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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
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Jerome Jacobson
William P. Laughlin
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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

UNA-USA

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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 INTER DEPENDENT	61,780	70,400	1,000	1,000	1,200	900			
F. PUBLICATIONS, PROMOTIONS & SALES	82,205	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	99,020	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	125,200	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							(849,495)	(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



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
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Mary Purcell
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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
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Population Crisis Committee
The Population Institute
Presbyterian Church (USA)
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Protestant Episcopal Church, USA
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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

UNA. 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



Brochees to Fern

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

MESSAGE

Re: UAHTC Go-Sponsoring
Conference

249

SIGNED

PHONED ☒CALL
BACK ☒RETURNED
CALL ☐WANTS TO
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אחדות
ליהדות
מתקדמת
באמריקה

From the desk of
EDITH J. MILLER

al - note

shoul.d we seek to include brochure in
a mailing to rabbis, presidents...etc.
as co-sponsor they'll want us to
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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

August 11

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 Fornos
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.
Altruus 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 Conference of Christians and Jews	Serra 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 the Churches of Christ in the U.S.A.	Scoutmaster International of the Americas
American Baptist Churches, U.S.A. National Ministries	Industrial Union Department, AFL-CIO	National Council of Jewish Women	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 Negro Women of the U.S.	Unitarian Universalist Association United Nations Office
American Ethical Union	International Advertising Association	National Council of Women of the U.S.	Unitarian Universalist Women's Federation
American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations	International Association of Lions Clubs	National Education Association of the U.S.	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 Business and Professional Women's Clubs	United Church Board for World Ministries - Div. of World Service
American Friends Service Committee	International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers	National Federation of Music Clubs	United Furniture Workers of America
American Humanist Association	International Brotherhood of Painters & Allied Trades	National Federation of Temple Brotherhoods	United Methodist Church, Board of Church & Society
American Jewish Committee	International Brotherhood of Teamsters	National Federation of Temple Sisterhoods	United Methodist Church, Board of Global Ministries - Women's Division
American Jewish Congress, Women's Division	International Chemical Workers Union	National Fraternal Council of Churches of America	United Neighborhood Centers of America
Americans for Democratic Action	International Ladies' Garment Workers Union	National Jewish Welfare Board	U.S. Catholic Conference
Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith	International League for Human Rights	National Organization for Women (NOW)	U.S. Committee for UNICEF
Baptist World Alliance	International Peace Academy	National PTA	U.S. SERVAS Committee
B'nai B'rith International	International Union of Operating Engineers	National Service Conference of the American Ethical Union	United Steel Workers of America
B'nai B'rith Women	International Union, United Automobile, Aerospace & Agricultural Implement Workers of America (UAW)	National Spiritual Assembly of the Baha'is of the U.S.A.	Woman's National Farm & Garden Association
Boys' Clubs of America	International Woodworkers of America	National Urban League	Women's Action Alliance
Brotherhood of Railway and Steamship Clerks	Iota Phi Lambda Sorority	Oil, Chemical & Atomic Workers International Union	Women's American ORT
Campaign for U.N. Reform	Jewish War Veterans of the U.S.A.	Overseas Development Council	Women's International League for Peace and Freedom
CARE	[WV] Ladies Auxiliary	Overseas Education Fund of the League of Women Voters	Women's League for Conservative Judaism
Carnegie Endowment for International Peace	Johnson Foundation	Pan Pacific and S.E. Asia Women's Association of the U.S.A.	Women's National Book Association
Center for Population Communications—Intl.	Joint National Committee for Languages	People-to-People	Women United for the United Nations
Church Women United	Labors International Union of North America	Planned Parenthood Federation of America	World Federalists 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
Esperanto League for North America			Zonta 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 G. 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-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
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

Director, Communications
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 overextended 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. And 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
AMERICAN JEWISH
ARCHIVES
SUBCOMMITTEE ON INTERNATIONAL FINANCE
AND MONETARY POLICY**

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

FEBRUARY 8, 1985

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%





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

Jeffrey Laurenti

SUMMARY OF POLL FINDINGS

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Overview	2
Peace and Security	3
• 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	
International Law and the World Court	4
• Abide by rulings of the World Court even when they contradict U.S. government policies	
Environment	5
• Invest authority in the U.N. to deal with environmental problems worldwide	
• Increase U.N. funding for environmental protection	
Economic Issues	6
• Don't rely on an international agency to solve trade disputes	
• Don't raise U.N. funding levels for managing global economic problems	
Funding U.N. Programs	6
• Increase funding from the U.S. and other member countries for U.N. programs in a wide but discriminatingly prioritized range of areas	
U.N. Job Performance	8
• 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	
How Much Should We Be Involved	9
• Increase U.S. participation in the U.N.	
U.N. Dues	10
• Pay U.N. assessed dues -- always and on time -- rather than withhold them as political leverage	
Depth of Awareness	10
• Knowledge of the U.N. is broad but sketchy	
Conclusion	11
A Note on Methodology	11

The U.N. at a Watershed in U.S. Opinion: Pragmatic Multilateralism in 1989

Jeffrey Larenti

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 (43% 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

7.
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.

