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UNA Background Paper

March 7, 1991

THE UNITED NATIONS RESPONSE TO THE GULF CONFLICT:

Political, economic, humanitarian, environmental, and social aspects¹

Throughout the crisis in the Persian Gulf, the United Nations has been deeply involved in numerous ways. Some aspects of United Nations involvement -- such as refugee and humanitarian assistance -- have been in areas widely recognized as traditional multilateral responsibilities. UN actions in other aspects of the Gulf crisis, such as the imposition of sanctions and the authorization by the Security Council of the use of force, are more unusual.

The record of UN responses throughout the Gulf crisis suggests a range of new responsibilities the UN could be asked to undertake in the postwar period -- in restoring peace and stability to the Middle East and in healing the wounds of war.

This paper provides a brief summary of some major areas in which the United Nations already has taken action, either during the Persian Gulf crisis or in preparation for postwar activities. These include:

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¹ This background paper was written by Kathryn G. Sessions, Policy Analyst, United Nations Association of the USA. (© Copyright 1991 by UNA-USA.)

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Actions by the Security Council

Since the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait on August 2, the U.N. Security Council has approved 13 resolutions under Chapter VII of the UN Charter. The first 12 resolutions were passed by a Security Council composed of the five permanent members (the United States, the Soviet Union, France, the United Kingdom, and the People's Republic of China) and ten non-permanent members (Canada, Finland, Colombia, Cuba, Ethiopia, Malaysia, Cote d'Ivoire, Romania, Yemen, and Zaire). These resolutions consisted of:

- * **Resolution 660**, August 2, 1990 (14-0, Yemen abstaining): Condemned the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait.
- * **Resolution 661**, August 6, 1990 (13-0, Cuba and Yemen abstaining): Imposed a trade embargo on Iraq and established a Sanctions Committee.
- * **Resolution 662**, August 9, 1990 (15-0): Nullified the annexation of Kuwait by Iraq.
- * **Resolution 664**, August 18, 1990 (15-0): Reaffirmed rights of foreign hostages and diplomatic immunity.
- * **Resolution 665**, August 25, 1990 (13-0, Cuba and Yemen abstaining): Authorized the enforcement of trade sanctions.
- * **Resolution 666**, September 14, 1990 (13-2, Cuba and Yemen opposed): Addressed issue of humanitarian provision of foodstuffs to Iraq and Kuwait.
- * **Resolution 667**, September 16, 1990 (15-0): Condemned Iraqi aggression against diplomatic premises and personnel.
- * **Resolution 669**, September 24, 1990 (15-0): Addressed economic problems arising from sanctions placed on Iraq.
- * **Resolution 670**, September 25, 1990 (14-1, Cuba opposed): Initiated an air embargo on Iraq.
- * **Resolution 674**, October 29, 1990 (13-0, Cuba and Yemen abstaining): Reiterated Iraqi obligations to protect foreign nationals and diplomatic missions.
- * **Resolution 677**, November 28, 1990 (15-0): Addressed issue of population composition and register of Kuwait.
- * **Resolution 678**, November 29, 1990 (12-2, Cuba and Yemen opposed, China abstaining): Authorized states to use "all necessary means to uphold and implement resolution 660 (1990)

and all subsequent relevant resolutions and to restore international peace and security in the area."

On January 1, 1991, the composition of the Security Council changed with the rotation of five of the ten non-permanent members. The current Security Council, consisting of the five permanent members, five remaining non-permanent members (Cote d'Ivoire, Cuba, Romania, Yemen, and Zaire), and five new non-permanent members (Austria, Belgium, Ecuador, India, and Zimbabwe), passed one additional resolution:

- * **Resolution 686**, March 2, 1991 (11-1, Cuba opposed, Yemen, China and India abstaining): Identified conditions Iraqi must meet to have sanctions lifted and to have a formal end to the Gulf war.

Actions by the Secretary-General

The extensive efforts of UN Secretary-General Javier Perez de Cuellar included four personal trips to the Persian Gulf area to seek a diplomatic resolution of the crisis. In addition, the Secretary-General assigned special responsibilities to high-level UN officials to ensure prompt and effective UN actions in critical areas, including:

- * the appointment early in the Gulf crisis of Under-Secretary-General Sadruddin Aga Khan as the Secretary-General's Personal Representative for Humanitarian Assistance relating to the crisis between Iraq and Kuwait, to ensure a well-coordinated UN response to needs of persons and states adversely affected;
- * the dispatch in March 1991 of Under-Secretary-General Martti Ahtisaari to make a tour of countries affected by the Gulf war. In his announcement, the Secretary-General said that "...the United Nations system must react with all due speed in order to provide help urgently to those in need. Every effort must be made to avoid further human suffering and to prevent human catastrophes from occurring, notably in the fields of health and nutrition;" and
- * the dispatch in March 1991 of former Under-Secretary-General Abdulrahim A. Farah, along with other UN representatives and advisers, to Kuwait for the purposes of assessing damages and losses sustained by Kuwaiti civilians and infrastructure during the Iraqi occupation.

Other UN Resolutions

Several UN programs in Iraq and/or Kuwait were suspended following the Iraqi invasion. Additionally, other UN bodies passed resolutions pertaining to the crisis in the Persian Gulf, including:

- * The **International Civil Aviation Organization (ICAO)**, which adopted a resolution in October 1990 condemning Iraqi violations of Kuwaiti airspace, seizure of Kuwaiti aircraft, and plunder of Kuwaiti International Airport.

Human Rights Actions

Although most of the UN's political and legal involvement in the Persian Gulf crisis has been centered in the Security Council, the 45th General Assembly condemned the Iraqi Government and its occupation forces for human rights violations against the Kuwaiti people and third-state nationals. Resolution 45/170, adopted on 18 December 1990 by a vote of 144 to 1 (Iraq opposed) with no abstentions, demanded that Iraq cooperate fully with humanitarian organizations and "treat all prisoners of war and detained civilians in accordance with the internationally recognized principles of humanitarian law and protect them from all acts of violence, including ill-treatment, torture and summary execution." The resolution also called on the UN Commission on Human Rights at its 1991 session "to consider the situation of human rights in occupied Kuwait."

The Commission on Human Rights, which is scheduled to conclude its forty-seventh (1991) session on March 8, 1991, may consider two draft resolutions dealing with human rights situations in Iraq and occupied Kuwait. The draft resolution dealing with alleged Iraqi government abuses of its own citizens' human rights calls for the appointment "of a special rapporteur to prepare a preliminary report as soon as possible and to transmit it to the Secretary-General for dissemination to all member states of the United Nations."

The draft resolution dealing with human rights abuses in occupied Kuwait condemns the August 2nd invasion and "strongly condemns the Iraqi authorities and occupying forces for their grave violations of human rights against the Kuwaiti people and nationals of other states, and in particular, the continued and increasing acts of torture, arbitrary arrest, summary executions and disappearances in violation of the Charter of the United Nations, the International Covenants on Human Rights, and other relevant legal instruments." Demanding Iraqi compliance with its obligations under the UN Charter and international law, it demands

the release of all prisoners and detainees, and authorizes the appointment of a special rapporteur on the human rights situation in Kuwait.

Refugee & Other Humanitarian Assistance

1. Refugee Aid/Regional Humanitarian Plan of Action

In the early stages of the crisis, several UN agencies helped facilitate the repatriation of some 750,000 third-country nationals leaving Iraq or Kuwait. [The non-governmental International Organization for Migration (IOM) had primary responsibility for physical transfers of people.]

On January 11 the **UN Coordinator for Disaster Relief (UNDRO)** announced a "Regional Humanitarian Plan of Action" to coordinate international emergency assistance efforts of UN agencies with those of nongovernmental organizations and government officials. Under the plan, UN agencies initially prepositioned relief supplies for up to 100,000 refugees in each of four countries (Iran, Jordan, Syria and Turkey).

The **UN High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR)** established a 24-hour communications center at its headquarters in Geneva. Under the Plan of Action, UNHCR also was given responsibility for site surveys and refugee camp management in recipient countries. Other agencies participating in the Plan of Action included: the **World Food Program (WFP)** for food & transport of food; **World Health Organization (WHO)** and **UN Children's Fund (UNICEF)** for health, water, nutrition and sanitation; the **UN Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East (UNRWA)**, and **UN Development Program (UNDP)**. [Also involved in the Plan were non-governmental organizations (NGOs) such as the IOM, the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC), and national Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies.]

By early February UNCHR-managed refugee camps had total arrivals of less than 20,000 persons. Explanations for the relatively low number ranged from the type of warfare being waged to a general breakdown of transport systems. In late February and early March UN missions reported thousands of new arrivals (mostly from Iraq), to refugee reception centers in Iran, Jordan, Syria, and Turkey. On February 26 UNDRO announced plans to shift its response capabilities among countries in the Middle East to best accommodate the influx of displaced persons. After hostilities ceased, agencies and organizations involved in the Plan of Action began to prepare for limited postwar relief activities.

To finance international efforts under the Plan of Action,

UNDRO made a global appeal of funds for a total Plan budget of approximately \$175 million, nearly \$60 million of which has been contributed by members of the international community. In early March 1991 there were indications that upward revisions of the appeal might be necessary. The US contribution as of February 20 for Calendar Year 1991 totalled \$3 million, including: \$1 million cash pledged to the ICRC; \$1 million cash to UNHCR; and \$750,000 cash to IOM, all under the Plan of Action; and an additional \$250,000 through UNDRO for the Turkish Red Crescent. From August to December 1990, the US contributed \$15 million, including just under \$1 million of in-kind contributions, bringing total US contributions for emergency refugee aid in the Gulf to \$18 million.

2. Other Humanitarian Assistance

A. WHO/UNICEF Mission to Iraq. The WHO & UNICEF sent a joint humanitarian mission into Iraq from Teheran on February 16, 1991. The week-long mission, declared by UNICEF Executive Director Jim Grant to create a "corridor of tranquility" into Iraq, had two objectives:

- * to deliver emergency medical supplies for children and mothers (e.g., oral rehydration salts and pediatric doses of antibiotics, with a total value of \$600,000) in all areas under Iraqi control; and
- * to ascertain essential health care needs of the Iraqi population, particularly of vulnerable groups like women, children, elderly, and displaced persons.

According to Secretary-General Perez de Cuellar, the mission was sent "within the spirit of the provisions of the Geneva Conventions of 1949, the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child and the Declaration of the World Summit for Children." Iraqi officials, while allowing the WHO/UNICEF team into Iraq, gave no permission for a similar mission to Kuwait.

Precedents for such "corridors or days of tranquility" include ones set up in four civil wars: El Salvador, for delivery of immunizations in early 1985; Operation Lifeline Sudan, for essential supplies; and the conflicts in Angola and Ethiopia.

Among the areas investigated by the mission team were the state of health systems and medical supplies, evidence of communicable diseases, the water and sanitation situation in Baghdad, and other problems of the target populations.

Upon their return, the mission team reported serious health problems in Iraq as a result of the allied air campaign. Team leader Ali Khogali, of WHO, cited a nationwide shortage of clean

drinking water as the most urgent problem, followed by inoperative sewage treatment facilities and a lack of electricity. The combination of these factors was reported to have led to a quadrupling of intestinal infections and dehydration among children, as well as to a growing threat of outbreaks of typhoid and cholera. Iraqi vaccination programs appeared to have deteriorated, because of the lack of electricity and hence refrigeration for vaccine storage. Other problems cited included inoperative communications, manufacturing, and processing systems; food scarcities and food price increases; and fuel shortages, leading to an increase in use of fuelwood chopped from area trees.

Medical supplies have been exempted under the UN Security Council trade embargo of Iraq. Shipments of food supplies, however, require clearance by the Security Council's Sanctions Committee and must be distributed by UN groups or the ICRC.

B. WHO Task Force. In January 1991 WHO set up a task force to monitor and assess the health situation in the Persian Gulf. The task force includes experts in communicable diseases, drug use, chemical safety and toxicology, sanitation and water supply, epidemiological surveillance, health services organization, and health support services. WHO actions in the Gulf have concentrated on provision of health assistance to Jordan, the Syrian Arab Republic, Turkey, and Iran in coordination with the UNDRP-led Regional Humanitarian Plan of Action.

At the request of the Kuwaiti Minister of Health, WHO is assisting in the elaboration of emergency assistance plans for Kuwait and a rehabilitation plan for Kuwaiti health services.

C. Palestinian Health Needs. In response to deteriorating health conditions of Palestinians in the occupied territories due to the Gulf crisis, WHO in October 1990 issued an appeal for grants of emergency financial assistance. As of 21 December 1990, Canada, Germany and the European Community had announced grants totalling about \$5.4 million of the estimated \$9.1 million needed.

3. Needs assessment for postwar efforts.

As noted earlier, following a consultation with UN agency heads, Secretary-General Perez de Cuellar announced on March 1 that he had charged Under-Secretary-General Martti Ahtisaari with assessing the humanitarian roles which the UN could play in responding to the needs of affected states. Ahtisaari is to make a tour to Iraq and Kuwait, scheduled for early to mid-March, accompanied by a technical team with representatives from WHO, UNICEF, and other agencies. Following the tour, Ahtisaari will report to the Secretary-General on his findings. His report is

expected to include not only an assessment of emergency humanitarian needs but also some indication of needs for longer-term reconstruction.

Assistance related to Labor Migration

With nearly three million workers fleeing Iraq or Kuwait as a result of the Gulf crisis, several countries requested immediate assistance from the **International Labor Organization (ILO)**. Problems reported by states with large numbers of returnees included not only issues of resettlement and unemployment but also financial problems due to the loss of remittances.

The Governing Body of the ILO requested the Director-General to send a mission of inquiry to Kuwait to report on working conditions there; the Body also established a tripartite (worker, employer, government) committee to examine an Egyptian representation of non-compliance by Iraq with ILO conventions.

The ILO also convened in December 1990 a tripartite round table on international labor migration for eleven Asian and Arab countries to discuss the situation of countries affected by the Gulf crisis. Participants called for a review of international migration systems.

Other ILO activities have included:

- * the establishment of reception and information centers in five highly-affected Asian countries;
- * formulation of projects for returnees in Bangladesh, India, and Pakistan;
- * establishment of a re-employment program, with UNDP and Canadian CIDA, in Sri Lanka; and
- * creation of a questionnaire to be used in estimating losses of workers leaving the Gulf, in order to facilitate efforts at obtaining compensation.

The ILO issued an appeal in November 1990 for international help to finance ILO job creation, retraining and employment counselling programs in the home countries. Responses to the appeal totalled over one million dollars committed by Canada, Switzerland, and the UN Development Program. An additional appeal for a Special Fund for Resettlement was made by ILO Director-General Hansenne in February 1991.

Environmental Assessment

1. UNEP Consultation. The UN Environment Program (UNEP) sponsored a consultation on February 5-6 of UN agencies, NGOs, representatives of international tanker companies and others to discuss immediate and long-term environmental threats in the Gulf region, means of responding to them, and problems in environmental information flow.

Consultation participants called for international support of the Kuwait Action Plan of 1978 through the revitalization of the Regional Organization for the Protection of the Marine Environment (ROPME -- see next item) and the Marine Emergency Mutual Aid Center (MEMAC).

2. Revitalization of ROPME. UNEP has taken a leading role in revitalizing ROPME, an organization including all eight nations in the region (Bahrain, Iran, Iraq, Kuwait, Oman, Qatar, Saudi Arabia, and the United Arab Emirates). In late February ROPME convened a meeting in Bahrain, with UNEP and IMO, for government representatives and UN agencies to discuss the scope of environmental damage and to identify components needed to implement a long-term environmental action plan and to avoid duplication.

3. Environmental Monitoring & Assessment. During the Gulf war, UNEP sent several missions to the Gulf to obtain scientific and technical information on physical and environmental damage in the Persian Gulf. One was a team of three scientists sent to the Gulf in late January. A second was a team of scientific experts sent to the Gulf from February 6 to Feb. 15. Both missions were headed by UNEP's Global Environment Monitoring System (GEMS) Director Michael Gwynne.

Following the February mission, Gwynne gave an assessment of the oil slick, noting that damage to coastal ecosystems was already evident but citing problems with available information on the environmental situation in the Gulf. Gwynne stressed the team's recommendation that the Gulf's environmental problems are regional in nature and that regional coordination through ROPME would offer the best means of formulating effective responses. Following this recommendation, UNEP began efforts to strengthen ROPME (see item #2 above) in addition to other steps to address war-related environmental damage in the Gulf.

Another UNEP assessment mission report is expected in early March, at which time UNEP is expected to announce plans for immediate and longer-term environmental efforts.

Other UN programs and agencies have been involved in monitoring, assessment, and emergency preparations and responses,

including:

- * **The International Maritime Organization (IMO)**, which has been coordinating assistance to authorities in Saudi Arabia and other Gulf countries in cleaning up the oil slick. At Saudi request, IMO set up a seven-day, 24-hour coordination center in London to serve as a clearinghouse to match environmental clean-up needs with offers of assistance.
- * **UNEP's Global Resources Information Database (GRID)**, which has been monitoring the oil spill in the Persian Gulf.
- * **The International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA)**, which also set up an emergency response system to respond to requests for help from states in the event of releases of radioactivity from damaged nuclear plants.

Preparations for Economic Reconstruction

In February 1991 UNDP established a Task Force to help formulate an action plan for postwar development in the Persian Gulf. The Task Force, operating within UNDP's Regional Bureau for Arab States and Europe, is working with officials from the governments concerned, with other UN agencies, and with NGOs in the establishment of priorities, development of plans of action, and coordination of post-war reconstruction and rehabilitation efforts.

In a statement before the UNDP Governing Council on February 22, Mohamed A. Nour, Assistant Administrator and Regional Director, Bureau for Arab States and Europe, stressed the comparative advantages of UNDP -- such as its extensive global network of field representatives -- for coordinating postwar development assistance. The UNDP Task Force also draws upon the extensive experience of UNDP in development in other emergency situations.

UNDP efforts are being directed not only at Gulf states experiencing direct physical damage from the war, but also at other countries whose economies, societies or environments have been negatively affected. Nour cited several areas of possible UNDP assistance to states, including:

- * the creation of systems to assess the impacts on various states of the Gulf crisis;
- * support for national task forces to facilitate the socio-economic reintegration of returnees;
- * establishment of country and regional skills development programs, necessarily including programs for women (given

increases in female-headed households); and

- * special rehabilitation and training programs for disabled persons.

UNDP has begun to collect information on the impacts of the war in four areas: basic human needs, rehabilitation of institutions and infrastructure, economic management, and environmental recovery. The Task Force will present medium and long-term proposals for a Plan of Action for Countries Affected by the Gulf Crisis for consideration by the UNDP Governing Council in June 1991. The Task Force already has begun work on a draft plan for UNDP action and intends to implement components as soon as immediate needs and resources are identified.

UN Assessments

The UN has received several requests from participants in the Gulf crisis for assessments of particular aspects of the Gulf war, among them:

- * A request by the Government of Iraq to investigate whether a factory bombed on January 21 by the allied forces was a production plant for infant formula (as maintained by Iraq) or a biological weapons factory (as maintained by the allies);
- * A request in January 1991 by seventeen Members of the U.S. Congress for UNEP to conduct an investigation of the potential environmental consequences of the war; and
- * A request by the Government of Kuwait to investigate alleged human rights violations committed by occupying Iraqi forces in Kuwait.

The latter request was submitted to the Security Council for consideration in early March.

As noted earlier, on March 1991 the UN Secretary-General announced that he was dispatching a mission headed by former Under-Secretary-General Abdulrahim A. Farah to Kuwait, to assess damages and losses sustained by Kuwaiti civilians and infrastructure during the Iraqi occupation.

ACRONYMS & ABBREVIATIONS

GEMS	Global Environment Monitoring System
GRID	Global Resources Information Database of UNEP
IAEA	International Atomic Energy Agency
ICAO	International Civil Aviation Organization
ICRC	International Committee of the Red Cross
ILO	International Labor Organization
IMO	International Maritime Organization
IOM	International Organization for Migration
MEMAC	Marine Emergency Mutual Aid Centre
NGO	Non-governmental Organization
ROPME	Regional Organization for the Protection of the Marine Environment
UN	United Nations
UNDP	UN Development Program
UNDRO	UN Coordinator for Disaster Relief
UNEP	UN Environment Program
UNHCR	UN High Commissioner for Refugees
UNICEF	UN Children's Fund
WFP	World Food Program
WHO	World Health Organization

For more information on these or other U.N.-related issues,
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Please see also the following UNA-USA papers on the Persian Gulf
crisis:

- * UNA-USA Occasional Paper No. 3, "Roles for the United Nations After the Gulf War," February 1991.
- * UNA-USA Occasional Paper No. 1, "The United Nations in the Gulf Crisis and Options for U.S. Policy," David J. Scheffer, revised February 1991.

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October 27, 1989

MEMORANDUM

TO: Board of Governors

FROM: Edward C. Luck

SUBJECT: Ad Hoc Meeting to Discuss Response to Ford Foundation
Evaluation

At the Board of Governors meeting on Tuesday, it was decided that we should convene an ad hoc meeting of the Board of Governors to formulate a formal response to the conclusions and recommendations of the Ford Foundation review of UNA-USA, which is enclosed. As you will note, the Foundation would like a written response from the Association. We view this as the opening exchange in a process of dialogue and negotiation with the Foundation regarding the future directions of the Association and the nature and extent of Ford Foundation support. The Foundation staff regard the overall results of their evaluation to be quite positive, but they obviously have some strong views about our future programs and priorities. For us, this is an opportunity both to rethink where we are going as an organization and potentially to gain substantial financial support from Ford to help underwrite new initiatives.

The meeting will be held here at the Arthur Ross Conference Center from 2:30 to 4:30 p.m. on Tuesday, November 14th. John Whitehead will chair the meeting and Max Kampelman will join us via conference call. If any of you are unable to join us here because of the short notice but would be available for a conference call, please let Pat Wilber know. In the meantime, I think you will find the Ford report, even though the analysis is of uneven quality, to be provocative and worthwhile reading.

Thanks very much and I hope that you will be able to join us on November 14th. All the best.

THE FORD FOUNDATION

320 EAST 43RD STREET
NEW YORK, NEW YORK 10017

October 20, 1989

Mr. Alexander M. Schindler
Board of Governors
The United Nations Association
of the United States of America
485 Fifth Avenue
New York, New York 10017

Dear Mr. Schindler:

The United Nations Association of the United States of America has received support from the Ford Foundation since UNA was established in 1966. When, in 1988, UNA began to develop a plan to put itself on a firmer financial footing, it asked the Foundation to consider increasing our level of support. In light of this request and in view of the growing importance of the United Nations and other international organizations in international affairs in recent years, the Foundation decided to evaluate the UNA and our overall relationship to it. Clearly, the improved international climate and the increasing need for worldwide cooperation confront UNA with exciting new challenges and opportunities.

We are pleased that we are now able to share the evaluation report with you. A copy is enclosed herewith. We have also sent copies to John Whitehead, Max Kampelman, Elliot Richardson, Cyrus Vance, and Edward Luck. As you will see, it clearly reflects our continuing and sympathetic interest in the UNA and its goals.

We would welcome any reactions UNA might have in writing, before January first. Please be assured that there is no need for UNA to respond immediately to the report. After we have received your comments, we would be prepared to arrange a meeting to discuss the evaluation and UNA's responses to it. We would also want to take advantage of the meeting to discuss the representation of women and minorities on UNA's Boards.

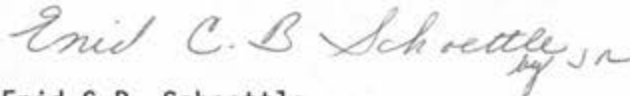
With respect to future Ford Foundation funding for UNA, it could take various forms. We have concluded that an endowment grant, revolving fund or wasting capital grant would not be appropriate at this time. The foundation believes that the more appropriate forms would be either continued project support at approximately the level of the past three years, or general support over a number of years for the broad range of UNA's activities. We could discuss these alternatives at our meeting.

We look forward to hearing from you in due course.

Sincerely,



Susan V. Berresford
Vice President, Program Division
United States And International Affairs Program



Enid C.B. Schoettle
Director
International Affairs Program

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International Affairs Program
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THE UNITED NATIONS ASSOCIATION OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

An Evaluation by

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ABSTRACT

The United Nations Association, a Foundation grantee since 1966, is committed to making the UN and other multilateral institutions more effective instruments on behalf of world peace and development. In 1988, UNA began to develop a plan to put itself on a firmer financial footing and asked the Foundation to consider increasing its level of support. In light of this request and the increasingly prominent role the UN and other international organizations have assumed in international affairs in recent years, IAP decided to evaluate the UNA and the Foundation's relationship to it. This document summarizes our evaluation of UNA and sets forth our recommendations regarding future Foundation support.

IAP staff believe that the UNA has an important role to play in bringing UN and multilateral issues to attention of the US policymaking community, and in promoting greater public awareness and understanding of multilateral institutions and issues. After assessing the entire range of UNA activities, Foundation staff recommend that UNA restructure its agenda in order to concentrate on multilateral institutions and issues.

Sections I and II sketch the history of UNA and its current programs. Section III outlines how UNA's various constituencies view it. Section IV concludes with recommendations for UNA and options for Foundation funding.

I. Origins and Development of the UNA

A. Founding and Early Vision

The UNA was created in 1964 through the merger of the American Association for the United Nations, the United States Committee for the United Nations, and five smaller organizations. Foundation staff had not recommended assistance to the predecessor groups because of "the duplication and lack of focus which characterized their efforts." The new organization was not to be merely a source of strength gathered miraculously from weakness. It was to reflect an entirely new conception. Whereas the earlier organs were "protagonists," the new institution, by contrast, was designed "to provide for the public objective and useful materials of special interest to the U.S. on issues and problems before the UN." The new UNA would be a sympathetic but objective observer. It would "organize study commissions to draw up its policy statements" made up of "leaders and experts from business, science, education, government, the mass media, and other appropriate fields."¹

The Committee for Economic Development (CED) that had so successfully engaged business, labor and civic leaders in reflection on public economic policies was to be the model. Special effort would be made "to involve men (sic) who have not been previously associated with United Nations affairs but who have a broad understanding of foreign problems and who have national influence in their particular fields." Collaborative projects were anticipated with more than 100 voluntary American business, labor, farm and civic organizations. Moreover, it was hoped, UNA would take the lead in informing the White House, Department of State, the academic and broader educational community and the media about UN-related matters. A former

Foundation staff member and CED official, Porter McKeeever, became the first chief executive officer in 1964.²

The Foundation signaled its support for the creation of the UNA by a three-year grant of \$450,000 in 1966. The principal justification for this grant, given to the Trustees in a docket paper, was that the research community had failed to provide satisfactory policy guidance on multilateral affairs. In particular, only "a relatively small number of scholars is giving attention to the wide range of problems involving the UN and other international organizations." Given this vacuum the Foundation had decided, in effect, to support a think tank on the UN and its policy agenda.³

Robert S. Benjamin, the first chairman/president of the new UNA, described his task as amalgamating of a set of disparate organizations devoted to the UN and then taking them "from dedicated mediocrity and disorganization to a coherent integration of serious, objective policy studies with professionalism in dissemination and stimulation of discussion." To this end, he looked forward to an annual budget by 1972 of \$3.5 million. In his request to the Foundation he specifically rejected

any special pleading for the United Nations per se, as it is now organized. Despite our inherited institutional label, UNA believes that we can best serve the cause of the United Nations through objective efforts to define how the United States can best use international organizations for getting on with the work of the world, which increasingly ignores the boundaries of nation-states.⁴

Benjamin observed that the new organization had some impressive resources to start out; a magazine (Vista) with a paid circulation approaching 50,000, "active units" on 700 campuses, two hundred chapters, and a board that contained such distinguished figures as Eugene R. Black, Burke Marshall, Robert D. Murphy, Peter Peterson, Robert Roosa, Theodore Sorenson and Whitney Young.⁵

Benjamin suggested that to give the new UNA focus it concentrate on four "clusters of emerging problems for the United States in the international organization field": (1) central structural problems of the United Nations and its agencies; (2) the security role of the United Nations; (3) building more effective economic and social programs within the United Nations system; and (4) relationships between the United Nations and other regional and global organizations. Benjamin asked the Foundation for \$3.5 million over five years of which .5 million would be for a revolving fund to carry the association "through the peaks and valleys of income."⁶

The UNA began not only with large plans and a bold vision but also with substantial early accomplishment. In 1965, the first year of operation, income reached \$1.1 million; by 1967-68 it had risen to \$1.5 million, with a nice balance among gifts from individuals, businesses, and foundations. Moreover, vigorous policy panels met on U.S. policy toward China, non-proliferation, and Atlantic relations; "Ad hoc groups" (CED-like policy panels) were established on UN peacekeeping, conflict resolution, new initiatives, Southern Africa, and financial administration of UN organizations. Plans were afoot for an "Economic Development Center" to serve the business community, a "Communication Center" to serve the media and visitors to the UN, and a college program.⁷

In retrospect it can be seen that UNA came into existence not only with high hopes, impressive auspices and some early accomplishments, but also with potentially serious institutional contradictions. It is indeed a brave conception to gather under one roof so many of those who were oriented in some way toward the UN and multilateral institutions. But on closer inspection the groups seem in some important respects to have been essentially irreconcilable. Among the supporters, at least three groups can be easily discerned. One, that constituted the nationwide membership in the chapters,

contained the community of internationalists who before the war had devoted their energies to the World Court and League of Nations but had transferred their allegiance easily in the 1940s to the new UN. For many of them, these organs of proto-world government could do no wrong. They saw their membership in UNA in this light: almost as if they had joined a missionary society dedicated to converting the heathen.

The second group of supporters shared some sympathies with the first, but was more qualified in its allegiance. It contained liberal, mainly northeastern, businessmen and financiers -- represented by the prominent names on the board -- who saw a just and stable world order, to which the UN was committed, as a political and economic necessity. Thus they viewed the UN as a highly-promising instrument to achieve stability and justice in the world. They did not view the UN with the reverence of the first group. But in the early years at least, they also did not engage in any profound questioning of the UN.

The third category of UNA supporters had, in fact, become somewhat critical of the organization by the mid-1960s. This group was represented by some academics and former diplomats as well as some Foundation staff who dealt with the UNA requests. Their view was that the UN and its associated organs were immensely important to the world's future but were in various ways flawed. Some believed that the UN structure had been created in haste at the war's end and now needed a fundamental reconsideration. Others held that the world had changed dramatically since 1945 and accordingly, substantial changes should be made in the UN in the light of two decades of experience. Their view was that UNA should help perform the required analysis and make the case for reform. It is obvious that this last, more questioning, posture was likely to conflict with the unquestioning devotion of the first group of UNA members and, to some degree, of the second.⁸

Twenty-five years after its formation, the early ambitions of the UNA have not been fully realized. Its vision is little changed today from what it was at the start. What, then, in the history of the past quarter century explains its development? There are some explanations that lie within the UNA itself; others grow out of the historical environment in which it has existed.

B. Internal Challenges

Early decisions made by UNA about its structure and goals shaped its performance. These decisions were all inter-related but may be considered separately here.

1. Programs and Functions

The activities of the seven organizations subsumed under the new UNA had been highly varied and in some respects mutually inconsistent. The first task of UNA's leaders was to decide what to discard and what to keep. The strategy was to sort out these responsibilities during the early years and jettison those that had low priority. In fact, however, the early leaders of UNA attempted to retain virtually all of the inherited functions. Some of these have subsequently withered, but more as a result of malnourishment and apathy than a conscious decision to discard them. In brief, those functions that have been retained through most of UNA's history include: (1) explanation of the UN and the concept of multilateralism to the American people; (2) exploration of ways to improve the operation of the UN and its agencies; (3) advocacy for the UN in U.S. policy circles and among the American public at large; (4) service to those constituencies with an interest in or affection for the UN (citizens, students, business leaders, etc.); and (5) analysis of U.S. policy options concerning the United Nations.

The decision to retain all these functions had serious implications for the success of the UNA. First, its image has been complicated by the diversity of its activities. Second, the vigorous performance of some functions has

impeded the successful pursuit of others. As one example, assertiveness as an advocate has reduced credibility as a constructive critic. Last, its resources have been stretched very thin. A relatively small organization, UNA has never been fully able to fulfill several radically different functions.

2. Leadership and Senior Staff

UNA's leadership has had mixed success in responding to the challenges facing the organization. In part this may be attributed to accidents of history. In part, it grows out of the ambitious and heterogeneous range of functions that was assigned to the organization. For a start, it was not clear what was needed in a leader. With such a multitude of objectives, should the chief executive be a scholar, an intellectual, a diplomat, a manager, a fund-raiser, a publicist, or a Renaissance combination of all these roles? The failure to grow as the early plans had prescribed, together with the retention of so many functions, put a premium on selecting for leadership persons able to undertake several tasks at once. The results have been mixed. Porter McKeever, the first chief executive officer, had been Executive Director at the Chicago Council on Foreign Relations, and later a prominent staff member at the Ford Foundation. His successor in 1973 was a retired diplomat who failed to perform. He was followed by James Leonard, a well respected foreign service officer and former U.S. Deputy Permanent Representative to the UN; Robert Ratner, a specialist in fund-raising; and in 1984 by Edward Luck, who had come directly to UNA from graduate school and risen through the ranks.

The responsibilities of the senior staff of the Association have typically been so large and varied that they have not been able to demonstrate the gains from specialization. Moreover, the smorgasbord of tasks required has not proved to be highly attractive in recruiting first-rate people.

3. Funding

The problems faced in attracting truly outstanding leaders and senior staff to UNA were reflected also in fund-raising. Foundations, corporations,

government agencies, and even private individuals are accustomed to assisting institutions that serve some clearly identified purpose and do so well. UNA with its Jack-of-all-trades image was not in this mold. It is not academically rigorous like Brookings; it is not representative of business interests like the CED; it is not deeply attentive to members like the Council on Foreign Relations; and it does not get to Congress effectively like the Center for Strategic and International Studies. With its diffusion of programs, some potential donors have not had to look hard for convincing reasons why they should decline to supply funds to UNA and put them elsewhere. As noted in the next section, UNA's funding prospects have also been substantially affected by the declining popularity of the United Nations.

C. A Hostile External Environment

While UNA's history can be explained in part by its internal characteristics, its external political environment has from time to time been distinctly inhospitable. This has been a significant cause of its failure to achieve its multiple objectives.

1. The Changing Political Landscape

The quarter century since UNA's establishment has in many respects been a rough period for international organizations. The hopes for stable and viable multilateralism that blossomed at the end of World War II with the birth of the United Nations and the institutions of a new global economic system -- the IBRD, the IMF, GATT, etc... -- were soon dashed. The first signs of crumbling came with the early expression of Cold War rivalry within the General Assembly and the Security Council in the 1940s. In the 1950s, the UN did contribute constructively to the process of decolonization and the resolution of crises such as Suez in 1956, but continuing East-West rivalries and instabilities in the newly-independent countries of the developing world were not amenable to multilateral restraints. Breakdowns in the multilateral international economic

system were symbolized by President Nixon's Smithsonian Declaration, the rise of OPEC, and the triumph of regional customs unions such as the European Community. The United States also had to come to terms with vituperative oratory in the General Assembly and evidence of seeming sloth and ineffectiveness in many of the specialized agencies. Faced with mounting criticism of the UN in particular, and skepticism of multilateralism in general, UNA increased the proportion of its efforts devoted to damage limitation through relatively uncritical defense of multilateral institutions. This posture endeared it to loyal friends of the UN, but also constrained its effectiveness with a wider, less committed audience.

Perhaps the most crucial factor for the UNA was a steady decline in sympathy among UN members for policies of the state of Israel, particularly with respect to Israeli occupation of Arab lands. Criticism of Israel in the General Assembly mounted through the 1970s, culminating in a 1975 resolution that equated Zionism with racism. For some of UNA's most generous supporters who had supported the UN in part because it seemed to promise a world safe for Israel, the situation was now exactly reversed. The UN was now a place where nations could gang up and berate Israel. For these persons, the notion of supporting a UN lobby rapidly lost its appeal.

During the early years of the Reagan administration, criticism of the UN carried considerable political weight and found expression in a flurry of statements and actions from the Congress and the Executive Branch. These included the passage in 1983 of Public Law 98-151, which prohibited U.S. aid to countries whose votes in the UN exhibited a consistent pattern of opposition to U.S. foreign policy; the US Government's decision announced in December 1983 to withdraw from the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO); repeated threats to leave the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD); and the 1984 Kassebaum Amendment, which

stipulated that unless weighted voting were introduced at the UN, the U.S. would reduce its contribution from 25 to 20 percent. In response to this threat, the UN adopted a package of budgetary and administrative reforms including consensus adoption of its budget. The U.S. unilaterally cut its contribution in 1986 and 1987. In late 1988 the administration expressed satisfaction with the changes at the UN and promised to pay the full U.S. assessment and its arrearages, although it has not yet done so.

2. The Changing Intellectual Landscape

The committed constituency has been very important to the UNA over its life course. It has provided devoted chapter members, paying subscribers to UN Day celebrations, and even occasional "angels" willing to pay the bills and cover the deficits of the New York office. It has two drawbacks. First, it has alienated other potential friends who have a more critical stance. And second, it has been aging rapidly and, with few new entrants, declining in numbers.

But while the committed enthusiasts of multilateral institutions have become an endangered species, the critics have multiplied. They fall into two categories. First, there are those who simply reflect a kind of mindless isolationism and xenophobia. They bemoan the loss of "our" Panama Canal and see every international organization as part of "the communist conspiracy" to weaken our resolve to fight for what is rightfully "ours." These critics have been emboldened by some of the exaggerated anti-American rhetoric that has come out of the General Assembly. This is reflected in the Congressional reluctance to approve appropriations for the UN. It may also reflect among certain political circles a kind of displaced racism against the non-white majority in the UN, at a time when overt racism is no longer permissible in domestic U.S. politics.

Second, there has also developed in the U.S. since World War II a body of political thought -- associated in the early years with Hans Morgenthau and Arnold Wolfers and more recently with Henry Kissinger, Samuel Huntington, and Jeane Kirkpatrick -- characterized as Realpolitik. This perspective suggests that U.S. national interests must be accomplished primarily through unilateral assertiveness or collective action with like-minded Western nations. This approach stresses a "hard-eyed" examination of what may advance or detract from U.S. interests. Advocates of Realpolitik view the UN and other international organizations merely as weapons in the arsenal of U.S. foreign policy, not as sacred icons or institutions with value apart from their capacity to advance the national interest.

Just as UNA has tended to side somewhat uneasily with the uncritical advocates of multilateralism, it has historically kept its distance from the hard-headed realists. In recent years it has made some tentative advances to the "other side," such as the appointment of Jeane Kirkpatrick and Henry Kissinger's longtime associate Helmut Sonnenfeldt to the Board of Directors. But the UNA has never agreed to a posture of agnosticism, much less cynicism, as a legitimate starting point for a consideration of multilateralism. In consequence, it has increasingly given up a large body of intellectual terrain, and potential support, to more disinterested groups.

D. The Foundation's Role

The Foundation's posture toward the UN itself during its early years was essentially that of uncritical booster. The UN seemed indubitably calculated to "advance human welfare" and to improve the "conditions for peace" two of the key objectives identified for the Foundation in its founding Charter. Moreover, the two institutions were close neighbors. It is not surprising that one of the Foundation's earliest presidents, Paul G. Hoffman, served as a member of the U.S. delegation to the UN after he left the Foundation, and was

one of the founders in 1956 of the United Nations Special Fund, a forerunner of the United Nations Development Programme. It seemed only appropriate that the Foundation should contribute over \$21 million for construction of the UN Library and the UN School and to improve the working environment. In addition it granted almost \$5 million for early program activities of several specialized agencies.⁹

It was not until 1962 that a note of doubt about the UN crept into program discussions and the Foundation began to wonder how it might assist the UN to "adapt to changing needs and opportunities." That year the Foundation commissioned a substantial report from Lawrence Finkelstein of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, prompted, it seems, both by a sense that the UN was not living up to its potential and early expectations, and by a concern that less temperate criticisms of the institution and charges of irrelevance needed a moderate response.

Finkelstein concluded that the UN remained an extremely valuable institution with many important functions still unexplored, and that the Foundation should be extremely cautious about becoming directly involved with UN problems. Finkelstein recommended that the Foundation should from time to time: assist the UN with program innovations such as support for the enhancement of the UN's own capacity to analyze issues; and support UN-related research by universities and independent think-tanks, such as Brookings.

It is almost a truism that government participation in the United Nations will be strengthened if government decision-making can rest upon a solid base of non-governmental research.... As a general rule, the emphasis should not be on the study of the United Nations as a distinct entity, but rather on the UN as an element in the context of international, political, economic and social relationships and forces.¹⁰

Finkelstein concluded:

The UN can be supported by strengthening the capabilities of national delegations and national governments to participate more effectively in the organization, by strengthening the supporting research and educational capabilities available in the larger

community, both in the United States and abroad, and by strengthening the instruments which have the potential of helping to deepen general public understanding of the relationship of the UN to national concerns and aspirations.¹¹

Joseph Slater, the program officer in the International Affairs office responsible for UN matters from 1957 to 1967, reflected in his oral history on the Foundation's concern in the early 1960s about "the strengthening of the UN and the UN process." He had the impression that in this area "philanthropy has been particularly weak, as has national policy." The place where foundations could be helpful, he thought, was in the strengthening of "networks." He observed that there were different "sets" of people concerned with different aspects of international affairs.

"There was one set of people concerned with NATO and the Marshall Plan and OECD; there was another set of people dealing with the UN. They were both good communities in a way, but had no relations with each other."

The answer to this problem of communication was "the CED type process of bringing people from different parts of the society together to work on a problem, work responsibly with the government, issue recommendations that have some chance of making an impact, both in an educational sense and in the broadest sense of citizen participation at the leader level of foreign policy."

It is clear from Slater's comments that the Foundation's support for the UNA was intended to encourage policy studies and citizen education. It was assumed that the advocacy performed by the predecessor organization would cease and the chapter responsibilities would either wither or not interfere with the main business of policy analysis. As Slater saw it, the new UNA would bring together otherwise non-intersecting elites and produce consensus policy statements based on solid reasoning and designed both for the guidance of policymakers and the comfort of citizens called upon to support such policies.

To put the UNA in a larger context, the fundamental precepts were that "correct" public policy could be arrived at ineluctably by honest forthright persons who took the time to consult the facts and apply disciplined common sense. The subsequent packaging of the policy conclusions and the dissemination process for citizen education were crucial. The right medium was required to deliver the proper message. The educational justification for support of UNA was repeated in Foundation documents throughout the 1960s. There was no hint that the kind of consensual policy studies conducted by UNA would result either in the identification of a set of alternative policy options, among which choice would have to be made, or that some unexpected policy conclusions would emerge. The purpose described in the 1968 grant request is typical: to "involve influential citizens from many walks of life and communities in reviewing important foreign policy issues; on the grounds not only of promoting a more enlightened public but also for the purpose of encouraging the evaluation of foreign policies outside official governmental channels."¹³ By the late 1960s, Cyrus Vance had emerged as the leader of the policy panels, with Elmore Jackson the key staff person.

A significant extension of the policy panels' conception was introduced in 1969 when "parallel panels" were begun with the UNA-USSR. Whereas the panels to date had been designed to discover and enunciate consensus foreign policy for the American people, parallel panels were to be an exercise in international relations, almost in private diplomacy. The 1969 grant request says "it is hoped that through an exchange of preliminary papers and a series of direct discussions, parallel reports can then be prepared which will diminish differences and propose new areas of common ground that might lead to future cooperation between the Soviet Union and the United States."¹⁴

The other activities of UNA were of little interest to Foundation staff, except to the extent that they seemed to weaken the Association. The schools

program and the services to chapters in particular were seen as overlapping or conflicting with the outputs of the Foreign Policy Association. A revolving fund of \$100,000 was provided in 1968 "to launch ventures that can bring new income."¹⁵ The fund seems shortly to have been consumed without mobilizing new revenues.

By the early 1970s, despite the glowing rhetoric that came from UNA, there was growing unease among Foundation staff even about what the UNA policy panels had accomplished. The 1971 request for grant action reported "persuasive evidence that the statements on China, peace-keeping, and population have contributed significantly to the course of negotiation and policy formation on these matters." At the same time "the evidence of their effects is necessarily difficult to trace, because it operates in the midst of other influences and in the necessarily private processes of the formation of policy views by leading figures in this country, in the United Nations and abroad." Arguments provided for continuing support to UNA were that the UN itself needed help and that this was no time to cut loose anything that looked like a life preserver: "At a time when disillusion with the attainments of the UN and with idealistic approaches to international affairs generally is very high, it seems important that the principal American organizations concerned with the United Nations not be seen as high- but simple-minded."¹⁶

Nevertheless, in the 1970s Foundation support for the UNA became progressively more selective and tightly targeted toward well-defined tasks. Funds were provided to assist UNA to take on the annual publication entitled Issues Before the nth General Assembly of the United Nations, orphaned in 1974 by the program redirection of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace.¹⁷ Although by 1977 it could be reported that "the policy reports do not rank well when measured by scholarly standards (even the background papers

vary greatly in quality)," support was still recommended for individual panels such as one in that year on international disaster relief.¹⁸ But support for the original broad-based Policy Studies Program was abandoned. In 1978 a special grant of \$100,000 was made to help complete the match for a \$2 million reserve fund initiated with a gift from James S. McDonnell, Chair of both McDonnell Douglas and UNA.¹⁹

By the late 1970s, the principal UNA activity assisted by the Foundation was the Soviet-American parallel panels initiated with a Foundation grant in 1969. The staff judgment was that the parallel panels had improved dramatically over the years and deserved continued support into the indefinite future. American academic experts on the USSR had joined the U.S. group, providing briefings and a level of sophistication not evident at the beginning. The Soviets, moreover, had responded with improved delegations which had become steadily more substantive, forthcoming and flexible, involving higher-level Soviet panelists from a wider range of government and Party institutions and minimizing purely propagandistic exchanges. From the mid-1970s on, the parallel panels shifted from environmental and UN-related subjects to a wide range of arms control and international economic subjects, thus mirroring the main interests of the elite panel members as well as the evolution in substantive priorities in the Foundation's International Affairs Program.²⁰ In the wake of the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan in 1979, Foundation staff felt that unofficial contacts involving the elite private group of UNA panelists could fill some of the vacuum left by the breakdown of diplomacy. "At a time when governments find it difficult to communicate, private institutions are able to play a special role by insuring that contacts do not atrophy entirely and that the door is left at least lightly ajar between the two societies."²¹ By the 1980s the UNA staff could even claim that, as a result of the continuity and experience made possible by Foundation support, UNA could perform the function of private diplomacy. They cited

examples of arranging "an informal meeting between Central Committee staff members and a top U.S. official responsible for arms control policy" as well as meetings "between Soviet economists and American bankers to discuss the economic difficulties faced by Poland and other Eastern European states with serious debt problems."²²

Clearly by the 1980s, the support provided to the UNA for the Parallel Studies Program had very little to do with the original and distinctive focus of the UNA on multilateralism and multilateral institutions. Indeed, through the parallel panels, the UNA approach had become distinctly bilateral and not multilateral: concerned with relations conducted outside the United Nations and its organs. The UNA program filled a niche in the Foundation's strategy of East-West exchanges, balancing the heavy emphasis on scholarly flows reflected in large grants to the International Research and Exchanges Board and to university-based Soviet and arms control studies center. A request for grant action in 1984 said simply: "We are convinced that UNA's exchange efforts are among the best managed and most productive of all the various exchange activities sponsored by U.S. organizations."²³ But the UNA programs had little if anything to do with the UN and multilateralism.

