result with any degree of certainty, my guess is that we will face a deficit this year of between \$100,000 and \$200,000.

1987 will be an especially challenging year for us financially, given our move to new offices at the beginning of the year and the expiration of several major multi-year program grants during the course of the year. On the plus side, our new capital and endowment campaign should be in full swing by mid-1987 since the groundwork has been laid this year. It will thus be important to budget very conservatively, even while recognizing the possibility of some income gains in the latter half of the year.

For 1986 we had projected a bit over \$3.3 million in income and expenditures. We now anticipate spending \$3.2 million or a bit more for the year compared to a probable income of between \$3 and \$3.1 million. Lou Provenzale and I

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have been working with our program heads to trim expenses wherever possible to bring our 1987 figures to near this range, despite the additional costs which we will have to absorb from our move and higher rent.

As you will see from the draft 1987 budget, we project slightly less expenditures next year than were projected for 1986. On the income side, we have included income from the capital campaign of \$250,000 which would be earmarked for 1987 program expenses derived from long-term gifts to particular programs (for the purposes of the 1987 budget, however, we have ignored any endowment income raised during the year or any possible income that would be produced from endowment funds raised during the course of the year). In addition, you will note a figure of \$257,000 in new funds required if we are to balance our 1987 budget. That figure compares with a figure of \$182,000 for the same purpose in the 1986 budget.

The key for next year clearly will be whether the new five-year capital campaign will get off to a successful start. If so, this budget is, in my estimation, a reasonable one, if not, then we will once again face problems on the income side of the budget and will have to weigh cutbacks during the course of the year.

In reviewing the draft budget, the Finance and Budget Committee, chaired by Ivan Selin, reached similar conclusions. The Committee expressed its appreciation that management has done everything possible to reduce the costs of carrying out UNA's integrated programs. The members are hopeful that the new capital campaign will allow the Association to maintain the strong momentum of its programs over the next two years. The Committee will monitor closely the progress of the campaign, whose success will be critical to the future of UNA. If the campaign is not successful, then major restructuring on the expenditure side of the budget will have to be considered, since no more significant reductions of expenditures are possible in the view of the Committee. At this point, therefore, the highest priority is to realize the full potential of this opportunity to put UNA on a much more solid financial base for the future.

UNA-USA, INC.
BUDGET COMPARISON
1987 V/S 1986

SECTION "A"

Column "A"	1987 Column "B"	1986 Column "B"	1987 Column "C"	1986 Column "C"	1987 Column "D"	1986 Column "D"	1987 Column "E"	1986 Column "E"	1987/1986 Variance Increase (Decrease)
PROGRAM ACTIVITIES	Gross Expenses	Gross Expenses	Restricted Fund Con- tributions	Restricted Fund Con- tributions	Self Generated Income	Self Generated Income	General Support Required	General Support Required	
EDUCATION, INFORMATION AND OUTREACH PROGRAM									
1. Chapters, Divisions, Membership and Dues									
A. Direct Services to Chapters & Divisions	113,400	147,885	8,000	--	347,000	331,900	51,965	116,955	(64,990)
B. Membership Records	107,965	116,470	--	--					
C. Membership Dues Returned to Chapters & Divisions	185,600	184,500	--	--					
2. Council of Organizations	71,770	104,240	11,500	6,500	27,000	24,600	33,270	73,140	(39,870)
3. UN Day Program	33,505	28,200	8,000	--	--	--	25,505	28,200	(2,695)
4. Global Education, Model UN and Youth Program	30,160	32,745	5,000	5,000	26,675	27,775	(1,515)	(30)	(1,485)
5. Convention Preparation	2,500	--	--	--	--	--	2,500	--	2,500
6. World Federation of UN Associations	42,000	42,000	7,500	--	18,000	18,000	16,500	24,000	(7,500)
7. <u>Total - Education, Information and Outreach Programs</u>	<u>586,900</u>	<u>656,040</u>	<u>40,000</u>	<u>11,500</u>	<u>418,675</u>	<u>402,275</u>	<u>128,225</u>	<u>242,265</u>	<u>(114,040)</u>
MULTILATERAL PROJECT: RESEARCH & OUTREACH									
8. Research and Development	59,760	--	--	--	--	--	59,760	--	59,760
9. Nuclear Non-Proliferation Project	32,000	89,605	32,000	128,000	--	--	--	(38,395)	38,395
10. U.N. Management and Decision Making	84,400	197,565	156,900	247,000	--	--	(72,500)	(49,435)	(23,065)
11. Outer Space Program	93,400	190,040	87,500	240,000	--	--	5,900	(49,960)	55,860
12. Regional Conflict Program	168,510	--	210,000	--	--	--	(41,490)	--	(41,490)
13. World Hunger Project	56,600	--	100,750	--	--	--	(44,150)	--	(44,150)
14. <u>Total-Multilateral Issues</u>	<u>494,670</u>	<u>477,210</u>	<u>587,150</u>	<u>615,000</u>	<u>--</u>	<u>--</u>	<u>(92,480)</u>	<u>(137,790)</u>	<u>45,310</u>
15. <u>WASHINGTON, D.C. - LIAISON OFFICE</u>	<u>83,080</u>	<u>71,195</u>	<u>--</u>	<u>--</u>	<u>3,600</u>	<u>3,500</u>	<u>79,480</u>	<u>67,695</u>	<u>11,785</u>
PRINTING AND PUBLICATIONS									
16. The Inter Dependent	76,290	66,460	1,000	1,000	1,500	1,500	73,790	63,960	9,830
17. Publications, Promotions and Sales	97,795	102,570	--	--	19,000	20,000	78,795	82,570	(3,775)
18. Issues Before the 42nd General Assembly	57,345	60,110	--	--	42,000	42,000	15,345	18,110	(2,765)
19. Editors' Seminar	28,325	30,420	14,900	18,200	--	--	13,425	12,220	1,205
20. <u>Total - Printing and Publications</u>	<u>259,755</u>	<u>259,560</u>	<u>15,900</u>	<u>19,200</u>	<u>62,500</u>	<u>63,500</u>	<u>181,355</u>	<u>176,860</u>	<u>4,495</u>
POLICY STUDIES PROGRAM: RESEARCH & OUTREACH									
21. Soviet-American Parallel Studies	127,980	156,680	200,000	210,000	1,000	1,500	(73,020)	(54,820)	(18,200)
22. East-Asian Project	167,730	176,355	195,000	215,000	1,000	1,500	(28,270)	(40,145)	11,875
23. <u>Total - Policy Studies Program</u>	<u>295,710</u>	<u>333,035</u>	<u>395,000</u>	<u>425,000</u>	<u>2,000</u>	<u>3,000</u>	<u>(101,290)</u>	<u>(94,965)</u>	<u>(6,325)</u>
24. ECONOMIC POLICY COUNCIL: RESEARCH & OUTREACH									
25. <u>Total - Program Expenses</u>	<u>1,906,065</u>	<u>1,997,955</u>	<u>1,268,600</u>	<u>1,320,700</u>	<u>488,775</u>	<u>473,275</u>	<u>148,690</u>	<u>203,980</u>	<u>(55,290)</u>
GENERAL ADMINISTRATIVE EXPENSES									
26. Executive Office and Board	99,680	88,655	--	--	--	--	99,680	88,655	11,025
27. Administrative Services	276,245	269,690	--	--	--	--	276,245	269,690	6,555
28. Rent, Light and Other Overhead	396,075	369,590	--	--	24,000	83,740	372,075	285,850	86,225
29. <u>Total - General Administrative Expenses</u>	<u>772,000</u>	<u>727,935</u>	<u>--</u>	<u>--</u>	<u>24,000</u>	<u>83,740</u>	<u>748,000</u>	<u>644,195</u>	<u>103,805</u>
30. <u>Sub-Total</u>	<u>2,678,065</u>	<u>2,725,890</u>	<u>1,268,600</u>	<u>1,320,700</u>	<u>512,775</u>	<u>557,015</u>			
NET EXPENSES TO BE COVERED BY GENERAL CONTRIBUTIONS							896,690	848,175	48,515

SECTION "B"

	Column "F"	1 9 8 7		1 9 8 6		1987/1986 Variance Increase (Decrease)	Net Change
		Column "G"	Column "H"	Column "G"	Column "H"		
	General Income						
1.	Net Expenses to be Covered by General Contributions	896,690		848,175		48,515	
2.	Contingencies						
	A. General	100,000		50,000		50,000	
	Net		996,690		898,175		98,515
3.	Income General						
4.	Special Events						
5.	Income	660,000		775,000			
6.	Expenses - Direct Costs	276,795		350,100			
7.	Net	383,205		424,900			
8.	Capital Campaign	250,000		--		(41,695)	
9.	General Contributions	105,000		70,000		250,000	
10.	Corporate Campaign and Annual Contributions	232,000		337,000		35,000	
11.	Projected Income from Corporate Council for International Policy (CCIP)	32,000		90,500		(105,000)	
12.	Net General Funds Available	1,002,205		922,400		(58,500)	
13.	Less Financial Development Expenses	262,590	739,615	207,030	715,370	79,805	24,245
14.	New Funds Required		257,075		182,805	55,560	74,270
15.	Summary						
16.	Grand Total Income		3,060,375		3,150,215		(89,840)
17.	Grand Total Expenses		3,317,450		3,333,020		(15,570)
18.	Deficit		257,075		182,805		74,270

1987 RECAP SUMMARY

INCOME - Section "A" Line 30, Column C	1,268,600
Section "A" Line 30, Column D	512,775
General Income	
Section "B" Line 5, Column G	660,000
Section "B" Line 8, Column G	250,000
Section "B" Line 9, Column G	105,000
Section "B" Line 10, Column G	232,000
Section "B" Line 11, Column G	32,000
<u>TOTAL INCOME - Section "B" Line 16, Column H</u>	<u>3,060,375</u>
EXPENSES -	
Section "A" Line 30, Column B	2,678,065
Section "B" Line 2, Column G	100,000
Section "B" Line 6, Column G	276,795
Section "B" Line 13, Column G	<u>262,590</u>
<u>TOTAL EXPENSES - Section "B" Line 17, Column H</u>	<u>3,317,450</u>

DRAFT MINUTES

UNA-USA BOARD OF DIRECTORS MEETING

TUESDAY, DECEMBER 3rd, 1985
United Engineering Center
New York City

ELLIOT L. RICHARDSON - CHAIRMAN

ATTENDING:

Michael Alexander, Charles F. Barber, Frank A. Bauman, Jean Benjamin, W. Tapley Bennett, Jr., Birdie Berenson, Christine Beshar, Ruth Bishop, Stephen M. Boyd, Durward Brannigan, R. Carroll Cannon, Marion Odell Carr, Buntzie Ellis Churchill, Ruth Steinkraus Cohen, Esther Coopersmith, Charles J. DiBona, Arthur T. Downey, William D. Eberle, Ethel Felts, Ann Fouts, Orville L. Freeman, Frankie Jacobs Gillette, Joy Guze, Mary Hall, Vernon Hathaway, Ruth J. Hinerfeld, Jordan Horvath, Jerome Jacobson, William A. Jewett, Clarice D. Kaufman, Harry W. Knight, William Korey, Wilbert J. LeMelle, David Lenefsky, James F. Leonard, Samuel W. Lewis, Estelle Linzer, Edward C. Luck, Carmel Carrington Marr, William Miller, Helen Muller, John M. Musser, Mary Lou Nelson, Leo Nevas, William Norman, Walter F. O'Connor, Mary Jane Patterson, Mildred Persinger, J. Wayne Reitz, Elliot L. Richardson, Nicholas Robinson, Burns W. Roper, Hilde Rosenthal, John Gerard Ruggie, Rabbi Alexander M. Schindler, Dorothy Schramm, Edith B. Segall, Robert L. Shafer, Robert F. Smylie, Sheldon Stahl, Ivette Valladares, William J. vanden Heuvel, Benjamin Wagner, J.B. Walling, Sidney H. Willner, C. L. Whitehill.

