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# UNA~USA

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# 1987

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## THE YEAR AT A GLANCE



UNITED NATIONS ASSOCIATION  
OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

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

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## LETTER FROM THE CHAIRMAN AND PRESIDENT

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

ELLIOT L. RICHARDSON  
*Chairman*

EDWARD C. LUCK  
*President*

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## MAKING THE U.N. WORK

### THE U.N. MANAGEMENT & DECISION-MAKING PROJECT

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

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

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



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## THE WASHINGTON OFFICE

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

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

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

## UNESCO

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

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

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

## INTERNATIONAL EMERGENCY RELIEF

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

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# FOSTERING INTERNATIONAL DIALOGUE

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



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

## BUILDING A NATIONAL CONSENSUS

### THE NATIONAL NETWORK

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

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

April found 200 representatives of UNA's

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

### THE MULTILATERAL PROJECT

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

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

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

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

## ECONOMIC POLICY COUNCIL

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

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

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



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## INVOLVING THE NEXT GENERATION

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

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

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

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## GETTING THE MESSAGE OUT

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

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

## EDITORS' SEMINAR

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

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

## UNA & THE MEDIA

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

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## SUSTAINING THE MOMENTUM

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

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

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



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# FINANCIAL HIGHLIGHTS

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

## WHAT MUST BE DONE

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

*(The complete financial statements are available upon request.)*

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

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





## OFFICERS AND COMMITTEE CHAIRMEN

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*Chairman, WFUNA Committee*

Christopher H. Phillips

Dear Ambassador Richardson,

Enclosed is my donation in the amount of \$\_\_\_\_\_ for the general support of the United Nations Association of the United States of America, Inc.

Donors contributing \$100 or more will receive one of the following UNA reports. Donors contributing \$250 or more will receive three. Please indicate your choice(s):

- ☐ *A Successor Vision: The United Nations of Tomorrow*
- ☐ *U.S. Policy Toward the Newly Industrializing Countries*
- ☐ *A Stronger Hand: Shaping an American Agenda for a More Effective U.N.*
- ☐ *The Next Giant Leap in Space: An Agenda for International Cooperation*
- ☐ *Issues Before the 41st General Assembly of the United Nations*

## PLANNED GIVING OPPORTUNITIES

I am interested in learning more about the following ways in which Planned Giving can save me money and help support the United Nations Association of the USA:

- ☐ Gifts of cash and securities
- ☐ Gifts of real estate and personal property
- ☐ Gifts of income
- ☐ Gifts of life insurance
- ☐ Charitable remainder trusts
- ☐ Bequests:
- ☐ UNA-USA is in my will
- ☐ I plan to put UNA-USA in my will
- ☐ Since time is of the essence, please call me as soon as possible. My telephone number: \_\_\_\_\_
- Home ( ) \_\_\_\_\_
- Office ( ) \_\_\_\_\_

Name .....

Address .....

City ..... State ..... Zip .....

THE UNITED NATIONS ASSOCIATION OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA (UNA-USA) IS A NONPROFIT 501(C)(3) RESEARCH AND EDUCATIONAL ORGANIZATION. CHARITABLE CONTRIBUTIONS PAYABLE TO UNA-USA ARE TAX-DEDUCTIBLE TO THE FULL EXTENT PERMITTED BY LAW.

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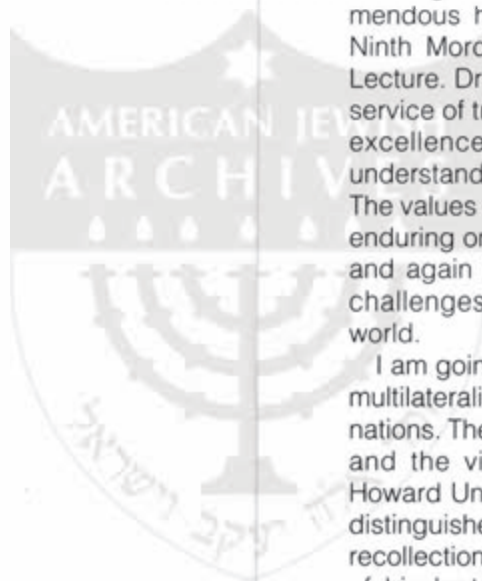
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**Cooperative  
Action in a  
Troubled World:  
Multilateralism  
and U.S. Foreign  
Policy**

by Franklin A. Thomas

A Ford Foundation Reprint



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

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

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

In part, I think we are witnessing a backlash of resentment at the misuse and manipulation of these instruments by nations hostile to the United States and its ideals. But there are also some Americans who seem to reject both the wisdom *and* the necessity of multilateral arrangements. At best they accept them only on terms of U.S.

control and ownership, terms that ultimately undermine multilateral cooperation.

When aspirations are set high, reality almost always falls short. This country's experience with the struggle of the 1950s and 1960s to put an end to racism and poverty is in some ways a good analogy. Expectations soared so high that our inability to fully reach the goals was interpreted by some as complete failure. Disappointment bred a sense of defeat and a pulling back from the original goals. The spirit of the times contracted, and in many quarters expansiveness and hope gave way to a narrowing of vision and a tendency to blame the victims for their plight.

America's postwar internationalism may have been naive, and perhaps even excessive. But surely it is no answer to swing radically in the other direction. That early vision of world community was, after all, the hard-won lesson of the Second World War. It may not have worked as intended, but who can say that the instincts behind it were wrong? If anything, forty years of tempestuous change have added compelling *new* reasons for effective multilateral action.

Those reasons are evident in the worldwide impact of the recent stock market crash, the global threat of the Chernobyl disaster, the world oil situation, the vast problem of the international drug trade, environmental hazards that threaten to deplete the ozone layer, and the spread of infectious diseases such as AIDS. We see them, too, in the tragic waves of human migration, people fleeing threats to their lives and seeking opportunities that respect no national boundaries. And we see them in the effects of massive urban growth and in the global imbalance between surplus food production and starvation. None of these



will be solved by any *one* nation. None will be solved at all, absent cooperative efforts.

There is still another fundamental dimension to the U.S. need for multilateral arrangements and institutions, especially the United Nations. As a global power we have an abiding interest in all forms of international stability. But we must also steer clear of direct involvement in many regional conflicts. At the present time, the United Nations is centrally involved in negotiations on the Iran-Iraq war and on Afghanistan. It is also playing an important peacekeeping role in Cyprus, Kashmir, and Southern Lebanon. The peaceful management of such disputes is critical to America's global interests; clearly the United Nations is a very useful vehicle for us to use in dealing with aspects of a number of troublesome regional conflicts and crises.

As I said earlier, the United States has traditionally been the leader in trying to establish, through the United Nations, an effective permanent system for international peace and security. This has proved to be a frustrating and elusive task. As you know, under the U.N. system there are five permanent members of the Security Council—the United States, the Soviet Union, China, France, and Great Britain. The original intent was for these nations to take the lead in facing threats to peace and, if necessary, pool military resources to deal with them. Of course, in the past forty years this system has been incompatible with the realities of the times and especially of the East-West relationship.

Nonetheless, in dangerous situations governments *have* tended to come back to the United Nations when all other approaches have failed. That happened recently with respect to the seven-year war between Iran

and Iraq. Perhaps the one positive aspect of that long tragedy has been the new unanimity it has brought to the permanent members of the Security Council.

Moreover, in recent months there have been signs of what may be a significant change in the Soviet attitude toward the United Nations. The change is summed up in General Secretary Gorbachev's statement published on September 17, outlining a new Soviet international stance, particularly with regard to its participation in the United Nations. In this striking reappraisal, Gorbachev appears to be suggesting a far more active and positive Soviet role in multilateral and international organizations within the context of managing peace and security in a post-nuclear world.

The Soviets have also announced their intention to pay arrears of some \$200 million owed to the United Nations for international peacekeeping going back to 1973. In September the Soviet Foreign Minister suggested that the security of shipping in the Persian Gulf should be a U. N. responsibility. The Soviets have also urged the revival of the Security Council Military Staff Committee, which consists of the Chiefs of Staff of the five permanent members.

Whatever one may think of these developments or the motives behind them, they require serious consideration and response from the West. Pragmatically, it seems now to be agreed that there are some threats to world peace—in the Gulf, for instance—that are simply too dangerous and too complex for East and West *not* to cooperate on. Personally, I very much hope that this trend toward a renewed spirit of multilateralism will widen to take in other vital world problems. I am thinking, for example, of the situations in Southern Africa and in the Middle

East. As long as the international community's response is divided along East-West lines, it will be that much more difficult to resolve these and other serious regional conflicts.

In light of past experiences, caution is certainly in order. But if there really is a chance to increase the effectiveness of multilateral action and responsibility in dealing with international conflict and stability, we should at least actively examine that possibility. We should *not* let the high ground of international leadership be lost to us.

There is much to build on. The United States has a long and often successful record of using the United Nations to rally and lead an effective international constituency on a wide range of global problems. We can and must continue to do so. This is not only a matter of justice and of respect for human rights, central as those are. It is also increasingly a question of human survival in any reasonably acceptable conditions. And before us lies perhaps the greatest challenge of all—to release the human spirit and human creativity from the bondage of poverty, prejudice, violence, and ignorance under which it has labored for far too long.

Our knowledge and technological mastery run on a two-way street. They can lead to human progress and improvement previously undreamed of. Or they can lead to lingering global disaster. This is a choice not presented so sharply to previous generations. In other words, if we are to survive in reasonable conditions, we have to manage not only our conflicts but also our progress.

This, I believe, is the major challenge of the last years of the twentieth century—a challenge that concerns every man, woman, and child. When one comes to terms with it, it is essentially a very practical

matter, requiring hard work, clear thinking, and resistance to shortcuts or ideological schemes. The United States is fortunate to have great human resources to face this challenge. It is vital that we use them well.

By its very nature, this challenge requires two essential qualities: leadership and cooperation.

In the postwar years, the United States provided an extraordinary degree of international leadership. It is critically important to revive that role. There is an urgent need for international leadership in many areas that have a direct bearing on the future of our planet. There is also, I believe, a new majority forming in the world of moderate, pragmatic states, but they await an inspiring lead.

What must this leadership entail? First of all, it has to balance national interests with those of the world community as a whole. We need to identify clearly what developments and events *must* be managed cooperatively, regardless of political, economic, or ideological differences. We must learn to use international and regional institutions more effectively. The new leadership will also have to dispel popular apathy and non-involvement, which can so quickly nullify the most imaginative of enterprises.

Much of the multilateral machinery to achieve these goals already exists, although important parts of it have long lain dormant. We need to get the machinery out, modify it, overhaul it, and *use* it. It is easy to pronounce such general exhortations. It is very difficult to make them a reality.

Before I close, I'd like to speak briefly about some of the work that my own institution, the Ford Foundation, is supporting. The Foundation is an American institution with a global mission aimed at advancing human



welfare. At its inception as a national foundation in 1950, five core concerns were identified—the establishment of peace, the strengthening of democracy and promotion of the rule of law, education in a democratic society, the strengthening of the economy, and improvement of human relations. Today, those concerns find expression in a grants program organized into six areas: urban poverty, rural poverty and resources, human rights and social justice, governance and public policy, education and culture, and international affairs. Through that program we seek, above all, to build the capacity of individuals and institutions to understand and cope with the problems they confront and to fashion strategies to solve them.

About two-thirds of our grant making is done in the United States, the other one-third largely in developing countries throughout Asia, Africa, and Latin America. But the geographical diversity of our work is subsumed into a single program that recognizes that the struggle to improve the human condition, to meet the age-old aspirations of people for peace and liberty and freedom from want, is one struggle, global in its dimensions.

Neither within nations nor between nations can enduring solutions be crafted unless all voices are heard. We believe it is critically important to develop the capacity across the broadest possible range of countries and people to articulate and analyze the problems that face them. Thus, for example, the Foundation puts explicit emphasis on the training of the next generation of social scientists and other analysts throughout the developing countries. We are now also exploring how we might assist in expanding the cadre worldwide of inter-

national public practitioners who can understand and work within the vast array of international laws and institutions. At the same time, a significant amount of the Foundation's support for higher education in the United States goes to strengthening American university curricula in international and foreign-area studies. This line of our work recognizes the need to build domestic understanding and expertise about the ways in which the interests and concerns of the United States intersect with those of the broader world community.

Confidence in the operations of established international bodies, most particularly the United Nations, is vital to their effective functioning as forums for promoting peace and stability. With that in mind, we recently supported a major analysis by the United Nations Association of the United States, which made recommendations for reform of the U.N.'s management and decision-making processes. We are also much concerned with strengthening regional organizations through which developing nations are attempting to forge cooperative approaches to problems ranging from the use of international waterways to trade and disarmament. In addition, we directly promote the inclusion of developing-country participants in commissions, conferences, and other important international gatherings concerned with seeking cooperative solutions to pressing international problems.

In these and in many of our other programs, we are seeking to help put in place the foundation for an international system that is truly participatory, truly multilateral in the broadest sense. We are engaged in what Ralph Bunche characterized as the slow and tortuous process of building "an international order in which freedom, justice

and mutual respect shall prevail." And we recognize, as did he, that "with nations—as with people—organized effort is needed to induce them to live and get along together in community." It is that international community, and that organized effort, which must be a priority for all who cherish human advancement and for all who desire to leave our children a legacy of which we, and they, can be proud.

Howard University—with its commitment to excellence—is part of that struggle and I commend you for it as I thank you for this platform and for your courtesy and attention this afternoon.



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# United Nations Association of the United States of America



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TO: Ed Luck  
FROM: Communications and Constituencies Department  
RE: Activities since last Board of Governors Meeting

May 26, 1988

## Communications

The Communications Division (formerly Publications) has been particularly active this past year as it continues to expand its scope of activities and responsibilities, working closely with department heads in such areas as membership recruitment, fund raising, special events, and the 1988 convention, as well as stepping up its public relations efforts.

\*The division has produced a number of direct mail packages for recruitment and fund raising, the most recent mailed the week of May 23. As part of this mailing, and as a much-needed "who we are" publication, the division has produced an inexpensive (cost: 10¢) epitomized annual report--designed for broad use by national headquarters and the field (copy enclosed).

Recently, and for the first time, the Communications Division assumed the production of all printed materials for special events (programs, invitations, seating lists, etc.), resulting in an improvement in overall quality and a dramatic reduction in costs.

\*The manuscript for Issues Before the 43rd General Assembly is now at Lexington Books for typesetting and, as in the past two years, will be available for sale the first week of September--well before the opening of the General Assembly. Sales in 1987 totaled \$53,600; sales in 1988 are expected to exceed \$60,000.

\*Also in preparation are several publications designed for broad educational outreach, including (a) a new Fact Sheet on the world refugee problem; (b) a revision of the popular but long-out-of-print "ABCs of the U.N."; and (c) a new brochure to be entitled "The U.N.: What's In It for You."

Funding for these publications is provided by a grant from the National Educational Association.

\*Work has begun on UNA's annual two-day Editors' Seminar at the U.N., to be held at the opening of the General Assembly in September. With funding from the U.N. Department of Public Information, some 100 editorial writers from throughout the U.S. will come together at the U.N. for discussions with senior U.N. and U.S. diplomats. Last year this event generated dozens of magazine and newspaper articles and scores of radio programs on the important--and all too little known--work of the U.N. and its specialized agencies.

\*The division has negotiated the publication of "A Successor Vision: The United Nations of Tomorrow" and all ten support papers of the U.N. Management and Decision-Making Project in a one-volume paperback by University Press of America. The entire production cost is borne by the Press. UNA will be paid royalties and has the option to purchase copies at substantial discount. Finished books are expected in July.

### Constituencies

The National Education Association has provided a grant of \$11,500 to produce two pamphlets, an update of ABCs of the UN and a pamphlet on the student's stake in a more effective United Nations. Discussions proceed with the NEA on other joint projects, including an article on UNA-USA in Education Today (1.8 million readers).

The two working arms of the Council of Organizations will hold their annual meetings in June. The annual meeting of the Conference of U.N. Representatives will be held June 14; Mary Purcell, U.N. Representative for the American Association of University Women, has been nominated for re-election to the Chair of the Conference. The Council of Washington Representatives for the U.N. will hold its annual meeting on June 21, with Richard Williamson, Assistant Secretary of State for International Organization Affairs, as speaker. Alex Palacios of the U.S. Committee for UNICEF is the nominee for Chairman of the Council, succeeding Rev. J. Bryan Hehir of the U.S. Catholic Conference.

The scaled-down United Nations Day Program is emphasizing the fortieth anniversary of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the theme of the 1988 Multilateral Project. Stanley C. Pace, 1988 National United Nations Chairman, will assist with the production of the final report for the President of the U.S., and we are working on placing an op/ed piece in the Wall Street Journal by Mr. Pace on U.N. Day. A new element in the 1988 program is a cooperative venture with Amnesty International and the Franklin and Eleanor Roosevelt Institute. We are promoting a National Sabbath for Human Rights during the weekend of October 22-23, including an interfaith service at the Cathedral of St. John the Divine.

The third annual high school essay contest has been completed. The first prize recipient is Vincent Ricci from Acalanes High School in northern California; second prize recipient is Jamesina Tapper from Huntington Beach High School in southern California; and the third prize recipient is Yuri Soares from Gainesville High School in Gainesville, Florida. This program is funded by a generous grant from the Dailey Foundation (Amb. Peter Dailey).

In late March a delegation of five Soviet students from Moscow State Institute for International Relations spent two weeks in Boston and New York taking part in Model U.N. at the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy and the National Model U.N.

We are pursuing significant funding for the establishment of a Model United Nations Consortium to be housed at UNA-USA. The consortium will enhance and



expand the services and programs for Model U.N.'s in the U.S. and abroad. A proposal is being prepared, for submission to several multinational corporations.

The national staff has been able to continue field visits, albeit on a more modest scale than in 1987. Ed Luck visited the Michigan Division meeting and Michigan chapters in April; while on vacation Peggy Carlin addressed the annual meeting of the UNA-UK; Jeff Laurenti spoke to UNA chapters in Atlanta, New Orleans, Pittsburgh, and four Florida cities as part of the 1988 Multi-lateral Project; Jim Olson has visited 19 chapters in Illinois, Ohio, Oregon, Michigan, and Pennsylvania this spring; and J. P. Muldoon represented UNA at the American Forum on Education and International Competence, St. Louis, May 13-16.

Since the last Board of Governors meeting, three new chapters have been chartered: Detroit, Oakland County (Michigan), and San Luis Obispo (California).

The demonstration chapter program has been launched. The first demonstration chapter is the Central New York Chapter (Syracuse). At the end of May the national staff worked with the chapter to conduct a membership campaign aimed at over 700 prospects. The Atlanta and Phoenix chapters will be demonstration chapters in the fall of 1988, as will two additional chapters.





## CONVENTION ADVANCE REGISTRATION FORM

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### Registration Fees (good through June 23)

- ☐ Advance Registration \$125 \$\_\_\_\_\_ ☐ Youth Advance Registration \$100 \$\_\_\_\_\_
- Includes all Convention Meetings, Skill-building Seminars, U.N. Seminar, materials, and Meet and Greet Reception, Saturday, July 9.*

### Special Event Tickets

- ☐ Sunday Champagne Reception \$25  
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Checks, made payable to UNA-USA, must accompany registration.

So that we can provide appropriate space, please indicate whether or not you will attend the following events that are included in your registration fee:

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Carol Christian, *UNA-USA*

## CONVENTION INFORMATION

### REGISTRATION FEES

Registration Fees include all meetings, skill-building seminars, United Nations seminar, materials, and the Meet and Greet Reception on Saturday, July 9.

**Advance Registration Fee \$125.** Good only for registrations postmarked on or before *June 23, 1988.*

**Registration Fee \$150.** After June 23, 1988

**Youth Advance Registration Fee \$100.** This fee is to encourage participation of members 25 years of age or less. Applicable to registrations postmarked on or before *June 23, 1988.*

**Youth Registration Fee \$125.** After June 23, 1988.

**Please note:** Advance Registrations will be acknowledged by mail. Credentials, tickets, and materials will be waiting at the registration desk on the Mezzanine of the Omni Park Central Hotel.

**Refund Policy.** Full refund of registration fee if cancellation notice is postmarked no later than June 23. Cancellations bearing a later postmark will be subject to a 50% administrative fee. *No cancellations after July 7, 1988.*

### UNITED NATIONS INFORMATION

Because of security regulations at the United Nations, only those holding tickets will be admitted on Tuesday, July 12. Tickets will be included in registration packets.

### NEW YORK CITY INFORMATION

Maps of the city, shopping, theater, museum, and restaurant guides will be available in the Hospitality Suite and the Convention Office, both located on the Mezzanine of the Omni Park Central Hotel.

### HOTEL ACCOMMODATIONS

Hotel reservations (at special UNA Convention rates) should be made directly with the Omni Park Central Hotel, 7th Avenue at 56th Street, New York, N.Y. 10019, no later than June 7. Reservation cards are enclosed for your convenience. If you do not use the card to register, be sure to specify that you are attending the UNA-USA Convention. Rates are: Single \$80; Double \$95; Triple \$110; Suites \$125.

Lower-priced rooms are available at the Vanderbilt YMCA, 224 East 47th Street (between 2nd and 3rd Avenues), New York, N.Y. 10017. Phone: (212) 755-2410; or the West Side Y, 5 West 63rd Street, New York, N.Y. 10023. Phone: (212) 787-4400.

### TRAVEL INFORMATION

American Airlines is the official carrier for UNA's Convention. An exclusive Meeting Saver Fare has been arranged. A flyer is enclosed for your further information. Call 1-800-433-1790 and ask for STAR File #S-82563 to take advantage of these savings.

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THE UNITED NATIONS:

# MAKING A WORLD OF DIFFERENCE



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## THE UNITED NATIONS: MAKING A WORLD OF DIFFERENCE

When the United Nations was born in San Francisco 43 years ago, could any of its founders have foreseen what a different world the Organization would be facing in a few short years? And could anyone have imagined the U.N. would be asked to address every conceivable human concern?

Yet the United Nations and its Specialized Agencies are taking on that changing world and that enormous agenda. Their efforts have already eased the lives of millions and are helping to overcome the obstacles to a better, safer, healthier life for all.

Ask women of the Third World about the effect of the U.N. Decade for Women on their role in development, and they will say that *the United Nations has made a world of difference.*

Canvass the fishermen plying their nets in the Mediterranean about the results of U.N. Environment Programme-sponsored efforts to clean up their sea, and they will tell you that *the United Nations has made a world of difference.*

Speak with the mothers in over 70 areas where U.N. intervention defused a conflict before it threatened their children's lives, and they will testify that *the United Nations has made a world of difference.*

Consult with doctors about the eradication of small pox, with lawyers on international treaties, with teachers on the fight against illiteracy, with citizen groups about the battle against drug abuse, and they will agree that *the United Nations has made a world of difference.*

*Ask yourself how you can help the United Nations continue making a world of difference.*

**FIND OUT.  
COME TO YOUR CONVENTION.**

## PRELIMINARY PROGRAM

### SATURDAY, JULY 9

At the Omni Park Central Hotel

#### PRE-CONVENTION\*

- 9 a.m.-5 p.m. **Registration**  
5:30-7 p.m. **Meet and Greet Reception**  
*Welcome to New York Party—the opportunity to meet old friends and make new ones before the work of the Convention begins.*
- 7-9 p.m. **Registration**  
7-9 p.m. **Meeting of Credentials and Rules Committees**

### SUNDAY, JULY 10

At the Omni Park Central Hotel

#### PRE-CONVENTION

- 8 a.m.-5 p.m. **Registration**  
8 a.m.-Noon **Exhibits, Film & Videotape showings.**  
*Examples of other people's work*
- 8-10 a.m. **Open Hearing on Resolutions and Bylaws** (including report of the Dues Restructuring Subcommittee)
- 10 a.m.-Noon **Open Hearing on Substantive Issues**
- Noon **Gala Auction Opening**

#### CONVENTION

- 2-5 p.m. **Convention Opening Plenary**  
*Judy Collins Sings!*  
**Welcome by Chairman of the Association**  
*Reports from the Rules, Credentials, and Nominating Committees*

\*The Steering Committee of the Council of Chapter and Division Presidents will meet Friday, July 8. The annual meeting of the Council of Chapter and Division Presidents will take place on Friday and Saturday, July 8 and 9.

### SUNDAY, JULY 10 (Continued)

- 2-5 p.m. **Keynote Address: President Oscar Arias of Costa Rica**
- 5:30-6:30 p.m. **Champagne Reception** honoring the very special people who have made the UNA-USA Auction possible
- 8:30-9:30 p.m. **Report of the President**  
*UNA-USA's President will bring you up to date on the work of the Association. There will be time for questions from the floor.*

### MONDAY, JULY 11

At the Omni Park Central Hotel

- 8-Noon **Convention Plenary**  
*Consideration of the Report of the Resolution and Bylaws Committee, including Report of the Dues Restructuring Subcommittee*
- Noon-1 p.m. **Reception for Presidents of Chapters and Divisions and Organizations in the Council of Organizations**
- Noon-1 p.m. **Dutch Treat Bar**
- 1:15-3 p.m. **Luncheon honoring Presidents of Chapters and Divisions and Organizations in the Council of Organizations**  
**Speaker: The Secretary-General of the United Nations\***  
**Presentation of the Arnold Goodman Award for Chapter Leadership**
- 3:30-5:30 p.m. **Skill-building Seminars with special focus on Universal Declaration of Human Rights.** All seminars will cover their specific topic by considering (1) the role of the United Nations; (2) coalition-building; (3) legislative strategies; and (4) practical applications.
- A. Women  
B. Children  
C. Refugees  
D. Education and Literacy  
E. Civil, Political, and Religious Rights

\* Invited

### MONDAY, JULY 11 (Continued)

- 8-9:30 p.m. **Convention Plenary:**  
**"THE SUCCESSOR VISION"**  
*A presentation of UNA's proposals for the reform and strengthening of the United Nations. Speakers will include members of the UNA international panel that created the report.*

### TUESDAY, JULY 12

At the Omni Park Central Hotel

- 8-9 a.m. **Plenary Workshop on Funding**  
*The Who and How and When and Why of successful fund raising*
- 9-Noon **Convention Plenary**  
*Considering the Report of the Substantive Issues Committee*
- Noon-1 p.m. **Closing Plenary**  
*Auction Successful Bidders*  
*Election Results*  
*Speaker: Newly Elected Chairman of the Association*
- 2:15 p.m. **Buses will take delegates to the United Nations**

At the United Nations

- 3-5:30 p.m. **World Issues Seminar**  
**SPECIAL SESSION ON DISARMAMENT III**  
*Speaker: Mansur Ahmad, \* Chairman, Preparatory Committee for SSODIII*
- PEACE IN THE MIDDLE EAST**  
*Speaker: Diego Cordovez, \* Under-Secretary-General for Special Political Affairs*
- THE U.N. AND YOUR FUTURE**  
*Speaker: H.E. Mr. Stephen Lewis, \* Canadian Ambassador to the U.N.*

At the United States Mission to the United Nations  
799 United Nations Plaza

- 6-8 p.m. **Reception honoring the new officers and Board of Directors of the Association**





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

TO: UNA Board of Governors

FROM: Jeff Laurenti

RE: Management report followup

DATE: May 27, 1988

UNA has pursued a vigorous followup on the report of the international panel it organized on U.N. management and decision-making. Major followup activities have included:

(1) A letter went to all U.N. member states' Foreign Ministers describing and enclosing the report and was signed by Elliot Richardson and, depending on the region, Helmut Schmidt (Europe), Enrique Iglesias (Americas), Olesugo Obasanjo (Africa), Sadruddin Aga Khan (West Asias-North Africa) and Tommy Koh (East Asia). It has elicited lengthy replies from several foreign ministers directly (including France, Italy and West Germany), expressions of interest from many more undersecretaries, and flurries of calls from U.N. missions responding to inquiries from their FMs.