In the early 1980s the Foundation began to reconsider program opportunities in the field of international organizations and public international law. An important turning point was an international conference of scholars and practitioners convened by the Foundation's International Affairs Program (IAP) in November 1984 to examine the role of private institutions in the promotion of multilateralism. The consensus of that meeting was that the Foundation should renew its commitment to the field. Thus, the IAP initiated a series of grants on international organizations and public international law. In January 1986, the Foundation appointed the retiring UN Under Secretary-General for Special Political Affairs, Brian

Urquhart, as Scholar-in-Residence to reflect on how the UN might be strengthened.

UNA was a major recipient of this renewed grantmaking. Among the several UNA activities assisted by the Foundation, by far the most important has been the UNA's panel on Management and Decision-Making at the UN, established in 1985. Two years later, the panel issued its report entitled A Successor Vision: The United Nations of Tomorrow.²⁴ In 1987, a major follow-up grant provided for outreach through UNA's Multilateral Project through "discussion and media attention in communities throughout the country on U.S. policy toward the United Nations with regard to the principal issues covered by the study: management, global resources, human security, economic development and peace and security."²⁵ Ninety UNA chapters took part in this exercise and contributed to a final document of policy recommendations for the U.S. government. Other grants to UNA included support for three conferences on the policies of the U.S. and other industrialized nations toward the UN and for a blue ribbon panel to reexamine the mission and capabilities of UNESCO.²⁶ Although the Foundation continues to support the US-Soviet Parallel Studies Program, our funds are now specifically earmarked to that program's newly launched series of dialogues on superpower policies toward the UN and multilateralism.

The grants since 1984 have, in fact, been close in spirit to the Foundation's early grants in the 1960s. They supported policy analysis and discussion aimed at improving the effectiveness of the UN, at least in part so that the confidence of the American people in it would remain strong.

In sum, as UNA has sought to define -- and redefine -- for itself productive roles that attract public and financial support, its relationship with Foundation staff have been characterized by a continuing search for common ground upon which to base grant support. The Foundation has from the

beginning been committed to research and public education that would raise the quality and salience of debate about multilateral institutions. UNA, in part because of its continued commitment to its chapters and in part because of the predispositions of its staff, has been more consistently dedicated to mobilizing public support for the United Nations. Differences over the intellectual and analytic quality of some UNA products may well have been a by-product of this difference in perspective.

Beginning in the mid-1980s, a renewed Foundation commitment to international organizations and public international law, reinforced toward the end of the decade by renewed public attention to and interest in multilateral organizations, led staff to urge a refocusing on multilateral issues. This reemphasis on the original focus of UNA, moreover, has given new importance to the unresolved issue of whether UNA should serve to mobilize attention to, or support for, the UN and other multilateral institutions. At the same time, UNA is currently trying to put itself on a firmer financial footing and has sought increased Foundation support to help it reach that goal.

Throughout this quarter century, notwithstanding differing perspectives and emphases, two considerations have kept the Foundation and UNA involved in a continuing relationship. First has been a common commitment to making the United Nations and other international organizations more effective instruments on behalf of world peace and development. Second has been the continuing willingness of men and women of great wisdom, experience, and stature -- individuals such as Cyrus Vance, Elliot Richardson, and Brent Scowcroft, to name only a few -- to commit their time, energy and reputation in working with UNA's professional staff to make it an effective center for promoting knowledge and understanding of international institutions. Given the growing capacity of the UN and other multilateral institutions to be effective as a result of the remarkable recent changes in East-West relations,

this is a natural time for a wide-ranging reevaluation of UNA, and the Foundation's relationship to it.

II. UNA'S Current Structure and Program

In order to gain an understanding of UNA's range of activities, its current structure and programs are outlined below, as restructured in 1987 under three divisions: Policy Analysis and Dialogue, Constituencies and Communications, and Development and Finance.

A. Governance

1. Mission

UNA describes its mission in Article I and II/sec. 1 of its Bylaws of 1983 as follows:

The purpose of the Association is to study and promote the fundamental basis of peace with justice and the machinery necessary for its development. The Association shall carry on educational and informational activities so that the people of the United States of America and their government may participate to the greatest extent practicable in the United Nations and other official international and regional organizations functioning in various fields of international cooperation and law.

UNA also uses the following text published in its 1986 Annual Report to summarize its objectives:

UNA helps to make the UN work. Through policy research, public outreach, and international dialogue, UNA is building a national and international constituency for global cooperation. A non-profit, non-partisan membership organization, UNA 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 is bringing the U.S., the UN, and the global community closer together.

2. Board of Directors

The main responsibility of the Board of Directors is to establish procedures and guidelines for the entire Association and elect the Board of Governors, the National Council, and the President of the Association. The Board of Directors consists of not more than 135 members and meets at least once a year. Members of the Board of Directors are themselves elected for five-year terms at the National Convention, which convenes twice every five years. John C. Whitehead currently serves as Chairman of the Association and of the Board of Directors, having succeeded Elliot L. Richardson in 1989.

3. Board of Governors

The Board of Governors exercises the function of an Executive Committee, Vice Chair, and Treasury. When the Board of Directors is not in session, the Board of Governors assumes full responsibility. The Board of Governors consists of between 19 and 32 members of the Board of Directors, and meets at least three times a year. The Chairman of the Board of Governors is Max Kampelman, who succeeded Ivan Selin in 1989.

4. National Council

Individuals who have distinguished themselves in the service of the Association, the United Nations or U.S. foreign policy may be invited to serve as honorary members of the National Council of the Association. Members are elected by the Board of Directors to serve a maximum five-year term, with total membership not exceeding 100. The National Council is currently co-chaired by Cyrus R. Vance and Elliot L. Richardson.

5. President

The President is chief executive officer of the Association and, by virtue of his office, a member of the Board of Directors and the Board of Governors. His duty is to direct the activities of the Association and to assure execution of its policies and programs, as adopted and announced by the

Board and National Convention. The current President is Edward C. Luck, who has served in that capacity since 1984.

B. Policy Analysis and Dialogue

Chairman, Policy Studies Committee: Robert V. Roosa
Vice President for Policy Studies: Toby Trister Gati

1. Parallel Studies Program

Program Coordinator: Kathryn Wille
Consultant: Mike Mochizuki

UNA conducts a series of high-level policy discussion on various bilateral and some multilateral issues through its Parallel Studies Programs with the Soviet Union, Japan, and the People's Republic of China. The programs collectively provide a forum for former policymakers, business and professional leaders and specialists to meet on a regular basis to discuss political, security and economic issues outside of formal intergovernmental negotiations.

a. The Soviet-American Parallel Studies Program

The Soviet program consists of a series of unofficial high-level meetings between panels organized by UNA-USA and the UNA-USSR. Since its inception in 1969, UNA's Soviet-American Parallel Studies Program has evolved from focusing on the environment, to specific arms control, security and economic issues, to again addressing Soviet and American roles in shaping global trends. The program's mandate was recently expanded to include a new working group on the future of the UN. The U.S. co-chairs are Professor Richard Gardner, Columbia Law School and former U.S. ambassador to Italy, and John Petty, former chair of Marine Midland Bank and now chair of the High Level Review Committee of the Inter-American Development Bank. The Soviet chair is Georgii Arbatov, member of the Central Committee of the CPSU and Director of the Institute of USA and Canada Studies of the Academy of Sciences.

b. The Japanese-American Parallel Studies Program

UNA set up the Japan program in 1974 with the Asia Pacific Association of Japan. The program emphasizes the importance of U.S.-Japanese bilateral relations as well as the growing strategic and economic importance of Asia in U.S. and Japanese foreign policy. Earlier panels have discussed the role of the NICs in the global economy; the political and economic requirements for U.S.-Japanese leadership on international economic policy; current macroeconomic trends and U.S.-Japanese economic policies; and international institutional structures for an interdependent world. The program's most recent project on U.S. and Japanese policies toward the Soviet Union is chaired by McGeorge Bundy, former Special Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs, and Hoshio Okawara, former Japanese ambassador to the United States. The final report of 1988, entitled "Gorbachev's Asian Policy: Refashioning American and Japanese Policy Toward the Soviet Union," was published in spring 1989.

c. The People's Republic of China Parallel Studies Program.

The program with China began in 1984 with the Beijing Institute for International Strategic Studies (BIISS) and UNA-PRC. This program was until recently chaired on the U.S. side by Brent Scowcroft, who, after his appointment as Special Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs, was replaced by John Bierwith, former chair of the Grumman Corporation. The Chinese panel is led by General Chai Chengwen, Deputy Chair of BIISS. The focus is primarily on security, with considerable emphasis on Sino-Soviet relations. Other themes include regional conflict, the Chinese role in multilateral negotiations and in multilateral institutions, and the United Nations' role in the maintenance of peace and security.

d. The Quadrilateral Project

UNA is planning to hold the first session of a new Quadrilateral Project in 1990, bringing together policy specialists from the U.S., Japan, the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of China. UNA considers the Parallel Studies Program a suitable forum for conducting informal discussion among the four powers on events and issues in Asia. The proposed project -- entitled "Asian Security Problems: Opportunities for Reducing Tensions among the Major Powers" to be chaired by Frank A. Carlucci -- will assess the Asian security environment and consider opportunities for developing more constructive relations among all nations in the region. The following themes have been selected:

- 1) General Overview of Security and Stability in Asia: Looking towards the year 2000;
- 2) Arms control and confidence building measures in an Asian context (including a discussion of the European experience and its relevance to Asia);
- 3) Proliferation Risks: the reduction of political and military tensions and ways to strengthen the nuclear nonproliferation regime.

2. Multilateral Studies

Executive Director: Jeffrey Laurenti
Program Administrator: Marilyn Messer

a. The Multilateral Project

The Multilateral Project, established in 1982, is an effort to involve the American public and U.S. and international officials in formulating ideas and recommendations concerning contemporary global problems. UNA annually selects a subject in multilateralism to be analyzed by UNA chapters and local chapters of UNA's affiliated national organizations. UNA produces a briefing book of background information on the subject selected, and outlines policy

choices facing the United States and the world community. As many as ninety UNA and affiliate chapters then organize study panels, hold public meetings, debate policy options and formulate specific recommendations. UNA synthesizes the findings under the direction of an Executive Council and the Multilateral Project Advisory Group, composed of a team of leading U.S. and international experts (listed on page 26). A final consensus report is released each year on UN Day, October 24.

The reports published under the program are as follows:

- 1988 Pulling Together: A Program for America in the UN
- 1987 A Time to Plant: International Cooperation to End Hunger
- 1986 The Next Giant Leap in Space: An Agenda in International Cooperation
- 1984-85 Keeping the Peace in Troubled Times: Recommendations for Multilateral Action
- 1982-83 Nuclear Proliferation: Toward Global Restraint

Appendix to the Multilateral Project

The Executive Council of the Multilateral Project

Chairman: Elliot L. Richardson, Former Chairman of the Association

Members:

- William Miller, Chairman, Council of Chapter and Division Presidents
- Ivan Selin, Member, Board of Directors and Governors
- Matthew Nimetz, Chairman of the Advisory Group, The Multilateral Project
- Helmut Sonnenfeldt, Member, Policy Studies Committee
- Mary Purcell, Chairman of the Conference of UN Representatives
- Cyrus R. Vance, Chairman of the National Council

The Multilateral Project Advisory Group

- Matthew Nimetz, Chairman, Partner, Paul, Weiss, Rifkind, Wharton & Garrison
- Lincoln P. Bloomfield, Professor of Political Science, MIT
- Sybil S. Craig, Past President, Rochester Association for the UN
- Richard N. Gardner, Henry L. Moses Professor of Law and International Organization, Columbia University
- Catherine Gwin, Consultant, The Rockefeller Foundation
- J. Bryan Hehir, Director, Office of International Justice and Peace, U.S. Catholic Conference
- Robert D. Hormats, Vice President for International Corporate Finance, Goldman, Sachs & Company
- Harold K. Jacobson, Professor Political Science and Associate Director, Center for Political Studies, University of Michigan
- James A. Joseph, President and CEO, Council on Foundations
- Frank E. Loy, President, the German Marshall Fund
- Jessica Tuchman Mathews, Vice President and Director of Research, World Resources Institute
- Charles William Maynes, Editor, Foreign Policy
- Donald F. McHenry, Research Professor of Diplomacy and International Affairs, Georgetown University
- William S. Norman, Group Vice President, Market and Business Development, National Railroad Passenger Corporation
- Harvey Picker, Former Dean of International and Public Affairs, Columbia University
- J. Stanley Pottinger, President, Pottinger and Company
- John Gerard Ruggie, Professor, Graduate School of International Relations and Pacific Studies, University of California at San Diego
- Edward G. Sanders, President, International Planning Analysis Center
- Larry N. Stern, President, North Carolina Division, UNA
- William J. van den Heuvel, Partner, Stroock & Stroock & Lavan

b. Management and Decision-Making Project

Project Director: Peter Fromuth

In 1985, UNA launched a two-year research project entitled, "The UN Management and Decision-Making Project," funded by a grant from the Ford Foundation. UNA convened a blue-ribbon international panel of policymakers, diplomats and management experts -- listed on page 28 --to formulate recommendations to improve the effectiveness of the UN. The final report, A Successor Vision: the United Nations of Tomorrow, was issued in late 1987 and figured prominently in discussions on reforming the UN. The Management and Decision-Making Project also generated the following series of research reports:

The U.N. at 40: the Problems and the Opportunities, 1986, by Peter Fromuth.

The U.N. in Profile: How its Resources are Distributed, 1986, by Maurice Bertrand.

Leadership at the United Nations: The Role of the Secretary-General and the Member States, 1986, First Panel Report.

Fairness and Accountability in U.N. Financial Decision-Making, 1986, by Fredrick K. Lister.

Planning, Programming, Budgeting, and Evaluation in the United Nations, 1987, by Maurice Bertrand.

U.N. Personnel Policy Issues, 1987, by Peter Fromuth and Ruth Raymond.

The Role of the United Nations in the Economic and Social Fields, 1987, by Maurice Bertrand.

Improving the Disaster Management Capability of the United Nations, 1988, by Sadruddin Aga Khan.

Appendix to the Management and Decision-Making Project

The International Panel

- Elliot L. Richardson, Chairman, UNA
- Andres Aguilar Mawdsley, Permanent Representative of Venezuela to the UN
- Otto Borch, Danish Ambassador to NATO
- Andrew F. Brimmer, President, Brimmer & Company
- Enrique V. Iglesias, Minister of Foreign Affairs, Uruguay
- Senator Nancy L. Kassebaum
- Prince Sadruddin Aga Khan, Former UN High Commissioner for Refugees
- T.T.B. Koh, Singaporean Ambassador to the United States
- K.B. Lall, Chairman, Indian Council for Research on International Economic Relations
- Jaques Leprette, Former Permanent Representative of France to the UN
- Robert S. McNamara, Former President of the World Bank and Former Secretary of Defense
- Frederic V. Malek, President Marriott Hotels and Resorts
- Olusegun Obasanjo, Former President of Nigeria
- Philip A. Odeen, Regional Managing Partner, Management Consulting Services, Coopers & Lybrand
- Sadako Ogata, Professor, Sophia University, Tokyo
- Paul H. O'Neill, Chairman and CEO, ALCOA
- Olara A. Otunnu, Former Foreign Minister, Uganda
- Mohamed Sahnoun, Algerian Ambassador to the United States
- Salim A. Salim, Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Defense and National Service, United Republic of Tanzania
- Helmut Schmidt, Former Chancellor, Federal Republic of Germany
- Brian Urquhart, Scholar-in-Residence, the Ford Foundation, and former UN Under-Secretary General for Special Political Affairs
- Cyrus R. Vance, Senior Partner, Simpson, Thacher & Bartlett, and former U.S. Secretary of State

c. International Emergency Relief

In 1987, UNA began a two-year project on International Emergency Relief designed to clarify and evaluate aspects of emergency relief and recommend steps to improve media coverage and public understanding. Reports issued in 1988 have focused on public awareness of the renewed crisis in the East African region. The project's final report is due for release in 1989.

d. UNESCO

In 1988, UNA began a project that will examine UNESCO's current mandate, capabilities, and programs. An international panel chaired by former U.S. Senator Robert Stafford is evaluating the organization and will produce a set of guidelines for reform of UNESCO.

e. The Roper Survey

UNA engaged the Roper Organization in 1988 to conduct an in-depth survey of American public perceptions of the United Nations. The results, released in May 1989, demonstrated a strong public endorsement of the UN and its affiliate institutions and overall willingness to strengthen U.S. involvement in international organizations.

f. Disarmament Conference

The UN Under-Secretary General for Disarmament Affairs asked UNA in 1987 to chair three conferences on the UN and disarmament. The first two took place in November 1987 and May 1988, and the third will be held in October 1989.

g. Strategic Defense Conference

In 1986 UNA organized a conference on Strategic Defense: Arms Control, Global Security and Emerging Technology, in Talloires, France.

h. The UN and Western Democracies

In September 1987, the UNA-USA and the UNA-FRG jointly organized a conference on the major Western democracies and their interests in and views on the UN. Participants included policymakers, scholars and journalists from the major Western industrial democracies.

3. The Economic Policy Council

Co-Chairmen:

Henry Kaufman, Managing Director and Member of the Executive Committee, Salomon Brothers, Inc.
Jack Scheinkman, Secretary-Treasurer, Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union, AFL-CIO-CLC

Executive Director: Peter Fromuth

Steering Committee

- Charles F. Barber, Former Chairman, ASARCO, Incorporated
- Henry Kaufman, Managing Director and Member of the Executive Committee, Salomon Brothers, Inc.
- Ray Marshall, Bernard Rapoport Professor of Economics and Public Affairs, University of Texas at Austin
- Jack Sheinkman, Secretary-Treasurer, Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union, AFL-CIO-CLC
- Thomas A. Vanderslice, Chairman, President and CEO, Apollo Computer, Inc.
- Lynn R. Williams, President, United Steelworkers of America, AFL-CIO-CLC

UNA established the Economic Policy Council (EPC) in 1976 to bring together leaders of American business and labor at a time of international economic turbulence. Its mandate is to forge a consensus between labor and management on international economic issues and to encourage the formulation of common responses to emerging economic challenges.

The EPC works closely in its research and policy analysis with the Executive Branch and Congress and holds annual plenary meetings in Washington, D.C. which are regularly attended by the nation's policymakers. In addition, EPC staff are frequently called upon to present their findings before Congressional committees. The Council issues reports containing recommendations and policy options for government, management and labor. These include:

Third World Debt: A Reexamination of Long-Term Management, co-chaired by Anthony Solomon, Chairman, S.G. Warburg USA. and former President of the New York Federal Reserve Bank; and Rodney B. Wagner, Vice Chairman, Credit Policy Committee, Morgan Guaranty Trust Co.

America and the Next Economic Decade: The Need for a National Investment Strategy, co-chaired by Victor Gotbaum, Special Advisor, District Council 37, American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees; and Felix Rohatyn, General partner, Lazard Frères and Co.

U.S. Policy Toward the Newly Industrializing Countries (NICs), 1987, co-chaired by Thornton F. Bradshaw, former Chairman of the Board, RCA; and Robert D. Hormats, Vice President for International Corporate Finance, Goldman Sachs and Company.

Work and Family in the United States: A Policy Initiative, 1986, co-chaired by Alice S. Ilchman, President, Sarah Lawrence College; and John J. Sweeney, International President, Service Employers, International Union, AFL-CIO-CLC.

The Jobs Challenge: Pressures and Possibilities, 1985, co-chaired by John H. Filer, Former Chairman, Aetna Life & Casualty Company; and Douglas A. Fraser, President Emeritus, International Union-United Auto Workers.

The Global Repercussions of U.S. Monetary and Fiscal Policy, 1984, co-chaired by Henry Kaufman, Executive Director, Salomon Brothers Inc.; and Peter B. Kenen, Walker Professor of Economics and International Finance, Princeton University.

The Productivity Problem: U.S. Labor-Management Relations, 1983, co-chaired by Ray Marshall, Bernard Rapoport Professor of Economics and Public Affairs, University of Texas at Austin, and former Secretary of Labor; and Richard F. Schubert, President, American Red Cross.

U.S. Trade and Economic Relations with Japan and Mexico, 1983, co-chaired by Robert S. Ingersoll, Trustee, University of Chicago, and former U.S. Ambassador to Japan; and Lynn R. Williams, President, United Steelworkers of America, AFL-CIO-CLC.

U.S. Policies Toward the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund, 1982, co-chaired by James R. Greene, Dean, School of Business Administration, Monmouth College; and John R. Petty, Chairman and Chief Executive Officer, Marine Midland Banks, Inc.

4. The Washington Office

Executive Director: Steven Dimoff

UNA established an office in Washington in 1972 for the purpose of disseminating information about international organizations to the Executive and Legislative Branches and the non-governmental community. It is staffed by Steven Dimoff and a secretary. According to Dimoff, in 1987 and 1988 the office devoted the bulk of its efforts to providing information to the policy-making community on the issue of U.S. funding of the United Nations. UNA has held a number of programs and conferences under Washington Office auspices, including the ongoing International Issues Speaker Series, which addresses several areas of U. S. policy toward the UN. The office has published a weekly newsletter, Washington Weekly Report since 1974, which

covers in considerable detail current Washington activities relating to multilateralism. The office also arranges visits to the United Nations by delegations of members of Congress.

C. CONSTITUENCIES AND COMMUNICATIONS

Directors: James Olson and John Tessitore

1. Constituencies

Consultant: Peggy Sanford Carlin
 Executive Director for National Programs: James Olson
 Director of Administration for National Programs: Carol Christian

a. Chapters and Divisions

UNA has a national membership of about 20,000 distributed in a network of 165 local chapters and divisions. These units conduct educational and advocacy programs on the United Nations and multilateralism in local communities, implement the Multilateral Project, and coordinate local celebrations of UN Day and Human Rights Day. Twice every five years, UNA holds a national convention of its chapter representatives in order to elect the Board of Directors, discuss subjects requiring citizen action, and hear prominent speakers from the United Nations talk about the organization.

October 24 has been proclaimed National United Nations Day by every United States President since 1947. Each year, the president appoints a National UN Day Chairman. Assisted by a National UN Day Committee, the chairman coordinates a nationwide program with UNA chapters commemorating and drawing public attention to the United Nations.

b. Council of Organizations

UNA also works with the Council of Organizations consisting of 130 national groups which have an interest in, among other things, the United Nations. The two working bodies of the Council of Organizations are the Council of Washington Representatives on the UN (chaired by Alejandro Palacios of the U.S. Committee for UNICEF) and the Conference of UN Representatives in

New York (Chaired by Mary Purcell of the American Association of University Women). UNA and the Council of Organizations convene an annual Washington conference on U.S. policy toward the world body.

c. Youth Programs

Director: James Muldoon

1). Model UN Program

In an effort to involve young people in the study and discussion of multilateral issues, UNA has sponsored since 1978 an annual Model UN Seminar for student leaders and faculty advisors. Representatives from approximately 200 Model UN groups across the country participate. UNA publishes an annual Guide To Delegate Preparation to encourage involvement and assure accurate UN simulation, and Network News, a quarterly newsletter which updates developments in the worldwide Model UN movement.

2). U.S.-Soviet Student Exchange

In 1988, UNA-USA and UNA-USSR began a program of university student meetings to discuss current bilateral issues. The students also have the opportunity to travel and meet with university students and participate in Model UN activities in the host country.

3). Internships

UNA appoints several graduate and undergraduate students each summer to work as interns in its New York headquarters and learn more about multilateral organizations.

4). High School Essay Contest

In 1985, with support from Ambassador Peter H. Dailey, former President of the World Business Council, UNA established an annual essay contest for high school students. Entrants write on a topic selected by UNA relating to the UN and winners receive cash prizes and visits to UN agencies. The fourth annual contest, in 1988, asked students to write a U.S. Presidential address

to the United Nations General Assembly. The winners travelled to Morocco, Egypt and Jamaica to visit UN development projects. The 1988 contest received media coverage including the appearance of the winners on the NBC Today Show.

2. Communications

a. Public Relations

Director: John Tessitore
 Managing Editor: Susan Woolfson
 Production Manager: Maureen Merriman
 Public Affairs Coordinator: Jennifer Metzger

1). Editors' Seminar

Since 1974, UNA has arranged an annual briefing at the United Nations for approximately seventy editors representing newspapers, radio and television from all over the U.S. and abroad. Speakers include senior UN officials and diplomats from the permanent missions to the United Nations.

2). General Work with the Media

UNA responds to requests for information from the media on the United Nations. UNA board and staff members contribute op-ed pieces for national and local newspapers and appear on radio and television programs to discuss the United Nations. UNA and the School of International Affairs at Columbia University are currently planning a "Media and the UN" conference, to be held in conjunction with the Editors' Seminar in September 1989. Leading journalists, editors, diplomats and UN officials will address questions about the interaction between the United Nations and the media.

b. Publications

Director: John Tessitore

UNA publishes the newsletter, Washington Weekly Report; a bimonthly paper, The Interdependent; the annual, Issues Before the nth General Assembly of the United Nations; research reports; fact sheets on the United Nations; books; and its own annual report.

D. Development and Finance

Executive Director: Fred Tamalonis

1. Special Events

Director: Stanley Raisen

Assistant Director: Gloria Klein

UNA holds annual special events for fund-raising and outreach. These include the Inaugural UN Day Ball, held in May-June, in New York City, and the UN Concert and Dinner held in October in Washington, D.C.

2. Finance and Funding

Director: Sherry Polen

For a breakdown of grant-giving foundations for the period 1984-1988, see pages 36-37. For a breakdown of Ford Foundation grants see pages 38-40.

Foundations and aggregate funding for 1984-1988

<u>Foundation</u>	<u>Amount</u>
- Ford Foundation	1,354,654* (See page 40)
- MacArthur Foundation	925,000
- U.S.-Japan Foundation	621,435
- Carnegie Corporation	450,000
- Rockefeller Foundation	436,000
- J.S. McDonnell Foundation	422,202
- Rockefeller Bros. Fund	310,000
- Branta Foundation	304,730
- McDonnell Douglas Foundation	250,000
- Atlantic Richfield Foundation	200,000
- Patrick Gerschel Foundation	200,000
- Arthur Ross Foundation	152,650
- Armand Hammer Foundation	100,000
- General Services Foundation	97,000
- W. Alton Jones Foundation	65,651
- Schmeelk Foundation	50,000
- Asia Foundation	43,875
- German Marshall Fund	37,000
- Xerox Foundation	35,000
- Guide Foundation	35,000
- Smith-Richardson Foundation	30,000
- Sloan Foundation	26,000
- Shell Companies Foundation	25,000
- Kettering Foundation	25,000
- H & E Kaufman Foundation	25,000
- Dover Foundation	25,000
- GTE Foundation	23,000
- AT&T Foundation	21,000
- W.P. Laughlin Trust	20,000
- Harriman Foundation	17,500
- Salomon Foundation	15,000
- Shaw-North Foundation	13,500
- New York Times Foundation	13,000
- Ed Lamb Foundation	12,000
- Ford Motor Co.	10,000
- Mobil Foundation	10,000
- May Store Foundation	10,000
- Weyerhaeuser Foundation	10,000
- UPS Foundation	10,000
- Allied Corp. Foundation	8,500
- Ploughshares Fund	8,000
- American Exp. Foundation	7,500
- Klutznick Foundation	6,000
- Gund Fund	6,000
- Pillsbury Co. Foundation	5,000
- McAshen Trust	5,000
- Archer Daniels Foundation	5,000
- Dailey Family Foundation	5,000

- McGraw Hill Foundation	3,000
- Leo Nevas Family Foundation	2,500
- TRW Foundation	2,500
- Motorola Foundation	2,000
- The Ganlee Fund	1,500
- International Paper Company Foundation	1,000
- NH Char. Trust	1,000
- Hickrill Foundation	1,000
- FM Kirby Foundation	1,000
- Miller Foundation	1,000
- Joselow Foundation	1,000
- Piesces Foundation	1,000

Synopsis of Grants from the Ford Foundation to the UNA, 1966-1989

UNA resulted from the merger in 1964 of the American Association for the United Nations and the United States Committee for the United Nations. The first Foundation grant to UNA was on March 18, 1966 with the provision of \$450,000 over a three-year period for "development and project support" of the emergent UNA. To date, a total of \$3,383,654 through 26 grants has been provided.

<u>Date & #</u>	<u>Amount</u>	<u>Program Officer</u>	<u>Grant #</u>
March '66	450,000	N/A	#66-128
Development and Project support, to increase effectiveness of the new Association's programs, operations, and staff.			
May '68;	400,000	Howard R. Swearer	#66-128A
Development and project support supplement.			
July '69	3,000	W. B. Bader	#69-600
Funding for the first International Model Security Council program for college students from 21 countries.			
Oct. '69	85,000	H.R. Swearer	#70-0073
Funding to undertake a program of parallel studies between the U.S. and the Soviet Union, in cooperation with the UNA-USSR. Topics to include nuclear weapons and arms proliferation, and global environmental concerns.			
Jan. '71	300,000	F.X. Sutton	#71-123
Continued funding for the UNA policy studies program, which strives to develop American thinking on major questions of U.S. foreign policy and the United Nations.			
Oct. '72	175,000	Arthur Cyr	#71-123A
Continued funding of the Policy Studies Program, Supplement 1.			
Aug. '75	16,000	Felice D. Gaer	#75-592
Grant to provide assistance for the research, writing, editing and publishing of <u>Issues Before the 30th General Assembly of the UN</u> , discussing the topics on the agenda of the upcoming special and regular sessions of the Assembly.			
Apr. '77	34,000	Bruce Bushey	#770-0337
Partial support for a policy study panel on international disaster relief operations to review their methods and effectiveness.			
May '77	11,000	F D. Gaer	#775-0422
Partial support of planning phase for a Soviet-American dialogue on economic and arms control problems, to expand upon issues for discussion between Americans and Soviets.			
Jan. '78	50,000	F.D. Gaer	#78-205
Supplement for above.			

Sept. '80	90,000	F.D. Gaer	#78-205A
Supplement for above.			
Dec. '78	100,000	F.X. Sutton/E.C.B. Schoettle	#790-0132
Matching fund (of McDonnell Douglas Corp) to provide long-term capital funding for the Association.			
Sept. '81	25,000	E.C.B. Schoettle	#81-0889
Partial support for a conference series and papers on U.S. participation in multilateral arms control efforts.			
June '83	120,000	Gary G. Sick	#830-0572
Continued partial support for the program of bilateral U.S.-Soviet exchanges, which brings together private American experts with Soviet officials and researchers on a range of topics.			
Aug. '84	150,000	G.Sick	#830-0572A
Supplement to above.			
Feb. '87	150,000	G. Sick	#830-0572B
Supplement to above.			
Dec. '87	300,000	K. Vosskühler/S.J. Heginbotham	#830-0572C
Supplement to above.			
Feb. '84	18,000	Amy S. Vance/T.O. Bayard	#845-0295
Support for an Economic Policy Council panel review of the treatment of work and family life issues in the United States and Europe.			
Apr. '84	32,829	Paul Balaran	#845-0392
Support for a conference jointly sponsored by UNA and the Brookings Institutions on "The United Nations in World Affairs: Options for the United States." Participants to include representatives of the UN, Congress, Administration, foreign policy community and media.			
Feb. '85	49,400	Paul Balaran	#855-0329
A planning grant to enable the UNA to conduct a preparatory study for a project on management and decision-making at the United Nations.			
Aug. '85	10,000	T.O. Bayard	#855-0858
Support for a project on "U.S. Policy Toward the Newly Emerging Industrial Countries" which would address the perspectives of the developing countries and the United States on these trade conflicts and impacts.			
Oct. '85	389,900	P. Balaran/ E.C.B. Schoettle	#860-0030
Grant to enable UNA/Multilateral Studies to undertake a study of management and decision-making at the United Nations. The study would consider issues relating to the missions, purposes and priorities of the UN and issues concerning its performance in fulfilling these tasks.			

Oct. '87 298,625 Balaran/Schoettle #860-0030A
 Support for a program on "United States Priorities for a More Effective United Nations," an educational program on U.S. policy toward the UN that would promote interest in and discussion about the UN and relationship with the United States. Program would build upon the report and recommendations of the management and decision-making study.

Mar. '86 25,900 Balaran/Schoettle #865-0320
 Partial support for a conference in the Federal Republic of Germany on "Making the UN Work: Initiatives for the Industrial Democracies." Representatives from North America, Western Europe and Japan are to discuss ways of coordinating policies for strengthening the United Nations.

July '88 50,000 Paul Balaran #885-0838
 Partial support for a re-examination of the mission of UNESCO. The study would be conducted by an international panel of scientists, educators and academics from around the world, who would consider UNESCO's mandate, structure, and finances and U.S. policy options toward the organization.

Mar. '89 50,000 K. Vosskuhler #895-0373
 This grant would provide partial support for preparatory and follow-up costs for a National Conference on the United States and the UN convened by the Council of Washington Representatives in Washington, D.C.

Total 1966-1989 \$3,383,654

III. How Its Various Constituencies View the UNA

The decision by the UNA in the 1960s to serve many masters makes the task of assessing its overall impact today rather complex. We identified seven constituencies that UNA currently attempts to serve in various ways: business and professional elites; the public and the chapters; the media; universities, colleges and schools; the policy research community; the U.S. government; and the UN and its diplomatic community. In the conduct of this review, we contacted several persons in each constituency. In addition, we consulted the Foundation's grant files which record earlier contacts of various kinds. Although our sampling techniques were not rigorous, we are moderately confident that we have been able to gain a fair understanding of the appreciation felt for UNA and its work in the middle to late 1980s.

1. Business and Professional Elites

UNA was created on the model of the CED, the post-war institution that perhaps more than any other served the northeastern community of business and professional leaders with common-sensical reports on issues of national consequence, drawing on distinguished social scientists using accepted social science techniques to prepare the reports. The CED is credited with helping to build an elite consensus behind Keynesian macroeconomics and global free trade and free investment. The committee was thought to have distilled a consensus Keynesianism that appealed to all "right-thinking" citizens.

It was hoped that UNA would develop a similar consensus behind multilateralism, constraints on the use of force, and acceptance of the rule

of international law. To this end presumably, Cyrus Vance, Elliott Richardson, McGeorge Bundy, Orville Freeman and other American leaders over the years have given their time and their names generously to the policy panels program.

A one-time officer of both UNA and a major firm explained to us that he was convinced that multilateralism was one important way to pursue American interests abroad and that is why he volunteered his time to UNA. He believed that the Reagan administration had unfairly prejudiced the public mind against such institutions as the regional development banks and that the UNA was able to act as a counterweight. He was especially supportive of the chapters, not because he himself or anyone he knew took part in them, but because they gave UNA extra clout in the Washington colloquy. He compared UNA's role among the defenders of multilateralism to that of a development agency providing technical assistance to get a job done.

As the years have gone by, however, a good many elite leaders have found the development of a consensus behind multilateralism less promising and less palatable. They have undoubtedly shared the doubts felt in other parts of American society that multilateralism would in fact bring security, justice and/or respect. Viet Nam, OPEC, the Iranian revolution and America's declining global economic position all seemed to point toward unilateralism, bilateralism or like-minded groupings as more promising courses. Perhaps sensing the sand shifting beneath its feet, the UNA in the 1970s moved toward two alternative programs to replace the CED-style policy panels in service to the business and professional elites: an Economic Policy Council, and bilateral parallel panels, most prominently with the Soviet Union.

The few appraisals we heard of the Economic Policy Council (EPC) suggest that it does a modestly useful job in pointing out to the U.S. business

community the potential gains from multilateral trade and investment, and especially economic relations with the Third World. However, the EPC has never pursued a consistent path of emphasizing multilateralism in its work. The subjects addressed over time include: illegal immigration to the United States; U.S.-Mexican economic relations; and work and family issues in the United States and Europe -- all topics addressed in other policy forums. We heard from some that other organizations -- such as the Business Council for the UN (BCUN) and the Overseas Development Council (ODC) -- are more effective at the same tasks. As one interviewee opined: "ODC comes from the head, the UNA from the heart." At the same time, EPC does not attract the highest level of business leadership, and we did not get the sense that it has a major impact on the topics it addresses.

A corporate executive and former UNA board member acknowledged that the Council often acted independently of the rest of UNA. Often, in the past, it had not even indicated in its announcements and reports that it was a part of UNA. He has to a certain extent been able to bring its work into line with the themes of the organization. When asked whether EPC has some comparative advantage in the international economics field, he responded that EPC "paid for itself."

He said that UNA had not developed a substantial following in the business community, with the result that its finances are always on a weak footing. In contrast, BCUN has forged effective ties with corporations through its programs of dinner meetings for corporate executives with United Nations officials and diplomats. To remedy this deficiency in UNA, he and the Board have decided to open discussions with BCUN on a possible merger of the two organizations. According to him, the union would combine UNA's strength in dealing with the substantive issues and BCUN's legitimacy in the eyes of corporate America.

The parallel panels with the Soviets and the later additions of dialogues with the Chinese and the Japanese, on the other hand, have struck a deeply responsive chord with the business and professional elites. The enthusiasts are of two types. Those who have served in government at senior levels (e.g. Brent Scowcroft, John Tower, Cyrus Vance, Elliot Richardson) seem to enjoy a period on the panels because they feel if not back in harness, at least under light rein. The parallel panels are conducted quite close to the U.S. government, with official briefings before and after. The Soviets have appointed high level delegations, and the former governmental officials on the U.S. side really feel they are making a difference in the final policy resolutions. Those on the panels without U.S. governmental experience have felt exhilaration -- even intoxication -- from the experience, especially as the agenda moved in the 1970s from subjects like UN management and the environment to arms control and international economics. For an American businessman to find himself in Moscow in the company of former Cabinet members discussing world peace with the potential enemy is a heady experience indeed, and one to be treasured. We heard nothing but praise from those involved.

UNA Board and staff point with pride to the evolution of the parallel studies program with the Soviet Union. Now, when the Soviet leadership has adopted a new approach to the United Nations and multilateral institutions in general, it is only UNA that convenes annual meetings with Soviets explicitly on policies toward these organizations. Moreover, a UNA staff person stressed that had it not been for UNA's bilateral discussions on arms control and other topics over the years, UNA could never have attracted individuals such as Scowcroft to issues of multilateralism. It was through UNA that they came to participate in discussions of the United Nations with their Soviet counterparts.

At the same time, Board and staff admitted that UNA's parallel programs with the Chinese and Japanese have been overwhelmingly bilateral in subject

matter. The former Board member explained that the Japan program was an important investment for the future. When Japan becomes ready to focus on multilateral issues, as it clearly will in the not too distant future, UNA will have built up the contacts and experience to be the appropriate U.S. interlocutor. Furthermore, the Japan program pays for itself. He ruled out the idea that UNA aspires to be a significant actor in the crowded world of bilateral U.S.-Japan dialogues. With regard to the China program, he saw it as remaining a minor strand in UNA's work, but said that it did allow UNA to convene a possible quadrilateral meeting of Chinese, Japanese, Soviet and U.S. representatives in early 1990.

More generally, the business elite supporters of UNA dismissed the criticisms customarily lodged against the Association. They claim it is an effective, albeit friendly, critic of the UN. They think the chapters do give it extra clout in Washington and therefore see them to be justified, although not an end in themselves. The only dangers they perceive are that the chapters may be too much of a financial drain and threaten sometimes to give the UNA the aura of the World Federalists. The elite members see Ed Luck as just the right kind of leader: self-effacing, yet effective. One businessman spoke to us eloquently about the "failures of imagination" in U.S. foreign policy and the "crisis of leadership." He saw the UNA as just the right kind of base from which these problems could be addressed in the private sector.

2. The Public and The Chapters

Support for the chapters in the form of publications, speakers, information and advice has always been an important function of the New York headquarters of UNA, although such support has waned in recent years. We spoke with a small sample of chapter executives, which was perhaps biased because they are on the national board.

We gathered that the services provided today are limited in number. All members receive the Interdependent and are encouraged to attend such symbolic

events as UN Day. To the extent that chapters have speaker programs, they seem to depend mainly on local resources. The chapters now use the Great Decisions series of the Foreign Policy Association in their meetings, whereas in earlier years, UNA Headquarters used to provide its own materials. The recently introduced Multilateral Project has been welcomed by the chapters as a successful innovation, since UNA prepares detailed background materials for the participating chapters and produces a final report incorporating the views of the chapters on the subject in question.

In 1987, UNA launched a model program designed to revitalize some targeted chapters and attract new members. If successful, the program would be expanded to other local chapters.

The chapter leaders with whom we talked all value their links with New York, and the national convention held twice every five years, in particular. However there does not seem in any case to be an extended or intense exchange between the center and the periphery. A Board member of UNA criticized the senior staff of UNA for their lack of interest in the chapters. He said that the chapters are still "second class citizens" of UNA. He complained that there is no feedback to the chapters from the parallel studies programs or any of the other policy-related activities carried out by UNA Headquarters staff, except for the multilateral project.

One of the major decisions taken by the UNA Board in 1988 was to stop subsidizing the chapters, which had become a drain on the organization's finances. The Board approved a new fee structure and a new financial relationship between New York and the chapters. As a result, in 1989 it will now cost UNA in New York only \$20,000 a year as opposed to \$200,000 in 1988 to service the chapters. The chapters, which will now be forced to bring in more money for themselves, in the main, have evidently accepted the changes.

Peggy Carlin, as executive vice president responsible for service to the chapters, had displayed an unmistakable personal commitment to the chapters and had spent innumerable hours visiting them all over the United States. With her retirement in 1989, along with the Board decision to discontinue subsidies, it seems likely that services to the chapters will decline even more.

The attitude of Board members to the chapters was mixed. Some saw the chapters as an integral component of UNA that give the organization important legitimacy in Washington. At the same time, it was common to hear about the aging population of UNA's membership and the pressing need to reinvigorate the chapters. All agreed that strengthening the membership would be a long process. Some Board members said that if UNA were to be established today, they would recommend against creating a network of chapters.

3. The Media

The UNA depends heavily on the media to accomplish one of its main objectives, which is to improve the image of the UN in the U.S. government and among the American citizenry at large. The press seems to depend heavily upon UNA both for "the facts" about what is happening in UN institutions (reflecting mistrust of the UN's own information services) and for editorial writing on the subject. Luck is active in assisting newspapers and other media in developing positions on U.S. policy toward the United Nations. As the clipping files put together by UNA's staff attest, Luck has left his imprint on the debate concerning U.S. funding of the United Nations. In addition, he has appeared with increasing regularity on C-Span and public radio. Current data and reporting about the course of events contained in the Washington Weekly Report is helpful to reporters, as well as to friendly

congressmen, and is much appreciated. We heard grateful testimony about the ready availability of Luck and Dimoff for supplementary comment as well.

Luck has noted that UNA needs to improve its use of the media. In 1988, Patrick Gerschell, a member of the UNA Board of Directors, made a special grant to strengthen UNA's public relations and media work.

One interesting insight into UNA was offered by a former newspaper correspondent at the United Nations who observed that it was difficult to describe UNA in newspaper articles because it performs so many roles. As a result, the public does not have a clear grasp of the organization.

4. Universities, Colleges and Schools

UNA penetrates universities, colleges and schools somewhat, but, in our view, misses several important opportunities. It has provided, from time to time, materials and services such as an annual guide and a quarterly newsletter to encourage student involvement in support of the Model UN programs of colleges and schools. Several of the organizations it absorbed in 1964 were concerned principally with the Model UN. However, since the 1960s, this function has been reduced.

One rather small additional link to the academic community has been to a few faculty members who retain a strong personal interest in and commitment to the UN and see the UNA as their advocate. Sometimes these are former UN staff or U.S. diplomats turned academics. In small communities, these academics are often members of UNA chapters, while in New York, Boston, and Washington they are part of the community that surrounds the UNA itself. We interviewed several academics, one of whom has only the highest praise for the Association, emphasizing in particular its role in providing information to Congress and conducting supplementary diplomacy with the Soviets. Others saw the UNA mainly as a vehicle for "vulgarization" and regrets its virtual absence from the serious academic community.

In 1987, a new organization called the Academic Council for United Nations Studies (ACUNS) was established, with Ford Foundation support. Its goals are to promote more effective teaching and broad public understanding of international organizations; to encourage greater scholarly attention to the subject and closer ties between academics and policymakers; and to facilitate access by researchers to the archives of international organizations. It is significant that UNA has no regularized links even with these academics, who are also likely to be enthusiasts, or at least moderate partisans, of the UN. One academic compared UNA to the Atlantic Council, respectable and responsible but so committed to a point of view that it could not be a major point of scholarly involvement.

The lack of communication between UNA and those in the academic world who are concerned with UN and multilateral issues was severely criticized by one leading academic specialist on the UN. He regularly lectures around the country on the United Nations and international institutions, and UNA local chapter members are often in the audience. Yet, UNA Headquarters has never contacted him and he said that he does not even know how one becomes a member or participates in the activities of the organization. When Foundation staff mentioned the most recent UNA project on the United Nations - a study of the potential for reform of UNESCO -- he said that it would have been helpful for him to know of this work since he and several colleagues had contemplated launching a collaborative research effort on UNESCO. Their plans were never realized but he felt that their efforts and those of the UNA could have complemented one another.

He had high praise for two UNA publications - Issues Before the nth General Assembly and the Washington Newsletter. He finds Issues Before the nth General Assembly a useful text for his courses on international organizations. His principal complaint, however, was that UNA does not

aggressively promote the book among faculty members in international relations departments and law schools around the country. He also felt that the newsletter was an excellent introduction to the U.S. policy-making process and believed it should be publicized in universities as a topical adjunct to courses on U.S. foreign policy. In this connection, he recommended that UNA look to the growing body of students taking courses in multilateralism as an important source of new members. UNA should, he argued, actively pursue this constituency and take upon itself the task of assisting it by offering such services as a clearinghouse for information on internships and employment possibilities with international organizations.

In sum, his view was that UNA had potential for services to the academic community but was not seizing even the opportunities that currently exist. He believed UNA could perform valuable services to the academic community by legitimizing the subjects on which the small cadre of academics specializing in multilateralism work and by broadening the academic constituency for these issues. But, he stressed, this would require a genuine desire on UNA's part to collaborate and communicate with the academic community: a desire he has never sensed.

In its research and analyses, moreover, UNA does not address the kinds of theoretical and interpretive questions that interest academics and their advanced students. Nor does it have on the staff or among its usual advisors well-respected, modern social scientists likely to make an impact on an academic audience. It was striking to hear one academic admirer of UNA speak disparagingly of such modern social scientists -- for example the "political economists" in political science who depend heavily on social choice and game theory -- as persons not likely to benefit from UNA nor likely to make any useful contribution to the policy discussions in which UNA takes part.

5. Policy Research Community

With regard to the policy research institutions in Washington and elsewhere, UNA does not loom large, principally because the UNA does not operate a research program in any real sense. It does not see itself as in any way analogous to the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace or to the Brookings Institution, and the feeling is reciprocated.