LUNCHEON SPEAKER:

Ambassador Stephen Lewis, Permanent Representative of Canada to the United Nations

GUEST SPEAKERS:

Ambassador Kishore Mahbubani, Permanent Representative of Singapore to the United Nations

Robert K. Boyer, Senior Staff Consultant to the Foreign Affairs Committee, U.S. House of Representatives

Richard Nygard, United States Mission to the United Nations

STAFF OFFICERS AND PARTICIPANTS:

Peggy S. Carlin, Senior Vice President
Toby Trister Gati, Vice President for Policy Studies
Louis Provenzale, Assistant Treasurer and Controller
Daniel S. Burton, Executive Director, Economic Policy Council

AGENDA ITEM I - CALL TO ORDER AND CHAIRMAN'S OPENING REMARKS

The meeting was called to order at 10:00 a.m. by the Chairman of the Association, Elliot Richardson, who welcomed the Directors. In his opening remarks, Ambassador Richardson noted that the Kassebaum amendment puts great pressure on the United States and other governments, as well as on the United Nations itself. The concern it reflected about the need to improve UN management was not restricted to the US Congress. UNA, in its study of UN management now underway, might also find fault with the UN. But it should be recognized that the Secretary-General has encouraged this kind of constructive study of ways to strengthen the UN.

In order to examine the implications of the Kassebaum amendment, UNA invited two guests to the meeting. The Chairman then introduced Richard Nygard of the US Mission to the United Nations, who represents the US on the Fifth (Administrative and Budgetary) Committee.

AGENDA ITEM II - "The UN and the Kassebaum Amendment: Implications for the Future"

Mr. Nygard pointed out that the Kassebaum amendment is not a brand new phenomenon. Similar amendments have been put before Congress over the past five years. However, it does reflect the concerns of Congress about the imbalance between financial responsibility and voting in the UN General Assembly. The amendment passed the Senate by an overwhelming majority, but the President signed it into law with substantial reservations. If specific budgetary changes do not occur by October 1st, the United States will withhold one-fifth of its contributions to the UN. A group of eminent persons has been appointed by the General Assembly to look at the administrative and budgetary practices of the UN. If the General Assembly enacts some of the recommendations, Congress may be willing to modify the Kassebaum amendment, but it is unlikely that the Congress will back off the issue now.

Ambassador Richardson then introduced Ambassador Kishore Mahbubani, the Permanent Representative of Singapore to the United Nations. He stressed that the UN acts as a mirror, which should not be blamed if we do not like what we see in it. Terming the spate of US attacks on the UN "tragic," Ambassador Mahbubani contended that we need multilateral institutions more than ever. He pointed out that the US would pay closer to 30 percent of the UN budget, instead of its present 25 percent, if it had to follow the same assessment formula as other countries. Moreover, the presence of the UN in New York brings in four times as much money (\$300 million) into the local community than the US is assessed for the regular UN budget (\$200 million). Besides, the US is hardly alone in urging managerial prudence at the UN and it is now time to stand by the UN -- a good friend -- in its time of need.

AGENDA ITEM III - RATIFICATION OF MINUTES OF DIRECTORS MEETING OF DECEMBER 3, 1984

The Chairman called on the Secretary, William vanden Heuvel, to present the Minutes of the Board of Directors' Meeting held on December 3, 1984. The Secretary called for ratification of the Minutes and a motion was made, seconded and approved to accept the Minutes.

AGENDA ITEM IV - PROGRAM DISCUSSION: ACCOMPLISHMENTS, SHORTFALLS, AND GOALS

A. Remarks by the Chairman

Ambassador Richardson stressed that there is a great need for more adequate multilateral institutions. UNA is the only organization in the US which sees its mission as addressing this problem and involving as many people as possible in the process. UNA needs to reach out to young people and to expand its membership. Through the Multilateral Project, UNA is developing recommendations that are becoming part of the action program of UNA. The Chairman said, however, that the organization needs a more secure financial foundation and he called on the Board of Directors to help bring new resources to the organization.

B. Program Reports and Discussion with Staff

The podium was then turned over to Edward Luck who reported on the Multilateral Project. It is beginning to put forward a positive action agenda for the United States and the United Nations and is providing greater public outreach and membership. The Multilateral Project has five components: 1) The outer space project, in which 60 to 70 communities are expected to participate and for which the Carnegie Corporation has provided a \$350,000 grant for the next two years; 2) the Rockefeller Brothers Fund has funded follow-up work on the nonproliferation project, including a study trip to the IAEA; 3) follow-up activities are also being planned on the peacekeeping report; 4) an international conference will be held in Bonn on initiatives for the industrial democracies at the UN; and 5) the UN management and decisionmaking project is getting underway with funds from the Ford Foundation, for which Peter Fromuth will be the Project Director and an international panel is being formed.

Mr. Luck pointed out that UNA is now seen as an objective source of information on the UN and it is receiving a considerable amount of media attention.

Peggy Carlin, Senior Vice President, reported that UNA has 175 chapters and divisions around the country and 130 non-governmental organizations in the Council of Organizations. Sixty thousand students participated in Model UN conferences. UNA has built a strong grass roots foundation, but national membership recruitment has to continue if we are to widen and diversify our public constituencies.

Toby Gati said that the Policy Studies program has been very active. Two joint statements were issued with the Soviet Union on nonproliferation and on the United Nations. Meetings will be held in December in Moscow. The Parallel Studies Program with Japan includes separate panels on global economic issues and on arms control, while the program with the Chinese continues to focus on arms control and security. Outreach programs have been held in Seattle, Florida and California with local UNA chapters participating.

Dan Burton reported that Douglas Fraser and Robert Anderson are serving as co-chairmen of the Economic Policy Council to reflect its business/labor membership. The Jobs Challenge report has been completed and an edited volume of research papers will soon be published as part of the book series. The EPC Annual Plenary, which will be held in January in Washington, D.C., will include a number of key Senators and Executive Branch officials.

A question and answer period followed.

Ambassador Richardson called on Orville Freeman, Chairman of the Board of Governors, to report on the Directors/Governors task forces that were going to be formed.

Governor Freeman commented that the Board meeting gave a sense of the drive and commitment of the organization. He reported that four Directors/Governors task forces would be set up following recommendations made at the October 8th Board of Governors meeting. The task forces would be 1) by-laws and convention; 2) membership and youth; 3) corporate leadership; and 4) government relations. He urged the members to join one of the groups.

AGENDA ITEM V - Financial Matters

Edward Luck pointed out that the memorandum sent to the Board described the major differences from last year in the budget. There is a shift in terms of program budgets which reflects the priorities of the organization. The Multilateral Project is tripling its financial resources from 1985 to 1986. UNA will be in the unusual position of receiving more funds from foundations than from corporations, capping a trend over the past few years. This means that individual programs are being funded adequately but the institution as a whole is not receiving the general support it needs. Special events income has been declining for many years. Mr. Luck stressed that it is an important responsibility of the Board of Directors to help in finding corporate resources. He also noted that UNA has passed all eight criteria of the National Charities Information Bureau and now is fully approved by this group.

The meeting then adjourned to another room for a luncheon.

After lunch, the Directors meeting was reconvened in the auditorium.

AGENDA ITEM VI - Luncheon Address by Ambassador Stephen Lewis, Permanent Representative of Canada to the United Nations

Ambassador Lewis termed the 40th anniversary of the UN a turning point in its history and he sensed that the reassessment had conferred a new legitimacy on the institution. He called for a new sense of realism based on the realization that the UN is not the institution to bring peace and disarmament to the world. Yet the UN plays an invaluable role in preventing regional conflicts from escalating into universal conflagration. The UN has undergone a metamorphosis, he commented, as it has begun to tackle absolutely overwhelming human problems, such as human rights, hunger, refugees, drugs, women's issues and economic development, finance and debt. While the Charter could not be amended, we can do much to make the UN work better. But there is no reason, he stressed, to be defensive or to shrink from vigorous advocacy of the UN.

A question and answer period followed.

AGENDA ITEM VII - Discussion of Kassebaum Amendment and Consideration of Board Resolution

The Chairman introduced Robert Boyer from the House Foreign Affairs Committee, who described the political context which led to the Kassebaum amendment. While there is a residual support for the UN in Congress, he emphasized the depth of Congressional consensus about UN spending, budgetary decision-making, and personnel problems. The UN, in the eyes of Congress, has been insufficiently forthcoming and the Administration has been giving conflicting signals about its attitude toward the UN. Unless the US gets more proportionate influence over the UN budget, it will be difficult to generate greater support for the UN in Congress.

Ambassador Richardson then recommended adoption of a resolution on the Kassebaum amendment patterned on the language of page 3 of the November 25 memo. After discussion, in which concern was voiced that the written text had not been distributed in advance, a motion was made, seconded and approved to support the resolution.

The Chairman reminded the Board that a reception would be held at the US Mission immediately following the Board meeting. The meeting was adjourned at 3:30 p.m.

UNA-USA

MILBANK, TWEED, HADLEY & McCLOY

INTERNATIONAL SQUARE BUILDING

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May 29, 1986

Rabbi Alexander M. Schindler
President
Union of American Hebrew Congregations
838 Fifth Avenue
New York, New York 10021

Dear Alexander:

Having just returned from a week in Japan, I want to take the earliest opportunity to thank you for your extremely thoughtful and helpful letter of May 7. The communications with your members described in paragraphs A and B have been enormously beneficial, and all of us concerned about the UN's impending financial crisis are deeply grateful for these initiatives. As to paragraph C, the ball is in the UNA's court, and we will make sure that it isn't dropped.

With warm regard and appreciation,

Sincerely,



Elliot L. Richardson

cc: Steven A. Dimoff

P.S. I was deeply distressed to learn just now of the heart attack you suffered while in Israel. This brings my fervent best wishes for a speedy and complete recovery.



UNA-USA

RABBI ALEXANDER M. SCHINDLER • UNION OF AMERICAN HEBREW CONGREGATIONS
PRESIDENT 838 FIFTH AVENUE NEW YORK, N.Y. 10021 (212) 249-0100

May 7, 1986
28 Nisan 5746

His Excellency, Ambassador
Elliot L. Richardson
Milbank, Tweed, Hadley & McCloy
1825 I Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20006

Dear Mr. Ambassador:

Please call on me to help you in every possible way in the effort outlined at our recent Washington International Club meeting.

There are a number of resources at our command which I make available to you:

- A) We have direct contact with approximately 300,000 Reform Jewish households across the land. One of the forthcoming issues of our regular publication, REFORM JUDAISM, which is sent to all of these households, will call the immense financial crisis faced by the United Nations to the attention of our readership.
- B) We have a more closely knit network of social action oriented congregants whom we contact regularly on issues of current concern and whom we also summon to act in response to the varying needs. In a forthcoming communication with this group of over 900 we will urge them to begin a letter writing campaign to Congress and to the Executive Branch expressing their concern about the future viability of the U.N.
- C) Lastly, we have religious action committees in virtually all of our 800 temples covering every State of our Union and most Congressional Districts. These groupings know who their Representatives and Senators are, who in their home communities have influence on them, etc. This resource, too, will be made available for our purposes once Steven Dimoff and his associate Mark can give us our targets and you can provide us with an appropriate plan of Congressional action.