(2) Elliot Richardson met with Japan's FM on the report in Tokyo.

(3) Elliot Richardson, Robert McNamara and Mohamed Sahnoun discussed the report with select ambassadors in three group meetings: Western group, Soviet bloc and non-aligned.

(4) Ed Luck and I discussed the recommendations at length with six ambassadors over a lunch hosted for this purpose by Singaporean ambassador Mahbubhani.

(5) We have met individually with the Mission counsellors of Germany (West and East), Italy, Japan, Netherlands, Denmark, Sweden, Peru, India, Tunisia, Egypt, Indonesia, Australia and the USSR, keeping the report recommendations on the table as the debate in the U.N.'s special commission on restructuring has sputtered on.

(6) UNA co-sponsored a regional conference at the University of Pittsburgh on the future of the U.N. and A Successor Vision. It included a panel discussion of the report (with myself) and a major speech by Elliot Richardson.



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

TO: UNA Board of Governors

FROM: Jeff Laurenti

RE: Multilateral Follow-up: Secretary Shultz

DATE: May 27, 1988

UNA Chairman Elliot Richardson led a UNA-USA delegation to see Secretary Shultz on May 3, with discussion focussing on three areas:

(1) Food Report. John Block, the 1987 Multilateral Project national steering committee chairman, outlined the process and conclusions of the project's study on world hunger and agricultural policy. Secretary Shultz praised the project for raising broader consciousness of the issues involved, and particularly for the report's focus on agricultural economics and trade policy rather than on food aid. However, he challenged the report's criticism of the shift of foreign aid resources from development assistance to military aid, insisting that political security is the sine qua non for economic development.

(2) U.S. Assessment. Chairman Richardson reported to the Secretary on meetings with U.N. ambassadors on UNA's U.N. Management Report. When he conveyed the depth of hostility among U.S. allies toward American failure to honor its funding commitments, the Secretary asked what had been their reaction to a proposal under active debate in the Administration to lower the U.S. share from 25% to 15% of U.N. costs--and, for that matter, Chairman Richardson's own reaction. "I think it's a lousy idea," he answered, to which Shultz rejoined, "So do I." Apparently his first comment on the subject, the Secretary's answer has chilled the advocates of a lowered assessment, and sources say the idea may be shelved as politically inopportune.

The text of an op-ed article that UNA has submitted to the New York Times for publication is enclosed.

(3) U.S. Withholding. The Secretary was also asked about the Department's intention on recommending payment of the balance of the (underfunded!) appropriation for U.N. dues. Shultz indicated there was lively argument in the Administration about whether to pay the remaining \$44-million in the account, which would require a Presidential "determination" that the U.N. has made progress on budgetary reform; some, he volunteered, want to use the money for Afghanistan instead.

This is an urgent issue on which UNA is seeking to build public awareness with an op-ed opinion piece, copy enclosed, which is now before the Los Angeles Times.

Chairman Richardson's followup letter to Secretary Shultz touching on these three issues is included.

Enc: 3



# UNITED NATIONS ASSOCIATION OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

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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

May 13, 1988

The Hon. George P. Shultz  
Secretary of State  
7th Floor, Department of State  
2201 C Street, NW  
Washington, D.C. 20520

Dear George:

Thanks very much for taking the time to meet with us last week to discuss UNA-USA's study on world hunger and food policy, and explore our mutual concerns about U.S. funding for the United Nations.

I am reassured that you share our skepticism about seeking a lower U.S. assessment. Congressional pressures for withholding U.S. contributions are motivated more by political than financial considerations, and there is no guarantee that they would disappear at a lower assessment level. Besides, the question of America's relative role in the U.N. is properly one that the next administration should answer as it sorts out its domestic and international policy priorities.

On your immediate agenda, however, is the question of U.S. payment of the remainder of this year's already underfunded appropriation for U.N. dues. I mentioned to you our meeting with Western-group ambassadors and their bitter criticism of American arrearages, a problem which now threatens progress toward further U.N. reform. To them I could reply that at least the Administration had requested full funding for 1988, and that it was Congress' decisions in the face of the budget squeeze that resulted in a reduced appropriation. But denial of the \$44-million second payment, from money that Congress has already appropriated, would clearly put the onus for U.S. default on the Administration--the same administration that had made a commitment of full funding as part of the U.N. budget agreement of 1986. Surely this is not the kind of legacy you would like to leave your successor.

I understand the rationale--if not the legality--of a withholding strategy as leverage for reform, but it is an effective lever only when you have a full appropriation to bargain with. When we announce we will refuse payment of 31% no matter what the world body does, we cannot expect to win substantial concessions by threatening to withhold another 21%. (Perversely, U.S. withholdings have penalized some of the U.N. programs most important to U.S. values and interests, such as human rights and peacekeeping.)

I strongly urge you to advise the President that he determine that progress on reform has indeed been made at the U.N., and to include in that message to Congress a finding that its failure to



*Chairman of the Association*  
Elliot L. Richardson

*Chairman, Board of Governors*  
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*Chairman, U.S.-Japan Parallel Studies Program on Security*  
McGeorge Bundy

*Chairman, Advisory Group Multilateral Project*  
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provide a full appropriation has undercut the President's ability to use the withholding as effectively for leverage as he otherwise might. Both American credibility and the U.N. reform effort are at stake.

The evidence of progress is clear. On budgetary reform, spending and staffing reductions provide ample justification for a determination of progress. The new consensus procedures established by the 1986 reform agreement produced a budget last year to which there was virtually no opposition; real spending has actually been reduced and senior staff positions have been trimmed 15%.

There has been real, albeit modest, progress on secondment, as we would expect in trying to reverse a deeply ingrained practice that the U.S. and other member states have accepted for over four decades. Secretariat employees from the Soviet Union who had been housed in the Soviet Mission's residential compound in Riverdale--underlining their dependence on their government--over the past year have been made to sever that relationship and enter New York's housing market like the U.N.'s other employees. Seconded Soviet employees also are being granted longer terms of U.N. service. This, combined with fresh thinking about the U.N. in Moscow, gives hope that continued pressure will eventually result in Soviet Government acceptance of independent career service at the U.N. by Soviet citizens.

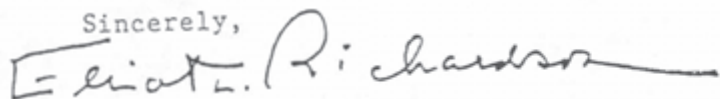
It is not surprising that progress on secondment has been slow. Since the issue divides the U.N.'s two largest contributors, most member states have been reluctant to force the issue, and the U.N. Secretariat has insufficient leverage of its own with which to press for swift, radical change. Accelerating that progress will require strong American advocacy in bilateral discussions with the Soviets, not just remonstrations with the Secretariat. It might strengthen the determination message if you could commit yourself to raising the issue in your own talks with Foreign Minister Shevardnadze.

In any event, there is sufficient evidence to support a Presidential determination of "progress" on reform. Given the hostility we now face even from our own allies, which undermines our U.N. diplomacy, we can ill afford to withhold more than the shortfall in our appropriation. Based on my conversations with members of Congress, I believe it unlikely that majorities in the Senate or House would vote to reject the President's determination.

In closing, let me express my continuing admiration for your determined dialogue in the Middle East in the face of long odds. All best wishes for success in your efforts there and on other fronts.

With warm regard,

Sincerely,



Elliot L. Richardson  
Chairman of the Association

cc: John Whitehead  
Richard Williamson  
Vernon Walters  
Herbert Okun





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

**The US at the UN: The 15 Percent "Solution"**

by

Edward C. Luck and Jeffrey Laurenti

An odd assortment of United Nations supporters and opponents are urging the United States to seek a lower dues assessment at the world organization. Frustrated by Congress' failure to pay our full dues of 25 percent of the UN budget, US Ambassador Vernon Walters has reportedly called for bringing our dues down to the 15 percent level, about what Congress has agreed to fund this year. Some UN member states, resentful of US dominance of the organization to which they are far more wholeheartedly committed, see this as a way of lessening UN dependence on the unreliable Americans. For UN bashers, on the other hand, any excuse to reduce America's role in the UN would be welcome.

What's wrong with a plan that would save face, save money, and save the UN from a capricious Congress? Plenty, particularly because of what it says about America's place in the world.

When the UN was founded in 1945, the US share was 40 percent of the budget, reflecting our relative economic and political position in the world. In 1972, when George Bush was Ambassador, the U.S. assessment was dropped to its present level. According to the UN's assessment formula, based on

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Edward C. Luck is President of the United Nations Association of the USA (UNA-USA) and Jeffrey Laurenti is Executive Director of UNA-USA's Multilateral Studies.

national wealth, the US share should be higher than 25 percent even today. Now, with all the speculation about America's relative decline, do we want the world to see us as no more than a 15 percent nation? Are we little more than one-third as important in the world as in 1945?

As Secretary of State George Shultz put it, a reduced assessment would be "tantamount to accepting a diminished American role in world affairs -- a diminished ability for America to pursue our most fundamental security, humanitarian and economic interests around the world." He understands that most nations see the UN as the hub of global problem-solving and political competition, and as well worth their investment. Having seen Congress slash our diplomatic capital, from foreign aid to the foreign service, he worries about the resulting ebb of American influence and leverage in capitals and in international forums. A vicious cycle may be in the works.

And who will make up the difference? If the US share of the UN budget falls then other nations' shares must rise. Almost certainly, the dues of the next two largest contributors, the Soviet Union and Japan, would be raised to close to the 15 percent level. The vision of parity with the Soviet Union is especially disturbing, given our competition for influence and stature. What makes this doubly embarrassing is that the US has become the chief deadbeat at the UN, with more than \$250 million in arrearages, just when the Soviet Union is paying off all of its outstanding dues.

In all of this, a subtle but important distinction is often missed. The controversy concerns US assessments to the central UN, running a little over \$200 million a year, not American voluntary contributions to the UN system as a whole, which are several times larger. So the 15 percent proposal would have the effect of giving the Soviet Union something close to parity in



the UN's central political decision-making apparatus, while the US on a voluntary basis continues to give 30 times as much as the Soviet Union to the valuable humanitarian and functional work of the rest of the system. In terms of power politics, this is the equivalent of shooting oneself in the foot.

The consequences would be practical as well as symbolic. As a 25% Power, the United States has enormous leverage over the operations of the United Nations system: key positions within the U.N. Secretariat are allocated among nationalities in rough proportion to each nation's contribution, so Americans now have the lion's share. If the U.S. pays less, other contributors will demand, and take, those jobs for their own nationals -- led by the Soviet Union. Indeed, once the Soviet Union attains financial parity with the United States, its nationals will be entitled to a larger number of influential positions than they have enjoyed to date.

Some members of Congress have come to assume that they have a right to dictate United Nations policy to the organization's 158 other members, attaching one condition after another to the appropriations for U.S. assessments, often with the connivance of ideologues in the Administration. They succeeded, once, in stirring the organization to reforms; but their repetition has become counterproductive. Indeed, by shrinking our contributions they are throwing away much of America's leverage. Who will care what conditions Congress attaches when it only pays 15 percent? It will no more succeed in bullying the world body than would the Supreme Soviet in attaching conditions on Soviet payment of dues.

The logic of those who believe that a diminished American financial stake will be good for the UN is also faulty. The UN needs a more, not less, active United States. Besides, there is no reason to believe that Congress would be

any more faithful, year after year, in coming up with a 15 percent or even a 10 percent assessment. With UN dues requiring only 1/5,000th of the federal budget -- 87 cents per capita -- money is plainly not the real issue. The UN will remain the most convenient scapegoat on which to blame the ills of the world no matter what the US pays. Besides, one cannot bargain with 535 independent-minded legislators, or guarantee the predilections of a future Congress.

There is a great risk that this "15 Percent Solution" will take us down the slippery slope to a shattered United Nations from which a surly and increasingly isolationist United States has effectively withdrawn. Even the UN's harshest critics do not admit that this is their ultimate goal, knowing it would be unacceptable to the US public. Americans recognize that in an increasingly interdependent and multipolar world, the United States cannot effectively address its chief problems -- whether drugs, AIDS, the environment, trade, terrorism, or security -- without the cooperation of other countries. By overwhelming margins, the American people in poll after poll have rejected the idea of US abandonment of the UN. They want a stronger, not weaker, United Nations in which the US exercises positive leadership.

The only choice is for the President and Congress to recognize that America has a binding legal obligation to pay its full assessed dues to international organizations, whether set at 25 or 15 percent. We need leadership, not gimmicks, if we are to rebuild the United Nations and to reassert America's role in the world. Surely that is the kind of legacy which President Reagan could leave with pride to his successor.



"No Time to Throw Our U.N. Leverage Away"

--Jeffrey Laurenti

A quiet struggle now taking place within the Administration could gravely affect America's role and leadership in the world community. At stake is the reliability of the United States as a negotiating partner--and our leverage in promoting needed restructuring of global institutions.

President Reagan must soon determine whether the United Nations has made progress in implementing budgetary reforms it adopted at the end of 1986. The President's determination should be easy; the United Nations has complied with the letter of the reform agreement--itself just the first step of the far-reaching reform that is needed. But political forces anxious to weaken the world organization by withdrawing American support are pressing the Administration to deny the real progress made and withhold U.S. funding.

It is a paradox of this decade that at just the moment when the realities of global interdependence have become clear to average Americans, diehards of isolationism have re-emerged to undercut the institutions of global cooperation. Scorning international law as a constraint on American power and insisting the world can never be good enough for America, they have worked feverishly to undermine the American role in the international system, from the World Court to the central U.N. They are now moving to wreck the 1986 United Nations reform agreement.

Forsaking its treaty obligation, the United States halved its U.N. contribution two years ago purportedly as pressure for reform. It demanded, and won, U.N. adoption of budgetary reforms desired by the major contributor nations in exchange for promised U.S. payment of our full contribution.

Now, as Secretary of State George Shultz told Congress, "We're on the line at the U.N. We said that if they change, we would live up to our obligations." But while the United Nations has been honoring its side of the bargain with 10 percent reductions in spending, 15 percent reductions in professional staff, and changes in decision-making procedures, the United States has reneged.

For 1988 Congress underfunded the account for assessments to all international organizations by 16 percent, and the Administration's allocation of the reduction fell disproportionately on the United Nations, placing us fully 31 percent below the U.S. treaty obligation. The rest of the world can only conclude that the U.S. cannot be relied on to honor its commitments, and that it will constantly invent new conditions, demands and excuses to avoid making payment.

The President's formal recognition now of the U.N.'s progress on budgetary reform is essential because it is required for further U.S. payment on our dues from last year. Congressmen thought that the threat to withhold a portion of our assessment would sustain the pressure for U.N. reform, and directed the President to report on reform progress before releasing the unpaid balance.

Unfortunately, withholding can be an effective lever only when the U.S. has a full appropriation to bargain with. When we announce we will refuse payment of 31% of our assessment no matter what the U.N. does, we cannot expect to win substantial new concessions by then threatening to withhold yet another 21%. Yet senators asked for lightning action on a new demand--a change in the Soviets' forty-year practice of allowing their nationals only short-term contracts in U.N. posts.

Despite the merits of the issue (and very real progress is underway) by underfunding its appropriation the U.S. has given up much of its leverage for speedy action. After all, the deal between the U.S. and the U.N.'s other members was for full U.S. funding in return for budgetary reforms--not for 69% funding in exchange for budget reforms plus new demands.

The United States does indeed have considerable leverage over the organization when it pays its assessment of a quarter of the U.N. budget: Americans hold key posts throughout U.N. agencies, and any substantive U.N. action effectively requires U.S. assent. But the U.S. maintains its influence, and particularly its leverage for reform, only when it puts its money on the table. Otherwise our "leverage" becomes illusory and our credibility as a reliable bargaining partner is shattered.



American leverage and leadership are urgently required to accomplish real reform at the U.N.--for our own interests as well as the world community's. Reform at the United Nations, after all, must go beyond simply cutting budgets or reducing staff. Rather, it must rescue the organization from a marginal role in world affairs.

With problems clearly outrunning the ability of even the largest states to control them, it is obvious that the international system needs a stronger, not weaker, center to coordinate governments' actions. No government on its own can prevent ozone depletion, the "greenhouse effect" or rapid capital movements; nor can even two superpowers together ban chemical weapons, stop nuclear proliferation or halt the transfer of advanced armaments to Third World belligerents.

The U.N. presents the institutional framework for concerted global action. But while current U.N. institutions have been helpful in developing world consensus on many urgent transnational problems, they are creaky, unwieldy and inefficient. How can the U.N. effectively coordinate the purposes and power of sovereign states?

This is the real question that should concern U.N. critics and inspire U.S. action for reform. Yet the critics have been strangely uninterested in proposals to strengthen the U.N.'s structural capabilities. One of the most far-reaching proposals for reform emerged late last year from an international panel headed by Elliot Richardson, chairman of the United Nations Association of the United States. Yet Washington seems oblivious to its call for strong U.N. leadership to identify emerging global problems before they become explosive crises--and to forge consensus for common action to address them.

The group's proposal for creation of a small, high-level "ministerial" board to provide that leadership, composed of the world's major states and representative smaller ones, is the kind of ambitious reform agenda to which strong American leverage should be constructively applied. On pressing issues the board would assemble government ministers, so that those with actual decision-making authority in their capitals would decide on common programs globally. And it would oversee a full integration of the autonomous specialized agencies, ranging from the Food and Agriculture Organization to the World Health Organization, into a better coordinated, centrally accountable U.N. system.

Effecting such necessary reform would seem an obvious priority for American leadership. Its accomplishment requires leverage as well as vision, both of which the United States once brought to U.N. affairs. But not only has the United States government lost its farsighted vision in recent years; it is acting with perverse eagerness to throw away its leverage by begrudging the U.N. the modest dues that cost its citizens only 87 cents per capita.

This is why it would be tragic for President Reagan to allow a further weakening of America's standing in the world organization by refusing payment of the \$44-million remaining in Congress's appropriation. The U.N. is, after all, the central arena of global competition as well as cooperation, and the U.S. cannot afford to give up the field.

Americans expect the United States to be recognized as a vigorous great power. Their government must no longer act the part of an insecure, declining nation, chronically on the defensive in world forums, regretfully looking backward to the simpler world it dominated in 1945. We need to re-engage ourselves in the peaceful global system represented by the United Nations today--and then apply American leverage and power to make the U.N. system more responsive to the global needs of tomorrow.

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Jeffrey Laurenti is Executive Director of the Multilateral Studies Program of the United Nations Association of the United States (UNA-USA).





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

TO: UNA Board of Governors

FROM: Jeff Laurenti  
Executive Director, Multilateral Studies

RE: Implementation on Space Report

DATE: May 26, 1988

Several key recommendations of UNA's 1986 multilateral project report on outer space have been included in legislation just released from committee. Chapters have been asked to follow up by contacting their congressmen urging support for the bill when it comes up for a vote in the House of Representatives in mid-June.

The House Committee on Science, Space and Technology in mid-May reported out the authorizing legislation for program activities of the National Aeronautics and Space Administration for FY 1989. The bill, H.R. 4561, includes the following provisions implementing UNA recommendations:

(1) It directs NASA to establish as a major goal an International Manned Mission to Mars, and to seek the participation of the Soviet Union and other interested nations in the pursuit of this goal. This effort is to begin in 1991 as a major focus of the International Space Year.

(2) It establishes a 12-member National Mars Commission to prepare a strategy for multilateral cooperation among the U.S. and any other interested nations on unmanned Mars projects in anticipation of a cooperative manned mission to Mars.

(3) It requires NASA to establish before 1992 a "Mission to Planet Earth" designed to obtain a comprehensive understanding of the "biogeochemical" processes that influence global change.

UNA (and more specifically Steve Dimoff and Ann Florini) had worked closely with the President's National Commission on Space, which incorporated these UNA recommendations into its own report. We have sent follow-up letters and copies of the 1986 final report to the chairman and key members of the House committee over the past six months stressing these issues. Chapters are presumably communicating to congressmen their satisfaction that these provisions have now made their way into pending legislation, and urge a "yes" vote.



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

TO: Board of Governors

FROM: Jeff Laurenti

RE: Disaster Relief Project

DATE: 5/26/88

The fitfully moving disaster relief project, reinvigorated by a grant at year's end from Weyerhauser, is moving to completion this year.

Deborah Scroggins and Colin Campbell resumed research on the project in late winter and early spring with extended visits to Sudan and Ethiopia. Their description of what they discovered appeared in a series of articles in the Atlanta Journal Constitution (one is enclosed).

Their more rigorous final report for UNA, to be focused on international relief operations, will be delivered in mid-summer.





DEBORAH SCROGGINS/STILL

A Dinka family sits in Dhein without food, shelter or water. They paid to be trucked out of Sudan's Safaha refugee camp.

## Many hungry Sudanese find only death at refugee camp

APR 15 1988

By Deborah Scroggins

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**SAFAHA, Sudan** — Each day more than 500 starving people pour out of the war zone of southern Sudan and into this isolated army outpost on the banks of the Bahr el-Arab River. Many are so withered that they die when they get here.

Safaha, itself under threat of immediate attack, has attracted more than 35,000 refugees from the south's nightmare of civil war and famine since early February. About 20,000 remain, and new graves dot the ground between the campsites of huddled families.

Five exhausted European doctors and nurses are working night and day in a largely futile effort to feed the children nearest death.

■ Safaha, an army outpost in Sudan's Darfur province, is so remote that few Sudanese know the facts of the disaster there. Police have tried to conceal the refugees' plight by barring journalists from the camp. This is the first eyewitness account of the tragedy that famine and war is bringing to southern Sudan.

They want to feed as many children as they can before heavy seasonal rains, expected in a week or two, turn the dirt tracks that lead out of Safaha into impassable mud. Before that happens, the Europeans and the Sudanese army will have to evacuate the camp, or they could get cut off for months from the rest of Sudan.

See SUDAN, Page 14A



A APR 15 1988

# Sudan

From Page 1A

One doctor describes conditions in Safaha as worse than the Ethiopian famine of 1984-85. Some parents sell their children to save them from starvation — and to pay for their own escape northward in hopes of finding food.

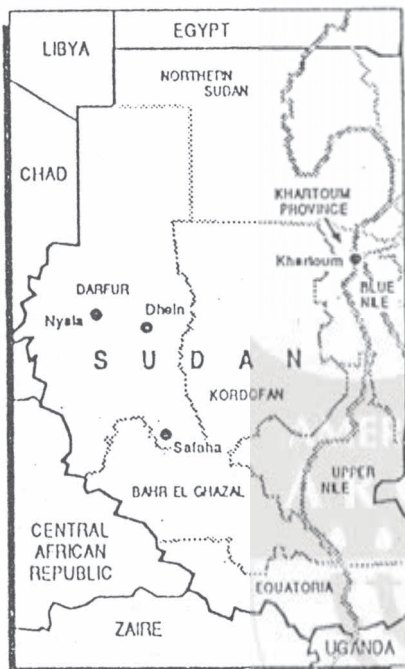
From dawn until late afternoon, crowds of wasted human beings, most of them women and elderly people dressed in rags, wade across the Bahr el-Arab River, which marks an approximate boundary between Sudan's Arab and Moslem people in the north and the black Christians and animists in the south. Over their heads they carry their naked children, whose skin hangs from their abdomens in grotesque folds of loose flesh. Many collapse after they pass through the police registration site on the Safaha side of the river.

The refugees are herdsmen and farmers of the Dinka tribe from northern Bahr El Ghazal province, where they say they left many more people dead or dying.

They say the Dinka have no food in Bahr El Ghazal because drought has destroyed their crops and because other tribes, armed by the government, have stolen their cattle.

The Dinka have been herding cattle in southern Sudan for a thousand years and, until the beginning of this century, they were a favorite prey of Arab slave traders.

Many other Dinka, according to the refugees, have died getting here. Armed Reizegaat, the Arab



tribe that controls the dry savannah around Safaha, killed some of the starving wanderers and kidnapped their children.

A group of about 20 Dinka who arrived here March 29 provided the names and ages of seven children and one woman who they said had been abducted by Reizegaat tribesmen the night before.

The young boys in the group and some of the women said they had been tortured, and they showed off new welts and bruises on their necks, arms and backs.

Four Dinka chiefs described with horror in their faces how wild animals killed and devoured weak children and old people as they struggled toward the camp.

Two weeks ago, doctors at Safaha were treating a 9-year-old boy

who had survived a wolf attack. The wolf had ripped off the right half of his face, including his nose and eye.

Although reports of famine in Bahr El Ghazal have increased in the past six months, international relief agencies have not been able to work there. The province has been torn apart during the 5-year-old civil war between the Sudanese government, which is dominated by Moslems, and southern rebels, led by the Sudanese People's Liberation Army (SPLA).

In February, the governor of Bahr El Ghazal asked for emergency food for 2 million people he said were starving there. None of it arrived.

Erik Hendricke, a Belgian doctor in Safaha, said the situation here is much worse than anything he saw in Ethiopia during the great famine of 1984-85.

Hendricke and his colleagues, members of the Belgian chapter of Medecins Sans Frontieres, can feed only those children who have lost nearly half their weight.

Many more children in the camp desperately need emergency care, but the Europeans are physically incapable of dealing with more than the 200 children and their mothers, whom they feed hot milk every three hours.

A visitor here literally stumbles over people in pitiful condition. One afternoon a shriveled little boy was found lying in the dirt beside his mother.

He was barely breathing, barely able to blink his enormous eyes against the flies swarming around them. The boy weighed 10 pounds. His mother said he was 3.

Safaha's Sudanese army com-

mander, Maj. Hussein Hamid Ali, believes the SPLA will attack the camp soon. He said three SPLA units are only 11 miles away. They are hungry, and they need the food in Safaha, but until a few weeks ago they were commanded by a man from Bahr El Ghazal province who refused to obey an order to attack his own people.

The reluctant SPLA officer has been replaced by a man from Upper Nile province who is expected to obey the order to overrun Safaha.

The camp swelters with heat and stinks of urine. At night the wailing and coughing of children cuts through the light of campfires. The scene resembles a medieval painting of the damned.

Yet right in the middle of thousands of emaciated people, there is an open market stocked with fresh meat, bread and medicine. The Reizegaat merchants in their clean white robes will sell only to people who can pay.

To escape Safaha, some mothers and fathers are selling the only things they have left: their children. A ticket on a merchant's truck to the nearest town, Dheir, costs 50 Sudanese pounds, the equivalent of \$5.

Europeans in Safaha said the price for a healthy boy of 8 or 9, whom the Reizegaat can use as a cattle herder, was as high as 300 Sudanese pounds in February. By the last days of March, the price had sunk to 50 Sudanese pounds — exactly the price of a ticket to Dheir.