The one Washington policy research center that engages in debate with UNA is the Heritage Foundation. We interviewed one senior analyst at Heritage whose view of UNA can perhaps be best described as mild contempt. The analyst reported that when Heritage first decided to examine UN affairs, he received little cooperation from UNA. The attitude was, if you are going to be a critic we will not play. He concluded that UNA really did not have the facts and was unwilling to struggle with truly hard questions. Heritage, he says, has never recommended that the U.S. leave the UN, nor even leave UNESCO, but when they even began to discuss a "world without the UN" as a policy exercise, the UNA staff member stopped coming to their meetings. The Heritage analyst acknowledges that Heritage takes a provocative position on the UN, produces material quickly, sometimes makes mistakes, and aims above all at the current policy agenda. Therefore it is only natural that Heritage will face bitter critiques, refutations, and discovery of error. He says many of the critiques of Heritage have been very well done: he spoke admiringly of pieces by Christopher Hitchens in The Nation. But he dismissed UNA as an adversary. He claimed that UNA's responses had been "sophomoric" and full of mistakes; their tone was hysterical and unprofessional; and they misrepresented the Heritage position and thus they could not be taken seriously. Indeed, he claimed the UNA counterattack backfired and strengthened the Heritage position in Congress and the media.

The Heritage Foundation analyst argued that UNA was mainly a lobby in Congress for the Third World position in the UN, in contrast to Heritage,

which was trying to sort out where the long-run U.S. interests lay in policy toward the UN and insisted on looking at all options. He challenged UNA to join Heritage in pointing out that there are serious administrative weaknesses in the UN. In his view, the Management and Decision-Making Project was only a defensive response to Heritage's pressure on a sensitive nerve. Like several senior officials concerned with UN affairs in the Reagan Administration, this analyst believes that constructive criticism should be the UNA's role and indeed would have to be if it were ever to be accepted again as a legitimate intellectual player in the U.S. policy research community.

It is perhaps worth commenting on the seeming anomaly that UNA receives high marks for accuracy and integrity from Executive Branch personnel, Congressional staff and the media while receiving such condemnation for carelessness and superficiality from the Heritage staff. The explanation seems to be that the kind of fact-finding for which UNA is justly applauded concerns such matters as the current state of the funding crisis, when UN-related issues will come to a vote in committee, and other very short-run items on the Washington scene. These are often matters on which UNA can use its often excellent contacts in official circles. The areas in which UNA is charged with ignorance by Heritage more often relate to operational issues, such as the effectiveness of the specialized agencies and modes of financing peace-keeping, that frequently require investigative research of the kind often resisted by some of the official circles that UNA cultivates. UNA also does not engage in wide-ranging analyses of how U.S. interests are and can be served in multilateral institutions.

6. The U.S. Government

Those in government, whether in Congress or the Executive, tend to divide over the value of UNA according to their views of the UN itself. Most advocates of the UN see UNA as doing God's work, performing tasks that

reinforce their activities but that they dare not attempt themselves because of political or bureaucratic restrictions. Others see UNA as, at a minimum, an early warning alert system and intelligence unit that provides friends with reliable data and advice on how to respond to UN-bashers. One senatorial aide said that his senator was largely sympathetic to the United Nations, but the aide didn't have the time or expertise to prepare material in its defense for his boss. He relied heavily on UNA's Washington representative Steve Dimhoff to remain current on UN issues and made extensive use of the weekly Newsletter. Furthermore, the member took his cue from the advice such distinguished statesmen as Elliot Richardson and Cyrus Vance provided.

Another observer in government said that both Secretary Shultz and Ambassador Walters were really "closet UNophiles" and it was only the efforts of UNA, particularly through the Congressional testimony of Elliot Richardson, that enabled them to do what they thought was right in the hostile environment of the Reagan administration. The general picture painted by UN supporters is that the 1970s and most of the 1980s were the worst of times for the UN. In the 1970s, the American people simply switched off and you could not get anyone to pay attention to any discussion of multilateralism. During that period, the UNA fought a losing battle with public apathy or antipathy. Then in the 1980s, the UN had to cope with full-scale -- and to their minds -- unfair attacks from Senator Jesse Helms, Ambassador Jeane Kirkpatrick and the Heritage Foundation. The UNA found itself outgunned but fighting valiantly all the same. Finally, by 1988 the time had come for UNA to go on the offensive for the first time in twenty years. East-West tensions were lessening, opportunities for UN mediation and peacekeeping were breaking out in Afghanistan, the Persian Gulf, Angola, Namibia and elsewhere. Indeed, in recognition of what has become a reinvigorated United Nations, President Reagan requested again full payment of America's assessment.

The UN advocates in government regret that Heritage was able to set the terms of the debate over the past difficult decade and urge that UNA somehow regain the initiative. Unlike members of the business elite, these supporters in government call for a return to the initial conception of consensus-building CED-type panel reports. They have less interest in the parallel panels and indeed urge that bilateral matters be avoided by UNA, on the grounds that they fall outside UNA's mandate and are well done by others. They wish to see UNA try to reach agreed positions in such areas as "Financial Issues relating to the UN" and "Peace Making and Peacekeeping."

For example, one senior official in the Reagan Administration was generally well disposed to UNA but saw the need for basic change in the organization's approach. He said that although there are those in government who are critical or dismissive of UNA because of its stance on the budget issue, he thought that UNA served a useful purpose. Since the United Nations is not a major concern of most Americans, it needs an organization that engages in outreach activities in this country. He said that some of UNA's output is very thoughtful and cited the 1987 final report on the Management and Decision-Making Project as a good example. He noted that the project provided important input to the discussions in Washington on the United Nations' financial and structural problems.

One criticism he had of UNA was that, even when the United Nations occasionally does what he called "disreputable things," UNA still oversells the world body and acts as a cheerleader. He claimed that UNA thus loses credibility and is viewed as a lobbying organization. UNA would have greater credibility and be more effective if it acknowledged that the United Nations has flaws. He said that UNA could perform a valuable service by helping people from local communities meet and discuss their views on the United Nations with their Senators and Representatives. For example, he recommended

that UNA arrange for a delegation of people from Wisconsin to have a policy dialogue with their Senator, Bob Kasten, an extreme critic of the United Nations.

He strongly urged that UNA become a forum for the examination of important policy issues in relation to which the UN could play a constructive role, such as the environment and drugs, and give practitioners and academics the opportunity to analyze them jointly and present general principles and guidelines for UN actions. Finally, he said that UNA would be more effective if it emphasized how U.S. interests are served through the work of the UN and other multilateral organizations.

A UN supporter at the State Department argued for a new role for UNA. It should have as its primary mission the analysis of mid-term issues that will confront the United Nations. Nobody is looking seriously at multilateralism in the 1990s, and UNA could become the source of new thinking in this area.

A high ranking career Foreign Service officer at the U.S. Mission to the United Nations thought the UNA's posture toward the UN should be roughly that of the Japan Society toward Japan -- dignified boosterism, sympathetic interpretation, and, occasionally, a modest question or two in the event of transgression. He also suggested that UNA concentrate its energies on the United Nations and multilateralism and avoid involvement in other issues. Another supporter suggested the UNA was like the "shock troops" of the UN--it was just a shame that there were so few of them.

The role of the UNA as committed advocate, even lobby, was most intensely appreciated on Capitol Hill. One staff member reported that UNA was consistently more effective with his committee than the State Department's own Bureau of International Organization Affairs. Another committee staffer said he had always thought the UNA was an adjunct of the UN! Friendly critics of

UNA's role on the Hill complained that the Association did not seem to be able to get out of a defensive mode. UNA provided accurate corrective data but unlike Heritage, they couldn't throw around big ideas. Two longtime committee staffers said they remembered when UNA was a source of fresh ideas and more active; now they feel it is just a low profile lobby.

One of the staffers attributed UNA's problems not only to the decline of the UN but also to the greying of the membership. He told about going to the Capital area chapter meetings and thinking he had wandered into an old folks home. He thought the Association was caught in a real dilemma: its strong point of view excluded new members, especially younger ones, but if it attempted to broaden its appeal it might lose its *raison d'être*. Moreover, the UNA's symbols appeared outdated and their main leaders and supporters were all retired from public life.

Several Congressional staff suggested that the "UN" in the title of UNA destined it to remain an anachronism. The case for global cooperation had never been stronger, with crises facing the planet in arms control, AIDS, climate change, financial debt, and a host of other problems. But being compelled to think about such multilateral issues exclusively within a UN context was unacceptably confining for most legislators. The ideal condition should be for the UN itself to tell its own story in Washington and leave the UNA (with a different name) to more detached appraisal of multilateral issues.

One former political appointee in the U.S. Mission to the United Nations during the Reagan administration gave his account of the history of UNA and its travails. He described, on the one hand, a postwar American intellectual community fearful that the U.S. would return to isolationism. On the other hand, the UN came into being in the last days of Western imperial power. During the early years neither the Third World nor the Socialist countries had

much real influence at the UN and it was a "playground of the Western alliance." But after this period the UN quickly became an anachronism. Moreover, the decolonization process and the entry of the newly independent states into the UN reduced the U.S. influence there. The rhetoric of the General Assembly was simply a manifestation of the flailing about that went on in the multilateral community. The problem with the UNA was that it (or rather its predecessors) were created to boost knee jerk multilateralism, and when this no longer made any sense, UNA kept right on in this obsolete style. UNA has thus never caught up with the evolution of U.S. foreign policy and the world, and finding a new role for it will be hard.

The same former official thinks that the academic world has been completely derelict and has "failed miserably" in giving guidance both to the UN and to the US about the UN. When he went to the US Mission he combed the literature and found anecdotal accounts that gave some flavor of the institution, but no more. The big question today is how the UN should adapt to its changed environment. This is the question UNA should be addressing. Instead, it takes merely a repetitive, defensive posture. The Management and Decision-Making Project, he thinks, was undertaken defensively and only in response to charges from Heritage. In his opinion, coincidentally, the management report was very poorly done and UNA lost a major opportunity to make a contribution there.

In his view, UNA should get out front for a change. What the UN needs today, he argues, is neither a closed-minded booster (UNA) nor a closed-minded critic (Heritage). The UN does not need a cheerleader or tender loving care, anymore than it needs bitter partisan critics. Rather, it needs an open-minded and constructive adviser. The big middle ground is empty and should be filled by unbiased observers. He thinks few people really

understand the UN, either inside or outside the organization. He found it a political backwater, closest in form to a U.S. State legislature. The few who study it treat it too reverently. The Soviets have a much more sophisticated understanding of the UN than do American observers, in his view.

As a ranking official, he said he would like to have been able to use the UNA as the reflection of American opinion. Instead it was simply a "narrow cadre of people who had fallen into support for the UN and thought it was still 1945." He thought it possible perhaps to reform the UNA and make it useful, but also thought it would not be easy. It would require the development of a skeptical turn of mind and enlistment of those few Americans with real personal knowledge of the organization and sympathy for it who are unwilling just to lead the cheers. "Multilateral diplomacy and international organizations" should be the focus of UNA's attention, with the "United Nations" only a subheading.

7. The UN and Its Diplomatic Community

We talked with several high-ranking UN officials, both U.S. citizens and others, and found them universally ecstatic about UNA and all its works, such as its publications, conferences, and general promotion of multilateralism. For them, the recent years have been taken up largely with the funding crisis and they find that the UNA has been their most effective ally in Washington. They complain (privately, of course) about the hopeless incompetence of the UN's own 800 person, \$80 million per year Department of Public Information (shades of the Heritage Foundation critique!) and say they must depend on a few effective organizers like Luck and Dimoff to mobilize friends in Washington.

IV. Conclusions and Recommendations

Foundation staff believe that a changing international environment is opening up major new opportunities for UNA. The organization retains, moreover, many sources of strength, especially in the quality and dedication of its Directors, Governors, and many of its professional staff. Some of the modes of operation that have evolved in order to sustain UNA during many fallow years for the United Nations and multilateralism in U.S. policy circles, however, seem less well adapted to current realities and opportunities. We would note two, especially, that merit serious review.

First is the widespread perception that UNA is primarily an advocacy group for the United Nations in the U.S. public policy arena. Though UNA staff often argue that they provide objective materials and an open forum for discussion of UN issues, the unmistakable impression of many who view UNA from the outside is that, though highly respectable as an institution, UNA is also highly predictable and uncritical as an advocate for the UN and its agencies.

Second is the undertaking of programs that have little or nothing to do with the United Nations or multilateralism. Though sometimes of excellent quality and supportive of unexceptionable goals for U.S. foreign policy, these efforts are not only costly in terms of staff time and financial resources, but also dilute and blur the public image of UNA as an institution.

In contrast to these modes of operation, Foundation staff would suggest that UNA consider adopting two major objectives that might be used to assess and guide its current and future program activities:

1. That UNA should work to keep policy issues involving the United Nations and multilateralism on the active agenda of the U.S.

policymaking community, providing analytic materials that present policy alternatives and promoting education, discussion and debate among a wide range of foreign policy analysts and decision makers.

2. That UNA should work to raise the awareness of the US public about the importance of the UN and other multilateral organizations, and to promote greater knowledge and sophistication about issues of U.S. policy toward international organizations.

It may be helpful to evaluate services provided to the seven constituencies identified in section IV in the light of these two objectives and to describe the modes of operation that would follow from these principles.

1. Business and Professional Elites

The bilateral programs with the USSR and Japan have grown significantly in recent years in terms of their scope of activities and a China program was added in 1984. All these programs have only a tangential relationship to UNA's central concern with multilateralism. Only one program, the USSR-U.S. parallel studies program, has a component -- newly-initiated in 1988 -- that is explicitly concerned with multilateralism and the UN.

Although these programs are remote from the central mission of the organization, UNA's senior officers devote a great deal of time, effort and travel to them. Thus, even when grants cover all the expenses, the bilateral programs are a significant drain on UNA's managerial talent.

The Economic Policy Council has also sponsored many projects that are unrelated to multilateralism. With its highly diffuse program, EPC also seems to detract from UNA's image and distort the organization's own sense of purpose and direction. Other organizations are engaged in the same lines of work as the parallel studies programs and EPC, often with comparative advantages over UNA deriving from their specialized expertise on a particular policy topic or region. For example, numerous organizations involved in

ongoing policy dialogues with Japan, such as the Japan Society, have far broader contacts in Japan and much greater in-house expertise relevant to such dialogues than does UNA.

Thus, the two guiding program principles suggested above would seem to point to the phasing out of current bilateral programs that do not focus centrally on the UN or multilateralism. EPC would also be wound down and the structure disbanded, consistent with existing commitments. It would be important, however, to do everything possible, as that process takes place, to engage those who have actively participated in these programs in new UNA activities.

2. The Public and the Chapters

UNA is active in public education and maintains a structure of local chapters. Neither the chapters nor the small numbers of committed members who sustain them, however, seem to be effective voices on UN issues in U.S. policymaking circles. A related source of concern is that many chapters, in order to retain interest and membership, have expanded the substance of their activities to a broad range of foreign policy issues, many of them peripheral to the UN and multilateralism.

Clearly, many U.S. citizens are not very interested in multilateral issues and/or the UN. But certainly hundreds of thousands, and possibly millions, are. UNA's attempt to revitalize the local chapters and attract new members through its model chapter program is painstakingly slow and, in the meantime, a much broader community interested in multilateralism is not being served by UNA.

We would recommend that UNA adopt a three-pronged approach to public education and outreach. First, UNA should continue its chapter revitalization efforts, perhaps setting a long-term goal of having up to fifty strong chapters nation-wide in five years. It should also integrate these chapters

into its other activities particularly its work with the policy community in Washington.

Second, UNA should try to stimulate greater interest in the UN and multilateral affairs among grass roots organizations not specifically concerned with the world body but involved with subjects that fall squarely within the purview of the UN, such as the environment.

Finally, UNA should focus its public outreach and education efforts on producing and distributing balanced information and policy analysis on UN and multilateral-related issues. The Overseas Development Council (ODC) has demonstrated how this approach can be made to work. ODC reaches millions of people on the subject of U.S. relations with the developing world through short pamphlets for distribution to interested national organizations, such as the Methodist Church Women (several million strong), the AFL-CIO, and associations of chambers of commerce. ODC also uses radio and tv spots and a host of other devices that UNA could profitably emulate. The success of such outreach, of course, depends substantially on the character and quality of what is to be transmitted. Material that smacks of single issue stridency or advocacy would not travel well to the larger public. But succinct, balanced and authoritative discussions of current multilateral issues or U.S. policies toward the UN would appeal to a broad public, and would stimulate broader attention among U.S. policymakers to the multilateral agenda. The outreach would also enhance the visibility and reputation of UNA, thereby reinforcing its chapter-building activities and strengthening its other efforts and programs.

3. The Media

Though the UNA collects data of various kinds about the UN and U.S. policies toward it, independent media use of UNA data and materials appears limited. Journalists consult UNA for certain data, such as the amount owed by

the U.S. to the UN, and the UNA is seen as a better source for such data than the U.S. government or the UN itself. UNA is less regularly consulted on policy matters, however, because of the perception that it would present only one side of the story. The need for a resource on multilateral policy issues for the media is clearly apparent, but UNA cannot effectively play that role now because it detracts from its own credibility by the predictability of its approach.

We would suggest that UNA distance itself sufficiently from the UN to build a reputation as an institution that knowledgeably describes and analyzes that organization, and other multilateral institutions, "warts and all." It should no longer hold its annual briefings for the press at UN headquarters or convene conferences on behalf of the UN. By eliminating activities that reinforce the notion that UNA is an extension of the UN, and by displaying an openmindedness and independence of viewpoint in its policy analyses and writing, UNA could become a credible and important resource on U.S. policy toward the UN and on multilateralism more generally. It could then, with added resources, expand the services offered to the press and thereby improve the quality and quantity of U.S. press coverage of such issues. A grant recently made to UNA by one of its Board members to improve its outreach and public relations may well be helpful in this regard, and we applaud this initiative.

4. Universities, Colleges and Schools

Of the various constituencies of UNA, perhaps scholars of the UN and multilateralism feel most remote from and neglected by the organization. For some, the advocacy role of UNA undermines its perceived relevance to academic inquiry; for others, UNA seems uninterested in the analytic questions and research that underlie effective teaching and writing necessary to educate new generations of students about current multilateral realities.

UNA can make a contribution to the related fields of international law and international organizations, which have seen in the past few years a resurgence of interest on the part of both political science/international relations specialists and legal scholars. Organizations such as the Institute for International Economics, (Washington, D.C.) and the International Institute for Strategic Studies, (London), provide useful models for how UNA might serve as a valuable and influential point of contact between scholars and policymakers. Both institutions provide contexts in which the analytical approaches of the scholar are suggested in return for the practitioner's information on policy agendas and data about the real world. We think UNA should be able to perform this role for the study of multilateral issues and international institutions, particularly the UN.

We would recommend that UNA consider appointing a director of research and policy analysis with both a strong academic background and policy experience, part of whose mandate would be to maintain contact with the academic community and to arrange for the production and appropriate dissemination of written output on multilateral issues. An advisory council for research and policy studies composed of talented scholars and policymakers concerned with multilateral issues, building perhaps on the existing Advisory Council to the Multilateral Project, could usefully be named to establish priorities for inquiries, discussions and publications. It could assure quality control and contacts in the intellectual community that would be necessary to the fulfillment of the new function. Such a body would complement the existing governing boards.

Finally, we would recommend that UNA, in making future appointments to its board, consider appointing a representative of the Academic Council on the United Nations as an ex-officio member, and add senior academic figures in legal and international relations scholarship. Michael Riesmann and Henry Koh of Yale Law School, Abram Chayes of Harvard Law School and Thomas Franck of

NYU Law School are obvious candidates in the former category; as are John Ruggie of the University of California at San Diego and Robert Keohane of Harvard University in the latter.

5. The Policy Research Community

UNA has played a useful role for policy-minded activists who support the UN, and especially for those who strongly oppose efforts to use partial non-payment of U.S. assessments as leverage to force procedural and budgetary changes in the UN and its agencies. UNA has assisted these persons to make presentations before the Department of State, Congress and other parts of the government. UNA staff join in the Washington representations, write op ed pieces about the UN, hold press briefings, and in other ways try to explain, justify, clarify, and often defend the UN and its performance. However, no other specialized foreign policy institute or policy research organization is analyzing major multilateral issues and the role of international institutions therein, for the broader policy community. Indeed, most of the specialized policy research organizations have avoided the multilateral field, though some now seem more open to such work, particularly on the environment.

We believe that UNA could move into this vacuum. Multilateral policy issues need to be brought forcefully to the attention of the policy community. UNA could help to do so directly through its own policy analyses and through defining a challenging research agenda on multilateral issues that would catch the attention of organizations such as Brookings, the Center for Strategic and International Studies, RAND and the Council on Foreign Relations. Over time, through independent analyses and collaborative ventures with other policy research organizations, UNA could establish itself as a leading source of influential analysis on a broad range of multilateral policy issues.

6. The U.S. Government

Among supporters of the UN in the Executive Branch and Congress, UNA is seen as a valuable source of current intelligence on what is happening at the United Nations, especially with respect to funding and reform issues. Its visibility and impact seem to be minimal, however, among the broader range of foreign policy officials who view the UN and its associated agencies more dispassionately. UNA could, however, play a broader role for this wider policy community. Many specialized private organizations concerned with other aspects of foreign policy provide an important service by raising the importance of "their" issues, and by providing informed analyses of policy alternatives to various parts of the U.S. government. ODC does this on development; the African-American Institute and the Center for Strategic and International Studies do it on Africa; Brookings does it on the Middle East, etc. No organization does it for the multilateral agenda.

This approach to working with the U.S. government would suggest that UNA expand its Washington office into a major point of contact with the Washington policy analysis community on multilateral issues. Possibly the Carnegie Endowment might provide a temporary home for such activities.

7. The UN and its Diplomatic Community

Because UNA performs some functions directly for the UN, the two organizations are not clearly distinguishable in the eyes of many. Indeed, even in UNA's eyes the distinction seems sometimes to be blurred. We recommend that UNA consider the need to stop performing functions for the UN that in any way compromise the perception that UNA is an independent organization with an independent approach to multilateral issues. UNA should limit itself to programs that promote attention to, information about, and debate on issues relating to the UN. UNA would have to work hard to interpret this reorientation to its many friends in the UN community and to engage them

actively in its new programs. It could valuably draw on and support those friends by facilitating their access to those who are engaged in U.S. public policy debates on multilateral issues. It could also make effective use of its excellent contacts within the UN community to assure that capable and effective voices represent the UN's interests and concerns in public debates and discussion about the UN throughout the United States.

PERSONS CONSULTED DURING EVALUATION OF UNA-USA

YARASHI AKASHI	Undersecretary-General, United Nations Department for Disarmament Affairs.
JIM BOND	Minority leader, Senate Appropriations Committee. Professional staff member for Foreign Operations with Senator Robert Kasten.
SAMUEL BROOKFIELD	President, Business Council for the United Nations
WARREN CAIN	Clerk, Senate Appropriations Committee. Subcommittee on Commerce, Justice and State.
PEGGY CARLIN	Consultant, ex-Senior Vice President, UNA.
STEVEN DIMOFF	Executive Director, Washington D.C. Office, UNA.
JAMES FAIRCHILD	Minority Staff assistant, House Committee on Appropriations for Rep. Silvio Conte (R-MA).
AMBASSADOR SEYMOUR MAXWELL FINGER	Director Emeritus, Ralph Bunche Institute. Professor Emeritus of Political Science, City University of New York.
ROBERT FINLEY	Deputy Chief of Staff, House Foreign Affairs Committee for Rep. Dante Fascell (D-FL). Former Staff leader, Subcommittee on International Operations and Human Rights/International Organizations.
THOMAS FRANCK	Professor of Law, New York University Law School.
PETER FROMUTH	Executive Director, Economic Policy Council, UNA.
MARGARET GALEY	Staff consultant, House Foreign Affairs Committee.

RICHARD GARDNER	Henry L. Moses Professor of Law and International Organization, Columbia University School of Law. Former U.S. Ambassador to Italy.
TOBY T. GATI	Vice-President of Policy Studies, UNA.
PATRICK GERSCHELL	Board of Governors - UNA. President, Gerschell & Company.
FRAN GOODWIN	Legislative Assistant to Senator Nancy Kassebaum (R-KA).
RUTH J. HINERFELD	Vice-Chairperson, UNA. Former President, League of Women Voters.
ROBERT IMMERMANN	Minister Councillor, U.S. Mission to the UN
JEFFREY LAURENTI	Executive Director of the Multilateral Project, Management and Decision-making Project, UNA.
AMBASSADOR JAMES LEONARD	Former President, UNA. Chairman of Board, Center for National Security. Former Assistant Director, U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency. Former Deputy U.S. Permanent Representative to the UN
AMBASSADOR CHARLES LIECHTENSTEIN	Fellow, Heritage Foundation. Former Deputy U.S. Permanent Representative to the UN
DAVID LONIE	Minority Staff Consultant, Sub-committee, Human Rights and International Organizations for Rep. G.B.H. Solomon (R-NY).
EDWARD C. LUCK	President, UNA.
WILLIAM R. MILLER	Member, Board of Governors, UNA. President, Kentucky Division, UNA. Vice Chairman, Bristol Myers.
JAMES P. MULDOON	Director, Model UN and Youth Programs, UNA.
AMBASSADOR HERBERT S. OKUN	U.S. Deputy Permanent Representative of the US to the UN

JAMES M. OLSON	National Field Director for national membership, UNA.
ALEX PALLACIOS	Chair, Council of Washington Representatives on the UN Washington Representative, US Committee for UNICEF.
JOHN PETTY	UNA - Treasurer, Board of Governors. Chair, High Level Review Committee of the Inter-American Development Bank. Former Chairman of Marine Midland Bank.
EVELYN M. PICKARTS	Board of Governors, UNA.
JULIANA PILON	Director, "UN Project," Heritage Foundation.
JOSEPH REED	White House Chief of Protocol. Former UN Undersecretary General for General Assembly and Political Affairs
ANDREW RICE	Senior Consultant, Council of Washington Representatives on the UN
ELLIOT L. RICHARDSON	Ex-Chairman of Association, UNA. Partner, Milbank, Tweed, Hadly & McCloy (Washington, D.C.).
RICHARD J. SCHMEELK	Vice-Chairman - UNA. Senior Partner, The Wyvern Partners, Inc.
ELAINE SCIOLINO	Chief of Washington Bureau, <u>New York Times</u> . Former <u>New York Times</u> correspondent at the UN
IVAN SELIN	Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense, former Chairman of the Board, American Management Systems. Member, Board of Directors and Governors, UNA
JOHN SHANK	Minority Professional Staff Member, Senate Appropriations Committee, Subcommittee on Commerce, Justice and State for Sen. Warren Rudman (R-NH).

HELMUT SONNENFELDT

Board of Governors - UNA. Guest Scholar in Foreign Policy, The Brookings Institute.

SUSAN SUBAK

Ford Foundation summer intern, 1988.

FRED TAMALONIS

Director of Development, Finance and Administration, UNA.

JOHN TESSITORE

Director of Communications, Publications and Media, UNA.

WILLIAM J. VAN DEN HEUVEL

Board of Governors, UNA. Consultant, Allen & Co. President, Franklin & Eleanor Roosevelt Institute. Counsel, Stroock, Stroock & Lavan. Former US Ambassador to UN organizations, Geneva.

CYRUS R. VANCE

Chairman of the National Council, UNA. Partner, Simpson, Thacher & Bartlett. Former US Secretary of State.

SANDRA VOGELSGANG

Deputy Assistant Secretary for International Organizations, US Department of State.

TRINA VARGO

Legislative Assistant to Senator Edward Kennedy (D-MA).

JOHN WASHBURN

Director of Representation Unit, UN Secretariat.

RICHARD WILLIAMSON

Former US Assistant Secretary of State for International Organizations.

Footnotes

1. Recommendation for Grant Action, International Affairs, United Nations Association of the United States of America, Development and Project Support. PA 66-128.
2. Ibid., p.2.
3. Ibid., p.3.
4. Letter/memorandum to McGeorge Bundy, from Robert S. Benjamin, November 29, 1967, p.1-2. PA 66-128.
5. Ibid., p.4.
6. Ibid., pp. 5-9.
7. "Grant Request," attached to Benjamin to Bundy, November 29, 1967, pp. 12, 13, 20, 20-29, and 44-68. PA 66-128.7.
See for example, James M. Hyde, Memorandum for Mr. Joseph E. Slater,
8. "Re: United Nations Association Proposal for 5-year Development Program and Revolving Fund -- \$3.4 million," December 8, 1967; and David Finkelstein to Mr. Slater, "UNA-USA Proposal. Draft of October 31, 1967, November 30, 1963, PA 66-128. Howard Swearer, program officer and later in charge of the International Affairs Program, worried in 1967 that its very name would constrain UNA from conducting valuable analysis "from observations on the campus, the more hard-headed and better students of international relations do not take easily to U.N.-labelled activities. This may be regrettable but it is a fact." Memorandum to F.X. Sutton from H.R. Swearer, "UNA Proposal and Jim Hyde's Appraisal," January 9, 1968. PA 66-128.
9. See Arthur Cyr to Craufurd D. Goodwin, "The Ford Foundation and the UN," May 15, 1972.
10. Lawrence S. Finkelstein, "Report of Inquiry into ways the Ford Foundation can appropriately assist the United Nations' adaptation to changing needs and opportunities," August 31, 1962, pp. 46 and 47. Report #010734.
11. Ibid., p.9.
12. "Joseph Slater, Oral History Transcript," pp. 51-53.
13. Request for grant action, United Nations Association of the United States of America, Inc. \$400,000, May 10, 1968, p.4. PA 66-128A.
14. Request for grant action, United Nations Association of the United States of America, Inc. \$85,000, October 6, 1969 p.4. PA 70-0073.
15. R.G.A. PA 66-128A, p.5.
16. Request for grant action, United Nations Association of the United States of America, \$300,000, January 18, 1971, pp. 4, 9. PA 710-0123.

17. Support began with grant 750-0592, for \$16,000, discussed in request for grant action dated August 25, 1975.
18. Request for grant action, United Nations Association of United States of America, \$35,000, April 19, 1977, p. 5. PA770-0337.
19. Grant 790-0132.
20. See discussions in requests for grant action 780-0205, \$50,000 to the United Nations Association of the United States of America, January 31, 1978; 78-0205A, \$90,000, September 25, 1980; and 830-0572, \$120,000, June 23, 1983.
21. Request for grant action, United Nations Association of the United States, \$150,000, August 30, 1984, p. 3. PA 830-0572A.
22. Request for grant action, United Nations Association of the United States, \$120,000, June 23, 1983, p.6. PA 830-0572.
23. Request for grant action, United Nations Association of the United States, \$150,000, August 30, 1984, p. 9
24. Grants 855-0329, \$49,000, and 860-0030, \$389,900.
25. Request for grant action, United Nations Association of the United States, \$298,625, October 8, 1987, p. 2. PA 86-30A.
26. Grants 845-0392, \$32,829; 845-0295, \$18,000; 855-0858, \$10,000; and 865-0320, \$25,900.

UNA-USA

December 28, 1993
14 Tevet 5754

Neen Hunt, Executive Vice President
United Nations Association of the USA
485 Fifth Avenue
New York, NY 10017-6104

Dear Neen:

In response to your recent letter in behalf of the UNA-USA, I am pleased to enclose a check for \$100.00, my 1993 contribution towards the superb work undertaken by this fine organization.

With every good wish for health, happiness and peace in the coming New Year, I am

Sincerely,

Alexander M. Schindler

Encl.

December 23, 1993
9 Tevet 5754

From: Edie Miller

To: Paul Rockfeld

Pleas let me have a check for \$100. from Rabbi Schindler's
Discretionary Fund for the United Nations Association of
the USA. Send check to me for transmittal.

Thanks.



UNITED NATIONS ASSOCIATION OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

485 FIFTH AVENUE, NEW YORK, N.Y. 10017-6104 PHONE 212 697-3232 FAX 212 682-9185 CABLE UNASMER

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

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Richard S. Williamson

Executive Vice President
Chief Operating Officer
Neen Hunt

Executive Director,
Washington Office
Steven A. Dimoff

December 17, 1993

*Send \$1000
from
Discretion*

Dear Friend:

A few weeks ago UNA-USA's Annual Giving Fund Chair, Elliot Richardson, wrote to you to thank you for your 1992 gift and to ask for your invaluable assistance today, as we come to the close of calendar and fiscal year 1993. As you know, our Association takes pride in its independence, and is not supported by the U.N. or the U.S. government. Rather, we rely on the support of our members for a substantial part of our operating expenses.

Many of your fellow members have already responded to Ambassador Richardson's appeal--matching and even exceeding their gift of last year. Might we ask that you too consider such a tax-deductable gift at this time. It's not too late, for us or for you.

Finally, in the event that this letter and your check have crossed in the mail, please excuse our reminder, and accept our most sincere thanks for your very important support.

On behalf of Ambassador Richardson and all the leadership and staff of UNA-USA, please accept our best wishes for a joyous and peaceful holiday season.

Sincerely,

Neen Hunt
Executive Vice President

UNA USA

November 23, 1992

From: Edie Miller

To: Fred Cohen

Please let me have a check for \$100. from the contingency line, payable to the United Nations Association of the USA. Let me have the check for transmittal.

Many thanks.

A handwritten signature, likely of Edie Miller, consisting of a large, stylized capital 'E' followed by a smaller capital 'M' and a long, sweeping horizontal line extending to the right.



UNITED NATIONS ASSOCIATION
OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

JOHN C. WHITEHEAD
CHAIRMAN

*Sent \$100 -
contingency -*

November 19, 1992

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

Dear Alex:

I was sorry to learn that you have felt the need to step down from our Board, but I can well appreciate your reasons. Your service to the Association has meant a great deal to us and we will continue to think of you as a key member of the UNA family.

As you can well appreciate, this is a very special time in history. Never before has the UN or UNA been presented with such important opportunities. Our task is to see to it that the UN and the new US administration act in a way to fulfill the promise of the post-Cold War era.

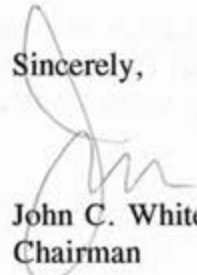
At UNA we are making a difference where and when it matters most. I am enclosing a paper highlighting some of our specific legislative accomplishments during the 102nd Congress. I think that you will agree that it is an impressive record by any standard.

But you will also appreciate as a Governor that sustaining this momentum will require accelerating the flow of unrestricted income into the Association. Every financial discussion we've had leads to this central conclusion. The first responsibility for making this happen lies with us, the top leaders of UNA.

Your support is critical to our continued success, so please give as generously as possible to our Annual Giving Fund. A year-end gift would make a dramatic difference and would be greatly appreciated.

With all best wishes,

Sincerely,


John C. Whitehead
Chairman



United Nations Association of the United States of America
485 Fifth Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10017 (212) 697-3232

October 21, 1992

UNA-USA LEGISLATIVE ACCOMPLISHMENTS DURING 102ND CONGRESS

Over the past two years the United Nations Association (UNA-USA) has compiled a remarkable track record on Capitol Hill. As the seven highlights noted below make clear, UNA-USA is making sure that the voices of its 31,000 members are heard in the nation's capital. With a growing range of programs to involve the nation's lawmakers, UNA-USA is redoubling its efforts to bring the United Nations, U.S. policymakers, and the American people together to strengthen the United Nations and the U.S. role in it.

1) Revision of the Kassebaum amendment to permit full funding of U.S. obligations to the United Nations system:

UNA-USA Chair John C. Whitehead met with Sen. Nancy Kassebaum (R-KA) in April 1991 to discuss the revision of legislation that had previously limited U.S. assessed contributions to the U.N. system. This resulted in our support for legislation that permits full funding of U.S.-U.N. assessments for the first time since 1986. The language was included in the Foreign Relations Authorization Act for Fiscal Years 1992 and 1993 (Public Law 102-138).

2) Funding of U.S. contributions to U.N. peacekeeping through the Department of Defense (DOD):

Prior to adjournment in early October, Congress, with UNA-USA encouragement, approved legislation that enables the U.S. to provide up to \$300 million in DOD funds, supplies, or equipment for unanticipated U.N. peacekeeping obligations in FY 1993. This precedent-setting legislation followed an on-the-record endorsement by UNA-USA National Council Co-Chair Cyrus Vance of legislation, co-sponsored by Senators Paul Simon (D-IL) and Warren Rudman (R-NH), that would shift U.S. contributions to U.N. peacekeeping from the Department of State to the Department of Defense. The Simon-Rudman legislation will be introduced at the outset of the 103rd Congress in early 1993.

3) Passage of increased levels of financial support for U.S. voluntary contributions to the United Nations:

UNA-USA testified before the House Foreign Affairs Committee in February 1991 on the importance of increased U.S. financial support of United Nations voluntary programs, including the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF), the U.N. Development Programme (UNDP), and the UN Environment Programme (UNEP). In the aftermath of the Persian Gulf War, UNA-USA voiced opposition to executive branch efforts to reduce U.S.-U.N. voluntary contributions by 12 percent in FY 1992. Our efforts resulted in substantial increases in funding levels for these programs in both FY 1992 and 1993.

4) United States ratification of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR):

UNA-USA played a leading role, along with other nationally-based NGOs, in the April 1992 Senate decision to approve U.S. accession to the Covenant on Civil and Political Rights. Both UNA-USA Board of Governors Chair Max M. Kampelman and Association Chair John C. Whitehead wrote to members of the Senate urging support for the treaty, while UNA-USA constituencies were provided with briefing materials to inform their senators of public support for U.S. ratification of the treaty. The U.S. became the 109th country to ratify the treaty in June 1992.

5) Focusing national attention on the legal and institutional issues to be considered by the 1992 United Nations Conference on Environment and Development (UNCED):

In conjunction with followup on the 1990 Global Policy Project, "Uniting Nations for the Earth," UNA-USA National Council Co-Chair Elliot L. Richardson and the project's National Advisory Committee Chair Edmund S. Muskie presented testimony on UNA-USA's recommendations on UNCED to the House Foreign Affairs Committee in July 1991. UNA's Washington office staff served in an observer capacity on the U.S. delegation to the final Preparatory Conference dealing with institutional issues, and also drafted portions of the International Environmental Leadership Act, which passed the House of Representatives in early October.

6) Encouragement of continuing congressional oversight of United States policy toward the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO):

UNA-USA has been instrumental in encouraging U.S. policymakers continually to review progress in reforming UNESCO. Following issuance of its panel's report on UNESCO in November 1989, UNA-USA worked with the Senate Foreign Relations Committee to require a U.S. government report on the status of UNESCO's reforms. The language requiring such a report was included in the Foreign Relations Authorization Act for Fiscal Years 1992 and 1993 (Public Law 102-138), and the report was issued by the Secretary of State on July 24, 1992.

7) Favorable Senate Foreign Relations Committee consideration for enhanced U.S. involvement in U.N. collective security arrangements:

Leaders of this year's UNA-USA Global Policy Project on collective security were key witnesses at a recent hearing to consider U.S. participation in U.N. collective security arrangements. Advisory Committee Chair R. James Woolsey and panel member Admiral Leon A. Edney (Ret.) commented on Senator Joseph Biden's (D-DE) resolution (S.J.Res. 325) to encourage the U.S. to designate American armed forces that could enforce Security Council decisions under Article 43 of the United Nations Charter. The resolution was favorably considered by the Senate Foreign Relations Committee in late September and will likely be reintroduced next year.



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March 1991

INTERNATIONAL LEGAL ISSUES ARISING FROM THE GULF WAR AND THE ROLE OF THE UNITED NATIONS*

1. Prosecution of War Crimes

In his address before Congress on March 5, 1991, President Bush promised: "For all that Saddam has done to his own people, to the Kuwaitis, and to the entire world--Saddam and those around him are accountable." It remains to be determined not only how individuals will be brought to justice, but also how the Iraqi government can be charged with violations of international law.

The U.N. Security Council did not incorporate in Resolution 686 any authorization or direction that a war crimes tribunal be established to consider allegations of misconduct by Iraqi officials and soldiers. Resolution 670 establishes the liability of the Iraqi government and of individuals for grave breaches of Geneva Convention IV of 1949 (Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War). At this early stage of the post-Gulf War period, the absence of a Council decision on the prosecution of individuals is not surprising. The question of an international war crimes tribunal can be addressed by the Council in the coming weeks and months as the evidence of war crimes is obtained and analyzed and as alleged war criminals are identified and personal jurisdiction over them obtained.

Nor has there been any reported decision by the coalition governments establishing how prosecution of alleged Iraqi war criminals might be undertaken--by an international war crimes tribunal, a coalition war crimes tribunal, or by the national courts or military tribunals of individual coalition governments (particularly Kuwait and Saudi Arabia). Further, Iraqi POWs continue to be screened to attempt to identify suspects. Therefore, it remains uncertain how many alleged war criminals are in the custody of coalition authorities.

*Copyright 1991 by the United Nations Association of the U.S.A. Prepared by David J. Scheffer, Senior Associate, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. For further information, see "The United Nations in the Gulf Crisis and Options for U.S. Policy", Occasional Paper No. 1, United Nations Association of the U.S.A., October 1990, and "Roles for the United Nations After the Gulf War," Occasional Paper No. 3, United Nations Association of the U.S.A., February 1991.

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Parallel Studies Program*
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Betty Lustig

*Executive Director,
National Programs*
James M. Olson

Director, Communications
John Tessitore

An international war crimes tribunal established by the U.N. Security Council might be regarded as more legitimate, both legally and politically, for prosecuting Iraqi officials than would a tribunal established by the coalition or trials held in Kuwaiti or Saudi Arabian courts. The charter of the international tribunal would be approved by the Security Council and thus the kinds of international crimes it could handle and the procedural requirements of prosecution well established. The international tribunal's composition might consist of judges from the coalition governments (including Arab coalition partners) and from non-coalition governments that played no role in the Gulf War. A prominent Palestinian lawyer and Israeli lawyer might also be invited to sit as judges in order to achieve political balance.

The liability of the Iraqi government for violations of numerous conventions and principles of international law is confirmed in various of the relevant Security Council resolutions. If the political process proves unsatisfactory, then action could be taken against Iraq in the International Court of Justice with respect to some international conventions, particularly ones regarding diplomatic rights, privileges, and protections.

2. Restitution

Security Council Resolution 686 requires of Iraq that it "[a]ccept in principle its liability for any loss, damage or injury arising in regard to Kuwait and third states, and their nationals and corporations, as a result of the invasion and illegal occupation of Kuwait by Iraq." Governmental claims ultimately may be filed against Iraq in the International Court of Justice, but the likelihood of Iraq accepting the Court's jurisdiction is problematic (although the Security Council could request of Iraq that it make good on its acceptance of the principle of liability by accepting the Court's jurisdiction). Since the Sanctions Committee of the Security Council has been collecting information on damages, governmental claims against Iraq probably will be initially lodged with the Sanctions Committee. For example, Egypt announced in early March that it would seek reparations for revenue lost as a consequence of Iraqi aggression, that it was basing its request upon Security Council resolutions, and that it would lodge its request with the Council.

The Security Council could authorize the establishment of an international claims tribunal to handle the multitude of financial and damage claims that will be lodged against the Iraqi government by victims (governments, companies, individuals) of the Iraqi aggression and occupation. Otherwise, a complex web of cases in scores of national

courts could result in a chaotic and inequitable division of Iraqi assets and reparations judgments. An international claims tribunal probably would be considered more legitimately constituted and just in its adjudication of claims than would be national courts.

The financial resources to support money judgments against Iraq could be drawn from at least two major sources. First, the frozen foreign assets of Iraq could be placed under the control of the international claims tribunal and amounts from it applied to various claims judgments. However, the total amount of the frozen assets ranges between \$6 billion to \$8 billion. Kuwait's damage claims alone may exceed \$100 billion. Second, revenue from the export of Iraqi oil might be garnished under the authority of the U.N. Security Council and administration of the international claims tribunal. A certain percentage of the export revenue (which before the Gulf War averaged about \$17 billion a year) then could be applied to the claims. The Security Council could direct Iraq to resume oil production and establish certain financial facilities to facilitate U.N. control of the revenue earned on Iraq's oil exports. The international claims tribunal then would have access to the amounts collected.

The Iran-U.S. Claims Tribunal established by the Algiers Accord in connection with the hostage crisis of 1980 provides a useful precedent for further consideration of an international claims tribunal following the Gulf War. Also, Iraq's prior agreement to pay reparations for the Exocet missile attack on the U.S.S. Stark in 1987 offers an instructive precedent on how bilateral talks can produce agreement on payments. A reparations case currently before the International Court of Justice relating to the downing of IRAN AIR 655 by the U.S.S. Vincennes provides further guidance on the possibility of lodging governmental claims against Iraq in that forum.

3. Violations of International Environmental Law in War

There are several international conventions which pertain to Iraq's despoliation of the environment and use of the environment as a weapon of war, particularly in connection with the massive oil release in the Persian Gulf and the sabotage of more than 600 Kuwaiti oil wells. Some of these conventions also could be employed to challenge the conduct of the war by coalition forces, particularly the bombing of Iraq.

*Iraq signed but never ratified the 1977 United Nations Convention on the Prohibition of Military or Any Other

Hostile Use of Environmental Modification Techniques (the "Environmental Convention"). The United States and Kuwait ratified the Environmental Convention in 1980, although Kuwait filed a reservation that makes the Environmental Convention binding for Kuwait only with respect to other nations which are parties to the treaty. Parties to the Environmental Convention undertake "not to engage in military or any other hostile use of environmental modification techniques having widespread, long-lasting or severe effects as the means of destruction, damage or injury to any other State Party." (Art. I) The object is to prohibit the deliberate manipulation of natural processes of the environment as weapons. Under the Environmental Convention, the Security Council can determine that a State Party has been or is likely to be harmed as a result of a violation of the Convention and in the result obligate other State Parties to provide or support assistance to the injured State Party. Because it is a signatory to the Environmental Convention, Iraq is bound by international law not to undermine the Convention prior to its ratification. Therefore, there may be some basis to hold Iraq liable for violating the principles embodied in the Environmental Convention, especially if the International Court of Justice were to determine that these principles reflect customary international law.

*Article 35(3) of 1977 Protocol I to the 1949 Geneva Conventions states:

It is prohibited to employ methods or means of warfare which are intended, or may be expected, to cause widespread, long-term and severe damage to the natural environment.

Article 55 states:

1. Care shall be taken in warfare to protect the natural environment against widespread, long-term and severe damage. This protection includes a prohibition of the use of methods or means of warfare which are intended or may be expected to cause such damage to the natural environment and thereby to prejudice the health or survival of the population.
2. Attacks against the natural environment by way of reprisals are prohibited.

Neither Iraq nor Kuwait signed or acceded to 1977 Geneva Protocol I. The United States signed but never ratified 1977 Geneva Protocol I. However, if it were found that Articles 35(3) and 55 represents customary international law, then there may be a basis to bring a claim against Iraq for using weapons of warfare to cause damage to the natural environment

and to achieve the objective of reprisals against Kuwait in response to the allied counter-offensive.

