



League of Women Voters of Minnesota Records

Copyright Notice:

This material may be protected by copyright law (U.S. Code, Title 17). Researchers are liable for any infringement. For more information, visit www.mnhs.org/copyright.

[1974]

BOR6

International Relations Programming 1974-75

"I have many moods, but frustration is not among them." That observation by Mrs. Indira Ghandi, a prime minister whose problems all come in the large economy size, is an apt motto for League work in international relations. Our task in the year ahead is cut out for us.

The latest opinion polls reveal that Americans are anxious about the future, disillusioned with institutions and increasingly indifferent or even hostile toward other countries, which, in turn, are becoming increasingly nationalistic.

The new U.S. swing toward isolationism that began in the 1960s with changing perceptions about the U.S. role in world affairs is accelerating in the '70s. While interdependence is hailed as a dominant fact of the decade, there are few signs that "global awareness" is more than just a rhetorical phrase. Perversely enough, the very problems (resource scarcity, environmental pollution and the threatened breakdown of world economy) that should be impelling nations toward international solutions are causing them to seek unilateral solutions.

The present times are increasingly being compared to the 1930s, when nations slid into "beggar my neighbor" policies that led to a deepening of the depression and, eventually, to World War II.

Even in the 30s, the League was working for U.S. policies that would promote peace by fostering cooperation among nations. In the postwar 1940s, League members campaigned actively for U.S. participation in the inter-

national institutions such as the UN and the World Bank established to prevent a recurrence of the competitive nationalism of the '30s. And in the years since, we've followed the effects of political and economic change on these and other postwar institutions.

While some of this machinery, notably the GATT and the IMF, needs overhauling, the concepts underlying their creation are as valid today as they were in 1945. Similarly, the positions which comprise the League's International Relations program remain as valid and necessary today as when they were adopted: to further U.S. policies to strengthen the UN, to promote liberal trade policies and development assistance and to normalize relations with the People's Republic of China.

THE IR CHALLENGE

An overview of the challenges and opportunities facing the LWVUS and local and state Leagues in each IR program area was presented in the summer issue of *The National VOTER*. This Guide will present additional ideas about the kinds of activities Leagues might undertake, as well as suggested resource materials.

With no new area of agreement now being sought in IR, there are undoubtedly Leagues which feel too strapped for personnel or time, or too committed to other program priorities to do much more about IR than respond to an occasional Action Alert. We hope there are many more which see this as a time to respond to today's critical international problems by working for legislative solutions and, above all, for community awareness and understanding of these problems.

The IR capability of a League depends to a large extent, of course, on the way it is organized to handle the item. Some Leagues have a board member responsible for IR (often along with other items); others assign this responsibility to the action chairman or a member of the action committee. An IR chairman may serve a group of Leagues through an ILO or an *ad hoc* arrangement for inter-League cooperation. Or--in view of reports that quite a few men served on IR committees at the time

Committee guide



**League of Women Voters
of the United States**
1730 M Street, N.W.,
Washington, D. C. 20036

© 1974 by League of Women Voters
of the United States



Pub. No. 544 25¢ October 1974

of the trade study--IR might be a portfolio of interest to new members. In any case, for minimal IR coverage, a League should try to have someone who keeps the IR files, receives IR communications from LWVUS and shares these communications with members, especially at times when legislative action is needed.

There are many Leagues throughout the country with large, ongoing IR committees which meet regularly. Such committees often make independent studies of IR issues and present informational programs to League members and the public. The topics they choose may fall within a League position (e.g., review of UN peacekeeping) or they may not (e.g., world population, law of the sea, or human rights). The "extra-curricular" topics chosen by most Leagues, however, are those suggested as a focus for UN Day programs in the annual IR Community Guide, What To Do About The UN.

League inspiration and ambition often seem boundless (thank heaven), and the national IR committee generally gets its ideas from state and local League activities. A few of those ideas that apply to IR programs in general deserve special attention:

1. THE MEDIUM This is an Action Year for LWVUS program, so whatever IR program your League is planning, take it beyond your membership and make it a community program. Get other organizations to participate or cosponsor it. Gear it to the audience you want.

2. THE MESSAGE The most sorely needed IR action is the kind that leads to an awareness of global interdependence and helps people in your community get ready for the tough national choices that will have to be made between isolationist and international actions. There's hardly an IR topic that doesn't make the case for interdependence. Use a topic of local concern--the law of the sea for a coastal community, the world food situation for a farming area, the energy situation almost anywhere--to show how closely local, national and global problems and their solutions are tied together.

3. THE MESSAGE DELIVERED Maximize opportunities for legislative action on IR positions by being prepared. Keep members, groups who share League IR interests and the community at large up-to-date on the issues and the legislative situation. Stay in touch with your community "allies" and develop joint strategies with them. Above all, stay in touch with your congressional representatives, if only by keeping tabs (and a file) on their statements, views and votes. Use every chance you can to let them know how the League stands, and cooperate with other Leagues and the LWVUS Legislative Action Department in the process.

4. THE MESSAGE SHARED Leagues often say that much duplicated effort could be avoided if the excellent work some Leagues have done were shared with

others. But too often, Leagues don't write to the national office about actions and programs until Annual Report time. So please send us information about your work while it is still "fresh", and we'll try to package it periodically in our new, general-purpose series, IR Update.

THE IR COMPONENTS

ENERGY The substantive focus of much of the national program is being handled by the novel, flexible Energy Task Force (ETF) approach. A foremost objective is to treat the subject "whole" in all its aspects, including the international. The ETF membership reflects this interdisciplinary approach through inclusion of the various national program chairmen and other program personnel. (The structure of the ETF was outlined in Gwen Murphree's Sept. 5 memo to local, state and ILO Presidents.)

Local and state Leagues examining energy might want to try a parallel approach, with IR, EQ,HR, and LU chairmen or committees working together in a single League or an inter-League arrangement.

Another goal of the ETF is to maximize communication with state and local Leagues--to involve them as much as possible and to encourage their efforts in community education on energy. In community programs, a look at international implications of the energy crisis can spotlight problems of global interdependence. Some Leagues, conscious of the profound effects of the energy crisis on our IR positions, held conferences, seminars and workshops on energy as a global problem last year. More Leagues are planning similar programs this year.

Information and materials on energy will be forthcoming primarily from the ETF. For suggested readings on the international energy issues, see Energy brief #11 (Pub. #525) and the addendum to this Guide. Energy briefs with an international focus are scheduled to appear in the future.

TRADE Remains our top priority in IR during the 93rd Congress. As we go to press Senate action on the trade bill is anticipated before adjournment. State and local League presidents have been alerted frequently in the Report from the Hill about the need for grass roots support (Report from the Hill (R/H), April 23, 1974 IR 3-4 and the June 15, 1973 Action Alert).

Even if a reasonably good trade bill is passed this year, League legislative action on trade will go on. Protectionist provisions appear in all seasons on all kinds of legislation (e.g., the Energy Transportation Security Act, R/H, August/September 1974). Those not having done so already should dust off their trade survey results and other information about the importance of trade in their states and communities, renew contacts with businesses or other groups with whom they've worked on trade, check the records

for their Senators' previous votes/views on trade and review suggestions for building trade bill support in the Action Alert.

Of course, if the Senate fails to approve a bill, the whole process will have to begin all over again in the first session of the 94th Congress.

DEVELOPMENT ASSISTANCE Prospects are in a seemingly irreversible state of decline in spite of the restructuring of U.S. AID programs and the sharply heightened needs of the world's poorest nations for external help. An apparent halt in the process of congressional cuts in funding for both bilateral and multilateral assistance programs occurred when the House reversed its prior vote against participation in the International Development Association replenishment (R/H, July 1974, IR 2). However, that reversal was probably occasioned less by any change in congressional sentiment toward aid than by coupling of the IDA bill with the measure to permit private ownership of gold.

Development assistance remains in trouble. As long as development, military and "support" aid are packaged in one bill, effective support for people-oriented development programs is likely to be undermined by continuing public disillusionment with U.S. military involvement in Southeast Asia in particular. And to all the perennial "whipping boy" roles of aid has been added the self-defensiveness engendered by the energy crisis and the increasing pressure to cut the budget to combat inflation. Development may become a sacrificial lamb.

Public support is therefore critical. According to a poll sponsored by the Overseas Development Council in October 1972, over 68% of those interviewed said they support the principle of providing assistance to poor countries even when faced with budgetary "choices". Of course, Americans were more confident in 1972. But what was also significant about the poll was the gap it revealed between public opinion and public policy, a gap attributed by the ODC to the absence of any strong public pressure for aid. Congressmen say, in fact, that it's a subject they rarely hear about from their constituents, and, therefore, feel relatively free to vote for or against according to political or economic exigencies of the moment. Leagues can play a constructive role not only by writing their congressmen but also by stimulating letters from non-League sources.

Filling the gap between opinion and policy requires a much greater effort to channel public pressure than any single organization can muster. Many organizations, including the League, have joined coalitions to mobilize awareness and understanding of the poor nations' problems. Those organized nationally, but operating through local coalitions, include Walk for Development, the World Hunger Action Coalition (See National Board Report, June 1974) and One World, (described in this Guide

under "Swap Shop").

UNITED NATIONS Informational programming was amply covered in the recent Community Guide, What To Do About the UN, by UN Observer, Martha Aasen. This Guide does offer the opportunity, however, to remedy a couple of typographical omissions in the CYG:

Page 1, col. 2 "Peacekeeping," line 18 should read: "NY 10036. Brochure from the Institute or UNA-USA, 345 East 46th St., New York, NY 10017. 5¢ each in bulk; single copies free." Page 1, col. 2 "The Oceans," paragraph 1, line 5 should read: "with simultaneously by a world body. The film, The Law of the Sea, puts these issues into historical perspective as well as into their current context as a source of frequently conflicting national interests. It deals with the main issues: the limits to national jurisdiction."

Equal Partners, the UNA pamphlet on International Women's Year mentioned in the UN Guide, is enclosed with this committee guide.

Legislative action on the UN is likely to be a continuation of our efforts over the past few years--remaining alert and trying to prevent cuts both in U.S. funding of UN programs and actions to bypass or derogate U.S. legal or leadership obligations to the UN system. By the same token, we shall continue to express our appreciation when the U.S. takes actions that work through and strengthen the UN.

CHINA Is no longer mentioned in the general wording of the IR item, but support for the normalization of Sino-American relations remains an intrinsic part of our position. (See Documents, p. 17.) If the need arises for us to speak out on U.S.-China policies, we shall, of course, do so. In the meantime, state and local Leagues will undoubtedly want to continue community programs on China that have proved so successful in the past. Many Leagues have found, as contacts between the two countries have multiplied, that there has been only a slight drop in public curiosity about the P.R.C. and it has been more than compensated for by the greater ease of obtaining speakers who have been "on-the-scene."

THE IR SWAP SHOP

Perhaps the best source of ideas for IR programming is a sampling of League activities from the 1973-74 annual reports.

Statewide IR conferences are more popular than ever, perhaps as a result of increased use of the Education Fund. In some states, such as Massachusetts and Connecticut, they have become an annual tradition. Last year, the Mass. School of International Relations dealt with the oceans; Connecticut's SIR examined the US-USSR-PRC, "A Triangle of Giants". Trade was the subject of several state conferences, including Washington's annual

Institute for International Affairs and Maryland's business-oriented conference.

State IR chairmen find a great many ways to assist and inform local Leagues. State board reports abound with information--action tips, bibliographies, swap shops, legislative status reports, current events summaries, excerpted materials, sample trade surveys, and detailed analyses of selected IR issues. In most states there are one or more program workshops a year, often featuring outside speakers. State chairmen have helped local Leagues relate IR to local interests; they've prepared publications and radio tapes for use by local Leagues (e.g., trade impact on state); circulated a "basic library" to Leagues, issued press releases on trade action, taught IR to teachers, prepared model unit plans, and sent speakers to Leagues without IR chairmen. They've made contacts with other organizations that have helped local Leagues establish parallel contacts in their communities.

Still infrequent (and generally not mentioned in IR reports) are League-sponsored foreign excursions. Among them: New York state's seminar trip to Sweden last year and its plans for a future trip to East Africa; Kentucky's planned trip to Europe this fall and the trips a few hopeful state Leagues have organized and are ready to undertake when they receive an official nod from the P.R.C.

The Newark, Delaware League has already had an exchange with the Chinese. After their IR committee visited the P.R.C. liaison office in Washington, they, in turn, entertained a group of mission officials in Newark.

In the northeast, Leagues regularly organize League or community trips or sponsor student visits to the UN.

TRADE ACTION Action on the trade bill has been widespread and often intense. Many state and local Leagues worked closely with business and other groups, or merely contacted them with reminders to make their views known to Congress. A trade coalition from Illinois led by the League went to Washington for some first hand lobbying. To make trade action opportunities better known, trade was used as an example in some practical political workshops.

Trade surveys of retailers, industrialists and consumers continue to be popular, with many Leagues getting together to do them on an ILO or regional basis. Some have been financed through the Education Fund. Quite a few Leagues reported trade surveys to be among their most successful local activities because of the large number of members they were able to involve and the opportunity to make their communities more aware of the League while making both members and communities aware of the importance of trade. Leagues established new contacts with business and industry that they were later able to utilize for both legislative action

and financial contributions. The survey process made good "press" and survey results were frequently transmitted to Congress.

Some state Leagues discovered benefits of resource availability and cooperative programs through having a League representative on a Chamber of Commerce trade committee or a League observer for the state economic development commission. The League of Women Voters of New Jersey examined the state's trade promotion organization and operation. They devised a questionnaire for this purpose which yielded valuable information and an opportunity to work with many trade-oriented groups. LWVNJ also published "New Jersey's Stake in World Trade", a brochure widely distributed by the N.J. World Trade Committee, and prepared a slide presentation to illustrate the information in the brochure. (Brochures 5¢ each and slides on loan from LWVNJ.)

Other local League activity on trade included extensive use of the media; numerous conferences and other public programs; tours and studies of harbor and port facilities and their importance to the community; and trade updates for members through serial columns in bulletins or meetings and joint update meetings with other community organizations watching trade developments.

DEVELOPMENT ACTIVITIES The most concerted efforts to channel community support for development assistance were those of the LWV's of Atlanta, Pittsburgh, Des Moines and Denver. These Leagues provided cooperation and leadership to local coalitions of "One World: The Rich and the Poor" in their pilot areas. Nationally, the coalition is composed of the League, AAUW, UAW and other organizations. With assistance from the national level, local coalitions initiate their activities with a conference on topics of particular community interest to generate sufficient support for coalition activities (e.g., school programs, follow-up conferences, information centers).

Some Leagues have joined forces with other groups to sponsor meetings with speakers from the Agency for International Development and many have conducted programs on subjects which highlight problems of the less developed countries.

The Tiffin, Ohio IR committee devised a game to help people get the feel of LDC problems which Ohio Leagues have played with good results. (See "Suggested Sources and Materials".)

UN HAPPENINGS UN issues are favorite topics of study among ongoing IR committees, many of which work with UNA in bringing information to the public through meetings, radio spots, flyers, etc. A couple of Leagues tried a new twist to generate interest in the UN by having speakers from the radical right. (They said it worked.)

UN-related activities have included sponsoring model UNs at schools and colleges, supplying material to schools, staffing UN booths at fairs,

sponsoring UNICEF Halloween collections and UNICEF card sales (which also helps League budgets).