What awaits those who have paid so much to get out of here are conditions that in some places are worse.





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

TO: UNA-USA Board of Governors

FROM: Jeff Laurenti, Executive Director  
Multilateral Studies

RE: Genocide Convention Legislation

DATE: May 26, 1988

The legislation required for U.S. ratification of the genocide Convention of 1948 has at last made its way to the floor of the Senate. A vote may be scheduled within the next four weeks.

A "Unagram" mailing went out last week to UNA chapters asking that they call and write to their senators urging that they: (1) co-sponsor the bill, S. 1851; and (2) vote for it as reported by committee, without amendment.

Several chapters have already called UNA offices to express their enthusiasm for this task. (Other organizations are ginning up their own networks as well.) The following is the background that was also supplied to chapters.

#### BACKGROUND

Passage of the legislation, which provides criminal penalties for those convicted of genocide, would satisfy requirements attached by the Senate in 1986 for final U.S. ratification of the Genocide Convention. The House of Representatives passed an identical bill in April by voice vote. There has been an effort in the Senate to insert the death penalty for the crime of genocide; the House-passed bill and S. 1851 provide penalties of up to life imprisonment for genocide offenses.

#### Senate Approved Convention in 1986

The Senate only consented to ratification of the 1948 International Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide in 1986 (83-11), but forbade the president from completing U.S. ratification until implementing legislation had been enacted into law. As a result, U.S. ratification of the Genocide Convention has been further delayed, awaiting passage of implementing legislation like S. 1851.

### Provisions

As defined by the Convention, genocide is described as the commission of any of several acts with the intent to destroy, in whole or in part, a national, ethnic, racial, or religious group. Basic offenses include murder; serious bodily injury; permanent impairment of mental faculties; destructive physical conditions of life; prevention of birth; or forced transfer of children from one group to another group. The bill provides a penalty of \$1 million fine and life imprisonment upon conviction of killing a member of one of the abovementioned groups. The legislation, like the Convention, also prohibits incitement to commit genocide, punishable by a fine of up to \$500,000, imprisonment for up to five years, or both.

### Death Penalty Proposal Controversial

In the Senate Judiciary Committee Sen. Strom Thurmond (R-SC) unsuccessfully offered an amendment authorizing the death penalty for conviction of genocide. The current legislation does not provide for the death penalty because there are no Federal death penalty procedures, even though the death penalty is authorized for treason and espionage: application of the death penalty has been a state matter.

The House Judiciary Committee leadership has stated its vehement opposition to inclusion of the death penalty in this legislation; chairman Peter Rodino (D-NJ), who guided the bill to passage in the House, has vowed he won't even meet with the Senate side on a compromise if the Senate attaches the death penalty to S. 1851. Some supporters of S. 1851 view the death penalty drive as a "killer amendment" intended to scuttle the implementing legislation. (Amendment advocates Thurmond and Charles Grassley of Iowa voted against the treaty two years ago). Failure to pass the bill would kill ratification of the Genocide Convention during the 40th anniversary of its adoption.

### ACTION!!!

Express your views to your Senators by letters addressed to them at:

The Honorable \_\_\_\_\_  
Senate Office Building  
Washington, D.C. 20510

Also call and ask to speak to the appropriate legislative assistant to learn your senator's position on the bill. The Capitol switchboard number is: (202) 224-3121.





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#### THIRD WORLD DEBT: A REEXAMINATION OF LONGTERM MANAGEMENT

Anthony M. Solomon  
Chairman of the Board  
S.G. Warburg (U.S.A.) Inc.

Rodney B. Wagner  
Vice Chairman Credit Policy Committee  
Morgan Guaranty Trust Co.



Integration Without Order:  
The Global Economic Challenge

A three-part study project to be conducted  
by the Economic Policy Council, UNA-USA,  
from 1988 through 1990.



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Global Integration Panel Series:

On May 10, 1988 the EPC Steering Committee approved a plan to conduct a series of policy panels on the subject of global economic integration. Panel 1, "National Policy-making in a Supranational Economy" will explore the issues and obstacles, at the political and institutional level, to improving global economic coordination. Panel 2, "Trade and Investment Relations After Ricardo" will examine the implications for U.S. economic policy of the emergence of investment, rather than trade, as the dominant force in the global economy. Panel 3, "Productivity in a Global Market: The Challenge to Business and Labor" will explore the nature of the choices and changes at the microeconomic level that business and labor must make to preserve a world class industrial base and enable the U.S. to be an attractive export platform for U.S. and foreign investors.

The following two-part outline describes the context of the study project (part one) and the focal point of each of the three panels (part two).



## Part I

Three factors are causing an upheaval in the environment faced by decisionmakers in government, business and labor: the growth and volatility of capital flows; the globalization of markets and production; and the speed, cost and dispersal of technological change.

### 1. Global Capital

The combination of floating rates and their volatility, the progressive liberalization of national capital markets, the recycling of large surpluses in the 70's and 80's, the explosive growth of unregulated Eurodollars and the electronic linkage of financial markets has produced a global environment for capital with the following characteristics:

- Size. The global credit market is accessible to a large part of the world unimpeded by national frontiers, currencies, time zones or institutions;
- Scale. Daily flows of money and credit dwarf the volume of real trade transactions (the London Eurodollar market handles between \$200 and \$300 billion daily, about 12 times more than the value of goods and services exchanged).
- Mobility. Under floating rates global capital is both cause and effect of exchange rate volatility as traders, fund managers and others exploit opportunities in different currencies and hedge risks.

Consequences include:

- Discipline. Economies, governments and their policies are exposed as never before to the judgments of international markets with the result that even slight deviations, or perceived deviations, from good financial housekeeping can elicit immediate penalties in the form of huge movements out of the currency in question.

- Currency instability. Between 1983 and 1985 the dollar rose by 34% against the currencies of America's trading partners; since then it has fallen by 42%.

- Increasing volatility. Even though integration tends to narrow the spreads between national interest rates, even slight differences can prompt huge transfers of financial assets. Telecommunications advances will make these transactions cheaper, faster, more plentiful. Without coordinated economic policies currencies will be more volatile.

- Limits of intervention. Whether or not markets are correct ( and they are not always) governments cannot make them go away by leaning against them. Despite massive central bank intervention the Louvre Agreement could not be sustained; the dollar fell, U.S. interest rates climbed to support the Louvre level, a bond-to-equity yield gap opened, setting the stage for successive collapses in bond (August-September) and stock (October 19) prices.

- Uncertainty. Traditional economic theory holds that international capital flows and exchange rates reflect trade in goods and services. Today they move independently, with the cart often leading the horse. This wreaks havoc on cost-based business strategies for production, investment and distribution and leads to disruptions in employment and in communities dependent on globally affected business.

- Loss of policy independence. Increasingly, tax, public spending, public borrowing and money growth policies unaccompanied by compatible actions in other major economies tend to boomerang, producing results counter to the desired objective.

## 2. Globalization of Markets and Production

The growing tendency for corporations to locate not just production, but total business systems at or near the market has been accelerated by currency rate volatility and the long over-valuation of the dollar. But there are more fundamental forces at work too:

- The demand patterns of the 600 million residents of U.S., Japan and Europe are increasingly similar, permitting these countries to be viewed as a single market;

- Declining transport costs are making it easier for countries geographically remote from one another to compete in each others' markets;

- As products and their inherent technologies mature, lose their differentiation, and become commodity-like, they can be made by a larger number of competitors. The competitive edge then goes to the firm that has strong local distribution



channels, can anticipate consumer needs, respond to changes quickly, offer just-in-time delivery and so on--all of which push companies to produce close to markets;

- Protectionist pressures reinforce produce-at-market considerations. In a global climate of slow growth and industrial change, companies that export to their markets face a potentially fragile earnings base. More and more firms therefore seek "insider" treatment by locating as producers--and employers--near the market;

Consequences for the public and private sector include:

- An increasing proportion of U.S. imports--as much as 20% in one recent estimate--are exports to the U.S. market from American affiliates abroad;

- Increasing numbers of U.S. owned corporations have foreign workforces while an increasing proportion of U.S. workers have foreign bosses;

- The relevance of the "national origin" rule, keystone of GATT and national commercial policies, declines dramatically. As companies organize themselves globally, parts, components, processes are intermingled, research carried out in one country is applied to products in another, personnel are shifted from location to location and so on;

- The same intermingling applies to firms themselves, many of whom are losing their uniquely American identities. For example, Fairchild's employees were American, as was its headquarters, but the shareholders and directors were largely French;

- The internationalization of investment and production activities raises questions about accountability and a divergence between corporate interests, which must focus on profits and longterm competitiveness, and national interests, which must be concerned with output and jobs.

### 3. Accelerating pace, cost and diffusion of technology

Technological developments are intensifying integration, changing the character of industrial production, trade and competition in the process.

- The growing capital intensivity of manufacturing (autos, consumer electronics, chemicals, steel, textiles, etc.) has lowered labor costs as a percentage of total product costs, reducing the significance of labor price differentials as a competitive and locational factor in manufacturing decisions;
- In a recent international study of competitive companies, McKinnsey & Co. found that labor price advantages were often offset by the cost of transporting components for assembly in cheap labor countries;
- As capital inputs grow in importance, U.S. industry's comparative advantage increasingly depends upon its ability to develop and utilize commercially, cutting-edge technology and industrial processes;
- R&D costs of perfecting each new generation of technology are escalating rapidly, raising the cost of remaining in the high-tech race and compelling companies to exploit a technology's global market potential in order to recoup R&D investments;
- In most of the vanguard technologies, the time frame between development of a technology and the point at which it is copied by the competition has virtually disappeared with the result that technologically advanced companies can no longer rest on their laurels but have to be able to market a product as soon as it is developed;
- Technological advances are also making industrial production less raw material intensive. As Drucker has observed, the typical product of the 1920's, the auto, had a raw material content of 50% the typical product of the 1980's, the semi-conductor, has a raw material content of 1%. Old copper cable had a 50% raw material content, the glass fiber that replaces it has 12% raw material ingredients, and so on.

#### Consequences include:

- To recoup high R&D and product development costs, firms are increasingly resorting to strategic alliances through licensing or direct investment--to gain access to distribution networks in key markets, to tap into new flows of technology allowing their own efforts to be more concentrated (e.g., ATT-Olivetti, Toshiba-Pitney Bowes, NTT-IBM, Yamatake-Honeywell, 3M-Sumitomo, Caterpillar-Mitsubishi, Xerox-Fuji).



- Reduction of labor content affects U.S. workers in different ways. It is positive in the sense that it reduces the motivation to locate production where labor is cheapest and forces more companies who sell to the U.S. market to manufacture there. It also increases the skill levels required of workers. On the other hand it threatens low and medium skilled workers with job loss due to labor saving advances in production processes, robotics and so on;

- As labor and materials costs become less significant as competitive factors, the determinants of competitive advantage will be such things as skill and knowledge levels, managerial competence, availability of investment capital, process technology, management of foreign exchange risks, and product quality, innovation, design, marketing, distribution and servicing;

- For developed countries, this suggests integration will intensify, probably leading to less conglomeration and more concentration and putting a premium on knowing one's customers and competition; for developing countries it suggests the development models based on raw materials exports or low labor costs exports will no longer apply.

## Part II. "Integration Without Order" Panel Series

### Panel 1: Integration Without Order: National Economic Policy-making in a Supra-National Economy

Because economic integration has intensified without parallel development of public policy means for managing its consequences, conventional economic tools are repeatedly swamped by market forces. The purpose of a panel on this theme will be to examine the principal issues and obstacles associated with improving economic policy cooperation by the governments of the industrialized countries:

The record so far. Notwithstanding ambitious declarations of intent by the G-7, actual cooperation has largely been confined to exchange rate management--or mismanagement--most notably in the Louvre Agreement of February 1987 between the U.S., Germany and Japan. Louvre's failure, and eventual contribution to the instability it sought to eliminate, demonstrated that exchange rate "cooperation" unaided by domestic policy realignment can be worse than no cooperation at all.

Going further. Coordination that is more than talk may require binding commitments on domestic money growth, interest rates, public spending and borrowing, and so on, policies that are the essence of perceived economic sovereignty. But even non-binding agreements to follow "indicators" in these areas are regarded as interference in national prerogatives.

Is "sovereignty" a red herring? There may be less than meets the eye in the sovereignty argument since the openness and integration of OECD economies constrain economic choice far more often than recognized. During Mitterand's first term, France tried and aborted a policy of fiscal stimulus through deficit spending: too much of it leaked out to neighbors; inflation increased; and the franc fell. Today, with domestic policy on hold until after the election, Alan Greenspan's dilemma is that the global capital market could deal equally harshly with interest rate and monetary easing (inflation and dollar collapse) or tightening (recession and stock market collapse). Moreover, few Americans seem aware that their standard of living--everything from the price of a mortgage to the cost of delivering the mail--is subsidized by foreign central bank and private lending to the U.S.

Paradox of U.S. leadership. Although the United States has the largest economy, the principal reserve currency, and the greatest systemic responsibilities, when Mr. Baker joins his fellow finance ministers he has one of the weakest hands at the table. With monetary policy the preserve of the Fed, and fiscal policy arduously battled over with Congress, the U.S. Treasury Secretary has very weak internal policy-making powers, little real flexibility, and little ability to deliver on his end of any coordination package.

#### Global economic governance: An Agenda for Consideration

\* Creation of a single medium of exchange, backed up by a basket of currencies, which could be used to reduce currency risk in international trade;

\* Integration of the currencies of the US, Japan and Europe into a single currency area like an expanded European monetary system;

\* G-7 meetings to negotiate, then monitor, indicators for coordination of OECD economies;



\* Agreement to "referees"--e.g., IMF, OECD Secretariat--to provide baseline forecasts acceptable to G-7, monitor performance, flag deviations from policy commitments;

\* Institutional reform designed to increase the flexibility of US fiscal policy, allowing it to rapidly adjust the demands it makes on the international capital market; and

\* Exploration of the merits of a world currency administered by a world central bank;

## Panel 2: Trade and Investment Relations After Ricardo

Monthly preoccupation with the U.S. merchandise trade report has obscured two major developments that are transforming international commerce: the growing amount--almost 50 percent--of U.S. multinationals' total exports emanating from outside the U.S.; and the emergence of investment, rather than trade, as the dominant force in the world economy. For a large and growing proportion of global commerce the law of comparative advantage, like the national origin rule, is no longer relevant. Because of the high mobility of capital and technology and sharply declining raw material and unit labor costs, multinationals can allocate their production and investment across a wide range of eligible host countries. And with the new mobility of factor endowments the interests of multinational firms are increasingly uncoupled from those of their geographical home countries. This panel would examine the implications for national and international public policy of this emerging transformation.

\* At least one third of world trade in manufactured goods is intra-firm, in effect investment-led. It is the fastest growing portion of global output, but it is occurring without the benefit of any international agreement about how it should take place, despite many years discussion of the subject at the United Nations. What should a GATT for investment look like? What is the best trade-off between a stable predictable environment for investors (protection of trademark and intellectual property rights, security against expropriation, guarantees on repatriation of capital, etc.) and host country safeguards against inappropriate investor behavior?

\* A very large portion of world trade in services is also investment-led and here too we are operating without agreed norms. Ironically, while the U.S. is seeking the extension of GATT to services, since the huge American markets in telecommunications and financial services have already been deregulated, we are in a sense trying to play for the most advantageous rules after we have given away much of our bargaining power.

\* Even as the U.S. share of world trade in manufactured goods has declined, the share of American multinationals' foreign affiliates has strengthened. Is this a reflection of the trend to produce at market, or are there also circumstances and policies peculiar to the U.S. that have been making the country less attractive as a platform for manufacturing trade? Given effects on national output, tax revenues, investment capital and such positive spin-offs as worker training and research, how much should the U.S. seek to offset disadvantages as a host country in the manufacturing sector?

\* Some part of the outflow of U.S. direct foreign investment reflects a kind of shadow trade in social policy. In effect, the aggregate of U.S. microeconomic policies--labor standards, environmental regulation, job safety, anti-trust policy, tax policy, etc.--is spurned in favor of a looser regulatory setting. Competition to duplicate those conditions would engage the U.S. in a "race to the bottom" in which everyone loses. Are there ways to minimize some of these non-economic distortions through the use of international standards (occupational safety, child labor, right to organize, etc.)?

Panel 3: Productivity in a Global Market: The Challenge to Business & Labor

In a world of global production and global markets the determinants of competitiveness will have less to do with wage and raw material price differentials than with the cost of capital, the effective use of technology, and systems of management and production. For three of these four criteria, human resources are the critical component. Using a case study approach, like that of the 1983 EPC report on U.S. productivity, this panel would examine the nature of the choices and changes management and labor must make to enable the U.S. to preserve a world class industrial base and remain an attractive export platform for U.S. and foreign investors. Among the issues to be explored are:

\* Workforce flexibility and mobility. Some commentators argue that U.S. labor faces a stark choice between a declining standard of living (U.S. hourly wages have been declining for over a decade), and changes in work patterns that will raise productivity. Some of these changes may involve greater flexibility of work tasks within firms, others may require more workforce mobility between firms and sectors. What can be learned from experience here and overseas?

\* Workforce mobility between sectors appears to succeed when accompanied by active adjustment policies with substantial attention to, and investment in, training and education. Sweden and Japan are examples of industrial democracies with very active, and moderately successful labor adjustment policies.



\* An employee training group in Washington, D.C., estimates that by the year 2000, 75 percent of all workers currently employed will need to be retrained because of job changes that require skills they have not had before. A large and growing number of U.S. companies already invest heavily in worker retraining because they are unable to exploit advances in production systems without higher levels of reading, writing, math and other skills among their workers. What can be learned from the most successful examples?

\* Many of the new production requirements will demand a higher level of abstract, theoretical and communication skills--abilities normally developed in formal schooling. How can companies and unions best signal their need for such skills to U.S. educators? How can corporate-union collaborations reinforce the direct education that takes place in schools? How much of a direct role is appropriate for corporations and unions?

\* What companies have been most successful in the application of new production processes and technologies? What has made the difference? For example, the panel might examine centralized production processes versus decentralized (e.g., Volvo or the Fremont plant under Toyota) and compare the results and the applicability to other sectors.

\* An empirical look at the relationship between employee participation (ESOPs, etc.) and productivity, performance and profitability, both in the U.S. and overseas would also be instructive.

# UNITED NATIONS ASSOCIATION OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

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May 27, 1988

To: UNA-USA Board of Governors

From: Toby Trister Gati  
Vice President for Policy Studies

Re: UNA's Parallel Studies Program with Japan

UNA's third meeting in a series on "US-Japanese Relations and the Soviet Union," held in New York City on May 24-25 in conjunction with Asia Pacific Association of Japan (APAJ) focused on regional conflicts and their significance for US-Japanese relations and relations with the Soviet Union.

The seven papers presented at the meeting analyzed US and Japanese perspectives on the Philippines, the Persian Gulf, Korea and Southeast Asia. Lists of the papers and of the US and Japanese participants at the meeting are attached.

A highlight of the meeting was the broad overview of Soviet policies towards regional conflicts provided by Ambassador Harold Saunders, Visiting Fellow at The Brookings Institution, and the presentation by Seweryn Bialer, Director of the Research Institute on International Change at Columbia University, on Soviet domestic change and the impact on foreign policy.

The culmination of this joint project will be a US-Japanese report to be issued in March 1989 in Tokyo.



Papers for a Joint Meeting  
Between  
UNA-USA and The Asia Pacific Association of Japan  
on  
"Regional Issues: Soviet Policy and US-Japanese Interests"  
for a Joint Project on  
"US-Japanese Relations and the Soviet Union"

May 24-25, 1988  
New York City

American Papers

1. "Soviet Policy in Korea: Implications for US-Japanese Relations" by Dr. Norman Levin, Senior Staff Member, The RAND Corporation;
2. "The Persian Gulf: United States, Japanese, and Soviet Interests" by Dr. Gary Sick, former member, National Security Council Staff;
3. "The Philippines: A Pawn in Asian Politics?" by Dr. Richard Kessler, Professor of International Relations, American University; and
4. "The Situation in Southeast Asia and the Role of the Soviet Union" by Dr. Guy Pauker, Senior Consultant, The RAND Corporation.

Japanese Papers

1. "The Gulf and World Politics" by Mr. Hisahiko Okazaki, Former Japanese Ambassador to Saudi Arabia;
2. "Soviet Policy in Korea: Implications for the US and Japan" by Vice Admiral Naotoshi Sakonjo, Research Associate, Research Institute on Peace and Security; and
3. "The Philippines in Crisis?" by Professor Takashi Shiraishi, Associate Professor, Southeast Asian Studies, Cornell University.

US Participants  
in the  
Joint Meeting  
Between  
UNA-USA and the Asia Pacific Association of Japan  
on  
"US-Japanese Relations and the Soviet Union"

May 24-25, 1988

The Vista International Hotel  
New York City, NY

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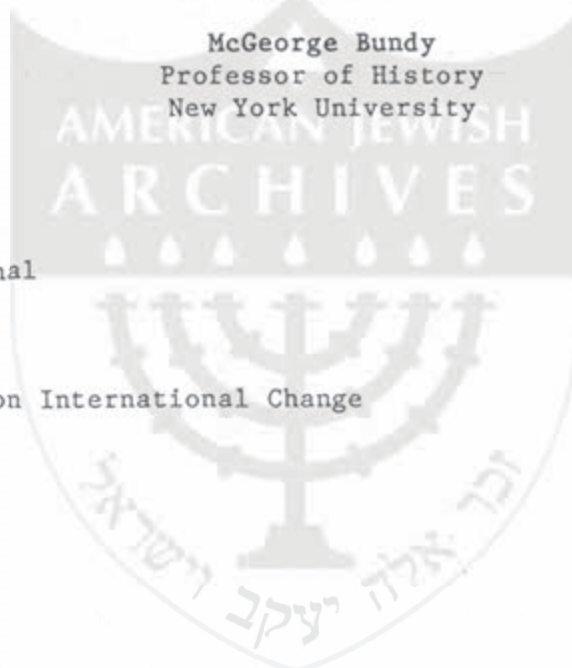
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May 27, 1988

To: UNA-USA Board of Governors

From: Toby Trister Gati  
Vice President for Policy Studies

Re: UNA's new Quadrilateral Study on Asian Security

After a year of intensive discussion and on-again, off-again negotiation with the Chinese, Russians and Japanese, quadrilateral approval has at last been obtained by all concerned to begin the UNA-USA-sponsored quadrilateral project on "Asian Security Problems: Opportunities for Reducing Tensions Among the Major Powers."

This study will provide a unique opportunity for the United States, the Soviet Union, the PRC and Japan to explore the changing security environment in Asia as seen by the four largest actors in the region. It is truly a "first"-- until now there has not been a forum where informal exchange among the four countries on a wide range of political and security issues could be carried on on a sustained basis.

Among the themes we propose to address are:

1. Stability in the strategic relationship: Looking Towards the year 2000;
2. Arms Control and confidence building measures suitable to Asia (including a discussion of the European experience and its relevance to Asia); and
3. Proliferation risks, the perception of political and military tensions, and ways to strengthen the nuclear nonproliferation regime.

UNA-USA envisages a series of three meetings involving five participants from each of the four countries to be held approximately once every nine months. The program is funded by a three-year grant from the Rockefeller Brothers Fund.

A natural outgrowth of the ongoing Parallel Studies Programs with all three nations, the new quadrilateral study promises to expand the possibilities for developing more constructive relations among all states in the region.

United Nations Association of the United States of America



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Susan Woolfson (New York)  
(212) 697-3232

"GLASNOST" GOES TO COLLEGE!

Soviet students Coming to Boston and New York for  
First-Time Soviet/U.S. Collaboration in Model U.N. Program.

On March 29 - April 2 (New York) a Soviet student will perform the role of a U.S. diplomat in a simulation of the U.N. Not even under "detente" has such a program been possible.

PICTURE AND STORY OPPORTUNITIES ABOUND.

Four students of the Moscow State Institute on International Relations will participate in this historic event -- joining students from the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy of Tufts University, Harvard University International Relations Council, Bentley College, Columbia University School of Law, and the National Model United Nations.

New York: Students arrive March 27 and depart April 3. National Model United Nations Conference scheduled at Grand Hyatt Hotel March 29 - April 2. PRESS CONFERENCE with Soviet and American students scheduled April 1, 10:00 a.m. Grand Hyatt Hotel.

For further information and a detailed summary of events, please use the contacts listed above. Coverage available at all events.

This Program is sponsored by the UNITED NATIONS ASSOCIATION OF THE USA and the SOVIET U.N. ASSOCIATION.



Soviets from the  
Moscow State Institute for International Relations  
Participating in the Model UN Program

Boston and New York City  
March 20, 1988 - April 3, 1988

Boris Karlov - representing The United States

Maria Popova - representing Argentina

Alexander Rudakov - representing The United Arab Emirates

Vladimir Titov - representing Bulgaria

Advisor

Alexander Shadrin  
Post-graduate Student at the Institute





# Superpowers suddenly in harmony — in classroom

By George Jahn  
Associated Press

MEDFORD — Soviet and American representatives, meeting in a "special session" that ended yesterday, agreed on how to defuse international tensions — but the unparalleled cooperation between the superpowers was only an exercise.

The negotiators were Soviet and American students.

They met at Tufts University's Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy in a mockup of a UN Security Council session. Unlike their official counterparts at the United Nations, they found quick solutions to delicate problems.

Take the Gulf War, for instance.

It took months last summer for the real Security Council to draw up a resolution with language acceptable to both superpowers. The two-day mock meeting accomplished the same feat in just hours.

The two sides at the Tufts session also found common ground while discussing the Israeli-occupied territories and tensions in southern Africa and Namibia, issues that have split East and West for years.

## Laughter, applause

As in New York, there were speeches made. But unlike the ordinarily somber, ponderous affairs in the real-life Security Council chamber, the classroom meeting also held laughter, applause and a palpable sense of excitement.

Participants insisted their conference had tangible worth, even though it wasn't the real thing.

"I think you can get an objective idea of the positions of different countries," commented Vladimir Titov, a 25-year-old from the Moscow State Institute on International Relations. "At the same time, we learn to understand each other."

Another student from the same institute, 20-year-old Maria Popova, said the session "will help me greatly to cooperate with people with different opinions and find something that will unite us."

The Americans also were enthusiastic.

"It's working beautifully," said Pam Burlanek, 25, of Atlanta. "We are really experiencing a great rapport with the Soviets who are here."

## Students paired

Four Soviet students and four from the Fletcher School were paired to act out the negotiating and maneuvering of an actual Security Council meeting.

They — along with 22 other students from other colleges and countries — represented Britain, China, France, the Soviet Union, the United States, Bulgaria, Congo, Ghana, the United Arab Emirates, Venezuela, Argentina, West Germany, Italy, Zambia and Japan.

The Soviets came to the United States under a program sponsored by the US United Nations Association and the United Nations Association of the Soviet Union. The Soviets plan to participate in related events in New York on March 28 and March 29.

Spokesman Jim Muldoon of the US United Nations Association, a privately funded organization of 20,000 members, suggested the event had more than just symbolic significance because the lessons learned by the students would be used later.