In connection with the air campaign by coalition air forces, Iraq might argue that Article 56 of 1977 Geneva Protocol I reflects customary international law and therefore the principle embodied therein should be enforced. Article 56 states:

1. Works or installations containing dangerous forces, namely dams, dykes and nuclear electrical generating stations, shall not be made the object of attack, even where these objects are military objectives, if such attack may cause the release of dangerous forces and consequent severe losses among the civilian population. Other military objectives located at or in the vicinity of these works or installations shall not be made the object of attack if such attack may cause the release of dangerous forces from the works or installations and consequent severe losses among the civilian population.

It should be noted that all of Iraq's nuclear facilities were research facilities and not electrical generating stations. However, if some of the bridges struck by coalition air forces also served as dams, then questions may be raised about compliance with this principle.

*Article 53 of 1949 Geneva Convention IV states:

Any destruction by the Occupying Power of real or personal property belonging individually or collectively to private persons, or to the State, or to other public authorities, or to social or cooperative organizations, is prohibited, except where such destruction is rendered absolutely necessary by military operations.

Iraq is a party to 1949 Geneva Convention IV. The Security Council reaffirmed in Resolution 670 that 1949 Geneva Convention IV applies to Kuwait and that Iraq "is bound to comply fully with all its terms and in particular is liable under the Convention in respect of the grave breaches committed by it, as are individuals who commit or order the commission of grave breaches." Therefore, prosecution of the Government of Iraq and of individual Iraqi officials in appropriate legal forums for violations of 1949 Geneva Convention IV is a possibility.

The Security Council could play a critical role in coming months to direct Iraq to assist in environmental clean-up efforts in the Gulf region, to establish Iraq's precise financial liability for environmental damage, and perhaps to establish or authorize a legal forum in which to bring a case

against the Iraqi government or to prosecute Iraqi officials. The International Court of Justice may be a likely forum in which to pursue governmental claims.

UNA-USA

September 15, 1992
17 Elul 5752

Edward C. Luck, President
United Nations Association of the USA
485 Fifth Avenue
New York, NY 10017-6104

Dear Ed:

For some time now I have been troubled by my inability to attend meetings of the UNA-USA. Not only do I enjoy the sessions and the participants, I find the programs to be exceedingly worthwhile. Just now, however, I have received a notice for yet another meeting which I cannot attend because it is just prior to the eve of Yom Kippur.

Thus Ed, it is with great regret that I write to tender my resignation as a Governor. I do hope you understand my predicament and in understanding, forgive.

Since I feel the work of the UNA-USA is critical and I am eager to have important involvement for the UAHC and the Jewish community generally, I take the liberty of suggesting Albert Vorspan as a possible replacement for me. Al has just retired as Vice President of the UAHC and director of Reform Judaism's Commission on Social Action. While he will still be involved in our work as consultant, his schedule will not be as frenetic as it was before retirement. He is known to the U.N. community and your work covers an area of great interest to Al. Max Kampelman can fill you in on Al's achievements in many critical areas of concern not merely to our Reform community but to the greater national and international community. I do hope serious consideration will be given to this recommendation which I make with total confidence in Al's qualifications for the post.

Again, I deeply regret my own ability to continue to serve the UNA-USA on a regular basis. Certainly I stand ready to be of assistance whenever you wish to call upon me for a specific task. With warm good wishes, I am

Sincerely,

Alexander M. Schindler

CV
Leo Nevas



UNITED NATIONS ASSOCIATION OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

485 FIFTH AVENUE, NEW YORK, N.Y. 10017-6104 PHONE 212 697-3232 FAX 212 682-9185 CABLE UNASMER

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

September 9, 1992

TO: Board of Governors
FROM: Ed Luck
SUBJECT: October 5th Meeting

As previously announced, the next Board of Governors meeting will be held from 2:00 to 6:00 p.m. on Monday, October 5th, here in the Arthur Ross Conference Room on the second floor of 485 Fifth Avenue (between 41st and 42nd Streets). Given our late starting hour, lunch will not be served.

Before heading off on our around-the-world fact-finding mission to UN peacekeeping operations -- with stops in Thailand, Cambodia, Cyprus, Syria, Israel, and El Salvador -- I wanted to give you a better sense of some of the issues on our agenda for October 5th. A formal agenda and background readings will be sent to you the week prior to the meeting after my return to the office on Monday, September 28th.

Over the summer, the Executive Committee commissioned David Edell, President of The Development Resource Group, to do a study of UNA-USA's problems and prospects in terms of financial development. This issue, more than any other, has occupied the time and attention of the Board of Governors -- as well as of the staff -- for as long as I can remember. It has also proven to be a more intractable problem than anything we have faced on the policy front. From what I have seen of David's preliminary conclusions and recommendations, my sense is that he has some important and far-reaching things to tell us about the structure, style and priorities of the Association. He will make an oral presentation, which will be followed by what I hope will be a wide-ranging and candid discussion of what is needed to put our financial -- and thus programmatic -- outlook on a much higher plane. He is also preparing a written summary of his findings, which he will try to have ready in time to be mailed out before the meeting if at all possible.

There are a number of substantive questions we will want to address, including follow-up on several items we discussed in a recent meeting with the UN Secretary-General. Michael, Patrick, Ralph and I will be more than happy to relate some of our experiences from the peacekeeping mission. We will also want to consider whether this trip should provide a precedent for similar endeavors in the future. I would also like to brief you on a joint undertaking we have underway with the Business Council for the UN to get business leaders involved in the effort to get US arrearages paid to the UN.

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John C. Whitehead

Chair, Board of Governors
Max M. Kampelman

Chair, Executive Committee
William J. vanden Heuvel

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

U.N. Day Chair
Sen. Nancy Kassebaum

President
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*Executive Director,
Multilateral Studies*
Jeffrey Laurenti

Director, Development
Betty Kurdys

*Executive Director,
National Programs*
James M. Olson

Director, Communications
John Tessitore

Our chapters and divisions are, as always, very active and Shirley Quisenberry will share with us recent developments. The New York Conference of UN Representatives has put together an interesting packet of materials on the United Nations designed for classroom use, which Shirley Lee will present at the meeting. In addition, we need to have a serious discussion of how to make our November 1993 National Convention as productive as possible in terms of engaging the whole organization in the effort to mark the UN's 50th anniversary in 1995 and, in the process, to raise the visibility, stature and effectiveness of our Association.

At our November 18th meeting, Bill vanden Heuvel, the new Chair of our Executive Committee and the sparkplug behind our 50th anniversary initiative, will outline the exciting plans underway to make the 50th a historic occasion for UNA-USA as well as for the United Nations. Keith Reinhard and his colleagues at DDB Needham Worldwide have been busy helping us spruce up our image, marketing and communications skills and he will also share their thinking at the November 18th session. In case you have not yet seen it, a copy of the new membership brochure they designed for UNA-USA is enclosed. So far the reaction from around the country has been enthusiastic to this new format. At that session we will also review and approve a budget for 1993.

I am very pleased to announce that Senator Nancy Kassebaum (R-KS) has agreed to serve as this year's UN Day Chair, the first time either a woman or a sitting member of Congress has held that distinction. An announcement is enclosed. Also, I am enormously relieved as well as pleased that we have the Chairmen for the UNA-USA Ball in 1993 and in 1994 already lined up. Bernard Schwartz, Chairman & CEO of Loral Corp., will head the 1993 event and our very own John Luke, Jr., who will take over as President & CEO of Westvaco this fall, will chair the event in 1994. We are looking forward to working with both of them and to building a working dinner committee to support their efforts.

Thanks very much for everything and we will look forward to seeing you on October 5th. All the best.

Enclosures



UNITED NATIONS
ASSOCIATION
OF THE USA

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NEW YORK, N.Y.
10017-6104
PHONE 212 697-3232
FAX 212 682-9185

FOR IMMEDIATE
RELEASE

CONTACT: Jennifer Metzger
(212) 697-3232

SENATOR NANCY KASSEBAUM TO SERVE AS 1992 NATIONAL UNITED NATIONS DAY CHAIR

FIRST WOMAN TO SPEARHEAD NATIONWIDE CELEBRATION

New York, NY....The United Nations Association of the United States of America (UNA-USA) today announced that Senator Nancy Kassebaum (R-KS), member of the Foreign Relations Committee, will serve as the 1992 National United Nations Day Chair. She is both the first woman and first sitting public official to lead the annual October 24 observance, which commemorates the birth of the world organization in 1945.

"As last year's U.N. Day Chair, it gives me special pleasure to pass on the gauntlet to Senator Kassebaum, a distinguished U.S. lawmaker and a thoughtful supporter of U.S. participation in the U.N. system," said UNA-USA Chair John C. Whitehead. "The Association has long had a valuable working relationship with the Senator, and we look forward to working closely with her in her new position in the months to come."

Since 1946, UNA-USA has taken the lead in promoting the observance of U.N. Day across the nation. UNA-USA and its community-based chapters and affiliated organizations coordinate U.N. Day programs in more than 1,000 communities. This year, "Realizing the Promise of 1945" will be the theme of U.N. Day conferences, seminars, and festivals around the country.

"I can think of no more appropriate U.N. Day theme for 1992," said Senator Kassebaum. "The world organization, free of cold war politics, has come to play a dynamic, highly visible role in world affairs, and in this very challenging year the U.N. deserves special appreciation for its work. I am honored to lead the national observance."

Elected to the Senate in 1978, Senator Kassebaum is ranking minority member on the Subcommittee on African Affairs in the Committee on Foreign Relations, where she has worked actively to promote a human rights-oriented approach to U.S. policy in the region, particularly with regard to South Africa. Most recently, she has been pressing for stronger multilateral efforts to ameliorate the humanitarian crisis in Somalia. Upon her return from a fact-finding mission to the region in July, she told the House Select Committee on Hunger that "the country has been reduced to a level of desperation beyond what we can imagine," and called on the U.N. to provide security to assure safe delivery of humanitarian relief with or without the agreement of all warring factions.

Senator Kassebaum is also a member of the Committee on Banking, Housing, and Urban Affairs, the Committee on Labor and Human Resources, and Select Committees on Indian Affairs and POW/MIA Affairs.

The United Nations Association of the United States of America is an independent, nonprofit, research and membership organization dedicated to strengthening the United Nations and U.S. participation in international institutions. Unique among foreign policy groups, UNA-USA combines policy research with community-based activities, and functions as a major source of information for Congress, the Executive Branch, the media, and the public-at-large.

PRESS RELEASE

**HELP
WANTED**



**APPLY
INSIDE.**

THE UNITED NATIONS ASSOCIATION
OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

WHO WE ARE

We're the United Nations Association of the United States of America (UNA-USA): a nonpartisan, nonprofit national organization working at the United Nations headquarters in New York, in Washington, and in hundreds of communities across the country. Our goal is to make the United Nations even more effective than it is today by bringing about changes that will improve the lives of people all over the world. Founded over a quarter-century ago, UNA-USA

is recognized worldwide as a major foreign policy organization, with influence at the highest levels of decision-making. Today we have a diverse membership of more than 30,000 people from all parts of the United States who want to know about the global issues that affect their lives and exactly what the U.N. is doing to address them. Issues like regional conflict, world hunger, human rights abuses, drug trafficking, deforestation, and AIDS.

WHAT WE DO



UNA-USA brings people together to effect change. Through our nationwide citizens network and affiliated organizations, you will have the opportunity to freely exchange ideas with other globally-minded people. And you will also have the chance to meet with and talk to diplomats and policymakers—from both the U.S. and abroad—to gain insight on the issues that you'd never get from the usual news sources.

Each year UNA-USA coordinates the observance of U.N. Day (October 24)

in communities throughout the nation, and it supports Model U.N. conferences for local high school and college students, often featuring senior U.N. officials and representatives of U.N. member governments. UNA-USA provides information, seminars, and educational materials on the work of the U.N. and on other global issues for students, scholars, Congress, the media, and people like you—all aimed at shaping an agenda for a stronger and more effective United Nations.

WHAT YOU CAN DO

When you become a member of UNA-USA, no matter where you live, you can "take a seat" at the U.N. You can influence its agenda, participate in its programs, and support its life-saving work.

As a UNA-USA member you will receive the Association's acclaimed news journal, *The InterDependent*, an insider's guide to what's happening at the United Nations. And you will have the opportunity to participate in your local UNA-USA chapter to whatever degree you wish. Come work with us toward making a better world. Join UNA-USA today.

MEMBERSHIP APPLICATION

NAME _____

ADDRESS _____

CITY _____ STATE _____ ZIP _____

PHONE (UNA-USA Use Only) _____

☐ NEW MEMBER ☐ RENEWAL # _____

*How many persons to be counted on this membership? _____

MEMBERSHIP CATEGORY

<input type="checkbox"/> Introductory (1st Year Only)	\$25
<input type="checkbox"/> Individual	\$35
<input type="checkbox"/> *Family	\$40
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<input type="checkbox"/> *Sponsor	\$100
<input type="checkbox"/> *Patron	\$500
<input type="checkbox"/> *Ambassador	\$1,000

ADDITIONAL CONTRIBUTIONS

For My Local Chapter \$ _____

For the National Program \$ _____

Total Enclosed \$ _____

Please make checks payable to UNA-USA,
and return this form with your check to:

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485 FIFTH AVENUE
NEW YORK, NY 10017-6104

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YOU CAN MAKE ALL THE DIFFERENCE IN THE WORLD

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You may obtain a copy of the latest financial report from UNA-USA or from the New York State Board of Social Welfare, Charities Registration Section, Office Tower, Empire State Plaza, Albany, NY 12242.



Printed on recycled paper



THE UNITED NATIONS ASSOCIATION
OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

UNA-USA

August 26, 1992
27 Av 5752

Betty Kurdys, Director of Development
United Nations Association
of the United States of America
485 Fifth Avenue
New York, NY 10017-6104

Dear Betty:

Many thanks for the detailed information on the forthcoming United Nations Concert and Dinner. The plans sound wonderful and thus I am all the more distressed that my travels preclude my presence in Washington on October 24. I must be in Israel from October 22 to 29 for a critical meeting of the Jewish Agency, on whose Board I sit. Thus, I write to convey my regrets as well as y best wishes for a successful and beautiful event.

As a non-profit organization, the UAHC cannot participate in this event by purchasing tickets. I shall, however, certainly seek to make the function known to some of our leaders in the Washington area in the hope that they might wish to attend this gala concert and dinner.

Again, my warm good wishes and best regards.

Sincerely,

Alexander N. Schindler



UNITED NATIONS ASSOCIATION OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

Chair of the Association
John C. Whitehead

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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

Chair, Board of Governors
Max M. Kampelman

Co-Chairs, National Council

Elliot L. Richardson
Cyrus R. Vance

August 24, 1992

President
Edward C. Luck

To: Board of Governors and National Council

Vice Chairs
Ruth J. Hinerfeld
Harry W. Knight
Estelle Linzer
Arthur Ross

From: Betty Kurdys, Director of Development

Treasurer
John C. Bierwirth

Subject: 32nd Annual United Nations Concert and Dinner

Secretary
William J. vanden Heuvel

I am very pleased to send you the enclosed Fact Sheet describing this year's Concert and Dinner in Washington, DC on Saturday, October 24th. Formal invitations will be sent to you shortly. *J. Luck*

This year we will salute the World Bank, a member of the UN family and the world's foremost international financial institution. For the past 47 years, the World Bank has strived to banish poverty and to bring a better life to the peoples of the developing world.

An exciting evening is planned, beginning with a concert at the John F. Kennedy Center for the Performing Arts featuring a tribute to the legendary opera star and former UN public delegate, Marian Anderson, which will be narrated by Louis Gossett, Jr. The concert will be followed by an evening of dancing and dining with approximately 1,000 worldwide corporate leaders, ambassadors, and senior US government officials in attendance.

The Concert and Dinner is one of the highlights of UNA-USA's fundraising efforts and it gives me great pleasure to invite you to attend. As a UNA-USA leader, your participation is especially meaningful. Individual tickets are \$500 each. Tables can be purchased at the \$10,000 and \$5,000 level. Should you wish to host a table of ten, two of your guests will be the ambassadors or diplomats assigned by the Concert and Dinner office in Washington.

I very much hope to see you in Washington on October 24th! A reply form is enclosed for your convenience.

Governors

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Christopher Brody
Anne Bryant
Polly French Doughty
Patrick A. Gerschel
Maurice R. Greenberg
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*Executive Director,
Multilateral Studies*
Jeffrey Laurenti

Director, Development
Betty Kurdys

*Executive Director,
National Programs*
James M. Olson

Director, Communications
John Tessitore

REPLY FORM
32nd Annual United Nations Concert and Dinner
Saturday, October 24, 1992

RETURN TO: UN Concert & Dinner Office
Lansdale Associates
1420 K Street, NW
Suite 840
Washington, DC 20005

____ **VICE CHAIRMAN - \$10,000 (\$9,000 tax-deductible).** As a Vice Chairman, you and a guest will be invited to a special VIP reception on Friday evening at the British ambassador's residence, will host an ambassador or diplomat at the Dinner, will receive preferential seating at the Concert and Dinner, and will be pictured in the printed program.

____ **MEMBER OF COUNCIL - \$5,000 (\$4,000 tax-deductible).** As a Member of Council, you and a guest will be invited to a special VIP reception on Friday evening at the British ambassador's residence, will host an ambassador or diplomat at the Dinner, and will be pictured in the printed program.

____ I will purchase ____ tickets at \$500 each (\$400 of which is tax-deductible).

____ I/We cannot participate but enclose a donation in the amount of \$ _____ made payable to UNA-USA.

____ I will serve in the category noted above but cannot personally attend. I designate the following person to host my table and serve as your contact for our participation in the event.

Name *(please print or type)*

Address

Title

City State ZIP

Address

Telephone

Please list in order of preference those countries from which you would like to host an ambassador.

1. _____
2. _____
3. _____
4. _____

5. _____
6. _____
7. _____
8. _____

Please fill out the information below as you would like to be recognized in the dinner program.

Name *(please print or type)*

Address

Title

Address

Company

City State ZIP

Please send your photo by September 10 to
Lansdale Associates * 1420 K Street, N.W. * Suite 840 * Washington, D.C. 20005.

Please fax us your guest list by October 10 to (202) 289-6209.

For more information please call Lansdale Associates at (202) 289-6131.

32nd ANNUAL UNITED NATIONS CONCERT AND DINNER
to benefit the United Nations Association of the USA
Saturday, October 24, 1992

FACT SHEET

U.N. CONCERT

Tribute to Marian Anderson
Starring Mezzo Soprano Denyce Graves
Emcee: Radio and TV correspondent Cokie Roberts
The John F. Kennedy Center Concert Hall, 6:00 p.m.

U.N. DINNER

Immediately following the Concert
International Ballroom, Washington Hilton
Black Tie/Dancing
At approximately 8:15 p.m.

GENERAL CHAIRMAN

James F. Hardyman
President and CEO
Textron Inc.

INTERNATIONAL INDUSTRY CHAIRMAN

Gregory H. Bradford
President
Aerospatiale Incorporated

Salute to the World Bank

Through its four associated institutions, the World Bank has been working for forty years to promote economic development that benefits poor people in developing countries. It works to provide aid to develop such diverse projects as access roads, schools, irrigation networks, power plants, pollution control, and environmental and financial growth. The World Bank exists to enhance the quality of hundreds of millions of human lives.

Purposes of the Concert and Dinner

To honor the ambassadors accredited to the United States and Organization of American States.
To salute the World Bank.
To celebrate the 47th anniversary of the founding of the United Nations.
To provide support for the important programs of UNA-USA.

United Nations Association in Brief

The United Nations Association of the United States of America (UNA-USA) is a national, nonprofit, nonpartisan organization dedicated to strengthening the U.N. system. Through a unique blend of policy research, international dialogue and national public outreach programs, UNA-USA is leading the search for innovative solutions to complex global problems.

Subscription Information

Your contribution will be used essentially for long-range policy studies and educational outreach programs in the interest of supporting and improving the United Nations. As a table purchaser you will host a table of ten, including a VIP guest couple. The Chief of Protocol of the Department of State will invite your guest couple and send them their 2 concert tickets and dinner cards. The remaining 8 concert tickets and dinner cards will be sent directly to you for your company's use. We will notify you of your guest assignment in mid-October. Please send us the names of your 8 guests by October 10 to insure that their names will be included in the printed seating list. For more information call (202) 289-6131.

VIP Reception

Mr. and Mrs. James F. Hardyman and His Excellency the British Ambassador and Lady Renwick will co-host a special VIP reception at the British Embassy residence on Friday evening before the Concert and Dinner. You will receive an invitation to attend the reception from 6:00 to 8:00 p.m. as described in the reply form.

UNA USA

April 6, 1992
3 Nisan 5752

John C. Whitehead, Chair
United Nations Association
of the United States of America
485 Fifth Avenue
New York, NY 10017-6104

Dear John:

It had been my hope that my travel schedule might finally allow me to attend the UNA-USA Ball this year. Lo and behold, I now find that a meeting I must attend in Spain will not conclude in time for me to return to the States and be with you for the wonderful festivities. I truly regret the conflict but there is nothing I can do to alter my calendar.

I take this opportunity to express my warm good wishes for a most successful event.

With kindest regards, I am

Sincerely,

Alexander M. Schindler



UNITED NATIONS ASSOCIATION OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

485 FIFTH AVENUE, NEW YORK, N.Y. 10017-6104 PHONE 212 697-3232 FAX 212 682-9185 CABLE UNASMER

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

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Director, Communications
John Tessitore

March 30, 1992

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

Dear Alex:

I am delighted to invite you to join me at the 34th Annual United Nations Association Ball on Thursday evening, May 28, 1992 at New York's Plaza Hotel. The new UN Secretary-General, Boutros Boutros-Ghali, and the Permanent Representatives of the UN member nations will be our honored guests. This will be one of the first major public appearances of the dynamic new Secretary-General, who is, as you know, moving quickly to streamline and strengthen the United Nations.

We are presenting two special awards at the Ball this year: Frank Shrontz, Chairman of The Boeing Company, will be honored for his outstanding contribution to international commerce and global understanding; and Congressman Jim Leach, ranking member of the House Committee on Banking, Finance and Urban Affairs and the Committee on Foreign Affairs, will be recognized for his consistent support for the principles of the UN. I hope you are able to be with us for the presentation of these two special awards.

With the United Nations on the move and a new Secretary-General at the helm, the timing could not be better for UNA-USA to celebrate the part we have played in the revival of the world body and enhanced multilateral cooperation. Come share with us the new UN spirit!

As a UNA-USA leader, you can best demonstrate your support for UNA-USA by participating in the event. Please look over the enclosed fact sheet for more details. If you cannot be present or represented, I hope we can count on your financial help. I urge you to return the reply form at your earliest convenience. Also, please let me know of any friends or business colleagues who might be interested in joining us for this special evening.

With thanks and best wishes,

Sincerely,

John C. Whitehead
Chairman



FACT SHEET

34TH ANNUAL UNITED NATIONS ASSOCIATION BALL

Thursday, May 28, 1992
The Plaza Hotel
Fifth Avenue and Central Park South
New York City

Reception, 7 p.m. -- The Terrace Room
Dinner and Dancing, 8 p.m. -- The Grand Ballroom
Black Tie

HONORING

The Secretary-General and the Permanent Representatives of the United Nations

SALUTING

The 47th Anniversary of the Founding of the United Nations

AWARDS

UNA-USA Global Corporate Leadership Award
presented to
Mr. Frank Shrontz, Chairman, The Boeing Co.

UNA-USA Congressional Award
for Commitment to the Principles of the UN Charter
presented to
Congressman Jim Leach (R, Iowa)

ABOUT THE BALL

The Ball is a fundraiser held each Spring to benefit the work of the United Nations Association of the USA (UNA-USA). It is attended by five hundred or so top corporate executives, senior UN Secretary officials, diplomats, and other foreign policy notables. Tables of ten, two seats of which are reserved for an Ambassador and spouse, are available at \$10,000 (Co-Chairman) and \$5,000 (Vice-Chairman). Individual reservations are offered at \$1,000 each (Benefactor) and \$500 each (Patron).

UNITED NATIONS ASSOCIATION IN BRIEF

The United Nations Association of the USA is a national organization dedicated to strengthening the UN system and to enhancing US participation in international institutions.

UNA-USA carries out its action agenda through a unique combination of public outreach, policy analysis and international dialogue. John C. Whitehead is Chair of the Association; Max M. Kampleman is Chair of the Board of Governors; Elliot L. Richardson and Cyrus R. Vance are Co-Chairs of the National Council; and Edward C. Luck is President.

United Nations Association of the USA 485 Fifth Avenue, New York, NY 10017
(212) 697-3232



REPLY FORM
34TH ANNUAL UNITED NATIONS ASSOCIATION BALL
THURSDAY, MAY 28, 1992



- _____ **CO-CHAIRMAN - \$10,000** (\$8,750 tax deductible). As a Co-Chairman, you will host an ambassadorial couple at your table, receive preferential seating in the Ballroom, and be pictured in the printed program.
- _____ **VICE-CHAIRMAN - \$5,000** (\$3,750 tax-deductible). As a Vice-Chairman you will host an ambassadorial couple at your table, and be acknowledged in the printed program.

(Tables seat ten, two places of which are reserved for an ambassadorial couple.)

Individual reservations:

- _____ **Benefactor Ticket(s) at \$1,000 each** (\$875 tax deductible).
- _____ **Patron ticket(s) at \$500 each** (\$375 tax deductible).

Contributions:

- _____ I cannot participate, but enclosed is a **contribution** in the amount of \$ _____ made payable to UNA-USA.
- _____ I will serve in the category noted above but cannot personally attend. I designate the following person to host my table and serve as your contact for our participation in the event.

Name (*please print/type*)

Title

Telephone

Please list in order of preference those countries from which you would like to host an ambassador.

- | | |
|----------|-----------|
| 1. _____ | 6. _____ |
| 2. _____ | 7. _____ |
| 3. _____ | 8. _____ |
| 4. _____ | 9. _____ |
| 5. _____ | 10. _____ |

Please fill out the information below as you would like it to be recognized in the printed program.

Name (*please print/type*)

Company

Title

Street Address

Telephone

City/State/Zip Code

If you are serving as a Co-Chairman, please enclose your photo.

United Nations Association of the USA
485 Fifth Avenue
New York, N.Y. 10017
(Checks should be made payable to UNA-USA)

For further information, please call (212) 697-3232, ext.362

WNA-USA

COPY

March 19, 1992
14 Adar II 5752

Ms Norma Levitt
515 East 72nd Street
Apartment 30D
New York, NY 10021

Dear Norma:

Forgive me for leaving before the luncheon, but I had an important meeting at the Union involving lots of out-of-towners who were waiting for me and I really had no choice. I had been assured by the office that I could make a 2 o'clock meeting and I made it. I hope you understand and in understanding, forgive.

It was a beautiful occasion in every way, thanks, no doubt, to your sensitive leadership.

Fondly,

Alexander M. Schindler



COPY

RABBI ALEXANDER M. SCHINDLER • UNION OF AMERICAN HEBREW CONGREGATIONS
PRESIDENT 838 FIFTH AVENUE NEW YORK, NY 10021-7064 (212)249-0100

UNA USA

February 7, 1992
3 Adar I 5752

Mr. Ed Luck
United Nations Assoc. of the U.S.A.
485 Fifth Avenue
New York, NY 10017

Dear Ed:

I was delighted to get the notification of the forthcoming Board of Governors meetings. The September and November dates are fine, but I will have a problem with Monday, May 18. I will be in Minneapolis for the UAHC Board of Trustees meeting and I am not yet certain just when I will return. I will do my utmost to get back to the city in time to attend the noon meeting of the Board of Governors.

I do have a conflict with the Annual Meeting of the National Council on Thursday, December 10. Our Board of Trustees will be meeting in Palm Beach the weekend of the 11th through the 13th. We have committee meetings prior to the Board session and therefore I will have to be at a number of meetings on December 10 which preclude my presence at the UNA-USA Annual Meeting. I do hope you understand and appreciate my predicament. I enjoy the UNA-USA meetings very much and feel they are most important, therefore I truly regret when I have to absent myself from one of the meetings.

I hope things are well with you and send you my warm regards and every good wish.

Sincerely,

Alexander M. Schindler



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February 4, 1992

MEMORANDUM

TO: Board of Governors
FROM: Ed Luck
SUBJECT: Calendar of 1992 Meetings

Please mark your calendar for the following dates for Board of Governors meetings:

- Monday, May 18th, 12 to 4 p.m. — *Mon. 14-17 00*
- Tuesday, September 15th, 12 to 4 p.m. *00*
- Wednesday, November 18th, 12 to 4 p.m. *00*

Also, please plan to attend the Annual Meeting of our National Council on Thursday, December 10th, from 9:30 a.m. to 2:30 p.m. *f*

There has been a good deal of discussion about the optimal length of meetings, with some preferring briefer sessions and others -- particularly those who come long distances -- preferring longer sessions. For the moment, please hold the 12 to 4 p.m. slot for each of the Governors meetings, but as we review the agendas for each approaching session we will let you know if we can trim some time off the meeting.

Thanks very much and all the best.

*Conflict
Palm Beach
10-11-92
Comm. Sec.*

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Max M. Kampelman

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Elliot L. Richardson
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Chair, U.N. Day 1990

Drew Lewis

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United Nations Association of the United States of America
485 Fifth Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10017 (212) 697-3232

FAX COVER SHEET

TO

Edie Miller

Jan. 15, 1992

DEPT

- Rabbi Schindler

AT

UAAHC

FAX

570-0895

FR

Pat Miller

DEPT

for Ed Luck.

RE

NUMBER OF PAGES TO FOLLOW

5

RABBI SCHINDLER ASKED THAT WE SEND THESE MATERIALS TO YOU

WE APPRECIATE YOUR HELP ON THIS. MANY THANKS.

REPLY TO FAX (212) 682-9185 or PHONE (212) 697-3232



UNITED NATIONS ASSOCIATION OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

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January 15, 1992

Mr. Israel Singer
Secretary General
World Jewish Congress
501 Madison Avenue
New York, NY 10022
FAX 755-5883

Dear Israel:

I spoke to Rabbi Schindler this morning about the apparent confusion over Edgar Bronfman's participation and support of the UNA Ball at the end of May.

He is on his way to a vacation in Mexico, but asked that I send these materials to you in the hope that you can get this mess straightened out. He said that he will be calling you about this.

As Elan Steinberg suggested yesterday, I have called Bill Friedman's office to get a clarification, but he was away and his assistants do not seem to know anything about it.

Thanks very much for anything that you can do. All the best.

Sincerely,

Edward C. Luck
President

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December 19, 1991

Mr. Elan Steinberg
Executive Director
World Jewish Congress
501 Madison Avenue
New York, NY 10022
FAX 755-5883

Dear Elan:

It was good to see you at the luncheon yesterday, which was a nice way to recognize how much we can accomplish when we work together. Now that we have the Zionism-Racism albatross off our backs, there should be a number of areas in which we can cooperate in the future. We certainly appreciate all the efforts that the World Jewish Congress has made through the years to work for the repeal of that odious resolution.

Thank you also for your willingness to follow up on the question of Edgar Bronfman's chairmanship and/or underwriting support for the United Nations Association Ball in May. The letter we received yesterday from William Friedman, Vice President for Corporate Affairs at Seagrams, is enclosed. Frankly, it puzzles us given the consistently positive indications we had heard to this point.

A month ago, Alex Schindler told me that he had spoken to Mr. Bronfman, who was favorably inclined to take this on (Alex said that he was 95 percent sure he would do it). Last week, on December 12th, Alex told me that Israel Singer had reported to him that they had checked with the Foundation, which was willing to make a \$50,000 underwriting pledge.

He did tell Alex, however, that Mr. Bronfman was concerned about how much personal arm-twisting he would be required to do to get other supporters for the event should he undertake the chairmanship. I reassured Alex that we handle all the correspondence once the Chairman approves a standard letter to go out under his name and we would not expect him to have to make personal phone calls to follow up in recruiting other supporters for the event.

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Director, Communications
John Tonnare


Page Two
Mr. Elan Steinberg
December 19, 1991

Of the \$400,000 goal for the event, about half are "regulars" and even in a bad economic year it should not be too difficult to get the others on board through a broad mailing to other internationally-minded corporations. We have never had to resort to a hard sell and, if for some reason this were necessary, we would call on various corporate and financial leaders associated with UNA to get the job done.

While John Whitehead and I obviously hope that Mr. Bronfman will still consider chairing the event, if that is not possible then we would of course be most grateful for an underwriting contribution.

Thanks very much for your help on this and I will look forward to having you as my guest for lunch early in the new year. All best wishes,

Sincerely,



Edward C. Luck
President

Enc.



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

November 27, 1991

Mr. Edgar M. Bronfman
Joseph E. Seagram & Sons, Inc.
375 Park Avenue
5th floor
New York, NY 10152

Dear Edgar:

I understand that Alex Schindler has spoken to you about chairing the Annual United Nations Association Ball at The Plaza next May 28th. It is a classy event to aid an important organization, and it would be terrific if you could take this on. With the UN on the move again, the timing could not be better.

Rather than calling you first, I thought it would be best to send the enclosed materials describing the event and the Chairman's responsibilities. Among the enclosures is a *Times* clipping on last year's event.

Alex said you wanted to be certain that the time commitment would not be too onerous nor the financial goals too ambitious. I can reassure you on both counts. You need only approve a draft letter and a list of potential supporters, help find two or three others to help underwrite the costs, assign someone at Seagrams to work with the UNA-USA staff and attend the event on May 28th. I can assure you -- having participated in my share of events through the years -- that the UNA-USA people do an excellent, thorough and professional job of putting this together.

The financial goals are also quite modest. The target is to gross \$400,000, about half of which comes from regular supporters of the event and UNA-USA Board members. The other half would come from corporations and individuals you and Seagrams would identify. It helps, of course, if the Chairman or his company can get the ball rolling with an underwriting gift, though the exact amount is flexible.

The event itself draws the whole UN diplomatic corps, including the Secretary-General and the President of the General Assembly, both of whom would be seated at your head table. As you may know, they come from Egypt and Saudi Arabia, respectively, the first time countries from the Middle East have held either post. This should be a good opportunity to pursue quietly some issues, such as rescinding the Zionism-Racism resolution, on which you and I both feel strongly.

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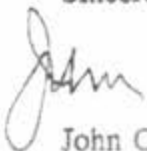
Page Two
Mr. Edgar Bronfman
November 27, 1991

I very much hope that you will accept our invitation. It would be great to have you on board.

Please do not hesitate to call if you have any questions. If it would be helpful, I know that Ed Luck, our President, and Betty Lustig, who organizes the event, would be pleased to meet with you and your staff to go over the details. Alex said he would be glad to come see you about this as well. Let me know what is best for you.

Thanks again for your interest and I will look forward to working with you.

Sincerely,



John C. Whitehead
Chairman

cc: Rabbi Alexander Schindler

UNA USA

COPY

December 19, 1991
12 Tevet 5752

Mr. Edward C. Luck
President
United Nations Association of the U.S.A.
485 Fifth Avenue
New York, NY 10017

Dear Ed:

I am enclosing herewith a gift of \$100.00 for the Annual Giving Fund of the UNA-USA. I regret that it cannot be a larger sum, but want you to know that it is sent with all my good wishes and in appreciation of the superb work of the UNA-USA.

Let me take this opportunity to express my hope that this holiday season and the coming New Year will be a healthy and happy one for you and all your loved ones.

Sincerely,

Alexander M. Schindler



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Multilateral Studies*
Jeffrey Laurenti

Director, Development
Betty Lustig

*Executive Director,
National Programs*
James M. Olson

Director, Communications
John Tessitore

December 17, 1991

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

Dear Alex:

A few weeks ago, John Whitehead wrote to you requesting a year-end gift to our Annual Giving Fund.

I hope it is on your must-do-ASAP pile. It always means a lot to us to have the support of our top leaders. In the midst of a lingering recession, it means everything.

We have frozen the salaries of the top half of our staff and instituted additional economies. But now each of us, as Governors of the Association, needs to do our part.

Thanks very much. I know we can count on you to be as helpful as possible. All best wishes for a terrific holiday season.

Regards,

Edward C. Luck
President

*Requested
12/14*

COPY

MEMORANDUM

December 4, 1991

FROM: Edith J. Miller
TO: Fred Cohen

Please let me have a \$100 check made payable to the UNA-USA.
This amount is to be charged to the contingency line of our
subvention account.

Please get this check to me as soon as possible and I will see
that it is transmitted to the proper person at the UNA-USA.

Thank you.

A handwritten signature, likely "Edith J. Miller", is enclosed within a hand-drawn oval. The signature is written in a cursive, flowing style.

December 4, 1991

Dear Edie:

Please send down a memo to Accounting to make out a \$100.00 check to the UNA-USA. They are in the midst of their annual appeal to Board members. This should be charged to the contingency line of our subvention account.

UNA . USA

December 9, 1991
2 Tevet 5752

Edward C. Luck, President
United Nations Association of
the United States of America
485 Fifth Avenue
New York, NY 10017-6104

Dear*p540XEd:

Thanks very much for faxing to me the materials on the UNA-USA's activities in seeking the repeal of the Zionism is Racism resolution. This is a critical undertaking and I am deeply grateful for the steps taken by the UNA-USA to seek this repeal.

The materials prepared by the, UNA-USA and shared with pertinent organizations and leaders, as well as the press, are well done and I am confident they will help our cause. I have shared them with others on the Union staff who are involved in seeking to bring about the repeal. Should any further suggestions arise I will, of course, share them with you.

With gratitude to you and colleagues of the UNA-USA and with warm regards, I am

Sincerely,

Alexander M. Schindler

FAX COVER SHEET

TO Cabbi Alexander Schneider Dec 6, 1991

DEPT _____

AT _____

FAX 570-8895

FR Ed Luck

DEPT _____

RE _____

NUMBER OF PAGES TO FOLLOW

5

cc
QV.

Acknowledge with
Hunts

Shore w/
De V. Dei

REPLY TO FAX (212) 682-9185 or PHONE (212) 697-3232



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

December 5, 1991

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

Dear Alex:

Enclosed are copies of our initial pieces on the repeal of the Zionism-Racism resolution. We are taking the following steps this week:

- 1) distributing the press release and materials to our press list (300 journalists);
- 2) sending a letter from UNA-USA leaders and the materials to all 166 Permanent Representatives to the UN;
- 3) sending an appeal to all 130 organizations affiliated with UNA-USA;
- 4) sending the materials and a letter to fellow UNAs in 75 countries;
- 5) raising the issue personally with the Secretary-General and the President of the General Assembly, as well as with selected Ambassadors.

If it would be helpful, we would be glad to take additional steps over the next two weeks. We will look for targets of opportunity, but let me know if you have specific suggestions.

Thanks very much and all the best.

Regards,

Edward C. Luck
President

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Max M. Kampelman

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NOT RECORDED IN 16, 90 DEC



United Nations Association of the United States of America
485 Fifth Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10017 (212) 697-3232

RESOLUTION

of the

UNA-USA NATIONAL COUNCIL

December 3, 1991

Reaffirming the long-standing opposition of the United Nations Association of the USA (UNA-USA) to the infamous 1975 UN General Assembly resolution 3379, equating Zionism with racism;

Recalling the resolution of UNA-USA's last National Convention in December 1990 calling on UN member states to disavow resolution 3379;

Welcoming the statements calling for its repeal by speakers from many regions at this year's General Assembly;

Recognizing that the international political climate has never before been so propitious for having the General Assembly repeal this resolution; and

Recognizing further that this resolution remains an obstacle to a greater UN role in the Middle East peace process;

The National Council of the United Nations Association of the USA therefore unanimously:

- 1) Applauds the pledge of the United States Government to push for the repeal of resolution 3379 and urges it to make every effort at the UN and in capitals around the world to persuade other governments to take a similar position;
- 2) Calls on all member states of the United Nations to vote to repeal resolution 3379 at this General Assembly in the interests of justice, tolerance, and the credibility of the United Nations as a force for international peace and harmony; and
- 3) Urges other national United Nations Associations throughout the world and the one hundred and thirty non-governmental organizations affiliated with UNA-USA to raise their voices in a common effort to rescind resolution 3379 before the end of this General Assembly.



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December 5, 1991

H.E. Khodaidad Basharmal
Permanent Representative to the United Nations
Permanent Mission of the Republic of
Afghanistan to the United Nations
866 United Nations Plaza, Suite 520
New York, New York 10017

Dear Ambassador Basharmal:

On behalf of the United Nations Association of the USA (UNA-USA), we are writing to urge your support for the repeal of General Assembly resolution 3379, which equated Zionism with racism. On December 3rd, the UNA-USA National Council unanimously passed the enclosed resolution urging that resolution 3379 be rescinded at this General Assembly.

As life-long supporters of the United Nations, we opposed passage of 3379 in 1975 both because we found its content to be repugnant and because of the damage it would do to the UN's credibility and reputation. That was, in fact, the first time that UNA-USA took a public position on any issue before the UN.

Today, the resolution remains a stain on the UN's record, bringing into question its commitment to tolerance and even-handedness in one of the most explosive areas of the world. Without the removal of this obstacle, it is hard to envision a larger UN role in the Middle East peace process.

To give you a better sense of why UNA-USA members, as strong UN supporters, have felt so strongly about this issue through the years, we have enclosed an editorial from the latest issue of our newspaper, *The Inter Dependent*.

With many thanks for your urgent attention to this matter and with all best wishes,

Sincerely,

John C. Whitehead
Chairman

Elliot L. Richardson
Co-Chair, National Council

Max M. Kampelman
Chairman, Board of Governors

Edward C. Luck
President

Chair of the Association
John C. Whitehead

Chair, Board of Governors
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Director, Development
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Executive Director,
National Programs
James M. Olson

Director, Communications
John Tessitore

the inter dependent

Volume 17, Number 5

November-December 1991

Published by the United Nations Association of the USA

Righting an old wrong

By Edward C. Luck



THE TIME HAS COME FOR THE GENERAL Assembly to do itself, and the U.N.'s reputation, a favor by reversing the infamous Zionism Is Racism resolution of 1975. Sixteen years after its passage the resolution still stands in the way of a more active U.N. role in the Middle East peace process. The member states cannot have it

both ways: offering the U.N. as an impartial mediator on the one hand and essentially declaring one of the parties illegitimate on the other.

For UNA-USA members this is an especially painful realization. Our members have a wide range of views regarding the merits of the issues at stake in the Middle East.

They recognize there is plenty of blame to go around, but they would like to see the U.N. take a leading role in bringing a lasting peace to precisely such polarized, explosive regions as the Middle East. Perhaps this is why the reversal of the 1975 resolution has remained high on UNA-USA's agenda after all these years.

Then a decidedly junior staffer, I recall vividly our Board of Directors' decision to fight passage of the resolution. For UNA-USA it was a historic occasion: the first time it took a public position on an issue before the U.N. To no avail did President Jim Leonard and other UNA-USA leaders lobby every mission to the U.N., warning—rather presciently, it turns out—of the long-term dangers of the pending action. Last December our National Convention, in a strongly worded statement, again called on the Assembly to disavow the resolution.

This year it may well come to pass. President Bush grabbed most of the headlines when he called for repeal in his annual speech to the General Assembly in September. But he was hardly alone. The Soviet Union, after years of quiet regrets and discussion in the UNA-USA/UNA-USSR exchanges, came out for repeal this fall. The new Foreign Minister, Boris Pankin, declared that "we should once and for all leave behind the legacy of the ice age like the obnoxious resolution equating Zionism to Racism." The Eastern Europeans were especially eloquent, and countries from every part of the world joined in the chorus

for repeal. There seems to be an ample number of votes for rescinding the resolution; but the debate could be ugly, and the point will be lost if the vote is a close one.

TWO BARRIERS REMAIN. The least difficult is the question of precedent. The Assembly has reversed itself publicly only once, almost 40 years ago and under very different circumstances. But wouldn't it be healthy now and then for the Assembly to admit that it was wrong, that times have changed? National legislatures, after all, make a fetish of repeatedly amending legislation. True, the Assembly is not a legislature, since it can only express opinion; but surely the international community does not benefit from keeping every artifact of bygone eras on the books to haunt future generations. The more delicate issue

MATTERS OF OPINION



involves timing and tactics, but waiting until next year would cost both credibility and momentum. The global political climate is certainly propitious, despite the continuing tensions in the region, and the Assembly's tone on the Middle East has been relatively low key and constructive so far.

The key is to bear in mind what this is—and is not—about. This is not a question of who is right or a judgment about the ultimate product of the negotiating process. Nor would viewing it in this light be a favor to Israel or its supporters. Jews and Palestinians alike have legitimate aspirations, and the Assembly has no business declaring either of these illegitimate. The role for the U.N.—if it is to be a peacemaker—is to urge tolerance and mutual respect, not to take sides. The member states have a rare opportunity to reaffirm these central tenets of the Charter by admitting that human institutions do indeed make mistakes from time to time. Surely in an age of extraordinary and wonderful change in the world, this should not prove such a difficult step. ■

Edward C. Luck is President of UNA-USA.



COPY

UNA-USA
RABBI ALEXANDER M. SCHINDLER • UNION OF AMERICAN HEBREW CONGREGATIONS
PRESIDENT 838 FIFTH AVENUE NEW YORK, NY 10021-7064 (212)249-0100

December 3, 1991
26 Kislev 5752

Mr. Edward C. Luck
UNA-USA
485 Fifth Avenue
New York, NY 10017

Dear Ed:

I thought that your letter to Edgar Bronfman sent over John Whitehead's signature was right on the mark. It should do the trick. As I told you, he was about 95% committed when I spoke to him over the telephone.

Needless to say, if there is any need for a further approach we will be glad to join John and you and anyone else for that matter on a visit to the Seagrams building.

With warm good wishes, I am

Sincerely,

Alexander M. Schindler



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

November 27, 1991

Mr. Edgar M. Bronfman
Joseph E. Seagram & Sons, Inc.
375 Park Avenue
5th floor
New York, NY 10152

Dear Edgar:

I understand that Alex Schindler has spoken to you about chairing the Annual United Nations Association Ball at The Plaza next May 28th. It is a classy event to aid an important organization, and it would be terrific if you could take this on. With the UN on the move again, the timing could not be better.

Rather than calling you first, I thought it would be best to send the enclosed materials describing the event and the Chairman's responsibilities. Among the enclosures is a *Times* clipping on last year's event.

Alex said you wanted to be certain that the time commitment would not be too onerous nor the financial goals too ambitious. I can reassure you on both counts. You need only approve a draft letter and a list of potential supporters, help find two or three others to help underwrite the costs, assign someone at Seagrams to work with the UNA-USA staff and attend the event on May 28th. I can assure you -- having participated in my share of events through the years -- that the UNA-USA people do an excellent, thorough and professional job of putting this together.

The financial goals are also quite modest. The target is to gross \$400,000, about half of which comes from regular supporters of the event and UNA-USA Board members. The other half would come from corporations and individuals you and Seagrams would identify. It helps, of course, if the Chairman or his company can get the ball rolling with an underwriting gift, though the exact amount is flexible.

The event itself draws the whole UN diplomatic corps, including the Secretary-General and the President of the General Assembly, both of whom would be seated at your head table. As you may know, they come from Egypt and Saudi Arabia, respectively, the first time countries from the Middle East have held either post. This should be a good opportunity to pursue quietly some issues, such as rescinding the Zionism-Racism resolution, on which you and I both feel strongly.