Most UN activities, however, are held in conjunction with UN Day or week. Leagues have sponsored or cosponsored (with UNA) official community UN Day observances, film fairs, sidewalk bazaars, high school essay and poster contests, school and library events, public forums, TV and radio programs with foreign students or residents. Quite a few Leagues reported great social and financial success with international dinners or buffets, activities that they said were also ideal for member participation and for making League programs well known.

The Acton, Mass. League went further as both catalyst and sponsor of events for "UN Week in Action," with numerous programs in schools (UNICEF boxes, films, speakers) and an International Fair (sales of foreign foods and crafts and exhibits of foreign dance, karate and origami). It encouraged

other groups to sponsor an International Ball, international music programs, etc.

AND MORE Throughout the country, Leagues have joined other groups to promote international understanding through regional State Department briefings, Great Decisions discussion groups, visits by newscasters and IR seminars. League members who have traveled in other countries (especially China) or attended international conferences have reported their experiences at meetings or in bulletins. IR and Land Use committees have worked together to present programs on population growth. IR and EQ committees have worked on the law of the sea, raw materials scarcity and energy. Using a variety of program formats for members and the public, Leagues have covered international topics ranging from trade, aid, the UN and China to food-fuel-fertilizers, arms control, multinational corporations, Latin America, Africa and the Arab world, the EEC, the international monetary system, and non-violent revolution.

SUGGESTED SOURCES AND MATERIALS

LEAGUE SOURCES

International Relations Programming, 1972-73. COMMITTEE GUIDE. 1972, 6 pp. #136, 35¢. Still a valuable source of program ideas and suggested references. Includes a list of organizations maintaining mailing lists to announce free publications and forthcoming publications.

Catalog for Members and the Public, Spring 1974, 16 pp. #126.

Catalog for Leaders, Spring 1974, 16 pp. #131. Limited numbers of both free on request. Together these two catalogs list all current League publications on International Relations, prices, publication numbers. Also lists "how-to" publications of use in IR programming and action such as:

Getting into Print, 1974, 4 pp. #484, 25¢;

Getting Something Done, 1966, 32 pp. #637, 30¢; and others.

Documents: Background on National League Program 1974-76. 1974, 22 pp. #521, 40¢. A compilation of official statements of positions currently applicable.

Study and Action: 1972-74 National Program. 1972, 44 pp. #409, 75¢. Background review of national program.

The National VOTER. June-July 1973. A lively history of national program. Revised trade position, announced by the national board in June 1973, is on pp. 20 and 21.

The National VOTER. Summer 1974. Official wording of 1974-76 national program and forecast of activities in each area.

The Politics of Trade, 1971, 52 pp. #431, 75¢;

The Trouble with Trade, 1973, 8 pp. #203, 40¢;

Tackling the Trouble with Trade, 1973, 36 pp. #458, 60¢. "Set" of background publications for 1972-73 trade study and for community education.

What To Do About the UN, 1974-75. 1974, 2 pp. #526, 15¢. Just issued COMMUNITY GUIDE to UN activities. Includes useful resource references not repeated here. (The 1973-74 Guide remains useful for suggested program activities and supplementary resource references.)

Development Assistance. WRAP-UP. January 1974, 2 pp. #335, 15¢. Most recent League publication on development assistance legislation, with a primer on aid legislation and an update on problems and prospects.

Reports from the Hill, Action Alerts and Times for Action. Back issues provide helpful information for future action on IR positions. Should be used in conjunction with Action Handbook. (1972, 32 pp. #161, 50¢.)

Forthcoming IR publications: Energy briefs dealing with international developments of League interest in a series of short, newsy IR Updates.

Information on the issues of global interdependence -- food, population, energy, resource scarcity -- will be presented in the Energy briefs and the Updates, rather than in a Facts and Issues publication, as forecast in the January 1974 National Board Report.

PROGRAM AIDS

The Game Nations Play. Easy-to-play game for six players representing developed countries and LDCs, who throw dice, draw cards and keep a running score of gains and losses. Illustrates intricacies and problems of international politics as they apply to development aid. Order from June Hatoor, 66 Lincoln Road, Tiffin, Ohio 44883. \$2.00 for game only; \$3.00 with accompanying program materials including charts, up-to-date situations, discussion questions.

"Multinational Corporations: A Guide to Discussion, Study and Resources," Intercom. 32 pp. \$1.50. Spring 1974. Background, pros and cons and cases to show effects of MNCs on countries, workers, etc. Bibliography and discussion question.

UNA-USA, Mini-Kits for UN Conferences on Law of the Sea, World Population, World Food. \$1.00 each. UNA-USA, 345 East 46th St., N.Y., N.Y. 10017. Kits contain scenarios and basic background information to be used by participants in model UN conferences.

What You Can Do For International Women's Year. 3 pp. Free from U.S. Center for International Women's Year, 1630 Crescent Pl., N.W., Washington, D.C. 20009. Useful guide to suggested program activities for IWY.

Film. The Limits to Growth. 30 minutes. Color. \$15 for one week's rental from Great Plains National Instructional TV Library, Box 80669, Lincoln, Nebr. 68501. (Video tape cassettes also available.) Highlights of the Club of Rome report -- the clash between increasing production, population, technology and resource scarcity.

ENERGY

(See also "General and Miscellaneous" section below.)

Hunter, Robert E. The Energy Crisis and U.S. Foreign Policy. Headline Series #216. 29 pp. \$1.25. Foreign Policy Association, 345 East 46th St., N.Y., N.Y. 10017. Good primer on major international energy issues, even though much has changed on world oil scene since booklet was written. Suggested readings and discussion questions.

Foreign Policy Association. Great Decisions 1974. \$3.00. Chap. 5, "The Energy Crisis: What Impact? What Solutions?." Readable and still timely introduction to subject. Discussion questions; suggested readings. Chap. 6, "Israel and the Middle East Conflict: Will Peace Ever Prevail?" Relationship of oil, politics and power.

Griffith, Wm. E., "The Fourth Middle East War, The Energy Crisis and U.S. Policy," Orbis. pp. 1161-1188. \$3.00. Winter 1974. Foreign Policy Research Institute, 3508 Market St., Phila., Pa. 19104. International aspects of energy crisis in light of Mideast developments with emphasis on U.S. policy options.

Conference. The Energy Outlook and Global Interdependence. Fund for Peace Convocation. New York Hilton, Nov. 20, 1974. Plenary session in morning, luncheon session and two sets of simultaneous panels in afternoon featuring world and national authorities. Further information from Fund for Peace, 1855 Broadway, N.Y., N.Y. 10023.

POPULATION/FOOD

Brown, Lester R., In the Human Interest: A Strategy to Stabilize World Population. 190 pp. \$2.95 (paper). 1974. W.W.Norton and Co., N.Y., N.Y. Relates population growth to problems of world affluence, energy and other resource shortages and environmental stress; presents radical strategy for bringing population growth to a halt.

UNESCO. Courier. June-July 1974. \$1.75. Unipub, 650 First Avenue, N.Y., N.Y. 10016. Special double issue for World Population Year emphasizing impact of population growth on food, environment, economic and social development. Articles by Roger Revelle, Paul Ehrlich, Rene Dumont, Han Suyin, Isaac Asimov, et al.

Scientific American. September 1974. \$1.25. Entire issue on "The Human Population"; views the topic from scientists' perspectives. Chapters on population history; genetics; migrations; population, the family and the status of women in developed countries; LDC populations; food and population, etc.

Klein, Rudolf. "The Trouble with a Zero Growth World," The New York Times Magazine. June 2, 1974; and Ehrlich, Paul R. and Anne H. Ehrlich. "Misconceptions," The New York Times Magazine. June 16, 1974. Two views on population growth. Klein raises questions about the negative consequences of no growth; the Ehrlichs challenge common assumptions about how population growth should be curbed.

Action Pack. Attractive package of posters, stickers, wall charts and background information to help organizations and program planners publicize population and development issues. Free from CESI, United Nations, N.Y., N.Y. 10017

Food and Foreign Policy. Supplement to Great Decisions 1974. 4 pp. 10¢. Foreign Policy Association. Factual background on world food supply; U.S. food and agriculture policies; current issues.

GENERAL AND MISCELLANEOUS

Best source of information about a particular piece of legislation is your congressman's office. The Congressional Record, available at public and university libraries, is a transcript of daily proceedings and debates in the House and Senate. Also widely available through li-

braries is the Congressional Quarterly Weekly Report which provides background analyses of legislation.

Weiss, Mildred and Susan Laudicina. Action for Development: A Community Education Handbook. \$2.00 (mimeo)

Available Nov. 1974. Overseas Development Council, 1717 Mass. Ave., N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036. Guide to organizing conferences; how to gain access to media; effectiveness at public hearings. Suggested resource material.

Brown, Lester R., The Global Politics of Resource Scarcity. Development Paper 17. 48 pp. \$1.00. April 1974. Overseas Development Council. Examines growing pressure on various resources and the politics associated with it. Asks the crucial question: Will the future witness international cooperation or competition for scarce resources? (Other related publications also available from ODC.)

Foreign Affairs. April 1974. Includes five articles on "The Year of Economics" by: Schmidt, "The Struggle for World Product"; Pollack, "The Economic Consequences of the Energy Crisis"; Diebold, "U.S. Trade Policies: The New Political Dimensions"; Varon and Takeuchi, "Developing Countries and Non-Fuel Minerals"; Schertz, "World Food: Prices and the Poor." \$2.00. 155 Allen Blvd., Farmingdale, N.Y. 11735.

Silk, Leonard, "How the World Economy Got into This Mess ... In spite of Vietnam, oil, anchovies and Watergate, can we get out of it?" The New York Times Magazine. July 28, 1974. Concise historical view of factors underlying present world economic crisis, future dangers and recommendations for international solutions.

Howe, James, The New Global Economy. Headline Series. \$1.25. Available Oct. 1974. Foreign Policy Association. Timely examination of increasing interdependence of national economies and international economic issues.

Heilbroner, Robert, An Inquiry into the Human Prospect. 150 pp. \$1.95 (paper). 1974. W.W.Norton and Co., N.Y., N.Y. Grim view of future in which population growth, dwindling resources and deadly weapons will bring international tensions to dangerous levels; mankind -- if it escapes nuclear or environmental obliteration -- is unlikely to escape authoritarian controls.

Gergen, Kenneth J. and Mary M. Gergen. "Foreign Aid That Works -- What Other Nations Hear When The Eagle Screams," Psychology Today. pp. 53-58. \$1.00. June 1974. Unusual evaluation of U.S. aid programs, based on studies of the psychology of donors and recipients. Demonstrates the advantages of giving aid through multilateral institutions.

"Scarcity." Skeptic. Special issue #2. \$1.00. The Forum For Contemporary History, 812 Anacapa St., Santa Barbara, Ca. 93101. Articles by Garrett Hardin, Robert Heilbroner, Dennis Meadows, Arnold Toynbee, William Ophuls et al. dealing with questions such as "Are scarcity scares justified?", "How will we decide who gets what?", "Does scarcity threaten America's place in the world?", "Can technology come to our rescue?". Suggested readings.

International Report. Two-page newsletter sent at least monthly to donors of \$5.00 or more (tax-deductible) to Sierra Club Foundation, International Report, 1050 Mills Tower, San Francisco, Ca. 94104. Summary of international environmental news and activities by UN, national governments and non-governmental organizations.

UNICEF. Facts and Fallacies. From Information Officer, U.S. Committee for UNICEF, 331 East 38th St., N.Y., N.Y. 10016. This flyer and other UNICEF information provide material with which to respond to attacks on UN Children's Fund. Free publications catalog.

Foreign Policy Association. Great Decisions 1975. \$4.00. Available after Jan. 2, 1975. Brochure with order form was sent to all Leagues with 1974-75 UN Community Guide.

This is going on DPM

July 18, 1975

STATEMENT TO THE HOUSE COMMITTEE ON INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS
by
RUTH C. CLUSEN, PRESIDENT
LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS OF THE UNITED STATES
on
FOREIGN ASSISTANCE

Mr. Chairman and members of the committee. I am Ruth Clusen, President of the League of Women Voters of the U.S., and I am here today on behalf of the League's 145,000 members to discuss five policies essential to a sound development assistance program:

- A clear-cut separation of military aid and security supporting assistance from development aid - separation in authorization, appropriations and administration;
- Multi-year authorizations and adequate appropriations for foreign economic assistance at requested levels;
- The use of loan reflows for expanded international and U.S. technical assistance to aid agricultural development in developing countries;
- Better linkage of the Food for Peace program and development assistance; and
- Full implementation of programs to integrate women into the development process.

First, let me say (having just returned from the International Women's Year Conference in Mexico City) that I am particularly grateful for this opportunity to talk about foreign assistance. This conference undeniably demonstrated to me how vast a gulf there is between women in developed nations and the third world. For two weeks representatives from nearly 100 developing countries hammered home an overriding theme - a better life for most women of the world can only be achieved through massive economic gains in their countries. While American women may speak of the need to enter the corporate board rooms and to achieve social equality, their sisters in developing nations see women's issues with different eyes. So difficult is their economic plight that their needs focus on rock bottom basics such as growing enough food or walking miles each day for water just to survive. If we ever hope to speak the international language of peace and to see international problems through the same eyes then we must bridge the deep chasms between rich and poor nation - and the best material for such a bridge is a good foreign assistance program.

The League's long involvement in international development issues centers upon an abiding concern for better mutual understanding and cooperation between the United States and the rest of the world. Current membership agreement reiterates long standing League support for increased U.S. multilateral and bilateral help to developing nations and calls for policies to emphasize the quality of life and focus on human needs in aid programs.

League members recognize that population pressures affect all aspects of the development process. The League supports U.S. efforts to assist other nations in their population planning programs, in accordance with the culture and mores of each country.

The League also emphasizes strongly the importance of programs for nutrition, health and education. However, aid alone is not enough. The gross disparity in trading positions between developed and developing countries must be narrowed through a broadened economic base and improved standards of living in the third world. A significant step in this direction is the granting of generalized tariff preferences to developing countries.

SPECIFIC RECOMMENDATIONS

(1) The League of Women Voters advocates a clear-cut separation of military aid and security supporting assistance from development aid - separation in authorization, appropriation and administration. The deliberate blurring of these two distinct types of programs creates public confusion between aid to promote long range economic and social progress by developing countries and "foreign aid" for military and political reasons. It is difficult to assess effectiveness when foreign aid for short-term military and political purposes is lumped together with long-term development goals. Moreover, aided nations resent the use of U.S. military and political assistance as levers to influence their domestic policies.

We believe that if the U.S. continues to package development, military and supporting assistance into one bill, support for people-oriented development programs will continue to be undermined by the public disillusionment that is the aftermath of Vietnam. National policies on development aid and military and security assistance should be evaluated and determined separately - each on its own merits.

Another reason for advocating program separation is that members of Congress should not face the dilemma of having to accept "all or nothing." Voting for the programs separately would promote political accountability - the essence of representative government.

A survey conducted in December 1974 by the Chicago Council on Foreign Relations indicated a majority of Americans support aid for economic development and technical assistance.¹ The survey showed a lack of public support for "foreign aid" as a means to help U.S. national security or prevent the spread of communism. However, 79% of the public said they favored economic aid if assured it got down to the people. The League believes that the new focus of aid, largely as the result of this committee's directives in the last few years, reflects this concern with formulating programs that reach the people.