Ambassador Elliot L. Richardson
May 7, 1986
Page -2-

I assume that Steve will coordinate this effort and so I am sending him a copy of this letter. We also maintain a Religious Action Center in Washington. It is the hub of a host of coalitions on such disparate subjects as nuclear disarmament, abortion, Aid to Israel and what not. Rabbi David Saperstein is the director of the Center and he is prepared to help Steve in every possible way. The Center is located at:

2027 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20036

202-387-2800

With kindest greetings, I am

Sincerely,

Alexander M. Schindler

cc: Mr. Steven A. Dimoff

May 7, 1986

28 Nisan 5746

His Excellency, Ambassador
Elliot L. Richardson
Milbank, Tweed, Hadley & McCloy
1825 I Street, N.W.
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May 7, 1986
Page -2-

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Washington, D.C. 20036

202-387-2800

With kindest greetings, I am

Sincerely,

Alexander M. Schindler

cc: Mr. Steven A. Dimoff

bcc David S.



**UNITED NATIONS
ASSOCIATION OF
THE UNITED STATES
OF AMERICA**

Steven A. Dimoff

Director
Washington Office

1010 Vermont Avenue, N.W., Washington, DC 20005 (202) 347-5004

UNA USA

April 29, 1986
20 Nisan 5746

Mr. Edward C. Luck, President
United Nations Association of
The United States of America
300 East 42nd Street
New York, N.Y. 10017

Dear Ed:

Thank you so much for sharing with me your paper on "The Impact of
The Zionism-Racism Resolution on the Standing of the UN." I am grat-
eful for your thoughtfulness.

I look forward to some quiet time when I may peruse the pages of your
paper. I am certain it will provide me with very important and mean-
ingful information.

Thank you so much. Warm regards

Sincerely,

Alexander M. Schindler



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

300 East 42nd St., New York, NY 10017

With the compliments

of

Edward C. Luck

Prepared for the International Legal Conference on Anti-Semitism,
Anti-Zionism and the United Nations

New York University School of Law, Center for International Studies

April 13-15, 1986

The Impact of the Zionism-Racism Resolution
on the Standing of the UN

by Edward C. Luck
President
United Nations Association of
the United States of America

April 11, 1986

What seemed clear enough in 1975 seems all the more obvious ten years later: the UN General Assembly resolution equating Zionism with Racism reflected a colossal error in political judgement, as well as an affront to common decency and sense of fair play. Greeted predictably with unmitigated dismay, revulsion and anger in the West and quiet embarrassment in much of the third world, the resolution contained the seeds of its own undoing. It symbolized, moreover, all that was wrong with the world's premier deliberative forum during the tumultuous North-South confrontations of the 1970's. In one mindless act, the General Assembly struck bottom, committing an unprecedented act of political hari-kari.

This much is unexceptionable, at least to most American observers, but larger questions remain. With the clarity of a decade of hindsight, this paper will address the effects of the Racism-Zionism resolution on the standing of the UN. In particular, it will analyze the resolution's impact on American public and official attitudes towards the world body. This focus is both convenient--in terms of available documentation and the author's own experience--and rational--in terms of the critical role which American policies have played in shaping debates in and about the UN ever since.

The paper begins by outlining the environment which spawned the resolution, and then examines its immediate impact on US public and official attitudes toward the UN. An analysis of longer range effects

*The author would like to thank Ruth Raymond for her very helpful research assistance.

Page 2.

follows, focusing on politically active constituencies and on the fundamental beliefs which shape perceptions of the UN. In the final section, going beyond analysis, the paper concludes with some prescriptive thoughts about lessons and trends in the markedly different environment of the late 1980's.

Context

The impact of the Zionism-Racism Resolution cannot be understood without reference to the political and institutional context in which it arose. The very fact that such a pernicious act could occur in the first place tells a great deal about the politics, and passions, of the time. The resolution was, to a large extent, the product of major international political trends which found their expression--sometimes in exaggerated or distorted forms--in the roll call votes of the one-nation, one-vote General Assembly.

The UN of 1975 was far different from the one founded, or even envisioned, three decades before. Begun as an institutional expression of the yearnings of the victorious allies for a more workable collective security system than the League of Nations had proven to be, the United Nations had been transformed by the spectacular success of the decolonization process into a far more diverse and complex institution whose politics were defined by North-South, as well as East-West, tensions. (Israel, itself, was of course one of the first of many newly created nations for which the UN served as midwife, though it shared little of the colonial heritage of those which followed it into the burgeoning UN family.)

The new majority in the UN espoused different politics and different priorities than the largely western, developed, and white countries which held the upper hand for much of the UN's first two decades. Even before he came to represent the US at the UN, Daniel Patrick Moynihan warned of a growing ideological gap between the developing countries of the South and the developed western nations.¹ Collective security efforts, which had been repeatedly frustrated by the polarization of the Cold War, by 1975 had taken a back seat to the new agenda of economic and social development. The UN remained a unique forum, but by then it was increasingly being utilized by the third world majority as a means of projecting and legitimizing efforts to transform the international economic, social, political and security order established by the World War II victors. The UN itself naturally became an important target of, as well as a vehicle for, the movement to establish a new international order.

The United States, as the prime protector of the status quo, was gradually drawn into a series of ideological and tactical confrontations with the third world majority. Its allies--Israel included--either joined the fight or slipped into political irrelevancy. The developing countries, on the other hand, banded together under the nonaligned banner to gain some degree of collective leverage (if not collective security) in their political battles with their financially and

1

"The U.S. in Opposition," Commentary, 1975.

militarily much more powerful adversaries from the west (and occasionally from the east). In the skewed politics of the General Assembly, bloc voting became the name of the game and the gap between political realities inside and outside the General Assembly Hall grew steadily. By the time the United States lost its very long, and increasingly symbolic campaign to keep the Peoples Republic of China out (and in later years to keep the Republic of China in) of the General Assembly, in 1971, there was dancing in the aisles led by several African delegates.

The contrast from the early years of the UN, when the US could command a ready majority in the General Assembly, could not have been more stark. For thirty-five years, up to 1970, the US never once needed to cast a veto in the Security Council, compared to one hundred and five by the Soviet Union. Since then, the US has cast significantly more vetoes than the Soviet Union, reflecting a sharp split between the attitudes of the US and the majority of UN members on key regional issues such as the Middle East and South Africa.

The American public was puzzled, bewildered and more than a little resentful of this turn of events. Their vision of what the UN was to be all about was markedly different from what they were witnessing in the first half of the 1970s. The natural lag in public perceptions about the political evolution of the world body was compounded by the lack of explanations by top US officials of what was unfolding. Some leading US representatives at the UN, in fact, were boosted into national political prominence because of their outspoken criticism of UN political bodies. It became politically chic to talk about American weakness, not strength, in the world forum.

The UN, moreover, was relegated to a very secondary role as a possible instrument for furthering American foreign policy objectives. The Washington hierarchy, after all, had a war to fight in Vietnam and to explain in the United States. A war with a developing country (or, as some would see it, with a national independence movement) was hardly the most promising question for the United States to bring to the UN. So the US had, by the fall of Saigon in 1975 (some six months prior to the passage of the Zionism-Racism Resolution) spent a number of years circumventing a UN role in the international issue which had dominated US public attention for a decade. So much for collective security, so much for the UN.

American reactions to the Zionism-Racism Resolution were of course also conditioned in large part by events in the Middle East itself. Public sympathy for Israel, traditionally strong, had been bolstered by the perception that Arab aggressiveness initiated the 1973 Yom Kippur War and that Arab military incompetence helped to bring it to a quick end. The US may have backed a losing cause in Vietnam, but in the Middle East its friends knew how to defend themselves. Whatever doubts or wavering sympathies that remained were decided by the subsequent Arab oil embargo. The oil weapon may have brought leverage over the oil-starved developing countries in the General Assembly, but it brought little more than resentment in the United States. The embargo thus tended to widen the gap between the perception of political realities held within the General Assembly and outside among the American people.

Public Opinion

A December 1975 poll by the Harris Survey confirmed what was already apparent: the American public strongly disapproved of the Zionism-Racism Resolution.² When asked, "all in all, did you approve or disapprove of the U.N. resolution declaring Zionism a form of racism?," only 9 percent of the respondents expressed approval, compared to 49 percent disapproval and 42 percent "not sure." The elite response was even stronger and more decisive, with far fewer "not sures." Among the college educated, the response was 12 percent approved, 66 disapproved, and 22 percent "not sure," while professionals reacted with only 8 percent approval, 70 percent disapproval, and 22 percent "not sure." Among every professional and educational group, less than one in five people with an opinion favored the resolution. The number of "not sures" correlated closely with education and occupational status, suggesting that many of these respondents simply were not aware of the resolution, not that they were unsure about the merits of the case. While the percentage of "not sures" appeared to be relatively high, it is doubtful that so many Americans have been aware of any single General Assembly resolution before or since.

The Harris Survey of December 1975 went on to probe the respondents' preference about what the US should do in response to the passage of the General Assembly resolution. When asked, "as a result of the U.N. resolution on Zionism, would you favor or oppose the following

²

The full results are attached as Appendix A.

actions?," the public responded:

	Favor %	Oppose %	Not Sure %
The U.S. cutting the amount we give the U.N. each year	49	24	27
The U.S. putting the U.N. on notice that it will depart from the U.N. if such prejudice is shown in the future	43	26	31
The U.S. taking itself out of the U.N. now	18	56	26
The U.S. telling the U.N. to locate in another country other than the U.S.	23	47	33

In the aftermath of the resolution almost one-half of the American people were evidently prepared to use the power of the purse to punish the U.N. and about as many favored a strong warning about the possible consequences of further episodes for U.S. participation. Yet even larger numbers opposed getting the US out of the UN or the UN out of the US as a result of the General Assembly action. The resolution, in other words, put a severe strain on the US-UN marriage, but the partners did not come close to seeking a divorce over the incident.

These reactions are fully consistent with the general themes which have been reflected again and again in U.S. public opinion surveys over the past three decades. The American people have become increasingly disappointed in the performance of the UN, but they have overwhelmingly resisted the idea that the US should withdraw from the UN (or that UN headquarters should move to another country). Americans neither love the UN, nor do they want to leave it.

Two questions asked from time to time by the Gallup Poll illustrate the consistency of these two trends (stay in the UN even though it is not doing a good job). The following results have been obtained by the Gallup Poll over the last thirty years to the question of whether the US should retain its membership in the UN:³

	<u>Favor Membership</u>	<u>Oppose Membership</u>	<u>Undecided or Don't Know</u>
November 1951	75	13	12
January 1962	86	9	5
November 1963	79	8	13
July 1967	85	10	5
February 1975	75	11	14
November 1975	74	16	10
June 1982	79	12	9
October 1983	79	12	9
September 1985	81	11	8

Immediately following the Zionism-Racism vote, those opposed to UN membership jumped by five percent, though most of them apparently came from the "undecided" category rather than from those favoring retention of US membership in the UN. This reaction, however, apparently was short-lived and support for remaining in the UN has grown over the past ten years to its traditionally high levels. These results have been replicated by all of the major polling organizations, which have received similar responses.

For the past three decades, the Gallup Survey has also been asking people "is the UN doing a good job or a poor job in trying to solve the

³For a breakdown of 1985 results by age, education and political affiliation, see Appendix B. Younger and better educated respondents were generally more supportive of UN membership.

problems it has to face?" The dominant trend in the American people's evaluation of UN performance is evident in the following results:

	<u>Good Job</u>	<u>Poor Job</u>	<u>No Opinion</u>
1956	51	37	12
1967	49	35	16
1970	44	40	16
1971	35	43	22
1975 (January)	41	38	21
1975 (December)	33	51	16
1980	31	53	16
1982	36	49	15
1983	36	51	13
1985 (February)	38	44	18
1985 (November)	28	54	18

The steep decline in positive job ratings, and the even larger increase in poor ratings, from January to December 1975 may have been largely attributable to the impact of the Zionism-Racism Resolution. (It is interesting to note, however, almost as large a shift from February to November 1985, when the US experienced one of its most successful General Assemblies in years and the UN received numerous tributes for its fortieth anniversary. One hypothesis would be that the publicity surrounding even a relatively "good" General Assembly from an American perspective reminds people of that aspect of the UN--General Assembly speeches and voting--to which many of them have an almost visceral negative reaction.) After 1975, these job performance ratings showed some signs of a rebound, but the overall trend has not been encouraging for the UN, unlike the positive evolution of support for continued US membership. In that sense, it appears as if the Zionism-Racism Resolution tended to confirm and perhaps accelerate a general deterioration in American public confidence in the UN, but it did not trigger any lasting sentiment that the US should give up on the effort to make the UN work more as the public expected it would.