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Chair, Board of Governors
Max M. Kampelman

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Cyrus R. Vance

President
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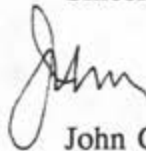
Page Two
Mr. Edgar Bronfman
November 27, 1991

I very much hope that you will accept our invitation. It would be great to have you on board.

Please do not hesitate to call if you have any questions. If it would be helpful, I know that Ed Luck, our President, and Betty Lustig, who organizes the event, would be pleased to meet with you and your staff to go over the details. Alex said he would be glad to come see you about this as well. Let me know what is best for you.

Thanks again for your interest and I will look forward to working with you.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read 'John C. Whitehead', with a stylized, cursive script.

John C. Whitehead
Chairman

cc: Rabbi Alexander Schindler ✓



COPY
[Handwritten signature]

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

UNA-USA

February 20, 1991
6 Adar 5751

Mr. Edward Luck
United Nations Association
of the United States of America
485 Fifth Avenue
New York, NY 10017-6104

Dear Ed:

I seem to have a great deal of conflict in terms of Board of Governors meetings. As soon as I received your January 25th letter with the schedule for 1991, I checked my calendar and found that I had conflicts for two of the three dates. Unfortunately, both conflicts are for critical UAHC meetings which I simply cannot reschedule.

On March 25th we have our Annual Budget meeting which involve a number of people coming in from other cities and which is a very difficult meeting to set in terms of busy schedules. Monday, November 4th falls during the period of the UAHC Biennial Convention in Baltimore and it is simply impossible for me to be in New York on that day.

I am reserving Thursday, May 30, from 12-4 p.m. It is my intention and hope to attend that session of the Board of Governors.

I do regret this difficulty in schedule and I hope you understand my predicament. I enjoy the meetings of the UNA-USA and I want to attend as many as possible. This is an organization about which I care deeply.

With warm regards and every good wish, I am

Sincerely,

Alexander M. Schindler



UNITED NATIONS ASSOCIATION OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

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Cyrus R. Vance

Chair, U.N. Day 1990
Drew Lewis

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Studies Program
John C. Bierwirth

Chair, Quadrilateral Program
on Asian Security
Frank C. Carlucci

Chair, WFUNA Committee
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Policy Studies
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Executive Director,
Multilateral Studies
Jeffrey Laurenti

Director, Development
Betty Lustig

Executive Director,
National Programs
James M. Olson

Director, Communications
John Tessitore

February 14, 1991

3 UN PLAZA
UNISEF HOUSE
44TH ST BETWEEN
1ST + 2ND AVE

TO: National Council

FROM: Ed Luck

SUBJECT: Persian Gulf and December 3rd Annual Meeting

Please mark Tuesday, December 3rd, on your calendar, for we have scheduled the Annual Meeting of the National Council from 9:30 a.m. to 2:30 p.m. that day. It will be held in New York City, with the location to be announced closer to the date. John, Max and I will look forward to seeing you. *oc*

The drama in the Persian Gulf is no doubt gripping your thoughts, as it is ours. The war presents an enormous challenge, and opportunity, for the United Nations.

Prior to the outbreak of hostilities, the world organization was at the center of international decision-making, setting the terms for Iraq's withdrawal from Kuwait and authorizing the use of force by member states to achieve this end. As the war rages on, the UN has been left somewhat uncomfortably on the sidelines as the twenty-eight nation coalition conducts the war effort. But this time should not be wasted, for it provides a valuable chance to reflect on where we go from here.

It is likely that the UN will again be called upon to play a central role in shaping the transition from war to peace and in helping to bring a degree of postwar stability to this volatile region. While public and official attention is glued to the day-to-day course of the fighting, UNA is seeking to stimulate fresh thinking about postwar options and the potential role of the United Nations.

To this end, you may find the *Wall Street Journal* op-ed by John Whitehead and Max Kampelman and the UNA Occasional Paper, which are enclosed, to be of considerable interest. We are pursuing further research on these themes, as well as maintaining an active dialogue with US and UN officials. Any thoughts you might have on the issues raised in them would be greatly appreciated. So please let us know your views.

Thanks very much for all that you do and best wishes for a peaceful and bountiful year.

Let U.N. Enforce Peace After Gulf War

By JOHN C. WHITEHEAD
And MAX M. KAMPELMAN

It is sometimes said that the U.S. often triumphs on the battlefield only to lose at the postwar conference table. In the Gulf today, there is no doubt that the American-led coalition has the firepower, the will, and the justness of cause to "win." Sustaining the subsequent peace, however, will be an immense challenge.

America's war aims are limited and should remain so. The president has made clear that he does not seek the military occupation of a devastated Iraq. He seeks only Iraq's full compliance with the 12 relevant U.N. Security Council resolutions. The postwar goal should be to establish a stable balance of power in the region at a much lower level of armaments and with an extensive international presence for monitoring the situation and for discouraging future aggression. A helpless Iraq could invite further instability, given the historic rivalries among Iran, Syria and Iraq.

While the United Nations has understandably been left in the wings during the fighting, it should return to center stage in the postwar period. The Security Council, which authorized the war, is the proper vehicle for overseeing the transition from war to peace. This would allay suspicions in some countries about American ambitions, while easing the financial, human and political burdens on the U.S. of maintaining the peace. It is through the established mechanisms of the U.N. that America's more ambivalent allies—such as Germany and Japan—can be persuaded to carry their fair share of the load. Pax Americana is a catchy slogan, but realism dictates the need to re-emphasize international burden-sharing and renewed respect for international law and institutions.

Peacekeepers will be needed to patrol Iraq's borders with Kuwait and Saudi Arabia—and possibly with Jordan and Syria—just as they now do the border between Iraq and Iran. While the personnel might be drawn largely from Arab countries, their mandate should come from the Security Council, not from the Arab League, which is badly polarized on these issues. This would ensure a global eye on developments and the application of the U.N.'s many years of peacekeeping experience. The creation of an ad hoc U.S.-led Western multilateral peacekeeping force—as was tried with such tragic results in Beirut—would be a mistake. A large U.S. land presence, especially in Iraq, would offer a tempting target for terrorism, while reinforcing the image of a victorious America forcing its will on Arab populations.

Peacekeeping can help to prevent incidents and to monitor developments in the area, but tough arms limitations will also be needed to make sure that Iraq and its neighbors do not reacquire the tools for another round of war. Iraq's SCUD attacks on Israel and Saudi Arabia underline the need to eliminate surface-to-surface missiles from the region. One possibility worth further study would be to extend the Soviet-American INF treaty, which bans medium and intermediate range ballistic missiles, to all states in the region.

While coalition bombing of Iraqi nuclear and chemical installations will buy time, without international inspections there will be no assurance that these capabilities will not be rebuilt. The International Atomic Energy Agency, a U.N. organization, has been inspecting Iraqi nuclear facilities for years, but the inspection system clearly has not been thorough or dependable enough to reassure its neighbors of Iraq's peaceful intentions. These will need to be supplemented with additional effective verification and confidence-building measures in the future.

The determination of war crimes, reparations and the healing of the wounds of war will also require extensive U.N. involvement. The "other" U.N.—its humanitarian and development side—should be utilized to bolster stability by giving the people of the region a greater stake in the peaceful evolution of their societies and, over time, a greater voice in their future. Despite the oil wealth of the region, U.N. agencies will need to play a leading role in aiding refugees, providing humanitarian assistance, spurring economic development and rehabilitating the ravaged environment. Decisions will need to be made about the continuation of the economic sanctions and arms embargo imposed by the Security Council, as well as whether to prosecute the growing list of Iraqi violations of international law.

The U.S., of course, should play a central role in all of this. Encouraging U.N. involvement does not mean shirking America's global responsibilities as the world's most powerful nation or abandoning bilateral ties with friends in the region. But it does mean entrusting the international community, through the Security Council, with a much greater share of the power and the responsibility for shaping the future of the Persian Gulf region. The U.S. veto power will provide an assurance that fundamental U.S. security interests will be protected, but the emphasis in policymaking must shift to finding a consensus solution that all of the major powers and affected states can live with.

Wars are terrible, but until we can find a way to eliminate them completely, the fact is that they create new realities and open up new avenues for cooperation and institution-building. The ultimate test of whether the Gulf war is successful will not be measured in levels of destruction, but in whether a new level of political dialogue and arms restraint can be introduced into the world's most explosive region. If so, then President Bush's welcome conception of a new world order will have taken a great step on the road from rhetoric to reality.

Mr. Whitehead, a Reagan deputy secretary of state, heads the United Nations Association of the USA. Mr. Kampelman, who led the U.S. delegation to the nuclear arms reduction talks in Geneva, is chairman of the board of governors of UNA-USA.

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**ROLES FOR THE UNITED NATIONS
AFTER THE GULF WAR**

No. 3
February 1991

UNA - USA
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United Nations Association of the United States of America



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ROLES FOR THE UNITED NATIONS AFTER THE GULF WAR

No. 3
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ROLES FOR THE UNITED NATIONS AFTER THE GULF WAR¹

A briefing paper prepared by UNA-USA

When the war between Iraq and the U.S.-led multinational force ends, numerous challenges to peace and stability in the Middle East will remain. Just as the United Nations played a crucial role in consolidating international resolve against Iraqi aggression, so will the U.N. be deeply involved in international efforts after the war. **The U.S. should take the lead once again to engage the U.N. in developing a strong international response to these postwar challenges.**

It is not in the U.S. interest to find itself the sole guardian of the principles and objectives for which the 28 nations of the multinational force are waging war. A serious U.N. role would enable the U.S. to disengage more of its forces from the Gulf region more quickly. The U.N. also offers opportunities for sharing the burden of rebuilding the peace more equitably with Arab nations and other U.N. members.

In this paper, the United Nations Association of the USA (UNA-USA) identifies several areas in which the U.N. could be asked to undertake new responsibilities in the Middle East. These include:

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¹ ©Copyright 1991 by the United Nations Association of the USA. This paper draws upon and expands the conclusions of an earlier paper "The United Nations in the Gulf Crisis and Options for U.S. Policy" by David J. Scheffer (UNA-USA Occasional Paper No. 1, United Nations Association of the USA, October 1990).

In UNA-USA's view, any new responsibilities assigned to the U.N. should be accompanied by a renewed commitment by the U.S. and other members to ensure adequate financial and other support for these U.N. operations.

* * * * *

United Nations Peacekeeping

Post-war arrangements to help restore and keep the peace in the Gulf region could include significant roles for the U.N. in restoring peace and stability, such as:

- * **Deployment of a new U.N. peacekeeping force** in parts of Iraq and Kuwait and, possibly, Saudi Arabia -- well-armed and operating under special rules of engagement that would permit them to enforce their mandate -- and/or a U.N. observer group to one or more of those countries, to undertake some or all of the following:
 - : Monitor the withdrawal of Iraqi forces from Kuwait and possibly to secure distances north of a neutral zone that may be created between Iraq and both Kuwait and Saudi Arabia;
 - : Patrol the borders of Kuwait and, perhaps, certain sectors of Iraq's borders with Saudi Arabia, Iran, Turkey, Syria, and Jordan;
 - : Restore law and order in Kuwait and Iraq;
 - : Replace the activities of multinational forces in Kuwait and, possibly, Iraq and Saudi Arabia;
 - : Participate in the disarming and reorganization of a defeated Iraqi army, oversee the transfer of prisoners of war, and/or administer medical attention to wounded soldiers and civilian casualties, perhaps with the creation of a special medical corps in cooperation with the International Committee of the Red Cross; and
 - : Participate in mine-clearing and ordinance removal exercises.
- * **Deployment of a U.N.-flagged naval force** in the Persian Gulf, Gulf of Oman, Arabian Sea, and Red Sea, to continue monitoring and enforcing certain economic and military sanctions against Iraq. The naval force could be a U.N.-authorized deployment of military vessels from various nations flying both the flag of registry and the U.N. flag or a specially created and funded U.N. navy.

For both the land and naval peacekeeping options, a U.N. peacekeeping force or group operating under the Security Council would have an advantage over all-Arab forces of also involving the major powers in seeking to guarantee the peace.

Continued Monitoring and Enforcement of Sanctions

If the Iraqi government remains substantially unchanged by the war, the U.N. Security Council will in all likelihood want to **continue some or all of the trade sanctions imposed upon Iraq** in the fall of 1990. Such sanctions should include at a minimum most categories of military items and certain highly-sensitive industrial and manufactured goods. They also should encompass all technology related to the manufacture of nuclear, chemical, or biological weapons or of any type of ballistic or cruise missile.

The Security Council would need to approve new resolutions establishing the categories of items prohibited under the U.N. sanctions.² The sanctions committee -- established by Security Council Resolution 661 on August 6, 1990, and currently chaired by Austria -- could be authorized to continue to monitor the implementation of the sanctions until such time as they are lifted by the Security Council.

The international community would have a continued role in enforcing trade sanctions over air and land borders. Naval enforcement could continue to be undertaken by the current multinational naval contingent or it could be entrusted to a naval force authorized by and flying the flag of the U.N., as suggested above.

United Nations Administrative Assistance in Kuwait and Iraq

Recent U.N. experiences in Namibia and Central America, as well as current planning regarding Cambodia, demonstrate a growing U.N. capacity to provide administrative assistance to governments emerging either from colonialism or from a long war. This experience may be relevant to the post-war situation in Kuwait and Iraq.

² The composition of the Security Council has changed since the passage in the fall of 1990 of resolutions on trade sanctions, due to the rotation of five of the ten non-permanent Council members. As of January 1, 1991, the new non-permanent members are: Austria, Belgium, Ecuador, India, and Zimbabwe. Non-permanent members Cote d'Ivoire, Cuba, Romania, Yemen, and Zaire remain on the Council, as do the five permanent members (Britain, China, France, the United States, and the USSR).

By all accounts, the Iraqi army has decimated the governmental apparatus of Kuwait, including the destruction of key documents and records. The U.N. could provide **administrative assistance in certain essential services** for a limited time after the war, at the request and expense of the government of Kuwait, to help that government to reestablish key functions, including:

- * reconstitution of government agencies;
- * hiring of personnel;
- * reconstruction and repair of government buildings;
- * compilation of statistical information about Kuwaiti citizens and their property; and
- * restoration of public services, such as waste management, postal and telecommunication facilities, transportation, and law enforcement.

If the Iraqi government collapses as an outcome of the Gulf war, immediate and temporary U.N. administrative assistance may be required. Over the long term, the establishment of a new government might require **U.N. election monitoring services**. The U.N. may prove to be the only organization able to undertake such duties in Iraq, in light of Arab sensitivity to Western management of governmental affairs.

Refugee and Other Humanitarian Assistance

The war already has triggered massive flows of refugees out of Iraq and into neighboring states, primarily Jordan and Iran. There also may be significant flows of refugees south, into liberated Kuwait and Saudi Arabia, and north into Turkey.

The Office of the United Nations Disaster Relief Coordinator (UNDRO) will be deeply involved in **coordinating and administering a relief operation to cope with the refugee problem**, including the immediate needs of food and shelter for refugees and the longer-term job of refugee repatriation and resettlement. U.N. services also may be required to **address the immediate needs of war victims in Iraq** for such essentials as food, water, and shelter. Planning for these U.N. roles should be given a high priority immediately, while the war continues, to ensure a prompt and adequate response.

Economic Rehabilitation

Despite their oil wealth, and depending on the extent of war damage to the oilfields, Kuwait and Iraq may need significant **technical and/or financial assistance** in their efforts at post-war economic reconstruction. The U.N. and its specialized agencies may be the only organizations capable of soliciting, administering, and distributing such assistance on the scale required. The U.N. could provide coordination mechanisms for international assistance and could work with the relevant governments to establish priorities for rebuilding both countries.

Environmental Rehabilitation

Environmental problems which existed in the Gulf region prior to the war have been aggravated by the war and no doubt will be further compounded, particularly if any more oil supplies are ignited or leaked into waterways. A U.N. role in **coordinating environmental restoration** efforts will be crucial, perhaps working through the regional United Nations Environment Program (UNEP) center in Bahrain. The UNEP Regional Seas office, which was located in Kuwait and which closed after the war commenced, might be reopened and its operations revitalized.

In the future, all countries in the region should cooperate to **develop a comprehensive regional environmental plan** for the Gulf. Such a plan has been implemented by UNEP in the Mediterranean (the "Med Plan") with considerable success in pollution reduction and improvement of environmental practices.

Arms Control and Other Security Arrangements

Both in the short and long terms, the flow of military weaponry into the Gulf region will need to be closely monitored and controlled.³ A continuation of the Security Council's trade embargo on sales of military items to Iraq will be a critical part of any U.N. arms control regime in the region. Additional steps that could be taken by the U.N. include:

- * Expansion of U.N. capabilities to **monitor chemical, biological, and nuclear weapons capabilities as well as the development of ballistic and cruise missiles** in the Middle East. The establishment of a U.N. agency to monitor chemical weapons already is under discussion. Further efforts are needed to address problems in monitoring and verification of biological weapons. In the nuclear area, the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) might implement its full statutory authority and broaden its inspections of known and suspected Iraqi facilities; it also should locate and safeguard the enriched uranium inspected in Iraq in 1990;

³ A start already has been made on nuclear weapons control, with an October 1990 report of the U.N. Secretary General to the General Assembly entitled "Establishment of a Nuclear-Weapon-Free Zone in the Region of the Middle East: Study on effective and verifiable measures which would facilitate the establishment of a nuclear-weapon-free zone in the Middle East." This report outlined steps which could help produce the conditions conducive to wider arms control agreements in the Middle East.

- * A U.N. role in developing a **regional treaty regime to control the proliferation of chemical weapons** in the Middle East, in the absence of a global chemical weapons convention signed and ratified by Iraq; and/or
- * Exploration of ways to **monitor and control arms transfers** to Iraq or the entire Gulf region (after trade sanctions against Iraq are lifted). There are new indications that all Middle Eastern countries may be prepared to consider proposals to reduce conventional weapons in the region. A first step would be the establishment of a U.N. arms transfer register to record the flow of weapons to the Middle East. Longer-term efforts to restrict arms transfers might require a U.N. enforcement mechanism.

Restitution and Financial Compensation by Iraq

U.N. members may wish to pursue **damage claims against Iraq** after the war. Security Council Resolution 674 of October 29, 1990 holds Iraq "liable for any loss, damage or injury arising in regard to Kuwait and third States, and their nationals and corporations, as a result of the invasion and illegal occupation of Kuwait by Iraq." Resolution 674 also initiated a procedure for collecting information regarding the claims of states "and those of their nations and corporations, for restitution or financial compensation by Iraq with a view to such arrangements as may be established in accordance with international law."

Most Iraqi financial assets outside Iraq were frozen by national governments in August 1990. The legal procedures required to collect information on claims against those assets, and eventually to resolve those claims, will take years and may involve the **creation of a special U.N.-Iraq claims tribunal**. If claims exceed the value of the frozen assets, the U.N. might be involved in determining what amount, if any, Iraq should be held responsible for paying from its national budget (perhaps as a percentage of revenues from oil exports) in the years ahead. Such an unprecedented exercise could engage the U.N. in a complex and controversial undertaking stretching far into the future.

Resolution of International Legal Violations and Disputes

A. Prosecution of Alleged Iraqi Violations. The Security Council has recorded numerous **Iraqi violations of international law** since the August 2, 1990 invasion of Kuwait. For example, Resolution 670 (September 25, 1990) reaffirms that Iraq is liable for the "grave breaches committed by it" of the Geneva Convention IV of 1949 (Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War) and that "individuals who commit or order the commission of grave breaches" also are liable.

Iraqi violations of the laws of war, particularly with respect to treatment of prisoners of war and the firing of SCUD missiles at civilian targets in Israel, a non-belligerent, appear to

constitute additional breaches of international law for which Iraqi government and military officials could be subject to prosecution as war criminals.

An important first step would be identifying the right forum in which to lodge a claim against the state of Iraq or to prosecute Iraqi officials. One avenue for claims against the state of Iraq is the International Court of Justice (ICJ). Iraq is a party to three multilateral treaties--the 1961 Vienna Convention on Diplomatic Relations, the 1963 Vienna Convention on Consular Relations, and the 1973 Convention on Prevention and Punishment of Crimes Against Internationally Protected Persons, Including Diplomatic Agents -- which include clauses requiring parties to accept the compulsory jurisdiction of the ICJ.

The legal basis for Iraqi participation in ICJ cases under these treaties thus is sound. Whether Iraq would appear to defend itself or would comply with the judgment of the ICJ is less certain.

There currently exists no international criminal court before which individual officials can be prosecuted for violations of the laws of war (which include the 1949 Geneva Conventions on care for the wounded, treatment of prisoners of war, and protection of civilians). However, the Security Council could authorize the **creation of a special war crimes tribunal for the Gulf conflict**.

The tribunal could hold proceedings in Kuwait or Saudi Arabia, with its judges selected either by the ICJ or by a special tribunal created by the ICJ. The charter of the tribunal also could be reviewed and approved by the Security Council. In any such tribunal, the due process rights of the Iraqi defendants, including the right to competent counsel, would be fully honored.

Iraqi violations of international law, particularly the laws of war, might also encourage the members of the U.N. to **establish a permanent international criminal court**, at which heads of state and other officials could be prosecuted for gross violations of international law.

B. Resolution of Other Disputes. After the war, any **other legal disputes between Iraq and other states should be resolved through legal channels rather than by the use of force**. Iraq and other states could pursue claims of violations of international treaty obligations through the ICJ, should both parties consent to the jurisdiction of the Court. States might alternately agree to submit disputes to binding arbitration or mediation through the good offices of the Secretary General.

Middle East Peace Conference

After the war, the U.N. community should address other obstacles to peace in the region. The long-standing but controversial proposal for a **Middle East peace conference** to resolve the

conflicts between Israelis, Palestinians and Arabs may assume more urgency following the Gulf war. Other potential agenda items might include the issue of Lebanese sovereignty and the repeal of the "Zionism is Racism" Resolution of the General Assembly passed in 1975. If support for a conference gains momentum, then the Security Council will become deeply engaged in establishing the terms of reference and objectives of such a conference, as well as in defining the appropriate U.N. role in Middle East peace negotiations.

Permanent U.N. Enforcement Capability

The multinational responses to the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait and the efforts to enforce Security Council resolutions raise anew the issue of whether the original **plans for collective security** specified in the U.N. Charter should be more fully implemented. No member of the U.N. has ever entered into the "special agreement" with the Security Council called for by Article 43 of the Charter.

Through a special agreement, a state would agree to provide "on call" to the U.N. certain units of its armed forces for enforcement actions authorized by the Security Council. Another option would be for Security Council members to authorize the Secretary General to send U.N. military observers to any state requesting a U.N. presence if it felt threatened by the prospect of invasion by another state.

Had such special agreements been made earlier, the Security Council might have been in a position in early August 1990 to deploy troops rapidly to Kuwait -- to forestall a complete takeover of that country -- and/or to Saudi Arabia, to deter further Iraqi aggression. Such U.N. actions might have helped to prevent the massive buildup of forces on both sides which ultimately led to the current war, as well as to ensure a broader sharing of peacekeeping burdens within the U.N. community.

After the Gulf war the U.N. could hold one or more conferences to coordinate and undertake the drafting and negotiation of bilateral special agreements. Once these agreements were ratified, the U.S. Congress and other national legislatures would have provided the Security Council -- and the U.N. community -- with the capability to promote collective security through the use, as necessary, of a sizable military force to deter aggression and maintain the peace.

APPENDIX A

THE U.N. AND THE PERSIAN GULF CRISIS

ACTIONS BY THE SECURITY COUNCIL UNDER CHAPTER VII (ARTICLES 39-51)

Since the early hours of the invasion of Kuwait by the Iraqi army on August 2, the U.N. Security Council has approved twelve resolutions under Chapter VII of the Charter in connection with Iraq's aggression. The membership of the Security Council at the time of the resolutions consisted of the five permanent members (the United States, the Soviet Union, France, the United Kingdom, and the People's Republic of China) and ten non-permanent members (Canada, Finland, Colombia, Cuba, Ethiopia, Malaysia, Cote d'Ivoire, Romania, Yemen, and Zaire). The vote tally of and the legal authority referred to in each Security Council resolution are reflected in the following summary:

CONDEMNATION OF INVASION

Resolution 660, August 2, 14-0, Yemen abstaining

Action pursuant to Articles 39 and 40 of Charter

- Condemns the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait.
- Demands immediate and unconditional Iraqi withdrawal of its forces to August 1 location.
- Calls upon Iraq and Kuwait to begin immediate intensive negotiations and supports other diplomatic efforts, especially by the Arab League.

TRADE EMBARGO

Resolution 661, August 6, 13-0, Cuba and Yemen abstaining

Action pursuant to Chapter VII of Charter

- Decides on measures to secure compliance with Resolution 660.
- Decides upon trade and financial sanctions against Iraq and Kuwait, including prohibition on (1) import of all commodities and products of Iraq and Kuwait, (2) assistance in the export or transshipment of any commodities or products of Iraq or Kuwait, (3) exports to Iraq or Kuwait, except medical supplies and humanitarian foodstuffs, (4) use or transfer or remission of any funds or other financial or economic resources by or to Iraqi government or any commercial, industrial, or public utility undertaking in Iraq or Kuwait.
- Requires compliance with trade and financial sanctions regardless of contractual obligations.
- Establishes a Sanctions Committee (consisting of all Security Council members) to examine implementation of sanctions and report to Secretary-General.

- Exempts assistance to the legitimate government of Kuwait, calls for protection of assets of legitimate government of Kuwait, and forbids recognition of any regime established in Kuwait by Iraq.
- Requires the Secretary-General to report on implementation of sanctions within 30 days.

NULLIFICATION OF ANNEXATION

Resolution 662, August 9, 15-0

No reference to specific provisions of U.N. Charter

- Decides that annexation of Kuwait by Iraq has no legal validity and is considered null and void.
- Calls on states and international organizations not to recognize annexation, directly or indirectly.
- Demands that Iraq rescind annexation.

FOREIGN HOSTAGES AND DIPLOMATIC IMMUNITY

Resolution 664, August 18, 15-0

Action pursuant to Chapter VII of Charter

- Demands that Iraq permit and facilitate immediate departure of foreign nationals from Iraq and Kuwait and grant consular officials immediate and continuing access to such nationals.
- Demands that Iraq take no action to jeopardize the safety, security, or health of such nationals.
- Demands that Iraq rescind its orders for closure of diplomatic and consular missions in Kuwait and its withdrawal of immunity of their personnel.

ENFORCEMENT OF THE TRADE SANCTIONS

Resolution 665, August 25, 13-0, Cuba and Yemen abstaining

Action pursuant to Chapter VII of Charter

- Calls upon states participating in the maritime operation to use "such measures commensurate to the specific circumstances as may be necessary under the authority of the Security Council to halt all inward and outward maritime shipping in order to inspect and verify their cargoes and destinations" and enforce trade sanctions of Resolution 661.
- Invites maximum use of political and diplomatic measures.
- Requests all states to provide assistance for enforcement of trade sanctions.
- Requests states to coordinate their actions, using the U.N. Military Staff Committee, as appropriate.

HUMANITARIAN PROVISION OF FOODSTUFFS

Resolution 666, September 14, 13-2, Cuba and Yemen opposed

Action pursuant to Chapter VII of Charter

- Requests the Secretary-General to seek urgently information on the availability of food in Iraq and Kuwait.
- Requires that, if the Sanctions Committee determines there is an urgent humanitarian need to supply foodstuffs, it will report to the Security Council on how such need should be met.
- Directs the Sanctions Committee to bear in mind that foodstuffs should be provided through the United Nations in cooperation with the International Committee of the Red Cross or other appropriate humanitarian agencies and distributed by them or under their supervision to ensure that they reach the intended beneficiaries.
- Requests the Secretary-General to use his good offices to facilitate the delivery and distribution of foodstuffs to Kuwait and Iraq.
- Recommends that medical supplies be exported under the strict supervision of the government of the exporting state or by appropriate humanitarian agencies.

AGGRESSION AGAINST DIPLOMATIC PREMISES AND PERSONNEL

Resolution 667, September 16, 15-0

Action pursuant to Chapter VII of Charter

- Strongly condemns aggressive acts by Iraq against diplomatic premises and personnel in Kuwait.
- Demands immediate release of foreign nationals.
- Demands that Iraq immediately and fully comply with Vienna conventions on diplomatic and consular relations and with other international law.
- Demands that Iraq immediately protect the safety of diplomatic and consular personnel and premises in Kuwait and Iraq and take no action to hinder those missions in the performance of their functions, including access to their nationals and the protection of their persons and interests.
- Decides to consult urgently to take further concrete measures as soon as possible under Chapter VII in response to Iraq's continued violation of the Charter, of Security Council resolutions, and of international law.

EXAMINATION OF ECONOMIC PROBLEMS ARISING FROM SANCTIONS

Resolution 669, September 24, 15-0

Action pursuant to Article 50 of Charter

- Authorizes the Sanctions Committee (established under Resolution 661) to
 - (1) examine requests for assistance from states confronted with special

economic problems related to implementation of trade sanctions against Iraq and (2) make recommendations to the President of the Security Council for appropriate action.

AIR EMBARGO

Resolution 670, September 25, 14-1, Cuba opposed

Action pursuant to Chapter VII of Charter

- Approves several decisions (listed below) to enforce the trade sanctions mandated by Resolution 661.
- Confirms that Resolution 661 applies to all means of transport, including aircraft.
- Prohibits all states, regardless of treaty or contractual obligations, from permitting any aircraft to take off from their territory carrying cargo to or from Iraq or Kuwait--except food in humanitarian circumstances, subject to authorization by the Security Council or Sanctions Committee established by Resolution 661 and in accordance with procedures in Resolution 666, or supplies strictly for medical purposes or U.N. observers in Iraq.
- Requires all states to deny permission to aircraft destined to land in Iraq or Kuwait the right to overfly its territory. Exceptions would be aircraft that would land at a designated airfield to be inspected, flights approved by the Sanctions Committee, and flights certified by the United Nations as solely for the U.N. observers in Iraq.
- Requires each state to enforce the air embargo against all aircraft registered in its territory or operated by a national.
- Requires "all states to cooperate in taking such measures as may be necessary, consistent with international law, including the Chicago Convention, to ensure the effective implementation" of the trade sanctions and the air embargo.
- Requires all states to detain any Iraqi-registered ships in their ports that are being or have been used to violate the trade sanctions, or to deny such ships entry into their ports.
- States its decision that if the trade sanctions or air embargo are evaded, the Security Council will consider measures directed at the violating state to prevent such evasion.
- Reaffirms that Geneva Convention IV of 1949 (Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War) applies to Kuwait and that Iraq is bound to comply with it. Iraq is particularly liable for "the grave breaches committed by it, as are individuals who commit or order the commission of grave breaches."

IRAQI OBLIGATIONS TOWARD FOREIGN NATIONALS AND DIPLOMATIC MISSIONS

**Resolution 674, October 29, 1990, 13-0, Cuba and Yemen abstaining
Action pursuant to Chapter VII of the Charter**

- Demands immediate end to Iraqi actions, including the taking of foreign hostages and the mistreatment and oppression of Kuwaiti and other foreign nationals, which violate Council decisions, the Charter, and international law.
- Reaffirms its demands that Iraq fulfil its obligations to foreign nationals and to the personnel, premises, and functions of diplomatic and consular missions in Iraq and Kuwait.
- Reminds Iraq of its liability under international law for losses, damages, or injuries to Kuwait, third states, and their nationals and corporations, resulting from Iraq's invasion and illegal occupation of Kuwait.
- Invites states to collect and provide the Council with information on breaches of Iraqi obligations toward Kuwaiti and other foreign nationals, and to collect information regarding states' claims, and those of their nationals and corporations, for restitution or financial compensation.
- Requests the Secretary-General to continue to use his good offices to seek the safety and well-being of Kuwaiti and other foreign nationals and missions in Iraq and Kuwait.
- Entrusts the Secretary-General to use his good offices and to undertake diplomatic efforts to reach a peaceful settlement on the basis of previous resolutions, and requests the Secretary-General to make progress reports to the Council on such efforts.
- Requires Iraq to comply with provisions of this and earlier resolutions, failing which the Council will need to take further measures under the Charter.

POPULATION COMPOSITION AND REGISTER OF KUWAIT

**Resolution 677, November 28, 1990, 15-0
Action pursuant to Chapter VII of the Charter**

- Condemns Iraqi attempts to alter the demographic composition of the population of Kuwait and to destroy the civil records of the Kuwaiti Government.
- Requests the Secretary-General to take custody of a copy of the population register of Kuwait and to establish, with the Government of Kuwait, an Order of Rules and Regulations governing use of the copy of the register.

AUTHORIZATION OF NECESSARY MEASURES

**Resolution 678, November 29, 1990, 12-2, Cuba and Yemen opposed, China abstaining
Action pursuant to Chapter VII of Charter**

- Demands that Iraq comply fully with earlier resolutions by January 15, 1991.
- Authorizes states, in the event of Iraqi non-compliance by that date, "to use all necessary means to uphold and implement resolution 660 (1990) and all subsequent relevant resolutions and to restore international peace and security in the area."
- Requests states to provide appropriate support for such actions and to keep the Council regularly informed of progress.

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11. *Third World Debt: A Reexamination of Long-Term Management*. 1988. (39 pp.) Panel Chairmen: Anthony M. Solomon and Rodney B. Wagner. This influential report examines the nature of the obstacles to a successful resolution of the international debt situation and identifies approaches that will best meet the needs of debtor countries, creditor banks, and official institutions. \$8.

12. *U.S. Policy Toward the Newly Industrializing Countries*. 1987. (87 pp.) Panel Chairmen: Thorton F. Bradshaw and Robert D. Hormats. Focuses on trade, finance and investment, and structural adjustment in the context of the NICs' impact on the U.S. and world economy. \$8.

Multilateral Studies

13. *Breaking the Drug Chain: Options for International Policy on Narcotic Drugs*. (48 pp.) The briefing book for the 1991 nationwide citizens' study project offers important information on a problem of international dimensions, with specific focus on the policy choices for the United States and the U.N. This study has been endorsed by Rep. Charles Rangel, Chairman of the House Select Committee on Narcotics Abuse and Control. \$7.50.

14. *Uniting Nations for the Earth*. (56 pp.) The final report of the 1990 nationwide citizens' study project--co-sponsored by the Sierra Club--provides a blueprint for U.S. preparations for the 1992 U.N. Conference on Environment and Development, and recommends a global

agenda for the world community. The report has been enthusiastically received by the White House, the EPA, and the U.N. Secretary-General. \$7.50.

15. *One Earth, Many Nations*. 1990. (64 pp.) This briefing book for the 1990 Multilateral Project offers comprehensive policy choices for the U.S. and the world community. At a time of increasing international concern about environmental dangers, this book focuses on the ways in which the world's many nations can work together to address common environmental problems. \$7.50.

16. *Common Goals: A Citizens' Action Guide for U.S. Leadership at the United Nations*. 1989. (72 pp.) Following up on UNA's 1988 Multilateral Project, the guide--based on citizens' recommendations for U.S. priorities at the U.N.--presents strategies for working with media, schools, and officials to promote U.S. action on these recommendations. Identifies community resources as well as specific officials to contact for each U.N.-related issue. \$7.50.

17. *Pulling Together: A Program for America in the United Nations*. 1988. (54 pp.) Offers a blueprint for forward-looking U.S. leadership in the United Nations. The report examines U.N. capabilities for addressing issues of practical importance to the American people, such as drugs, the environment, human rights, and AIDS. \$7.50.

18. *Food on the Table: Seeking Global Solutions to Chronic Hunger*. 1986. (84 pp.) By Neal Spivack and Ann Florini. The Briefing Book for UNA's fourth nationwide study examines such issues as trade in agriculture; the role of international institutions in combatting hunger; the role of women as producers of food; and the international struggle for control over the genetic resources needed for biotechnology. \$5.

Occasional Papers Series

19. *The United Nations in the Gulf Crisis and Options for U.S. Policy*. (40 pp.) By David J. Scheffer. Written by an international lawyer and Senior Associate at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, the paper offers a unique and timely examination of legal options available to the international community in dealing with Iraq and Saddam Hussein, with particular attention to options for U.S. policy. \$7.50.

20. *Washington and the World: Organizing Economic Cooperation in an Age of Global Competition*. (36 pp.) By Peter B. Kenen. The newest release by UNA's Economic Policy Council is a discussion paper on the implications for American macro-economic policy coordination of the expanding global market. Kenen, Professor of Economics at Princeton, analyzes the problem and provides a framework for shaping a U.S. policy response to the

new realities of an increasingly interdependent world economy. \$7.50.

Model U.N. and Youth

21. *Calendar of Model U.N. Conferences*. Updated annually, September. Basic information, including dates and addresses, about Model U.N. conferences throughout the U.S., Canada, and Europe. \$3.50.

22. *Guide to Delegate Preparation*. Updated annually, September. A primary component of the Model U.N. Survival Kit. This all-new guide complements the other items of the Kit and provides essential information on how to prepare for a Model U.N. Includes regional political interaction analysis, voting records, selected resolutions of the General Assembly, and extensive bibliographies. \$10 each for 1-10 copies; \$9 each, 11-50 copies; \$8 each, 51 copies and over.

23. *Model U.N. Survival Kit*. Updated annually, September. Comprehensive information for students and faculty participating in a Model U.N. conference. Contains: *Issues Before the General Assembly*, *Basic Facts About the U.N.*, *U.N. Charter*, *Guide to Delegate Preparation*, and essential information on how to prepare for a Model U.N. \$20 each; \$18 each, 10 or more. (No further discount.)

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Roles for the United Nations in the Persian Gulf

March 8, 1991

Open briefing for staff members of the House Foreign Affairs Committee and Foreign Affairs Subcommittees by:

- * *Toby Trister Gati, Senior Vice President for Policy Studies, United Nations Association of the USA (UNA-USA)*
- * *Steven A. Dimoff, Director, Washington Office, UNA-USA*
- * *David J. Scheffer, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace*
- * *Kathryn G. Sessions, Policy Analyst, UNA-USA*

I. Opening remarks

- * UNA's approach
- * Soviet views of the UN's role in the Gulf war

II. Brief overview of key substantive areas

- * UN efforts to date (see UNA Backgrounder "The United Nations Response to the Gulf Conflict")
- * What the UN could or should be doing
- * Limits of UN involvement and responsibility

A. Immediate Security Issues

1. Ceasefire arrangements

- * Monitoring of Iraqi compliance with both de facto and formal ceasefire
- * Supervision of repatriation of POWs and Kuwaiti nationals, return of remains of dead, and return of Kuwaiti assets and property
- * Assistance in mine-clearing and munitions control
- * Withdrawal of coalition troops from Iraq

2. Peacekeeping

- * Merits of UN peacekeepers in comparison to Arab or coalition peacekeepers
- * Questions to be resolved: command; mandate; composition (which countries' participation is acceptable to all parties?)
- * Peacekeeping under Chapter VI versus under Chapter VII
- * Ground and naval peacekeeping possibilities

3. Future US ground presence in Gulf

- * Relation of US troops to UN, regional or other peacekeeping forces

4. Continuation of sanctions

- * Role of Security Council
- * Role of Sanctions Committee

5. Fate of Iraqi planes in Iran

B. Longer-term Security/Political Issues

1. **Arms control**

- * Multilateral limitations on conventional arms sales to Iraq, to other countries
- * IAEA inspection of Iraqi nuclear facilities and materials
- * Rethinking a Middle East nuclear-free-zone
- * Chemical and biological weapons prohibitions and control regimes
- * Global versus regional approaches
- * Embargoes of arms, high-technology/dual purpose items
- * Restrictions on US sales to other countries in the region

2. **Non-proliferation**

- * Assessment of possible remaining Iraqi nuclear & chemical capabilities
- * Restrictions on sales of ballistic missile technology

3. **Arab-Israeli-Palestinian issues**

- * Middle East peace conference
- * Recognition of Israel by Arab states
- * Zionism is racism resolution
- * Renewed attention to past Security Council resolutions on the Middle East
- * Legal status of occupied territories, including Golan Heights and East Jerusalem

4. **Role of regional organizations**

- * In cooperation with, or use instead of, a UN or US presence

5. **Future arrangements for collective security enforcement actions**

- * Impact of above issues on the structure of the UN, and on its ability to carry out functions outlined

6. **Iran-Iraq issues still to be resolved**

- * POWs
- * UN border presence

C. International Legal Issues

- * War crimes
- * Border disputes
- * Restitution and compensation
- * POWs
- * Environmental law

D. "Wounds of War" Issues

1. **Emergency/Humanitarian Issues**

- * Emergency water, health, food needs
- * Repatriation

2. **Economic Reconstruction**

- * Rebuilding of Kuwait -- will there be UN roles?
- * Reconstruction of Iraq -- role of UN community in financing & participating in reconstruction
- * Assistance to other states affected by war
- * Impact of Kuwaiti reconstruction on other states

3. **Environmental Restoration**

- * Assessment and cleanup of:
 - Persian Gulf/marine environment
 - Environmental problems on land
 - Atmospheric pollution
- * Respective roles for global, regional, national, private/non-governmental institutions
- * Strengthening international conventions on the environment
- * Longer-term environmental issues in the Middle East

4. **Management of reconstruction efforts**

- * Is a central coordinating mechanism needed?

E. Human Rights Commission

- * Is a special rapporteur called for?
- * Human rights issues in Kuwait

F. Selection of new Secretary-General

- * What qualities are desirable in the new SG to direct the UN in the "new world order"?

III. Financing Issues

A. Cost estimates

- * Peacekeeping
- * The "other UN" (reconstruction and rehabilitation efforts)

B. Mechanisms for raising and distributing funds

- * Central funding appeal vs. piecemeal requests by agency
- * Sources of financing:
 - Arab Fund, Middle East Development Bank
 - Taxes, donations from oil monies
 - Reparations issues

C. US-UN Funding issues

- * Meeting US UN assessments
- * US voluntary contributions to UN programs -- earmarks for the Gulf?



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

UNA-USA

February 20, 1991
6 Adar 5751

Mr. Leo Nevas
246 Post Road East
Westport, CT 06880

Dear Leo:

I am dictating this from Israel, but want you to know that I am very grateful for your counsel in regard to the Board meetings of the UNA-USA. I am following your advice and have written to Ed Luck accordingly.

With warm good wishes, I am

Sincerely,

Alexander M. Schindler

NEVAS, NEVAS, CAPASSE, RUBIN & SAREZKY

ATTORNEYS AT LAW

COLONIAL GREEN

246 POST ROAD EAST

P.O. BOX 791

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February 11, 1991

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

Dear Alex:

I received your letter of February 6, 1991 and I am sorry that you are going to have to miss two of the three sessions of the Board. I would not like to see you resign because from time to time there are occasions when I think it is extremely helpful to have voices such as yours on the Board. On those occasions you can express your opinions or feelings even though you cannot attend a particular meeting.

I would suggest that you drop a note to Ed Luck explaining to him that the dates set for those meetings eliminate two from the possibility of your attendance, but that you will attempt to attend the third.

I would be happy to talk to you further about this upon your return.

Sincerely,



Leo Nevas

LN/dd

UNA - USA

MEMORANDUM

COPY

✓

DATE: January 15, 1991
FROM: Edith J. Miller
TO: Fred Cohen
COPY: Albert Vorspan

Will you please let me have a check for \$400.00 for the United Nations Association of the United States of America. This is to cover charges on the enclosed bill, \$300.00 Participation Fee in the UNA-USA Council of Organizations, 1991 plus a \$100 contribution.

The funds should come from the miscellaneous subventions line. Please also send the check to me for transmittal.

V.
#023116
1/29/91 mailed
\$400. KT

UNA USA

MEMORANDUM

DATE: September 21, 1990
FROM: Edith J. Miller
TO: Albert Vorspan, Rabbi David Saperstein
COPY:

Alex will be out of the country and I have so indicated to Andrew Rice. However, I believe this might be something we want to inform some of our people about should they be interested in attending the Consultation.

COPY

MEMORANDUM

DATE: December 6, 1990
FROM: Edith J. Miller
TO: Fred Cohen

Please let me have a check for \$100.00 from the Subsidies Contingency Line for the United Nations Association of the U.S.A. The Union is part of that group and we have been asked to make an annual contribution. Please send the check to me for transmittal.

Thank you.

JOHN C. WHITEHEAD
PARK AVENUE TOWER
65 EAST 55TH STREET
NEW YORK, NEW YORK 10022
(212) 755-3131

November 29, 1990

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

Dear Alex:

I hope you have had a chance to read Ed Luck's excellent review of the activities of the United Nations Association this past year and the exciting directions planned for the future.


I would like to add my voice to his in asking that UNA be given the ability to fulfill its great potential at this unique time in its history.

I believe that we, UNA's leaders, have a responsibility to help ensure that the Association has the financial capability to achieve the goals we have all endorsed so fervently. This is a very special opportunity for all that we have stood for through the years.

Won't you join me now in making a year-end gift to the Association? Last year, you gave \$100 to UNA's Annual Giving Fund. If we can count on you to renew or increase your gift before the end of the year, it would mean a great deal.

With appreciation,

Sincerely,


John C. Whitehead
Chairman
United Nations Association
of the USA

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\$100.
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UNA USA
RABBI ALEXANDER M. SCHINDLER • UNION OF AMERICAN HEBREW CONGREGATIONS
PRESIDENT 838 FIFTH AVENUE NEW YORK, N.Y. 10021 (212) 249-0100

September 25, 1990
6 Tishri 5751

COPY

Ms Betty Lustig
Director of Development
United Nations Association of
The United States of America
485 Fifth Avenue
New York, NY 10017

Dear Betty:

I was delighted to receive from you information on this year's United Nations Concert and Dinner. Alas, it distressed me to note the date of October 27, 1990 as once again I am unable to join you and my many friends of the UNA-USA for what I am certain will be a splendid evening. My schedule places me in Israel at the very time of the Concert and Dinner. I must attend a number of critical meetings and therefore the date of my visit is firm and not subject to change. This, I much regret.

Let me take this opportunity to extend to my warm good wishes to you. The Concert and Dinner will undoubtedly be a resounding success. The plans are splendid.

With every good wish, I am

Sincerely,

Alexander M. Schindler



UNITED NATIONS ASSOCIATION OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

485 FIFTH AVENUE, NEW YORK, N.Y. 10017-6104 PHONE 212 697-3232 FAX 212 682-9185 CABLE UNASMER

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

September 20, 1990

To: Members of the Board of Governors, Board of Directors,
National Council

From: Betty Lustig, Director of Development *BL*

Subject: 30th Annual United Nations Concert and Dinner

I am very pleased to be writing to you about this year's United Nations Concert and Dinner to be held in Washington, D.C. on Saturday evening, October 27, 1990. The event this year is being co-hosted by Edward E. Hood, Jr., Vice Chairman of the Board of General Electric Company and the Secretary of State, and will, once again, honor the ambassadors accredited to the United States and Organization of American States.

This year we will salute the work of the U.N.'s International Telecommunication Union (ITU), which for 125 years has improved the lives of people around the world by coordinating and promoting the orderly transmittal of information through modern telecommunications methods. Robert Allen, Chairman and Chief Executive Officer of AT&T, will serve as Salute Chairman. ITU's Secretary General, Dr. Pekka Tarjanne, will attend from Geneva as a special guest.