(2) The League supports full authorization levels requested by the administration. An important objective this year should be to narrow the gap between reasonable authorization levels and inadequate appropriations. We deplore the deep cuts in development assistance after the programs have been fully justified. These cutbacks of recent years have seriously undermined the ability of the U.S. to meet outstanding commitments to many developing nations. The hardest hit programs have been in areas such as food and nutrition, population and education, and international development assistance - programs directed to the most fundamental problems facing the world.

¹John E. Reilly, editor, American Public Opinion and U.S. Foreign Policy 1975, The Chicago Council on Foreign Relations, March 1975.

The level of development assistance should reflect a reasonable U.S. share in relation to development needs and to what other developed nations are doing. The June 1975 report by the Development Coordination Committee,² mandated by Congress, showed that total development assistance and private capital flows to developing countries in 1973 was about six-tenths of one percent of U.S. gross national product, and official development assistance was less than a quarter of one percent. This represents a substantial decline in U.S. foreign aid; for example, U.S. development aid in 1963 was \$3.6 billion while in 1973 the official aid was about \$1.6 billion in 1963 dollar terms.

While U.S. aid has fallen in recent years, other developed nations have maintained or increased their foreign aid. Today, the U.S. ranks 14th among the 18 major western donors in percentage of GNP devoted to development assistance. Between 1973 and 1974, member nations of the Development Assistance Committee (Canada, France, Germany, Japan, Netherlands, Sweden, United Kingdom, and the U.S.) and the 13 OPEC countries increased official development assistance by an estimated 2 billion dollars. Even so, international development aid has been far short of the requirements of developing countries. Their needs for external aid have increased dramatically as a result of higher prices for oil, fertilizer, food and capital goods. At the same time, the demand for their exports has fallen and their balance of payments deficits risen to about \$24 billion. The poorest nations, identified as those "most seriously affected" (MSA's) by recent economic conditions, have been caught in a crunch between an inability to grow sufficient crops to feed their people and insufficient foreign revenues to import high priced food and other basic necessities.

The United States, then, must maintain adequate levels of foreign economic assistance. In an interdependent world, this country cannot turn its back on the aspirations of a vast majority of the global population. Development aid is not a luxury, but an integral part of U.S. relations with other nations. Without a program of economic assistance to developing nations, the United States international trade position and the U.S. economy would suffer. The U.S. cannot withhold aid to these nations and expect them to continue to supply us with necessary raw materials and overseas markets for our goods. In a very real sense, foreign aid is an investment - an investment in America as well as an investment abroad. While expanded U.S. exports and access to raw materials are important, the long-range development of third world nations, within an equitable global economic system, is absolutely essential to world peace.

The League endorses the Murphy Commission³ recommendations for improvements in the congressional process of program authorization and appropriations for foreign economic assistance. One step Congress could take to simplify procedures would be to adopt multi-year authorizations for development programs.

Foreign economic assistance is not a program that can be turned on and off. In the past, delays in authorization and appropriations have disrupted the continuity of administration and long-term commitments which must accompany development assistance.

²Development Issues - First Annual Report of The President on U.S. Actions Affecting the Development of Low-Income Countries, prepared under the supervision of the Development Coordination Committee, transmitted to Congress, May, 1975.

³Commission on the Organization of the Government for the Conduct of Foreign Policy, Robert D. Murphy, chairman, June, 1975.

Another advantage of multi-year authorizations is that they would free the committee to exercise its oversight responsibilities in a more detailed and thorough manner. The League also thinks it is appropriate to combine authorization and appropriations into a single process, particularly in light of the newly instituted budget process. The League is concerned that adequate foreign assistance will be on the chopping block when overall Congressional budget priorities are reconciled. We firmly support representation of the House International Relations Committee on the new Budget Committee in order to improve the consideration of interrelated domestic and international issues.

(3) The League recommends that the direct repayments of previous AID loans be committed towards the establishment of an International Fund for Agricultural Development and bilateral food and nutrition programs. We applaud members of Congress who have proposed this recycling of funds for development purposes in order for the U.S. to meet its pledge at the World Food Conference. Present law requires these loan reflows be deposited to the U.S. Treasury. The League recommends that the law be changed so that reflows, which will amount to about \$360 million in 1976 and \$400 million in 1977, will support this international initiative to help nations finance development projects and to increase U.S. bilateral agricultural assistance.

The World Food Conference approved, with U.S. support, creation of the International Fund for Agricultural Development. The target date for opening the Fund is January 1976, by which time it is proposed that a minimum of \$1.25 billion will have been raised equally from developed and OPEC nations. The Fund could represent a new partnership between developed and newly rich oil producing countries towards a common obligation to assist the third world.

Congressional action in support of the Fund would signal a U.S. commitment to concrete proposals coming out of the Rome Food Conference and generate momentum from other nations to end the rhetoric and begin construction of a worldwide system to combat a worsening global food crisis.

The U.S. share towards establishment of the Fund is expected to be about \$200 million. One obvious advantage of using reflows for the U.S. contribution is that new authorizations for foreign aid would not have to be revised upwards.

(4) The League supports reform and expansion of the Food for Peace program and its linkage to long-range agricultural development in developing nations. We urge the committee, therefore, to consider the major legislative proposals in HR 2492 and HR 8251 - discussion bills introduced by Congressman Zablocki.

In HR 2492, we specifically endorse self-help provisions which would require consideration of measures designed to develop poor rural areas and promote small-farm agriculture through the use of PL 480. We also support continuation of the 70/30 split in Title I to guarantee that the major portion of concessional food goes to the neediest countries. Provisions in HR 8251 which the League supports include:

- Establishment of priority uses of PL 480 to give preference to humanitarian and development programs;
- The concept of a new Title III in which a recipient nation could use the proceeds from Food for Peace sales to bolster its agricultural development;
- Guaranteed minimum annual level and multi-year commitments for PL 480 shipments consistent with U.S. responsibility to meet world-wide food shortages, particularly in the neediest nations;
- Establishment of an international disaster reserve.



League of Women Voters Education Fund

JUN 25 1976

memorandum

*Since you participated
in the St. Department
meetings, we thought
you might be interested,
June 17, 1976 too.*

TO: Wingspread participants

FROM: Ruth Robbins, IR Chairman *RR*

The IR committee, meeting early in June here in Washington, D.C., has given itself and you an assignment. The enclosed pamphlet was published by the Department of State to serve as a basis for NGO (non-governmental organizations) dialogue with the Department. The questionnaires critiquing the document were prepared by Bob Pickus of the World Without War Council, 175 Fifth Avenue, the Flatiron Building, New York, New York, 10010.

The IR committee decided to participate in this effort to increase dialogue between the Department and the public because the effort itself is commendable even if the results so far leave something to be desired. We hope that you will agree to give some time and thought to both the publication and the questionnaires. Please do not feel constrained by the questions the World Without War Council has developed. You may add to, subtract from, rewrite, or completely disregard the questionnaire and write your own statement.

Please return your questionnaires/statements by July 30 to the LWV national office, IR Department, 1730 M Street, N.W., Washington, D.C., 20036. We would like to use your ideas in our talks with the Department. We will forward your statements to the State Department after we have made copies for our files.

My best to all of you. Hope you have a restful summer. The IR portfolio will be a busy one next year!

John Reinhardt, Assistant Secretary of State for Public Affairs, has written the following to organizational leaders gathered in the International Conflict and American Organizations Project:

"This pamphlet is an effort to respond to a request which grew out of a workshop, held in the Department last July, for a document which both described the main threads of American foreign policy and posed real questions for public discussion. Private participants in the workshop hoped that the document would provide the occasion for a widespread dialogue on the presuppositions of policy. The question we would like to pose to you is whether this is the kind of document which is needed in our present national circumstances...can it be made the occasion for a broader and more searching dialogue on the goals, the values and premises the American people would like to have expressed in their foreign policy. If so, how?"

In addition to your response on the enclosed 4-page questionnaire to the substance of the Department of State pamphlet, please record here your views on its form. We're interested here in your reactions to the pamphlet's concept and to the way it is organized rather than to its foreign policy ideas.

Keep in mind that the Department of State has indicated interest in an annual dialogue if leaders of the independent sector indicate their willingness to participate. Is this the kind of document needed for such a dialogue? Be as thorough as you wish in answering John Reinhardt's questions, using additional pages as needed. Please do, at a minimum, respond to the specific questions below.

1. IS THIS THE KIND OF DOCUMENT NEEDED FOR AN ANNUAL DIALOGUE AMONG NGO'S AND WITH THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE?

 Yes No Only partially Undecided

2. DOES THE DOCUMENT IN ITS PRESENT FORM PROVIDE AN ADEQUATE BASIS FOR A DIALOGUE AMONG NGO'S AND WITH THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE ON THE "GOALS, VALUES AND PREMISES" OF AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY? If not, please use the space overside to describe the document you would like to see State or the White House produce each year.

3. YOUR COMMENTS ON:

a) Length: Is it too long or detailed? too brief or general? about right?

b) Organization: Are the categories under which the document presents its overview the most useful ones? What alternative categorization would you propose?

c) Any other problems of style, form, organization:

4. DID YOU HAVE A CHANCE TO DISCUSS THIS WITH OTHER LEADERS IN YOUR ORGANIZATION?

 Yes No If so, do your answers reflect their views?

5. WOULD YOU OR YOUR ORGANIZATION BE INTERESTED IN PARTICIPATING IN THIS ATTEMPT TO STRUCTURE AN ANNUAL SUBSTANTIVE DIALOGUE BETWEEN ORGANIZATIONS OF THE INDEPENDENT SECTOR AND THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE? If so, and if you can distribute free copies of this document and the two questionnaires to leaders of your organization, please fill in the section on the reverse of this page.

☐ We'll do something on this; call us

☐ Sorry, not interested

Your organization _____

Name/Title _____

Address _____

Phone _____

Eleven Questions on the ideas in the Department of State pamphlet

United States Foreign Policy: An Overview

Optional: Your Name _____

Title _____

Address _____

Please do let us know the organization in which you do most of your work on problems of U.S. foreign policy:

Please do not feel constrained by the format of this questionnaire. If you find it provides an adequate framework for your response to the document's ideas, give your answers in the spaces provided (and on additional sheets as necessary). If, on the other hand, you would prefer to give your response in some other form, feel free to do so; we hope you will find the questions below helpful in forming your response. We are especially hopeful of having your answers to the questions on page four.

All questionnaires will be forwarded to the State Department for their analysis and reactions.

The Introduction

1. Does the document adequately present "the conceptual basis from which current foreign policy proceeds" (p. 1)? If not, in what respects does it fail?
2. What is your assessment of the list of fourteen questions which "are among the questions which most occupy the Department of State today" (p. 2-3)? Are these the right categories? What different or additional questions or categories do you think ought to be included?

A Common Endeavor

3. Do you agree or disagree with the statement of "our task" (p. 5) and of the need for a "climate of trust" (p. 6)? If you disagree, why?

The Limits of Foreign Policy

4. Do you believe that the statements on pp. 7-9 accurately reflect the present operating presuppositions of American policymakers? If not, what is your view of their presuppositions? Do you agree or disagree with this conception of the constraints on foreign policy decision-making? If you disagree, why?

The New Realities

5. Do you agree or disagree with the broad picture of the current international situation and the choices facing us presented in "The New Realities" (pp. 11-13)? Do you think the last paragraph of this section is an accurate statement of how American policymakers view this country's central task today? If not, what would be a more accurate statement? Do you think it is an adequate statement of our central task? If not, what would be a more adequate statement?

Building New Relationships and Global Cooperation

Of the areas and problems identified below, please identify those which are of primary interest to you or your organization by circling the appropriate letters. For each area or problem circled, please answer the following questions (using additional paper as needed):

- 6a. Does the document accurately describe the realities of the present situation? If not, in what respects does it err?
- 6b. Does the document's statement of goals and purposes seem to you to correspond to current foreign policy practice?
- 6c. Do you agree or disagree with the stated goals and purposes of U.S. foreign policy? What different or additional goals and purposes do you believe should guide our foreign policy?
- | | |
|---|--|
| a) Europe (pp. 15-18) | j) The Panama Canal (pp. 31-32) |
| b) Japan (pp. 18-19) | k) Cuba (pp. 32-33) |
| c) Economic negotiations among the industrial democracies (pp. 19-20) | l) Africa (pp. 33-34) |
| d) The Soviet Union (pp. 20-26) | m) Global Cooperation (pp. 35-36) |
| e) Arms Limitation (pp. 23-24) | n) The United Nations (p. 36) |
| f) Asia and the Pacific Doctrine (pp. 26-27) | o) North-South Relations (pp. 36-38) |
| g) China (pp. 27-29) | p) The Energy Crisis (pp. 38-41) |
| h) The Middle East (pp. 29-31) | q) The World Food Problem (pp. 41-45) |
| i) Latin America (pp. 31-33) | r) Other problems of interdependence (pp. 45-46) |

A New National Partnership

7. What are your reactions to the statement about "A New National Partnership" (pp. 47-48)?

REGARDING THE DOCUMENT AS A WHOLE

(use additional paper as needed)

8. If there are other issues, problems or conflict arenas which you feel should be given priority over those discussed in this pamphlet, list them here:

9. What is your reaction to the pamphlet's prioritization of our country's national interests and international objectives?

10. What are your overall reactions to this document's statement of:

- a) the goals and purposes of American foreign policy;
- b) the values which underlie the formulation and conduct of our foreign policy;
- c) the fundamental assumptions and presuppositions about the nature of power, conflict, cooperation and community in international politics;
- d) the primary obstacles which block the achievement of our goals and purposes;
- e) present strategy for overcoming those obstacles.

11. In thinking about how you would use a governmental document designed to encourage a needed public dialogue on U.S. foreign policy:

would you prefer a document of this length and complexity or a longer, more conceptually developed statement (as, for example, the Nixon/Kissinger "State of the World" Reports, 1970-73)?

Session I — 2:15 P.M. (Pawnee Room)

"Legal Aspects Relating to Arab Boycott Legislation"

Moderator:

THOMAS FIRTH
Attorney
Carroll & Firth
Minneapolis, Minnesota

Participants:

THOMAS V. FIRTH
Carroll & Firth
LEO J. HARRIS
Oppenheimer, Wolff, Foster & Donnelly
BARRY D. GLAZER
Dorsey, Windhorst, Hannaford, Whitney & Halladay
DAVID J. MAKI
Honeywell, Inc.

Coffee Break: 3:15 P.M. — 3:30 P.M. (2nd Floor Lobby)

Session II — 3:30 P.M. (Navajo Room)

"Importing — Techniques & Problems"

Panel: (To be Announced)

Session II — 3:30 P.M. (Pawnee Room)

"Prospects for Agriculture Exports — Implications for Minnesota"

Moderator:

DR. LUTHER PICKREL
Professor of Agricultural Extension
University of Minnesota
Minneapolis, Minnesota

Panel Members:

DR. JAMES HOUCK
Professor, Agriculture and Applied Economics
University of Minnesota
Minneapolis, Minnesota

CY CARPENTER
President
Minnesota Farmers Union
Saint Paul, Minnesota

Reception: 5:30 — 6:30 P.M. (2nd Floor Lobby)

Hors d'oeuvres from Foreign Lands Served by Members
of the International Community of the Twin Cities

Sponsor: Minnesota International Center.