This hypothesis is further confirmed by somewhat fragmenting survey evidence suggesting that the treatment of Israel in the UN is not high on the list of US public concerns about the organization. In 1974, before the passage of the Zionism-Racism Resolution, a Harris Survey in fact found that by a 39 percent to 18 percent margin, with 43 percent undecided, respondents rejected the notion that the UN is pro-Arab and anti-Israeli. (Unfortunately, this question was not repeated after the 1975 resolution.) Five years later, in 1980, a Roper Poll--commissioned by UNA-USA--found surprisingly few Americans citing anti-Israeli tendencies in the UN as one of the reasons for which one might consider reducing US participation in the UN. Given a card with seven possible arguments for decreasing US participation in the UN and asked which were strong arguments for such a step (whether or not they favored it), only 8 percent of the respondents chose the argument that "The UN is anti-Israel." The other six choices (see Appendix C for the complete text) were endorsed by 15 to 42 percent each, with each of the respondents choosing on average $2\frac{1}{2}$ of the seven choices. (To a previous question, by the way, about twice as many people, 40 percent to 21 percent, preferred increasing US participation in the UN to decreasing it.)

While the focus of this paper is on the standing of the UN in the United States, it is interesting to make at least a quick (and admittedly simplistic) comparison of American attitudes with those in other countries. It is often suggested that the US public--as well as the US government--has soured on the UN markedly more than people in other countries. Some observers have even suggested that this difference

stems in part from the fact that Americans on the whole appear to be more concerned than people in other western countries about the future of Israel and about its treatment in the UN. A 1985 Gallup International Survey, however, suggests otherwise (see Appendix D). People in 17 non-Socialist countries were asked the traditional question about whether the UN was doing a good or bad job. Ranked by Gallup according to the ratio between "good job" and "bad job" response, the US group ranked as the tenth most favorable (just below the mid-range), and among the thirteen developed nations in the survey, the Americans ranked seventh (exactly in the middle).

A second sampling of international opinion in 1985 produced similar results. On June 26th, the fortieth anniversary of the signing of the UN Charter, the New York Times published a report of a poll it commissioned in conjunction with CBS News and the International Herald Tribune. Based on interviews with adults in the United States, Japan, the United Kingdom, France and West Germany, the polls found that only a small minority--from 1 percent in Japan to 13 percent in the US--believed that the world would be better off without the UN. On the other hand, less than one half of the respondents felt that the UN was doing a good or very good job in solving the problems it has to face. Once again, the poorest UN job evaluations did not come from the Americans, whose responses were among the most positive in the group, but from the Japanese, only 12 percent of whom gave the UN good marks.⁴ Between a national low of 25 percent

⁴The way the questions were translated into Japanese, however, may have resulted in an overly negative picture of Japanese attitudes toward the UN.

in France and a high of 48 percent in Japan said that the UN is doing a poor or very poor job.

It is instructive to compare these 1985 results with a 1979 Gallup International Poll, which again asked people to choose a "good job" or "poor job" rating for the UN (see Appendix E). The US sample, with a 41 percent to 38 percent good/poor margin, was more positive than West Germany (29 to 44), Japan (11 to 18), or France (27 to 27), but considerably more negative than Italy (65 to 13), Canada (46 to 21), the United Kingdom (53 to 22), Benelux (62 to 20), Scandinavia (62 to 18), or overall Western European (46 to 26). The general fall-off in assessment of UN performance from 1979 to 1985 appears to have affected almost all of the major Western developed countries, not just the United States, and in some countries--most strikingly the dramatic reversal in the United Kingdom from a wide 53 to 22 positive margin to almost as large a negative margin of 26 to 47--the negative trend has been far more pronounced than in the United States. It is possible that American political statements and media coverage of the UN had a spill-over effect on British public opinion, but that hypothesis cannot be documented.

While differences among cultures and possible variances in polling techniques make precise international attitudinal comparisons impossible, these cross national surveys strongly suggest that US public perceptions of the UN are not as out-of-step with the views prevalent in other western countries as is often presumed. This

conclusion is a bit startling given both 1) that the verbal stance toward the UN espoused by US officials has generally been substantially tougher than that of America's European and Asian allies and 2) that Americans in public and private capacities have tended to be much more concerned with protecting Israeli interests in the world body--including through repeated use of the veto in the Security Council--than have the Western Europeans and Japanese. America's problems with the UN clearly do not hinge on the way Israel is treated, as important a factor as that may be. They run far more deeply in terms of American values, expectations, interests, and self-image.

Official U.S. Reactions

Even before the Zionism-Racism resolution reached the General Assembly, American concern had been expressed at the highest level. President Gerald Ford, in a statement released on UN Day, October 24th, stressed that "we deplore in the strongest terms the recent vote in the Social Committee characterizing Zionism as a form of racism. Such action undermines the principles upon which the United Nations is based." The strength and intensity of the official American rejection of the subsequent General Assembly action was signaled by Ambassador Moynihan's famous words on the Assembly floor: "The United States rises to declare before the General Assembly of the United Nations, and before the world, that it does not acknowledge, it will not abide by, it will never acquiesce in, this infamous act." Secretary of State, Henry Kissinger, speaking at a news conference two days later, termed the vote "extremely unhelpful and highly irresponsible." He went on

to argue that supporters of the resolution "have contributed to an international environment that will be less helpful, that will be less able to settle, especially, the differences in the Middle East." While noting that the resolution reflected "trends in the United Nations which we deplored, like bloc voting and arbitrary majorities," he went on to warn that "we must not now swing to the other extreme, of not realizing some of the benefits that the United Nations--with all its failings--still has for the United States." Like the American people, US foreign policy makers were very angry, but hardly ready for a divorce.

The reaction in Congress was, if anything, even stronger than the Administration's. The next day, November 11th, the Senate voted unanimously to pass a resolution "sharply condemning "the Assembly action, opposing US participation in the UN "Decade for Action to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination," calling for the UN to reconsider its action, and asking for Senate and House hearings "to reassess the United States' further participation in the United Nations General Assembly." In the Senate, at least, there were some real rumblings about a possible divorce. The House approved of a similar measure, but deleted the clause about reconsidering participation in the General Assembly. In terms of the long-term effect on the standing of the UN in US eyes, the sharp Congressional response has arguably had a more profound impact on US attitudes than did the somewhat more measured reaction of the Administration. Subsequent Congressional views of the UN, which have largely ranged between apathy and antipathy, have produced fertile soil for one piece of anti-UN legislation after another.

The most telling bit of evidence is the expressed feelings of individual Senators and Congressmen, especially those of traditional supporters of strengthening the UN. The Senate resolution, for example, was introduced by Hugh Scott, a moderate's moderate. Senator Abraham Ribicoff's words were particularly poignant: "I have long supported the United Nations and the important role that this nation must play in it if that body is to survive. Today, I am no longer able to rise in defense of the United Nations. I am no longer optimistic about the future of that one-time community of nations that has now fallen so far." Senator Ribicoff's words were prophetic, since fewer and fewer members of Congress have been willing "to rise in defense of the United Nations."

Senator Charles Mathias, today one of the few remaining Senators sympathetic to the UN, remarked that "To those of us who have consistently supported efforts to make the United Nations a more viable organization, the vote must be taken as a signal to rethink the basic assumptions on which such support was based." Calling the UN resolution "stupid," Senator Joseph Biden commented that "the UN is weakened by its passage." Senator Edward Kennedy, while pointing out that the blame lay with certain member states more than with the UN as an institution, contended that the Zionism-Racism resolution "undermines another key principle of the United Nations: its commitment to peace," and "can only jeopardize the cause of peace in the Middle East."

To Senator Robert Packwood, "by their action last night the United Nations has shown that it does not take itself seriously as a body

designed to try to keep peace in the world, let alone world morality, and I think the time has come when we can well ask the question: Does this nation any longer belong in that body?" Senator Hubert Humphrey an ardent internationalist, was not prepared to go that far, though he condemned the UN action and served as a co-sponsor of the Senate resolution. Noting that he did not believe in withdrawing from the UN, Senator Humphrey responded that "I do not believe in retreat....I believe in standing and fighting and pursuing the course we believe is right. While votes may be disappointing, they can be reversed." Over the past decade of frequently rocky US-UN relations, this theme has been echoed again and again in both public sentiments and governmental statements.

Political Constituencies

For purposes of analysis, it can be said that Americans fall into three general camps in terms of their attitudes toward the UN. First are the faithful, the roughly 30 percent who give the UN high performance marks through thick and thin. They believe in the UN, its purposes, programs and ideals, and are confident that its work is critical to addressing global issues and to facilitating international cooperation on problems of common concern. Second are the hostile, the approximately ten percent of the population who have never been comfortable with US membership in the UN or with the seat of the organization being in the United States. They tend to prefer either unilateral options for dealing with foreign policy problems or working with relatively small groups of like-minded countries. Some are simply isolationists, while others are unilateral interventionists. A third, much more amorphous, group includes

those who are either agnostic or apathetic about the UN. This loose category includes the majority of the American people--perhaps as much as 60 percent--who believe neither that the UN is doing a good job nor that the US should abandon it. Like Senator Humphrey, they do not want to run away from our problems in the UN, but, on the other hand, it is not clear how committed they are to joining the fight he envisioned for what we believe in.

As the evolution apparent in US public opinion polls indicates, the long-term impact of the Zionism-Racism Resolution was not so much to swell the ranks of those hostile to the UN (the second category), as to erode the ranks and to sap the enthusiasm of the faithful (the first category). One barometer would be membership trends in the United Nations Association of the USA (UNA-USA), which at the time of the Zionism-Racism Resolution resembled something of a microcosm of the faithful category. In the sixteen months following the introduction of this issue in the General Assembly, UNA-USA lost 18 percent of its members (from 29,398 to 24,111). The drop was even more spectacular in some areas. The Five Towns Chapter on the North Shore of Long Island, for example, was literally decimated, losing 97 percent of its members over those sixteen months. New York City reported a loss of 27 percent of its members, but many other large cities fared better.

The resolution, however, did have a quite possible salutary effect on many of those who believed most in the UN by forcing them to confront some of the difficult political problems standing between the existing UN

and its high ideals. Paradoxically, it politicized a number of observers who had felt that the UN itself should somehow be above politics. As noted by Ambassador Moynihan in his famous address to the General Assembly, UNA-USA for the first time in its history took a political stand by opposing the proposed resolution and by appealing to each of the then 141 other national missions to reject it. He also cited the work of American trade unions and the Christian churches in denouncing the amendment.

In giving UN supporters a black eye, the Zionism-Racism Resolution presented opponents of the UN something they had never been able to attain on their own: legitimacy. Advocacy of abandoning the UN remained the domain of crackpots and the far right, but severe criticisms of the UN became not only acceptable, but even chic. The traditional image of the UN as being above reproach, which was already crumbling, was turned completely around so that the UN became a convenient target, even scapegoat, on which to blame many of the world's ills. In passing the Zionism-Racism Resolution, moreover, the UN was not only once again failing to do something right, it was consciously doing something which the vast majority of Americans believed to be morally wrong. Rather than falling short of "good" performance, the UN seemed to many people to be intent on performing "bad" things.