The evening will begin at 6:30p.m. in the Kennedy Center Concert Hall with "A Tribute to Fred Astaire" by Tony Award winner Tommy Tune. Immediately following in the International Ballroom of the Washington Hilton, approximately 1,200 international corporate leaders, senior U.S. government officials, diplomats and other dignitaries will gather for a black-tie dinner and dance featuring special entertainment arranged by NBC. I am gratified to say that an unusually large number of high level administration people and diplomats will be in attendance.

This is UNA-USA's largest annual fundraising event and it gives me great pleasure to invite you to attend. As one of its leaders, your participation will mean a great deal. Individual tickets are \$300 each. Tables can be purchased at the \$10,000, \$5,000 and \$3,000 level. Should you wish to host a table of ten, two of your guests will be ambassadors or diplomats assigned by the Concert and Dinner office in Washington, D.C.

I very much hope you will be able to join us for this very special event. A reply form is enclosed for your convenience.

Chairman of the Association
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Chairman, Board of Governors
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REPLY FORM
30th Annual United Nations Concert and Dinner
Saturday, October 27, 1990

RETURN TO: LANSDALE ASSOCIATES
1420 K Street, N.W.
Suite 840
Washington, D. C. 20005

- ☐ **Vice Chairman** - \$10,000 (\$9,500 tax-deductible). As a Vice Chairman you and a guest will be invited to a special VIP reception at the Indian ambassador's residence, will host an ambassador or diplomat at the Dinner, will receive preferential seating at the Concert and Dinner and will be pictured in the printed program.
- ☐ **Member of Council** - \$5,000 (\$4,500 tax-deductible). As a Member of Council you and a guest will be invited to a special VIP reception at the Indian ambassador's residence, will host an ambassador or diplomat at the Dinner and will be pictured in the printed program.
- ☐ **Associate Chairman** - \$3,000 (\$2,500 tax-deductible). As an Associate Chairman you will host an ambassador or diplomat at the Dinner and will be acknowledged in the printed program.
- ☐ I enclose my check in the amount of \$ _____ made payable to UNA-USA.
- ☐ I will host the table of ten and understand that two of my guests will be ambassadors or diplomats assigned by the Concert and Dinner office in Washington, D.C.
- ☐ I will not host the table but designate the following person to represent me.

Name (please print or type)

Title

Phone

Please list in order of preference those countries from which you would like to host an ambassador.

- | | |
|----------|-----------|
| 1. _____ | 6. _____ |
| 2. _____ | 7. _____ |
| 3. _____ | 8. _____ |
| 4. _____ | 9. _____ |
| 5. _____ | 10. _____ |

- ☐ I would like to purchase _____ tickets at \$300 each (\$250 of which is tax-deductible).
- ☐ I cannot attend but enclose my contribution for \$ _____. You may use it at your discretion.

Please fill out the information below as you would like it listed in the printed program.

Name (please print or type)

Signature

Title

Company

Street Address

Telephone: _____
Area Code Number

City State ZIP

- ☐ As a Member of Council/Vice Chairman I authorize you to use my photograph in the dinner program.

Please fax your guest list by October 10 to (202) 289-6209.

For more information please call Lansdale Associates at (202) 289-6131.

UNA-USA

July 25, 1990
3 Tammuz 5750

Edward C. Luck, President
United Nations Association of the U.S.A.
485 Fifth Avenue
New York, NY 10017-6104

Dear Ed:

It was most gracious of you to invite me to be a guest at the Presidents' Luncheon on December 1, when the heads of the non-governmental agencies which comprise the UNA-USA's Council of Organizations are to be honored. I truly regret that I must decline for it would have been my great pleasure to join with you and other leaders of the UNA-USA for this lovely respite during the business sessions of the National Convention of the UNA.

Unfortunately, my own UAHC Board of Trustees will be meeting out of the city during the same time frame. Thus, I cannot even plan on being at the Convention and I am sorry that there is such a conflict. The staff and/or lay people I might normally ask to represent the UAHC at the Convention will also be involved in our own meetings so I am not certain that I can appoint any voting delegates or observers. I will, however, give the matter some thought and seek to name at least two voting delegates, perhaps from our New York Region. I will certainly do my best and provide names and addresses in advance of the convention.

I hope you are enjoying a pleasant summer. With warm personal regards, I am

Sincerely,

Alexander M. Schindler



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July 21, 1990

Rabbi Alex Schindler, President
UNION OF AMERICAN HEBREW CONGREGATIONS
838 Fifth Avenue
New York, NY 10021

Dear Alex:

At the National Convention of the United Nations Association, to be held November 29th to December 3rd, 1990 in York City, it will be our pleasure to follow a well-established tradition: to honor at a luncheon the presidents and heads of the more than 130 non-governmental organizations that comprise UNA-USA's Council of Organizations.

This letter is a most cordial invitation to you, Alex, to be our guest at the Presidents' Luncheon on Saturday, December 1st, at 1:15 p.m., in the Grand Ballroom of the Hotel Roosevelt, 45th Street and Madison Avenue. The luncheon will be preceded by a Reception for Guests of Honor at 12:30 p.m.

I hope that this invitation expresses in a tangible way the great value we place on our relationship with your organization. Your participation in the Presidents' Luncheon will, I am sure, enhance your own feeling of involvement with our Association and its work, and give you the opportunity to meet and exchange information and ideas with other heads of organizations.

I also encourage you and representatives of your organization to take part in the entire Convention program. Your organization is entitled to 2 voting delegates and as many observers as you care to appoint. Registration information and materials will reach your organization's headquarters in September. Because this luncheon is in honor of presidents, this invitation is not transferable. Please respond to Carol Christian, Convention Coordinator, at the above address.

I hope you will be able to attend this festive event and I look forward to seeing you in December.

With best wishes,

Sincerely,

Edward C. Luck
President

Do T
Rye



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

UNA-USA

April 12, 1990
17 Nisan 5750

Mr. James M. Olson
Executive Director
National Programs
UNA - USA
485 Fifth Avenue
New York, NY 10017

Dear Jim:

No, there was not a misunderstanding. Your recollection is absolutely correct and I regret that I was unable to advise that a last minute emergency took me away from home so that I was unavailable for the Membership Development Task Force telephone conference call. I so regret any difficulty I may have caused by this and trust you will forgive this lapse of communication on my part.

I look forward to receiving the summary of the discussion. I have also marked on my calendar the meeting on Tuesday, May 29th at 10:00 AM. If I am in New York that day, I will certainly attend. However, that evening is the beginning of the Shavuot Holiday and it may well be that I will not be in the city. As we get closer to the date, I will let you know.

With warm personal regards and repeated apologies for my unavailability, I am

Sincerely,

Alexander M. Schindler



UNITED NATIONS ASSOCIATION OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

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Vice President, Policy Studies
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Executive Director, National Programs
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Director, Communications
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...

Founding Chairman
Robert S. Benjamin
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April 6, 1990

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

Dear Rabbi Schindler:

I regret that you were unable to participate in the first meeting of our Membership Development Task Force held today. We understood that you would participate by means of the telephone hook-up and we asked the conference call operator to call you at your Westport number. If we misunderstood the plan, I apologize.

I will be sending a summary of the key points from this morning's discussion. Meanwhile I would like to advise you that the next meeting of the Task Force will be Tuesday, May 29, from 10:00 to 3:00 here at the UNA office. We hope you will be able to attend.

With best wishes, and again my apologies regarding this morning's arrangements.

Sincerely,

James M. Olson
James M. Olson
Executive Director
National Programs

*Tape
no misunderstanding
had emergency*

March 14, 1990
17 Adar 5750

Ms Betty Lustig
United Nations Association of
The United States of America
485 Fifth Avenue
New York, NY 10017

Dear Ms Lustig:

I have been travelling on behalf of the UAHC and thus did not learn of your new responsibilities with the United Nations Association of the United States of America until today. Ed Luck's announcement awaited me on my return.

I write to convey my warm good wishes to you. From reading your credentials in Ed's memo, it becomes apparent that they have made a wise choice in naming you Director of Development for the UNA-USA. You obviously bring many fine qualities of heart and mind to your new work. You have an excellent background.

It is my fond hope that you will derive a full measure of personal as well as professional fulfillment, satisfaction and happiness from your endeavors on behalf of the UNA-USA. I look forward to meeting you and to wishing you well face to face.

With every good wish, I am

Sincerely,

Alexander M. Schindler



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March 2, 1990

TO: Governors, Directors, Staff, and Friends of UNA
FROM: Ed Luck *ELL*
SUBJECT: New Director of Development

We are very pleased to announce that Betty Lustig will come aboard next week as Director of Development for UNA-USA. She brings to us many years of experience and superlative recommendations. There is no doubt that she will be a very valuable member of our team at a time of great potential for the organization.

For the past seventeen years, Betty has been on the staff of the Council on Foreign Relations. Over those years, she rose steadily through the ranks to the position of Associate Director of Development -- a post she has held for the past three years. Her prior positions included Assistant Director of Development (for five years), Personnel Manager, Assistant to the Director of Administration and Publisher of Foreign Affairs, and Assistant to the Executive Vice President. She has played a key role in annual giving, two capital campaigns, a bequest program, foundation giving, and computerization of the Council's development and management reports.

Betty holds a B.A. from Hunter College of the City University of New York. Prior to joining the Council staff, she worked for three years with the Treasurer and Director of Marketing of the Republic Industrial Corporation.

Monday, March 5th, will be Betty's first day with us. She will divide her time during the month of March between UNA and the Council in order to complete her ongoing work there, and will begin full-time work here on Monday, April 2nd. I am sure that all of you will want to join me in welcoming Betty to the UNA family.

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Toby Trister Gati

Executive Director, UNA Fund

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• • •

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VNA-USA

March 5, 1990
8 Adar 5750

Mr. Edward C. Luck
President
United Nations Association of the U.S.A.
485 Fifth Avenue
New York, NY 10017

Dear Mr. Luck:

Unfortunately it will not be possible for Rabbi Schindler to attend the March 12 meeting of the U.N.A.-U.S.A. He has commitments in Los Angeles which will keep him on the West Coast until the 13th or 14th of March. I know he always regrets missing the meetings of the U.N.A. - U.S.A.

Of course, the various materials which were included with the meeting notice will be held for his perusal.

With kindest greetings, I am

Sincerely,

Edith J. Miller
Assistant to the President

EJM/mb

CC: Mr. Max M. Kampelman



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John Tessitore

★ ★ ★

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Arthur J. Goldberg

March 2, 1990

MEMORANDUM

TO: Board of Governors

FROM: Ed Luck

SUBJECT: March 12th Meeting

As previously announced, the next Board of Governors meeting will be held from noon to 4 p.m. on Monday, March 12th, in the Arthur Ross Conference Room on the second floor of 485 Fifth Avenue, between 41st and 42nd Streets. A luncheon will be served.

You will see from the enclosed agenda and background readings that the meeting will be devoted to reviewing a series of changes in our personnel, programs, and structure which will position UNA to take advantage of the sweeping changes underway in the world. This is a time of enormous opportunity, but our new-found potential can only be fully realized if we undertake our own version of perestroika.

Thanks very much and all the best.

AGENDA

Board of Governors Meeting
Monday, March 12, 1990
12:00 - 4:00 p.m.

Max M. Kampelman - Presiding

Executive Session

12:00-1:00 p.m. I. Personnel and financial matters (Ed Luck)

Open Session

1:00-1:05 p.m. II. Review and approval of minutes of October and December meetings (Bill vanden Heuvel)

1:05-2:00 p.m. III. Discussion of proposed revisions of By-laws (Ruth Hinerfeld)

2:00-3:00 p.m. IV. Proposed program changes
2:00-2:10 p.m. A. Overall conclusions of Ford Foundation review and internal discussions (Ed Luck)
2:10-2:40 p.m. B. Policy Studies (Toby Gati)
2:40-3:00 p.m. C. Communications and Constituencies
1. Membership (Jim Olson)
2. Services for the UN (John Tessitore)

3:00-3:10 p.m. V. Review of status of Alliance for Our Common Future (Jim Olson)

3:10-3:30 p.m. VI. Washington issues (Steve Dimoff)
A. President's UN funding request
B. Proposed task force on US-UN funding

3:30-3:45 p.m. VII. Multilateral Project and follow-up on UNESCO Project (Jeff Laurenti)

3:45-4:00 p.m. VIII. Other matters

MINUTES

UNA-USA BOARD OF GOVERNORS MEETING

October 24, 1989

Arthur Ross Conference Center

MAX M. KAMPELMAN - Presiding

Present: Patrick Gerschel, Mary Hall, Ruth Hinerfeld, Jerome Jacobson, Max M. Kampelman, Harry Knight, Estelle Linzer, Edward Luck, Leo Nevas, Alejandro Palacios, Evelyn Pickarts, Arthur Ross, Jack Sheinkman, Marietta Tree, William vanden Heuvel

Observer: Marcia Townley

Staff: Peggy Carlin, Carol Christian, Steven Dimoff, Toby Gati, Jeffrey Laurenti, James Muldoon, James Olson, Sherry Polen, Fred Tamalonis, John Tessitore, Robert Warne, Patricia Wilber

AGENDA ITEM I. FINANCE, DEVELOPMENT AND 1990 BUDGET

The meeting was called to order at 1:20 p.m. and met in Executive Session to discuss Agenda Item I.

AGENDA ITEM II. MINUTES OF JUNE MEETING

William vanden Heuvel, Secretary of the Association, presented the Minutes of the June meeting. Motion was made, seconded and approved to accept the Minutes.

AGENDA ITEM III. ALL THINGS SOVIET

The Chairman called on Toby Gati to report on the Soviet program. Mrs. Gati said that the WFUNA Plenary Assembly held in Moscow the previous week had been productive. UNA-USA was welcomed back into the Federation and James Leonard was elected to the WFUNA Executive Committee. Significant reforms in the functioning of the Federation were adopted and several new areas of possible cooperation with other UNAs were explored.

She reported that the Model UN program now included youth exchanges with the Soviet Union. In January 1990, an unprecedented international Model UN Conference will be held in Moscow with about 200 students and 100 observers expected to attend. The Soviets will provide hotels and basic services to the participants. She noted that the mandate of the Soviet UNA has expanded and so has its staff.

Mrs. Gati said that the Parallel Studies Program was in the midst of the most extensive review of US and Soviet policies toward the UN that has ever been undertaken. Over the past year, joint meetings were held on peacekeeping, multilateral arms control, and UN reform issues. In November

the two sides will examine international mechanisms for human rights monitoring and for dealing with global environmental issues. Nine or ten Soviets will participate in the meetings and they will also attend the Washington Conference on the United Nations.

Mrs. Gati noted that a memo was in the Board kits outlining a proposal for establishing a Soviet-American Institute on the UN. In light of the new view of the UN in the Soviet Union, it is time to undertake a broad examination of the possibilities for multilateral diplomacy. The Institute would be a joint endeavor. Mrs. Gati also noted that the range of projects with the Soviets has outgrown the Parallel Studies Program, suggesting the need for a longer-term, organization-wide framework such as the proposed Institute would provide. An upbeat discussion followed and the staff was asked to pursue the concept.

The Chairman requested that Agenda Item IV be moved down on the agenda.

AGENDA ITEM V. ECONOMIC POLICY COUNCIL

The Chairman welcomed Robert Warne as the new Executive Director of the EPC and pointed out that his biography was included in the kits. He then called on Mr. Warne to give a brief overview of new program developments.

Mr. Warne reported that there are two ongoing panels and another is forming. The EPC has organized a series of dinner forums, with the Canadian and Dutch finance ministers as the first two guest speakers. Ross Perot will be the speaker at the October 25th forum. It is hoped that four or five dinner forums will be held next year.

He indicated that efforts are being made to expand EPC's membership and financial support. A \$100,000 grant has been received from the Sloan Foundation. He pointed out that the EPC is ready to take advantage of the new opportunities posed by increased support for the UN and to focus on those global issues that are in the public eye. He thanked Henry Kaufman and Jack Sheinkman, Co-Chairmen of EPC, for their ongoing support.

AGENDA ITEM IV. EAST ASIA

Toby Gati reported that the Chinese have agreed to participate in the Quadrilateral Program on Asian Security, permitting it to go forward. Delegations from the United States, Soviet Union, Japan, and China will participate in discussions of security, non-proliferation, arms control and confidence-building measures in an Asian context. Frank Carlucci is the US Chairman of the project. The first meeting will be held in San Francisco in May 1990.

AGENDA ITEM VI. MULTILATERAL PROJECT

Jeff Laurenti said that two reports have been released on the UNESCO project, one from an international panel and one from an American panel. Copies were in the kits. He felt that there was good press coverage of their release.

The 1990 Multilateral Project study will focus on how international organizations could best respond to global environmental problems. A briefing book is being prepared and the final report will come out in October. The Sierra Club will co-sponsor this study.

AGENDA ITEM VII. WASHINGTON DEVELOPMENTS

Steve Dimoff updated the Board on the status of arrearages in US dues to the UN. Congress refused the President's request for a downpayment on arrearages. The US owes \$216 million in assessed dues for 1989 and \$220 million for assessments for previous years. It also owes \$200 million in arrearages and current obligations for UN peacekeeping. Congress is preparing to approve about \$265 million for voluntary contributions in FY1990. The State Department said that it will ask for a 20% payment of arrearages in the next request. Mr. Dimoff said that UNA will have to find ways to work with the Administration, Congress and the UN to facilitate some kind of plan that will be acceptable to everyone.

A memo on the US Commission on Improving the Effectiveness of the UN was in the Board kits. The President has not yet made his appointments to the Commission. Enthusiasm for the project seemed to be declining, including among UNA Board members, who questioned its utility.

AGENDA ITEM VIII. CONSTITUENCIES

Jim Olson explained that the Alliance for Our Common Future is a coalition of organizations growing out of the Structures for Peace conference held in early 1989 in Washington. UNA has been meeting with these organizations, which have prepared a statement of purpose and a general agreement on how the Alliance will work. The first meeting of the leadership council was held a week ago. Mr. Olson said that Board approval was needed for UNA participation in the Alliance.

Following a discussion on the matter, it was decided that UNA would not join at this time. The leadership of the Alliance will be advised that UNA has some concerns about the political balance of the group and the possibility that the Alliance would take positions on some issues which UNA could not support. The matter will be reviewed again at a later date.

Mr. Olson reported that the UNA conference on the UN to be held in Washington in November is going very well. To date there are 600 paid participants, over 100 speakers, 50 volunteers, and 117 organizational sponsors of the event.

Regarding UNA membership, chapters are striving for a 10% growth target by the end of the year. Bill Miller, Chairman of the CCDP, has personally contacted every chapter President. At the national level, a direct mail solicitation is underway.

Mr. Olson announced that the 1990 UNA National Convention will be held from November 29th through December 3rd in New York City. Carol Christian is convention coordinator and she is searching for a site. The Annual Meeting of the Board of Directors and National Council will take place on December 3rd.

AGENDA ITEM IX. COMMUNICATIONS

John Tessitore reported that the Media and the UN Conference had been held on September 19th at Columbia University to explore the relationship between the UN and the media. A review of the conference will be in the next issue of The Inter Dependent. The unprecedented event attracted a broad range of UN officials, journalism students, and print and electronic journalists.

Mr. Tessitore announced that UNA is in discussions with Pacific Street Films regarding the production of a documentary on UN peacekeeping forces which would be aired nationally over the PBS network. A proposal for a grant from the National Endowment for the Humanities is being prepared.

Preparations for the UNA Anniversary Gala on December 12th are well underway and invitations have been sent out. It is hoped that the event will raise \$100,000 profit for UNA and that it will recruit new supporters for the organization. Nancy Dickerson Whitehead and Mrs. Patrick Gerschel are very involved in the planning. The event will bring together UNA leadership, the diplomatic community, and the New York social community.

Mr. Luck announced that a memorial service will be held for Bob Ratner, former President of UNA, who recently passed away. All Board members were invited to attend.

After a brief discussion about dates for Board meetings, it was concluded that November is a better time for budget discussions. The meeting was adjourned at 4:50 p.m.

- - - - -

A Special Meeting of the Board of Governors was held on November 14, 1989 at UNA headquarters to discuss the results of the Ford Foundation evaluation of UNA. Following a discussion and conference call, it was decided that UNA will respond with a letter to Ford from UNA leaders and with a longer response from the UNA staff. The UNA leadership will meet with the Ford Foundation, as they have requested.

CONFIDENTIAL

MINUTES

UNA-USA BOARD OF GOVERNORS MEETING
December 4, 1989
Roosevelt Hotel

MAX M. KAMPELMAN - PRESIDING

Present: Mary Hall, Ruth Hinerfeld, Jerome Jacobson, Max M. Kampelman, Harry Knight, Estelle Linzer, Edward Luck, William Miller, William Norman, Evelyn Pickarts, Frank Richardson, Alexander Schindler, Richard Schmeelk, Marietta Tree, William vanden Heuvel, John C. Whitehead, Michael Witunski.

Staff: Steven Dimoff, Toby Gati, Marilyn Messer, Patricia Wilber.

The Chairman called the meeting to order at 8:30 a.m. and asked Edward Luck to open the discussion.

AGENDA ITEM I. STATUS OF DISCUSSIONS WITH THE FORD FOUNDATION

Mr. Luck reported that the Ford Foundation held a conference on the future of multilateralism the previous week at which he and Toby Gati were present. They received a copy of a report on international law and organization which the Ford Foundation staff had presented to their Board in September. The Ford Board then authorized \$7 million over three years for grants in this area focusing on policy research, public outreach, and international law and the training of international lawyers. UNA programs fit into the first two areas, and UNA was the only organization specifically mentioned in the summary of the Ford report.

Mr. Luck said that a revised version of the UNA response to the Ford evaluation will be sent to Ford in order to provide more information for their records. Another document, which will be upbeat and forward-looking, will also be sent to them. It will be signed by John Whitehead, Max Kampelman, Elliot Richardson, Cyrus Vance and Edward Luck. Ford staff said that it was very important to have high-level participation from UNA in order to show that the top leadership is committed to UNA and its future directions. John Whitehead and Max Kampelman have said that they would be happy to meet with the Ford staff, but the Ford staff will not set a date until they have received UNA's written response. It remains to be seen how much of the \$3.5 million requested from Ford over four years will actually be granted to UNA.

A discussion followed.

At the request of Mr. Luck, Item III was moved up on the agenda.

AGENDA ITEM III. PROPOSED REVISION IN UNA-USA PENSION PLAN

Mr. Luck explained that new governmental legislation requires UNA to revise its pension plan. The contribution levels of 5%, 10%, 15% and 20% based on tenure must be changed to a single percentage. He recommended a plan in which there would be 10% contributions for all staff after two years with the organization. Those who have been receiving 15% or 20% will have the difference added to their salaries. Mr. Luck said that Jack Bierwirth and the staff committee have reviewed and approved the proposed plan.

After a brief discussion, the plan was approved.

AGENDA ITEM II. UNA-USA PROPOSED BUDGET FOR 1990

Mr. Luck presented a revised budget proposed for 1990. He said that there had been too large a gap at the time of the October Board meeting, but expenditures have been trimmed and it is now a balanced budget. A surplus is projected for 1989, though the size will depend on year-end giving. While annual budget performance is encouraging, Mr. Luck stressed that an endowment campaign is still needed to provide a solid long-term financial base for the organization. It is hoped that Board members will make major pledges toward this campaign, once it is launched at some point in 1990.

A discussion followed and the budget was approved for submission to the Annual Meeting of the Board of Directors and National Council.

The meeting was adjourned at 9:45 a.m.



UNITED NATIONS ASSOCIATION OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

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TO: Board of Governors

DATE: March 1, 1990

FROM: Ruth Hinerfeld, Chairman
By-Laws and Resolutions Committee

RE: Outline of selected proposals for By-Laws revisions

The attached letter, mailed to all constituencies of UNA, should give you a sense of the purpose and procedures of the By-Laws and Resolutions Committee. At this time I would like to share with you the tentative areas of agreement for revisions in the By-Laws reached by members of the committee at its first meeting. Before we proceed further, we need and welcome your suggestions.

Leadership Structure

UNA's leadership structure as defined in the By-Laws diverges considerably from practice. According to the current By-Laws, the Board of Directors has the power to "establish and declare the policies of the Association, and to manage its affairs" (see By-Laws, V.2), but in practice the Board of Governors acts as a Board of Directors, leaving to the Directors only two functions: final authority over the budget at the annual meeting and election of the Board of Governors following the National Convention. The committee suggests that the By-Laws formally assign to the Board of Governors the role of the Board of Directors, and transfer to it responsibility for adopting the budget. All other practices of the Board of Governors would remain essentially the same, and the By-Laws would be made consistent with them.

With the Board of Directors absolved of one of its two functions, the committee suggests that this Board be merged with the National Council, the new group to be designated the National Council. In addition to electing the Board of Governors, the Council would act in an advisory capacity to it—reviewing the operations of the Association and establishing priorities for UNA in light of current international issues. This new National Council would provide broad outreach to the public and broad representation of UNA's constituencies in setting the direction of the Association's policies, enhancing the structure and operations of the Association.

Streamlining the Association's leadership structure in this way would also eliminate the confusion of those outside UNA about the roles and responsibilities of the two Boards. New members of the National Council would not expect to be managing the affairs of the Association, as was sometimes the case with those who joined the Board of Directors. Moreover, UNA would be in closer conformity with the requirements of the National Charitable Information Bureau

and the Better Business Bureau, both of which state that they expect a Board of Directors to meet at least two or three times annually and that an average of at least 50 percent be in attendance.

Listed below are other revisions that the committee suggests accompany this streamlining of the leadership structure:

- ** The National Council would be expanded to 200 to accommodate the 135 Directors and the 73 current National Council members.
- ** The Board of Governors would be expanded from a maximum of 32 to 35 to allow for broader representation.
- ** To ensure broad representation of UNA's constituencies in the budget-making process, the By-Laws and Resolutions Committee recommends a new section on standing committees of the Board of Governors that spells out the composition of the Finance and Budget Committee's membership. This section would also include a standing Executive Committee.
- ** The Board of Governors would be given the authority to elect its members as well as Officers of the Association in the event of vacancies between National Conventions. In the event of a vacancy in the Office of Chairman of the Association, the Chairman of the Board of Governors would assume that position until the National Council elects a new Chairman to serve until the next National Convention.

The committee solicits your suggestions on the role of the current Co-Chairmen of the National Council in a newly revised structure (e.g., if the Chairman of the Association serves as the Chairman of the National Council, the titles of the current Co-Chairmen might be changed to Honorary Chairmen of the Association).

Purpose and Program of the Association

Articles I and II of the By-Laws do not accurately present the purpose or program of the Association. The committee suggests amending both articles by substitution. The suggested text was borrowed, with minor changes, from recent UNA reports.

ARTICLE I (revised)

Purpose

The United Nations Association of the United States of America is a national organization dedicated to promoting multilateral approaches to the solution of international problems, including strengthening the U.N. system and the U.S. role in that system.

ARTICLE II (revised)

Program

UNA-USA carries out its action agenda through a unique combination

of policy analysis, public outreach, and international programs, including dialogue with sister organizations through the World Federation of United Nations Associations. UNA-USA achieves public outreach through a network of chapters, divisions, and affiliated organizations. The Association provides special information and education services on U.N.-related matters and international affairs for student groups, the media, Congress, and policy-making groups. It also supervises and coordinates the annual observance of U.N. Day in hundreds of communities across the nation under the leadership of a U.N. Day Chairman appointed by the President of the United States.

Chapters and Divisions

According to the current By-Laws, the Board of Directors is responsible for establishing the standards and regulations governing the formation and recognition of Chapters and Divisions (V.3), and has the power to revoke recognition of Chapters and Divisions if in the Board's view they fail to meet the established standards (XII.2). In practice, however, the national staff have been performing these tasks.

Although the committee has been striving in its deliberations to make the By-Laws conform with practice, it was suggested that as a matter of good organizational policy and for the staff's protection the Board remain the responsible body for such matters as standards, recognition, and, particularly, revocation. The CCDP Steering Committee has expressed a desire to play a role in assisting Chapters and Divisions in strengthening their effectiveness and compliance with these standards, and in helping to resolve disputes within a Chapter or Division. The committee would welcome the Board's views and help in determining an appropriate role for all bodies in this matter.

National Convention: Nominations Process

A membership organization like UNA must have an alternative to nominations by a Nominating Committee--either nominations from the floor of the Convention or nominations by petition. The By-Laws make a provision for a petition process, but it is both unclear and incomplete (see IV.7 a, b). The committee recommends fleshing out the petition process so that it will be a clearly viable alternative to nominations by the Nominating Committee. Among the necessary revisions:

- ** New specifics for coordinating the timely distribution of committee and petition nominations to UNA's constituencies.
- ** A limit on the number of nominations from the same region.
- ** A limit on the percentage of petition candidates that can be elected (e.g., 10 percent of the slate).

Affirmative Action Statement

The committee suggests incorporating an affirmative action statement in one or more of the following sections of the By-Laws:

- ** As a consideration of the Nominating Committee (IV.7 b);
- ** As a consideration of the President in hiring Association staff (IX.1 d);
- ** As a new article at the end of the By-Laws.

Gender-Specific Language

The OCCDP has passed a number of resolutions instructing UNA to refrain from using "sexist language." The By-Laws and Resolutions Committee therefore recommends that all references to "Chairman" in the By-Laws be changed to "Chair."

The Board's input at the March 12 Board meeting is vital to the further deliberations of the By-Laws and Resolutions Committee. Your comments will be incorporated by the committee, whose first draft will be mailed to you and other UNA constituencies on April 1. The Board meeting on May 30 will afford the committee a second opportunity to receive your recommendations. A second draft of the revised By-Laws will then be mailed to you at the end of June, after which time we would welcome hearing from you individually.

Thank you in advance for your attention and consideration.



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

February 26, 1990

Dear UNA Leader:

As you may know, the last UNA-USA National Convention called for the creation of a By-Laws and Resolutions Committee to carefully review the Association's By-Laws, with the results to be presented to the next Convention in December 1990. As committee chairman, I am writing to alert you to the objectives and procedures of the committee and to encourage your active participation in the revision process.

The By-Laws of UNA largely reflect the unique circumstances of the Association's founding in 1964. UNA was born of a merger of two organizations: the American Association for the United Nations (AAUN), a chapter-based citizens association, and the U.S. Committee for the United Nations (USCUN), a committee of 138 national organizations supporting the world body. UNA's progenitors believed that such a merger could be more effective in building an informed public opinion to support the U.N. and enhance U.S. participation in it. The Association was thus not as much founded as it was reborn. As a result, its By-Laws are a hybrid of two organizations.

In UNA's quarter-century history these By-Laws have been amended but never given a comprehensive review, although UNA has grown and changed in response to new opportunities for promoting international cooperation through the U.N. The purpose of this committee is to revise the By-Laws to conform with the current and traditional practice of the Association. The committee will also be responsible for rationalizing the structure of the By-Laws and ensuring that they are worded as by-laws as such and not as statements of the organization's policies.

Because this is such an important and sensitive undertaking, the procedure for revising the By-Laws allows for maximum input by UNA's many constituencies. You will have two opportunities to review the committee's draft and offer suggestions before the committee's recommendations are presented to the National Convention in December. The schedule for the revision process of the By-Laws is as follows:

February 16

First meeting of the By-Laws and Resolutions Committee. Committee members reached a consensus on the substance of revisions. A drafting committee was appointed.

April 1

First draft of revised By-Laws is mailed to the Board and all constituencies for their review. Guidelines for making recommendations will be included in mailing.

Anniversary Chairman
Katharine Graham

Co-Chairmen
Henry A. Kissinger
Cyrus R. Vance

Chairman of the Association
John C. Whitehead

Chairman, Board of Governors
Max M. Kampelman

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

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

President
Edward C. Luck

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

Secretary
William J. vanden Heuvel

Treasurer
John C. Bierwirth

Co-Chairmen, Economic Policy Council
Henry Kaufman
Jack Sheinkman

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

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

Chairman, Quadrilateral Program on Asian Security
Frank C. Carlucci

Chairman, Advisory Group Multilateral Project
Matthew Nimez

Chairman, WFUNA Committee
James F. Leonard

Governors
Patrick A. Gerschel
Mary Hall
Armand Hammer
Jerome Jacobson
William P. Laughlin
William A. Miller
Leo Nevas

William S. Norman
Alejandro Palacios
Louis Perlmutter
John R. Petty
Evelyn M. Pickarts
Frank E. Richardson
Rabbi Alexander Schindler
Jack Sheinkman
Helmut Sonnenfeldt
Marietta Tree
Michael Witunski

Vice President, Policy Studies
Toby Trister Gati

Executive Director, UNA Fund
Fred Tamalonis

Director, Special Events
Stanley Raisen

Executive Director, National Programs
James M. Olson

Director, Communications
John Tessitore

Founding Chairman
Robert S. Benjamin
(1909-1979)

Chairman Emeritus
James S. McDonnell
(1899-1980)

Honorary Chairman
Arthur J. Goldberg

May 18-20: OODP Meeting

Review of draft. The group's recommendations are relayed to the committee.

May 30: Board of Governors Meeting

Review of draft. Recommendations are relayed to the committee.

June 6

Deadline for recommendations by all constituencies.

End of June

Second draft of revised By-Laws is completed. Compendium of recommendations and second draft is mailed to Board and constituencies.

September 28

Final deadline for recommendations from constituencies.

October 10

Final draft of revised By-Laws and compendium of recommendations is mailed to Board and constituencies.

November 29-December 3: National Convention

Committee's recommendations are presented at an open hearing and plenary session.

The revision process has been designed to ensure that the final draft of the revised By-Laws is acceptable to all constituencies in advance of the 1990 National Convention. For this process to work, it is extremely important for you to review the drafts carefully and to meet both the June and October deadlines for recommendations. To be most helpful to the committee, we urge you to submit most of your recommendations by the June 6 deadline.

At the beginning of April you will receive a copy of the current By-Laws, a copy of the committee's first draft of the revised text, and guidelines for your recommendations. In the meantime, if you have any questions please contact Jennifer Metzger--a member of UNA's staff who will be working with the committee--at UNA's national office in New York.

Thanks very much for giving this your consideration. Revising the By-Laws of the Association is a critical task, and your insights into the committee's work will be vital to its success. We look forward to your contributions to this effort to strengthen further our Association. With all the best,

Sincerely,



Ruth Hinerfeld
Chairman, UNA-USA By-Laws and
Resolutions Committee

Members of the UNA-USA By-Laws and Resolutions Committee

Ruth Hinerfeld, Chair

Mary Futrell

Shirley Lee

Estelle Linzer

William Miller

Jim Nafziger

Nicholas Robinson

Dorothy Schramm



UNITED NATIONS ASSOCIATION of the UNITED STATES of AMERICA

300 EAST 42nd STREET, NEW YORK, NEW YORK 10017

June 1, 1983

**BY-LAWS
of
UNITED NATIONS ASSOCIATION OF THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, INCORPORATED**

ARTICLE I

Purpose

The purpose of the Association is to study and promote the fundamental basis of peace with justice and the machinery necessary for its development. The Association shall carry on educational and informational activities so that the people of the United States of America and their government may participate to the greatest extent practicable in the United Nations and other official international and regional organizations functioning in various fields of international cooperation and international law.

ARTICLE II

Functions

Sec. 1. To effectuate its purpose the Association provides the means for bringing to the people of the United States information concerning the United Nations and its affiliates and subordinate bodies, and issues coming before them and affecting them. The Association serves to focus the views of the people of the United States on those issues. In all its activities, the Association works through its chapters, state and regional organs, individual members, cooperating organizations, institutions and national headquarters.

ARTICLE II (continued)

Sec. 2. The Association shall, through its Board of Directors, make adequate and appropriate provision for the formulation and dissemination of policy views on United Nations issues. Toward that end, the Board of Directors will establish procedures and guidelines which will permit these views to be expressed within the framework of the general policies and views established by the National Convention of the Association, and which will respect:

- a. the desire of some organization members to refrain from such action and not to be bound thereby
- b. the constitutional and other requirements of certain member organizations to consult their membership before being committed to such action.

Sec. 3. The Association

- a. promotes the observance of United Nations Day and United Nations Week in the United States of America
- b. promotes the formation of appropriate supporting state and local committees and
- c. stimulates the activities of member and other cooperating organizations as well as governmental agencies in such observances.

Sec. 4. As a year-round service to chapters, state and local committees, co-operating organizations, governmental agencies and the general public, the Association assists in the planning and development of programs, special projects, themes, techniques and materials on the United Nations, and serves as a clearing house for the distribution of educational and promotional literature and materials on the United Nations.

Sec. 5. The national headquarters of the Association maintains liaison with the United States government agencies concerned with United Nations affairs, with the United States Mission to the United Nations, and with the UN itself, cooperating with the UN and its agencies on educational, humanitarian and charitable activities, and with its own chapters, state and regional organs, individual members and non-governmental organizations.

Sec. 6. The Association serves as a channel between the people of the United States and the peoples of other member nations of the United Nations interested in furthering the cause of world peace through its membership and participation in the World Federation of United Nations Associations.

ARTICLE III

Members

Sec. 1. Membership in the Association is open to any United States citizen or resident and any national or international organization supporting the purpose of the Association as set forth in Article I. Membership in the Association may be rejected or cancelled for cause by the Board of Directors or pursuant to its authority, but with the right of appeal to the Convention.

ARTICLE III (continued)

Sec. 2. Individual memberships:

- a. Membership in a chapter carries with it membership in the Association, and national membership carries with it membership in any chapter or division serving that member's community or area, unless the member selects a different chapter.
- b. Standard dues of individuals and families, and the division of their dues between the national headquarters and the chapters or divisions, shall be determined by the Convention.
- c. The Board of Directors may create special and limited classes of individual memberships and establish the dues for such classes. The Board shall provide for the division of their dues between the national headquarters and the chapters or divisions as nearly as possible in accordance with the division established by the Convention for standard dues of individuals and families.

Sec. 3. Organizational affiliation:

- a. Any non-governmental organization based in the United States which is either national or international in scope, which is committed to the purposes of the Association and carries on significant programs related to the United Nations system may become a member or affiliate of the Association.
- b. This body of non-governmental organizations shall be known as the Council of Organizations.
- c. The Board of Directors shall establish the dues and service fees for affiliation with the Council of Organizations.
- d. Such non-governmental organizations may elect to be termed "affiliates," "organizational members," "cooperating organizations" or "participating organizations" as they see fit in order to accommodate themselves to their own constitution or by-laws requirements. No organization shall be committed to any action of the Association without its express endorsement or the endorsement of its authorized representatives.

Sec. 4. The Board of Directors shall establish the dues and service fees of organization members after consultation with the Council of Organizations.

ARTICLE IV

National Convention

Sec. 1. The Association shall hold a National Convention. Every other National Convention shall be held in the year coinciding with the observance every five years of the founding of the United Nations in 1945. The conventions are to take place not less than two nor more than three years apart, on a date to be fixed by the Board following the advice of the Convention. At such conventions, regular members shall have representation through delegates in such number and in the manner provided in Section 2 of this Article. Such delegates shall have the right to vote on matters coming before the National Convention.

Sec. 2. The following persons shall be delegates to the Convention:

- a. The members of the Board of Directors
- b. Two persons selected by each regular organization participating in the Council of Organizations. In addition, each organization represented at the Convention would be entitled to an extra delegate of 25 years of age or less provided that such delegate is a member of such organization.
- c. Two delegates from each recognized chapter chosen or elected in such manner as by-laws of the chapter may provide, plus additional delegates selected in the same manner on the basis of the following: for regular members in excess of 250, one additional delegate for each additional 250 members or major fraction thereof. Each chapter represented by three or more delegates is entitled to an extra delegate of 25 years of age or less, provided that such delegate is a member of the chapter. Family memberships shall be counted as two members in determining chapter and division representation at the Convention.
- d. The President or other designated representative of each recognized division organization. Each division represented by three or more delegates is entitled to one additional delegate of 25 years of age or less, provided that such delegate is a member of the division.

Additional delegates from divisional organizations to represent active members of the Association within their geographic boundaries who are not listed as members of any chapter. For this purpose the state or division shall be treated as a single chapter, and representation shall be accorded in the same ratio as in Section 2c.

- e. The members of the Executive Committee of the Conference of United Nations Representatives not otherwise designated as delegates, but not in excess of eight to be selected by such Executive Committee.

The members of the Executive Committee of the Council of Washington Representatives not otherwise designated as delegates, but not in excess of eight, to be selected by such Executive Committee.

- f. The members of the National Council of the Association not otherwise designated as delegates.

ARTICLE IV (continued)

Sec. 3.

- a. Voting delegates to the Convention shall not be recognized as such until their credentials have been approved by the Credentials Committee appointed by the Chairman of the Convention. Decisions of the Committee may be appealed to the Convention which shall, before passing upon such appeal, hear and consider the report of the Committee.
- b. National Conventions shall be open to individual members of the Association, family members and member organizations as observers, without floor or voting privileges.

Sec. 4.

- a. The convention may discuss any matter within the scope of the activities of the Association and make recommendations and take positions with respect thereto. Any such policies or views shall be established or announced by the Convention in accordance with procedures which give due regard to the policies or requirements of certain member organizations as provided herein.
- b. Recommendations for discussion and/or action other than those transmitted to the Convention by the Board of Governors shall in every case be submitted to the Resolutions Committee or the Substantive Issues Committee as the case may be. The determination of the committee to which such resolutions shall be referred will be made by the Convention Committee, it being the general intent that the Resolutions Committee shall receive and evaluate proposed resolutions on administrative, program and other similar matters pertaining to the internal affairs of the Association; that the Substantive Issues Committee shall present a platform of policies and shall receive and evaluate proposed resolutions on substantive UN issues and on recommended United States policies in regard to those issues. Both the Resolutions and the Substantive Issues Committees shall report their recommendations (pro and con) concerning appropriate action on all such resolutions to the Convention. In the case of proposed resolutions on substantive issues, the Substantive Issues Committee shall recommend action to the Convention.
- c. Resolutions on substantive issues adopted by the Convention shall be binding only on those member organizations that expressly endorse them.

Sec. 5. All actions by the Convention are instructions to the Board of Directors, which the Board shall effectuate: provided, however, that this shall not affect the primary responsibility of the Board to take all appropriate action in the management and operation of the Association and to take account of changed circumstances in interpreting and carrying out the instructions of the Convention: and provided, that the Board shall explain to and inform membership of its reasons for departing from the instructions by the Convention.

ARTICLE IV (continued)

Sec. 6. Voting delegates to the Convention may be represented by alternates. A quorum of the National Convention shall be one-third of the whole number of delegates provided for in Article IV, Sec. 2. of these by-laws, present at such Convention in person.

Sec. 7.

- a. The Nominating Committee shall select nominees for the office of Chairman of the Association, chairman of the Board of Governors, Vice Chairmen and Secretary of the Association, as well as the Directors, to be elected by the Convention. The term of office for the Chairman of the Association, Chairman of the Board of Governors, Vice Chairmen, and Secretary of the Association shall be until the next Convention. The Nominating Committee shall consist of 14 members, four members to be elected by the Convention, five members to be elected by the Board of Directors, of which one should be a person of 25 years of age or less; two members to be elected by the Council of Chapter and Division Presidents, two members to be elected by the Council of Organizations, and a Chairman to be appointed by the Chairman of the Association.
- b. The Convention shall at its opening session receive nominations for the four members of the Nominating Committee to be selected by the Convention, but the election of these members shall take place at a later session; the Convention may, by specific motion, ask the outgoing Nominating Committee to make recommendations from among such nominees. In selecting nominees for the Board of Directors, the Nominating Committee shall take into consideration the representation of the membership to insure the widest possible representation of all regions in the United States. The members of the Nominating Committee shall serve as individuals and shall not be subject to instructions by the designating or selecting body. The Nominating Committee shall distribute its list of nominees at least 60 days before the date of the Convention. Additional candidates may be placed in nomination by petition, signed by at least 100 members of the Association not later than two weeks before the opening of the Convention.

ARTICLE V

Board of Directors

Sec. 1.

- a. The Board of Directors shall consist of not more than 135 members, elected by the National Convention to five-year terms and continuous membership shall be limited to a maximum of two terms, after which at least a year must elapse before the member is eligible for election again.* Rare exceptions for unusually distinguished service may be recommended jointly by the Chairman of the Board of Directors and the

*According to a resolution approved by the National Convention in 1975, this is to be interpreted so that "it does not prevent a member of the Board of Directors from being elected as an officer of the Association and to continue to serve as a member of the Board of Directors in that capacity in spite of the fact that he would then be serving on the Board of Directors for more than (10) continuous years."

ARTICLE V (continued)

Chairman of the Board of Governors. Each National Convention shall elect one-half of the total membership of the Board of Directors to full terms of five years. In the event of a vacancy, a person may be elected by the remaining members of the Board to fill such vacancy.

- b. Nominations to the Board of Directors shall take into consideration geographic, division, chapter and organizational representation, past service to the UNA, and special ability to serve the Association.

The Chairman of the Conference of UN Representatives and the Chairman of the Council of Washington Representatives on the UN, upon taking office, if not then members of the Board of Directors, shall, ex officio, become members and serve for the duration of their terms of office.

Sec. 2. The Board, subject to the provisions of Article IV, Sections 4 and 5 hereof, shall have the power to establish and declare the policies of the Association and to manage its affairs.

Sec. 3. The Board shall from time to time establish regulations governing the formation and recognition of chapters and divisions, including the fixing of the minimum number of persons to constitute a chapter in any area, the definition of areas within which chapters may operate and regulation of the number of chapters within such areas. The Board shall also establish such other regulations as may be necessary for the administration of this Article, and may recognize more than one association for any state or territory where appropriate, including the District of Columbia and Puerto Rico.

Sec. 4.

- a. The Board shall elect a Board of Governors which shall exercise the function of an Executive Committee, one or more Vice Chairmen and a Treasurer. The members of the Nominating Committee who are members of the Board of Directors shall serve as members of the Nominating Committee of the Board of Directors; nominations shall take into consideration geographic, division, chapter and organization representation, past service to the UNA, and special ability to serve the Association.

The Chairman of the Conference of UN Representatives or, alternatively, the Chairman of the Council of Washington Representatives on the UN, shall serve on the Board of Governors for the duration of his/her term of office.

- b. The Board shall elect a President of the Association. The Board may appoint one or more Assistant Treasurers, one or more Assistant Secretaries and such other officers as it may from time to time determine. The Board may by resolution, not inconsistent with these by-laws, define the duties of all officers. The same person may be elected or appointed to more than one office. Appointed or elected officers shall receive such compensation as may be authorized by resolution of the Board.

ARTICLE V (continued)

- c. The Board shall elect a member or members of the Association as the official representative to the World Federation of United Nations Associations (WFUNA).

Sec. 5. The Board shall:

- a. Formulate recommendations to the National Convention for the improvement of the functions and structure of the Board with respect to its size and composition.
- b. Make other recommendations which in its view will improve the general structure and functioning of the Association.

Sec. 6. In the event of disability or vacancy in the office of Chairman of the Board of Directors, the Chairman of the Board of Governors shall assume the responsibility of that position until the disability is removed, or, in the event of vacancy, until the next meeting of the Board of Directors, at which time the Board of Directors shall elect a new Chairman to serve until the next meeting of the Convention.