Dinner Session — 6:30 P.M. (Chippewa Room)

**WORLD FOOD PATTERNS IN COMING
DECADES**

Chairman:

BURTON JOSEPH
President & Chief Executive Officer
I.S. Joseph Company
Minneapolis, Minnesota

Speaker:

MORTON I. SOSLAND
Publisher
Milling & Baking News
Kansas City, Missouri

Program and Registration Information



15TH ANNUAL MINNESOTA WORLD TRADE CONFERENCE

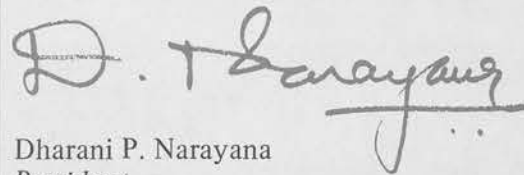
May 25 & 26, 1977
Thunderbird Motel
Bloomington, Minnesota

***"What's Ahead
For World Trade"***

MINNESOTA WORLD TRADE WEEK, INC.
5235 South Xerxes Ave., Minneapolis, Minn. 55410

On behalf of our sponsoring organizations I am pleased to extend to you a cordial invitation to attend and participate in the 15th Annual Minnesota World Trade Conference.

The theme for the conference this year is "What's Ahead for World Trade." It seems extremely important and timely to focus upon the prospects and problems that lie ahead for those of us who are engaged in international trade. I hope you can attend.



Dharani P. Narayana
President
Minnesota World Trade Week, Inc.

and

General Chairman
1977 Minnesota World Trade Conference



Schedule of Sessions

WEDNESDAY, MAY 25

8:00 A.M. Registration (2nd Floor Lobby)

Opening Session

PART I — 8:30 A.M. (Navajo Room)

Remarks:

DHARANI P. NARAYANA, Conference Chairman
Vice President
Northwestern National Bank of Minneapolis
Minneapolis, Minnesota

Keynote Address:

Chairman:

JOSEPH A. GRIMES JR.
Chairman, Minnesota District Export Council

"Role of Technology in International Trade and other Issues"

Speaker:

WILLIAM C. NORRIS
Chairman & Chief Executive Officer
Control Data Corporation
Minneapolis, Minnesota

PART II — 9:00 A.M.

"Prospects for Global Economy"

Chairman:

JOHN McDEVITT
Economic Market Analyst
3M Company
Saint Paul, Minnesota

Speakers:

"Focus on North America with Emphasis on Canada"

NEIL CURRIE
Vice President & Economic Advisor
Bank of Montreal
Montreal, Canada

"Focus on South America with Emphasis on Mexico & Brazil"

ALFRED HOLDEN
Chief Economist
Foreign Credit Insurance Association
New York, New York

"Focus on European Common Market Countries with Emphasis on the United Kingdom"

ALLAN MARRIOTT
Officer
Barclay's Bank, Ltd.
London, U.K.

"Focus on Far East with Emphasis on Japan"

K. SUZUKI
Economist
Yamaichi International, Inc.
New York, New York

Coffee Break: 10:45 A.M. (2nd Floor Lobby)

PART III — 11:00 A.M.

"Prospects for Key Foreign Currencies & Translation Exposure Management"

Chairman:

DANIEL CURTIS,
Manager — International Projects
Honeywell, Inc.
Minneapolis, Minnesota

Speaker:

ALAN TECK
Senior Vice President
Chemical Bank
New York, New York

12:00 Noon Reception (2nd Floor Lobby)

Luncheon Session (Shoshone Room) 12:30 P.M.

Chairman:

GLENN MATSON
Director, Minneapolis District Office
United States Department of Commerce
Minneapolis, Minnesota

Speaker:

THE HONORABLE FRANK WEIL
Assistant Secretary of Commerce,
Domestic & International Business Administration
United States Department of Commerce
Washington, D.C.

CONCURRENT SESSIONS

Session I — 2:00 P.M. (Navajo Room)

FOREIGN INVESTMENT —
HOW TO ATTRACT IT

Moderator:

LARRY NEWTON
Director
Finance & International Trade
Minnesota Department of Economic Development
Saint Paul, Minnesota

Participants:

SEIJI ISHIBASHI
Assistant General Manager
Kajima Corporation
Minneapolis, Minnesota

LEO LOEWEN

Manager
Monarch Industries
Mountain Lake, Minnesota

CURT SCHNEIDER

Manager
Buhler-Miag, Inc.
Minneapolis, Minnesota

Session I — 2:00 P.M. (Pawnee Room)

TECHNOLOGY TRANSFER —
LICENSEE AGREEMENTS, ETC.

Moderator:

ROBERT DOYLE
President
Tea Trans International
Minneapolis, Minnesota

Speaker:

ADRIAN C. DORENFELD
Associate Professor, Dept. of Civil and Mineral Engineering
University of Minnesota
Minneapolis, Minnesota

Coffee Break: 3:15 P.M. — 3:30 P.M.

Session II — 3:30 P.M. (Navajo Room)

SOME BASIC DIFFERENCES IN JAPANESE
AND AMERICAN BUSINESS STYLES

Moderator:

HELEN McNULTY
Director
Intercultural Communications, Inc.
Minneapolis, Minnesota

Participants:

ROBERT T. MORAN
President
Intercultural Communications, Inc.
Minneapolis, Minnesota
and
A Japanese Businessman (name to be announced later)

Session II — 3:30 P.M. (Pawnee Room)

BUSINESS CONTRACTS IN THE MIDDLE
EAST

Moderator:

BRUCE F. BURTON
Attorney
Faegre & Benson
Minneapolis, Minnesota

Participants: (To be announced later)

1977 MINNESOTA WORLD TRADE CONFERENCE REGISTRATION FORM

Mail to: Minnesota World Trade Week, Inc.
5325 Xerxes Avenue South
Minneapolis, Minnesota 55410

Enclosed is a check in the amount of \$_____ for the 15th Annual Minnesota World Trade Conference at the Thunderbird Motel, Bloomington, Minnesota to be held on May 25th & 26th, 1977. (Checks should be made payable to Minnesota World Trade Week, Inc.)

Please register the following members of our company:

Name _____

Title _____

Name _____

Title _____

Name _____

Title _____

Pricing Information:

Entire Program (All meals, all programs)	\$65.00
Individual Registration (Meetings only)	25.00
Student Registration (Meetings only)	5.00
Luncheon Session Wednesday, May 25, 1977	10.00
Breakfast Session Thursday, May 26, 1977	7.50
Luncheon Session Thursday, May 26, 1977	10.00
Dinner Session Thursday, May 26, 1977	15.00

Company Name: _____

Address _____

City _____

State _____ Zip _____

ADVANCE ROOM RESERVATION FORM

Minnesota World Trade Conference
May 25th and 26th, 1977

Single Room: \$27.00 + tax
Double Room: \$32.00 + tax

Mail to:
The Thunderbird Motel
2201 East 78th Street
Bloomington, Minnesota 55420
Phone: (612) 854-3411

Name _____ Address _____
City _____ State _____ Zip Code _____
Accommodations Desired _____ Single(s) _____ Double(s) _____
Arrival Day and Date _____ Departure Day and Date _____
Company Name and Address _____
(If Applicable)

IMPORTANT NOTE: RESERVATIONS ARE CANCELLED AT 6 P.M. ON THE DAY OF ARRIVAL UNLESS THE THUNDERBIRD RECEIVES AN ADVANCE DEPOSIT OF \$25.00 FOR EACH ROOM RESERVED.

1977 MINNESOTA WORLD TRADE CONFERENCE

SPONSORING ORGANIZATIONS

Greater Minneapolis Chamber of Commerce
Hennepin County Bar Association
International Studies Center,
Hamline University
League of Women Voters
Minnesota Department of Economic Development
Minnesota District Export Council
Minnesota International Center
Minnesota World Trade Association
North Central Credit & Financial Management Association
Seaway Port Authority of Duluth
St. Paul Area Chamber of Commerce
United Nations Association of Minnesota
United States Department of Commerce
World Affairs Center

WORLD TRADE WEEK INC. — OFFICERS

President Dharani Narayana
Vice President E. Norman Eck
Treasurer Gino D'Amalfi
Secretary Glenn A. Matson
Advisor J. Patrick Kittler



THURSDAY, MAY 26

Breakfast Session — 8:00 A.M. (Chippewa Room)

EXPORT CREDIT — ECONOMIC & POLITICAL CONDITIONS

Moderator:

E. NORMAN ECK
Executive Vice President
North Central Credit & Financial Management Association

Participants:

RAUL AGUILAR
Assistant Vice President
First National Bank of Minneapolis
NICHOLAS LISACZENKO
Credit Manager
Asgrow International
Kalamazoo, Michigan

DR. ROGER UPSON
Associate Dean
College and Graduate School of Business Administration
University of Minnesota
Minneapolis, Minnesota

DR. HANS BELSAK
President
S. J. Rundt & Associates, Inc.
New York, New York

GLENN MATSON
Director, Minneapolis District Office
United States Department of Commerce
Minneapolis, Minnesota

W. R. WHITE
Vice President
Foreign Credit Insurance Assn.
Milwaukee, Wisconsin

Coffee Break: 10:15 A.M. — 10:30 A.M.
(2nd Floor Lobby)

Export Session — 10:30 A.M. (Navajo Room)

"Prospects for United States Exports"
"Problems Confronting United States Capital Equipment Exporters"
"Export Financing — Role of Eximbank"

Chairman:

DHARANI P. NARAYANA
Conference Chairman
Vice President
Northwestern National Bank of Minneapolis
Minneapolis, Minnesota

Speakers:

ROBERT FOX
President & Chief Executive Officer
American Hoist & Derrick Company
Saint Paul, Minnesota

DAVID BEIM

Executive Vice President
Export Import Bank
Washington, D.C.

RECEPTION — 11:45 A.M. - 12:15 P.M.
(2nd Floor Lobby)

Luncheon Session — 12:15 P.M. (Chippewa Room)

Chairman:

DHARANI P. NARAYANA
Conference Chairman

"Legislative Atmosphere in the United States Congress — International Trade Affairs"

Speaker:

JOSEPH E. KARTH (former Congressman)
President
American League for International Security Assistance, Inc.
Washington, D.C.

Presentation — "World Trader of the Year" Award

CONCURRENT SESSIONS:

Session I — 2:15 P.M. (Navajo Room)
"Transportation in Export Trade"

Moderator:

VINCENT BURNS
Export Traffic Manager
Pillsbury Company
Minneapolis, Minnesota

Participants: (To be Announced)



**Minnesota
World Affairs
Center**

a regional center
for education in world affairs

University of Minnesota
Minneapolis, Minnesota 55455

June 16, 1977

Jerry Jenkins
2252 Folwell Street
St. Paul, Minnesota 55108

Dear Jerry,

This note is to invite you or a representative of the League of Women Voters to a small reception for Governor Russell W. Peterson, President of New Directions. We will meet from 5:00 to 6:30 p.m. on Tuesday, July 5 on the third floor of the Minneapolis Club.

As you know, New Directions is a new national action organization in the field of foreign affairs. Governor Peterson has been chairman of the President's Council on Environmental Quality and is former Governor of Delaware. He has had a long career as a research chemist, an educator, and as a senior executive with Dupont.

You will soon receive a follow-up call to find out whether or not you will be with us, so please save the date.

Sincerely,

Gladys Brooks, Chairwoman
World Affairs Center Advisory Board

GB:mje

Kenneth
1216 Highland Ave.
Mankato 56001

RUSSELL W. PETERSON
President

Russell Peterson is the full-time President and chief executive officer of *New Directions*, responsible for its program and policy direction and organizational management.



Governor Peterson resigned as Chairman of the President's Council on Environmental Quality in September 1976 in order to assume the Presidency of *New Directions*. Prior to his Federal service, Dr. Peterson was chairman of the Executive Committee of the National Commission on Critical Choices for Americans, and from 1969-1973 served as Governor of Delaware (Republican). His administration was noted for government reorganization, environmental protection, career education and furthering human rights. Before entering public life, Peterson had been a research chemist, educator, and a senior executive with the DuPont Company.

As Chairman of the Council on Environmental Quality, Dr. Peterson was a principal United States representative to the United Nations Conferences on Population and Human Settlements.

MARGARET MEAD
Chairperson of the Council

Margaret Mead chairs the Council of *New Directions*—a body of over one-hundred leaders of public affairs, public interest organizations, business, academia, the media, and community action who assist in development of the program and policies of *New Directions*.

Dr. Mead is Curator Emeritus of the Museum of Natural History and past President of the American Association for the Advancement of Science. She is known worldwide for her work in anthropology and as a forceful advocate of the human interest. Her most recent book is *World Enough* (Little, Brown: 1976).



JACK T. CONWAY
Chairperson of the Governing Board

Jack Conway chairs the Governing Board of *New Directions*, a sixty-member body responsible for determining the policy and budget of the organization. As *New Directions* begins its program of organizing and recruitment, Jack Conway is virtually a full-time volunteer in the national headquarters.

Conway was the first President (chief operating officer) of Common Cause, and has worked extensively as a professional officer of the United Auto Workers, the American Federation of State, County & Municipal Employees (AFL-CIO), and has also served in other public interest activities and in governmental positions.



New Directions . . .

A new citizen force in America focused on problems which transcend national boundaries; a league of individual persons concerned with their own lives, the lives of their children and grandchildren, and with the well-being of their community and their country . . . and how they relate to the lives of all other people who share this planet; an organized movement of people . . .

- *Realizing that just as world problems directly affect the individual, so can the individual contribute to the alleviation of world problems;*
- *Recognizing and responding to the complex interrelationships of global problems;*
- *Understanding that the human community must live in harmony with our natural environment;*
- *Mobilizing a hundred thousand or more citizens in an organized political network; reaching through them to millions more;*
- *Led by distinguished individuals from a broad spectrum of American interests and professions;*
- *Represented in Washington by a professional staff of lobbyists and communicators;*
- *Linked to organizations of similar interest in other countries around the globe;*
- *Drawing upon the research and educational work of institutions which are unable, by their tax-exemptions, to lobby the Congress or the Executive departments;*
- *Operating on a multi-million dollar program budget funded by the contributions of its individual members . . .*

. . . Seeking global solutions to the problems of hunger, poverty, illiteracy, unemployment, ill-health, discrimination, population growth, endangered species, scarcity of energy, waste of resources, environmental deterioration, war and the arms race, nuclear proliferation, injustice, and economic instability.

New Directions

2021 L Street, NW • Washington, DC 20036 • (202) 452-1050



HUNGER WASTE

POVERTY INJUSTICE

ENVIRONMENTAL DETERIORATION

POPULATION GROWTH

WAR & VIOLENCE



A time for

New Directions

An Open Moment

Our world today is at an open moment . . . an opportunity for choice in determining our future. The interlocked crises of interdependence—shortages of food and skyrocketing population; nuclear energy and nuclear terror; inflation and unemployment; unprecedented prosperity amidst intolerable poverty; growing energy needs and the despoilment of our environment—require a new perspective which sees the world in its entirety, that recognizes “domestic” issues as partly international and “international” issues as relevant to our own security and welfare.