This qualitative shift in the basic perceptions of the UN held by many Americans offered conservative critics of the world organization an opportunity to seize the political initiative. And they did, with extraordinary results. Much of the American Jewish community, despite

its strong internationalist traditions, had understandably deserted the UN in short order. Those who still believed in the principles of international organization felt betrayed by the one-sided politics and actions of the one-nation, one-vote General Assembly. Liberal supporters of the UN sounded like apologists when they tried to explain why the UN would undertake such a pernicious act in the face of unambiguous American opposition. Conservative critics of the UN, on the other hand, had found an attractive way to appeal for sympathy and support from American Jews and many others who prior to this had hardly given them even the time of day. In response to its anti-UN crusade, for example, the Heritage Foundation claims to have received the support of constituencies to which it had been unable to appeal successfully with other points on its conservative foreign policy agenda.

The political terrain for the UN in the United States following the Zionism-Racism Resolution (and the larger trends discussed at the outset of the paper) looked something like this: a relatively small, but determined and highly motivated, portion of the population who were very critical of the UN and favored a decreasing US presence there; a somewhat larger, but shrinking, immobilized, and demoralized, group of people who had retained their faith in the UN; and a majority of the population who did not care a great deal about the UN one way or the other. As so often in American politics, the group that was most passionate about the issue--in this case the opponents--were able to exert political influence and mobilize press and public action far beyond their numbers. Support for the UN remained broad, but precariously thin. The faithful simply lacked sufficient motivation to react effectively to the political challenge put forward by those

most skeptical of the benefit for the US of constructive participation in the UN.

Basic Beliefs

As noted above, neither the Zionism-Racism Resolution nor the treatment of Israel in the UN served, in themselves, as major factors in the decline in American confidence in and support for the UN. They have, however, played a critical, if less direct, role in contributing to the erosion of three widely held beliefs about the UN which served as basic building blocks for US support for the institution.

The first of these is that the UN was established in part to protect the rights, sovereignty, and security of small states from predatory neighbors. Americans, much more than their cousins in Western Europe, applauded and encouraged the UN role in overseeing an enormous, and highly successful, decolonization movement. While Americans have not always been pleased with the political consequences of the emergence of so many small nations on the world scene, especially given the one-nation, one-vote rule in the General Assembly, they tend to be sympathetic to the image of a fiercely-independent nation seeking to defend itself against larger hostile neighbors. In the case of Israel, moreover, there is a considerable feeling of empathy, not only for cultural, religious or even strategic reasons, but because it is a working democracy where people freely express their political convictions, a claim its neighbors cannot make. It is widely believed in the United States--even by some who should know better--that the United Nations was intended to promote and protect democratic principles in the world. (The UN Charter, which was the negotiated product of countries with very different political

and social systems, makes no reference to the term democracy.)

Americans recognized that the Zionism-Racism Resolution was an effort to delegitimize a sovereign, democratic, dues-paying member of the UN. And the fact that this effort was carried out by national regimes which in the eyes of most Americans were anti-democratic simply compounded the passion with which the United States responded to the General Assembly vote. This misuse of the one-nation, one-vote principle in the General Assembly seemed to many Americans to be turning the concept of democratic voting on its head.

The second belief about the UN undermined by the Zionism-Racism Resolution was that the General Assembly would serve as both a global forum and a legislature--as a sort of town meeting of the world--which would play a central role in establishing and fostering respect for global norms. The UN Charter, of course, makes it very clear that decisions of the General Assembly were to be advisory only, except on budgetary matters. Its role is described as commissioning studies and making recommendations to the Security Council, where of course the U.S. and other Permanent Members could prevent things from getting out of hand through the use of their veto power. Whatever the Charter said, however, in the early years of the UN this tendency to inflate the powers and importance of the General Assembly was in fact encouraged by American officials since appeals to the relatively friendly General Assembly provided a way of circumventing the seemingly ever-present Soviet veto in the Security Council. The "uniting for peace" resolution,

permitting the execution of the UN role in the Korean conflict, was of course the most prominent example of this tendency to interpret the role of the General Assembly liberally.

The General Assembly had in fact played a crucial part in setting forth global norms in areas such as human rights and disarmament (really arms control), even though these standards were not always enforced with diligence and objectivity. But in American eyes, in the 1970s the General Assembly majority began to abuse this function by trying to wrap simple power politics in the fine cloth of high principle. The effort to tie the delegitimization of the state of Israel with the decade to eliminate racism was the most obnoxious example of this unfortunate trend. The rejoinder by some defenders of the UN, who argued that afterall it was just the powerless General Assembly passing another empty and unenforceable resolution, had the effect of further undermining public and official confidence in the viability and effectiveness of the UN. For those who really cared about the future of international organization, the argument that this action really did not matter was in some ways more damaging in the long term than acknowledging the seriousness of this threat to the UN as a central institution in world politics.

The damage done to the third belief--in the UN as an instrument of collective security, peacemaking and peacekeeping--was more subtle, but in the long-term the most damaging to this cornerstone of public commitment to the UN. The UN's inability to resolve the fundamental tensions and conflicts of the Middle East, as highlighted in the controversies surrounding the Zionism-Racism Resolution, suggested to

many Americans that the organization was unable to carry out its central mandate. The passage of Resolutions 242 and 338 had provided a framework for peace, but the UN simply had completely insufficient political, economic or military leverage to persuade the parties to the conflict to move forward toward a viable solution. To say that it was up to the superpowers and the regional adversaries to settle the issues of the Middle East so that they would no longer poison the political environment in the UN, as some UN supporters were inclined to do, simply compounded the impression that the UN was at best a marginal player in those peace and security issues that mattered most. It was of course unfair to expect the UN secretariat miraculously to produce solutions to perennial problems that no one else could handle, but American public expectations of the UN in the peace and security field have always been unrealistically high.

This public preoccupation with the UN's failure to eliminate conflict and strife from the world is quite understandable, though hopelessly idealistic as a standard--as opposed to a goal--by which to measure performance. There is no doubt that concerns about creating a more peaceful and stable world order were paramount in the minds of the founders of the UN system. Indeed, there is ample reason to believe that there would have been no UN without the impetus provided by the Second World War. In the United States, the concept of the UN was sold, quite possibly oversold, as an antidote to the traditional violence of international life.

The first purpose of the UN enumerated in Chapter I, Article 1, is "to maintain international peace and security," while the second purpose

is "to develop friendly relations among nations." It was humanity's general revulsion to the horrors of modern global warfare that provided the motivating force to overcome, however briefly, the fundamental differences in ideology and national interest which have undermined efforts before and since to develop effective mechanisms for collective security. The Charter also speaks of human rights, justice, and economic, social, cultural, and other humanitarian concerns, but these clearly were given far less emphasis. The enhancement of peace and security was presented not only as a goal of the organization, but as its *raison d'etre*, for it was seen as the prerequisite condition for the attainment of other important international objectives.

In the 1985 international survey sponsored by the New York Times, respondents were asked whether the UN "does a better job at keeping peace or does it do a better job at helping poor countries develop their economies?" Americans and West Germans by wide margins said that the UN was better at helping developing countries, 42 percent to 27 percent and 26 percent to 12 percent respectively, while respondents in the other three countries were more evenly divided on this question. These results underscore the impression that, in at least two key countries, there are widespread public doubts about the ability of the UN to fulfill its fundamental mandate.

These results replicate those of a Roper poll of Americans commissioned by UNA-USA in the fall of 1983. In the 1983 poll, as in a similar survey in 1980, more Americans responded that the UN is doing a poor job than said it is doing a good one in solving the problems (unspecified) it has to face. In the 1983 survey, 21 percent said

that the UN is doing a good job, while 37 percent gave it a poor rating. The response of 25 percent fell in between. When asked to identify issues on which the UN should be given more or less power, the most popular response--67 percent said more and only 12 percent said less--was "reducing the danger of superpower confrontation." One of the least positive responses to this question, however, concerned whether the UN should have more or less power in "preventing local conflicts." Only 41 percent said that the UN should have more power and 31 percent said it should have less power in this area. This relatively low response may well indicate a lack of trust in UN conflict resolution efforts, in part because of perceived UN bias on Middle Eastern and perhaps South African issues, and in part because of disillusionment about whether the UN can still make a difference. Americans generally seem to place a higher priority on arms control and disarmament negotiations, to which the Charter made only passing reference, than on attempting to resuscitate collective security efforts designed to prevent or limit local breaches of the peace.

These results stem from a prevalent impression that UN resolutions and actions regarding critical regions, such as the Middle East, have been less than even-handed. In this sense, the Zionism-Racism Resolution, by undermining public confidence in the fairness as well as effectiveness of UN diplomacy in the Middle East, sowed the seeds for further erosion of public support for the UN.

But What of the Future?

This paper has looked at what happened to the standing of the UN, particularly in American eyes, as a result of the Zionism-Racism Resolution. It has benefitted from a decade of hindsight. Before

concluding, it seems only appropriate to consider briefly the situation today, how the political environment that produced the resolution has evolved to date, and what the future might hold. Presumably insights about the present and future are a primary justification for historical retrospectives such as the one presented here.

The UN of 1985-86 is not the UN of 1975. Efforts are still made to resurrect the Zionism-Racism language in various UN documents, and these need to be resisted firmly and vigilantly. But the critical change over the past decade has been that these efforts are regularly rebuffed by a combination of western and moderate third world countries. The Nairobi women's conference last year was a case in point. Zionism-Racism language was rejected this time, in contrast to the first two women's conferences, with the help of moderate African delegates. Perhaps some of the painful lessons of 1975 have been learned, at least in many quarters. Today there is serious discussion of asking the General Assembly to reverse its earlier action and to deny the linkage between Zionism and Racism. It may be too early to obtain such a remarkable reversal, since no body likes to admit it was wrong, but the very fact that there are knowledgeable people who think that there is a serious possibility of accomplishing this sometime soon is eloquent testimony to the changes within the UN.

Verbal assaults on Israel in the UN are becoming less frequent and less extreme, though they still occur and need to be answered strongly by Israel's friends. The perennial votes on Israeli credentials are being turned aside by very substantial margins, reaching a 2 to 1 majority

in the last two years not to even consider the matter. It was decided not to invite Yasir Arafat to the fortieth anniversary commemoration last year, something that would easily have been approved a decade ago. "All of these things reflect a steady, slow, perceptible improvement of the Israeli position," noted Israeli's chief delegate, Benjamin Netanyahu, "It is the end of our decade of isolation."

Israel remains the surest lightning rod for criticism in the General Assembly, but over time the politics of the Assembly are reflecting actual shifts in Israel's standing in the international community beyond Turtle Bay. With the weakening of the oil weapon and the decreasing economic clout of the OPEC countries, the African-Arab coalition on issues of the Middle East and Southern Africa is becoming frayed. More African states are building bilateral relations with Israel. Widespread disillusionment with Socialist economic models and with Soviet aggression in Afghanistan are encouraging more moderate political trends in the third world, with positive spin-offs for the Israeli and American positions in the UN.

Public opinion in the US is just beginning to recognize these early but positive signs of change in the world body. Sentiment for remaining in the UN, as noted earlier, has grown slightly, though disappointment in the effectiveness of the UN continues to spread. Compared to the major exodus of members in the late 1970s and early 1980s, UNA-USA has enjoyed a modest, but steady, expansion of membership over the past year and a half. Media commentaries, particularly during the fortieth anniversary commemoration, took on a more positive tone.

At the same time, Congressional attitudes toward the UN remain overwhelmingly sour, perhaps reflecting a lag with the evolution of public opinion. A series of legislation cutting US assessed contributions to the UN has come into force, calling for cuts of 40 to 50 percent in US legally mandated dues to the world body. These sudden cuts, on top of the accumulated withholdings of the Soviet Union and other members, have plunged the UN into the most severe financial crisis in its history.