"At least on the Soviet side, many of them will be brought into the Foreign Ministry," he said, during a break for "caucusing," coffee and cookies. "Many of the students that are at the school from elsewhere are already in their ministries."

## Moscow chaperone

Alexander Shadrin, a 25-year-old graduate student at the Moscow Institute who was chaperoning the Soviets, said "those represented here will someday be officials, maybe diplomats, and this conference will help them understand each other better."

For Burlanek, who wants to join a nonprofit international organization after graduation, "the shaking of hands, the eye contact, the upfront discussion" will remain as impressions with "much more educational value than something that's in books."

Titov, who teamed up with Fletcher student Allison Avery to represent Bulgaria, said he was most impressed by the cooperation of the US-Soviet teams, despite their different ideological backgrounds.

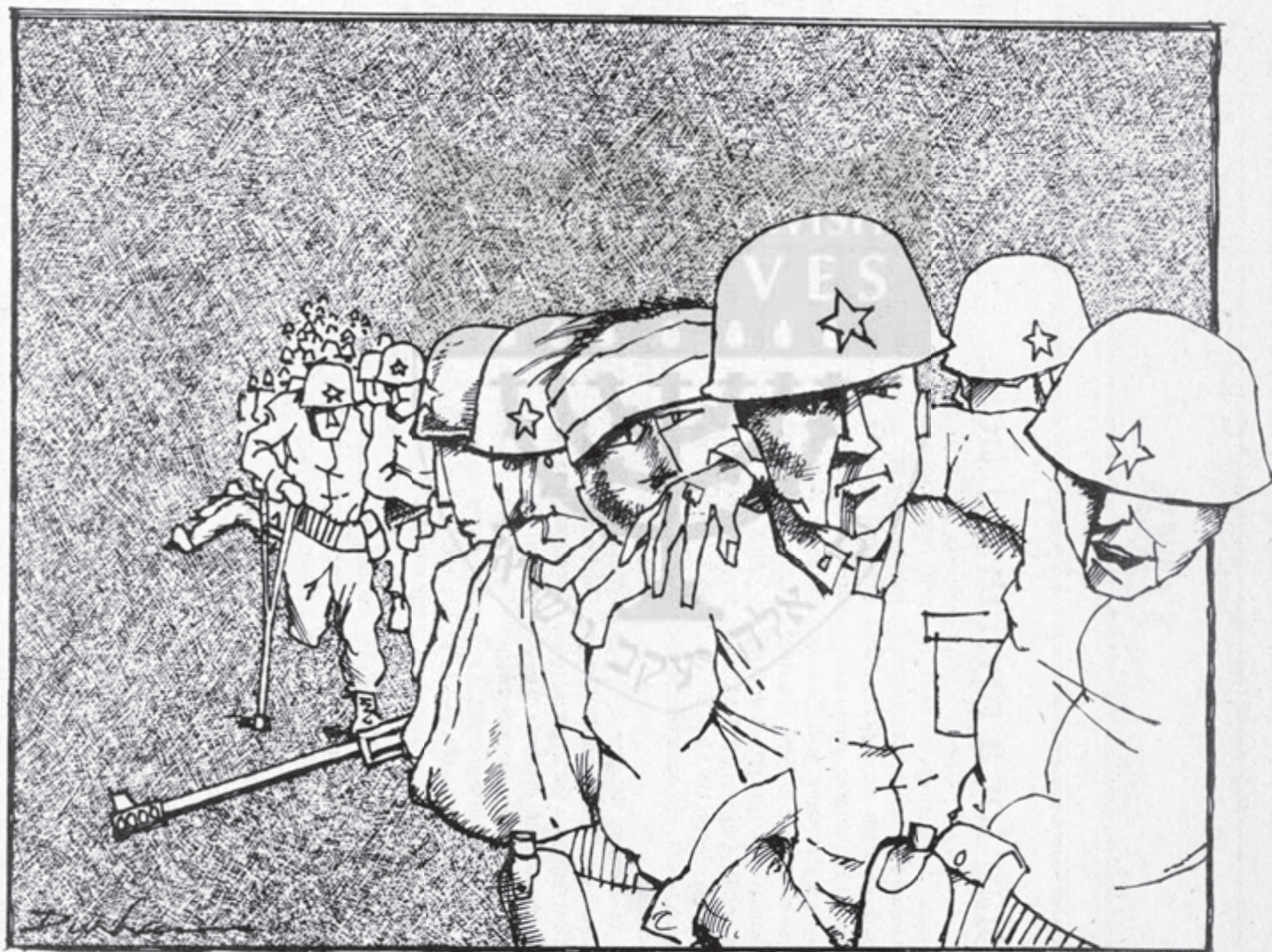
"Now I know it's possible to bridge any gap," he chuckled. "Both of us are working very hard for Bulgaria here."



# the inter dependent

Published by the United Nations Association of the United States of America  
Spring 1988

Volume 14, Number 2



1 After Afghanistan:  
A new Soviet  
direction

1 Putting  
the heat  
on FAO

4 The Gulf:  
Politics of  
impasse



# the inter dependent

## Notes & Quotes

### Soviet capital

Moscow's first foreign bond issue—\$70 million for "general financing purposes"—went on sale in January. Despite "a low 5% coupon with a ten-year maturity" and "debt repayment troubles in parts of the Eastern bloc," the bonds "are being snapped up," reports Forbes. It wasn't the money the Russians were after, said a Swiss banker whose institution heads the 17-bank syndicate of underwriters; they just wanted to "see how far a little glasnost goes" in Western capital markets.

### Sacrifice

As South tells it, "Zambians are slowly coming to terms with the unthinkable—life without Coca-Cola" and other imported soft drinks. A highly unpopular decree, some citizens are asking whether the "small saving in foreign exchange" isn't a false economy—one that "will deal a body blow to the faltering tourist industry," "deprive the government of much-needed tax revenue," and jeopardize "hundreds of jobs." Coke executives have met with President Kenneth Kuanda to urge a softening of drink policy.

### Tragedy

Although atmospheric physicist Michael Oppenheimer admits that forecasts about the effect of global warming fall "between speculation and hard fact," he and co-contributors to a new study (published under U.N. auspices) indicate that natural systems will fare badly—particularly in North America, where warming may be severe. Humans can migrate to survive a shift of climate, explains New Scientist, but "with the exception of Birnam Wood walking to Dunsinane, forests cannot move that quickly."

### Breaking the habit

Thai opium production has plummeted, thanks to coffee seedlings, a U.N. Development Programme-U.N. Fund for Drug Abuse Control crop substitution project, a government drive on illegal growers, time, and patience. Today's Thai farmer, according to UNDP's new bimonthly, World Development, "earns more from a crop that retails for \$5 a pound in New York than by producing opium for heroin—which has a street value of \$1 million a pound."

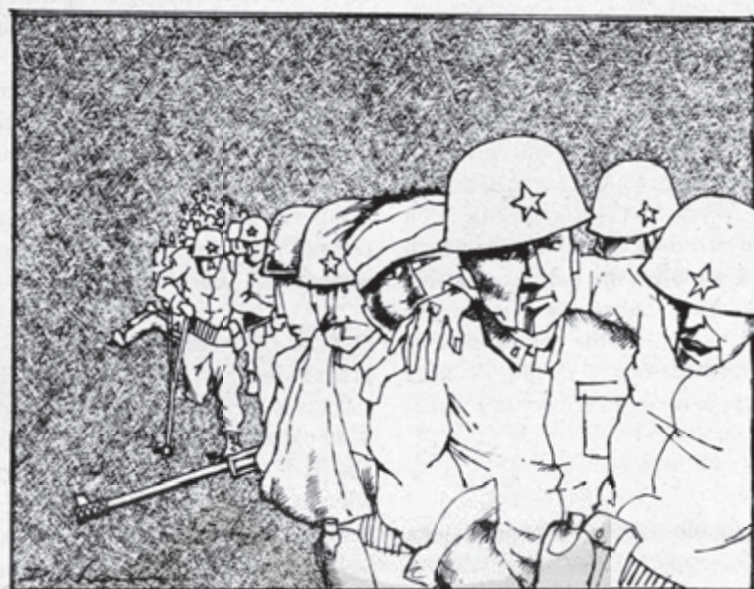
## Soviet reform to include major role for U.N.

by George L. Sherry

Three years into the Gorbachev era, the surprising thing about the Soviet Union is not the scope of changes accomplished but the vision of changes to come. A revolutionary transformation is taking place and, far from denying it, high-level Russians say, in effect, "You ain't seen nothin' yet."

For Americans it is imperative to grasp the nature of these changes and to figure out how they will affect both the Soviet-American relationship and the prospects for peace. For those of us interested in the United Nations the issue is a crucial one. Born of the assumption that the Grand Alliance of World War II would survive to safeguard the postwar peace, the U.N. had to carve out a new and more limited role with the onset of a cold war that proved the assumption faulty. The collapse of détente in the late '70s and the resulting American turn to unilateralism and hostility to the U.N. have tended to jeopardize even this diminished U.N. role. On the other hand, a constructive refashioning of the Soviet-American and the broader East-West relations would, almost of necessity, create new and important functions for the U.N. to perform. Consequently, Moscow-watching from the U.N. is a must in the days of glasnost (openness) and perestroika (restructuring).

In February of this year I attended back-to-back meetings of the "Dartmouth" regional conflicts and political relations panels in Moscow, co-chaired by Harold



H. Saunders of The Brookings Institution, former Assistant Secretary of State for Near Eastern and South Asian Affairs, and Seweryn Bialer, Professor of Political Science at Columbia University and Director of its Institute on International Change. The two Soviet teams were headed, respectively, by Academician Evgeny Primakov, Director of the Institute of World Economy and International Relations, and Vitaly Zhurkin, Director of the new European Institute.

International problems were discussed in the light of internal developments—heretofore forbidden territory. The Soviets made it a point to describe with disarming candor some of the domestic problems they face and their impact on foreign policy. Among other things, they stressed that *novo myshlenie* (new thinking) was still very much in a state of flux and that

they sometimes had trouble keeping up with the development of their leader's ideas.

As might have been expected of men (there were no Soviet women at the meetings) schooled in Marxism, the Russians based their presentations on an analysis of the USSR's economic problems and on a rethinking of some fundamentals of their ideological and political system. The economy, according to the Russians, is in a "pre-crisis" state that calls for radical reforms not as a matter of choice but because "we have no alternative; we have tried literally everything else and it has not worked."

The ultimate goal was described as the establishment of an "open socialist economy," which would be in a position to join the world economic and financial system as a full-fledged participant. Even-

(Continued on page 2)

## FAO head object of Western inquiry

by Ted Morello

Major U.N. donors are giving the "M'Bow treatment" to another United Nations chief executive: Director-General Edouard Saouma of the Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO). Like Amadou-Mahtar M'Bow of Senegal, ousted in last November's election as head of the U.N. Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), Saouma has come under fire on charges of mis-managing the U.N.'s biggest specialized agency. And as in M'Bow's case, the accusations include high living, nepotism, favoritism, and the use of agency funds to reward governments that support him.

Unlike M'Bow, however, the FAO's Lebanese director survived the "dump Saouma" campaign waged by a dozen donor nations—the so-called Camberley Group—winning a third six-year term in last November's balloting at FAO headquarters in Rome. One of the key questions that Saouma's critics want answered is what tactics he used to defeat his opponent, Moise Mensah of Benin, Assistant President for Operations of the U.N.'s International Fund for Agricultural Development. Mensah was favored by governments that provide the lion's share of FAO's assessed and voluntary contributions.

Long-simmering discontent  
(Continued on page 5)

## Special: UNA National Convention update

The 1988 National Convention will be an occasion for learning and sharing—and for having a good time doing it. On hand to sound the opening notes on opening day, Sunday, July 10, will be singer Judy Collins and President Oscar Arias-Sanchez of Costa Rica, author of the "Arias plan" for peace in Central America and the most recent winner of the Nobel Peace Prize. The excitement continues with the start of bidding on items donated for the Convention Auction (see story, page 7).

"The United Nations: Making a World of Difference" is the Convention's general theme, with a spotlight on human rights. The Universal Declaration of Human Rights, 40 years old this year, will be a subject of President Arias's Sunday keynote address as well as the focus of Monday's Skill-building Seminars. On the agenda for the Monday-evening plenary is

UNA's own study, "The U.N.: A Successor Vision," with speakers drawn from the international panel whose two-year labors resulted in a final report now generating enormous interest in government circles the world over.

On Tuesday, July 12, Convention participants will board buses at the Omni Park Central Hotel, Convention headquarters, to travel to the United Nations for an afternoon seminar on some of the hottest issues facing the world body today. The Convention ends some hours later with the traditional reception at the United States Mission to the U.N., directly across the street from U.N. headquarters.

There will be much to do and see even before the first gavel. The Omni Park Central will be lined with exhibits prepared by Chapters and Divisions, member organizations of UNA's Council of Organizations, the U.N. Bookstore, and

prominent book publishers. The Ballroom level will offer a display of Auction items to tempt passersby to bid "high and often." There will also be showings of selected U.N. films and of video tapes made by Chapters and member groups of the Council of Organizations. (Those with a tape to share with Convention attendees are invited to send it to Carol Christian, Convention Coordinator, UNA-USA, 485 Fifth Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10017.)

### Who Is Eligible to Come?

- All members of the UNA-USA Board of Directors and the National Council of the Association.
- Two representatives from each organization in good standing with UNA's Council of Organizations.
- Two delegates from each recognized Chapter, and additional delegates according to the following

formula: "for regular members in excess of 250, one additional delegate for each additional 250 members or major fraction thereof." Each Chapter represented by three delegates is also entitled to an extra youth delegate of 25 years of age or less, provided that delegate is a member of the Chapter.

•The President (or other designated representative) of each recognized Division. Divisions are treated as a single Chapter for purposes of assigning delegates, and representation is calculated according to the same formula.

Each Chapter, Division, and organization delegate may designate an alternate; and Chapters, Divisions, and organizations may send any number of observers.

### Getting There

American Airlines is the official carrier for UNA's Convention. A  
(Continued on page 6)



# U.S. Mission assesses 42nd General Assembly

(The following is a press release dated February 18, issued by the U.S. Mission to the U.N. at the conclusion of the 42nd U.N. General Assembly.)

## Major Successes: Regional Conflicts, Universality of Membership

United States interests advanced on several fronts during the 42nd General Assembly despite massive withholding by the United States of its assessment to the United Nations. Overwhelming record majorities demanded the withdrawal of foreign forces from Cambodia and Afghanistan despite strenuous efforts by Vietnam and the Soviet Union to rally support for their positions. The recent Soviet announcement on Afghanistan is a major step towards a longstanding U.S. goal, one which 123 nations endorsed at the General Assembly—the earliest possible withdrawal of Soviet troops. The resolution calling for Vietnamese withdrawal from Cambodia passed by 117 votes. On the crucial issue of Israeli credentials and universality of membership, a record 79 other member states voted with the United States to reject an effort to bar Israel from the General Assembly.

## Human Rights

Promoting human rights and ending the double standard in human rights debates are longstanding U.S. goals. U.S.-supported resolutions criticizing human rights abuses in Iran and Afghanistan obtained larger margins of support this year than ever before. In addition, resolutions concerning human rights in Chile and El Salvador were more balanced than in past years. Throughout the Assembly, the U.S. repeatedly drew attention to Cuba's deplorable human rights record.

## U.S. Reelected to International Court of Justice

American Justice Stephen M. Schwebel handily won reelection to the International Court of Justice for a 9-year term with the support of all 15 members of the Security Council and 113 of the 159 members of the General Assembly.

## Important Consensus Resolutions

The 42nd United Nations General Assembly adopted 55% of its resolutions without a vote—an increase of 10.7% over the 41st United Nations General Assembly. Examples of important issues on which the U.S. joined consensus resolutions are:

- Uniting all countries in an effort to prevent and control AIDS
- Strengthening international cooperation in the war on Drugs
- Endorsing the Secretary-General's role in directing U.N. Peace-keeping Operations
- Protection of the Environment
- Peaceful uses of Outer Space

## Name-calling of U.S. Dwindles

U.S. diplomatic insistence has caused the near disappearance of name-calling, an explicit and gratuitous negative reference to the United States. Name-calling has all but vanished from United Nations General Assembly resolutions relating to apartheid and the Middle East and this year there was no name-calling in any of the Namibia resolutions.

## Soviets Lose Support on International Security Initiative

The U.S. and other Western countries defanged and then eroded support for the major Soviet initiative on international security. The Soviet proposal for a new "comprehensive system of international security" was a vaguely-worded but pernicious attempt to rework the U.N. charter. Despite vigorous Soviet diplomacy, most third-world nations abstained, whereas last year a large majority had voted yes.

## Difficult Operating Environment—some setbacks

In assessing the 42nd General Assembly, it is important to realize that the successes mentioned above took place against a backdrop of massive withholding by the United States of its assessment to the United Nations. The U.S. took this action to further budgetary reforms; significant reforms did occur this year. For the first time ever, the current two-year U.N. budget is lower in real terms than its predecessor. Reorganization and streamlining measures are now under way throughout the U.N. system.

On some issues, the United States did not achieve the progress we sought. Among these, the Assembly criticized the U.S. trade embargo against Nicaragua. For the second consecutive year the Assembly also adopted a Nicaraguan-sponsored resolution demanding U.S. compliance with the International Court of Justice ruling on Nicaragua. Opposing views on external debt forced an erosion of the consensus achieved at the 41st General Assembly. The United States introduced a draft resolution linking self-determination to periodic free elections, but was forced to withdraw it upon the submission of unacceptable amendments. Finally, while the Assembly's draft resolution on terrorism met our principal objectives, it contained language on self-determination susceptible to harmful misinterpretation. We therefore voted against it.

## Security Council—the Gulf War

Throughout the General Assembly session, the Security Council continued to build upon the impetus of Resolution 598 calling for an immediate end to the Iran-Iraq war.

## Prospects for the 43rd General Assembly

"Creeping realism" continued to spread at the 42nd General Assembly, producing some major advances for U.S. and Western interests. In the 43rd General Assembly we expect more cooperation and, with a continued muting of rhetoric, even greater progress.

# Soviets

(Continued from page 1)

tually this might involve convertibility of the ruble.

Perhaps of greater significance, the Soviets spoke of ideological changes that could have a fundamental effect on the shape of East-West relations. For a long period, some of them noted, socialism had been regarded as an advanced historical stage that would inevitably supersede capitalism. This view has now been discarded, along with the notion of the historically inevitable decline of the West. Socialism is now described as an alternative to capitalism; the two systems will develop concurrently; Western technological, economic, cultural, and even institutional advances will be acknowledged and, if need be, borrowed. The thesis of the "monolithic" nature of socialism is rejected; the Soviets now speak of "socialist pluralism." This will involve encouraging diversity and allowing significant free play for clashing interests and opinions. Some Soviet participants even spoke vaguely of the eventual introduction of elections in which two or three candidates would vie for office, each advocating distinct alternative policies.

Zhurkin, as co-author of a piece that had just appeared in *Kommunist*, called for a rethinking of national security priorities and the elimination of excessive secrecy and offered a slashing critique of the counterproductive effects of Soviet secretiveness in present circumstances, noting that secrecy impelled the Soviet Union's potential adversaries to plan for "worst case" scenarios. The article also stated that the trauma of June 22, 1941—a surprise invasion from the West—was no longer a danger: There was no East-West conflict that could tempt any Western armies to stage an invasion of Soviet territory, and there were "no influential political forces, either in the United States or in Western Europe, that would set themselves such a task." (So much for the image of incurably aggressive imperialism.) In fact, as Zhurkin et al. added in a breathtaking aside, "bourgeois democracy does serve as a certain barrier" to the unleashing of a "major war between the two systems" and "democratic institutions" have managed to curb the Pentagon's "military ardor." Despite these facts, the article warns, the threat of war may be increasing—not in the sense of premeditated aggression but in the sense of an accidental nuclear outbreak and of rapid, uncontrolled escalation. What is most alarming is the lag in the Soviet Union's relative economic and scientific/technological power during "the years of stagnation," which "has begun to affect...dangerously the dynamics of the correlation of forces between the two systems." How do these ideas—some of them in sensational contrast with traditional Soviet rhetoric—trans-

(Continued on next page)

# Follow up

## Stratospheric heights

The U.S. Senate, responding to last September's agreement among 31 nations to limit the production and use of the ozone-depleting chemicals called chlorofluorocarbons, or CFCs (October/November issue), voted unanimously on March 14 to approve ratification of the historic protocol. The United States is the first major producer of the chemicals to approve the agreement, which will first freeze and then roll back their production and consumption. To date only Mexico has ratified the treaty, though others are expected to follow.

Widely used as refrigerants, in plastic foam, in computer cleansers, and (except in the U.S., Canada, and Scandinavia) as aerosol pro-

pellants, CFCs destroy the Earth's stratospheric ozone belt—the protective layer that filters out the sun's harmful ultraviolet waves. Since the protocol was signed last fall, however, scientists have concluded that ozone depletion is occurring at a far greater rate than had been thought, prompting a call from many legislators and environmentalists for even more sweeping action.

## U.S. vs. PLO

On March 3, 18 congressmen introduced a bill to rescind legislation requiring the closing of the Palestine Information Office in Washington and the Palestine Liberation Organization's Observer Mission to the U.N. in New York (February/March issue). The original legislation introduced by Senator Charles Grassley (R-Ia.), passed on December 22, has caused consternation within the administration, the State and Justice departments, and the U.N. Secretariat.

Representative George Crockett, Jr. (D-Mich.), a congressional delegate at the 42nd U.N. General Assembly and a sponsor of the rescinding legislation, called the closures "a matter of national and international embarrassment that Congress can and should resolve." The Grassley amendment, says Crockett, (1) violates a treaty obligation under the Headquarters Agreement between the U.S. and the U.N.; (2) violates First Amendment rights of American citizens; (3) creates "but another obstacle to a peaceful solution of the Middle East conflict"; and (4) sets a "dangerous precedent" that could be used to silence other groups considered by some to be "undesirable."

On March 11, U.S. Attorney General Edwin Meese notified Zehdi L. Terzi, head of the PLO Observer Mission, that in accordance with the December legislation (officially, the Anti-Terrorism Act of 1987) "as of March 21, 1988, maintaining the PLO Observer Mission to the United Nations in the United States will be unlawful." Should the Mission fail to comply, concludes the letter, the Department of Justice will take action in U.S. federal court.

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| Edmund Piasecki              | ISSN 0094-5072                           |



# UNA panel to address Third World debt

Recent developments among the major debtor countries and in the world economy, and shifts in the attitude of the U.S. government and creditor banks, suggest that the international debt problem has reached a bend in the road, presenting opportunity, and risk, for the growth and stability of the world economy. Despite growing agreement that the time is ripe for change, there is no agreement about what those changes should be. Responding to the need for a strategy to surmount the debt crisis, UNA-USA's Economic Policy Council has convened a high-level panel on "Third World Debt: A Reexamination of Long-Term Management." The panel will release its final report at the EPC plenary on September 19, in time to influence discussions at the joint

World Bank-International Monetary Fund meeting scheduled for later that month, as well as to help shape the policies of a new Congress and new administration.



Anthony M. Solomon.

The panel held its inaugural session on February 26 under the

direction of co-chairs Anthony M. Solomon, Chairman of S. G. Warburg (USA) and former President of the Federal Reserve Bank of New York, and Rodney B. Wagner, Vice Chairman of Morgan Guaranty Trust's Credit Policy Committee and principal architect of the debt-for-bond initiative proposed jointly by Mexico and Morgan Guaranty late last year. Rare among study groups on debt, the EPC panel brings together representatives of all the major parties to the debt-management process: debtor countries, U.S. and European creditor banks, the U.S. Congress, the IMF and the African Development Bank, and affected sectors of U.S. labor and management, as well as legal and regulatory experts. Four more meetings will be held between March

and June 1988.

Before making their policy rec-



Rodney B. Wagner.

ommendations, the panelists will examine the major developments of the last 18 months that not only have changed the environment for debt management but, cu-

mulative, have rendered debt management a process without a strategy. These developments include changes in the regulatory, tax, accounting, and competitive conditions facing creditor banks; new global economic concerns; new attitudes at the U.S. Treasury and in Congress; and an uncertain economic and political outlook in the debtor countries. Because of the sheer magnitude of the Latin debt and the trade and geopolitical significance of the area to the United States and Europe, the panel will focus on the debt-management problem as it affects the middle-income Latin American debtor countries and the climate for democracy in the region, considering new approaches that can narrow the gap between a nation's debt and its financial resources.

## Soviets

(Continued from page 2)

late into foreign policy? One Russian answer was that the two superpowers, locked in the strait-jacket of an adversary relationship and military competition, are becoming less and less relevant to the rest of the world: "Together we account for just 10 percent of the population of the globe; soon we shall have only each other to rely on."

Having in mind the economic and political reforms already under way and the more far-reaching ones that lay ahead, the Russians stressed that their foreign-policy goals for the foreseeable future were security and stability in an interdependent world, with the control of regional conflict situations an important element in reaching those goals. This is where the Russian interlocutors advocated Soviet-American understanding on assigning important but so far vaguely delineated functions to the United Nations. As one of them put it: "We want to reconstruct, but only in order to become members of the modern world community." More specifically, "We are in the process of reviewing critically and redefining our country's foreign policy interests, with a view to getting our concepts out of the ossified state of the past 15 years."

The Russians clearly understood that some of their policies over the past decades had unavoidably caused the U.S. to feel threatened and to react accordingly. A major element of the new Soviet approach is evidently to mitigate, and eventually reverse, this sense of threat, for the simple reason that the American response to it has tended to jeopardize Soviet security, which in turn could make it impossible to undertake the wide-ranging economic and political reforms called for by *perestroika*.

The Russians came up with a number of interesting ideas concerning regional conflicts, which,

they insisted, should not be viewed through the distorting prism of U.S.-Soviet confrontation. Both sides should seek to promote national reconciliation in places like Afghanistan, Kampuchea, and Nicaragua. Conspicuous by its absence was the traditional Marxist approach, which sees such conflicts as manifestations of irreconcilable class struggle. Indeed, a senior Soviet participant baldly stated that socialism was mostly irrelevant to Third World needs.

While it would be difficult to devise superpower rules of conduct applicable to widely different situations, the Russians suggested that both sides should refrain from responding to regional conflicts by introducing a military presence. From the American point of view it would, of course, be difficult not to respond effectively to the perceived danger of Communist takeovers. On the other hand, we would be well advised to think of alternative approaches should it become evident that the Russians are serious about a nonexpansionist interpretation of socialism and of their own foreign policy.

In his now famous article in *Pravda* last September, General Secretary Gorbachev indicated a new interest on the part of his government in the extensive use of multilateral institutions—specifically the United Nations—as instruments of good offices, conflict control, and peacekeeping. Similar themes were sounded in Moscow in February.