To most Americans, the real meaning of “world interdependence” is that “what happens in a Saudi Arabian palace or a Siberian wheat field affects me at the gas station or the grocery store.” World events and the way in which our government reacts to them produce domestic crises, affect the degree to which our limited resources may be applied to the opportunities of peace rather than the preparations of war, and, equally important, affect our sense of justice and our pride in our nation. Given these factors, it is not only morally right, but also in our self-interest, to do what we can as citizens to affect our nation’s approach to global problems.

In the United States more than any other country, private citizens can start the momentum for change. A citizenry with a sense of a different future can make our government take its full share of leadership in this new try at a workable world order. Whether it works or not may depend—more than any other single factor—on the quality and perseverance of American action in these next few years.

National policies are all too often determined by government officials isolated from their public but all too accessible to private special interests. While vested interests expend fortunes in representing themselves among legislators and executives, the voice of the people is too often silent; when voiced, the public interest is too easily ignored. Together, we must create a new dynamic in our country’s and the world’s processes and structures.

We believe we can help to make the political and economic power structure work through citizen action, through the mobilization of public will and participation to give leaders the courage to act in behalf of new policies and new measures in both governmental and non-governmental institutions.

Surely, no one nation alone can change the world. Recognizing that world problems call for world action, we will work with citizen groups of like interest in other countries, and we will encourage their emergence where they do not already exist. We will work with such groups and individual citizens to alleviate those problems which plague all humanity: war and violence, poverty, hunger, environmental deterioration, population growth, waste, and injustice.

To these ends, we seek in our own country a citizen force for public mobilization and organized political action.



A Convergence of Interests and Leadership

There are today many public interest organizations and institutions concerned with these issues. These organizations have taken important initiatives in identifying, analyzing, and recommending policy changes to help relieve global problems. Their activities in research and public information are creating a new climate of understanding and concern throughout the American public, and provide an essential public-awareness base for organized political action.

The missing element has been a force unlimited in scope and unfettered by tax prohibitions. *Creation of such a force required creation of a new organization; we call our effort New Directions.*

Until now, no organization has set out to mobilize existing resources to take hard political action on the critical measures which must be implemented to relieve the problems which now disrupt all economies, undermine political stability, suppress human freedoms, and directly threaten human survival throughout the world. And though there are existing organizations taking much needed political action on single issue concerns, no organization has addressed the problems as a whole, relating each individual issue within a comprehensive approach to interrelated problems.

The need for this new endeavor is clearly recognized by the many leaders of educational and research organizations who joined together to create *New Directions*. Rather than fearing competition or confusion, they welcome the coordination and enhanced strength which *New Directions* can offer. The potential usefulness of *New Directions* has been appreciated and anxiously anticipated by many Members of Congress who have—with too little public support—carried the burden of advocating responsible U.S. foreign policies. They realize that many of the battles which were lost in the past could have been won if the public support which they know exists had been mobilized.

With this convergence of private, public interest, and public service leadership, *New Directions* is in a position to create a new dynamic in the international affairs political arena . . . assuring public officials that they will have the mobilized support of an organized constituency in seeking measures to relieve human suffering and resolve global crises.

A Citizen Force

One-hundred thousand activists involved in *New Directions* can mobilize a constituency numbering in the millions to demonstrate to decision-makers the strength of American concern for our country's role in world affairs. We intend to build—and use—that constituency.

***New Directions* will lobby in Washington—in Congress, at the White House, among the departments and regulatory agencies, and within international bodies. It will carry its message in the media and to related organizations. It will attempt to influence the non-governmental shapers of national policy . . . corporations, banks, universities, and trade associations. It will organize people in local communities to respond to local manifestations of global problems. And, when necessary, it will take its case to court.**

New Directions' Action Program—the specific goals which it will pursue—will be determined by its Governing Board after consultation with both the membership of *New Directions* and the research and other action organizations in the various fields of interest. A primary consideration in selecting issues will be a determination of which issues are most critical in terms of the immediacy and magnitude of the problem, the degree to which the issue is inter-related with and has a significant impact on other issues, and the potential for pragmatic political accomplishment.

New Directions' political campaigns will be supported by a staff of professional lobbyists and communications specialists, who in turn will be supported by coordinators responsible for developing and activating an “action network” of local contacts in Congressional districts or metropolitan areas.

Within communities, *New Directions* will encourage activist members to organize their friends and neighbors to act on local aspects of global issues . . . including bringing pressure to bear upon local commercial interests whose activities adversely affect the objectives of *New Directions*.

Undoubtedly one of *New Directions'* strongest assets is its broad and respected leadership. *New Directions* will mobilize its leaders both to appear on/in the regular news media and to prompt the extra-news media coverage (documentaries, public affairs specials, entertainment series) to help build public understanding of the issues and potential solutions.

The initial Governing Board of *New Directions* was selected from among the hundreds of American leaders and citizen activists who joined together to create the new organization; in the future, the full membership of *New Directions* will vote annually to elect the members of the Governing Board.

To launch *New Directions*, the people who helped create the organization have joined together to raise an initial capital fund to finance early operations and a comprehensive program of membership recruitment. But the long-term financing of *New Directions* must come from all its members . . . each contributing at least their basic dues of \$25 (\$10 for students).

Officers

Chairperson of the Council
*Margaret Mead

Vice-Chairpersons of the Council

Ruth C. Clusen
President, League of Women Voters

*Norman Cousins

Editor, *Saturday Review*

John W. Gardner

Chairman, Common Cause

*Rev. Theodore M. Hesburgh

President, University of Notre Dame

*William M. Roth

Roth Properties, San Francisco

Governing Board

Richard Barnet

Institute for Policy Studies

Msgr. Geno Baroni

Center for Urban Ethnic Affairs

†Hon. Edward G. Biester

House of Representatives (R-Pa)

Theodore Bikel

Georgetown, Connecticut

*Goler Butcher

White, Fine & Verville

Robert Cahn

The Conservation Foundation

Lisle Carter

Atlanta University Center

Harlan Cleveland

Aspen Institute for Humanistic Studies

William Sloane Coffin

New Haven, Connecticut

David Cohen

Common Cause

Sr. Carol Coston

Network

C. Douglas Dillon

Dillon, Read & Company

Erik Eckholm

Worldwatch Institute

Luther H. Evans

World Federalists Association

Orville Freeman

Business International

Richard Gardner

Columbia University School of Law

William S. Gaud

Population Crisis Committee

Phillip Gibbs

Washington, D.C.

Robert W. Gilmore

Global Perspectives in Education, Inc.

*Sanford Gottlieb

SANE

*James P. Grant

Overseas Development Council

Hazel Henderson

Princeton Center for Alternative

Futures, Inc.

Jerome Holland

Former Ambassador to Sweden

Harry Hollins

Institute for World Order

Nancy Ignatius

Concern, Inc.

John M. Knowles, MD

The Rockefeller Foundation

W. Anthony Lake

Office of the President-elect of the United States

President

*Russell W. Peterson

Chairperson of the Board

*Jack T. Conway

Secretary

*Harry C. McPherson

Verner, Lipfert, Bernhard, McPherson

& Alexander Washington

Treasurer

*John C. Bullitt

Shearman & Sterling New York

Legal Counsel

*Paul C. Warnke

Barry J. Israel

Clifford, Warnke, Glass, McIlwain & Finney

Washington

James F. Leonard

United Nations Association of the USA

Amory Lovins

Friends of the Earth

C. Payne Lucas

Africare

Alice Tepper Marlin

Council on Economic Priorities

Versea Metcalf

San Francisco, California

Elizabeth McCormack

The Rockefeller Brothers Fund

Larry Minear

Lutheran World Relief

†Hon. Patsy Mink

House of Representatives (D-Ha)

Graciela Olivarez

Office of the Governor of New Mexico

Phyllis Piotrow

Population Crisis Committee

Patricia Rambach

The Sierra Club

†Hon. Thomas Rees

House of Representatives (D-Ca)

William Reilly

The Conservation Foundation

Robert V. Roosa

Brown Brothers, Harriman

& Company

John W. Sewell

Overseas Development Council

Arthur Simon

Bread for the World

C. Maxwell Stanley

Stanley Consultants

Jeremy J. Stone

Federation of American Scientists

Rabbi Marc Tanenbaum

American Jewish Committee

*Irene Tinker

American Assn. for Advancement of Science

Joseph D. Tydings

Danzansky, Dickey, Tydings,

Quint & Gordon

Glenn Watts

Communications Workers of America (AFL-CIO)

*H. Donald Wilson

Wall, Wilson & Graff

Lester Wunderman

Wunderman, Ricotta & Kline

Adam Yarmolinsky

University of Massachusetts

Charles W. Yost

Aspen Institute for Humanistic Studies

*Member: Executive Committee

†Effective January 1977

PLEASE TEAR HERE

New Directions

2021 L Street, NW • Washington, DC 20036 • (202) 452-1050

Membership Form

☐ I wish to lend my personal support to the work of *New Directions*. Enclosed are my annual dues of \$25. (\$10 for students.)

☐ To help even more, my contribution includes—in addition to my dues—an additional contribution for *New Directions'* activities of:

\$100 ☐ \$50 ☐ \$25 ☐ \$10 ☐

Other _____

Please make checks payable to *New Directions*.

In International Affairs, One Thing Leads to Another



Suarès

Jean-Claude Suarès

By Harlan Cleveland

PRINCETON, N.J.—The 27 nations that recently met in Paris for a

of South Korea's agents remind us. What is new is that we are making a principle out of a practice.

Some "domestic" decisions have long been a game in which foreigners are expected to play.

cal, but not yet so widely acceptable: If what is done inside one nation damages people in other nations, the internal action is a proper subject for international attention.

tional arms, which seem to be equally addictive, is more debatable still.

A third case is even less clear: Is what a nation does with its "own" resources properly subject to international review? A nation that depletes

declaration. What is still lacking is official machinery to monitor how nations treat their own people and to relate their behavior to international sanctions. But there is certainly a solid basis for the "thinking out loud"



Partially Scanned Material

The remainder of this page/item has not been digitized due to copyright considerations. The original can be viewed at the Minnesota Historical Society's Gale Family Library in Saint Paul, Minnesota. For more information, visit www.mnhs.org/library/.



United States
of America

Congressional Record

PROCEEDINGS AND DEBATES OF THE 95th CONGRESS, FIRST SESSION

Vol. 123

WASHINGTON, WEDNESDAY, JULY 27, 1977

No. 128

Senate

PUBLIC OPINION ON THE U.N.

Mr. ANDERSON. Mr. President, today I had the opportunity to meet with a representative of the Minnesota League of Women Voters, Judy Rosenblatt. As a part of the educational service which the league performs, a nationwide survey has been conducted to evaluate the public's opinion of the role of the United Nations. The league's investigation revealed that Americans understand the limitations of this international organization and are hopeful about the U.N.'s role in keeping peace and solving world problems.

In addition to gathering facts, the league organized discussion groups for those who were interviewed to facilitate a more careful understanding of their views and serve as an educational opportunity for all participants. The league should be commended for performing this service. While their analysis does not evaluate the actual contribution the U.N. is making, it is important to understand how the public views the U.N.'s role.

In order for others to evaluate their results, I ask unanimous consent that the full text of the League of Women Voters survey be printed in the RECORD. There being no objection, the survey was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

PUBLIC OPINION ON THE UNITED NATIONS: WHAT POLLSTERS FORGET TO ASK

The League of Women Voters Education Fund (LWVEF) has completed an in-depth nationwide survey that indicates the continuing slide in public esteem for the United Nations has come to a halt in the past year, while negative evaluations of the organization have fallen off. Survey results also found no evidence for the speculation of some observers that decline in UN support stemmed from Americans' resentment of a pro-Arab atmosphere at the UN, frustration with Third World domination of the General Assembly, or growing isolationism here at home. None of these factors proved to be significant in Americans' assessments of the United Nations.

The survey found few people willing to advocate pulling out of the United Nations, although many were ready to criticize its performance. By and large, Americans are hopeful about the United Nations' role in keeping peace and solving world problems, but they recognize that there are limits to what the UN can do.

The LWVEF's project brought into play an array of techniques that made it one of the most comprehensive studies of citizen opinion on the United Nations ever undertaken. Specially trained members of the League of Women Voters of the United States conducted 1,769 telephone interviews in 71 communities across the country with a scientifically selected random sample of the public. The interviewers not only asked standard UN questions used by major pollsters, but also went on to ask why. League leaders then conducted "focus group" discussions—which delved into attitudes behind the answers—first with 210 of the telephone interviewees, then with 351 community leaders in the same areas. Finally, the League Education Fund sponsored a public opinion poll by the Roper Organization to check current trends in opinion against earlier poll results.

The incentive for the project was a desire to shed light on the apparent conflicts in citizens' attitudes toward the United Nations in past public opinion polls. A 1976 poll, for example, found almost three-fourths of those questioned favored UN membership; yet that same year, another poll showed that no more than half of the respondents gave a positive evaluation of UN performance in any specific area. What lay behind these responses? What do people really mean when they give a certain answer and why do people feel the way they do? The League's survey was designed to get behind the cryptic answers to yes-no,

broadly phrased questions of the polls.

TABLE I—Trends in opinion toward the U.N.

[In percent]

1. In general, do you feel the U.N. is doing a good job or a poor job in trying to solve the problems it has to face?

Gallup:

1967:

Good job.....	49
Poor job.....	35
Don't know.....	16
Total.....	100

1970:

Good job.....	44
Poor job.....	40
Don't know.....	16
Total.....	100

1971:

Good job.....	35
Poor job.....	43
Don't know.....	22
Total.....	100

1975 (J):

Good job.....	41
Poor job.....	38
Don't know.....	21
Total.....	100

1975 (D):

Good job.....	33
Poor job.....	51
Don't know.....	16
Total.....	100

League sponsored Roper poll, 1977:

Good job.....	32
Poor job.....	39
Don't know.....	29
Total.....	100

2. The United States should cooperate fully with the United Nations.

Potomac Associates:

1964:

Agree.....	72
Disagree.....	18
Don't know.....	12
Total.....	100

1968:

Agree.....	72
Disagree.....	21
Don't know.....	7
Total.....	100

1972:

Agree.....	63
Disagree.....	28
Don't know.....	9
Total.....	100

1974:

Agree.....	66
Disagree.....	20
Don't know.....	14
Total.....	100

1975:

Agree.....	56
Disagree.....	30
Don't know.....	14
Total.....	100

1976:

Agree.....	46
Disagree.....	41
Don't know.....	13
Total.....	100

League sponsored Roper poll, 1977:

Agree.....	47
Disagree.....	30
Don't know.....	23
Total.....	100

3. Do you think our Government should continue to belong to the United Nations or should we pull out of it now?

National Opinion Research Corp.:

1973:

Continue.....	79
Pull out.....	15

Don't know.....	6
Total.....	100

1975:

Continue.....	75
Pull out.....	18
Don't know.....	7
Total.....	100

1976:

Continue.....	73
Pull out.....	19
Don't know.....	8
Total.....	100

League sponsored Roper poll, 1977:

Continue.....	70
Pull out.....	13
Don't know.....	17
Total.....	100

4. How effective has the U.N. been in keeping world peace?

Roper, 1976:

Highly.....	12
Moderately.....	37
Somewhat.....	27
Not at all.....	17
Don't know.....	7
Total.....	100

League sponsored Roper poll, 1977:

Very.....	11
Somewhat.....	56
Not very.....	24
Don't know.....	9
Total.....	100

5. Do you happen to know the names of any U.N. institutions or agencies?

Gallup, 1975:

Yes (UNICEF 20 percent, UNESCO, 9 percent).....	29
No.....	71
Total.....	100

League telephone survey, 1977:

Yes (UNICEF 19 percent, UNESCO 9 percent, WHO 4 percent, other 4 percent).....	36
No.....	64
Total.....	100

6. If the United Nations had not been in existence, do you think there would likely have been another world war?

Gallup, 1965:

Yes.....	59
No.....	26
Don't know.....	15
Total.....	100

League telephone survey, 1977:

Yes.....	41
No.....	29
Don't know.....	30
Total.....	100

The most unexpected finding was that the trend toward increasing criticism of the United Nations, which had paralleled a general decline in public confidence in the UN, was a sharp drop in criticism of the organization. The League commissioned Roper poll found that positive evaluations of the UN have stayed at approximately the same level over the past year or so. But the survey identified significantly fewer negative attitudes in 1977 on three basic questions. For example, the percentage of those who say the UN is doing "a poor job in solving the problems it has to face" has fallen from 51% in late 1975 to 39% today. At the same time, Roper's "don't know" answers are much higher than those found in recent years. Many people who held negative views toward the United Nations have become more reluctant to criticize. This shift makes the reasoning behind these answers even more intriguing.