Sec. 7. A quorum of the Board shall be one-third of the whole number of the Board, and a quorum of each of its Committees shall be one-third of the whole number of the members of each such Committee, except as otherwise provided.

Sec. 8.

- a. The Board of Directors shall meet at least once each year. It shall also meet on call of its Chairman or at the request of the Board of Governors or of any three members of the Board of Directors.
- b. Notice of meetings of the Board, identifying the subjects to be considered at the meeting, shall be given by depositing copies thereof in the mail at least fourteen days prior to the day of the meeting or by telegraphic or telephonic notification to each member of the Board of Directors not later than ten days prior to the day of the meeting, provided that special meetings in exceptional situations may be called by the Chairman upon such notice as he deems reasonable under the circumstances.

ARTICLE VI

The Board of Governors

Sec. 1. The Board of Governors shall have all the powers of the Board of Directors when the Board is not in session, except the powers referred to in Article V, this Article VI, Sections 2 and 3b, and Article XV.

Sec. 2. The Board of Governors shall consist of not more than 32 nor less than 19 members of the Board of Directors, including the Chairman of the Board of Directors, the President and other elected officers of the Association.

ARTICLE VI (continued)

Sec. 3.

- a. One-third of the members of the Board of Governors shall constitute a quorum, and the Board of Governors may act by a majority vote of those present at any meeting having a quorum in attendance.
- b. Members of the Board of Governors may be removed or replaced at any time for cause by the Board of Directors, and each member of the Board of Governors shall hold office until the Directors elected at the next Convention shall elect a new Board of Governors or until removed or replaced by the Board or until he or she ceases to be a member of the Board.
- c. The Board of Governors shall meet not less than three times a year and in addition at the call of its Chairman, upon his own motion or at the request of the Chairman of the Board of Directors, of the President of the Association or of any four members of the Board of Governors. Notice of meetings of the Board of Governors shall be given by depositing copies thereof in the mail at least ten days prior to the day of the meeting addressed to each member of the Board of Governors or five days by telegraphic or telephonic notice.

Sec. 4. The Board of Governors may authorize the payment of expenses of officers and directors incurred on Association business and the reimbursement of officers and directors for any such expenses, all in the discretion of the Board of Governors. The compensation and terms of service of the President and of all members of the staff of the Association may be fixed by the Board of Governors, in its discretion.

ARTICLE VII

Committees of the Board

Sec. 1. The Board of Directors may establish and determine the role and responsibilities of such standing and special committees as it deems necessary.

Sec. 2. All committees established by the Board of Directors shall report to the Board and be responsive to its directions. Standing committees shall also have the right and responsibility of reporting on their respective areas of work to the National Convention. Any recommendations by committees requesting policy positions or actions by the Convention must be submitted to the Board of Directors for endorsement or such alternate disposition as it may determine.

Sec. 3. Except for membership of the Board of Governors, the membership of committees established by the Board may include any person who is a member in good standing of the Association.

ARTICLE VIII

National Council

Sec. 1. Individuals who have distinguished themselves in the service of the Association, the United Nations or the international relationships of the United States, who are citizens and who have indicated their desire to counsel and assist the Association may be honored by invitation to serve as members of the National Council of the Association.

Sec. 2. Election shall be by the Board of Directors, shall be for a term not to exceed five years, and the total number of active members shall not exceed 100.

Sec. 3. Members of the Council may serve as delegates to the National Convention, shall be invited to participate in its functions and may be called upon by officers and committees for policy counsel, for managerial and financial advice and for special assignments on behalf of the Association.

Sec. 4. The Board of Governors shall elect a Chairman of the National Council.

ARTICLE IX

Sec. 1. There shall be the following officers:

- a. Chairman of the Association and of the Board of Directors.

As the Senior elected officer of the Association, the Chairman shall assure that its programs are applied in a manner consistent with its policies and in the furtherance of its purpose and functions. He shall preside over meetings of the National Convention and of the Board of Directors. He shall appoint or otherwise designate the method of selection of all committees of the Convention and of the Board whose members are not elected by those bodies. He shall be given notice of and have the right to attend and vote at all committee meetings, but unless he has been designated as a regular member of the committee, he shall be under no obligation to attend its meeting and shall not be counted in the quorum.

- b. Chairmen Emeriti

There shall be such Chairmen Emeriti as the Board of Directors shall appoint. Each Chairman Emeritus, as a former Chairman of the Association, shall have all privileges, without vote, of a member of the Board of Directors, the Board of Governors, and of all entities of the Association, and shall be notified of all meetings.

- c. Chairman of the Board of Governors.

The Chairman of the Board of Governors shall preside at all meetings of the Board of Governors and perform such other functions as the Board may designate. The Chairman of the Board of Governors shall serve as acting Chairman of the Board of Directors in the Absence of that official and shall temporarily assume the responsibilities of the Chairman of the Association.

ARTICLE IX (continued)

d. President.

The President shall be chief executive officer of the Association and, by virtue of his office, he shall be a member of the Board of Directors and of the Board of Governors and shall be a member ex-officio of all standing committees. It shall be his duty to direct the activities of the Association and to assure execution of its policies and programs, as adopted and announced from time to time by the Convention and the Board. He shall have the power to employ such staff as may be authorized from time to time by the Board, and all members of the staff shall report to and be responsible to the President, and shall receive such reasonable compensation as the President, with the advice of the chairman of the Board shall determine. He shall prepare and present the business to be acted upon at the National Convention and meetings of the Board of Directors or Board of Governors and shall perform such other duties as may be assigned to him by the Chairman of the Board of Directors or Board of Governors or by resolution duly adopted at any meeting of either board.

e. Vice Presidents.

There shall be such staff Vice Presidents as the Board of Directors shall appoint on recommendation of the President. Staff officers thus appointed shall serve during their period of service with the Association in that capacity or until the board takes action changing assignments and/or position titles. They shall not be officers of the Board of Directors or any committees of the Board of Directors or of the National Convention.

f. Secretary.

The Secretary shall take and keep true minutes of all meetings of the Boards of Directors or Governors, shall have custody of the corporate seal, shall notify Directors of their election, shall in general perform all duties incident to the office of Secretary and shall perform other such duties as may be assigned by the President or by resolution duly adopted at any meeting of the Boards of Directors or Governors.

g. Treasurer and Assistant Treasurers.

The Treasurer and Assistant Treasurers shall, subject to these by-laws and to such regulations as may from time to time be prescribed by the Board of Directors, have the custody of the funds and securities of the Association and shall supervise the keeping of proper books and accounts of the Association's financial affairs and assets. The Treasurer shall deposit the funds of the Association in such banks or trust companies as may from time to time be designated by the Board of Directors and shall deposit the securities of the Association in such vaults as may from time to time be designated by the Board. The withdrawal of such funds or securities shall be made only on the signature of any two of the officers of the Association or on the signature of one officer and such member of the Association as may be designated by the Board for such purposes. The Treasurer shall perform also all the duties incident to the office of Treasurer and such other duties as from time to time may be assigned to him by the Board of Directors. The Assistant Treasurers shall perform such functions of the Treasurer as may be delegated to them by the Treasurer.

ARTICLE X

Council of Chapter and Division Presidents
and
Council of Organizations

Sec. 1. There shall be a Council of Chapter and Division Presidents.

- a. The functions of this council shall include:
 - (1) Serve as a consultative liaison between the various Chapters, Divisions and Regions of the Association.
 - (2) Serve in an advisory capacity to the National Board of Directors, the Board of Governors, and the National Staff on matters of concern to the Chapters and Divisions of the Association.
- b. The Council shall elect a Steering Committee of not less than ten or more than twenty, whose functions will include:
 - (1) The preparation for an annual meeting of the Council to be held either as a national body or in regional sections.
 - (2) To develop in consultation with the National Staff, other methods of communication between the Chapters, Divisions, and Regions of the Association.

Sec. 2. There shall be a Council of Organizations.

- a. The purposes of this Council shall be:
 - (1) Provide a channel of communication on common interests among the organizations in the Council and the broader public which they reach, as well as between these organizations and all elements of the Association.
 - (2) Exchange information and advice on issues and programs.
 - (3) Encourage cooperation among the organizations, the Association, the U.S. government and the UN.
 - (4) Assure a broader basis for the operations of the Association and the furtherance of its purposes.
- b. There shall be a conference of UN Representatives open to UN representatives of organizations associated with the Council of Organizations, and Council of Washington Representatives on the UN made up of representatives of associated organizations maintaining Washington representation. These groups shall consult with and serve in an advisory capacity to the National Board of Directors, the Board of Governors, and the National Staff on matters of common concern to the organizations belonging to the Council.

ARTICLE X (continued)

- c. Members of the Conference of UN Representatives and the Council of Washington Representatives shall elect their officers and members-at-large of their representative Executive Committees.

Sec. 3. There shall be such other consultative or advisory bodies as the Board of Directors may create.

ARTICLE XI

National Chairman for UN Day

Sec. 1. The Board of Directors, after consultation with appropriate governmental authorities, shall annually by resolution recommend to the President of the United States a person for appointment as National Chairman for UN Day.

Sec. 2. The National Chairman, upon taking office, if not then a member of the Board of Directors of the Association shall ex-officio become a member of the Board and shall serve as a member thereof for the duration of his term as National Chairman for UN Day. The President shall assure that the services of the National Office of the Association will be placed at the disposal of the National Chairman.

ARTICLE XII

Chapters and Divisions

Sec. 1. All chapters and divisions of the Association may be accorded recognition by the Association when they are found by the Board of Directors to meet the standards prescribed under Section 2 of this Article.

Sec. 2. The chapters and divisions shall respect such minimum standards, policies and procedures consistent with the purposes and policies of the Association, as the Board of Directors from time to time may in its judgment determine. The Board shall have the power to revoke its recognition of a chapter or division if, in the judgment of the Board it ceases to adhere to such minimum standards; provided that such action shall be taken only after due and reasonable notice to the chapters or divisions affected and after consultation between the local officers thereof and representatives of the Board.

ARTICLE XIII

General Fiscal Provisions

Sec. 1. Any two of the following persons, viz: Chairman of the Association, Chairman of the Board of Governors, President, Secretary, Treasurer and any Assistant Treasurer or any two persons designated by the Board of Directors, shall have the authority to execute under seal such forms of transfer and assignment as may be customary or necessary to constitute a transfer of stocks, bonds or other securities standing in the name of or belonging to the Association.

ARTICLE XIII (continued)

Sec. 2. All contracts of every description between the Association and any person, firm or corporation may be executed and delivered in the name of the Association and on its behalf by the Chairman of the Association, Chairman of the Board of Governors or President of the Association. In the absence of the Chairman of the Association, Chairman of the Board of Governors and the President, any such contract may be executed and delivered by any two of the following: a Vice Chairman, Vice President, Secretary, Treasurer, any Assistant Treasurer or any two persons designated by the Board of Directors, which may by resolution provide the terms and conditions of the exercise by any person of authority pursuant to this Section.

Sec. 3. All drafts or orders for the payment of money, notes or other evidence of indebtedness issued in the name of the Association shall be signed by person or persons as may be designated from time to time by resolution of the Board of Directors.

Sec. 4. Such officers and other persons as the Board of Directors by resolution may determine shall be required to furnish a bond or bonds for the faithful discharge of their duties, in such sum and with surety and on such conditions as the Board shall from time to time determine. The expense of any such bond shall be defrayed by the Association.

Sec. 5. The fiscal year of the Association and all its chapters and divisions shall be January 1st through December 31st.

Sec. 6. The Association's financial books and records shall be audited from time to time, but at least annually by an independent certified public accountant to be appointed by the Board of Directors. The auditors shall submit to the Board an annual certified audit report at the close of each fiscal year. A certified report of the audit shall be made to the members of the Association in such form as the Board shall determine, within ninety days after receipt of such report from auditor.

ARTICLE XIV

Indemnification of Directors and Officers

Sec. 1. The Association shall indemnify each and every past, present or future director and/or officer of the Association, including any director or officer of any other company serving as such at the written request of the Association because of the Association's interest as a stockholder or creditor of such other company, and his heirs, executors and administrators, against all expenses as hereinafter defined, necessarily or reasonably incurred by or imposed upon him in connection with the defense of any action, suit or proceeding to which he may be made a party, or with which he may be threatened, by reason of his being or having been a Director or Officer of the Association or of such other company, whether or not he continues to be a Director or Officer at time of incurring such expenses.

ARTICLE XIV (continued)

Sec. 2. As used herein "expenses" shall include amounts of judgements against or amounts paid in settlement by such Director or Officer together with all costs legal, accounting or other expenses reasonably incurred by or otherwise imposed upon him, but shall not include any expenses incurred or imposed in connection with any matters as to which such Director or Officer shall be fully adjudged in such action, suit or proceeding, without such judgement being reversed, to be liable by reason of his fraud or bad faith in the performance of his duty as such Director or Officer. In the event of a settlement of any such action, suit or proceeding in connection with such matters covered by the settlement as to which the Association is advised by an opinion of legal counsel that the person to be indemnified was liable from fraud or bad faith in the performance of his duty. Such counsel may be general counsel regularly employed or retained by the Association or may otherwise be selected by or in the manner designated by the Board of Directors, and their opinion shall be final and conclusive upon all parties.

Sec. 3. The foregoing right of indemnification shall not be deemed exclusive of any other rights to which those indemnified may be entitled by law, vote of members, by-law agreement or otherwise.

ARTICLE XV

Procedures for Amending By-laws

Sec. 1. The by-laws in force at any time may be amended by a two-thirds vote of the National Convention, or by a two-thirds vote of the Board of Directors at a meeting having a quorum in attendance; provided however, that only the National Convention shall have the power to amend this Article XV or to alter the representation at, distribution or voting in or powers of the National Convention or the composition or powers of the Board or the Council or Chapter and Division Presidents or the Council of Organizations. Amendments to the by-laws may be proposed by chapters or divisions, any group of thirty or more members in good standing and organizations in the Council of Organizations. Such proposed amendments shall be considered by the National Convention only if they have been submitted in writing to the National headquarters of the Association at least sixty days prior to the date of the National Convention. The National headquarters of the Association shall provide for distribution of any such proposed amendments to all divisions, chapters and organizations in the Council of Organizations and delegates not later than fifty days prior to the date of the National Convention.

Sec. 2. Those elements of the Association who are entitled, under the provisions of Article IV, Sec. 2, to vote at the National Convention of the Association shall be notified in writing at least one hundred and twenty days prior to the date of the National Convention of any amendments to the by-laws which have been adopted by the Board of Directors subsequent to the most recent National Convention. This notice shall include reasons for the enactment of each amendment. Time shall be allotted at the following National Convention for the purpose of considering any by-law amendments that have been enacted or proposed, in accordance with the provisions of Sec. 1 of this Article, since the previous National Convention.

PARLIAMENTARY AUTHORITY

Robert's Rules of Order Revised shall supplement these by-laws and govern this Association in all cases to which they are applicable and in which they are not inconsistent with these by-laws and special rules and resolutions authorized by these by-laws.

PRESIDENT'S MESSAGE

UNA-USA Quarterly Mailing
to Chapters and Divisions

March 1990
Mailing No. 16

Dear Chapter and Division Leader:

The topic is membership.

One of our top priorities for the 1990s must be to expand and broaden the Association's membership base. If we are to have political clout in Washington, D.C., if we are to reach a significant slice of the American public with our message, then we must do better at retaining and recruiting members. Many of you have done an outstanding job -- 26 chapters and divisions surpassed the ten percent target in 1989 -- and we need to learn from you. But our national totals appear to have reached a plateau after several years of expansion. It is time to take a big step forward and to lay the groundwork for a concerted and carefully-conceived national membership campaign.

For once, it looks as if we will have the resources to begin to turn our talk about a national effort into action. After a prolonged period of study and discussion, the Ford Foundation has indicated that it intends to give UNA a substantial multi-year grant to expand our work in several areas. The highest priority, they agree, should be bolstering our outreach and membership efforts. While the amounts and timing have not yet been finalized, we should begin now to give careful consideration to how these potential resources could best be used.

To this end, we are convening a membership development task force under the chairmanship of Elliot Richardson. The alacrity with which Elliot agreed to take on this task on top of his many other commitments is a good indication of the priority which UNA's top leaders are giving to this undertaking. To get a better sense of why people join UNA or in some cases leave it, we will conduct attitudinal surveys of current and past members. Jim Olson will be in touch with a number of other membership organizations to learn from their good and bad experiences. With the results of all of these deliberations and research in place, we should have both the ideas and the funds to launch an effective national campaign by the end of the summer.

Key questions, of course, are how we should couch our appeal and to whom we should target our message, especially in light of the extraordinary changes underway in the world. The attached article from the New York Times may provide part of the answer. A number of public organizations from the political left or right implicitly based their messages on the perpetuation of the Cold War and the struggle between "hawks" and "doves." As the Cold War melts away and a bipolar world becomes a multipolar one, their partisan arguments are beginning to lose their appeal.

For UNA -- as a non-partisan, mainstream organization devoted to multilateral institutions -- on the other hand, the end of the Cold War is the beginning of a new era of fresh possibilities for multilateral cooperation. It was East-West tension, of course, which so often prevented the UN from acting decisively on issues of peace and security. Now, both "hawks" and "doves" are coming to have greater appreciation of the utility of the United Nations, and we should welcome refugees from both camps to our ranks.

We have some great opportunities before us, and it will be your ideas, energy and enthusiasm which will make all the difference. So please share your suggestions and experiences about membership with us. We are eager to have your input.

Thanks very much for all that you do. All the best.

Regards,

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to be 'EL' or 'ELC', written in a cursive style.

Edward C. Luck
President

Those For Whom 'Peace Dividend' Means Deficit

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Feb. 11 — The movements that were fueled by the cold war are finding that its apparent demise may be good for the world but bad for their business.

Membership is dwindling, and contributions are drying up. Staff members, as well as donors, are defecting to new causes.

The Institute for the Common Defense in Washington, proponent of a stronger military, has disconnected its phone and is apparently no longer in operation.

Nuclear Times, the peace movement's most popular magazine, stopped publishing six months ago.

'They're in Trouble'

Morale at SANE/Freeze, the largest peace group in the country, plummeted when debt forced the group to lay off a quarter of its national staff and cut salaries.

The American Security Council, one of the most successful pro-defense lobbies, has lost half its 300,000 members since 1985. To stay solvent, the group recently sold land adjacent to its headquarters in the Washington suburbs.

"They're in trouble now that peace has broken out," said Paul Warnke, the chief arms negotiator in the Carter Administration. "It's what the Salk vaccine did for the March of Dimes."

Just as that organization had to refashion its mission to address birth defects when polio no longer threatened the nation, so hawks and doves are searching for a new role in the age of Gorbachev.

Searching the Horizon

"We are moving from nuclear disarmament to nuclear waste," said Janice Kelly, fiscal manager for Women's Action for Nuclear Disarmament, based in Arlington, Mass. "People's priorities keep changing to something more glamorous on the horizon."

In the 1980's, Communism was the common adversary and Ronald Reagan was the common rallying point,

said Howard Phillips, chairman of the Conservative Caucus, a Washington-based advocacy group that has had financial difficulties.

Recalling the old days of fund raising, he said, "It was possible to put your fishing line in the barrel and come up with a 20-inch bass."

For decades, the anti-Communists and peace groups confronted each other at demonstrations, faced off on the talk shows and raised millions of dollars to elect sympathetic candidates and unseat opponents. They fed and prospered from each other's rhetoric as well as their own successes.

What's Left to Fight For?

Now both are sides fighting a tide that is moving to new shores, to issues like abortion, poverty and the environ-

Plowshares, too, can inflict grievous wounds.

ment. Some conservatives are foreseeing what the essayist Charles Krauthammer has called the "conservative crackup" as longtime supporters splinter into new directions.

"It's hard to maintain your edge when you continually win Presidential elections, the economy continues to be strong and then on top of that the Berlin wall collapses," said John Buckley, a political consultant to conservative groups.

Since the changes in Eastern Europe, fund raising for anti-Communist efforts has dropped off, said Bruce Eberle, a direct-mail fund-raiser whose clients include many conservative groups. "There's less interest in the issue," he said.

Peace groups whose ranks had grown during the arms buildup under Ronald Reagan are suffering the same malaise as conservatives.

"Basically, Gorbachev put us out of business," said Elliott Negin, the former editor of Nuclear Times, who has been freelancing since his magazine folded. "Hey! Look at me. I'm happy about it, but I'm a casualty of the victory."

Mr. Negin said the magazine was finally forced to close after private foundations, which provided one-third of the publication's operating expenses, decided that nuclear disarmament was no longer a crucial issue.

At Physicians for Social Responsibility, a Washington-based disarmament organization, donations are down 58 percent from a year ago, said John Loretz, director of communications.

"We saw a very steep rise in our membership through 1985, the height of the arms race," Mr. Loretz said. "But when people felt the threat of nuclear war was more remote, we saw a cooling off in contributions. The urgency is clearly not there in the mind of the public like it was a few years ago."

Treaties Dash Fund Raising

John Miller, a staff member at the New York-based Mobilization for Survival, a group that has traditionally focused on disarmament issues, said there had been a noticeable fall-off in contributions. "With every treaty signed, raising money becomes more difficult," he said. "If you win a little bit, people think you've won the whole thing."

Brent Bozell, finance director of the National Conservative Political Action Committee, argues that it is still possible to raise money for conservative causes, including foreign policy, but that the strategy must change.

There are opportunities, Mr. Bozell said, for conservatives who want to help shape the political and economic future of Eastern Europe. Money is

pouring in for people monitoring elections and running training seminars in capitalism, he said.

"It can't be an anti-Communist movement but a pro-freedom one," Mr. Bozell said. "That's the new reality."

Work to Be Done

Both hard-liners and peace activists stress that their work is not yet done. Cold Warriors warn against premature complacency and excessive faith in Mikhail S. Gorbachev. And peace groups note that despite the talk of peace, the military budget proposed by President Bush for the next fiscal year is still larger than this year's.

"In our mailings and our newsletters, we are raising the cautionary sign," said David Keene, who heads the American Conservative Union. The group, which a decade ago numbered 750,000, today claims 50,000 donors. "What Gorbachev is saying is very encouraging, but the Soviets are not changing their defense spending. They're still pouring money into Nicaragua and Afghanistan, and the cold war is not over for those people who are dying in these parts of the world."

Peace groups are fighting just as hard to diminish the perception that the United States and the Soviet Union are disarming. It is one of the most difficult hurdles peace groups are facing, said the Rev. William Sloane Coffin Jr., president of SANE/Freeze, which claims 170,000 members.

"It's great, what's going on," Mr. Coffin said. But he added: "The military budget is our Berlin wall, and the Congress is its guard. Bringing down that wall is a very big job for the peace movement."

Despite efforts to regroup their forces, defections from the peace movement have already begun.

"I can't see myself staying around much longer," said one organization's director, who asked not to be identified. "The world has changed, and I am looking for other idealistic causes. There are a lot of other pressing needs now."

The UN in a World of Change
Welcome to the 1990s

If the events of the past year are any indication, the final decade of the twentieth century could well witness the most profound transformation of the geopolitical system since World War II. We have entered an extraordinarily dynamic period of human history. And the United Nations, for the first time, has the opportunity to play a major role in shaping, not just witnessing or recording, the course of events.

The world is in transition. Blocs are breaking up or redefining their missions as the Cold War fades. In country after country, growing disillusionment with Marxist-Leninist ideology has led to a search for new forms of economic and political life. Repressive and totalitarian regimes from Eastern Europe to South Africa have been unable to contain their people's yearning for freedom and democracy. With the communications revolution, national boundaries have become increasingly permeable to the persistent flow of information, ideas, and people. Step by step, we have witnessed the diffusion of economic, military, and political power around the world, leading to new power centers in Japan and Western Europe capable of challenging the dominance of the once-super powers. And in the process, power is beginning to be defined in broader ways, with economic interdependence making war among the developed countries seem ever more unthinkable.

Much of this is good news for our country and our principles. Yet, with change and the breakdown of the old order have come large doses of instability and uncertainty. An unusual degree of harmony among the major powers has paradoxically been coupled with mounting disorder at the local and regional levels. These trends have produced a growing list of demands for UN involvement in a wide range of global and regional problems. One of the central responsibilities for UNA-USA will be to identify emerging challenges and to suggest ways in which the world body should adapt its policies and practices to meet the changing needs of the international community.

There are three themes which we believe could well define the UN's agenda for the remainder of the millennium: managing peaceful change; reassessing humanity's relationship to nature; and championing democratic and human values. UNA-USA will need to address these issues imaginatively and forcefully in the years ahead.

Offering an alternative to violence in a world of change may become the UN's central task in the decade ahead. Conceived as an expression of international unity in the pre-Cold War era, and marginalized during years of East-West tension, the United Nations is coming into its own as a post-Cold War instrument for managing a reordering of the international system, perhaps even a transition from a bipolar to a multipolar world. Since the world body proved in Namibia that it can help promote democratic and peaceful transfers of power, the UN option is being considered in other troubled regions.

This task will involve far more than traditional interstate peacemaking and peacekeeping, as valuable as these techniques will remain. It will entail addressing humanity's relationship with nature and the individual's relationship with government. Preservation of the global environment is clearly a multilateral concern beyond the interests or the control of any nation or group of nations. At a time when hunger, disease, and poverty define the existence of an alarmingly high percentage of the world's people, the answer cannot be to foreclose further economic development. But to identify and implement ecologically sustainable paths to development will be one of the greatest challenges facing the international community in the decade ahead. Moreover, the recent record of North-South deliberations on issues either of development or of environment has not been encouraging. The UN will need to find new modes and mechanisms for restoring a sensible North-South dialogue if there is to be a meeting of the minds on these critical issues before present trends toward degradation of the environment and of the human condition become irreversible.

In the years ahead, the United Nations and other international institutions will also be called upon to intervene in qualitatively new ways to protect individuals from the excesses of their national and local governments and to assert their fundamental democratic rights. The UN Charter speaks eloquently to the centrality of human rights, and from its early days the UN has taken the lead in codifying and championing international standards of human decency. Yet in years past implementation efforts have been

selective, with politics too often triumphing over principle. And many governments, particularly from the developing world, are resisting in the name of national sovereignty any expansion of the UN's human rights activities. The trend toward political pluralism in the Soviet Union and East Europe, however, is giving new impetus to UN human rights efforts. In Namibia and Nicaragua, and potentially in Cambodia and Rumania, the UN has been given the task of monitoring new elections. So the United Nations -- whose Charter never mentions the word "democracy" -- finds itself in the forefront of a worldwide movement for democracy and freedom.

In each of these areas -- managing peaceful change, humanity's relationship to nature, and relations between individuals and governments -- differences between North and South are coming to overshadow those between East and West. Therefore the deliberations and programs of global, multilateral organizations -- chiefly the United Nations -- will be critical to finding lasting solutions. At the same time, the UN itself, reflecting larger global trends, has become a far more pluralistic place, with no nation or bloc able to dictate its agenda or decisions. The slow process of consensus-building may have begun to replace the stale process of confrontation, name-calling, and vote-counting that too often characterized the General Assembly.

The United States can play an extremely valuable role as a source for ideas, principles and inspiration in a time of uncertainty and change. As the US begins to turn the page on its years of isolation in and arrearages to the world body, it has an historic opportunity to assert positive leadership in the United Nations system. In doing so, the United States can recapture the forward-looking vision which did so much to define the post-war world and its unprecedented set of international institutions. Two generations later, as the bipolar system starts to fade, these multilateral institutions -- and US leadership in them -- are needed more than ever.

John C. Whitehead
Chairman of the Association

Max M. Kampelman
Chairman, Board of Governors

Edward C. Luck
President



UNITED NATIONS ASSOCIATION OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

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March 2, 1990

MEMORANDUM

TO: Board of Governors
FROM: Ed Luck
SUBJECT: Japanese Corporate Support

You may have seen this article in the New York Times last week. While it is likely that the bulk of these contributions will go to community-based charities in areas where Japanese companies have established manufacturing plants, there may be some new opportunities for the support of foreign affairs organizations as well. The multilateral system should be of growing interest to Japanese leaders as they seek to define a global role for their economically-strong, militarily-weak country.

In your view, is it appropriate for UNA to seek aggressively Japanese corporate support? If so, do you have any suggestions regarding how to go about this? While we have received some scattered contributions for special events and the EPC from Japanese companies in the past, we have never seen this as a particularly promising source of support.

Anniversary Chairman
Katharine Graham

Co-Chairmen
Henry A. Kissinger
Cyrus R. Vance

★ ★ ★

Chairman of the Association
John C. Whitehead

Chairman, Board of Governors
Max M. Kampelman

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

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

President
Edward C. Luck

Vice Chairmen
Ruth J. Hinerfeld
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Arthur Ross
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Secretary
William J. vanden Heuvel

Treasurer
John C. Bierwirth

Co-Chairmen, Economic Policy Council
Henry Kaufman
Jack Sheinkman

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

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

Chairman, Quadrilateral Program on Asian Security
Frank C. Carlucci

Chairman, Advisory Group Multilateral Project
Matthew Nimetz

Chairman, WFUNA Committee
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Marietta Tree
Michael Witunski

Vice President, Policy Studies
Toby Trister Gati

Executive Director, UNA Fund
Fred Tamalonis

Director, Special Events
Stanley Raisen

Executive Director, National Programs
James M. Olson

Director, Communications
John Tessitore

★ ★ ★

Founding Chairman
Robert S. Benjamin
(1909-1979)

Chairman Emeritus
James S. McDonnell
(1899-1980)

Honorary Chairman
Arthur J. Goldberg

Japan to Give Tax Benefits For Charitable Aid in U.S.

By DAVID E. SANGER

Special to The New York Times

TOKYO, Feb. 21 — Worried about mounting hostility to Japan's huge investments in the United States, the Japanese Government will offer Japanese companies a large tax deduction if they give money to hospitals, schools or philanthropic activities in the United States, Government officials say.

Japan has made no formal announcement of the move, but it was discussed at length during a highly unusual meeting of 300 of the country's top business executives, who were summoned to the Foreign Ministry last Friday.

The tax break — effectively a Japanese Government subsidy to American organizations — is the latest and most significant move yet to try to defuse tension with the United States over Japan's growing presence there, which Japan now fears may be poisoning relations between the two countries.

Joining the Community

Moreover, the tax deduction for charitable donations seems to be part of a broader effort by the Government and industry to burnish the image of Japanese as solid citizens in the American communities where Japanese companies have built plants. Indeed, the tax breaks are merely one element in the drive to encourage Japanese expatriates working in the United States to be-

come more involved in their communities.

In recent days, for example, the Japanese Chamber of Commerce has begun distributing 5,000 copies of an 85-page handbook containing advice to Japan-based companies in America on supporting local charities and volunteering to work for local organizations.

Tsutomu Karino, an executive director, explained that the handbook had been issued because the American tradition of volunteerism was not much developed in Japan.

"Most Americans feel this is common sense," Mr. Karino said. "Most Japanese feel this is not common sense, this is unusual."

Published with Japanese and English text on facing pages, the book is entitled, "Joining In! A Handbook for Better Corporate Citizenship in the United States." Among other suggestions, it urges Japanese executives to make sure they promote their community efforts. "It is important in American society to take credit for good works accomplished," the handbook says. "This is not bragging; it is a matter of getting deserved credit."

Japanese officials gave few details about the tax deduction, which is expected to go into effect next year. But they said that until

Continued From Page A1

now, Japanese companies operating abroad received tax deductions only for contributions that helped explain Japanese culture, like exchange programs or museum exhibitions. In most cases, there were no deductions for contributions to the communities surrounding Japan's growing number of auto plants, electronics factories or real estate holdings in the United States.

"This is not an effort to buy opinions," said Masaki Okada, a Foreign Ministry official working on the tax plan. "We think that it is important to pay for things other than building a Japanese garden."

The Government's tax incentive was paired with a bluntly worded message that Japanese companies have themselves to blame for much of the tension with the United States. "There are an increasing number of Americans who think 'the Japanese are faceless' or 'there is no knowing what they are thinking,'" Taro Nakayama, Japan's Foreign Minister, told the executives in a statement read at the meeting.

Americans fear "that it is impossible to guess where Japan's huge economic power is headed, and under

what philosophy or principles," he said. "It is worth noting that now people in the U.S. are feeling less threatened by the U.S.S.R., and some are expressing the view that the economic threat from Japan is more serious than the military threat from the Soviet Union." Mr. Nakayama's statement was read to the executives by a Foreign Ministry official.

Executives who attended the meeting said they thought the Government's wording, far harsher than ever before, was an effort to persuade Japanese companies to use their profits to defuse American fears that the Japanese presence is ominous.

Second Tax Incentive

The tax benefit for local donations is the second tax incentive the Japanese Government has used to try to ease trade tensions in the last three months. In late December, the Government said it would offer tax credits to companies that greatly increase their imports of foreign-made machinery, computers, autos and other manufactured goods.

The tax exemption for donations has already received the approval of the Japanese Finance Ministry, officials said, and the ruling Liberal Democratic Party, which was returned to power with a comfortable

Continued on Page D8, Column 1

A more activist role in American communities is sought.

majority in the general election on Sunday. Accordingly, approval by the Parliament is virtually assured.

In contrast to the Japanese gesture, charitable contributions by American corporations to overseas institutions are generally not deductible from United States taxes, said Sheldon N. Weinberg, a senior manager at Deloitte & Touche. The only exception occurs when a donation can be claimed as an advertising expense or otherwise justified as a necessary cost of doing business, which is seldom easy, he said.

Although the meeting with the Foreign Ministry officials occurred two days before the election, some executives here speculated that the tax deduction was not announced earlier for fear it would appear to be a concession to the United States and would

hurt the Liberal Democrats' chances, especially among farmers and others who are angry about increased imports of American goods by Japan.

"It's a somewhat desperate move," a senior executive who attended the meeting said. "But Japan is in desperate trouble."

Some Critics in Japan

Even in Japan, the tax move has come under some criticism as an attempt to solve the problem of United States-Japanese relations with money. "What companies really need to do is give their employees more time to really become active in their communities," a senior executive of a major automobile manufacturer said today. "But they are made to work like dogs, and with the time difference they spend their evenings getting instructions from Tokyo."

The intervention of the Foreign Ministry in the activities of Japanese companies abroad was somewhat unusual, because that role is ordinarily filled by the Ministry of International Trade and Industry or the Ministry of Finance. But a recent poll commissioned by the Foreign Ministry about America vis-à-vis Japan convinced diplomats here that tensions between the two countries were threatening

Tokyo is trying to defuse rising hostility in the United States.

the stability of their postwar relationship.

At times, the meeting on Friday took the form of a primer on how to behave in the United States, some participants said. One speaker, Sholchiro Toyoda, the president of the Toyota Motor Corporation, Japan's biggest car maker, warned executives that Japanese companies did far too little to contribute to the communities where they build factories and research labs.

"The extent and scope of the social contribution required of individuals and enterprises in the U.S. are much wider than and different from the case of Japan," Mr. Toyoda said. "In the U.S., it is the individual who plays a key role in voluntary work or financial contributions. That stems from their different social and historical

background. Japanese people are more likely to identify with their places of work, while Americans are more likely to identify with the communities they live in."

Mr. Toyoda said that Japanese must "contribute on the same level as Americans" as long as they are "enjoying the benefits of American society."

Some executives questioned whether the tax deductions would be large enough to make a great change in American attitudes toward Japan. Moreover, they suspected that the contributions could be resisted by many in Japanese industry, who prefer to make flashy contributions in the United States — endowing chairs at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, underwriting research institutes that work in areas relating to Japan or sponsoring big sports events.

So far, their contributions to ordinary community causes significantly trail those of American companies, officials here say. Because the companies are not required to report such contributions, exact figures are difficult to find. In Japan, companies often lump charity and political donations into one accounting line of their balance sheet.



FIVE COLLEGE PROGRAM IN PEACE AND WORLD SECURITY STUDIES

HAMPSHIRE COLLEGE • AMHERST, MA 01002 • 413-549-4600, ext. 563

Michael Klare, Director

February 8, 1990

Mr. Harry W. Knight
Hillsboro Associates, Inc.
110 East 57th Street
New York, NY 10022

Dear Mr. Knight:

Greetings! Knowing of your interest in cooperation between the Five Colleges and the United Nations Association, I thought you might like a copy of the enclosed mini-report on our recent student delegation to the Model U.N. in Moscow.

The Moscow event, held Jan. 24-28, was the first of its kind held jointly by the U.N. Associations of the USA and the USSR. The PAWSS delegation, composed of 18 students, was one of the largest in Moscow. The students have just returned, and all report that they had an extraordinary learning experience.

The enclosed report on the delegation was written by PAWSS Associate Director Adi Bemak, who accompanied the group as faculty adviser. (Also enclosed is photo from the Moscow event.)

Based on the success of these events, we plan to send PAWSS delegations to future Model UNs at various locations. We will also be planning a more intensive program of cooperation with the UNA.

I hope that you find this material to be of interest. If you would like any further information about our endeavors, please do not hesitate to get in touch with me.

Yours sincerely,

Michael Klare
Director & Associate Professor

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Report on a Five College Delegation to the U.S.-Soviet
Model United Nations, Moscow, January 21-29, 1990

From January 21-29, 1990 the Five College Program in Peace & World Security Studies (PAWSS) sponsored a delegation of 18 students from the Five College community to a Model United Nations Assembly in Moscow. This unprecedented event drew students from 18 countries, including the Soviet Union and the United States; it was co-sponsored by the U.N. Associations of the USA and the USSR. The nearly 250 students assembled in Moscow came from such countries as Australia, Finland, Egypt, Canada, Luxembourg, Peru, Italy, Guatemala, Japan, Iran, and Ghana.

The Five College response to the announcement of the Model UN in Moscow was overwhelming. Of the many students who expressed an interest in attending, the 18 students selected for the PAWSS delegation were chosen on the basis of a demonstrated interest in either Soviet studies or international relations. Six students were sent from Hampshire College, two from Mount Holyoke College, seven from Smith College, two from Amherst College, and one from the University of Massachusetts. (See list attached.) PAWSS Assistant Director Adi Bemak accompanied the Five College delegation as faculty advisor.

The Model UN, held at Moscow University, convened on January 24th, and ran through the 28th. With 18 very qualified delegates in our group, the Five College students comprised the Model UN delegations of Poland, the Soviet Union, and Senegal. The meetings were intensive, scheduled from 10:00 AM until 5:00 or 6:00 PM daily. Simultaneous translation in either Russian or English was conducted throughout the program. Each student served on one of the following: the Commission on Narcotic Drugs; the Commission on the Status of Women; the Commission on Social Development; the Commission on Human Rights; the Security Council; and the Economic and Social Council. Evening programs were scheduled as well, with lectures by specialists on human rights and narcotics. Five College students maintained a committed involvement in the proceedings of the Model UN, assuming roles of leadership in their Commissions on several occasions. For example, one student from Mount Holyoke College served as Chairwoman for the Commission on Human Rights, which was composed of nearly 35 students from around the world.

With such a full schedule it was not easy for students to also visit Moscow itself. However, some of them were experienced travelers in the Soviet Union, and all of them were very independent and eager to make use of every free minute. They would gather in international groups, use the metro, and find their way to some "collective" restaurant they had heard about. Many also went to the Bolshoi Opera or Ballet, as tickets were

easily available. It seemed, however, that their most satisfying times were spent simply in having the opportunity to observe Soviet life for one week in Moscow. Speaking with citizens, both those who were a part of the Model UN and otherwise, gave them important insights into the complexities facing the Soviet Union at this critical time.

Upon their return, the Five College students expressed great enthusiasm for their Model United Nations experience in Moscow. "I'm going to try to go to the M.U.N. in Egypt in March," said one Hampshire College student, who will be studying in Israel next semester. "Can we arrange to go to the National M.U.N. in New York this year?" asked another. Students strongly indicated that they had far greater regard now for the work of the United Nations since their experience in Moscow, and that their interests in international relations had become much stronger.

-- Submitted by Adi Bemak,
Assistant Director, PAWSS
February 8, 1990

Leonard R. Sussman

It's Time to Rejoin UNESCO

The U.N. agency has cleaned up its act.

Five years ago the United States walked out of the U.N. agency known as UNESCO, complaining that it was badly run, spent money recklessly and—perhaps most important—that it posed a threat to freedom of the press in the world because of its promotion of a “new world information and communication order.”

Since then, a lot of things have changed, both in UNESCO and the world. I believe it is time for this country to rejoin the U.N. Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization. Not only does UNESCO no longer qualify as a threat to freedom of the press, it may even be a very useful agency for promoting it in an area in which it is just emerging: Eastern Europe.

Last November UNESCO's general conference dealt with a number of matters that had concerned the United States. It budgeted zero-growth on expenditures that were lower than when the United States was paying dues, worked toward a dramatic reorganization of its management process and laid out a new communications program that promotes press freedom more explicitly than any in UNESCO's 44-year history.

The communication program is based on the “free flow of information,” an objective

repeated 23 times in the 23-page plan. This emphasis reflects the “new strategy” of Dr. Federico Mayor, the Spanish biochemist who succeeded Amadou Mahtar M'Bow two years ago as director-general of UNESCO. The plan commits UNESCO to facilitate and guarantee for journalists “the freedom to report and the fullest possible access to information.” UNESCO would also facilitate “access by the public to information in all its forms,” hardly a sop to authoritarians. Indeed, the plan provides a linguistic clue to the dramatic change of course. For the first time, the media are described as “in” a country, not “of” it, which implies ownership or control by the government. And for the first time there are repeated references to private news media, private enterprise, the private sector—they too to be supported and protected.

This week, journalists from the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe will confer with Western media leaders to find ways to develop “a free, independent and pluralistic press” in Eastern Europe. The emergence of non-governmental news systems in the East is an “encouraging development which UNESCO welcomes,” says Mayor, who organized the two-day work session in Paris. It is the first practical step taken by UNESCO to help

advance press freedom under its new mandate, and it is a significant one.

The commitment to “free flow” is repeated almost to the point of boredom in its statement. Wherever it is related to “balanced dissemination of information” a new phrase appears: “without any obstacle to the freedom of expression.” This reflects Mayor's pledge to increase support for new communication facilities in the Third World and encourage balanced coverage—but not by violating press freedom.

The UNESCO plan acknowledges that the “new world information order” created great problems for the organization, because “too much attention was given to standard-setting and quasi-normative action.” This refers to Western perceptions that the program would have had governments set criteria for independent journalists. This acknowledgment is about as close as an intergovernmental agency comes to admitting failure.

The “new strategy” in UNESCO communications reflects the two-year leadership of Mayor. He struggled against some on the executive board who sought several times to restore the “world information order” in one form or another. These sessions were described by one delegate as “psychodrama.”

Significantly, however, no one even suggested restoring some of the old bugaboos associated with that order: licensing of journalists, imposition of governmental press codes, or monitoring of independent journalists.

The present mandate clearly opens a new era at UNESCO. Its programs include high-level international science links, a global literacy campaign (UNESCO's “absolute priority for the decade”), saving worldwide cultural legacies, managing the world copyright convention, providing the only global forum for charging governments with violations of individual human rights, and scores of projects to improve education in developing countries.

The U.S. administration should now appoint a high-level group, one reflecting interagency and broad nongovernmental concerns, to examine and report promptly on UNESCO's new programs and on the budgetary and management changes demanded for so long by U.S. critics.

American interests in science, education and other fields are ill-served by the continuing absence of the United States from UNESCO in these crucial, fast-changing times.

The writer was a member of the panel that studied UNESCO for the United Nations Association of the USA.

**1 9 8 9
UNITED
NATIONS DAY
PROGRAM**

**REPORT
TO THE
PRESIDENT
OF THE UNITED STATES
OF AMERICA**

LETTER TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES



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January, 1990

The President
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Mr. President:

It is an honor to submit to you this report on the nationwide 1989 commemoration of U.N. Day. As National U.N. Day Chairman, I am particularly pleased to be able to say that the U.N. Day Program, carried out in nearly 1,000 communities throughout this nation, showed enormous public support for the work of the United Nations. The involvement of state and city officials in the celebration of U.N. Day was also significantly greater than in previous years, testifying to Americans' increased appreciation of the U.N.'s vital role in the world today.

Most U.N. Day programs highlighted the newly adopted U.N. Convention on the Rights of the Child, while numerous others focused on the environment. It was gratifying to learn from the many reports we received from every part of the U.S. how innovative some of the programs were and how much they proved the existence of a reservoir of good will and support for the United Nations.

It has been a privilege, Mr. President, to serve as 1989 United Nations Day Chairman. It has enhanced my own understanding and appreciation of the United Nations and has made me more aware of what the U.N. is, what it is not, and, most important, what it can be.

To make the institution as effective as possible we need, under your guidance, the sound understanding and the support of the American people. I am grateful for having had the opportunity to work toward these goals.

Respectfully,

Maurice R. Greenberg



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INTRODUCTION

The 44th Anniversary of the United Nations was marked in over 1,000 communities across the United States on October 24, 1989. The National United Nations Day Program was spearheaded by 1989 National U.N. Day Chairman **Maurice R. Greenberg**, Chairman of American International Group, Inc. More than 30 governors appointed State U.N. Day Chairmen; and more than 200 mayors and town officials appointed Local U.N. Day Chairmen to coordinate the observance in their own communities. Hundreds of thousands of American citizens took part in this annual celebration of the U.N.'s birthday, while many more received the U.N. Day message via the print and electronic media.

The theme of the 1989 National U.N. Day Observance was "The Rights of the Child" in recognition of the U.N. Convention on the Rights of the Child, adopted by the General Assembly in the following month; the 30th Anniversary of the U.N. Declaration of the Rights of the Child; and the 10th Anniversary of the International Year of the Child. This theme, as well as other U.N.-related subjects, was the focus of hundreds of speeches, panel discussions, newspaper editorials, sermons, lectures, and conferences in communities large and small. Other celebrations of the U.N.'s birthday took the form of parades, festivals, galas, and feasts. All of the U.N. Day events provided a reaffirmation of the commitment of the American people to a stronger and more effective United Nations and to restoring American leadership in the world organization.

United Nations Day continues to enjoy the support and participation of a wide variety of civic and religious organizations throughout the country. The national secretariat for U.N. Day is the **United Nations Association of the USA (UNA-USA)**. Leadership for the 1989 Program on the state and local level was provided by the Chapters and Divisions of UNA-USA, numerous World Affairs Councils, and such national organizations as the American Association of University Women, Association of Early Childhood Development, Altrusa, B'nai B'rith International, Church Women United, Baha'is of the United States, League of Women Voters, National Education Association, National Federation of Business and Professional Women's Clubs, Rotary International, Soroptimist International, the Boy and Girl Scouts of America, Save the Children Federation, Lions International, Unitarian Universalists, and World Federalist Association. These organizations and many others are the backbone of the annual observance of U.N. Day in the United States. Because of the hard work and commitment of the members of these organizations, the 1989 United Nations Day Program was able to reach hundreds of thousands of American citizens.

On the national level, UNA-USA produced two U.N. Day public service announcements for television, featuring Mr. Greenberg, which were aired during the month of October on CBS, NBC, TBS, and Group W stations. A radio public service announcement was also distributed throughout the country. These announcements were made possible through the generous assistance of the United Nations Department of Public Information and American International Group, Inc.