Gorbachev's reasoning and that of his advisors seems to be based on the premise that regional conflicts tend to involve the interests of the superpowers and therefore to invite competitive intervention on their part. The obvious solution is the use of impartial United Nations machinery to fill the political or military vacuum and thus make superpower intervention unnecessary. In other words, each superpower should be assured that restraint on its part will not open the door to unimpeded intervention by the other. This concept of the

role of the U.N. has far-reaching implications that hark all the way back to Dag Hammarskjöld and Ralph Bunche. For, clearly, the Russians do not seem to be talking about the U.N. as a propaganda forum or as a politicized instrument designed to score points on behalf of one of the sides in conflict situations—the procedure that,

having been so often used against U.S. interests by the nonaligned, with Soviet support, has led to the current crisis in U.S.-U.N. relations. What the Russians seem to have in mind is a redirection of the political functions of the United Nations toward impartial peace-keeping and peacemaking. If this analysis is tested and proved accurate, we may be at a turning point

in the history of the U. N.

George L. Sherry, former U.N. Assistant Secretary-General for Special Political Affairs, is the Stuart Chevalier Professor of Diplomacy and World Affairs at Occidental College, Los Angeles, and a Senior Fellow of the United Nations Institute for Training and Research (UNITAR).



## UNA national study to recommend U.S. agenda at U.N.

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# The Gulf: Politics of impasse

## U. N. watch

by Michael J. Berlin

International institutions, like human beings, find it difficult to talk and chew gum at the same time. There are, of course, imperatives (such as the Hungarian Revolution and Suez crisis of 1956) that produce a dual political focus. But once the crisis atmosphere fades and a new issue cries out for attention, governments, international institutions, and the media all stop chewing and limit themselves to talk. So it has gone for the Persian Gulf war.

A year ago, as the Reagan administration sought to recuperate from the Iran-Contra debacle and fears grew elsewhere that the collapse of Iraq might loose the scourge of Islamic fundamentalism across the Middle East, the five big powers began gnawing away in earnest on a Security Council resolution that would end the eight-year-long bloodbath. It was assumed from the start that Iran was likely to resist a cease-fire and that a second resolution, imposing penalties on Teheran, would be needed to increase pressure for compliance.

What emerged on July 20 was resolution 598, one of the few Council edicts that has (like resolution 242 of 1967 on the Arab-Israeli dispute) become a household number, at least in select households. It demanded an end to the fighting and a withdrawal to borders, and proposed a commission that would apportion blame for the war. London, Paris, and Washington made clear they would press for an arms embargo on whatever side failed to accept the U.N.'s terms. Beijing indicated it wouldn't stand in the way. Moscow said it agreed—in principle.



Iraq promptly accepted the resolution. Iran's U.N. ambassador at the time, Said Rajaie-Khorassani, privately cautioned that his government was likely to refrain from accepting or rejecting the plan for as long as possible. It was clear that Iran sought to buffer pressures for the Council's adoption of an embargo, to squeeze the U.N. for the best possible interpretation of the resolution's terms, and to permit the military pressure on Iraq to continue.

In the time that has elapsed since the adoption of resolution 598, these basic stances have remained unchanged, as has the diplomatic process. What have changed are the nature of the fighting and the status of the issue, which has lost its spotlight and its urgency.

The State Department would like to brand Teheran as the recalcitrant party to help legitimize the American naval presence in the Persian Gulf, but the need is less pressing than earlier. After a shaky start, the U.S. tanker escort operation has proved relatively safe and has helped Iraq's allies ship their oil successfully.

The United States has continued to lead the campaign for an arms embargo against Iran, but even these statements have become less frequent and less loud. In late March, Washington even permitted the Iranians to score propaganda points by granting landing rights to an Iranian plane carrying five young Kurdish victims of an Iraqi poison gas attack. These children could have been treated more promptly in Europe—as was the case with some other victims—but were brought to New York instead.

America's fences in the Arab world have been rebuilt. As the threat to oil exports and the possibility of an Iraqi political or military collapse have dissipated, so too has Arab pressure for an end to the war. At the same time, the Pal-

estinian riots in the West Bank and Gaza Strip have assumed top priority in the Arab world.

Moscow has not budged from its position that the time is not yet ripe for an embargo against Iran because the path of negotiation remains open. Most diplomats believe the Kremlin will not antagonize Teheran so long as there remains a danger that Iran might interfere with Soviet plans for a painless withdrawal from Afghanistan—Moscow's top priority. In theory, a superpower deal could establish a joint policy toward the Persian Gulf, but the issue has clearly dropped to the bottom of the agenda of the May summit in Moscow.

It has been proposed that Washington call Moscow's bluff and put an embargo resolution to the vote in the Security Council. But this fails to take account of the fact that 12 of the 15 Council members—all but Britain, France, and the U.S.—would prefer not to act. West Germany, Italy, and Japan are all major suppliers of Iran. Yugoslavia, Algeria, and other Third World members of the Council are reluctant to join the big powers in a hegemonistic imposition of punitive measures against one of their number. The most likely fate of such an American resolution would be a 12-3 vote to pigeonhole it.

The effectiveness of Iranian diplomacy in sustaining its policy of constructive ambiguity toward resolution 598 has been matched by Iraq's diplomatic ineptitude and its military hamhandedness. Because Baghdad has been unable to reduce the scope of Iranian oil exports over a sustained period of time, which would have constricted the cash necessary for the purchase of arms, it has been drawn into highly publicized attacks on civilian targets and the use of poison gas to blunt an Iranian offensive in the north, both of which have hurt Iraq's claim to international sympathy without providing a compensatory military advantage. They have also enabled Iran to evade a response to U.N. demands for a cease-fire and have caused some Security Council members to suggest the imposition of an arms embargo against both.

Despite the ongoing attacks on oil tankers and the increase in civilian casualties, the intensity of the fighting has in fact declined in the year since the big-power diplomatic initiative began at the U.N. Experts point to several military factors: the American naval presence, greater difficulty in obtaining arms, and the reluctance of Iran to return to "human wave" tactics on the battlefield. But certainly the diplomatic constraint created by resolution 598 and the prospect of punitive action if either side goes too far is a factor in the lessening of military intensity. To that extent, the resolution has proved a success.

Michael J. Berlin is a regular contributor to The InterDependent.

# From Foggy Bottom

## Labor pains

This spring, President Reagan will put his signature to two conventions that the International Labour Organisation adopted in 1976 and that received the consent of the U.S. Senate in early 1988—the first ILO conventions to be ratified by the U.S. in 35 years. The conventions Concerning Tripartite Consultations to Promote the Implementation of International Labor Standards (No. 144) and Concerning Minimum Standards in Merchant Ships (No. 147) bring to nine the number of ILO covenants that have received formal approval by the U.S. out of a field of 166 adopted by the ILO since its birth in 1919.

Americans pioneered the sort of labor standards enshrined in the ILO conventions, but the U.S. has reserved its seal of approval mainly for those affecting maritime workers—No. 147 among them. Two exceptions have been a postwar convention linking the ILO to the U.N. system and now No. 144. This last provides for a periodic review of American labor laws and of ILO conventions by a board made up of government, union, and business representatives—the same uniquely "tripartite" group that the ILO enlists in all its deliberations.

Maritime matters are a purely federal concern, explains Marion Houstoun, Director of the Office of International Organizations in the Bureau of International Labor Affairs, whereas other labor matters raise concern for states' rights. In spearheading the recent ratification drive in the Senate, Orrin Hatch (R-Ut.) and Daniel Patrick Moynihan (D-N.Y.) cited America's inaction on ILO covenants and the need to enhance U.S. credibility when broaching such issues as free trade unions in Poland. No. 144—one of only 26 ILO conventions ever to bear a presidential recommendation when submitted to the Senate for its advice and consent—"makes a nice political statement," notes Mrs. Houstoun, "because it implies the right of employers and employees to form their own associations."

## Legal aid

In a strongly worded document, the American Bar Association's policy-setting House of Delegates has called for full U.S. funding of the U.N. and has cited U.S. withholdings as the "major cause" of the world body's financial crisis. The ABA resolution "urges the executive and legislative branches of the United States Government to take cooperative action so that payment will be made without delay to the United Nations, including its specialized agencies, of all amounts assessed to the United States."

The full report of the House of Delegates declares that U.S. withholdings under Kassebaum, Gramm-Rudman-Hollings, Sundquist, and other legislation are in violation of international law; that the U.S. "cannot afford to let the U.N. go bankrupt"; and that "for all its flaws, the United Nations remains one of the best hopes for advancement of the rule of law in the world."

## Church & State at Oxford

When leaders of the five major faiths met with legislators of eight countries in the New York suburb of Tarrytown some three years ago, they founded the Global Forum of Spiritual and Parliamentary Leaders on Human Survival and began organizing a "Global Survival Conference." On April 11 the concept became a reality at Oxford University's Christ Church college and in the public arena of the Oxford Town Hall, where the High Priest of Togo's Sacred Forest rubbed shoulders with Congressman Jim Scheuer of New York, and Cosmonaut Valentina V. Tereshkova moved in the same orbit as the Archbishop of Canterbury.

For five days, leaders from 12 religious communities met with politicians from 52 countries as well as eminent journalists, businessmen, educators,

# U.S. and European Forces

The following listing and summaries of U.S. and European naval forces in the area have been prepared by the Center for Defense Information. The information reflects the situation on March 9, 1988, and includes

## U.S. Navy Ships

| In the North Arabian Sea & Indian Ocean | In the Persian Gulf |                       |
|---|---------------------|-----------------------|
| Aircraft carriers                       | 1                   | Command ships         |
| Cruisers                                | 1                   | Amphibious ships      |
| Destroyers                              | 3                   | Cruisers              |
| Frigates                                | 1                   | Destroyers            |
| Amphibious ships                        | 1                   | Frigates              |
| Attack submarines                       | 1                   | Minesweepers          |
| Support ships                           | 10                  |                       |
| Other ships                             | 3                   | Total U.S. Navy ships |
|   |                     | 38                    |



# m to Turtle Bay

ists, and scientists to discuss issues of planetary survival. Despite the extraordinary mixture of participants, there was no disagreement that planet was at risk. Said the Dalai Lama: "We cannot blame a few politicians, a few fanatics, or a few troublemakers. The whole of humanity has a responsibility."

The religious and political leaders at Oxford committed themselves to work collaboratively at all levels—local, national, and regional—and to vitalize useful structures, such as the United Nations. "Special attention" will be given to three critical areas: elimination of the perils of nuclear and chemical armaments; realization of appropriate balances between resources and populations; and promotion of the well-being of vulnerable groups, particularly women and children.

## rain in Bahrain

Advanced environmental monitoring system to give early warning of drought, crop failures, and insect plagues in Africa is being launched this year by the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations (FAO). The system may well save millions of lives by enabling agricultural and public health authorities to prepare for major food shortages before they occur.

As announced in FAO's World Food Report, the project will enhance the Global Information and Early Warning System for Food and Agriculture, a computer-based service that alerts governments to potential famine conditions. Initially FAO will make use of data received directly from a weather satellite of the European Space Agency and an environmental satellite of the American National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration. These satellites record cloud temperature fluctuations over Africa at hourly intervals and report on the state of vegetation every ten days. Their readings will be combined, allowing continuous monitoring of rainfall and vegetation across the continent. By comparing satellite information with the statistics and analyses in supportive data bases, the system's computer will produce maps pointing out abnormal rainfall patterns and suspected insect breeding areas. In the longer term, the information gathered by satellites for the food-alert system will be used in agricultural planning.

## ork genes

After five years of debate and study the U.N. has established the International Centre for Genetic Engineering and Biotechnology, a research and training facility that will use advanced genetic engineering techniques to address problems of hunger and disease in developing countries. The new center will be based in New Delhi and Trieste, where research teams will work closely with affiliated facilities throughout the Third World in such fields as plant cell culture and propagation, vaccine development, and malaria chemotherapy. The program's initial funding comes from grants by the Italian government (\$10 million), the Research Area of Trieste (\$7 million), and India (\$17 million in kind and \$500,000 in hard currency). "The recent revolution in genetic technology, until now the exclusive domain of the richest countries, may benefit the medicine and agriculture of the world's poorest regions most of all, according to a recent study published by the International Labour Organisation. The study notes that a third of the world's food potential is being lost to insects, diseases, and weeds—a share that could be recovered with the development of pest- and disease-resistant plant varieties. Clonal propagation of timber crops can dramatically reduce wood shortages and deforestation in the Third World. And new strains of micro-organisms can efficiently convert biomass—the world's most abundant resource—into primary fuels.

## the Persian Gulf Area

is located in the Persian Gulf, the North Arabian Sea, and the Indian Ocean.

European Navy Ships in and Near the Persian Gulf

| France            | Italy                     |    |
|-------------------|---------------------------|----|
| Aircraft carriers | Frigates                  | 3  |
| Destroyers        | Minesweepers              | 3  |
| Frigates          | Support ships             | 2  |
| Minesweepers      |                           |    |
| Support ships     | Belgium                   |    |
|                   | Minesweepers              | 1  |
|                   | Support ships             | 1  |
| United Kingdom    |                           |    |
| Destroyers        | Netherlands               |    |
| Frigates          | Minesweepers              | 2  |
| Minesweepers      |                           |    |
| Command ships     |                           |    |
| Support ships     |                           |    |
|                   | Total European Navy ships | 36 |

# FAO

(Continued from page 1)

over Saouma's performance came to a head earlier this year when Fred J. Eckert, the top U.S. representative to the agriculture agency, presented the director-general with a "letter of inquiry" aimed at clarifying accusations against him. In a preface, Eckert observed that FAO activities have been increasingly portrayed in an "unfavorable light" and that the purpose of his questionnaire was to get "to the truth of these matters." The Saouma administration's initial reaction was to shrug off the inquiry with the comment that the requested information is contained in public documents—a reply that donor-country representatives say is untrue.

Eckert's letter does not necessarily reflect the consensus of the Camberley Group, which—besides the United States—includes Canada, Japan, Australia, and the West European nations of Denmark, Finland, West Germany, the Netherlands, Norway, Sweden, Switzerland, and the United Kingdom. One delegate said flatly that "there is no link between the group and the letter," which he called "a bilateral matter" between the U.S. and FAO. Nevertheless, others in the group said that their governments were "interested" in the exercise and even shared some of the concerns suggested by Eckert's questions.

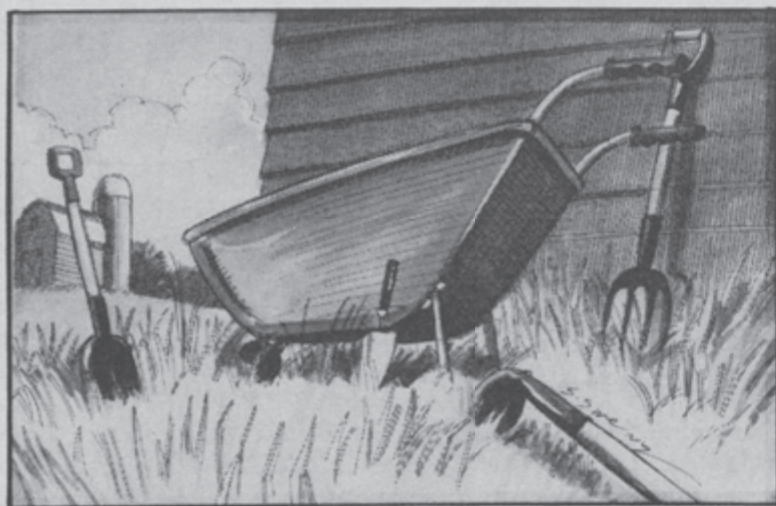
Most of the questions focused on reports that Saouma bought the support of governments through pork barrel allocations of FAO funds and development projects and other favored treatment. A particular target is the Technical Cooperation Program, through which Saouma can allocate up to \$400,000 to any development project of his choice without accounting for the expenditure. The money comes from FAO's \$60 million biennial projects budget.

What Eckert requested is a list of projects financed through the program in the past two years and the purpose of each. A Western delegate cited the case of the FAO representative of a country "that shall remain nameless" who had used Saouma's "discretionary" allocation to build himself a house. Donor sources agreed that Saouma is generous to a fault in rewarding governments that back FAO policies.

Related questions focus on what one source called "suspiciously coincidental" actions during Saouma's feverish campaign to build up a constituency for his reelection. Thus, Eckert asked whether it was true that some FAO staff members, dependent on the director-general for promotions and even for their jobs, also served on voting delegations at the November conference that returned the incumbent to office.

"The question is rhetorical," one delegate noted. "We already know it's true."

Eckert went on to request lists of national delegates or former delegates—as well as their family



members and those of senior FAO officials—who are on the agency's payroll. "We know of cases of delegates' sons, daughters, and wives who have FAO jobs," a Western delegate said. "Most of them are from countries whose governments are unquestioning supporters of Saouma and his policies."

The Eckert letter also asks for an accounting of travel expenses paid by FAO for delegates attending the November sessions that reelected Saouma. The U.S. wants to know how much the agency spent, and for whom. Saouma critics point out that any delegation so favored could have been expected to take a kindly view of his candidacy.

Reports of a more circuitous approach to winning friends involve the purchase and disposal of official vehicles. As a Camberley representative explained the procedure: The FAO purchasing department buys a vehicle, operates it for a period far short of its normal lifespan, declares it obsolete or surplus, and then sells it at a nominal price to a friendly diplomat.

"We have been told of cases in which FAO has bought Mercedes limousines for thousands of dollars, written them off as junk a couple of years later, and—while they were still virtually in mint condition—sold them to favorites for a song," a European delegate said. He added that such accusations are the reason Eckert is asking Saouma how many vehicles FAO owns, who has the use of them and for what purposes, and who made the purchases and for what price. Eckert also wants to know how long the vehicles remained in use by FAO, how and to whom they were disposed of, and for how much.

At a more personal level, Saouma has been asked about the total value of his "compensation package." That includes not only his salary but the cost to FAO of such perquisites as an entertainment allowance, official residence, servants, and travel budget. He was asked to provide the same information about other senior staff and to make a list of those who receive entertainment allowances.

Canada has long been in the forefront in demanding an accounting from the Saouma administration and in calling for reforms. However, rather than targeting the director-general personally, Ottawa has concentrated on broader administrative, operational, and program shortcomings.

Indeed, one Canadian source said of Saouma: "We have no reason to criticize him at this stage. But he should be watched."

Canada's insistence on depersonalizing its criticism was exemplified by its reaction to a charge by Richard Lydiker, director of FAO's information division, that Ottawa was engaged in "character assassination" against Saouma. In the face of a stiff, formal Canadian protest, Saouma apologized for his press aide.

Besides the U.S. and Canada, other major donors that have been outspoken about the way the agency operates include the U.K., Australia, and Japan. Among the Scandinavians, Denmark is "especially vociferous," a diplomatic source said.

As one remedial step, Australia has been trying to enlist other major donors in its campaign to enact a two-term limit on U.N. agency chief executives. A delegate sympathetic to the proposal agreed that, however good a director-general may be, "fresh ideas are always welcome."

The Eckert initiative is part of a continuing campaign to unravel FAO's administrative and financial tangle and to inject a measure of accountability into its operations. For more than a year the Camberley Group has been trying unsuccessfully to introduce efficiency into what critics regard as an increasingly ineffective and even irrelevant bureaucracy. Then, during last November's sessions of the agency's 49-member Council and the 158-nation FAO Conference, the Nordic bloc (Denmark, Finland, Norway, and Sweden) put on the agenda a formal proposal calling for a top-to-bottom FAO management review by outside experts. The measure was voted down and a milder French resolution adopted.

The Camberley Group and like-minded delegations will make another attempt at reform in late May during parallel meetings of FAO's powerful finance and program committees. "We will try to get something rolling then," a committee member said. He explained that one goal is to establish a panel similar to the U.N.'s Group of 18, which in 1986 drafted a comprehensive blueprint for improving the U.N.'s efficiency.

Ted Morello, a former President of the U.N. Correspondents Association, covers the world organization for The Far Eastern Economic Review.



## UNA launches plan for a revitalized field

UNA-USA's Board of Governors has adopted a far-reaching plan to strengthen the Association's field operations, especially the work of chapters and divisions. Among its components is a modification of UNA's dues structure to make the field operation self-supporting and increase the size of UNA's membership, building on the momentum gained in 1987. This measure has been endorsed by a nine-member Dues Restructuring Committee chaired by Larry Stern of North Carolina.

The proposed adjustments in the dues structure include the inauguration of a first-year membership fee of \$25 as an inducement to enrollment; a sharing of the cost of promoting and processing membership among chapters, divisions, and the Association; and an increase in the student and retiree membership fees to \$15 and \$25, respectively (individual and family memberships would remain at the current levels of \$35 and \$40). These proposals will be submitted for ratification by the National Convention in July.

A "demonstration chapter" program, aimed at reaching out to community leaders in the fields of business, the professions, government, education, the media, and voluntary organizations to expand and diversify UNA's membership, is another of the measures for strengthening chapters and divisions.

Five chapters will be selected this year to receive special guidance from the national field staff in recruitment, fund-raising, and programming, and 20 more will be selected in 1989. The final element of the plan is the launching of a 25th Anniversary Fund campaign to support UNA's public outreach, youth, and communications activities.

In adopting the plan by unanimous vote, the Board of Governors confirmed the importance of the chapters and divisions in creating a constituency for international cooperation and a more effective United Nations—the essential work of UNA.

The plan is timed to take advantage of the momentum in constituency-building developed last year, when 57 chapters and divisions obtained growth rates that met, and sometimes far surpassed, the 10 percent target set by the Council of Chapter and Division Presidents. A 250 percent increase in size was registered by the Frankfort (Kentucky) Chapter, whose expansion from 46 to 161 members made it the hands-down winner among the smaller chapters. The Southern Oregon Chapter (83 percent) and the Salem (Oregon) Chapter (73 percent) placed second and third in this category.

Among chapters with 150 members or more, the fastest growing

were San Francisco (31 per cent), Pasadena (28 percent—raising the membership of the Association's largest chapter from 730 to 932), and East Bay (California) and Houston (19 percent each).

Other signs of growth are the formation of four new chapters in 1987 (Anchorage, Detroit, Tallahassee, and Cleveland); the expected birth of two new units in the spring of 1988 (San Luis Obispo, California, and Oakland County, Michigan); and organizing efforts now under way in Texas and Oregon. The total membership of the Association grew by 2 percent in 1987, continuing the modest growth pattern of recent years.

In a related development, UNA is delighted to announce that it has received, as the gift of a generous donor, the services of a major New York-based public relations firm. The Kreisberg Group, Ltd., with vast experience in the nonprofit field, will be working with the Association over the next 18 months to communicate our message and mission to a broad American constituency.

Full information on the new field plan has been sent to all UNA chapter and division presidents. Additional information may be obtained by calling or writing Jim Olson, National Field Director, UNA-USA, 485 Fifth Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10017; (212) 697-3232.

## UNA notes

### Humanitarian award

Jihan Sadat, wife of the late Anwar Sadat of Egypt, received the UNA of San Francisco's Eleanor Roosevelt Humanitarian Award presented each year at a benefit dinner scheduled to coincide with the International Day for the Elimination of Racial Discrimination, March 21. Also honored were Patricia K. DiGiorgio, former chapter president, founding president of the San Francisco-based World Center, and member of the UNA-USA Board of Directors, who received the Lifetime Achievement Award; William G. Gaede, managing partner of Touche Ross and Co.; and Emilio R. Nicolas, Jr., general manager and president of KDTV, Channel 14.

### Travels with UNA

Several UNA chapters are organizing tours to U.N. Headquarters in New York City or to UNAs abroad

as a service to members and the general public. The Louisville Chapter arranged a visit to New York in April for briefings by diplomats and U.N. officials at the U.N. and at UNA-USA's national office. The Pasadena Chapter organized an April tour to China, including a stop-off at the headquarters of UNA-PRC. May will find members of the Tucson Chapter at the UNESCO office in Paris, at WHO and ILO in Geneva, and at the World Court in The Hague, following a rewarding visit to UNA-Norway in 1987. UNA Field Director Jim Olson may be contacted for further details about these trips and is ready to assist chapters, divisions, and affiliated organizations in planning future tours.

### Disarmament

A number of UNA-USA chapters and affiliated organizations are planning for the U.N.'s Third Special Session on Disarmament, May 31-June 24. Information on activities during the session, including a march and rally in New York City scheduled for June 11, is available from the National Coalition in Support of the Third U.N. Special Session on Disarmament, 11 John Street, Room 803, New York, N.Y. 10038. Information on the preparations for the session itself is available in *Disarmament Times* (\$15 a year; c/o NGO Committee on Disarmament, 777 United Nations Plaza, New York, N.Y. 10017).

### Book notes

Participants in the 1988 Multilateral Project, among other U.N. watchers, will find food for thought in *Politics in the United Nations System* (Duke University Press; 503 pp.; \$65.00/\$22.50). The volume's 15 essays chart the evolution of U.N. programs, policies, and processes in such areas as refugees, atomic energy, peacekeeping, trade, development, environment, and human rights. On the evidence, and contrary to the common wisdom, concludes editor Lawrence Finkelstein, "there has been movement, uneven to be sure, toward centralized authority in the [U.N.] system." Foreword by Secretary-General Javier Pérez de Cuéllar.

Complementing UNA's International Emergency Relief Project, which has been asking hard questions about the politics, management, and press coverage of international relief efforts, is J. Bruce Nichols's *The Uneasy Alliance: Religion, Refugees and U.S. Foreign Policy* (Oxford University Press; 337 pp.; \$24.95). Nichols looks closely at the interaction of church and state in setting and carrying out U.S. refugee policy during the postwar period, focusing on Honduras, Thailand, and Sudan. (Available from Oxford or from the Carnegie Council, Dept. DC, 170 E. 64 Street, New York, N.Y. 10021; add \$1.25 postage and handling.)

## A Special Invitation to Members

On Friday, June 3, UNA-USA will inaugurate the National U.N. Day Program with a formal ball honoring the Secretary-General and the 159 Permanent Representatives to the U.N., and we cordially invite you to join us for this truly gala evening.

Tickets to this important UNA fund-raising event are being sold to the general public at \$375 per person, but to show our gratitude to our invaluable members, we have created a special UNA "supporter" category at only \$100 per person—the Association's basic cost for the evening of cocktails, a sumptuous sit-down dinner, and dancing in the Broadway Ballroom of the New York Marriott Marquis Hotel. (Of course, anyone who wishes to do more is encouraged to become a "donor" [\$250 per person] or a "sponsor" [\$375 per person] of the event.)

Members, whether singles or couples, will be seated with ambassadors and with members of UNA's national staff, and are assured of a lively evening of conversation and camaraderie. Or, if you prefer, you may reserve a table especially for your Chapter or Division—places for eight members, who will host an Ambassador and escort as the group's personal guests. Such a table for ten is \$1,000.

The evening of friendship and festivity is punctuated by a very brief ceremony at which U.S. Ambassador to the U.N. Vernon Walters will install Stanley Pace, CEO of General Dynamics Corp., as National U.N. Day Chairman. Also on hand will be the top three winners of UNA's National High School Essay Contest.

For further information and to reserve seating, please call UNA Headquarters at (212) 697-3232, Extensions 361 or 362. Because time and space are limited, reservations should be made soon.

## Auction mania

A Henry Kissinger autograph, original art works by Sophia Loren and Mohammad Ali, a five-foot-long embroidery from Bhutan, an antique needlepoint from a Provence abbey, and airline tickets to romantic places are among the more than 100 items valued at from \$5 to \$5,000 donated by U.N. Missions, individuals, and businesses for the UNA-USA National Convention "silent auction." The bidding begins even before convention day to permit all members and friends of the Association, as well as conventioners, to register their claim on a piece of the world.