As suggested in this paper, to a very real degree the life-and-death problems facing the UN today can be traced back to the confrontations of the mid-1970s and to the perceptions they generated. Now that we have examined the impact of the Zionism-Racism resolution, the next obvious question is what will be the impact of the UN's abandonment of the Zionism-Racism linkage. Will those who turned their back on the world body now begin to reconsider their position in light of the apparent sea-change in the politics of the UN? Or did the resolution, and all that it symbolized, spell the virtual death of this unique, if flawed, experiment in international cooperation? Now that the third world is changing its tune, in the UN and outside, is anybody listening? The response to these questions will ultimately tell us what lessons were really learned from the Zionsim-Racism episode.

Appendix A

The Harris Survey, December 1975

All in all, did you approve or disapprove of the U.N. resolution
declaring Zionism a form of racism?

	Approve %	Disapprove %	Not Sure %
Total public	9	49	42
By education			
Eighth grade or less	7	30	63
High School	8	40	52
College	12	66	22
By Occupation			
Professional	8	70	22
Executive	8	63	29
Skilled Labor	10	44	46
White Collar	7	56	37

Appendix B

Gallup Poll, November 1985

Question: "Do you think the U.S. should give up its membership in the United Nations or not?"

	<u>Should</u> %	<u>Should not</u> %	<u>Don't Know</u> %
National	11	81	8
18-29 years	4	89	7
30-49 years	9	85	6
50 & older	18	69	13
College grads.	7	89	4
College inc.	11	83	6
High school grads.	10	84	6
Less than H.S. grads.	16	59	25
Republicans	11	81	8
Democrats	9	81	10
Independents	11	82	7

Question: "In general, do you feel the United Nations is doing a good job or a poor job in trying to solve the problems it has had to face?"

	<u>Good Job</u> %	<u>Poor Job</u> %	<u>Don't Know</u> %
National	26	54	18
18-29 years	39	46	15
30-49 years	26	57	15
50 & older	20	56	24
College grads.	26	59	15
College inc.	24	62	14
High school grads.	33	48	19
Less than H.S. grads.	28	44	28
Republicans	31	49	20
Democrats	29	57	14
Independents	26	56	18

Appendix C

Roper Poll, 1980

Here are some reasons people have given for decreased US participation in the UN. Regardless of whether you favor decreased participation or not, which--if any--do you think are strong arguments in its favor? (Card shown respondent)

: Differences among member countries make it impossible for the UN to act quickly or decisively	42%
: The UN has very little real power to enforce its decisions	41%
: The money we give to the UN is wasted on bureaucrats and too little reaches those who need it	38%
: The US is outvoted and criticized unfairly, especially by undemocratic countries	28%
: Many of the things the US does in the UN could be done more effectively by working directly with individual countries or groups of countries	24%
: The less developed countries have too much influence in the organization	15%
: The UN is anti-Israel	8%
: None of them (volunteered)	6%
: Don't know	13%

Appendix D

17-Nation Gallup International Survey (Early 1985)

	<u>Good Job</u> %	<u>Poor Job</u> %	<u>No Opinion</u> %
Philippines	64	15	21
Netherlands	66	23	12
Switzerland	49	24	27
Belgium	34	17	49
Australia	49	34	17
Portugal	17	14	69
Brazil	27	23	50
Argentina*	32	32	36
Canada	36	39	26
United States	38	44	18
Greece	31	36	33
West Germany	25	31	44
Japan	16	28	56
Great Britain	26	47	27
Turkey	22	43	35
Uruguay	25	49	27
South Africa (whites)	13	65	22

*Buenos Aires only.

(Some rows do not add to 100% because of rounding.)

Appendix E

1979 Gallup International Poll

In general, do you feel the United Nations is doing a good job or poor job in trying to solve the problems it has had to face?

	United States	Canada	Total Western Europe	United Kingdom	France	Fed. Rep. of Germany	Italy	Benelux	Scandinavia	Total Latin America	Brazil	Mexico	Africa (Sub-Saharan)	Total Far East	India	Japan	Australia
Good	41	46	46	53	27	29	65	62	62	19	27	36	17	14	4	11	56
Poor	38	21	26	22	27	44	13	20	18	15	15	15	3	5	3	18	20
Don't know; no answer	21	33	28	25	46	27	22	18	20	66	58	49	80	81	93	71	24

Conference on Anti-Semitism, Anti-Zionism
and the United Nations

Revised List of Confirmed Participants

1. Professor Rudolf Bernhardt
(Director, Max Planck Institute, Heidelberg,
Federal Republic of Germany).
2. Professor Anne Bayefsky
(University of Ottawa Law School, Canada).
3. Professor Richard B. Bilder
(University of Wisconsin Law School).
4. Mr. John Carey
(Alternate U.S. Member, U.N Sub-Commission on
Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of
Minorities).
5. Professor Maxwell Cohen
(University of Ottawa Law School, Canada).
6. Professor Irwin Cotler
(McGill University Law School, Canada).
7. Professor Michael Curtis
(Rutgers University, Department of Political
Science).
8. Professor Anthony d'Amato
(Northwestern University Law School).
9. Professor Yoram Dinstein
(New York University Law School).
10. Professor Tom J. Farer.
(President, University of New Mexico).
11. Professor Thomas M. Franck
(New York University Law School).
12. Professor Seymour Maxwell Finger
(City University of New York Graduate
School).
13. Professor George P. Fletcher
(Columbia University Law School).

14. Professor James O. Freedman
(President, University of Iowa).
15. Dr. Robert A. Friedlander
(Assistant Counsel, Sub-Committee on the
Constitution, Committee on the Judiciary, U.S.
Senate).
16. Dr. Heribert Golsong
(Arent, Fox, Kintner, Plotkin and Kahn,
Washington, D.C.).
17. Professor Gidon Gottlieb
(University of Chicago Law School).
18. Professor Leslie C. Green
(University of Alberta, Department of
Political Science, Canada).
19. Professor Leo Gross
(Tufts University, Fletcher School of Law and
Diplomacy).
20. Professor Malvina Halberstam
(Cardozo Law School).
21. Professor Louis Henkin
(Columbia University Law School).
22. Ambassador Alan Keyes
(Assistant Secretary of State for International
Organizations, Department of State).
23. Dr. Daniel Lack
(World Jewish Congress, Geneva, Switzerland).
24. Professor Howard S. Levie
(Saint Louis University Law School).
25. Ambassador Stephen Lewis
(Permanent Representative of Canada to the
United Nations).
26. Professor Peter J. Liacouras
(President, Temple University).
27. Professor Richard B. Lillich
(University of Virginia Law School).
28. Mr. Sidney Liskofsky
(Blaustein Institute for the Advancement of
Human Rights).

29. Professor Andreas Lowenfeld
(New York University Law School).
30. Mr. Edward Luck
(President, United Nations Association of the U.S.A.).
31. Professor Theodor Meron
(New York University Law School).
32. Professor John F. Murphy
(Villanova University Law School).
33. Ambassador Herbert S. Okun
(Deputy Representative of the U.S.A. to the U.N.).
34. Professor Jordan Paust
(University of Houston Law Center).
35. Professor Nathan A. Pelcovits
(John Hopkins University School of Advanced International Studies).
36. Professor Norman Redlich
(Dean, New York University Law School).
37. Dr. Stephen J. Roth
(Director, Institute of Jewish Affairs,
London, England).
38. Professor David Ruzie
(Rene Descartes University, Faculty of Law, Paris,
France).
39. Professor Giorgio Sacerdoti
(Milano, Italy).
40. Professor Oscar Schachter
(Columbia University Law School).
41. Professor Herman Schwartz
(American University, Washington College of
Law).
42. Professor Modesto Seara-Vazquez
(U.N.A.M., Mexico).
43. Dr. Malcolm N. Shaw
(Chairman, Law Department, University of
Essex, England).
44. Mr. Jerome Shestack
(Schnader, Harrison, Segal and Lewis,

- Philadelphia).
45. Dr. Karel Vasak
(International Academy of Human Rights,
Paris, France).
46. Professor Joseph Weiler
(University of Michigan Law School).
47. Professor Graham J. Zellick
(Dean, Queen Mary College Faculty of Laws,
University of London, England).

DRAFT MINUTES

UNA-USA BOARD OF DIRECTORS MEETING

TUESDAY, DECEMBER 3rd, 1985
United Engineering Center
New York City

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ATTENDING:

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LUNCHEON SPEAKER:

Ambassador Stephen Lewis, Permanent Representative of Canada to the United Nations

GUEST SPEAKERS:

Ambassador Kishore Mahbubani, Permanent Representative of Singapore to the United Nations

Robert K. Boyer, Senior Staff Consultant to the Foreign Affairs Committee, U.S. House of Representatives

Richard Nygard, United States Mission to the United Nations

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Daniel S. Burton, Executive Director, Economic Policy Council

UNA USA

April 14, 1986
5 Nisan 5746

Leo Nevas, Esq.
P.O. Box 791
Westport, Connecticut 06881

Dear Leo:

Many thanks for your letter of April 10th. I certainly have no objections to your suggesting my name to Ed Luck and Toby Gati. As a matter of fact I would be glad to be involved. However, if I am I hope I will be briefed before I attend the first session of this parallel study panel. I would be very interested if they agree to invite me to attend.

With fond regards, I am

Sincerely,

Alexander M. Schindler

NEVAS, NEVAS AND RUBIN
ATTORNEYS AT LAW

COLONIAL GREEN

246 POST ROAD EAST

WESTPORT, CONNECTICUT

TELEPHONE (203) 226-1211

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EUGENE P. EDWIN**
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* ADMITTED ALSO IN
VIRGINIA AND D.C.
** ADMITTED IN N.Y. ONLY
*** ADMITTED ALSO IN MASS.

April 10, 1986

Rabbi Alexander M. Schindler, President
Union of American Hebrew Congregations
838 Fifth Avenue
New York, New York 10021

Dear Alex:

Thanks very much for your letter of April 7th,
and I am truly sorry that you can't be with us but I
certainly fully understand your other preoccupations.

This past Friday I spent the day in Washington
with the Parallel Study Panel from the UNA who were
meeting with a Russian UNA Delegation, including Arbatov
and others of equal standing.

I think it would be very interesting if you
had the opportunity to participate in some of those ses-
sions, either here or in Moscow, and I intend suggesting
this to Ed Luck and Toby Gati. If you have any objec-
tions, please let me know.

Sincerely,

Leo

LN:eg

*Tell him
no objections -
We'll be glad to
be involved
although I
hope I'll be
fixed
before
I attend
first
session*

MAILING ADDRESS
P.O. BOX 79
WESTPORT, CONNECTICUT 06881

new
file

UNA - USA

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United Nations Association of the United States of America



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National Chairman, UN Day 1985
(By appointment of
the President of the U.S.A.)
Peter H. Dailey, President
World Business Council

March 7, 1986

Dear Chapter or Division Leader:

It is with the utmost urgency that we write to request your assistance in responding to the worst financial crisis faced by the United Nations in its history.

As a result of the Gramm-Rudman legislation, the Kassebaum Amendment, and other measures, the U.S. assessed contribution to the United Nations could be cut by 40 to 50% during 1986 and 1987. These cuts would force reductions in the staff and programs of the UN proper, as well as serious cash flow problems in many other parts of the UN system. While there is a need for rationalizing UN activities and for removing dead wood, the magnitude and suddenness of these cuts would result in a damaging convulsion. We are calling upon you as a UNA chapter/division leader to join us in mobilizing as many members as possible to oppose these cuts and to protect United States' legal obligations under the UN Charter.