Although the League interviewers received somewhat more positive responses to the standard questions than Roper did, the League's open-ended telephone questions, coupled with information from focus group

discussions, were able to probe beneath the raw totals to identify underlying attitudes.* The reasons people gave the League interviewers for their positive and negative answers should be broadly representative of American public opinion as a whole.

When pressed, people proved to be quite consistent in their responses, whatever the surface ambiguities might be. What seems to be happening is that people's expectations have become more realistic. Fewer Americans expect the United Nations to solve all the world's complex problems. People are ready to back the United Nations on the more modest grounds that it serves as a necessary forum for communication among nations. This explains why only 33% say the UN is doing a good job, yet only 13% want to pull out. The down to earth assessments, interestingly enough, come both from those who give the United Nations a "poor job" rating and those who give it a favorable evaluation.

People who criticize the job the UN is doing simply recognize that the organization has not solved the world's problems. Twenty-five percent of those giving a "poor job" rating note this failure. Half that many comment that the UN has no effective enforcement methods, or that it is "all talk and no action." Another 8 percent mention that nationalism and nations pursuing their selfish interests keep the UN from acting effectively. (See Table II).

Even those giving favorable evaluations of the job the UN is doing recognize that it faces tough obstacles and cite mitigating circumstances. Close to a third of their answers note that the UN "is doing the best it can," "it's better than nothing," or "it's our best hope." Even fewer think the UN is generally helping to keep peace. But only 9 percent actually state that the UN has been effectively solving problems.

However, these less than enthusiastic job performance ratings do not translate into opposition to U.S. participation in the UN. The 70 percent majority who clearly favor U.S. membership in the UN give a broad range of reasons, citing particularly that membership is in the United States' self-interest, that the U.S. has an obligation to support the UN, that world cooperation is important, and again that the UN is our best hope for working on problems and contributing to peace. On the other hand, the 13 percent who want to get out of the UN feel that it costs too much, that it is not accomplishing anything, that it is ruled by factions and blocs, or that U.S. interests are not adequately represented in the United Nations.

The in-depth discussions were especially useful in searching out why people feel the UN is "better than nothing" and that U.S. membership is valuable in spite of ineffectiveness in many areas. The importance of the UN as a forum to facilitate communication came up more than twice as often as anything else as an argument for retaining U.S. membership in the United Nations. When asked to think of specific examples of UN effectiveness, the focus group participants stressed the UN's successes in such humanitarian activities as alleviating world poverty, helping underprivileged children, and providing health services.

Perhaps even more interesting than what the survey found about the reasons behind opinions was what it did not find. As noted earlier, very few participants in either the telephone survey or the discussion groups emphasized Third World domination of the General Assembly or a pro-Arab bias as reasons for negative opinions on the UN. Less than 1% of the phone interviewees specifically mentioned Third World domination in connection with any question. Even among the focus group participants whose knowledge of world affairs and UN activities was greater, only about a quarter agreed with the statement that the "UN is pro-Arab and anti-Israel."

The League survey also highlighted several areas of public ignorance about the United Nations. Barely a third of those interviewed could identify a single UN agency, and most vastly overestimated the size of the U.S. financial contribution to the UN. Sixty-one percent mistakenly believe the U.S. pays at least half of the total UN budget, instead of the actual share of only a quarter. Just over half of those interviewed felt the U.S. pays "too much" but of these, 80% overestimated our share. The focus group discussions made it clear that Americans are willing to give a substantial contribution to the UN if they

*The generally more favorable response the League received could be attributed to several factors: the differences between telephone and in-house surveys; the fact that the interviewer explained at the start that the subject of the survey was the UN (some of those who really dislike the UN may have refused to take part at all); and the fact that the communities used for the survey had to be at least partially selected on the basis of where League volunteers could be found to do the work, rather than to represent a perfect statistical sample. However, no significant differences in attitudes between the Roper and League studies can be attributed solely to a bias in the League sample on the basis of such factors as sex, age, education, or income.

feel others are paying their fair share and if the money is not being squandered.

The study was funded by a grant from the Charles F. Kettering Foundation, with financial assistance from the Exxon Corporation, The George Gund Foundation, The United Nations Association, and The Institute for World Order. The Communications Research Center of Cleveland State University provided technical guidance in the research design and data analysis.

TABLE II.—Results of telephone interview with the general public
[In percent]

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

Good job	43
Poor job	33
Don't know	24

Major reasons for saying the UN is doing a good job:

The UN is doing the best it can/it's better than nothing	130
The UN is helping to keep peace	10
The UN is solving problems/working on problems	9
The UN is a forum/improving communication	6

Major reasons for saying UN is doing a poor job:

The UN hasn't solved problems/is ineffective	25
The UN has no enforcement/"all talk, no action"	11
Nationalism/selfish interests hamper UN is not keeping peace	6
UN effectiveness	8
Membership in the UN is not in US interest/US should stay out of others' problems	4

2. Do you agree or disagree with the following: The United States should cooperate fully with the United Nations?

Agree	54
Disagree	31
Don't know	15

Major reasons for saying the U.S. should cooperate fully with UN:

World cooperation is good	23
U.S. has responsibility to belong to UN/UN needs the U.S.	16
UN is solving problems	8
UN is helping to keep peace	6
It's in the interests of the US to cooperate with the UN	6
UN is our best hope/the idea is good	6

Major reasons for saying the United States should not cooperate fully with U.N.:

Objection to the word "fully"/cooperation depends on issues	27
U.S. interests not represented/U.N. goes against U.S. policy	25
Communists control the U.N.	4
The United States should act independently	4

3. Do you think our government should continue to belong to the U.N. or pull out now?

Continue	82
Pull out	7
Don't know	11

Major reasons for saying U.S. should continue to belong to the U.N.:

U.N. membership is in the U.S. interest/good for the United States	13
The United States has responsibility to belong to U.N./U.N. needs U.S.	13
U.N. is our best hope/concept is good/doing best it can	13
World cooperation is good/U.S. should work with others	12
U.N. is solving problems/only organization that can work on world problems	10
U.N. is a forum for communication	8
U.N. is helping keep peace	5

Major reasons for saying U.S. should pull out of U.N.:

U.N. is ineffective/not solving problems	16
U.N. costs too much/too much waste	14
U.S. interests are not represented/U.S. hasn't gotten anything from U.N.	12
Nations at U.N. pursue own interests/blocs of nations control U.N.	11
U.S. should stay out of others' problems/should protect U.S. first	11

4. Below is a list of things the U.N. does. Do you think this is an important thing for the U.N. to do? How good a job you think the U.N. does in this area?

[In percent]

a. Working to help underprivileged children around the world.

Importance:	
Very	74
Somewhat	18
Not very	6
Don't know	2
Effectiveness:	
Very	15
Somewhat	42
Not very	17

¹Percentage of those giving "good job" rating.

Don't know	26
b. Keep world peace.	
Importance:	
Very	91
Somewhat	5
Not very	2
Don't know	2
Effectiveness:	
Very	17
Somewhat	48
Not very	29
Don't know	6

c. Helping to increase world food production.

Importance:	
Very	80
Somewhat	12
Not very	5
Don't know	3
Effectiveness:	
Very	11
Somewhat	34
Not very	29
Don't know	26

d. Helping our population problem by teaching family planning.

Importance:	
Very	69
Somewhat	16
Not very	12
Don't know	3
Effectiveness:	
Very	10
Somewhat	32
Not very	33
Don't know	25

5. Most people we have talked to do not know the names of any UN agencies or institutions. Do you happen to know any?

Yes	36
UNESCO	9
Who	4
UNICEF	19
Other	4
No	64

6. If the UN had not been in existence, do you think there would have been another world war?

Yes	40
No	30
Don't know	30

7. Would you estimate the percentage of the entire UN budget which the U.S. pays to be:

10 percent	6
25 percent ¹	23
50 percent	34
75 percent	24
100 percent	3
Don't know	10

Do you think this is too much, about right or not enough for the U.S. to pay?

Too much	52
About right	34
Not enough	4
Don't know	10

8. Does the UN have its own army?

Yes	27
No	48
Don't know	25

9. Do you think the U.S. should or should not contribute money to the UN to help people in poor countries?

Yes	71
No	20
Don't know	9

¹Correct answer.



UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA

Continuing Education and Extension

World Affairs Center
306 Wesbrook Hall
77 Pleasant Street S.E.
Minneapolis, Minnesota 55455
(612) 373-3799

August 25, 1977

Helen Borg, President
League of Women Voters of Minnesota
P.O. Box 5
Mound, Minnesota 55364

Dear Ms. Borg:

This year the World Affairs Center begins its 27th year of activity. We started in 1950 with four member organizations and now have 45. Your organization is a member of the Center, and is represented on its Advisory Board of which I am chairman. We meet four times a year or more to share our program plans and projects with one another, and to advise the Center on its activities.

I hope in the coming year your representative will attend all of the meetings of the Center's Advisory Board, which are now scheduled for the following dates:

Tuesday, October 18, 1977
Tuesday, January 17, 1978
Thursday, March 16, 1978
Tuesday, May 18, 1978

Because the representatives of our member organizations change from year to year, I am writing you about the value of the Center and the importance of the work it performs for its member organizations and the general public. Over the years the Center has become the hub of world affairs community education activities in the state of Minnesota. It is a clearinghouse through which members and others register their program dates and topic contents to avoid unnecessary duplication and unreasonable competition among themselves. It is also an extremely valuable subject matter resource and back-stopping agency for its members.

Over the last quarter century the Center's staff has developed a knowledge and expertise about "who knows what" about most of the subjects concerning almost anyone interested in world affairs. The Center receives information and materials from most of the principal organizations in the United States doing world affairs education work, as well as from our own and foreign governments and international organizations. It is the best place to find out who is doing what in the state of Minnesota in world affairs education. It has an excellent file of current pamphlets and other materials on current

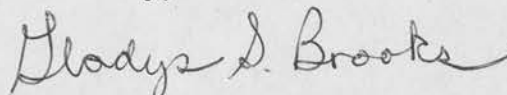
world affairs topics. It is the principal avenue through which citizens can use the resources of the University of Minnesota in world affairs education, and it works with other departments of Continuing Education and Extension in providing educational services to the public. These clearing-house and back-stopping services are available to all our member organizations, and are heavily used by them.

The Center also carries on some of its own programs when it and our Board see gaps in the total community education offerings in world affairs. Recently, for example, it held a workshop on arms control in cooperation with Spring Hill Center.

We welcome your advice and counsel, and I'm sure there are services provided by the Center which your organization has not fully utilized.

If you have not already informed our office about the names of your representative, alternate, and reporter to the Board for 1977-78, please use the attached form for that purpose. If you are no longer head of your organization, please send this letter to your successor!

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in cursive script that reads "Gladys S. Brooks".

Gladys S. Brooks
Chairman

GSB:mje

enc.

WORLD AFFAIRS CENTER
306 Wesbrook Hall
77 Pleasant Street S.E.
University of Minnesota
Minneapolis, Minnesota 55455

Please complete this questionnaire for our Advisory Board Directory and return it to the World Affairs Center at the above address. If you are no longer the president of your organization, we ask you to forward the questionnaire to the appropriate person. Thank you.

The Representative to the Board attends each of the four quarterly meetings as scheduled in the attached letter. The Alternate is appointed to take the place of the Representative at Board meetings whenever necessary. The Reporter is responsible for sending program information to the World Affairs Center monthly, September to May, in response to the Activities Report questionnaire. The President is always welcome at our meetings.

President _____
name street address city zip
home phone office phone

Representative _____
name street address city zip
home phone office phone

Alternate _____
name street address city zip
home phone office phone

Reporter _____
name street address city zip
home phone office phone

name _____
organization _____

This information is correct until the time of our annual (biennial) meeting
(convention) which will be held in _____.

SEP 21 1977

WORLD AFFAIRS COUNCIL
OF GREATER MINNEAPOLIS

September 20, 1977

Helene Borg, President
League of Women Voters of Mn.
555 Wabasha
St. Paul, Mn. 55107

Dear Helene Borg:

The World Affairs Council of Greater Minneapolis wish to welcome your organization in joining with us in a forum to present ideas and measures which will promote active cooperation of our country with other nations to eliminate war and to establish and maintain peace with justice.

You and your delegates, Pat Llona, Elizabeth Ebbott, Judy Rosenblatt, and Mary Swanson will receive monthly meeting notices. Our meetings are scheduled on the first Thursday of the month, October through May, at 10 a.m., Room 310, Minneapolis Public Library, 300 Nicolett Mall.

We hope to see you at our first fall meeting on October 6. Our guest speaker will be Professor Terence Hopmann, Director, Quigley Center for International Studies at the U. of Mn. His talk will be, "Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons."

We also have a study group which meets on the third Thursday of each month in member's home. The choice of our study topic for 1977-78 is -- IN SEARCH OF A NEW WORLD ORDER.

Annual organization membership of \$6.00 will be due in October. Payment may be made directly to Mrs. Vernon Carver, Treasurer, 4247 Grimes Ave. So., Edina, Mn. 55416. Thank you.

Sincerely,



Martha Oye (Mrs. Tom)
Vice President - Membership

LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS OF MINNESOTA

555 WABASHA • ST. PAUL, MINNESOTA 55102

PHONE: (612) 224-5445



MEMO

TO: Judy Rosenblatt
Helene Borg

FROM: Pat Llona

SUBJECT: Panama Canal Article, Voter

DATE: Sept. 19, 1977

My original plan was a question-answer format, but there is so much information on the new treaty that I thought questions would just take up space, so I tried to get all the answers for questions that might be asked.

There is so much background on this subject...like the 14 military bases the U.S. keeps there which weren't part of the original treaty...and like the School of the Americas etc.....let alone all that one might want to know on the political and geographical information....as well as statistics on foreign trade traffic, many of these things connected to League concerns, that we could follow up with readers' questions, and answers to them in the next Voter. I don't think there will be any action on this treaty until a climate for passage has been created, so we would have plenty of time.