An auction catalogue with bidding sheet will be distributed to chapter and division presidents, Council of Organizations members, and registered convention delegates, alternates, and observers at the end of May; members and friends may obtain additional copies by sending in the coupon below.

Mail bids received at the National Office by July 6 will be entered in the fray. Those highest bidders in attendance at the Convention will take their items with them; mail bidders will receive theirs by freight or mail upon receipt of payment.

A team of hard-working volunteers has been gathering and appraising the international array of items, whose sale will benefit UNA-USA. (Proceeds from the original artworks, submitted by Annabelle Wiener of WFUNA, will go to that organization.) Rita Singer, Janice Peterfreund, Dagmar Sawyer, Annabelle Wiener, Monique Golby, and Elizabeth Boudreau, the backbone of the Auction Committee, have provided the kind of spirit and effort that guarantee the auction will be a fun-filled event and a financial success.



To: UNA Auction, 485 Fifth Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10017

Send me \_\_\_\_\_ copy[ies] of the Convention Auction Catalogue & Bidding Sheet.

Please type or print clearly: This becomes a mailing label.

Name: \_\_\_\_\_

Street Address: \_\_\_\_\_

City: State: Zip: \_\_\_\_\_

(The InterDependent welcomes letters to the editor. For readers who wish theirs to be considered for the Correspondence column, a length of not more than 300 words is suggested. The InterDependent reserves the right to edit letters chosen for publication.)



# Let UNA-USA put you in the corridors of power.

If you are among the 85% of Americans who say they want a stronger United Nations so it can do a better job solving the world's problems, then UNA-USA is for you! The United Nations Association of the USA is dedicated to making the U.N. work. In an increasingly dangerous and chaotic world, peace and prosperity cannot be secured without better international institutions and stronger U.S. leadership. UNA-USA is helping to achieve both through a unique blend of policy research, international dialogue, and public outreach.

UNA-USA is a national, nonpartisan, nonprofit "citizens' think tank." Through it, thousands of Americans



come together to weigh the choices facing U.S. foreign policy makers; and for more than twenty years, decision-makers at the highest levels of government have listened to them. Join us and you too can be heard.

UNA-USA has over 175 local chapters, each with a lively program of discussions, debates, speakers, and special events designed to inform and entertain you.

With your membership comes a subscription to *The Interdependent*, UNA's

acclaimed bimonthly publication. Its timely investigative reporting takes you behind the headlines of today's news, and offers a range of views seldom found in the domestic press.

Also available, on request, are Fact Sheets, Reports, and Alerts derived from UNA's ongoing coverage of the United Nations, from its close contacts with business, labor, and government leaders, and from its high-level bilateral programs with the Soviet Union, Japan, and the People's Republic of China.

\$35 ☐ Individual  
\$40 ☐ Family

\$15 ☐ Retiree (if desired)  
\$10 ☐ Student

\$100 ☐ Patron  
\$50 ☐ Sponsor

☐ Additional contribution for my local chapter: \$ \_\_\_\_\_

☐ Additional contribution for UNA's national programs: \$ \_\_\_\_\_

Dues and contributions are tax deductible.

Total enclosed \$ \_\_\_\_\_

☐ My check is enclosed (Make check payable to UNA-USA)

☐ Please bill me



Name \_\_\_\_\_

Address \_\_\_\_\_

City \_\_\_\_\_

State \_\_\_\_\_

Zip \_\_\_\_\_

Return this form with your check to: UNA-USA 300 East 42nd Street New York, N.Y. 10017

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# 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

*Chairman of the Association*  
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Orville L. Freeman

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Cyrus R. Vance

*Chairman, 1988 National  
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*Executive Director, UNA Fund*  
Fred Tamalonis

*Director, Special Events*  
Stanley Raisen

UNA USA

May 19, 1988

file

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

Dear Rabbi:

Let me add my own words of thanks and appreciation for your recent contribution to the Transition Fund. It is an important vote of confidence in the future of the Association.

In these difficult times, when our organization faces critical challenges and opportunities, one discovers who are the true friends of the Association. It pleases me enormously to be able to count you both a friend and a leader of UNA.

Thank you again for helping to turn this organization around.

All best wishes.

Sincerely,

CL

Edward C. Luck  
President

By the way, while your modesty is becoming, we think of you as for more important than a "poor parish priest"!

*Founding Chairman*  
Robert S. Benjamin (1909-1979)

*Chairman Emeritus*  
James S. McDonnell (1899-1980)

*Honorary Chairman*  
Arthur J. Goldberg

UNA USA

May 11, 1988  
24 Iyar 5748

Mr. Elliot L. Richardson  
Chairman  
United Nations Association  
of the United States of America  
485 Fifth Avenue  
New York, NY 10017-6104

Dear Elliot:

Thank you so much for re-nominating me to the UNA Board of Directors. Needless to say, I am flattered- especially because you waived the provision that sets a limitation of two consecutive terms.

I only regret that my financial contribution isn't up to what one would normally expect from a member of the Board of Trustees, after all I'm only a humble parish priest. But if that is of no major account in my case, I will be glad to ~~serve~~ in any possible way.

Sincerely,

Alexander M. Schindler





# UNITED NATIONS ASSOCIATION OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

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Founding Chairman  
Robert S. Benjamin (1909-1979)

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James S. McDonnell (1899-1980)

Honorary Chairman  
Arthur J. Goldberg

May 9, 1988

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

Dear Rabbi Schindler:

The UNA Nominating Committee has completed its review of the slate of officers and directors that will be submitted to the Association at our forthcoming Convention, and I am pleased to inform you that you have been re-nominated to the UNA Board of Directors for another five-year term.

As you know, UNA's by-laws provide that a Director may serve only two consecutive terms, "except under unusual circumstances," in which case exception may be made. The Nominating Committee has, with my wholehearted agreement, waived this provision in your case. Your distinguished service to the Association over the years is powerful reason to retain you as a valued member of the Board. You might want to note on your calendar that the next Board meeting will be held in New York on December 5th.

As a current Director, you are also eligible to be a delegate to our forthcoming Convention, which will be held in New York July 10 - 12. You will be receiving some more information about the Convention in the next few days, and I hope that you will be able to attend some of the sessions.

Your contribution to the UNA has meant a great deal to the success of the organization, and we look forward to your continued leadership and counsel on our Board of Directors. Please call Lori Howard at UNA by May 16 if you do not wish to serve another term.

Sincerely,

Elliot L. Richardson  
Chairman

*Handwritten notes:*  
Tell them I am pleased to have him on the Board. I only regret that my contribution is not up to what it should be. After all I am only...

UNA-USA

May 11, 1988

Mr. Richard J. Schmeelk  
Vice-Chairman, UNA-USA  
485 Fifth Avenue  
New York, NY 10017-6104

Dear Dick:

I am enclosing herewith a small contribution to the UNA-USA Transition Fund campaign. It would much to be were I able to send a larger gift, alas such is not the case. But please know, and tell Ed Luck, that this gift comes with my best wishes for a successful campaign and move into the "The Next Steps."

Of course, I stand ready to be of assistance to you and Ed and the UNA-USA in any way possible.

With warm good wishes and kindest regards, I am

Sincerely,

Alexander M. Schindler

Encl.



WHEN CHECK IS READY Rabbi.  
EXT 210 Schindler  
PLEASE CALL

Ms. Edith J. Miller

May 5, 1988  
18 Iyar 5788

Mr. Fred Cohen

On April 27, I asked for a check for the UNA-USA in the sume of \$100. and suggested this check come out of Rabbi Schindler's Discretionary Fund.

This is really a contribution to an organization for which he represents the UAHC. Instead of taking the check from the Discretionary Fund, will you please arrange to have it charged to the contingency line for contributions of for subventions to other contributions.





Edith J. Miller

April 27, 1988

Fred Cohen

DISCRETIONARY FUND

1/ Please let me have a check for \$100. for the UNA-USA (United Nations Association of the U.S.A. Rabbi Schindler is making a contribution. Please send the check to me for transmittal.

2/ Please let me know where stand in regard to balances in both of the Discretionary Funds. Thanks.





# UNITED NATIONS ASSOCIATION OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

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Founding Chairman  
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Chairman Emeritus  
James S. McDonnell (1899-1980)

Honorary Chairman  
Arthur J. Goldberg

May 5, 1988

*Like  
that's what  
check is for.*

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

Dear Rabbi:

As a fellow Governor of the United Nations Association, I know you share with me a deep interest in the Association's future. In an attempt to insure the viability of that future, the Association is now engaged in a Transition Fund campaign to raise \$500,000 to retire accumulated debt and to provide modest operating funds to implement steps approved at the March 7th Board of Governors meeting. Personally, I have endorsed these efforts by making a generous gift and in encouraging other Governors and Directors to participate. In April, we raised over \$170,000 in pledges and, to date, \$107,000 has been collected.

The Transition Fund is the key to implementing "The Next Steps" Ed Luck outlined in his March 28th memorandum, a copy of which was sent to you with my earlier letter. Raising these funds has been going slower than I had hoped or expected. If we are to maintain the very good sense of momentum that we achieved when the campaign was initiated, I believe that it will be essential to urge full participation within the next week. This will be important for two reasons: First, it will provide UNA with the necessary funds it needs to do its important work. Second, it will demonstrate total commitment and participation of UNA leadership. This, in turn, will enable the Association to re-approach a very good friend of UNA who has already indicated a donation as high as \$100,000 based on "what the other Directors do."

For these reasons, I hope this follow-up appeal will receive your favorable consideration and generous pledge of support at this time.

Sincerely,

Richard J. Schmeelk  
Vice Chairman, UNA-USA



Chairman of the Association  
Elliot L. Richardson  
Chairman, Board of Governors  
Orville L. Freeman

Chairman, National Council  
Cyrus R. Vance

Chairman, 1987 National U.N. Day  
J. W. Marriott, Jr.

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Ivan Selin

Co-Chairmen, Economic Policy  
Council  
Robert O. Anderson  
Douglas A. Fraser

Chairman, Policy Studies  
Committee  
Robert V. Roosa

Acting Chairman, U.S.-Soviet  
Parallel Studies Program  
Kenneth Dam

Chairman, U.S.-Chinese Parallel  
Studies Program  
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## 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

October 16, 1987

TO: Board of Governors  
FROM: Edward C. Luck  
SUBJECT: October 26th Meeting

As previously announced, the next meeting of the Board of Governors will be held from 1:00 to 4:00 p.m. on Monday, October 26th, in our offices on the second floor of 485 Fifth Avenue, New York City. A traditionally modest lunch will be served.

The October meeting of the Board of Governors is always an important one, since it offers an opportunity to review the Association's budget for the coming year. Given our extraordinarily tight financial situation, a particularly careful review of priorities will be in order this year.

Over the summer, the newly formed Strategic Planning and Development Committee of the Board has been meeting with senior staff members to discuss proposals for restructuring the staff and reformulating the Association's mission statement. The Board of Governors should review these proposals before they are put into action and before a formal budget is adopted for the coming year. A memo describing what we have in mind on the restructuring front is enclosed and a revised mission statement will be circulated before or at the Board meeting. A detailed development audit, prepared by Fred Tamalonis, will also be sent to you before the session.

While recent months have been very lean financially, they have been rich in terms of program developments. There is a great deal to bring you up to date on and your input would be greatly valued on a number of items. A few clippings are enclosed and background materials about program developments will be mailed to you before the meeting or available at that time.

I very much hope that you will make every effort to be with us for this crucial session. Please indicate on the enclosed reply card whether you will be able to attend.

Thanks very much and all the best.

*Responding  
No*

*Can change if you want  
Revised are possibly but not likely*

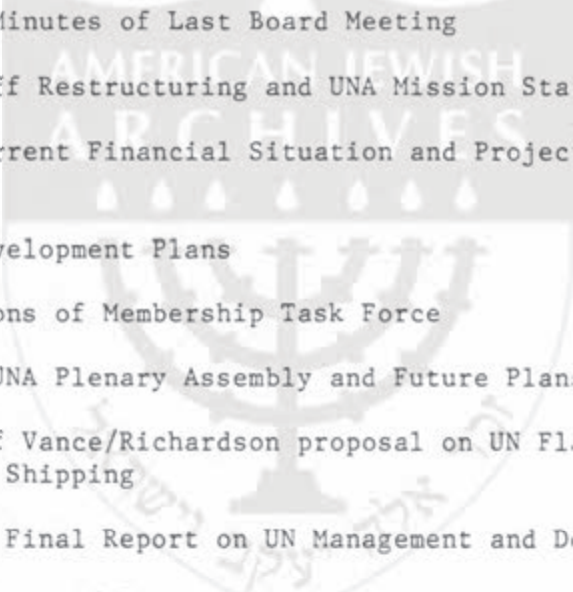
AGENDA

UNITED NATIONS ASSOCIATION OF THE USA

BOARD OF GOVERNORS MEETING

Monday, October 26, 1987

1:00 to 4:00 p.m.

- 
- I. Approval of Minutes of Last Board Meeting
  - II. Proposed Staff Restructuring and UNA Mission Statement
  - III. Review of Current Financial Situation and Projections for 1988 Budget
  - IV. Financial Development Plans
  - V. Recommendations of Membership Task Force
  - VI. Report on WFUNA Plenary Assembly and Future Plans
  - VII. Discussion of Vance/Richardson proposal on UN Flagging of Persian Gulf Shipping
  - VIII. Follow-up to Final Report on UN Management and Decision-making
  - IX. Program Reports and Discussion
    - 1. Final report of the 1987 Multilateral Project: A Time to Plant: International Cooperation to End Hunger
    - 2. Nationwide teleconference on UN peacekeeping and peacemaking
    - 3. Plans for 1988 Multilateral Project on US priorities in the UN
    - 4. Meeting in Moscow on security, arms control, and the UN
    - 5. Economic Policy Council
  - X. Other Business





Proposals for Staff and Program Restructuring  
for consideration by the  
UNA-USA Board of Governors

by

Edward C. Luck  
President and CEO

September 25, 1987

UNA's 1986 Annual Report describes its mission as follows:

The United Nations Association is making the U.N. work. Through policy research, public outreach, and international dialogue, UNA-USA is building a national and international constituency for global cooperation. A non-profit, nonpartisan membership organization, UNA-USA participates actively in the public debate about America's role in the world, serving as a major source of information for Congress, the Executive Branch, students, and the media. Step by step, UNA-USA is bringing the U.S., the U.N., and the global community closer together.

To carry out this mission, UNA must do the following tasks well: 1) develop innovative and practical policy proposals, 2) communicate them to critical constituencies, including the American public, US decisionmakers, and the international community, and 3) spur action on them by the UN, the US, and other countries. Ideas, communication, action: each step in the chain requires priority attention and careful integration with the others. The production of ideas, for example, is a barren enterprise unless dedicated follow-up efforts are undertaken to gain their implementation. Efforts to influence the US government, on the other hand, are most effective if they are supported by a broad and informed public constituency. And since UNA's focus is on global issues demanding multilateral solutions, it is not enough simply to persuade the US government alone to take action. UNA must reach key decision-makers in other countries and in international institutions as well.

UNA's current programs and structure envelop each of these functions, but their interaction is not as automatic as it ought to be and some links in the chain are far stronger than others. In developing a strategic plan for the future of the Association, it will be possible to build on what is already the broadest programmatic base of any foreign policy organization, but it will be necessary to pull the parts together in a far more creative and concerted way than has been done in the past. At the same time, the weakest links -- communication and grassroots constituency building -- will need to be addressed in much more innovative and intensive ways.



The restructuring exercise undertaken by UNA four years ago was designed in part to spur the integration of UNA's relatively strong policy research programs with its relatively weak outreach capabilities. To a certain extent, this has worked and these program areas reinforce each other in a much more natural and consistent way than ever before. It is now accepted gospel at UNA that policy recommendations have far more political clout, particularly over the long run, if both their adoption and their implementation involve our field constituencies. In this way, both sides of UNA's programs gain a sense of "ownership" in the Association's messages and activities. It has been possible, moreover, to convince foundations that a unique aspect of UNA's proposals is that they encompass both so-called elite and grassroots participation. So the integration now has financial as well as programmatic roots.

This combination, embodied most vividly in the Multilateral Project, constitutes an important area of comparative advantage for UNA in its competition with other foreign policy organizations for scarce resources and for public attention. This integrative process, however, has just begun. It will require sustained attention for many years to come.

At the same time, it has become clear that there is insufficient coordination among UNA's three major substantive programs: the Multilateral Project, the Policy Studies Program, and the Economic Policy Council. In a real sense, this problem is a product of our success in broadening our substantive programs and capabilities. When I first arrived at UNA thirteen years ago, there was a single Policy Studies Program which involved one set of discussions with the Soviet Union, one with the Asia Pacific Association of Japan, and two individual policy panels. Then in 1976 a handful of business and labor leaders initiated the Economic Policy Council, which was seen as much as a fundraising tool as an ongoing substantive program. Today the EPC has over one hundred members, several ongoing research projects, and a strong track record of reports and books to its credit. The Policy Studies Program now encompasses six separate dialogues, two each with the Soviet Union, Japan and China. The Multilateral Project, which got off the ground only four years ago, has truly become the core program of the Association, involving a wide range of publications, international conferences, policy panels, study trips

and a nationwide teleconference, in addition to the annual study project. Unlike the situation a decade ago, almost all of UNA's research and policy activities are underwritten by direct grants from foundations and corporations.

The burgeoning of UNA's research and policy work, while boosting the image, credibility, and influence of the Association, has at the same time created three major strains on the structure of the Association which badly need to be addressed. The first, as noted in the discussion paper for the first meeting of the Strategic Planning and Development Committee, has been the overburdening of UNA's infrastructure in terms of its ability to provide the services necessary to run so many projects and to produce so many publications simultaneously. Second, while the influx of major foundation grants to support these programs has virtually saved the organization from financial bankruptcy as other sources of income have fallen away, it has at the same time made the organization far too dependent on a handful of major foundation decisionmakers for its financial viability and has made sensible long-term planning extraordinarily difficult. Third, because of my own background and predilections, it has tended to place far too heavy administrative demands on this office, since I am the only one under the present structure with an overview of all of these activities and an institutional motivation to spur their coordination and integration.

This third problem can be eased by changes in organizational structure. The simplest, and I believe most sensible solution, is to create a single Studies Committee which would include some of the top volunteer leaders of each of these three program areas. Its tasks would be to identify issues which should be of surpassing concern to the organization and to identify which UNA programs would be best placed to tackle them programmatically. This would permit a high-level overview of the whole menu of UNA programmatic alternatives, choosing which are best for a given topic. This would assure that UNA's resources are utilized to the fullest in addressing priority issues.



The creation of such a group, moreover, might well provide a magnet to attract additional top foreign policy or business figures to UNA's leadership, since the opportunity to motivate and guide the unusually broad programmatic resources of the Association should prove to be quite attractive. The leadership could be chosen in a way to stress UNA's bipartisan and broad-based approach to issues. For example, Cy Vance and Henry Kissinger have been working together on developing joint bipartisan approaches to foreign policy issues. They might be approached as to whether through such a committee UNA might be a good place to float their joint ideas and to promote such a bipartisan approach to global issues. The group might meet twice a year and over time incorporate the functions of the moribund Policy Studies Committee, the Multilateral Project Advisory Group and the Steering Committee of the EPC. The EPC group has probably been the most active of the three and its relationship to the Studies Committee could evolve step-by-step over time.

A similar coordination of effort should be made on the staff side. UNA is fortunate to have three strong staff heads of these programs in Toby Gati, Peter Fromuth, and Jeff Laurenti. They have agreed to work together on a regular basis to sort out priorities, to define a clear division of labor on particular topics, to consider joint programs and foundation proposals, and to identify emerging issues which should be of concern to the Association for consideration by the Studies Committee and UNA's leadership. Toby Gati, with her seniority and breadth of programmatic and fundraising experience, will take the lead, though each of the three will exercise considerable autonomy in directing their own programs. This will ease my burdens considerably, though I plan to continue to devote considerable time to the substantive side of the organization's work and will work with the individual program directors directly when needed.

This proposed arrangement has developed through a series of meetings among senior staff members this summer, which were marked both by candor and by a reassuring degree of consensus about what is wrong with the Association and what we should be doing about it. My strong sense is that the bureaucratic tendency to develop independent fiefdoms, while to some degree inevitable, will not be a major problem in the coming years. While we do not contemplate a formal merger of the support staffs of these three programs, the

proposed integration at the top will necessitate and facilitate a far greater sharing of human resources among the three program areas, the demands for support by each of the three seem to be cyclical depending on their scheduled publications, trips and meetings. Each staff performs very similar functions and over time this arrangement may be able to produce some modest economies of effort and cost. In the past, the main barrier to cooperation has not been the spirit of the individuals so much as the artificial bureaucratic barriers imposed by our structure. It should be possible now to recognize that we are all engaged in a common enterprise and the success of each depends to a real extent on the success of the whole.

There is another, somewhat more subtle, reason for moving in this direction. Faced with necessarily limited financial, human and intellectual resources, UNA must decide how to husband them in a way to best forward its basic objectives. At this point, UNA has both functional breadth -- the range of types of activities which it undertakes -- and substantive breadth -- the range of policy issues it addresses at any one time. As noted at the outset, to make a real difference in terms of moving our national or international political and economic systems, it is necessary to reach a variety of potentially influential constituencies through a number of different kinds of program activities. For most important issues, it is important that the reactions of the American public, our government, other governments, and the relevant international institutions be mutually reinforcing. If we focus only on one of these, our chances of success are usually diminished. In a few instances, it may be possible to target just one or two constituencies, but it is always helpful to have some flexibility in choosing among various options for seeking the implementation of our ideas and proposals. It is hard enough to make a difference in this world without having one's organizational structure itself impose constraints on our programmatic choices. In the foreseeable future, UNA will not have the resources to maintain both functional and substantive breadth. It would thus seem to make more sense to maintain our functional breadth while being somewhat more selective on the substantive side. UNA is most likely to make a difference -- and to be seen to be making a difference -- if it focuses on a relatively few issues and pursues them vigorously through a variety of program activities.



I remember some years ago Harlan Cleveland commenting at a meeting of the Substantive Issues Committee for one of our Conventions that UNA had simply become another general foreign policy organization. He did not mean the comment to be pejorative, but it struck me at the time that that description, which rang all too true, did not make UNA sound like a very special place either to work or for others to invest. So we have made a conscious effort, beginning with the 1983-84 restructuring, to focus on the substantive areas (global issues and institutions) in which UNA clearly should have a comparative advantage. That strategy has resulted in a reassertion of our basic identity, a higher profile in the media, Washington and the international community, and a much better spirit and sense of common purpose among our diverse constituencies. It has also led to some major foundation gifts. At the same time, it is clear that many of the top people whom we have been able to attract to the Policy Studies Program and the EPC are not fundamentally motivated by concerns about the fate of the United Nations and other international institutions. They are, however, attracted both by the quality of our programs and by a recognition of the importance of global issues and the inevitability of global interdependence. Our strategy with the Multilateral Project has been to emphasize global issues of broad public concern and then to point out the necessity of strengthening international institutions to cope with them, rather than putting the institutional emphasis first. That same strategy, it seems to me, should apply to the EPC and the Policy Studies Program. Our emphasis should be on global problem-solving, which will entail a much greater degree of international cooperation and much stronger international institutions. This mix should permit us both to attract a broad range of top leaders -- including conservative skeptics of international institutions --while maintaining the integrity of our fundamental mission.

As we address these structural changes designed to enhance the production of UNA's message, we are then faced with the nagging problem of how best to communicate it to our target audiences. UNA has never been terribly good at public relations. This in turn has affected our ability to reach the American public and to raise sufficient general support from corporations and individual donors. We need, quite simply, to raise the organization's public profile. In an ad hoc fashion, we have in recent years greatly increased the

number and quality of references to UNA in the print and electronic media. But we have only begun to scratch the surface, and our current structure and resources will not permit a concerted public relations effort. John Tessitore, in his brief tenure as Director of Publications, has done an excellent job of ensuring the quality, efficiency and economy of our publication efforts. But his department has had neither the resources nor the personnel to engage in broad public relations activities, other than organizing the annual Editors' Seminar at the UN and helping arrange occasional press conferences for the release of major reports. I have asked John to organize and chair a staff committee to review ways UNA could better utilize mass media and new communications techniques. They will have a written report laying out options and costs by early November for discussion by this committee or the Board.

The time has come to assert, in structural as well as theoretical terms, the centrality of public relations as a core organization-wide function. These concerns need to have a voice near the top of the bureaucratic structure, rather than simply being a small independent office tucked away in the middle of the bureaucracy. Our two basic functions -- the development of ideas and their communication -- should be put on the same level.

At the same time, UNA needs to face squarely the basic question of how best to pursue public outreach and constituency-building. Our field network is increasingly being seen as both a fundamental constituency and as a conveyor belt for the Association's message. (The conveyor belt, of course, must work two ways in relaying messages back and forth between the national program and the field constituency, which through the Multilateral Project and other means must be fully integrated in the development and shaping of UNA's ideas and messages.) The field should be seen as an integral part of UNA's public relations efforts, as our individual members become in a very real sense our "domestic ambassadors" for spreading the word to both the general public and to their representatives in Washington.



These considerations suggest that a second consolidation of programs be brought together under the heading of Communications and Constituencies. This would bring together, on an equal basis, UNA's efforts to communicate to the general public and its efforts to rebuild and revitalize its field network of chapters, divisions and affiliated organizations. Peggy Carlin, with her vast experience, is the logical head for this area. Jim Olson and John Tessitore, who have done excellent work with our members and our publications respectively, will be key to making this combined enterprise work. They are already working together on developing new communications techniques, as noted above, and recognize the necessity for closer coordination among their programs. Jim worked closely with Jeff Laurenti on organizing and implementing our recent nationwide teleconference on UN peacemaking and peacekeeping. It was in many ways a heady experience, in that we were able to reach many thousands of people in some thirty cities simultaneously with a high quality substantive program. The resulting edited 45-minute video will provide a very good educational and recruitment tool for the future as well. While UNA's greatest strengths have been in use of the printed word, we very much hope in the future to supplement it with a much more creative use of new electronic techniques for mass communication.

While we view the consolidation of our policy and communication activities as important steps forward, they will make relatively little difference unless we also make major changes in development, finance and administration. The organization's financial development efforts were in essence placed "off limits" at the time of the 1983 restructuring so this past summer Fred Tamalonis has been undertaking the first broad assessment of how UNA goes about raising money that has been done in many years (see his "Audit of Development Activities and Recommendations" prepared for this meeting). It is clear that a number of changes in our administrative structure, as well as the bolstering of our infrastructure, will be necessary before a new Capital Campaign can be successful. In Finance and Development, as in other areas, there has been too much "ad hocery" in the way UNA conducts its business. Administration, Finance and Development are closely related functions which need to be performed well and efficiently if the more visible studies, communications and constituency-building programs are to succeed.