The enclosed Background Bulletin provides factual information on the cuts. In your communications with Congress, the Administration, and the media, you may wish to emphasize the following arguments:

1. Violation of treaty obligations. All of the cuts violate U.S. treaty obligations under Article 17 of the Charter. The U.S. is either a member of the UN or it is not. If it is a member, then it pays its dues or, as it has on two occasions in the past, it utilizes the provisions available under the Charter to reduce its dues legally. What is at stake is more than the treaty alone; it is the value and reliability of the U.S. word in all treaties. Philosophically and legally, there is no difference between the U.S. signature on the UN Charter and on the NATO treaty.
2. U.S. withdrawal in the guise of cost-cutting. These reductions are defended as the UN share of the belt-tightening required throughout the federal budget, yet they are cumulatively equivalent to 40 - 50% of

-over-

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March 7, 1986

the U.S. contribution, and thus far higher than the average reduction required under the provisions of Gramm-Rudman. With no limit to further cuts, the result could be "withdrawal in stages." It should be noted that on the basis of withholdings already proposed or enacted, the U.S. will lose its vote in the General Assembly in 4 to 6 years.

3. Does President Reagan want to preside over U.S. withdrawal from the UN? Ironically, the current assault on the UN comes at a time of growing U.S. influence at the UN. Although the style of U.S. diplomacy has sometimes been counterproductive, it is nonetheless true that on matters relating to terrorism, human rights, treatment of Israel, UN salaries and UN budget, the emergency situation in Africa, to name only a few examples, the UN has taken actions proving that intensified U.S. involvement can pay significant dividends. But the massive cuts will destroy the incentive for other countries to work with the U.S. to make the UN more effective, thus greatly reducing U.S. leverage and credibility. It is certain that President Reagan, who has addressed the world body more often than any other American President, will not wish to be remembered as one who "lost" the UN -- either through U.S. withdrawal or through extreme diminution of U.S. influence.
4. The suddenness and magnitude of the U.S. cuts will cause chaos. A long overdue overhaul of the UN system -- that re-examines priorities, rationalizes its structure, and removes deadwood in both staff and programs -- is now underway. Such large cuts in so short a time, however, will make it impossible to cut the fat and save the muscle. They will force reductions across the board, not selectively, and will work directly against the goals of improved management and increased effectiveness.

The U.S. is not the only nation in arrears. The Soviet Union and other Eastern European nations have accumulated arrears of approximately \$70 million. Brazil, Argentina and France owe significant amounts. While meeting its financial obligations the U.S. should encourage other nations to pay their assessments and work with these nations to provide a sound financial base for a reformed UN. If we don't pay, we can't expect others to do so.

We are asking you to do the following immediately: (1) write to members of Congress and the administration (sample letters are enclosed); (2) write to the editor of your local newspaper or submit an op-ed piece; and (3) mobilize your local council of organizations or community networks.

SAMPLE LETTER TO MEMBERS OF CONGRESS

(To avoid the appearance of a form letter, please express these ideas in your own words.)

Dear Senator/Representative:

I am writing to express my opposition to the severe cuts in the U.S. assessed contribution to the United Nations contained in the administration's 1987 budget proposal, as called for by the Kassebaum Amendment and the Gramm-Rudman legislation.

All of these cuts violate U.S. obligations under Article 17 of the UN Charter and call into question the value and credibility of the U.S. word in all treaties. Since the cuts are equivalent to 40 - 50% of the U.S. assessed contribution, they are far higher than the average reduction required under the provisions of Gramm-Rudman. They constitute a U.S. withdrawal from the UN under the guise of cost cutting.

I appreciate the concern of Congress that the UN adopt sound financial and administrative procedures. However, I believe that current UN efforts to re-examine its priorities, procedures and programs should be allowed to proceed and should not be disrupted by a hasty unilateral act on the part of the U.S.

I urge you to delay the effective date of the cuts mandated by the Kassebaum Amendment and to exempt all items covered by treaty obligations from the cuts required under Gramm-Rudman.

Sincerely,

SAMPLE LETTER TO PRESIDENT REAGAN

(To avoid the appearance of a form letter, please express these ideas in your own words.)

Dear Mr. President:

I am writing, as a citizen who supports sensible internationalism, to ask for your help in preventing the impending financial catastrophe facing the United Nations system.

Drastic cuts to the US assessed contribution to the UN resulting from the Gramm-Rudman bill, the Kassebaum Amendment, and similar legislation may reduce the US assessed contribution to the Un system by 40 to 50% during 1986 and 1987.

I recognize the importance of a balanced federal budget and sound administrative and financial policies at the UN. However, the cuts will violate US treaty obligations under Article 17 of the UN Charter, thus calling into question US commitment to other international treaties. Our obligations under the UN Charter are as important as our obligations under NATO and other international agreements.

The cuts will hurt the US just at a time when American influence at the UN is expanding in areas such as human rights, terrorism, the treatment of Israel, and the economic crisis in Africa. In addition, the UN is beginning the necessary process of re-examining its priorities, procedures, and programs. Please do not allow these efforts to be disrupted through a hasty, unilateral move by the US.

I commend you for your many expressions of support for the goals of the UN Charter, especially during your four speeches to the UN General Assembly. I applaud your statement on August 17, 1985, that the Kassebaum Amendment will cause "serious problems" and that activities of UN agencies "of importance to the US could be deleteriously affected as a result." In light of this record, it would be especially unfortunate and ironic if you were to be remembered as the President who "lost" the UN.

Please seek a delay in the effective date of the reductions called for in the Kassebaum Amendment and work to protect items covered by international treaties from cuts under the Gramm-Rudman formula. In addition, please work with leaders of the Soviet Union and other member states which are also in financial arrears to bring their contributions up to date and to provide a sound financial base for a reformed UN.

We are depending on you to take the lead in the search for solutions to the UN's current financial crisis that will strengthen the UN and preserve the credibility and leadership of the United States.

Sincerely,

Punishing U.N. for Good Behavior

Despite Its Improvements, U.S. Slashes Payments Drastically

By PETER FROMUTH

Less than three months after the close of its 40th anniversary session, the United Nations is running out of money. Without a solution, U.N. and State Department experts agree, the lights will go dark on the next General Assembly.

There are two sides to the troubles that are depleting the coffers of the organization, and they are like two clamps of a vise. One of the clamps represents about \$125 million in back dues owed by members, including the United States, that have refused some part of their U.N. contribution as a protest against activities that they don't like. The other clamp is \$80 million to \$100 million in cuts, or about one-half of our U.N. assessment, that Congress has enacted or proposed over the last year.

Both violate U.S. commitments under international law. And both cause major cash-flow problems for an organization with an \$800-million budget and a prohibition against borrowing. However, since the first of these clamps tightened gradually over the last 20 years, the United Nations was able to cushion the effect, although at the price of exhausting all financial reserves. But there was little warning of the new U.S. cuts. And, with its financial cushion now gone, the world body is running out of options.

The largest cut so far—\$42 million—is essentially a congressional penalty for the United Nations' failure to jettison one of its

charter's basic principles—one nation, one vote—and replace it with contribution-weighted voting on money matters.

Potentially even more serious are the cuts triggered by the Gramm-Rudman budget measure. In this fiscal year, for example, the United Nations' "share" of cutbacks was already \$21 million, which is roughly 10% of the United States' dues to the organization and thus more than double the 4.3% whack aimed at the rest of the federal government. And there is more to come. Congressional sources predict much greater cuts for 1987.

While the United States has long been unhappy with its lot at the United Nations, the timing of this frontal assault is paradoxical, because it coincides with the most sustained period of U.S. influence in the world organization since the 1960s. In fact, after four years of angry arm-waving at the United Nations, the Reagan Administration compiled a record on both political and administrative issues at the last two General Assemblies that would justify intensified U.S. involvement. Helping to make that possible is the emergence of a powerful, moderate mainstream in the Third World that is willing to join this country when it takes reasonable positions and defends them convincingly. While this attitudinal change is pervasive, a few illustrations will suffice.

A vivid example is the United Nations' turnabout on terrorism. For 13 years the organization has been stuck in a definitional tar pit over what causes terrorism and who is responsible. But in 1985 both the General Assembly and the Security Council passed resolutions unequivocally condemning terrorism and hostage-taking, and declaring them unjustifiable regardless of the cause. Hand-in-hand with the terrorism breakthrough was a decline in verbal mistreatment of Israel, so startling to the Israeli ambassador that it moved him

to hail "the end of our decade of isolation."

Another side of the same story is a more responsible attitude toward U.N. management—one that has produced a freeze on professional salaries, a near-freeze on budget growth (0.1%) and, most important, an almost universal recognition that after four decades it is time to overhaul the programs and machinery of the world organization.

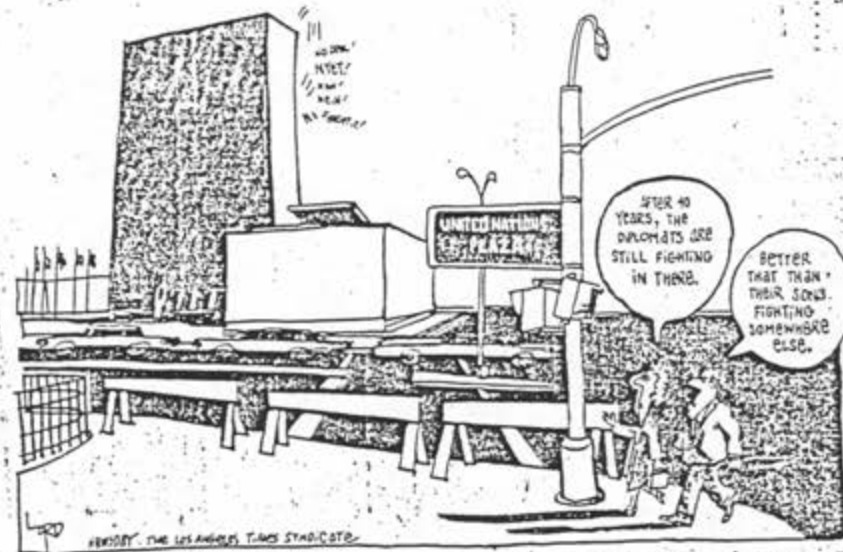
In the face of these and other improvements of equal magnitude, the congressional assault amounts to punishment for good behavior.

When the Reagan team arrived at the United Nations, it was aggrieved by many things: attacks on Israel in U.N. forums; double standards in the treatment of the United States and the Soviet Union, the irrelevance of many U.N. resolutions and programs, and the expansion of the U.N. budget.

On each count there has been dramatic progress. Yet now Congress is embarked on actions that will replace the surgeon's scalpel with a stick of dynamite. Such deep cuts in so short a time will make it impossible to trim the fat and save the bone. They will force the firing of as many as 2,000 U.N. staff members in peace-keeping as well as in human rights, in disaster relief as well as in combating drug-trafficking.

In many ways it was this Administration's unvarying criticism of the United Nations in the early 1980s that triggered the congressional furies now laying waste to America's credibility and leverage in the world body. It is the Administration that now must call the attack to a halt.

Peter Fromuth is director of the U.N. management project at the United Nations Assn. of the United States of America, a private research and education group based in New York.





United Nations Association of the United States of America

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

March 7, 1986

BACKGROUND BULLETIN

UN Financial Crisis

I. Financial Crisis: Impact on the UN Regular Budget

There are two parts to the UN's financial emergency. One is the \$125 million in back dues owed by the Soviet Union, the US and 16 other member states which have refused some part of their UN contribution as a protest against activities they disapprove. The other part is \$80 to \$100 million in cuts - between 40 and 50% of US dues - which Congress and the Administration plan to make during the 1986 and 1987 fiscal years. Both of these withholdings violate US commitments under international law. Since the total UN expenditures are approximately \$815 million this year and since the UN is not allowed to borrow, both cause major cash flow problems. The difference is that the first has grown gradually over the past 20 years which has enabled the UN to blunt its impact, although at the cost of exhausting its financial reserves. For the new US cuts, however, there has been little warning and with the UN's financial cushion now gone, it is fast running out of options. These cuts are described below. They are in addition to the US' estimated annual withholdings of \$2 million related to the PLO, SWAPO and the Law of the Sea Conference.