Somewhere along the way the LWVUS might get into the act because a Buy American provision which I don't have the details of is somewhere in this treaty. I don't think the final wording has come out. Also, back in 1973 on that Security Council thing, the U.S. vetoed the resolution as being untimely...Now, the League may weigh the good against the bad of the treaty and side with the U.N. if it gets brought up again there.

You two have the only copy. I'm sick of the subject. Either use it, cut it, or scrap it. No importa.
Pat

The Panama Canal Treaty-1977

What did the Hay-Bunau-Varilla Treaty (Panama Canal Treaty) of 74 years ago give the United States?

A strip of land 10 miles wide and 50 miles long for the construction, maintenance, operation and protection of a canal between the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans. It gave the U.S. - in perpetuity - the right to act within that strip of land, "as if it were the sovereign." The treaty was signed on behalf of the newly-independent Republic of Panama (having revolted from Colombia 14 days before) by a French stockholder of the bankrupt French company which had tried and failed to construct a canal.

This treaty is about to be replaced, subject to ratification, following a series of events stressing the need which led to the initial commitment in 1964 by President Johnson to negotiate a new treaty. This is what followed:

- 1967 - 3 draft treaties caused public uproar in U.S. and Panama. None signed.
- 1968 - Colonel Omar Torrijos, commander of Panama's 4,800-man National Guard took power in a bloodless coup, and backed by other Latin American governments, he remounted pressures on the U.S. for a new canal treaty.
- 1971 - new treaty submitted to Panama and rejected.
- 1972 - formal talks resumed.
- 1973 - Debate in United Nations Security Council over Panama's sovereignty over the Canal Zone.
- 1973 - Ellsworth Bunker appointed negotiator.
- 1974 - 8 principles (guidelines) initialed by Kissinger and Panama Foreign Minister Tack.
- 1977 - Sol Linowitz appointed co-negotiator with Bunker. Agreement in principle reached.

There are two treaties: a Panama Canal Treaty and a Neutrality Treaty

The Panama Canal Treaty:

- Would place the Panama Canal under a new U.S. government agency. There would be a board of 9 members, U.S. Majority. For the first 10 years - Administrator - American, Deputy Administrator - Panamanian. Thereafter the reverse.
- Treaty term is until year 2,000 when our military presence will cease.
- Any military forces there will come under a "status of forces" agreement similar to military force agreements elsewhere.
- The United States will have the primary responsibility for defense of the canal till this treaty ceases. Panama will participate and gradually take over. The U.S. will have the right to use all land and water areas and installations necessary for defense of the canal during the basic treaty period.

The Neutrality Treaty is permanent. It provides:

- That the U.S. and Panama will maintain permanent neutrality of the canal including non-discriminatory access and tolls for merchant and naval vessels of all nations.
- Neutrality = open, accessible, secure, and efficient canal.
- Nothing limits U.S. freedom of action to do what is necessary to maintain the canal's neutrality.
- There is commitment by both sides to study jointly the feasibility of enlarging the canal.

Note U.S. civilians in the Canal Zone can continue to hold U.S. Government jobs till their retirement. During 1st 5 years of the treaty the number of citizen employees of the Canal Company will be reduced by 20 %. U.S. citizens will continue to enjoy

rights and protections similar to those of U.S. government employees elsewhere abroad. They will have access to military postal, PX, and commissary facilities for the first 5 years of the treaty. New U.S. citizen employees will generally be rotated every 5 years.

Terms and conditions of employment will be no less favorable to persons already employed than those in force immediately prior to the start of the treaty. There will be preferences for Panamanian applicants, but no employee will lose his job on the basis of nationality, sex, or race, and there will be no discrimination with regard to basic wages.

Panama will assume general territorial jurisdiction over the present Canal Zone at the start of the treaty. U.S. criminal jurisdiction over its nationals will be phased down during the first three years of the treaty. Thereafter, Panama will exercise primary criminal jurisdiction with the understanding that it may waive jurisdiction to the U.S. Any U.S. citizen employees and their dependents charged with crimes will be assured procedural guarantees and, if convicted, will be permitted to serve any sentences in the U.S. in accordance with reciprocal arrangement.

The Canal Agency of 5 Americans and 4 Panamanians will give the U.S. the necessary powers to regulate canal operations, including the setting of tolls. Some treaty provisions governing the personnel of the canal enterprise are with following objectives in mind:

- fair treatment to employees, both U.S. and Panamanian who presently work for the canal.
- insurance that the canal will have a trained and fully qualified work force
- opening increasing opportunities to Panamanians for employment at all levels in preparation for treaty end in year 2000 when Panama assumes responsibility for canal operation.

Payments to Panama: two components:

- financed entirely from canal revenues.
 1. \$30/Panama Canal ton. (estimated yield \$40 to \$50 million/year.)
 2. an annuity of \$10 million
 3. up to an additional \$10 million per year if canal traffic and revenues permit.
- an economic development program outside of the treaty.
 1. up to \$200 million in Export-Import Bank credits.
 2. up to \$75 million in AID housing guarantees
 3. a \$20 million Overseas Private Investment Corporation loan guarantee to the Panamanian national development corporation.

Note: In addition the U.S. will undertake to provide to Panama up to \$50 million in foreign military sales credits over 10 years to assist it in developing the capability needed to exercise its responsibilities for canal defense under the new agreement.



**LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS
OF MINNESOTA**

PHONE (612) 224-5445

555 WABASHA • ST PAUL, MINNESOTA 55102

**RECENT HAPPENINGS IN INTERNATIONAL
RELATIONS**

TO: Local Leagues (International Relations Chair)
FROM: Pat Llona, LWVMN International Relations Chair
DATE: September 19, 1977

The U.N. General Assembly plans to take up the question of independence for Puerto Rico. The Governor General, Carlos Rivero Barcelo, as interviewed on the McNeil-Lehrer Report on August 14, 1977, believes this is interference in the internal affairs of his country. He said agitation has been stirred up by two factions: the PRI - with no ties to Communists got 6% of the vote; and the PPS with ties to Castro got 1% of the vote. Carlos Rivero Barcelo ran on a statehood ticket and on economic and social issues. He wants to put Puerto Rico on the track of economic development. He said Puerto Rico had been the poorhouse of the Caribbean Before the Commonwealth. Now it is the highest per capita income country in the Spanish-speaking world. He says now that the obstacles to growth are that the needy are not receiving federal benefits. With statehood, only 30-35% of the population would be paying taxes. The poor would receive medical benefits and social services. He would advocate now that business pays taxes. He says the following about Puerto Rico: It has 900 people per square mile, no mineral resources except copper and nickel and maybe offshore oil. He says as for oil rights, Puerto Rico would have the same rights as Texas and Florida owning the rights to 10.35 miles offshore. If there is any oil beyond that, the depth would be too great to obtain it. He says Puerto Rico as a Commonwealth does appear as a colonial vestige, but at the same time, this Commonwealth status was bridging a gap which he hopes will lead to statehood. Puerto Rico now needs federal funds for housing, roads, warehouses and public facilities, schools, and an industrialization program.

World Trade Conference, May, 1977, continued (See June, 1977, Board Memo for Part I)

Unknown to many of us are the "nuts and bolts" of world trade. A breakfast meeting on export was very revealing. Here are a few facts gleaned as of that day in May.

Financing export, letters of credit, and the special attention that must be paid to conditions in each country were discussed:

Argentina: Import and exchange regulations are complex. The two-tier exchange system (one official bank exchange and one on street) no longer exists. All are now free market settlements. The capital flight out of Argentina to Uruguay meant lots of import regulations had to be filed. Now individuals can exchange up to \$1000 for any key currency without explaining. In Argentina there is improvement in political stability and external trade balance. However, because of recession, stagnation, and profit squeeze, it was advised to watch each customer for any sign of trouble.

Brazil: Transactions are by letter of credit and no delays in payment, but Brazil is having problems because of oil imports which coffee and soybean exports will not alleviate.

Greece: It is advised to be careful of credit and that there was no problem with Greek bank guarantee transactions.

Lebanon: There are hopeful signs. Most banks have opened, and port activity has picked up. The Foreign Credit Insurance Agency says it's too early to re-establish old terms. It was advised that payment of the old debt probably prevented establishment of new credit.

Syria: It takes 7-8 months to receive payments. The FCIA does not cover this country.

Mexico: No more devaluation is expected. Mexico is an oil exporter but not an OPEC member. In '74 and '75 there was capital flight (out of the country). Now business/government relations are good. Campesinos still hope for land reform. Some exporters are experiencing request-for-payment extensions. The workers accepted 10% increase in salary January 1, which keeps down inflation. Oil will be primary in the next 5 years. Ten per cent of Mexican labor force works in the U.S. If there's a major change here, it will make some problems for Mexico. The FCIA has a special Mexican credit committee. It has noted an increase in claims. The I.M.F. won't fund a loan without many investigations, and it has specialists (engineers, etc.) on the scene to evaluate.

Cuba: The companies which had representatives on the recent trip to Cuba from Minnesota had no outstanding debt owed them from Cuba. There are many unresolved issues which must be taken up before resuming trade with Cuba such as: its activities in continuing to spawn revolution in places like Puerto Rico, causing unrest in Ethiopia, and the political prisoner situation (higher than anywhere else in Latin America). The 1.8 billion expropriation of properties has been offset over 16 years in taxes. The total would be 3.2 billion today. There was only 60 million in Cuban assets here at the time. The Cubans want the boycott to be lifted totally and want trade both ways. This implies Most Favored Nation status. The 1974 Trade Act calls for any country receiving MFN to provide free mobility for its nationals. There would be an exchange of Cuban nationals going back to Cuba, and Castro says NO. The President of the U.S. has power to grant privileges to Cuba. So has Congress. Humphrey and McGovern are pro-Cuba trade. They would like the sale of food and medicine. Castro says he's willing to discuss everything once the boycott is lifted. (Advice from the panel said not to count too much on trade with Cuba in that case.)

Eastern Europe: No objection to opening of it. Depends upon the trading company. In Hungary and Poland, payment is 30 days late. In Czechoslovakia, 45-60 days late. East Germany is 90 days late. Financing is by letter of credit confirmed by U.S. bank. In the Soviet Union there is a 3-month delay in payment. In Poland, Yugoslavia and Rumania, there is FCIA coverage. Lots of red tape everywhere. Some private sector help and delays in payment, but no worry about eventual payment.

Italy: No banking exchange delays. Italy was a major loser in the oil price increase. Panel optimistic about coming out from under. Reserve covered 1972-73 debt level. In '78, 3.5 billion debt due. Labor abolished some indexing. Will in the future see some slowing down in erosion of the value of the lira. There is surtax of 7% on purchase of foreign exchange which was abolished recently.

Chile: The FCIA is open for short and medium-term financing. There is import registration. FCIA is paying out old claims and negotiating debt but has a long way to go. Chile went through fierce period of inflation. Now gradually is undergoing liberalization of economy. Has tight, expensive money, and the profit margin is limited. The economy is in stagnation to regain stability. Panel advises keeping eye on customer. Orders are starting up. Chile is adopting a free market economy. Imported goods were heavily taxed earlier, but now anything can be brought in without tax. Reason: locals can't compete with world prices. There is no assistance on the part of government to help any company which can't compete. Consumer prices: 580% - 74, 153% - 77. Slow payment because of this.

Spain: There is pressure on the peseta in the exchange market. Can purchase exchange only as needed to pay bills. Risks have increased here. Most imports don't need licenses; only documents to satisfy statistical requirements.

(I give you this little glimpse of the workings of trade. I believe it is essential to

be conversant on the problems involved to maintain our credibility as proponents of free trade.) Panelists were traders in these countries plus a University Professor.

Book Report

The state office receives much good I.R. material. A recent book: Robert S. McNamara's address to M.I.T., April, 1977 - "An Address on the Population Problem."

A summation of some salient points:

- . Even a very poor country which improves the living conditions of its lower income groups so that the distribution of income is more equal will have a positive effect on fertility declines. In his words, "...gains in overall national economic growth are most related to fertility declines when they are associated with broad distribution of the fundamental elements of social advance." He cited the case of the State of Kerala in India, one of the poorer states. In 1974 its crude birth rate* was 28 (per 1000), lower than that of any other Indian state: "But its distribution of income is more equal, its literacy rate, particularly for women, is the highest in the country, and its infant mortality rate is the lowest.
- . Reproductive research is grossly underfunded. World-wide expenditures in 1975 were less than 130 million.
- . "In any event, the view that development in and by itself can take care of the fertility problem in the developing world is an unfortunate oversimplification as applied to most of the countries, and a dangerous error as applied to others." (p. 49)
- . If Nepal were to do nothing about its fertility directly, it would take it 170 years to reach the literacy level associated with a crude birth rate (CBR) of 30.
- . "Unless governments through appropriate policy action can accelerate the reduction in fertility, the global population may not stabilize below 11 billion. That would be a world none of us want to live in." (p. 52)

*Crude Birth Rate - the number of births per thousand population.

Multilateral Trade Negotiations - The Multilateral Trade Negotiations (MTN's)* held in Geneva as part of the Tyokyo Round of GATT (General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade) have apparently some impetus to move again. On July 11, at a joint press conference held in Brussels, the E.C. Vice President of External Relations and U.S. Trade Ambassador Robert Strauss indicated that agreement had been reached on a four-phase schedule to be completed on or before January 15, 1978.

Phase 1 deals with framework that includes a formula for tariff cuts and ways to handle the agricultural issue.**

Phase 2 deals with proposals submitted on farm trade, non-tariff barriers, and levies for non-participating countries.

Phase 3 deals with codes that bind.

Phase 4 will be haggling over industrial tariff schedules "item by item." After that, the detailed negotiations should end in the spring to cover the next ten years of trade relations.

*Begun in Tokyo, September, 1973, but held up until U.S. Trade Act passed in January, 1975.

**The Common Agricultural Policy (CAP) of the European Community which heavily subsidizes small farms - has been the most disputed issue. Apparently the U.S. has agreed not to try to change the CAP structure, and the EC has given ground on linking agricultural talks to industrial trade talks.



LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS
OF MINNESOTA

PHONE (612) 224-5445

555 WABASHA • ST PAUL, MINNESOTA 55102

THE PANAMA CANAL TREATY - 1977

TO: Local LWV International Relations Chairs

PM - P

FROM: Pat Llona, LWVMN International Relations Chair

September 19, 1977

What did the Hay-Bunau-Varilla Treaty (Panama Canal Treaty) of 74 years ago give the United States?

A strip of land 10 miles wide and 50 miles long for the construction, maintenance, operation and protection of a canal between the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans. It gave the U.S. - in perpetuity - the right to act within that strip of land, "as if it were the sovereign." The treaty was signed on behalf of the newly-independent Republic of Panama (having broken off from Colombia 14 days before) by a French stockholder of the bankrupt French company which had tried and failed to construct a canal.

This treaty is about to be replaced, subject to ratification, following a series of events stressing the need which led to the initial commitment in 1965 by President Johnson to negotiate a new treaty. This is what followed:

- 1967 - 3 draft treaties caused public uproar in U.S. and Panama. None signed.
- 1968 - Colonel Omar Torrijos, commander of Panama's 4,800-man National Guard took power in a bloodless coup, and backed by other Latin American governments, he remounted pressures on the U.S. for a new canal treaty.
- 1971 - new treaty submitted to Panama and rejected.
- 1972 - formal talks resumed.
- 1973 - debate in United Nations Security Council over Panama's sovereignty over the Canal Zone.
- 1973 - Ellsworth Bunker appointed negotiator.
- 1974 - 8 principles (guidelines) initialed by Kissinger and Panama Foreign Minister Tack.
- 1977 - Sol Linowitz appointed co-negotiator with Bunker. Agreement in principle reached.