It is important to recognize that the 1983 restructuring eliminated the office of Executive Vice President and took other steps to streamline UNA's bureaucracy and reduce overhead. This did serve to streamline decision-making and to reduce costs, but by eliminating a layer at the top of the hierarchy, it increased the administrative pressures on the President. An effort was made to vest day-to-day administrative responsibilities with the Senior Vice President, Peggy Carlin, but she also retained responsibility for the field operation. Now that Peggy is working less than fulltime, the temptation to go around her on some administrative questions has become a necessity at times. Moreover, with UNA's enormous cash-flow problems in recent months, administrative decisions with financial implications have had to rest with the Controller's office and with the President. An Ombudsman has been appointed and a Staff Committee established to deal with specific administrative issues as they arise.

Under the proposed new structure, responsibilities for development, finance and administration would be brought together under Fred Tamaloni's direction. In his short time at UNA he has shown a knack for organizational issues as well as for planning new development efforts. Lou Provenzale and Stan Raisen will be able to give him strong support in the areas of finance and special events, as they have in the past. The one risk of such an arrangement would be that too much of Tam's time could be absorbed by day-to-day administrative questions, thereby sapping his energies from the new Capital Campaign. It is our intention, however, that Tam would delegate administrative matters to one of the key figures in his new department, who would carry out the responsibilities for day-to-day administrative tasks, which are closely linked to financial questions in any case. Moreover, it has become increasingly clear that to the extent that Tam and his colleagues are successful at generating interest in and new prospects for capital development, I will have to spend more and more time following up on them and encouraging Board members to do so as well. I am sure that Tam and I, along with our outstanding group of lay leaders, will make a good team, but the experience in most organizations is that the involvement of a top development officer, like Tam, means not only that the President makes much better use of his time on the fundraising side but also that he will end up spending more time in this vital area.



The division of UNA's staff and programs into three broad areas of approximately equal size -- Policy Analysis and Dialogue, Communications and Constituencies, and Development, Finance and Administration -- would permit me to focus more attention on priority issues affecting the future of the Association. At present, some fourteen programs report directly to me, permitting insufficient time to handle any of them properly. After three years of experimenting with the last restructuring, it is time to broaden the top levels of our hierarchy so that I will have somewhat fewer people and matters to deal with on a day-to-day basis.

Three years in this office have also underlined that there are four priorities demanding the President's constant attention. The first is representation, that is giving the Association visibility through writing, speaking, and the media. Second is to devote a growing amount of time and attention to capital development, which is essential to everything else we do and believe in. Third is to recruit, motivate and involve our Boards and volunteer leadership more actively in the affairs of the Association. Progress in this area will be essential to making our efforts to raise money and to raise our profile work, and I feel that I have been unable to devote sufficient time to this task in the past, and it is absolutely vital that we begin to attract some major individual donors to our side. We badly need more top corporate and financial figures in our leadership. Fourth, I would like to devote more thought to strategic planning regarding our future programs, structure and finance. The President is the only member of the staff who is well-positioned to take a broad overview of where the organization is going and what it can hope to achieve.

My strong feeling is that UNA is on the verge of a renaissance. Most of the pieces are in place, but our structure has made it difficult to pull them together properly. The proposed structural changes will help, but they are only a first step. In the months ahead, we need to take a hard look at our By-laws, the composition of our Boards, the content of some of our programs, our development efforts, and medium and long-term goals of the Association.

## Proposed Staff and Program Structure

President (Ed Luck)

Executive Office

- Representation (writing, speaking, media)
- Major capital development
- Boards and lay leadership (recruitment, motivation, involvement)
- Strategic planning (program, structure, finance)

### Policy Analysis & Dialogue

Toby Gati

Peter Fromuth - Jeff Laurenti

- Economic Policy Council
- Multilateral Studies
- Parallel Studies
- Ad hoc projects
- Global watch
- Washington Office

### Communications & Constituencies

Peggy Carlin

Jim Olson - John Tessitore

- Public and media relations
- Membership, chapters and divisions
- Affiliated organizations
- Publications
- Convention
- UN Day
- Model UN and Youth
- Internships
- (WFUNA?)

### Development, Finance & Administration

Fred Tamalonis

Louis Provenzale - Stan Raisen

- Capital and endowment development
- Annual giving
- Bequests & planned giving
- Special events
- Administration & Personnel
- Budget
- (revived CCIP?)



# Let the U. N. Reflag Gulf Vessels

By Cyrus R. Vance  
and Elliot L. Richardson

**T**he specter of a widened conflict in the Persian Gulf raised by prospective United States reflagging of Kuwaiti ships and provision of safe transit for Kuwaiti cargoes on Soviet vessels leased to Kuwait has created consternation in Congress, queasiness among our allies and concern even in the Administration.

Despite the risks, America feels compelled grimly to press on for fear that retreat, in Senate majority leader Robert C. Byrd's words, "Would further injure the already severely damaged credibility of the United States."

Without retreat or loss of credibility, however, America can attain its goal with substantially lower risk. It can meet its commitment to Kuwait and achieve its policy goals under the mantle of international sanction by supporting United Nations reflagging of nonmilitary vessels in the gulf.

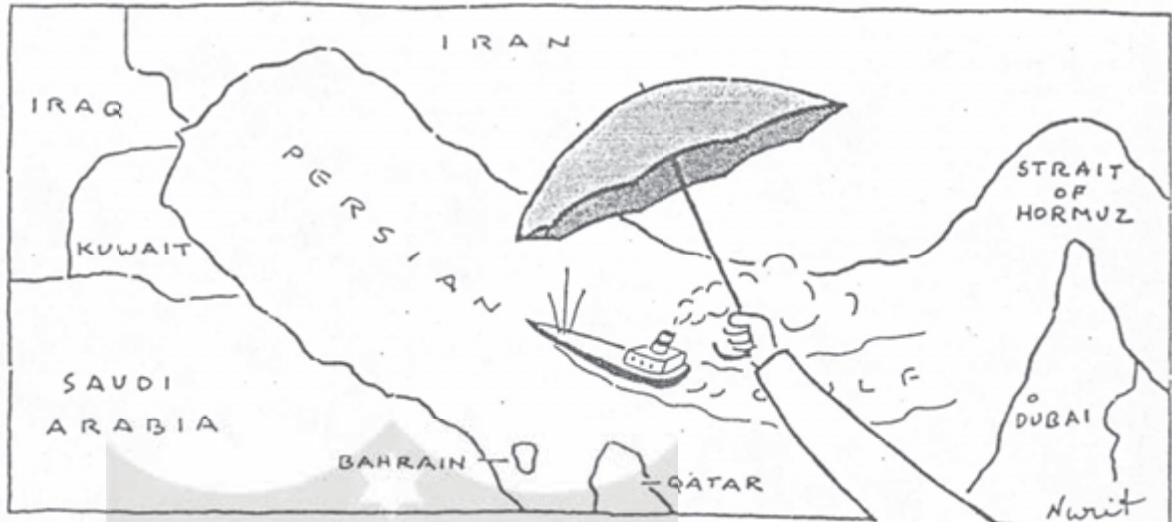
This would not involve creation of a United Nations naval flotilla patrolling the gulf, as some have proposed. The United Nations is not an appropriate instrument of gunboat diplomacy. Rather, it is a unique instrument for peacemaking diplomacy: Its peacekeeping forces are widely respected and rarely attacked, even in zones of bitter conflict.

United Nations reflagging would not wave a red flag before Iran, but American reflagging would fuel tensions in the Gulf. Iran would see the United States, which it considers an enemy, as inserting itself into the gulf on behalf of an ally of Iraq, the other belligerent in the seven-year war.

By contrast, United Nations reflagging would cool tensions by assuring commercial shipping of peaceful passage. In other words, this approach provides the best guarantee for America's goal of securing peaceful passage.

A United Nations peace-building

Cyrus R. Vance, former Secretary of State, is chairman of the National Council of the United Nations Association of the USA. Elliot L. Richardson, former Secretary of Defense, is chairman of the organization.



mission would begin after passage of a Security Council resolution that endorsed freedom of navigation for peaceful shipping in the gulf, noted the perils of it from the ongoing conflict and called on all member states to safeguard innocent traffic from attack while efforts at ending the Iran-Iraq war continued.

A Council resolution should authorize seafaring United Nations peacekeepers to place a United Nations flag on vessels entering the gulf that asked a United Nations guarantee of safe passage and that submitted to United Nations inspection to insure that no war matériel was on board.

Once under a United Nations flag, oil tankers and other peaceful vessels desiring an escort could request an unarmed United Nations patrol boat to accompany it, or a naval vessel from member states authorized by the Council to carry out this function.

The guiding principle of the United Nations reflagging plan is diplomatic deterrence, which is likely to be more effective than military deterrence furnished by a nervous superpower.

Most important, such United Nations peace-building is in the interest of all parties involved. (We recognize, of course, that our proposal would die stillborn if any permanent member of the Council vetoed it. We believe that this would not happen because to do so would be to vote against the self-interest of every permanent member.)

For Kuwait, which initiated the

American reflagging imbroglio, United Nations reflagging would provide international guarantees for its vessels yet avoid overt dependence on America or the Soviet Union.

For America, it would achieve the aim of protecting innocent passage while substantially reducing the risk of stumbling into an unwanted war. It would allow America to return to a more even-handed and flexible posi-

**All parties  
would  
benefit.**

tion, permitting it to play a more active role in ending the bitter and bloody conflict.

For the Soviet Union, the plan would provide similar advantages. Further, it would reduce American pressure on gulf states for bases to support an enlarged American presence.

What about the belligerents themselves? Why should they respect the United Nations flag?

There is, of course, the general desire of third world countries to bolster the credibility of the United Nations. Moreover, Iran and Iraq would have

to think twice before attacking vessels under the protection of the international community, including the major powers.

For Iran, the plan would make it more likely that international tankers going to Iranian oil ports would safely transit the gulf, thus removing an obstacle to Iran's oil exports. If Iran's oil traffic were safeguarded, Iran's incentive to deliver retaliatory strikes against the shipping of its Arab neighbors would diminish.

For Iraq, which initiated the attacks on tankers and remains the source of most of them, the United Nations offers the main hope of bringing the unwinnable war to an end. Nor can Iraq afford to ignore the wishes of the Arab gulf states that have been bankrolling Iraq and that want their shipping protected. Moreover, Iraq has shown its willingness to step back from other face-offs with the United Nations.

Above and beyond all this, given the animosity between Iran and Iraq the United Nations must look to step-by-step peace-building. Thus, shielding shipping from attack could be a stepping stone toward a general ceasefire that halted the land war.

This month, an international panel of the United Nations Association of the USA will make recommendations on the conditions necessary for the United Nations to be successful in all security matters, as well as in economic and social development.

The recommendation presented here for a United Nations reflagging role in the Persian Gulf meets the panel's key criteria for likely success. It serves the common security interests of all concerned, it can be rapidly implemented (at modest cost) and it draws on what the United Nations does best — mediate impartially from above the fray.





# General Assembly

Distr.  
GENERAL

A/42/620  
6 October 1987

ORIGINAL: ENGLISH

Forty-second session  
Agenda item 10

## REPORT OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL ON THE WORK OF THE ORGANIZATION

Letter dated 30 September 1987 from the Permanent Representatives  
of Colombia, Denmark, Luxembourg, Singapore and the United  
Republic of Tanzania to the United Nations addressed to the  
Secretary-General

We have the honour to transmit herewith the text of the executive summary of the final report, adopted in August 1987, by an international panel convened by the United Nations Association of the United States of America (UNA-USA), to study ways of strengthening the United Nations. The report is entitled "A successor vision: the United Nations of tomorrow" (see annex).

Although at this time we do not wish to pass judgment on the panel's report as it is summarized in the attached document, we believe that it represents a valuable and constructive contribution to the current discussion about reform of the United Nations and feel that these reflections deserve to be brought to the attention of the entire United Nations community.

We would, therefore, be most grateful if you could have this letter and its annex circulated as an official document of the General Assembly under agenda item 10.

(Signed) Dr. Enrique PEÑALOSA  
Ambassador,  
Permanent Mission of Colombia  
to the United Nations

(Signed) Jean FEYDER  
Ambassador,  
Permanent Mission of Luxembourg  
to the United Nations

(Signed) Ole BIERRING  
Ambassador,  
Permanent Mission of Denmark  
to the United Nations

(Signed) Kishore MAHBUBANI  
Ambassador,  
Permanent Mission of the  
Republic of Singapore  
to the United Nations

(Signed) Dr. Wilbert KUMALIJA CHAGULA  
Ambassador,  
Permanent Mission of the United Republic  
of Tanzania to the United Nations



ANNEX

United Nations management and decision-making project:  
a successor vision: the United Nations of tomorrow

Final report dated September 1987 of the international panel  
convened by the United Nations Association of the United  
States of America

Project description

1. The United Nations management and decision-making project, a two-year research programme of the United Nations Association of the United States of America (UNA-USA), is dedicated to strengthening the effectiveness of the United Nations and its immediate affiliated organs by offering constructive criticism regarding the management, governance, and role of the world organization. Financed by a grant from the Ford Foundation, the project reflects an effort to identify ways of making the United Nations work better in an era of increasing interdependence and of growing demands on the world body.
2. The project consists of two parts. Its centerpiece is a high-level, 23-member international panel that unites individuals with senior political experience and those with outstanding managerial skills. This panel will publish a final report in 1987 that sets out a rationale, priorities, and feasible agenda for the United Nations for the remainder of the century and proposes the type of changes in structure, procedures, and management that are necessary to carry out such an agenda. A preliminary report entitled United Nations leadership: the roles of the Secretary-General and the Member States was released in early December 1986.
3. Second, in addition to the meetings and reports of the panel, the project staff will produce several research papers over the course of 1986 and 1987. These papers will provide a background for the deliberations of the panel and will serve as a source of information and analysis for the wider policy-making public in the United States and other countries. As with all of the staff papers that will appear over the next several months, this study reflects the view of its author. It was reviewed by the panelists before publication, but does not necessarily represent the views of the panel as a whole or the position of any individual member.

International panel

United Nations management and decision-making project

Elliot L. Richardson

Chairman, United Nations Association of the United States of America

Former Secretary of Commerce

Former Attorney General of the United States

Former Secretary of Defense

Former Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare

Andres Aguilar Mawdsley

Permanent Representative of Venezuela to the United Nations

Former Ambassador of Venezuela to the United States

Otto Borch

Ambassador of Denmark to NATO

Former Ambassador of Denmark to the United States

Former Permanent Representative of Denmark to the United Nations

Andrew F. Brimmer

President, Brimmer & Company

Former Governor, Federal Reserve System

Enrique V. Iglesias

Minister for Foreign Affairs, Uruguay

Senator Nancy L. Kassebaum

Prince Sadruddin Aga Khan

Former United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees

T. T. B. Koh

Ambassador of Singapore to the United States

Former Permanent Representative of Singapore to the United Nations

K. B. Lall

Chairman, Indian Council for Research on International Economic Relations

Former Ambassador of India to the Economic Community, Brussels and Luxembourg

Former Permanent Representative of India to the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development and the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade

Jacques Leprette

Former Permanent Representative of France to the United Nations

Former Ambassador of France to the European Economic Community

Robert S. McNamara

Former President of the World Bank

Former Secretary of Defense of the United States of America



Frederic V. Malek  
President, Marriott Hotels and Resorts  
Former Deputy Director, Office of Management and Budget

Olusegun Obasanjo (Major-General)  
Former President of Nigeria

Philip A. Odeen  
Regional Managing Partner, Management Consulting Services  
Coopers & Lybrand  
Former Principal Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense

Sadako Ogata  
Professor, Sophia University (Tokyo)  
Former Minister, Mission of Japan to the United Nations

Paul H. O'Neill  
Chairman and Chief Executive Officer, ALCOA  
Former Deputy Director, Office of Management and Budget

Olara A. Otunnu  
Former Minister for Foreign Affairs, Uganda  
Former Permanent Representative of Uganda to the United Nations

Mohamed Sahnoun  
Ambassador of Algeria to the United States  
Former Permanent Representative of Algeria to the United Nations  
Former Ambassador of Algeria to France and Germany

Salim A. Salim  
Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Defense and National Service, United Republic  
of Tanzania  
Former Permanent Representative of Tanzania to the United Nations  
Former President of the United Nations General Assembly

Helmut Schmidt  
Former Chancellor, Federal Republic of Germany

Brian Urquhart  
Scholar-in-Residence, The Ford Foundation  
Former United Nations Under-Secretary-General for Special Political Affairs

Cyrus R. Vance  
Senior Partner, Simpson, Thacher & Bartlett  
Former United States Secretary of State

Members of this panel serve in their individual capacities. The conclusions and recommendations set forth in this report and other publications of this project do not necessarily reflect the official views or negotiating positions of any country or group of countries.

#### EXECUTIVE SUMMARY\*

1. Crises in the lives of organizations often spark a rethinking of basic purposes, strategies and agendas. The purpose of this report is to help ensure that the current situation of the United Nations, which is one of deep crisis, leads to a sharper definition of goals, a more effective deployment of means, and a revitalized mandate.
2. A paradoxical situation confronts the United Nations and other international organizations today. On one hand, the gap between the legal and political sovereignty of nation States and their ability to give sovereignty concrete shape - whether in air quality, energy security, jobs, surety against nuclear warfare, etc. - has never been larger. Yet, while this "sovereignty gap" seems to cry out for international solutions, it has actually produced very little innovation to equip our existing international machinery to do the job. In parts of the international system, some cautious modernizing is taking place. At the centre of the system, however, there is deep skepticism about the present capacity of the United Nations to respond usefully to most global problems.
3. Many factors lie behind this skepticism: frustration with the ineffectiveness of the United Nations in the security field; its frequent failure to contribute usefully to the management of many global problems outside the traditional security area; deficiencies in its management and in its public information programmes; the junior level of many of the delegates who sit on its many main intergovernmental committees, especially those in the economic and social area, etc.
4. In the face of such problems, the prevailing skepticism is unsurprising, yet it does not reflect a balanced evaluation either of United Nations performance or of the nature of the factors which affect that performance. The United Nations has rendered many services of incalculable value to its members and to the world community: the fostering of decolonization; peace-keeping and peace-making efforts; defence of human rights; assistance to refugees; the development and extension of international law; promotion of collective action on such common problems as environment, population, resource strain, et. al.
5. While this is an impressive record, many of the achievements mentioned belong to a time when the United Nations played a more central part in the co-operative management of world problems than it does today. Many diagnoses have been offered to explain this increasing marginalization: management handicaps embedded in the staff structure and institutional culture; lack of intellectual leadership; lack of political will; excessive politicization. The panel considered each of these but

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\* The United Nations numbers more than 24 organizations of varying degrees of independence from the centre of the system, i.e. the "United Nations proper". The subject of this report is the United Nations proper, which is composed of those programmes that are included in the United Nations regular budget and those which, while funded voluntarily, are subordinate to the General Assembly and the Economic and Social Council.



found none of them completely satisfactory. Instead, it believes that the current situation of the United Nations derives from two more basic problems: the ambiguity of its specific world role and its failure to change that role as the world has changed.

6. The panel believes that the role of the United Nations at the close of the twentieth century is determined by two factors, each pulling in opposite directions: the causes and the effects of most major challenges facing Governments are international, while the authority for dealing with those problems remains vested in nation States. This mix of opportunity and constraint dictates a responsibility to promote international co-operation by connecting an unsentimental assessment of national interests with an uncontestable vision of common goals.

7. Yet the present system of international organizations, of which the United Nations is theoretically the centre, is not organized to carry out this mission owing to weaknesses in its structure and flaws in the assumptions that determine how it defines its work. To correct that situation, this report proposes a new vision for the United Nations composed of three essential parts:

#### I. RELATING FUNCTIONS TO STRUCTURE

- (1) The United Nations should identify common interests among its members;
- (2) It should convert those common interests into common views;
- (3) It should strive to convert those common views into co-operative action.

8. This formula already typifies the United Nations most successful efforts, but for the generality of United Nations activities it remains the exception rather than the norm. A sharper definition of the functions of the United Nations in relation to the United Nations system, and a new structure, particularly in the economic and social area, are indispensable.

#### A. Global watch

9. In order to identify the issues on which convergence of interests exists, the United Nations needs: (a) a setting where emerging issues of urgent global significance can be spotlighted and their implications for national and international policy choices and human welfare given prominent international attention by a small senior body; (b) a capacity at the staff level to monitor, and put into usable form, data on "global watch issues", to examine systematically implications for national and international security and welfare, and to identify overlapping interests and the margins for potential agreement.

#### B. Consensus-building

10. A more systematic approach to consensus-building at the United Nations is indispensable. It should incorporate the following elements:

/...

(a) Affected parties: communities of interest are more easily formed and collective action taken when negotiations and decisions include only those countries most directly affected by the issue;

(b) Equity-security: links between economic equity and security (in the broadest sense of human security) are increasingly direct, and future consensus-building efforts, particularly as they relate to the crossover between economic, technological, and environmental concerns, must reflect that linkage;

(c) Representational diplomacy: to assure speed of consultation, minimal procedural and parliamentary delay, and participation at senior levels, global watch discussions should not be conducted in universal membership bodies, but in a forum which, while of limited size, would be composed of countries drawn from the entire membership of the United Nations according to a system of rotating representation.

#### C. Consensus conversion: stimulating collective action

11. As the need for effective management of international issues grows more acute, a more acute, a more direct United Nations role in defining and proposing specific mechanisms for co-operation - occasionally even in helping to set up the necessary logistical apparatus - will be necessary.

### II. STRENGTHENING STRUCTURE

12. The panel has given considerable attention to the deficiencies of the present United Nations structure in the economic and social area, and these include: a generally low level of representation; overlapping between the General Assembly, the Economic and Social Council, and the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD); a lack of intellectual authority; the absence of a system for identifying emerging global issues; and the weakness of co-ordination and joint planning in the United Nations system. While institutional changes are clearly needed, a balance has to be struck between what may be desirable ultimately, and the kinds of constructive practical steps that Member States could undertake immediately. Consequently, the panel has made the following recommendations:

#### A. Ministerial Board

13. To provide a high-level centre for the conduct of global watch consultations described above, a small Ministerial Board of not more than 25 Governments should be established in affiliation with the Economic and Social Council. The Board would be composed of delegates with the seniority and expertise to consult effectively, issue communiqués and initiate or propose ad hoc actions with regard to matters on which there is agreement that enhanced international management is essential.



(a) Functions: (i) Global watch - high-level consultations and exchange of views on any urgent international problems not within the jurisdiction of the Security Council; (ii) Consensus-building - through ad hoc working groups of the most affected countries, the Board will forge communities of interest on matters before it; (iii) Converting agreements into action - when appropriate the Board shall propose actions by or under the aegis of the United Nations proper (General Assembly would have to authorize), by other international agencies, by individual member countries of the United Nations;

(b) Agenda: the Board could address any issues of imminent or clearly foreseeable consequence for human security and welfare not within the jurisdiction of the Security Council, for example, matters associated with natural disasters, the global biosphere, the special problems of the least developed countries, international debt, disease control, illegal capital flight, international narcotics trafficking, cross-border population movements, urban overpopulation, etc.;

(c) Composition and procedures: the 25 members would consist of a core of permanent members made up of the largest developing and developed countries, and a larger number of rotating members (criteria for determining "permanent" and "rotating" might be population and economic size); it is expected that Governments would be represented at a high level by ministers or other officials from the ministries which are most directly relevant to the agenda subject; meetings would be held on an as-needed basis, normally one to three days in duration; all decisions would be taken by consensus;

(d) Support: the Board would be supported by a Bureau of Global Watch located in the Department of International Economic and Social Affairs of the United Nations Secretariat. Drawing heavily upon electronic and computer-based information networks such as Earthwatch of the United Nations Environment Programme, and utilizing the existing resources of the Department of International Economic and Social Affairs, the Bureau would gather, update, monitor and analyse a global data base on each item that the Board has placed on its "human security" agenda;

(e) Organizational status: while ultimately the Board should be given an explicit basis in the Charter of the United Nations, for the present it should be attached to the Economic and Social Council, but report to the General Assembly directly once a year at the same time as the Council makes its report;

(f) Why a new body?: existing United Nations machinery is inadequate to address, authoritatively and effectively, urgent issues of human security and welfare. The Second and Third Committees and the Economic and Social Council are too large, too comprehensive in their agendas, and their delegations often too junior to have the authority for so important a task.

B. A two-step approach towards a more integrated  
United Nations system

14. Why is a more integrated system necessary?: It is essential to create an apparatus for identifying, analysing and proposing responses to the kinds of issues described above that is integrated intellectually and employs the sectoral expertise of the economic and social agencies of the United Nations in a co-ordinated manner. Most problems requiring international management overlap the spheres of several agencies and United Nations programmes. YET THERE IS NO CENTRE AT THE CENTRE OF THE UNITED NATIONS SYSTEM and therefore no means for putting to work the system's rich potential for interdisciplinary analysis to identify the global issues on which national interests converge and where high levels of co-operation are necessary and feasible.

15. The two-step approach: the panel recommends the creation of a single commission, composed of the Directors-General of all the main agencies in the economic and social fields, mandated to develop integrated responses to global issues through joint programming, and development of a consolidated United Nations system budget. Such a commission, however, is not feasible for immediate implementation owing to the scale of the constitutional, structural and budgetary changes involved. The panel therefore adopted the commission as a medium-term goal towards which the United Nations system should evolve. As an immediate step in the direction of the United Nations commission, it calls for a commission with advisory powers only.

1. Step 1 - the United Nations Advisory Commission

(a) Composition: The Advisory Commission would consist of five persons, selected by the Secretary-General, with outstanding international reputations in the economic and social field;

(b) Function: It would identify emerging issues of a global or regional scale that cross over several agencies fields or concern. Following consultations with agency heads, it would propose joint approaches to these problems. It would also present proposals to the new Ministerial Board, suggesting actions by Member States or international institutions regarding these "cross-over" issues. It would conduct regular reviews of the major programme emphases in the economic and social area in the light of global trends. Finally, it would prepare the agendas and follow-up on the decisions of the annual United Nations system summits (a proposal of the Group of 18 adopted last December), and participate in the summits on a co-equal basis with the specialized agency heads;

(c) Support: The Advisory Commission would be served by a small inter-agency staff seconded from the main economic and social agencies of the United Nations.



## 2. Step 2 - the United Nations Commission

(a) Composition: The Commission would be composed of 15 to 18 commissioners, including Directors-General of the principal specialized agencies and the Bretton Woods organizations. The Commission would be nominated by the Ministerial Board and confirmed by the General Assembly, except for the heads of the International Monetary Fund (IMF), World Bank and the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) whose appointment procedures would not change;

(b) Function: The Commission would have the same functions as the Advisory Commission, except that it would also prepare a consolidated United Nations system programme budget from the submissions of every participating agency (except for the IMF, World Bank and GATT) for submission to the General Assembly for its approval;

(c) Support: The Commission would have its own budget and, like the Ministerial Board, would draw upon the Department of International Economic and Social Affairs for substantive support.

### III. DEVELOPMENT ASSISTANCE BOARD

16. In order to improve the quality and coherence of United Nations development assistance and to reduce overlap and duplication, the separate executive boards of the United Nations Development Programme, the United Nations Fund for Population Activities, the World Food Programme and the United Nations Children's Fund should be replaced by a single Development Assistance Board. The Board would exercise oversight of all programme proposals, conducting reviews before the start of the fund-raising efforts in order to ensure influence upon the overall scope and content of work programmes. The Board would also be responsible for development of a conceptual framework for United Nations development assistance which leads gradually to appropriate specialization.