FY 1986

Appropriations Cut: -\$11.2 million, FY 1986

This reflects the fact that in December 1985 Congress appropriated \$32 million less for the account which finances payments to the UN regular budget and 43 other international organizations. The UN's share of that cut was \$11.2 million. The Administration's FY 1987 budget seeks to reinstate that money.

Gramm-Rudman: -\$19.9 million, FY 1986

In December \$19.9 million was withheld from the US assessed contribution to the UN budget for that year. This amount is roughly equal to 10% of the US contribution and thus more than double the 4.3% sequestration applied against the rest of the federal government. The Administration could reinstate as much as \$12.1 of the \$19.9 million in FY 1987 although it is not clear whether it will do so.

FY 1987

Gramm-Rudman: (-\$38 million, FY 1987)

Although the President's budget request calls for no Gramm-Rudman reductions in UN assessed contributions in Fiscal 1987, Congressional staff warn that cuts are likely, and that a reduction of as much as \$38 million is possible.

(over)

Kassebaum: - \$42.1 million, FY 1987

The largest of the cuts, the Kassebaum amendment calls upon the UN to replace the one-nation-one-vote principle on budgetary matters in favor of weighted voting, or face a cap of 20% on US contributions to the assessed budgets of the UN and the specialized agencies. At the UN this means a reduction of \$42 million.

Sundquist: - \$21 million, FY 1987

This amendment requires the US to withhold an amount equal to that part of its contribution which would be used to pay the salaries of Soviet bloc officials working in the Secretariat as a protest against the Soviet bloc policy requiring these employees to relinquish part of each paycheck to their governments.

Changes to income tax reimbursement: - \$14.9 million, FY 1987

A withholding requested by the Administration, this reflects a US decision to alter unilaterally an agreement with the UN regarding the methodology it follows to determine how much it should reimburse the UN for the US taxes paid by US nationals working in the UN.

Adjustment for inflation, exchange rate fluctuation, "add-ons" - \$7.2 million, FY 1987

This year the Administration has decided it will no longer pay the difference between the Secretary-General's initially proposed budget and the final budget adopted by the General Assembly. The difference between the two budgets, an amount of \$7.2 million, reflects factors of inflation, exchange rate fluctuation, and the addition of program costs not contained in the original budget.

*FY86 Shortfall (best case)

\$19.0 million (assumes \$12.1 million of the \$19.9 Gramm-Rudman FY 86 is reinstated)

FY86 Shortfall (worst case)

\$31.1 million (assumes nothing is reinstated)

FY87 Shortfall (best case)

\$74.0 million (this is the total of FY87 cuts listed above, not including the Gramm-Rudman FY87 \$38 million "worst case" cut, and with the FY86 appropriations cut of \$11.2 million reinstated)

FY87 Shortfall (worst case)

\$123.2 million (this assumes a Gramm-Rudman FY87 cut of \$38 million, (which is 25% below levels requested in the President's budget), and no reinstatement of \$11.2 million FY86 appropriations cut)

*All cuts indicated on pages 2 and 3 are exclusive of the usual annual US withholdings related to SWAPO, PLO, Law of the Sea Conference et al, estimated to total \$2 million during 1986.

Cumulative FY86-87 Shortfall

\$93.0 million (best case)

\$154.3 million (worst case)

Total US payment normally expected

FY 1986: \$192.0 million (After excluding US withholdings: SWAPO,
PLO, Law of the Sea Conference, et al)

FY 1987: \$204.5 million " " "

Total: \$396.5 million " " "

II. Financial Crisis: Impact on the UN System

The degree and distribution of the current cuts upon the other agencies of the UN system are not clear. Reductions in at least four areas have been enacted or are proposed:

1. Gramm-Rudman FY 1986

As indicated earlier, the largest part of the first Gramm-Rudman sequestration, \$19.9 million, was applied against the UN proper (FAO was cut \$2 million). As much as \$12.1 million of that may be reinstated; if it is, this money will be taken from the other specialized agencies.

2. Kassebaum FY 1987

The President's budget provides for the withholding of \$79 million from the UN and the UN system, of which \$42.1 million would be taken from payments to the UN proper. The \$37 million balance would be distributed among 9 specialized agencies¹. If the distribution is according to budget size, the largest share of the cuts would be applied against WHO, FAO, ILO and ICAO.

3. Congressional Appropriations Cut FY 1986

Several million dollars were withheld from UN agencies last December as their share of the Congressional appropriations shortfall mentioned in II above. Again, it is not known how this is being distributed.

¹IAEA, though often treated as a specialized agency, is technically an autonomous intergovernmental organization under the United Nation's aegis, and is therefore exempted from cuts, as in UNIDO, which operates under a weighted voting system already.

4. Gramm-Rudman FY 1987

Congressional staff members indicate that there will be pressure for deep Gramm-Rudman cuts against UN agencies in FY87, cuts that would therefore take effect October 1st, 1986. Such reductions could be as high as 25% of US contributions to those agencies.

III. UNA Position

Please see the cover letter from Elliot Richardson and Edward Luck. UNA recommends that four points be made in regard to the massive reductions in the US assessed contribution to the UN.:

1. The reductions are a violation of US treaty obligations under the Charter of the UN. The US is either a member of the UN or it is not. If it is, it should pay its dues, or utilize the provisions available for legally reducing its dues. The reputation of the US as a nation whose word can be trusted is at stake.
2. The reductions are tantamount to a withdrawal from the UN system in the name of fiscal responsibility. If those in Congress and the Administration who favor these cuts are genuinely concerned with sound fiscal and administrative procedures, they will encourage careful re-examination of UN programs and policies, not a hasty unilateral action which will only disrupt the work of the UN.
3. The reductions will drastically reduce US influence at the UN at a time when this country is enjoying expanding influence in the world body. President Reagan has addressed the UN General Assembly several times and expressed his support for the goals of the Charter. The US has exercised influence in the areas of terrorism, human rights, the treatment of Israel, the situation in Africa, and other matters. The reductions could nullify all of this progress.
4. The reductions will cause chaos in the UN system. The UN has begun to re-examine its procedures and policies. This process should be allowed to continue. The magnitude and timing of these cuts will disrupt the UN, not encourage sound management.

Specific Points

Kassebaum Amendment and UNA Board of Directors' resolution

December 3rd, 1985, the UNA Board of Directors adopted a resolution declaring the Kassebaum amendment in violation of US treaty obligations, but recognized the unlikelihood of its repeal and therefore made the following recommendations:

- 1) It urged the postponement of the amendment's effective date pending UN actions that met the thrust of a position taken by

Representatives Solomon and Mica, the two members of the Congressional delegation to the UN, in a letter to Secretary of State Shultz. Specifically, it urged:

- a) a good faith showing that the UN takes seriously the concerns about fiscal responsibility manifested by the amendment, and
 - b) the convening of a high-level group to examine the existing apparatus for budgetary decision-making and recommend improvements that would foster greater fairness and accountability.
- 2) It urged the State Department, the US Mission to the UN, member states and the Secretary General to participate in a dialogue on the basis of the position proposed by the Congressional delegation.

The Congressional position did not become official US policy until early December, less than three weeks from the conclusion of the General Assembly, much less time than would have been necessary to comply with every action requested. Nevertheless, the action which the Secretary General and the Assembly did take satisfied the spirit of the Congressional position and of the UNA resolution. These included: a pay freeze for professional staff; a near-freeze on budget growth (0.1% real growth), making the 1986-87 budget increase the lowest in UN history, reduction in "add-ons" and in travel costs and consultants; and the formation of a high-level group which will investigate matters relating to UN finance and administration, including, it is expected, arrangements for budgetary decision-making.

Such actions constitute the "good faith showing" requested and justify suspension of the Kassebaum amendment pending: 1) issuance of recommendations by the expert group now meeting, and 2) the legal renegotiation of US contributions to the UN if either the General Assembly or Congress is unable to accept the recommendations presented by the group.

Statements by President Reagan

Communications from UNA members should stress the fact that President Reagan opposed both the Kassebaum and the Sundquist amendments and attached a caveat to his signature on the Foreign Relations Authorization Act, Fiscal Years 1986 and 1987, which contained them.

He said that these measures caused "serious problems" and "establish provisions that may be impossible to meet in the period of time indicated, thereby requiring reductions in US payments of assessed and voluntary contributions. Activities of these organizations of importance to the United States could be deleteriously affected as a result."

(over)

Regarding the Sundquist amendment he said: "Similar difficulties may also result from Section 151, which assumes that the United Nations can determine whether and the extent to which some U.N. employees are required to pay part or all of their salaries to their respective governments. This provision also assumes that the United Nations can correct such a practice and requires a reduction to U.S. payments of its assessed contributions to the United Nations to the extent that the practice continues. The difficulties in administering Section 151 may require modification of it at a later date."

Gramm-Rudman's effect upon treaty commitments may violate US law.

There appears to be a legal basis for challenging Gramm-Rudman on the grounds that it violates US treaty obligations. While it is possible for US treaty obligations to be abrogated by subsequent legislation, United States law requires that Congressional intent to do so must be established by an explicit disavowal of those obligations. There is nothing in the text and there appears to be nothing in the legislative history of Gramm-Rudman which establishes that Congress intended to invalidate US treaty commitments either to the UN or to any other treaty.

IV. The Financial Obligations of Other UN Member States

As of mid-January, 1986, member states owed the UN approximately \$200 million in unpaid assessed contributions. Of that amount, approximately \$70 million was owed by the Soviet Union and other Eastern European nations. The USSR has withheld a part of its annual assessment for several years in opposition to some UN peacekeeping operations. In 1985 the Soviet Union made a payment large enough to prevent it from losing its vote in the General Assembly, as called for in Article 19 of the Charter.

In addition to the USSR and socialist nations, other Member States have withheld parts of their assessed contributions in recent years. These include Israel, France, China, Iran, South Africa, several Arab countries, as well as the United States. Two Latin American nations with severe debt problems, Argentina and Brazil, owe \$3.9 million and \$15.9 million, respectively.

TIMELINES FOR ACTION BY HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES (Information on Senate action will be sent later.)

House Budget Committee Track:

February 21

House Foreign Affairs Committee sends Budget Committee its recommendation. Foreign Affairs has accepted the President's request for the UN assessed contribution.

TIMELINES (continued)

March 3 - March 14

House Budget Committee hearings. Letters to members should be delivered as soon as possible.

March 17 - March 28

House Budget Committee mark-up session. Depending on how things are going, phone calls to selected members may be necessary.

April 1 - April 15

Concurrent resolution for FY 1987 budget is reported and passed.

House Appropriation Committee Track:

March 25

Hearings begin. Letters should be on members desks by March 17.

Late April - May or possibly June

Mark-up session.

June 2 - June 27

Appropriations bills, Continuing Resolution or some combination, must be passed by June 30. Because of July 4th recess, this really means June 27.

July 1 - August recess (8/15?)

Period for House-Senate Conference for reconciliation of two versions.

NB: Other Important Dates:

- * Supreme Court will hear arguments on Gramm-Rudman-Hollings beginning at the end of April.
- * The General Assembly will meet in resumed session at the same time to address the financial crisis.

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Dear Rabbi:

One of the most important responsibilities of the Board of Directors is to elect 1) the Board of Governors, which serves as an Executive Committee for the Association, 2) the National Council, and 3) the Treasurer of the Association. Please take a moment now to complete the ballot and return it to me in the enclosed envelope.

New stationery with the entire Board of Directors listed on the back will soon be prepared. The new Directors' roster is also enclosed. As you will see, we have once again managed to attract a first-rate group to join you on the Board.

The next annual meeting of the Board of Directors will be in New York on Monday, December 3, 1985, from 10 a.m. to 3 p.m. Please make every effort to attend. It will be an important meeting and an opportunity for you to have an input in shaping out future programs. You will be receiving more details and preparatory materials as the date draws nearer.

Thanks very much for your help and counsel. With warm regard.

Sincerely,

Elliot L. Richardson
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