AMERICAN JEWISH

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).

AMERICAN JEWISH ARCHIVES

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
5 Shevat 5749

Mr. Fred Cohen

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, NEWYORK, 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
Cet \$50. - from
from Dispute
Fund n
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. Craufurd 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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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
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Executive Director, UNA Fund
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* * *

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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" Gross Expenses	1988 Column "B" Gross Expenses	1989 Column "C" Restricted Fund Contributions	1988 Column "C" Restricted Fund Contributions	1989 Column "D" Self Generated Income	1988 Column "D" Self Generated Income	1989 Column "E" General Support Required/(Contributed)	1988 Column "E" General Support Required/(Contributed)	1989/1988 Variance Increase/(Decrease) General Sup. Required
<u>COMMUNICATIONS & CONSTITUENCIES</u>									
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)
<u>POLICY ANALYSIS & DIALOGUE</u>									
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)
<u>GENERAL ADMINISTRATIVE EXPENSES</u>									
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			
<u>NET EXPENSES TO BE COVERED BY GENERAL CONTRIBUTIONS</u>							816,795	885,955	(69,160)

SECTION "B"

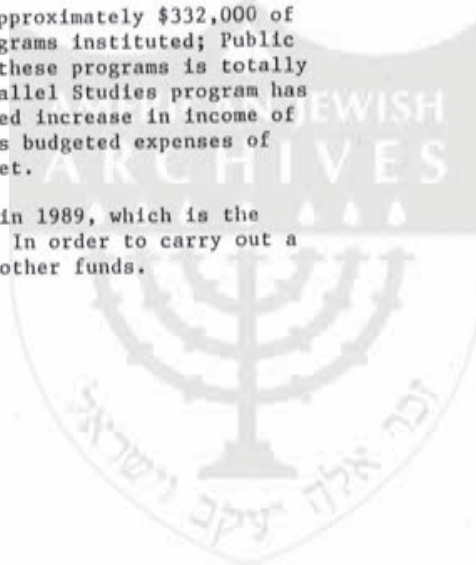
		<u>1 9 8 9</u>		<u>1 9 8 8</u>		<u>1989/1988</u>	
	<u>Column</u> <u>"F"</u>	<u>Column</u> <u>"G"</u>	<u>Column</u> <u>"H"</u>	<u>Column</u> <u>"G"</u>	<u>Column</u> <u>"H"</u>	<u>Variance</u> <u>Increase/</u> <u>(Decrease)</u>	<u>Net</u> <u>Change</u>
	<u>General Income</u>						
1. <u>Net expenses to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

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.



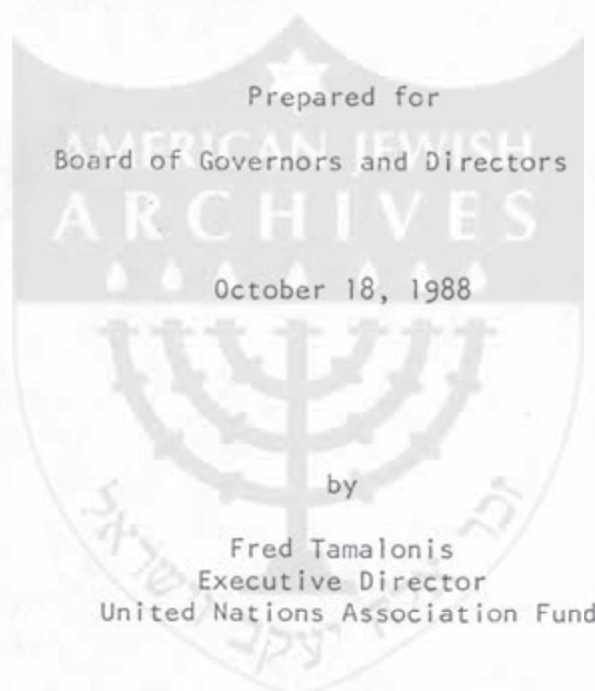
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UNA-USA