### IV. ELIMINATION OF SECOND AND THIRD COMMITTEES; EXPANSION OF THE ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL COUNCIL TO PLENARY SIZE

17. To eliminate the nearly complete duplication of agendas and debates between the Economic and Social Council and the General Assembly's committees dealing with economic and social matters (Second and Third), and to end the waste of scarce human resources that results from this duplication, the Second and Third Committees of the General Assembly should be discontinued and their duties assumed by the Economic and Social Council, which would be enlarged to plenary size and strengthened by structural and procedural reforms, including the addition of a Reports and Agenda Committee.

### V. MERGER OF THE SPECIAL POLITICAL COMMITTEE INTO THE FOURTH COMMITTEE

18. In view of the steady decline in the agenda and responsibilities of the Fourth Committee as the global movement toward decolonization nears completion; in view of

the overlap in significant parts of the agendas of the Fourth Committee and the Special Political Committee; and in view of the Secretary-General's recent decision to combine the secretariats for special political questions, regional co-operation, decolonization and trusteeship, and the Council on Namibia into a single department, the Special Political Committee and the Fourth Committee should be merged. The new committee should be called "Committee for Non-Self-Governing Territories and Special Political Questions".

VI. MERGER OF THE DEPARTMENT OF INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL AFFAIRS WITH THE OFFICE OF THE DIRECTOR-GENERAL FOR DEVELOPMENT AND INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC CO-OPERATION

19. To improve the identification, study and management of interrelated economic and social issues by the United Nations, the main economic and social secretariats (the Department of International Economic and Social Affairs and the Department of Economic Co-operation) should be combined into a single department headed by the Director-General. The expanded Department of International Economic and Social Affairs should be reorganized along interdisciplinary lines, it should support the work of the Ministerial Board and the Advisory Commission and it should have expertise and data-monitoring capability in every major economic and social areas embraced by the United Nations system.

VII. PEACE AND SECURITY

20. The panel believes that the limitations of the United Nations in the peace and security field are more the product of contemporary international relations than of shortcomings in United Nations management or structure. Unlike social, economic and humanitarian affairs, major structural changes in United Nations peace and security mechanisms appear unpromising. Instead, consensus-building, practical implementation, and selectivity in focussing on tasks where the United Nations has a comparative advantage are critical to improving United Nations performance. This will entail some rethinking of priorities, strategies, goals and directions along lines elaborated in the report. Among the specific proposals recommended are the following:

(a) Strengthening co-operation with regional bodies: the Secretaries-Generals of the United Nations and of regional organizations and their deputies should meet on a regular basis to exchange information regarding emerging disputes that might threaten international peace and security, to discuss joint measures where appropriate, and to consider common problems of financial, logistical and political support;

(b) Multilateral inspection teams: arms reductions, because they impose higher security risks than traditional arms control steps, demand thorough, reliable and impartial verification, often beyond the capabilities of national technical means based largely on satellites. In cases involving the production or storage of weapons, satellite reconnaissance is clearly not sufficient and on-site inspection by one's adversary is generally unacceptable. There may be instances



where the United Nations could provide multilateral inspection teams from a politically balanced mix of countries for third-party inspection and reporting;

(c) Ad hoc compliance review groups: ad hoc review groups could be established under the aegis of the Security Council to examine compliance questions related to multilateral agreements and questions arising from the reports of the proposed multilateral inspection teams. After considering reports of questionable practices or apparent violations, review groups could initiate consultations between the parties, and could refer serious breaches to the full Security Council.

#### VIII. THE SECRETARY-GENERAL

21. In choosing an individual to serve as Secretary-General, the most important international civil servant, Member States have a responsibility to select someone with the qualities of leadership, integrity, vision and intellect necessary to carry out this enormously demanding job.

22. The Secretary-General should vigorously defend his duties and prerogatives as chief executive and recognize that his responsibilities under the Charter require him to be an initiative-taker rather than a caretaker in the service of efficient management.

23. The Secretary-General should make explicit and binding delegations of authority to capable individuals with executive responsibility for: (a) planning and development of the programme budget; (b) financial aid and administrative policy with particular emphasis on the personnel area; (c) and co-ordination of related activities of the United Nations proper and the United Nations group.

24. To establish a coherent administrative structure of manageable proportions, responsibility for the departmental activities funded by the United Nations regular budget should be co-ordinated in a small cabinet chaired by the Secretary-General and including among its members the Under-Secretary-General for Administration and Management and the Director-General.

25. Effective as of the next election, Secretaries-Generals should be elected for a single term not to exceed seven years.

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# Blueprint to Help the U.N. Work Better

By PAUL LEWIS

Special to The New York Times

UNITED NATIONS, N.Y., Sept. 16 — Proposals to make the United Nations and its agencies more effective in dealing with emerging world crises are outlined in a report by a panel of international policy makers, diplomats and businessmen that was made public here today.

The report, "A Successor Vision: The United Nations of Tomorrow," says the organization, in addition to countering threats to peace, should be given a new brief to maintain a "global watch" and alert the international community to any new economic or social threats to mankind's well-being.

It also proposes several far-reaching changes in the way the United Nations and its specialized agencies are organized with the aim of increasing efficiency and encouraging them to use resources more effectively in dealing with emergencies.

"Crises in the lives of organizations often spark a rethinking of basis purposes, strategies and agendas," the report says, adding that its aim is to insure that the present "deep crisis" in the United Nations leads to "a sharper definition of goals, a more effective deployment of means and a revitalized mandate."

## 22 on the Panel

The report was drawn up by a 22-member panel headed by former Attorney General Elliot L. Richardson, who is also chairman of the United Nations Association of the United States, the sponsoring organization.

Other members include former Secretary of State Cyrus R. Vance; Robert S. McNamara, the former Defense Secretary and World Bank president; Helmut Schmidt, the former West German Chancellor; Prince Sadruddin Aga Khan, the former United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees; Olusegun Obasanjo, the former President of Nigeria; Salim A. Salim, Deputy Prime Minister of Tanzania, and Mohammed Sahnoun, the Algerian Ambassador to the United States.

Jeane J. Kirkpatrick, the former United States representative to the United Nations, took part in the panel's preparatory work but did not sign the final report.

Another panel member, Senator Nancy L. Kassebaum, Republican of Kansas, a co-author of United States legislation reducing America's contribution to the United Nations budget until changes are achieved, welcomed the report's recommendations. She said they would help the United Nations "respond more quickly, efficiently and effectively to emerging global problems."

## Changes Under Way

The United Nations is already committed to modest changes at American insistence, notably an agreement that future budgets should be adopted unanimously rather than by a simple majority of member countries. This effectively gives the United States, which pays 25 percent of the United Nations' budget, a veto over new programs and spending.

But the report, which concedes that the United Nations often fails to address global problems effectively, goes much further.

Its central recommendation is the creation of a new 25-nation ministerial council and secretariat to maintain a "global watch" and identify emerging world problems in what it calls the field of "human security." The council would then seek to concentrate the resources of the United Nations and its agencies on solving them.

## New Commission Proposed

The panel also proposes the creation of a United Nations commission that would complement the work of the global watch council by coordinating the work of groups like the World Health Organization, the United Nations Children's Fund, the International Atomic Energy Agency and the Food and Agricultural Organization in dealing with new world emergencies.

As a first step, the panel suggests the

appointment of a five-member advisory commission to seek better coordination between all United Nations' agencies. This would eventually be transformed into a commission of 15 to 18 members that would include the

heads of all the United Nations' specialized agencies.

A copy of the report may be obtained for \$5 from the United Nations Association of the United States, 485 Fifth Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10017.



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## United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS

WASHINGTON, DC 20510-6225

October 5, 1987

The Honorable Elliot Richardson  
United Nations Association of the  
United States of America  
485 Fifth Avenue  
New York, New York 10017-6104

Dear Elliot:

Thank you for sending the final draft of the international panel's report, A Successor Vision: The United Nations of Tomorrow.

The report contains worthwhile recommendations which, if implemented, would help the United Nations to "refocus its efforts on the things it does best." Of particular interest to me were the structural recommendations to improve coordination and reduce overlap in the economic and development area.

The panel's report is a detailed response to concerns about how the UN can best meet the challenges of the future. It offers a thorough analysis of the problems which the UN faces in a rapidly changing world and a rational plan for the UN of tomorrow. The international panel's report should receive the thoughtful attention of the UN member states and the U.S. Congress.

In closing, I would like to commend the panel's very constructive role in encouraging the adoption of UNGA Resolution 41/213 last December. I hope that these efforts will continue in order to assure the successful implementation of these reforms.

Warmest regards,



Nancy Landon Kassebaum  
United States Senator

# The U. S. Thumbs Its Nose

By Edward C. Luck

**R**epresentatives of nations around the world will gather in New York City beginning today to discuss the relationship between reducing military spending and increasing funds for economic development. One country, the United States, will stage a lonely boycott of the United Nations-sponsored conference.

Last month, in a similar gesture of negative diplomacy, the Reagan Administration sent a middle-level Foreign Service officer — who described himself as a “traveling insult” — to represent it at the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development.

Why has the Administration once again chosen to stand alone, thumbing its nose at the rest of the world? Is it standing up for some cherished principle? Not really. Is it avoiding a high risk or hostile event? Not really. Is it foregoing a prime opportunity to voice its views before the world? Quite possibly.

United States officials worry that the conference will become nothing more than a platform for anti-American rhetoric and Soviet propaganda. Considering the preparatory work, however, there seems to be little cause for concern. But by its absence, the United States might turn an otherwise benign event into a forum for grumbling about American arrogance.

The subject of the conference, moreover, is one that should prove more embarrassing to Mikhail S. Gorbachev than to Ronald Reagan. While the Soviet Union may produce disarmament initiatives at a breath-

taking rate, it is still laggard when it comes to assisting economic development in poor countries.

Most of the Soviet Union's meager foreign assistance budget goes to prop up a handful of client states whose economies have withered through slavish adherence to the pre-Gorbachev Soviet economic model. The Soviet Union also continues to spend a far greater portion of its gross national product on the military than does the United States. Moscow is hardly in a position to claim that the United States' position on disarmament is contributing to the eco-

Ignoring  
a U.N.  
parley on  
arms and  
development  
is pointless.

nomie backwardness of the developing countries.

Despite reduced support for foreign aid and the United Nations system, the United States does far better than the Soviet Union in both regards, and the American private sector remains a strong supporter of people in need around the world.

Under the Reagan Administration, the United States has actually lost its position as the world's leading arms exporter. The Soviet Union is now the world's chief arms merchant, and Britain and France have made inroads among developing countries that were once American markets exclusively.

American officials also assert that no relationship exists between disarmament and economic development and that they therefore would have nothing to talk about at the conference. But a draft of the final document for the conference states that “disarmament and development are distinct processes.”

The United States could present its argument that money saved by disarmament could not automatically be transferred to development purposes. Appropriations measures require the participation of Congress. Nonetheless, the interrelationship is worth exploring.

Washington could also tell developing countries that if they are truly interested in releasing funds for development, they should focus their disarmament efforts on reducing conventional forces and military expenditures worldwide. Although public attention is focused on the nuclear menace, 80 percent of the world's \$1 trillion military expenditure is for non-nuclear forces.

During the last two decades, the proportion of gross national product devoted to military outlays has grown in poor countries and shrunk in wealthy ones. In disarmament, as in development, less developed countries need to look at their own priorities as well as those of the major military powers.

The United States could have said many things at the forum. It has a good case, but it won't be there to present it. It might have found some attentive ears for its message, given the growing trend towards pragmatism, moderation and flexibility among nonaligned countries.

Rather than confidently setting forth its ideas and exercising global leadership, the Reagan Administration is content once again to hide its head in the sand, fearful of an open competition with competing ideological perspectives.

Edward C. Luck is president of the United Nations Association of the United States of America.



# The New York Times

Founded in 1851

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## Boycotting Guns and Butter

By staying away from the current U.N. conference on disarmament and development the United States escapes some simplistic oratory, silly Soviet propaganda and requests to commit funds it can't commit. It also throws away a chance to learn and to lead on critical issues, and moves further down the regrettable path of thwarting rather than encouraging international cooperation.

The State Department's explanation for boycotting the conference, now under way in New York, is: "we believe disarmament and development are not issues that should be considered interrelated." That's not far-fetched. People gathered to talk over these two topics are unlikely to switch easily from spending for guns to spending for butter.

Yet the conference grows out of broader thinking. It's the brainchild not of some radical kook but of France's President, François Mitterrand. The world's resources are limited and arms eat up a towering proportion, nearly \$1 trillion a year. The arms industry is the leading moneymaker in many industrialized countries. Little wonder that human imagination seeks new ways to beat swords into plowshares.

The Soviet Union, with its new public relations skill, came to the conference brimming with ideas on how development might progress if less were squandered on arms. Yet it is the world's foremost

arms merchant, having overtaken the U.S. It spends a greater percentage of its resources on arms than any other major power. Its spending on development assistance is dismally small.

Developing countries are coming to see that their future depends on finding their own economic answers. The West has much to gain by encouraging this pragmatism, and by helping governments see their security more in the health, education and opportunities open to their people than in the size of their armed forces. All of America's NATO allies are at the conference valiantly making these points. The U.S. sits out the opportunity.

This boycott is part of a larger trend, which has found the U.S. in the Reagan years resisting international cooperation — in the Law of the Sea treaty, World Court jurisdiction in the Nicaragua conflict, and in withholding funds for family planning. Washington sent such a low-level delegate to a recent U.N. conference on trade and development that he aptly described himself as a "traveling insult."

The insult is to the American people. Encouraging worldwide community and cooperation is very much in the American interest. That does not require saintly acceptance of bombast at international conferences. The U.S. would have had a strong case against some of the glib oratory at this one. Would that it were there to make it.



# Trading nukes for conventional weapons

Prospective Euromissile treaty would open new opportunity

By Alex Gliksman

A "GRAND compromise" was last year's catchword for bridging the gap separating Washington and Moscow at the "star wars" and strategic offensive arms talks. A different kind of grand compromise may help remove the final hurdles to a European missile treaty and breathe new life into the NATO alliance. Rather than involving the superpowers, this deal would be negotiated between Europe's left and right.

As major obstacles to a Euromissile treaty have fallen away, the prospect of a radical solution has replaced earlier modest hopes.

Since last February Soviet party chief Mikhail Gorbachev has untangled Europe's intermediate-range nuclear force (INF) from the Geneva star-wars talks and further simplified the arms control process by placing a series of zeros next to weapons of major concern.

First, Gorbachev dropped his preconditions to the so-called "zero option." This would free Europe of all missiles with a 600-to-3,000-mile range. Second, when critics objected to exempting shorter-range missiles from the deal, the Kremlin added a second zero by tendering all missiles with a range greater than 300 miles. Finally, in July, the Soviets sweetened the pot with a third zero, offering to scrap the last 100 Soviet INF warheads in Asia.

The numbers are impressive, with cuts weighing most heavily on the Soviet Union. Under the first zero, Moscow destroys some 1,300 warheads, to 200 on the United States side. The second zero removes a further 130 shorter-range missiles, ending a Soviet monopoly in weapons of this type. The last zero places a further 100 Soviet INF warheads on the heap in exchange for a US commitment to dismantle rather than relocate 100 INF warheads to Alaska.

ONE would think that this triple zero would lead all but the most die-hard arms control critics to declare victory. Instead one hears security specialists express reservations. Some, like the just-retired NATO commander, Bernard Rogers, are troubled by the "rush" to agreement and warn of the danger of "denuclearizing" Europe. This is an odd reaction to an accord that is six years in the making and will leave NATO with 4,000 nuclear weapons in place, to say nothing of the nukes that remain in British and French hands. Others, including Richard Nixon and Henry Kissinger, claim that security demands going ahead with deployment of the 572 cruise and Pershing 2 missiles arsenal. This is also a peculiar argument. The threat posed by Moscow's fleet of Soviet SS-20 missiles provided the impetus for NATO's "dual track" deployment plan, and the new arms deal will eliminate all the SS-20s.

More astonishing still is the high anxiety found in West Germany. As the deal began to gel this spring, German Chancellor Helmut Kohl felt abandoned when Washington, joined by London and Paris, welcomed Mikhail Gorbachev's offer to destroy the Kremlin's shorter-range missiles. Responding to demands by the most conservative elements in his Christian Democratic Party, Mr. Kohl voiced a preference for building up a Western shorter-range arsenal instead. With that option gone, Kohl sought to preserve 72 aging Pershing-1A missiles. Over the summer, Bonn's fear of losing this symbolic force and Washington's apprehension over further upsetting Bonn slowed movement toward an accord. Bonn has now cleared this barrier.

Hence there is more to the critics' objections than just the fear of losing 72 ancient nuclear weapons or even 572 newer ones. As one senior US official put it, what really worries the Kohls and the Kissingers is "the slippery slope."

To the critics, signing this treaty is less at issue than what might come after. In their view, the triple zero opens the door to pressures for bargaining away NATO's remaining nuclear forces. What it fails to create is the political underpinning for a conventional defense struc-



'Swords to Plowshares' statue at the Tretyakov Art Gallery in Moscow

security policies of the European left exacerbated this concern.

The dominance of nuclear arms in NATO shows the allies' inability to tackle hard financial choices. This problem dates back to NATO's early days. Whenever a decision about countering Soviet military capabilities has arisen, the allies have consistently taken the cheap way out - favoring more bang-for-the-buck nuclear weapons over more costly conventional arms.

Two examples: After the 1950 invasion of South Korea, European fears that the attack was part of a larger plan of communist expansion led the allies to decide to build a 75-division conventional force. But as fears waned, so did enthusiasm for a conventional buildup. To the extent that the allies wanted forces beefed up, the less demanding option of installing US battlefield nuclear systems was thought sufficient.

In 1978, after another bold look at NATO defense requirements, the allies agreed to correct deficiencies in 10 areas, nine conventional and one nuclear. Of these, only the nuclear component - the INF deployments - is being fulfilled, while the entire array of conventional improvements have been neglected. Behind this failure is Europe's default on commitments to required defense funds.

While the growth of the antinuclear movement in the 1980s marked an end to the public's tolerance of nuclear weapons, it has not led to a newfound readiness to back the conventional alternatives. On the contrary, public resistance to funding anything military has been magnified.

When the INF battle began, opposition leaders declared that if the missiles were not deployed they would support conventional arms programs. But the ideas they have since adopted leave many with no confidence that the nuclear opponents will live up to this pledge.

In giving substance to its ideas, the antinuclear community has come up with "defensive defense." This amounts to a plan to place a rifle in every basement and an antitank weapon on every block. Instead of a standing army, the left would turn the citizenry into a militia, with every man and woman guerrilla ready to take on Soviet tanks. To the defense community, defensive de-

suggests no commitment to defense preparedness.

What worries Dr. Kohl and his American cohorts even more is the prominence given such ideas by Europe's left and left-of-center political parties. They fear that if they trade away a few weapons, then if the left returns to power it will have few reservations and perhaps even feel an obligation to give away the rest. When the left's aversion to funding conventional programs is added to this, treaty critics conclude that acceding to a European arms accord puts the West on the slippery slope toward Western disarmament.

Throughout his tenure as NATO commander, General Rogers repeatedly warned that in the event of Warsaw Pact aggression, NATO would quickly have to go nuclear. But while NATO maintained a strong nuclear capability in Europe, conventional inadequacies seemed tolerable to allied governments, especially when financing the alternatives threatened defeat by a disgruntled electorate. Now with nuclear reductions in sight and the conventional balance favoring the Warsaw Pact, even traditional arms control proponents are wary. Sen. Sam Nunn, for one, wants Soviet conventional forces trimmed in follow-on talks. If they are not, Senator Nunn would have the US exercise the treaty's escape clause.

Admittedly, there are things the allies can do to make more efficient use of resources. Joint weapons development and production would reduce weapons costs. Standardization of military hardware could permit different nations' weapons to use the same munitions and allow commanders to speak over a common communications grid. As Elizabeth Pond's recent series of Monitor articles indicates, new forms of intra-European cooperation would help facilitate this process and perhaps ease Bonn's concern.

Such fixes have limits. With the nukes reduced, NATO will have far less slack. Painful choices will be difficult to avoid, including ones that require devoting added resources to conventional forces. Thus, until a pro-defense climate emerges, some officials will drag their feet on INF - dimming prospects for other future agreements.

The political left's disregard for defense preparedness has helped create this climate. Until it demonstrates that its zeal for ridding Europe of nukes is matched by a readiness to fund conventional arms programs, movement toward a nonnuclear based defense structure will be slow.

But if the logjam provides the left with an incentive to change in its attitude, it could be a blessing in disguise. In these circumstances, conditions may be ripe for a grand compromise: The right would end its objections to nuclear arms agreements in return for a pledge from the left to back conventional defense.

Deterrence rather than war fighting is key to European security. An aversion to large military budgets partly explains Europe's reluctance to fund new programs. The absence of nonnuclear deterrence options has also played a role. New arms technologies could change this.

THE Soviets believe that Western technological developments will yield conventional weapons that will be as destructive of military forces as nuclear weapons are today. This view has been expressed by General Secretary Gorbachev and others.

The Soviets are close to the mark. While star wars has gained the bulk of the publicity, conventionally relevant arms technologies have received 9 out of 10 research-and-development dollars. If continued in the decade ahead, this effort may produce a new class of weaponry that can identify and destroy military targets at long range and with high precision. The word "conventional" may no longer describe the capabilities of nonnuclear weapons.

Such a deterrent could threaten armies without holding mankind at risk. It would provide NATO with a substitute to the threat of nuclear first use. The left and the right could make common cause of abolishing Europe's nuclear dependence.

Alex Gliksman is director of Strategic Defense Studies, United Nations Association of the U.S.A. :



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# 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 UNASME

July 27, 1987

H.E. Mr. Javier Perez de Cuellar  
The Secretary-General of the United Nations  
United Nations  
New York, N.Y. 10017

Dear Mr. Secretary-General:

On behalf of the Board of Governors of the United Nations Association of the United States of America, I would like to express their support for steps to expand access to the War Crimes Commission's files that are in the possession of the United Nations. We believe that the past practice of restricting access to governments is not adequate, and that it should now be broadened to include those with legitimate professional interest in these materials.

We very much appreciate the efforts you have made to consult with the governments which were represented on the Commission and are pleased to hear that the position of our government may be shifting in a more positive direction on this matter. At the same time, the Board is mindful of the difficult position in which the United Nations finds itself in this affair. We very much hope that through your efforts it will be possible to resolve this issue in a way that will enhance the image of the United Nations, which has unfortunately been the target of considerable criticism regarding its handling of this sensitive issue.

If there is any way we can be of assistance, please do not hesitate to call on us.

Thank you very much for all that you do and all best wishes for success in your continuing efforts.

Sincerely,

Orville L. Freeman  
Chairman  
Board of Governors



THE SECRETARY-GENERAL

6 August 1987

Dear Mr. Freeman,

I would like to thank you for your letter of 27 July 1987, on the subject of the archives of the former United Nations War Crimes Commission (UNWCC), which you wrote to me as Chairman and on behalf of the Board of Governors of the United Nations Association of the United States of America.

I shall give every consideration to the support expressed by the Board of Governors for steps to expand access to the archives, and have particularly noted the Board of Governors' belief that the past practice of restricting access to Governments is not adequate and that access should now be broadened to include those with legitimate professional interest in such materials.

In this connection, as you may know, I took the initiative last month to write to all Governments that were members of the UNWCC stating that further consultations between them, on the broadening of access to

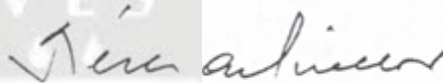
Mr. Orville L. Freeman  
Chairman, Board of Governors  
United Nations Association  
of the United States of America  
485 Fifth Avenue  
New York, N.Y. 10017



the archives, would in my view be desirable. These consultations are scheduled to be held in the fourth week of September. It is my hope that they will lead to a solution acceptable to all concerned.

I am most grateful to the Board of Governors for the kind sentiments expressed in your letter. I shall certainly bear in mind your words of encouragement and your offer to be of assistance in any way possible.

Yours sincerely,



Javier Pérez de Cuéllar



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## 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

December 16, 1987

Dear Board Member:

The Nominating Committee is in the process of examining suggestions for nominations to the Board.

In the light of the unfortunate financial situation in which we find ourselves, we have the need for further suggestions of nominees who might be of some assistance to us in meeting our financial needs. We have had many suggestions of very worthy individuals from chapters, scholastic areas, and similar fields, but have a shortage of suggested nominees with the above qualifications. We welcome your suggestions and would appreciate any information that you can furnish us about such individuals.

We also feel that there is a need for further nominations from minority groups. We hope that such suggestions will likewise be forthcoming.

Thank you for your help and we look forward to receiving your proposals.

Sincerely,

*Leo Nevas*  
Leo Nevas

LN:gc

*Recommend  
Norma Herz  
1/23/87*



*UNA-USA*

April 15, 1988  
28 Nisan 5748

Mr. Edward C. Luck  
President  
United Nations Association  
of the United States of America  
485 Fifth Avenue  
New York, NY 10017-6104

Dear Ed:

Thank you so much for your gracious letter in regard to the forthcoming "Presidents' Luncheon" to be held during the UNA-USA's National Convention. I so wish that I might be with you but I find that it is simply not possible. Unfortunately, I have a very critical meeting on the very same date and it is of the nature which precludes my even absenting myself for a brief period of time to attend the "Presidents' Luncheon."

Please convey my regrets to one and all. I much regret that I am unable to be with you.

With warm good wishes and kindest greetings, I am

Sincerely,

Alexander M. Schindler



# UNITED NATIONS ASSOCIATION OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

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April 6, 1988

Rabbi Alex M. Schindler  
President

Union of American Hebrew Congregations/  
Commission on Social Action of Reform Judaism  
838 Fifth Avenue  
New York, NY 10021

*regret  
& why*

Dear Rabbi Schindler:

It gives me great pleasure to invite you most cordially to the "Presidents' Luncheon" to take place on the occasion of UNA-USA's National Convention on Monday, July 11, 1988 at the Omni Park Central Hotel in New York City.

This event has become an honored tradition at the National Convention of the United Nations Association of the U.S.A. and is highly regarded by the heads of the 130 non-governmental organizations that are affiliated with UNA-USA's Council of Organizations. The Presidents' Luncheon, is also considered an important event by the Secretary-General of the United Nations who will be the principal speaker. The Luncheon, beginning at 1:00 o'clock, will be preceded by a Reception at 12:00 noon at which the leaders of organizations will have the opportunity to meet one another, exchange ideas, opinions and experiences. Following the Reception, the presidents will be escorted into the Ballroom, introduced individually to the audience and seated on the dais. Because this is a personal invitation, it cannot be transferred to another representative of your organization.

I look forward very much to greeting you among our guests of honor on July 11th. I would also like to extend to you an invitation to participate in any or all of the exciting events that are scheduled during the three-day National Convention. I hope that you will be able to participate in several of them. A program brochure will be mailed to you in early May.

Please let me know at your earliest convenience that you will be able to join us at the Presidents' Luncheon.

Sincerely,

*CL*

Edward C. Luck  
President

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nyc  
7/10-12 UNA-  
nyc.  
Both or C.*