The remarkable enthusiasm and participation of the American public in the 1989 U.N. Day celebration demonstrates the importance of the United Nations to the American people. As the United Nations becomes more central in the events of our world, the Organization can be assured of the American people's support in its important work.



NATIONAL UNITED NATIONS DAY CHAIRMEN 1965-1989

Since 1965, the National U.N. Day Program has been led by a prominent American, through whose efforts the American people gain greater awareness of the important work of the United Nations around the world. Below is a list of those who have held the prestigious position of National U.N. Day Chairman:

- 1965 **Robert S. Benjamin**, *Chairman*, United Artists Corporation
- 1966 **Edgar F. Kaiser**, *Chairman*, Kaiser Industries Corporation
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- 1989 **Maurice R. Greenberg**, *Chairman*, American International Group, Inc.



THE NATIONAL UNITED NATIONS DAY COMMITTEE

The success of the 1989 National U.N. Day Program is due in large part to the generous support and assistance of a dedicated group of business and labor leaders across the nation who have joined the National United Nations Day Committee. Nowhere is their steadfast commitment to the principles and goals of the United Nations better expressed than in the active interest each has taken in the national observance of United Nations Day 1989.

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Mr. Omar Moyo Stanbul

Ms. Catharina Tao

Ms. Sally Alice Thompson

Mr. George Varjabedian

Mr. Anthony A. Vitti

Dr. Yolanda S. White

Mrs. Jacques Zucker



NATIONAL EVENTS COMMEMORATING UNITED NATIONS DAY

1989 INAUGURAL U.N. BALL

The Hon. John M. Hennessey, Vice Chairman of CS First Boston, was Chairman of this most exciting event on June 3, 1989, officially launching the National United Nations Day Program. The Ball, which honored U.N. Secretary-General Javier Pérez de Cuéllar, President of the 43rd General Assembly Dante Maris Caputo, and the 159 Permanent Representatives to the United Nations, provided an important opportunity for U.S. business and labor leaders to meet with the international diplomatic community and with senior members of the U.N. Secretariat. This year, as part of the year-long celebration of UNA-USA's 25th Anniversary, a special salute was made to the 22 Americans who have served as National U.N. Day Chairmen since the founding of the Program in 1965. The following individuals or their representatives received a special commemorative award during a brief ceremony at the Ball: Robert O. Anderson (1972), Donald S. MacNaughton (1973), Frank T. Cary (1974), H. H. Haynes (1975), Clifton C. Garvin, Jr. (1978), Charles L. Brown (1980), Robert Anderson (1981, 1982), William M. Ellinghaus (1983), Theodore A. Burtis (1984), Peter H. Dailey (1985), Roger E. Birk (1986), J. Willard Marriott, Jr. (1987), and Stanley C. Pace (1988).

The Ball was also the occasion for honoring the three winners of UNA-USA's fourth National High School Essay Contest on the United Nations, and their teachers as well. More than a thousand students in grades 9-12 had entered the contest—founded by 1985 National U.N. Day Chairman Peter H. Dailey—and, assuming the role of the President of the United States, had drafted an "Address to the United Nations General Assembly." Now, in a brief ceremony, the winners received from Ambassador



The principal people of the Inaugural U.N. Ball to launch the National U.N. Day Program pose for a group shot. From left to right: Edward C. Luck, President of UNA-USA, John M. Hennessey, Chairman of the Ball and Vice Chairman of CS First Boston, U.N. Secretary General Javier Pérez de Cuéllar, John C. Whitehead, UNA-USA Chairman, and Elliot L. Richardson, Co-Chairman of the UNA-USA National Council.

Dailey their cash awards—the generous gift of the **Dailey Family Foundation**, a co-sponsor of the contest—as well as the warm congratulations of **U.S. Ambassador to the U.N. Thomas Pickering**, the Ball's keynote speaker; **John M. Hennessey**, Ball Chairman; **Elliot L. Richardson**, Co-Chairman of the UNA-USA National Council; **John C. Whitehead**, Chairman of UNA-USA; **Edward C. Luck**, President of UNA-USA; and U.N. Secretary-General **Javier Pérez de Cuéllar**. Not many days later each winner and teacher—**Paras P. Mehta** of Cerritos (California) High School and teacher **Richard Neville**, **Jeffrey K. Fecke** of Nicollet (Minnesota) Junior High School and teacher **Mariel Wolter**, and **Matthew Bomberger** of Gainesville (Florida) High School and teacher **Mrs. Lou LaFontaine**—embarked on a voyage to witness the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) at work. One pair traveled to Morocco, another to Egypt, and the third to Jamaica—the gift of UNDP, a co-sponsor of the contest.

The prestigious spring event also served as the occasion for the installation of The Hon. John C. Whitehead as UNA-USA's new Chairman. He was formally handed the reins of office by his immediate predecessor in the post, The Hon. Elliot L. Richardson, now Co-Chairman of the Association's National Council.



Jeffrey Fecke (left) receives a cash award from Ambassador Peter Dailey (second from right) as U.S. Ambassador to the U.N. Thomas Pickering and U.N. Secretary-General Javier Pérez de Cuéllar look on during the Awards Ceremony for the three winners of UNA-USA's National High School Essay Contest.

U.N. CONCERT AND DINNER



Claude Taylor (left), Chairman of the "Salute to the International Civil Aviation Organization" and Chairman of Air Canada, is flanked by Dr. Assad Kotaite, President of the ICAO Council, an agency of the United Nations, Frank Shrontz, Chairman of the Boeing Company, and John C. Whitehead, UNA-USA Chairman, seen here at UNA-USA's Annual U.N. Concert and Dinner in Washington, D.C.

The 1989 National U.N. Day Program officially concluded with a Concert and Dinner gala in Washington, D.C., on October 28 honoring the Chiefs of Diplomatic Missions to the United States and the Ambassadors to the Organization of American States, and saluting the **International Civil Aviation Organization (ICAO)** on the occasion of its 45th Anniversary. **President and Mrs. George Bush** and **Vice President and Mrs. Dan Quayle** were patrons of the event. Co-hosts for the evening were **Secretary of State and Mrs. James A. Baker, III**, and Gala Chairman **Frank Shrontz**, Chairman of the Boeing Company, and **Mrs. Shrontz**.

An audience of over 1,500 attended the Concert at the Kennedy Center, featuring the world-famous Canadian Brass with its extensive repertoire of classical and popular music. The evening then moved to the Washington Hilton Hotel's Ballroom for dinner and dancing. ICAO Salute Chairman **Claude I. Taylor, O.C.**, Chairman of Air Canada, made the formal toast to ICAO and to **Dr. Assad Kotaite**, ICAO Council President, who represented ICAO at the event.

With the conclusion of the 1989 National U.N. Day Program came the announcement of the 1990 National U.N. Day Chairman, **Drew Lewis**, Chairman of the Union Pacific Corporation.



UNITED NATIONS DAY CELEBRATIONS ACROSS THE NATION

If, in addition to opinion polls and attitude samplings, more proof were needed of the American public's support for the United Nations, reports of U.N. Day celebrations throughout the nation would provide it. In almost every State of the Union, in cities and towns, in communities large and small, October 24—United Nations Day—was commemorated with substantive and ceremonial programs. Thousands of volunteers in every corner of the U.S. made sure that the United Nations' 44th birthday would not pass unnoticed and that adults and children would be reminded of the U.N.'s invaluable contribution to world peace and a better life for all.

A listing and description of all U.N. Day activities in all states and communities would make for a sizable book. What follows, therefore, is but a sample of the remarkable efforts by American citizens to make U.N. Day a day of meaning and message.

Children of Iowa City public schools prepare to march in a local Homecoming Parade as part of their contribution to Iowa City's United Nations Day effort. The students carried placards in support of Children's Rights, the national theme for U.N. Day in 1989.





The official U.N. Day Proclamation for Allegheny County (PA) was presented to Dr. John C. Cutler, President of the Pittsburgh chapter of UNA, in the chambers of the Allegheny County Commissioners. Pictured from left to right are: Commissioner Flaherty, Dr. Cutler, Commissioner Foerster, Michelle Dobranski, who represented the student chapter of UNA at the University of Pittsburgh, and Commissioner Dunn.

ARIZONA

The Mayors of Yuma, Prescott, Flagstaff, Lake Havasu City, Phoenix, Tempe, Scottsdale and Tucson issued U.N. Day Proclamations; the Officers of the Phoenix Capitol Police Department raised the U.N. flag. Chaired by U.N. Day Chairperson **Irene Wingfield**, the UNA-USA Arizona State Division made "Education—A Right of the Child" the substantive part of its program, presented by **Lou Ella Kleinz**, Executive Director Arizona School Board Association. The Editorial of the *Sun City Daily News-Sun* discussed U.N. Day and congratulated the local UNA group for its efforts.

CALIFORNIA

From the many excellent California reports received, the following few are mentioned: Grass Valley, Irvine, Los Angeles, Oakland, Palo Alto, Pasadena, San Diego, Santa Ana, Santa Rosa, Stockton, and Ventura.

Ted Smith, President of UNA's Golden Empire Chapter, estimates that about 5,000 people were reached with U.N. programs. The mayors of Grass Valley and Nevada City were active in these programs. Greetings from Mrs. **Barbara Bush** were received by the Coastline Chapter of UNA-USA in Irvine. The Mayor of Mission Viejo acted as U.N. Day Chairman for the coastal area of Orange County. World Literacy was the topic under discussion at the Mission Viejo U.N. Day celebration. A dozen local organizations co-sponsored the event. *The Orange County Register* gave editorial space to articles on the United Nations.

With the cooperation of several organizations and Lew Ayres as U.N. Day Chair, over 200 people attended the Mayor's Reception for United Nations Day in Los Angeles. The International Children's Peace Choir gave a stirring performance.

Adele Somers and **Leonard Vernon**, Co-Presidents of the UNA Pacific-Los Angeles Chapter led a discussion of United Nations accomplishments in which representatives of local organizations participated.

The Palo Alto U.N. Day observance, organized by the UNA Mid-Peninsula Chapter, reached many outside groups not previously involved in U.N.-related activities. **Larry Klein**, the Mayor of Palo Alto, issued a U.N. proclamation that was read in churches and at a special ceremony. A chorus of children who had made a trip to the opening of the U.N. General Assembly in September spoke and sang about that experience.

In Pasadena, U.N. Day was celebrated by a luncheon at the Athenaeum of Caltech, co-sponsored by 15 organizations. The topic "Population and Child Survival" was presented by **Robert Gillespie**, international consultant on population stabilization. Another aspect of the program emphasized the 30th Anniversary of the Declaration of the Rights of the Child. The Mayor of Pasadena presented his U.N. Day Proclamation to Dr. **Louis Friedman**, Honorary U.N. Day



Ambassador Alexandr Belonogor, the Permanent Representative of the USSR to the United Nations, addresses the Kentucky State U.N. Day Observance in the Senate Chambers of the Capitol in Frankfurt. Seated behind Amb. Belonogor is Lt. Governor Brereton Jones, and to his left are Liliyalce Akers, President of UNA's Kentucky Division, and Lee Thomas, Honorary Kentucky U.N. Day Chairman.

Chair. **Helen Glass**, U.N. Day Chair, and **Thurman Couch**, President, UNA Pasadena Chapter, led the commemoration. *The Star News* and *The Alhambra Post-Advocate* reported on the event.

Santa Ana checked in with the report of U.N. Day in Orange County. The U.N.-related topic at the celebration was "How does the International Debt Crisis Affect Us in Orange County." A panel of prominent speakers addressed itself to that question. **Ralph A. Anderson**, President of the UNA Orange County Chapter, estimated an audience of 150. High school and university students were in attendance.

With U.N. flags flying in Santa Rosa and newspapers passing the word, Sonoma County held its largest U.N. Day celebration in years. County U.N. Day Chair **Carole Ellis** presided over a dinner program attended by 190 and featuring speakers who outlined the United Nations attempt to solve global problems.

A timely discussion on "Cooperation of the U.S. and USSR Within the U.N. System in Helping to Resolve Global Problems" was the centerpiece of the San Diego U.N. Day program. The Institute on Global Conflict and Co-

operation, University of California, was the co-sponsoring organization, together with the UNA of San Diego. **Susan Golding**, Chair of San Diego County Board of Supervisors and Honorary U.N. Day Chair, led the program activities. Speakers included **Andrei Kozyrev**, Chief of International Organization Affairs, Moscow and **John Gerard Ruggie**, Director, Institute on Global Conflict and Cooperation, University of California, San Diego. People throughout San Diego County were made aware of their U.N. Day celebration through the press, radio, and TV. All 18 mayors of the county indicated their support.

In Stockton, programs concentrated on the U.N. "Declaration of the Rights of the Child." **Mary Gonzales Mend**, Superintendent of the Stockton Unified School District, was the principal speaker who stressed the importance of the U.N. Convention on the Rights of the Child, to be adopted by the 44th General Assembly.

The same topic was the center of U.N. Day programs in Ventura. Local newspapers announced the public meeting at Ventura County College that was co-sponsored by the UNA of Ventura County and the local Amnesty International group. Guest speaker was Dr. **Samir Sanad Basta**, Chief of the Evaluation Office of UNICEF. In addition to **Warren Faue**, President of the Ventura Chapter, guests included Mayor **James Monahan** and County Supervisor **Susan Lacy**.

♣ COLORADO

The U.N. Day program in this state was one of the most extensive in the country. It involved the participation of state and city officials in Denver, Boulder, Colorado Springs, Canon City, Estes Park, Loveland, Lamar, and the Wyoming town of Laramie. Zonta Clubs in these cities were active participants, as were churches, synagogues, businesses, schools, and colleges. Some U.N. Day activities were substantive, others ceremonial, and still others unsophisticated but educational. Colorado U.N. Chair **Genevieve N. Fiore**, appointed by Governor **Roy Romer**, headed the statewide effort that was months in preparation. The Governor invited several prominent citizens to serve on an Advisory Committee for Colorado's Observance of the 44th Anniversary of the United Nations. In his letter of invitation, Governor Romer said: "...Colorado needs your support to affirm our commitment to the international community of nations, a statement important to our cultural, political, and economic goals. We encourage you to join our statewide effort."

U.N. Day Proclamations, in addition to the Governor's, were issued by 17 Colorado communities, with U.N. Day Chairs appointed in most of them.

In Boulder, a meeting co-sponsored by the UNA Division of Colorado, the Zonta Clubs of Boulder County, the First Congregational Church Board of Missions and Social Action, and the Boulder Chapter of the World Federalist Association heard **Fatma Karuma**, an economist, speak on "United Nations Assistance to Less Developed Countries." **Martha**

Bushnell, U.N. Day Chair for the City of Boulder, was credited with much of the success of the program.

In the University Park Elementary School of the Denver Public Schools system, children aged 6-8 learned about Children's Rights and decided to help children who lack materials for school. By baking and selling cookies, they raised \$65 to send to UNESCO as a U.N. Day gift.

A "kitefly" for peace in Denver under the theme "One Sky, One World" brought 150 enthusiasts to this unusual U.N. Day observance.

The International Year of Literacy was another topic for Colorado newspaper and other media attention, as was Human Rights. Articles on the U.N. appeared in the *Denver Post*, the *N. Denver Tribune*, and others. PSAs were mailed to TV and radio stations; packets containing pertinent materials were distributed to all Superintendents of Public Schools in Colorado. On October 24th, the U.N. flag was flown from the State Capitol.

♣ CONNECTICUT

In cooperation with Fairfield University, a U.N. Day program on the United Nations' work in Drug Control, featuring **Willard Hass**, Project Manager, U.N. Secretariat, was videotaped. A program, arranged by **Rose Marie Pace Barone**, U.N. Chair for Fairfield County, dealt with "Forward Looking Strategies," the action plan adopted at the 1985

Women's Conference in Nairobi.

The Governor ordered the U.N. flag to fly at the Capitol. He appointed Major General **John T. Gereski** as state U.N. Day Chair. General Gereski had 150 U.N. kits delivered to schools.

The Conference of Women's Organizations sponsored a meeting on U.N. Day at the Jewish Community Center under the heading "Our Children in Crisis."

The University of Hartford was host to a U.N. Day celebration at which musical offerings, formal addresses and ceremonial presentations made for a stimulating program. **Demetrios Giannaros**, Director, Office of International Studies, acted as Master of Ceremonies.

In Bridgeport, Mayor **Thomas W. Bucci**'s Proclamation was read in City Hall by U.N. Day Chair **Michael Bisciglia**, Vice President of the University of Bridgeport and President of the Bridgeport Board of Education. Other activities included flag-raising ceremonies, witnessed by thousands of children brought by their schools. Local papers, radio, and TV stations announced and publicized the various events.

♣ DELAWARE

The Delaware Division of UNA commemorated U.N. Day in three ways: "The Year of the Convention of the Rights of the Child" was saluted with a statewide selection of volunteers who had worked most for that cause. Governor **Michael Castle** presided at the ceremony for six recipients of the Governor's Rights of the Child Award. **F. E. Peter Stone** was U.N. Day Chairman.

A public meeting was addressed by **Daan Everts**, Executive Secretary, United Nations Capital Development Fund; and particular attention was paid to the state Model U.N. Conference.

United Nations speeches and talks were held in service clubs all over the state and proclamations were issued by all 3 counties and by 12 towns.

UNA Delaware Division President **David J. Luck** estimated that about 150,000 people were reached with U.N. information and were made aware of U.N. Day.

FLORIDA

Volusia County devoted the entire month of October to a great number of United Nations-related activities. Taking its theme from the U.N. Convention on the Rights of the Child, U.N. Day observances focused on that topic. The Public Library recognized the U.N. anniversary with special storytime programs at branch libraries. School children from kindergarten to sixth grade were invited to design "Rights of the Child" posters and bring them to their local library, where they were exhibited. A collection of dolls from countries of the world was displayed; and the City Library Center invited a student who had visited the USSR to speak on the subject "Who wants to go to Russia?"

High school students in Volusia County participated in a Model U.N. Conference sponsored by the Model U.N. Club of Father Lopez High School. Embry-Riddle Aeronautical

University featured an International Students Day at the University Center. The Museum of Arts and Sciences had an arts display featuring an international theme.

During the week of October 16-20, special attention was paid to the problem of world hunger. A community wide non-perishable food drive was conducted, with the Neighborhood Center in DeLand and Halifax Urban Ministries serving as collection and distribution centers.

A highlight of the community celebration of U.N. month was the participation of Mexican Ambassador to the United Nations Dr. **Jorge Montano**. He was guest speaker at the annual United Nations Day banquet at the Palmetto Club in Daytona Beach. Chair of the extensive and well-organized U.N. month programs was **Douglas Davis**, with **Al Williams**, school board vice-chairman, serving as Co-Chair. UNA-Volusia Chapter President **Jim O'Shaughnessy** worked hard to help pull it all together.

The Sarasota-Manatee UNA Chapter, **Emily R. Putnal**, President, had the cooperation of many local organizations, among them: American Association of University Women, American Federation of Business and Professional Women, Church Women United, League of Women Voters, NAACP, NOW, Planned Parenthood, Retired Educators, Baha'is, Unitarian Universalists, United Methodist Church, Zonta International, Pilot Club of Sarasota, Manatee Children's Services, Manatee Head Start, and others. U.N. Day Chair was **Margaret Bates**, Provost of New College. While about 70 people attended the U.N. Day luncheon, an estimated 300,000 people were reached via TV,

radio and newspapers that publicized the United Nations. There were displays in five public libraries in Sarasota and Manatee counties; local schools were supplied with U.N. printed materials. The U.N. Day luncheon, attended by presidents or representatives of 25 supporting community organizations, was held on the theme "The Rights of the Child." Keynote speaker was **Timothy Stocks**, a board member of the Florida Children's Protector Services.

HAWAII

Co-sponsored by the UNA Hawaii Division and the Friends of the East-West Center, a program under the heading "Global Education" reached a large number of people. Governor **John Waihee** and the mayors of all four counties signed proclamations for U.N. Day. Under the auspices of State Chair Superintendent of Education, **Charles T. Toguchi**, UNA distributed to all public schools curriculum packets on the U.N. for the use of K to 12 teachers. A banquet at the East-West Center was attended by 150 persons, including students representing over a dozen nations. Dr. **R. Burl Yarberry**, former Commissioner of Education, Micronesia, was the keynote speaker.

♣ IOWA

Over 900 Iowa high school students from 104 schools participated in the Iowa Youth Symposium on the United Nations at the State Capitol Building, Des Moines, on October 25. Participating students debated what U.S. policy in the United Nations should be on the rights of the child, the self-determination of ethnic people and on deforestation. Governor **Terry E. Branstad** welcomed the participants. Keynote program speakers included **Beth A. Gragg**, Manager, Education Services, U.S. Committee for UNICEF, and State of Iowa U.N. Day Chair, appointed by the Governor, **Richard H. Stanley**, President, the Stanley Foundation, Muscatine. Mr. Stanley's address "The Present and Future United Nations," set the tone for the lively discussions that followed. Resolutions adopted during the day were presented to Governor Branstad by plenary student delegates.

In commemoration of U.N. Day, the UNA of Burlington hosted a contingent of participants of the University of Iowa School of Letters International Writing Program. The writers, all acclaimed in their own countries, treated the audience to readings of their own works. They met with staff and students at Iowa Wesleyan College and made a similar presentation at Southeastern Community College in West Burlington. They ended their day with a presentation at the Players Workshop Little Theater, followed by a reception. The program, whose participants came from Canada, Finland, Hungary, India, Iran, Israel, Jamaica, Japan, Kenya, Korea, Luxembourg, Nigeria,

Poland, Romania, and the Soviet Union, was greeted by all as an apt way to celebrate the anniversary of the United Nations.

In Iowa City, voices and marching feet of children brought a new tenor and beat to this year's Homecoming Parade and United Nations Day. Some 50 children from Iowa City public schools and Willowwind School marched in the parade, carrying placards in support of the special human rights of children and the upcoming U.N. General Assembly vote on the Convention on the Rights of the Child. On U.N. Day the children were joined by Regina Elementary School students at the stage microphones to read segments of the draft Convention.

♣ KENTUCKY

U.N. Day reports from this state describe a strong statewide observance of the UN's anniversary. The most publicized event was held in Frankfort at the House of Representative Chamber in the Capitol Building. The guest speaker was the Permanent Representative of the Soviet Union to the United Nations, Ambassador **Alexandr M. Belonogov**, who addressed the audience on the topic "Changing Role of the Soviet Union in the World."

Sponsored by the Office of the Governor, the Office of the Lt. Governor, the Kentucky Department of Education, the Kentucky Education Association, the State YMCA, the School of Public Affairs and Kentucky State University, this United Nations Day Program had excellent coverage by TV stations in Lexington, and by the Frankfort and Lexington papers.



In Oakland County (MI), over 120 guests were entertained by these two student musicians as part of the U.N. Day dinner program in Oakland County.

With the co-sponsorship of UNA Chapters in Danville, Frankfort, Lexington, Louisville, Richmond-Berea, and the UNA Kentucky Division, and with Honorary Chair **Lee Thomas, Jr.**, Chairman of the Board, Vermont American, more than 300 people attended the program and the reception that followed it. Dr. **Lilialyce Akers**, President of the UNA Kentucky Division and member of the U.N. Day Committee, made the welcoming speech. Other speakers were the Honorary U.N. Chair, Mr. Thomas; the Lt. Governor, **Brereton Jones**; representing the Office of the Governor, **James Dinkle**; the Mayor of the City of Frankfort, **Mickey Mills** and the President of the UNA Council of Chapter and Division Presidents, **William Miller**.

In addition to those who attended, some 1500 more people were informed about U.N. Day through flyers and TV announcements.

Governor **Wallace G. Wilkinson** issued a U.N. Day Proclamation.

MINNESOTA

In Benton Harbor, Berrien County, a colorful U.N. Day Folk Festival was co-sponsored by 26 local organizations and attracted people from all over the region. Under the theme "International Year of Rights of the Child," several speakers brought the plight of children the world over to the attention of the large audience; and dancers and musicians devoted their art to the same purpose. Over 400 people attended, but many more received information about the event

and about the work of the United Nations in humanitarian fields.

Elizabeth Filstrup, President of Berrien County Chapter, UNA, had the assistance of many devoted helpers to make the event successful.

Ann Fouts, U.N. Day Chair for the State of Michigan, appointed by Governor **James J. Blanchard**, was notified of the appointment of local U.N. Day Chairs in 16 communities. Many others participated in the celebration of U.N. Day. Throughout the state, there was a variety of U.N. Day programs, many involving city and state officials. Media coverage was good.

In Lansing, exhibits on U.N. Day themes were opened in Lansing City Hall. Mayor **Terry J. McKane** was present at the flag-raising ceremony in City Hall Plaza and received the U.N. flag. At the annual U.N. Day Dinner, awards by the UNA of Greater Lansing were again given to Outstanding Tri-County Teacher and Student. These were honored for excellence and achievement in global education and international understanding.

The Oakland County UNA included in its U.N. Day activities proclamations from eight communities. U.N. flags were presented to four communities at City Council meetings and were raised at six high schools with accompanying ceremonies.

At a U.N. Day dinner for 120 people, **Rabbi Sherwin**, the featured speaker, chose as his topic: "After the Cold War: New Possibilities for the United Nations." Several local organizations co-sponsored the dinner: League of Women Voters, American Association of University Women, Zonta Interna-

tional and the Center for Peace and Conflict Studies, Wayne State University.

The Grand Rapids U.N. Day report lists a series of steps leading to interesting observances, among them: the design of a U.N. Day Poster; media articles; and a letter sent to every elementary and secondary school in Kent County with a listing of the Rights of the Child, excerpted from the U.N. draft Convention.

MINNESOTA

About 400 people attended the 44th United Nations Rally & Seminars in Minneapolis. The theme for the program was "International, Universal Issues." The three seminars dealt with "An International Look at the Environment: UNEP," "An International Look at Labor: ILO Standards and the Exploitation of Child Labor," and "An International Look at Torture: A Response to Torture for the Victims and Ourselves."

John G. Harrison, President of the UNA of Minnesota reports, that another 1,000 persons were given information about the United Nations.

NEW JERSEY

Massive grassroots effort characterized the U.N. Day celebration throughout the State of New Jersey. Under the leadership of State U.N. Day Chair **Myron Kronisch**, and with the active participation of Governor **Thomas Kean**, 26 communities filed U.N. Day reports, chronicling the extensive and varied programs. Some 65 Mayors appointed local U.N. Day Chairpersons; 120 Superintendents of Schools designated people responsible for school U.N. Day programs. Celebrations were as effective as hard work and ingenuity could make them. Particularly noteworthy was the large number of business people who played active parts in the U.N. Day celebrations. Young people too, particularly those involved in Model UNs, were represented in all observances. Newspapers and television were heavily involved. The *Maplewood News-Record*, for instance, printed an article on the U.N. by **Durward Branigan**, U.N. Chair of Maplewood. Other papers throughout the state followed suite. Among the many dedicated people who made the success of the New Jersey U.N. Day program possible, **Joy Williams**, Executive Secretary of the UNA New Jersey Division, was outstanding.



NEW MEXICO

The featured speaker at the Annual U.N. dinner was Dr. **Benjamin Ferencz**, noted author and prosecutor at the Nuremberg trials. Before a packed house, Dr. Ferencz gave a talk on the strengths and weaknesses of the United Nations.

U.N. Day programs in New Mexico had 600 people in attendance, with several times that number reached through the media. **Sally Alice Thompson**, President of the Albuquerque UNA, spearheaded the U.N. Day observance.

Rhode Island school children join Governor Edward DiPrete (center), Dr. Edward Collins (left), Child Policy Coordinator, and Dr. Joseph Picano, Director of the Department of Children and Their Families, at a U.N. Day reception in the state capitol.

NEW YORK

To celebrate U.N. Day in New York City more than 100 UNA members and guests attended a special luncheon at the United Nations in the Delegates Dining Room. United States Ambassador to the United Nations **Thomas Pickering** was the featured speaker. UNA-USA President **Edward C. Luck** reported on the Plenary Assembly of the World Federation of U.N. Associations he attended in Moscow earlier in October. **Gillian Sorenson**, New York City Commissioner for the U.N. and U.N. Day Chair for New York City, read the Mayor's Proclamation of U.N. Day. A proclamation by Gover-

nor **Mario Cuomo** was also presented. A guided tour of the U.N. and a briefing at the U.S. Mission to the United Nations concluded the day that had been organized by **Hope Miller**, President of UNA-New York.

A report from UNA's Mid-Long Island Chapter cites the launching on U.N. Day of a United Nations organization on the campus of the State University of New York at Stony Brook. **Hannah Robinson**, Documents Librarian of Stony Brook University, was the spark plug for the creation of the organization.

Students at Amityville High School observed U.N. Day with a ceremony in which **Lee Hurley Bloom**, President, UNA Southern New York State Division, and **Alonzo H. Shockley, Jr.**, Coordinator of State/Federal Programs, participated.

In Rochester, more than 1,000 people were reached with information about U.N. Day and its meaning. U.N. scholarship winners discussed their trip to the U.N. on the TV "Maggie Brooks Show." The annual U.N. Day Concert at the Eastman School of Music, conducted by **Donald Hunsberger** was devoted to international music. Foreign students were welcomed at the concert. County Executive **Thomas Frey** and Mayor **Tom Ryan** issued U.N. Day Proclamations. Efforts by U.N. Week Chairman **Paul Whitbeck** were crowned with success.

Other New York communities filing reports of successful U.N. Day programs include Utica, Larchmont, Riverdale, and Port Jefferson.

☛ NORTH CAROLINA

Asheville made U.N. Day the occasion for a celebration of the 25th anniversary of UNA-USA. With **Larry Stern**, U.N. Day Chair of North Carolina and UNA-USA Board member, as featured speaker, the day's program highlighted "Economic Imperatives for a Sustainable Environment." Keynoter was **Michael McCoy**, U.N. Chief Liaison Officer for NGOs. The Mayor of Asheville, **Louis Bisette**, issued a U.N. Day Proclamation.

The University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, was the site of a U.N. Day Lecture by **Edward C. Luck**, President of UNA-USA, on "Common Security: Building Structures for Peace." Sponsored by Orange and Durham Counties Chapter of UNA-USA, the event was co-sponsored by several local branches of national organizations, among them the American Association of University Women, the National Council of Women, and the League of Women Voters.

Other North Carolina communities holding U.N. Day observances were Raleigh, Black Mountain, Boone, Mars Hill, and Winston Salem.

☛ OREGON

U.N. Day observances were held in Ashland, Eugene, Portland, Salem, and Corvallis. These ranged from programs in Schools, where speakers stressed the importance of the U.N. Convention on the Rights of the Child, to choral presentations, to an address at the University of Oregon by **Irwin Abrams**, foremost authority on the Nobel Peace Prize. Mr. Abrams focused his talk on the 1988 Nobel Peace Prize to the U.N. Peacekeeping Forces. **Alexander B. Murphy**, President, Lane County UNA, was prominent in the Eugene U.N. Day program. The Rev. **Thomas C. Oddo**, President of the University of Portland, was the featured speaker at the Salem U.N. Day observance, at Willamette University. Arranged by **Barbara Mahoney**, Salem Chair for U.N. Week, the city's U.N. Day celebrations included the participation of the Mayor at a City Center ceremony, a flag-raising, and a reception for foreign exchange students.

☛ PENNSYLVANIA

In Philadelphia, where UNA-USA does not have a chapter, the World Affairs Council carries out U.N. Day programs. These included two field trips to the United Nations, one for adults, the other for high school students. Briefings on issues on the UN's agenda were part of the day's visit. An evening lecture program on the problems facing a negotiated settlement in the Middle East conflict was also part of the U.N. Day observance, as was a series of lectures on Latin American debt.

Governor **Robert Casey** gave the key address at a U.N. Day luncheon in Scranton at which the Mayor of Scranton, **David Wenzel**, also spoke. The theme was "The Rights of the Child to a Safe Environment." Prominent people who attended and members of the U.N. Day Committee were introduced by U.N. Day Chair, **John L. Ryon, Jr.** Among the 375 attendees were also several high school and college students. The local Sierra Club, Boy Scouts of America, Girl Scouts of America, CARE, and HELP cooperated in putting the program together. Several local newspapers carried articles on the event and quoted Governor Casey's speech, including *The Scranton Times*, *Scranton Tribune*, and *Abington Journal*.

Rosemary Boland, President of UNA's Greater Scranton Chapter, estimates that some 100,000 people were made aware of U.N. Day in her area.

In Pittsburgh, too, U.N. Day was celebrated at a luncheon, with guest speaker Dr. **Peter Safar**, an expert on disaster relief. His topic was "International Collaboration on Disaster Prevention and Mitigation," an issue very much in the forefront of United Nations concerns. **Sophie Masloff**, the Mayor of Pittsburgh, issued a U.N. Day Proclamation.

• UTAH

In Salt Lake City, the University of Utah Symphony Orchestra, under the direction of Dr. **Madeline Schatz**, presented a special U.N. Day concert. The U.N. Day Proclamation of Governor **Norman Bangerter** was reproduced in the concert program. Radio talk shows, television, and newspapers devoted time and space to the United Nations during U.N. week.

• WASHINGTON

Several Washington communities carried out U.N. Day programs, with Seattle, Spokane, and Tacoma outstanding among them.

In Seattle, more than 300 persons attended a "Citizens' Conference" under the theme "Making and Living With International Law." Prominent speakers explored such UN-related issues as Conflict Resolution, Human Rights, Law of the Sea, Trade and Refugees and Asylum Seekers. Moderators and panelists were drawn from universities, Congress, and international institutions. Under the chairmanship of the Honorable **Mike Lowry**, former Member of Congress, the conference included the Mayor's Annual United Nations Anniversary Luncheon. After concurrent workshops on environmental issues, the wrap-up session was headed by **Sam Sperry** of the *Seattle Post Intelligencer*.

In Spokane, the U.N. Day celebration focused on the theme "Rights of the Child." Held at the Ridpath Motor Inn, the program was carried out with the cooperation of several local organizations: Church Women United, Refugee Resettlement, Red Cross, Zonta, Peace and Justice Action League, and others. Model U.N. participants also attended as did students sponsored by UNA members. **Mae Schaeffer**, U.N. Day Chair, organized the event, as she had done the year before.

Under the theme "Together We Can Make A Difference," the Tacoma U.N. Day program featured song and dance of different nations. State Senator **William Smitherman** read the U.N. Day Proclamation and spoke on behalf of the state government and the Governor's office. Tacoma Mayor **Doug Sutherland** gave a speech on "Tacoma, The International City." The annual peace medal given by the Tacoma UNA was awarded to **Elizabeth Wesley** for her many years of service to create a just and peaceful community. The Tacoma-Pierce County Chamber of Commerce decorated the Tacoma Pavilion with flags of all nations, the U.N. flag included.



CONCLUSION

Participation in the 1989 United Nations Day Observance by Americans of all ages and backgrounds demonstrated the substantial support of our nation for the world body. The national U.N. Day theme—the rights of children as defined in the U.N. Convention on the Rights of the Child—brought home the importance of the U.N. for our country and the 158 other member states around the world. The American people want a stronger and more effective United Nations—and they want U.S. leadership in the U.N.

The United Nations Association of the USA's Chapters, Divisions, and affiliated national organizations provided leadership for the 1989 U.N. Day Program throughout the United States and must be thanked for their contribution toward the success of the Program. We also wish to recognize UNA-USA Chairman John C. Whitehead, Board of Governor's Chairman Max Kampelman, President Edward C. Luck, and U.N. Day Coordinator James P. Muldoon, Jr., for their role in organizing and coordinating U.N. Day events and programs in 1989. This report concludes with the presentation of the officially appointed state and local U.N. Day Chairmen for 1989. Thanks go to each of them for the leadership and support they gave to their communities for U.N. Day.



UNITED NATIONS DAY STATE AND LOCAL CHAIRMEN

ALASKA	Rosemary Van der Laan	CONNECTICUT	Maj. Gen. John T. Gereski	MICHIGAN	Ann P. Fouts
ARIZONA		Bridgeport	Michael Bisiglia	Ann Arbor	Paul Dotson
Phoenix	Irene M. Wingfield	Fairfield	Rose Marie Barone	Clio	Marilyn Brown
CALIFORNIA		Hartford	Maj. Gen. John T. Gereski	Cheboygan	Sue Mac Lean
Alameda	Martha Killibrew	Stamford	Christopher G. Senie	East Lansing	Howard King and Tony Benavides
Berkeley	Renee Barone	Westport	Cynthia Harrison	Grand Rapids	Joseph Schmieder
Costa Mesa	William S. Craycraft	Woolcott	Eileen Cleary	Ironwood	Jim Lorensen
El Cerrito	Nancy Jane Gans	DELAWARE	F. E. Peter Stone	Kalamazoo	Philip Denenfeld
Irvine	Harriet Wieder	FLORIDA		Marine City	John Beauchamp
Los Angeles	Lew Ayres	Manatee County	Dr. Margaret Bates	St. Charles	Thomas W. Barwin
Monterey	Sam Farr and Jim Tritten	Belle Isle	Leece Doyle	St. Ignace	Ruby Goudreau
Oakland	Jean Apaydin	Volusia County	Doug Davis	MINNESOTA	Nils Hasselmo
Palo Alto	Larry Klein	Winter Park	Richard Atkins	Minneapolis	Nils Hasselmo
Pasadena	Helen Glass and Louis Friedman	HAWAII	Charles Toguchi	MISSOURI	Leigh Gerdine
Richmond	Selma Collins	IDAHO	Stan Smith	St. Louis	Lilian Fernandez and Lois Severin
Sacramento	Edward Rudin	McCall	John Wall	Kansas City	Marjorie Powell Allen
San Diego	Susan Golding	Moscow	Lynn Mineur	NEBRASKA	Robert F. Sittig
San Leandro	Garry Loeffler	Paris	Scott Jessen	Beatrice	Bob Landen
Sonoma	Carole Ellis	Spirit Lake	Mrs. W. Cain	Hastings	Phyllis Laison
Saratoga	Marilyn White	ILLINOIS		Lincoln	Becky Beane
COLORADO	Genevieve N. Fiore	Chicago	Richard Hahnen	North Platte	John Murphy
Boulder	Martha Bushnell	IOWA	Richard H. Stanley	NEW JERSEY	Myron Kronisch
Brighton	Samuel V. Gomez	Ames	Ross Talbot	Atlantic City	Rosalind Norre U-Nance
Craig	Beth Green	Burlington	Timothy F. Gerard	Barrington	Jay L. Scott
Cedaredge	Mary Ann Hennessey	Des Moines	Tukie Jarasviroj	Basking Ridge	June Kennedy
Denver	Richard Castro	Grinnell	Lamoyne Gaard	Bayville	Henry D. Hoff
Estes	Park LeJeune Williams	Iowa City	Margaret Weiser	Beach Haven	Charles E. Moffett III
Firestone	Kathy Walton	Linn County	Melvina Svec and Beverly Botha	Beachwood	Thomas Vinscus
Grand Junction	Rev. Richard Riddoch	Milford	Dorothy Frederick	Bedminster	Madhu Rangi
Holly	Myrtle Miles	Oskaloosa	John & Mary Patterson	Berkeley Heights	Rose Fallon
Las Animas	Rev. Richard Harris	KENTUCKY	Wallace G. Wilkinson	Blairstown	Annette S. Murrice
LaSalle	Dana Stencil	Danville	Josephine V.W. Foster	Brielle	Mamie H. Moon
Littleton	Carolyn Asbaugh	MAINE	L. Kinvin Wroth	Carterer	Robert A. Hedesh
Louisville	Elle Cabbage			Chatsworth	Ethel Brower
Westminster	George Havorka			Clark	Nicole Barr
				Cranford	Mary M. Sullivan
				Demarest	Howard Rifkind
				East Amwell	Sue Posselt
				East Orange	Pearl Harrison
				Elizabeth	Felice Londa
				Englewood	Willa Cherot
				Fair Lawn	Richard Schuckman

NEW JERSEY (continued)

Fort Lee	Arthur Kaplan
Glen Rock	Harry H. Donally Jr.
Hackettstown	Stephen B. Van Campen
Harvey Cedars	Gloria Shannon
Hillside	Ralph N. Milteer
Ho-ho-kus	Elwood Holstein
Howell	Dante J. Massa
Irvington	Joseph Merlino
Jersey City	Fouad Fahmy Shafik
Lake Hopatcong	Robert A. Cutter
Linden	Alfred A. Volpe
Little Ferry	Anton S. Boel
Livingston	Irwin Bromberg, Sr.
Lopatcong	James B. O'Malley
Mahwah	Arleen Wagner
Mantua	John J. Mihlebach
Mansfield	Pearl J. Tusim
Maplewood	Durward Branigan
Margate	Dominick A. Potena
Matawan	Joseph Penniplede
Montclair	Patricia Keuschaft
Montvale	Hans Bodlaender
Mountain Lakes	Martha Dwyer Bergman
Neptune	Edward Moskal
Newark	Andrew Pappachen
New Brunswick	Gregory Fehrenbach
New Providence	Diane Tamburro
Newton	H. Dee Block
Northvale	Barbara Verducci
Old Tappan	Peter Youmans
Orange	Crefit T. Hannibal
Pennsauken	Joseph Gaffney
Ramsey	Robert Cornish
Redbank	Patricia Foxworth
Ridgewood	Fredrick A. Stokeley
Roosevelt	Bernarda Shahn
Runnemede	Richard Dickinson
Rutherford	Forrest Elliott, Jr.
Saddle River	George M. Tague
Seaside Park	Elizabeth W. Peterson
Somerville	Bruce J. Orr
Sussex	Robert Kays
Teaneck	Dorothy Pita
Tuckahoe	Alice Teal
Union Beach	Florence Buchman
West Orange	Herb Ochs
Westwood	Marge Wyngarten

NEW MEXICO

Albuquerque

NEW YORK

Albany

New York

Port Jefferson

Rochester

Utica

NORTH**CAROLINA**

Asheville

Raleigh

Winston-Salem

NORTH DAKOTA**OHIO**

Columbus

Oberlin

OKLAHOMA

Tulsa

OREGON

Corvallis

Salem

PENNSYLVANIA

Scranton

RHODE ISLAND**SOUTH DAKOTA**

Sioux Falls

TENNESSEE

Oakridge

Sigfried Hecker

Belle L. Shinn

H. Carl McCall

Rev. David Giles

Gillian Sorenson

Monttannah Robinson

Paul M. Whitbeck

Carolyn McMillan

Larry N. Stern

Tony Clarke Sayer

Gordon Smith

J. Ralph Scales

Curt Eriksmoen

Daisy Nemzer

Alexandra Podwalny

Paula McCartney

Jim Malone

Robert Mac Vicar

Wayne Stoven

Barbara Mahoney

Harris L. Wofford

John L. Ryon, Jr.

Judy DiGenzo

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Mira Kimmelman

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WYOMING

Laramie

Robert Rendell

Genevieve Williams

Michael Laslovich

Michael Laslovich

Michael Laslovich

Boyer Jarvis

Levi P. Smith, Jr.

Shelton Hardaway
Short III

Mike Lowry

Mae Schaeffer

Roland B. Day

Otto Festge

Ted Voth

Orlando Tweet

Kay Rouse

Vicky Goodin



UNITED NATIONS ASSOCIATION OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

485 FIFTH AVENUE, NEW YORK, N.Y. 10017

UNA-USA

January 31, 1990
5 Shevat 5750

Mr. John C. Whitehead
Chairman of the Association
UNA-USA
425 Fifth Avenue
New York, NY 10017-6104

Dear Chairman Whitehead:

It was an honor to be invited to serve on the By-Laws and Resolutions Committee of the UNA-USA. It would please me very much to serve but I regret that I am unable to accept.

I note that the initial session of the committee is to be held in mid-February. Next week I am leaving the country for a series of meetings in London and Israel and will not return until the end of the month. My travel schedule also has me away from New York for the majority of the month of March and should a second meeting be required I would undoubtedly have to be absent.

The work of the By-Laws and Resolutions Committee of the UNA-USA is far too important to permit absentee membership. Thus, I hope you understand and appreciate the reasons for my declination of your gracious invitation. It certainly does not bespeak a lack of interest in the UNA-USA on my part, it is merely based on my inability to participate in these critical sessions.

With every good wish, I am

Sincerely,

Alexander M. Schindler



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485 FIFTH AVENUE, NEW YORK, N.Y. 10017-6104 PHONE: (212) 697-3232 FAX: (212) 682-9185 CABLE: UNASMER
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Chairman Emeritus

James S. McDonnell

(1899-1980)

Honorary Chairman

Arthur J. Goldberg

January 29, 1990

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

Dear Alex:

As you may know, the last UNA-USA National Convention called for a careful review of the Association's By-Laws, with the results to be presented to the next Convention in December 1990. As Chairman of the Association, I am responsible for appointing the By-Laws and Resolutions Committee, and I am writing to invite you to participate in this important body.

The central goal of the committee is to make the Association's By-Laws conform with current practice. While we are not seeking a fundamental restructuring of the By-Laws at this point, there appear to be a number of serious anomalies and inconsistencies that need to be addressed. At the Convention, the committee will also handle miscellaneous resolutions that are offered, but this should be a fairly simple task.

Your primary role of reviewing and suggesting revisions in the Association's By-Laws, on the other hand, will be a sensitive and challenging one. Given the importance and delicacy of the task, I have asked Ruth Hinerfeld to chair the committee. I am confident that she will do a first-class job. But your active participation also will be critical to the success of the enterprise. Ruth and I, in consultation with Ed Luck, have selected the committee members carefully to insure that each part of the organization is represented as fully and articulately as possible.

The By-Laws and Resolutions Committee will be a working committee, meeting several times between February and June. The first meeting will convene at UNA headquarters in mid-February. Since there is no travel budget for these meetings, some committee members may participate by phone, if necessary. The committee will draft its recommendations, submit them to the Board and leaders of chapters, divisions and affiliated organizations for their comments, and then revise them for consideration by the delegates to the National Convention. If at all possible, members of the committee should also serve as delegates to the National Convention in December. The committee's recommendations will be presented at that time in an open hearing and plenary session.

For any organization, this is an important and sensitive undertaking. For our Association, with its varied constituencies, this is doubly true. Your expertise, experience, and insights will be great assets to this effort and I would be most grateful if you would agree to participate. Jennifer Metzger, a member of UNA's staff who will be working with the committee, will call you in a week or so to inquire about this and to answer any questions you might have.

Thanks very much for giving this your consideration.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to read "John C. Whitehead".

John C. Whitehead
Chairman of the Association

Rabbi Alexander Schindler
Fred Cohen

1/17/90

Please let me have a check from my discretionary fund for \$100.00 payable to the United Nations Association of the U.S.A.

Please have the check sent to my office for transmittal.

Thank you.



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January 12, 1990

Get \$100.00 from special funds

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

Dear Alex:

I trust that you have received John Whitehead's letter requesting your year-end Annual Giving renewal gift for UNA. And I fervently hope that you are giving it serious consideration.

Rather than trying to match his eloquence, let me just remind you that it is not too late to respond! Your help is always appreciated and most needed.

After all, never before has UNA -- or you as one of our key supporters -- had the opportunity to make such a significant difference in the world. Let's make the 1990s the UN Decade, a time of unprecedented international cooperation, progress, and peace.

With many thanks and all best wishes for a glorious New Year,

Sincerely,

CL

Edward C. Luck
President