STRATEGIC PLANNING AND DEVELOPMENT COMMITTEE

DEVELOPMENT REPORT



UNA-USA
DEVELOPMENT REPORT

TABLE OF CONTENTS

<u>Section</u>	<u>Page</u>
OVERVIEW	1
DEVELOPMENT PROGRAM RECOMMENDATIONS	4
ANNUAL GIVING AT UNA-USA	6
INDIVIDUAL GIVING	7
ANNUAL GIVING	7
BEQUESTS AND PLANNING GIVING	10
CORPORATE GRANTS AND CONTRIBUTIONS	13
FOUNDATION GRANTS	14
MAJOR GIFT AND SELECTIVE ENDOWMENT	16
MANAGEMENT AND ADMINISTRATION	18
BOARD LEADERSHIP	19
CONCLUSION	19
 <u>Attachments</u>	
ADDENDUM I & II	
EXHIBITS "A", "B", "C", "D"	

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:

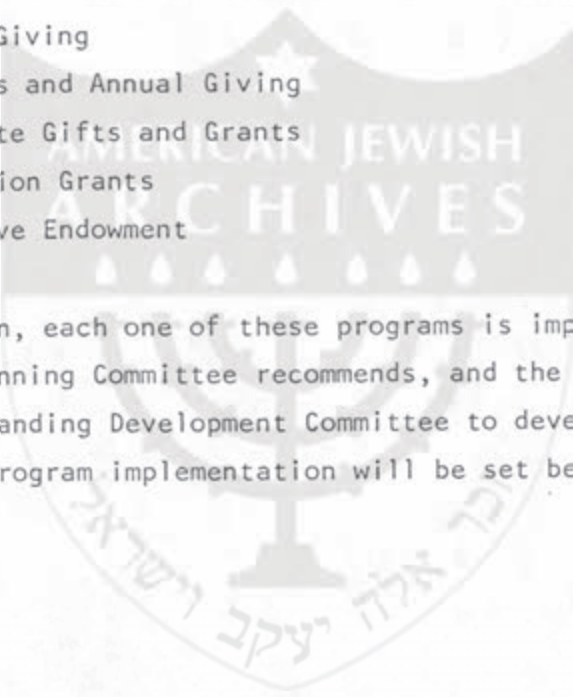
- . The Association has been repositioned politically, philosophically, and programmatically to lead mainstream American thinking and to influence American policymaking on global issues and international institutions.
- . The staff has been trimmed and restructured to produce a much more efficient and 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:

A large, semi-transparent watermark of the American Jewish Archives logo is centered on the page. It features a shield with a menorah in the center, a Star of David at the top, and the words "AMERICAN JEWISH ARCHIVES" in a banner across the middle. Below the shield is a menorah base with the Hebrew text "בית אלה יעקב וישראל".

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:

United Nations Association
Programs for Endowment

Gift required for
naming opportunity

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 Witunski

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.

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 CATEGORIES

1987

<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

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, AMERICAN JEWISH

Sincerely,

Elliot L. Richardson

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.

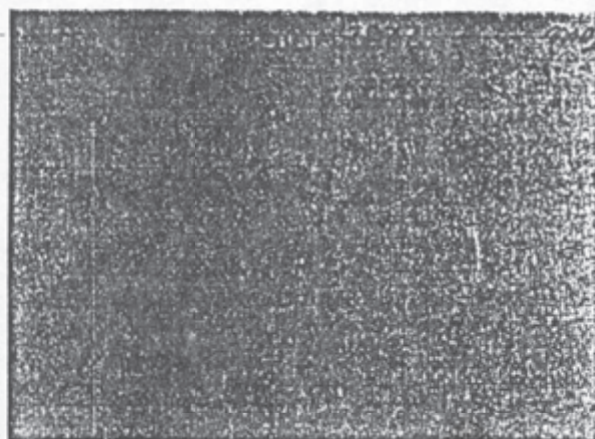
A focal point of this international evolution will be December 10, when the 40th anniversary of the United Nations Universal Declaration of Human Rights is observed. Forty years ago, governments worldwide for the first time agreed on a standard against which to measure their treatment of citizens. In 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 800 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 fellowships centennial 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 Kronsadt, Associate Editor, Publications Office

Harder to Co-Chair Peace Convocations

AAUW President Sarah Harder will co-chair the Common Security Through Structures for Peace convocation February 24-26, 1989, in Washington, D.C. With such 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 Falkowski, Common Security Through Structures for Peace, 519 Seventh Street, S.E., Washington, D.C. 20003-4595.

U.N. Dues Okayed

In a move equaled only by the U.S. ratification of the United States and the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) in 1948, the U.S. House of Representatives recently approved the \$188 million in dues payments to the U.N. and ordered the State Department to work out a plan to pay \$520 million in past dues.

The Resolution also had withheld dues payments in the past to protest what it saw as inept management of the U.N. and the recent move to reflect the U.S. provides 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.

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Chairman, Board of Governors
Orville L. Freeman

Chairman, National Council
Cyrus R. Vance

Chairman, 1988 National
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Vice President, Policy Studies
Toby Trister Gati

Executive Director, UNA Fund
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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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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

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

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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.