There are two treaties: a Panama Canal Treaty and a Neutrality Treaty.

The Panama Canal Treaty:

- Would place the Panama Canal under a new U.S. government agency. There would be a board of nine members, U.S. majority. For the first 10 years - Administrator-American, Deputy Administrator-Panamanian. Thereafter, the reverse.
- Treaty term is until the year 2,000 when our military presence will cease.
- Any military forces there will come under a "status of forces" agreement similar to military force agreements elsewhere.
- The United States will have the primary responsibility for defense of the canal until this treaty ceases. Panama will participate and gradually take over. The U.S. will have the right to use all land and water areas and installations necessary for defense of the canal during the basic treaty period.

The Neutrality Treaty is permanent. It provides:

- that the U.S. and Panama will maintain permanent neutrality of the canal including non-discriminatory access and tolls for merchant and naval vessels of all nations.
- neutrality = open, accessible, secure, and efficient canal.
- that nothing limits U.S. freedom of action to do what is necessary to maintain the canal's neutrality.
- commitment by both sides to study jointly the feasibility of enlarging the canal.

Note: U.S. civilians in the Canal Zone can continue to hold U.S. government jobs till their retirement. During the first five years of the treaty the number of citizen employees of the Canal Company will be reduced by 20%. U.S. citizens will continue to enjoy rights and protections similar to those of U.S. government employees elsewhere abroad. They will have access to military postal, PX, and commissary facilities for the first five years of the treaty. New U.S. citizen employees will generally be rotated every five years.

Terms and conditions of employment will be no less favorable to persons already employed than those in force immediately prior to the start of the treaty. There will be preferences for Panamanian applicants, but no employee will lose his job on the basis of nationality, sex, or race, and there will be no discrimination with regard to basic wages.

Panama will assume general territorial jurisdiction over the present Canal Zone at the start of the treaty. U.S. criminal jurisdiction over its nationals will be phased down during the first three years of the treaty. Thereafter, Panama will exercise primary criminal jurisdiction with the understanding that it may waive jurisdiction to the U.S. Any U.S. citizen employees and their dependents charged with crimes will be assured procedural guarantees and, if convicted, will be permitted to serve any sentences in the U.S. in accordance with reciprocal arrangement.

The Canal Agency of five Americans and four Panamians will give the U.S. the necessary powers to regulate canal operations, including the setting of tolls. Some treat provision governing the personnel of the canal enterprise are with certain objectives in mind:

- fair treatment to employees, both U.S. and Panamanian who presently work for the canal.
- insurance that the canal will have a trained and fully qualified work force.
- opening increasing opportunities to Panamanians for employment at all levels in preparation for the treaty's end in the year 2000 when Panama assumes responsibility for canal operation.

Payments to Panama: two components

- financed entirely from canal revenues.
 1. \$.30/Panama Canal ton. (Estimated yield \$40 to \$50 million/year)
 2. an annuity of \$10 million.
 3. up to an additional \$10 million per year if canal traffic and revenues permit.
- an economic development program outside of the treaty.
 1. up to \$200 million in Export-Import Bank credits.
 2. up to \$75 million in AID housing guarantees.
 3. a \$20 million Overseas Private Investment Corporation loan guarantee to the Panamanian national development corporation.

Note: In addition the U.S. will undertake to provide to Panama up to \$50 million in foreign military sales credits over 10 years to assist it in developing the capability needed to exercise its responsibilities for canal defense under the new agreement.

Note: The U.S. warships will have a permanent right to transit the canal expeditiously and without conditions for an indefinite period.

Sources: -Dept. of State Statement, August 17, 1977, by Ellsworth Bunker and Sol Linowitz before House Merchant Marine and Fisheries Committee
-Dept. of State Statement, August 19, 1977, by Sol Linowitz before American Legion Convention
-The Defense Monitor, August 1976
-Bureau of Public Affairs, Dept. of State, August 1977



**LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS
OF MINNESOTA**

PHONE (612) 224-5445
555 WABASHA • ST PAUL, MINNESOTA 55102

FOREIGN EXCHANGE DEFINITIONS

PM - P

TO: Local LWV International Relations Chairs

FROM: Pat Llona, LWVMN International Relations Chair

October 14, 1977

The following glossary is used in international business transactions. Those of you attending the Women's UN Rally Workshop or "Today's Evolving International Monetary System" may find these especially useful.

Arbitrage: - The buying of foreign exchange, securities, or commodities in one market and the simultaneous selling by telegraph in another market, in terms of a third market. By this manipulation a profit is made due to the difference in the rates of exchange or in the price of the securities or commodities involved.

Balance of Payments: - The net difference of all credits and debits from one country to another.

Balance of Trade: - The net difference between imports and exports from one country to another.

Barter: - Exchange of commodities using the value of the merchandise as compensation instead of money. This scheme has been employed in recent years by countries having blocked currencies.

Devaluation: - Where, for any reason, such as external over-valuation, it is considered necessary to cheapen the exchange value of a currency in terms of others by giving it a lower exchange value, the process is known as "devaluation." The basic causes are usually over-spending by the Government and under-taxation of the community. The resulting inflationary condition produces the spiral of price and wage increases until the internal price level, combined with the current rate of exchange, puts external prices far above world level. In place of the proper corrective of regaining internal economic stability by reduced Government expenditure, increased taxation, restriction of credit, higher interest rates, etc., it is too often the case that Governments take the line of least resistance and restore their external selling power by cheapening the exchange value of the currency.

"Snake in the Tunnel": - Term applied to several currencies committed to moving along together within certain defined limits.

Floating Currency: - Currency without a certain fixed value, seeking its value in day-to-day relationships with other currencies.

Convertibility: - In relation to a currency - is the ability of any holder of a currency to exchange it at will and on demand into any other currency or into gold.

MORE

Inconvertibility: - In relation to a currency - this is, of course, the converse of convertibility and implies simply that any holder of a currency which is inconvertible has no statutory right to demand the conversion of that currency into any other currency or gold.

Inflation: - It has been aptly said that a country is suffering from inflation of the currency when there is too much money chasing too few goods.

Devaluation: - Where, for any reason, such as external over-valuation, it is considered necessary to cheapen the exchange value of a currency in terms of others by giving it a lower exchange value, the process is known as "devaluation." The basic causes are usually over-spending by the Government and under-taxation of the community. The resulting inflationary condition produces the spiral of price and wage increases until the internal price level, combined with the current rate of exchange, puts external prices far above world level. In place of the proper corrective of regaining internal economic stability by reduced Government expenditure, increased taxation, restriction of credit, higher interest rates, etc., it is too often the case that Governments take the line of least resistance and restore their external selling power by cheapening the exchange value of the currency.

GIST

—A quick reference aid on U.S. foreign relations
primarily for Government use. Not intended
as a comprehensive U.S. policy statement.



BUREAU OF PUBLIC AFFAIRS

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

US FOOD AID

October 1977

1. Background: Since World War II the US has supplied extensive food aid to many nations. Although joined by Canada, Australia, and several Western European nations, we remain by far the most important food donor. The major vehicle for US assistance is the 1954 Agricultural Trade Development and Assistance Act (Public Law 480). In the past, PL 480 served as a method of market support for the US and as a means to meet a deficit country's immediate needs for food. Its main purposes today are twofold:
 - Meet the nutritional needs of the poorest people. This aim is served by PL 480 - Title II grant aid, which supplies free food to those unable to buy it.
 - Encourage agricultural development in the less developed countries. This objective is met by PL 480 - Title I concessional sales of commodities on the local market; funds realized from these sales finance development measures.

The World Food Program (WFP) and US voluntary agencies normally administer Title II programs and oversee food distribution in the recipient nations. In FY 77, PL 480 food shipments - more than 6 million tons - will total about \$800 million in sales and over \$400 million in grants. FY 78 levels are expected to be similar, but grant aid will be increased.

2. UN World Food Conference: Convened in Rome in 1974 to focus attention on global food problems, the Conference adopted several resolutions, including a target for distributing as aid a minimum of 10 million metric tons of grain per year. We agreed to contribute our fair share of this amount. The Conference also concluded that food production in the poorer nations must be increased rapidly if hunger and malnutrition are to be eliminated. We are attempting to encourage this necessary increase in production through food and other aid.

The Conference further recommended that an international system of nationally held grain reserves be established to prevent a recurrence of the food shortages and the highly volatile price situation of the early 1970's. We support this proposal and favor negotiating a new international wheat agreement that would contain an international security reserve feature. Finally, the Conference proposed that barriers to international food trade be liberalized to stimulate production and help stabilize prices. The US is actively pushing this objective at the Multilateral Trade Negotiations in Geneva.

3. Changes in PL 480 legislation: In August 1977 Congress made several major changes in PL 480, including an increase in the minimum shipments required under Title II.

- A. Food for development: The most important change was the establishment of Title III (Food For Development), which permits signing agreements with recipient countries for a specified annual value of agricultural commodities - to be delivered over a 1-5 year period. If planners can be assured a certain level of assistance over a longer period than the present 1 year, they can better integrate that aid into their national development programs.

To qualify for Title III concessional sales assistance, a country must meet the International Development Association's poverty criterion - now \$550 per capita GNP - and demonstrate a need for food aid. The recipient must also agree to improve agricultural productivity as well as the situation of its rural poor. Funds generated from PL 480 commodity sales are to be placed in a special account to finance these projects; the amount disbursed will constitute repayment of the amount owed the US for the imports.

- B. Human rights: Another change in PL 480 prohibits Title I and III assistance to countries grossly violating human rights, unless it would directly benefit the needy people of those countries.
- C. Improved administration: In response to criticism of food aid administration, Congress required the executive branch to determine, before PL 480 assistance is supplied, that: 1) adequate storage facilities are available; 2) distribution of the commodities will not create a substantial disincentive to food production in the recipient country.
- D. Title II: This grant program is to be increased from a minimum distribution of 1.3 million to 1.6 million tons in FY 78 through FY 80, to 1.65 million in 1981, and to 1.7 million thereafter. The amount of this assistance to be distributed through voluntary agencies and the WFP is also increased.

4. Benefits: PL 480 food aid has been a vital part of America's foreign assistance effort for over 20 years. It has not only benefited other nations but has also assisted American farmers and created US jobs. With the recently adopted improvements, PL 480 should be an even better tool for helping to improve food production and distribution in developing countries. Almost all nations now realize that such an improvement, concomitant with a limitation of population growth, is the only way to solve their food and malnutrition problems.

upper midwest council

a non-profit, non-partisan corporation... promoting better understanding of regional choices for the future.

OCT 1977

NATIONAL SCIENCE BOARD SEEKS PUBLIC'S VIEWS

The Upper Midwest Council will host on October 25 a regional forum sponsored by the National Science Board (NSB) to seek the ideas and views of the public on future needs in scientific research. The Minneapolis forum, the fourth in a series of six nation-wide, will be held from 9:00 a.m. until 4:30 p.m. at the Leamington Hotel and is open free-of-charge to the general public.

The board, as the policy-making body for the more popularly known National Science Foundation, has been recently mandated by the Congress to develop a comprehensive plan for incorporating broader public participation in the ongoing development of its policies, programs, and research funding priorities. For purposes of this conference, the NSB has defined the Upper Midwest as Illinois, Iowa, Michigan, Minnesota, Nebraska, North Dakota, South Dakota, and Wisconsin.

In early August, a broad-gauged planning group representative of the eight-state region met in Minneapolis to survey the major issues in the Upper Midwest and to choose a focus for the October conference. After day-long deliberations, the 23 members selected what they believed collectively to be four major issues in the Upper Midwest that warrant the attention of and open discussion by the public in communicating new program priorities to the National Science Board. The planning group's choices include food, water, land-use, and information systems for decision-making.

In the eyes of the NSB, the primary objective of the forum is to secure the guidance of the public in helping to define the future role of science in solving several major problems facing the Upper Midwest within these four issue areas.

The board, however, is also seeking the views of the public on three policy questions that confront it in the immediate future: 1) how to increase the interest of and opportunities for women, minorities, and the handicapped in science careers; 2) how best to achieve a balance between supply and demand for workers in the scientific professions; and 3) the possible funding of alternative performers of basic research beyond the traditional college and university clientele.

Aside from introductory remarks by Council chairman, Philip Nason, and a brief keynote speech by Dr. Norman Hackerman, president of Rice University and chairman of the National Science Board, the entire day of the forum will be spent in small workshop sessions where the emphasis will be on the conference participants expressing their views and suggestions on what can or should be done to strengthen the role and contributions of science in solving the problems of the Upper Midwest.

Registrants will pick one policy issue topic from the four for the workshop sessions and also select one of the three NSB policy issues for the late afternoon discussions.

The results and recommendations of the forum will be conveyed in a major National Science Board re-

Regional Ag Trends Compared

Between 1969 and 1974, substantial changes occurred in agricultural trends in the United States. To better understand the state of Upper Midwest agriculture, the Council conducted a comparison of agricultural trends on a regional basis. Data are from the U.S. Census of Agriculture which defines four regions for purposes of analysis - North Central, Northeast, West and South (see map on page 2). The North Central region includes the Council's Upper Midwest region with the exception of Montana.

Copies of the report *Upper Midwest Agriculture in Perspective - Agricultural changes Between 1969 and 1974: Comparing the Upper Midwest to Other Regions of the United States* are available at \$1.00 per copy.

The table on page 2 summarizes the major categories used for comparison in the report. The figures depict changes within a region and how these changes compare with other regions and the United States as a whole. Regional differences in climate, relative economic advantage, urbanization, physical suitability for agriculture, and types of agricultural products grown influence these similarities and differences.

The most significant changes have occurred in the following areas:

Land in farms - Urban expansion and marginal soils suitability are factors in declining farm land acreage in the Northeast.

Percent Change in Agricultural Trends Between 1969 and 1974

	Land in Farms	Harvested Cropland	Irrigated Acreage	Total Number of Farms	Average Farm Size	Value of Ag Products Sold	Production Expenditures	Value per Acre
North Central	-3.1%	+13.2½	+31.9%	-7.2%	+5.5%	+78.4%	+59.4%	+81.8%
Northeast	-8.2	+4.4	+7.1	-10.0	+2.3	+49.3	+47.9	+92.8
South	-7.2	+2.8	-1.9	-14.1	+8.0	+72.3	+59.4	+76.5
West	-1.4	+7.9	-.7	-2.7	+1.2	+86.6	+66.9	+64.2
United States	-3.9	+9.6	+3.2	-10.3	+7.1	+76.5	+60.3	+76.2

AG Trends - continued from page 1

Harvested cropland acreage - The larger increase in the North Central region as compared to the South and West might be attributed to the degree of participation in federal set-aside programs.

Irrigation acreage - The substantial increase in irrigation acreage in the North Central region is due in large part to better knowledge and improved technology in irrigation equipment and crop yields.

Number of farms/Farm size - As a result of farm consolidation, the number of farms in the U.S. declined 10.3%. The relatively large change in the number and size of farms in the South and concurrent small change in the West suggests greater stability in farm structure in the western region than in the South. This may reflect a condition whereby production approaches and farm sizes in the West are more compatible, at least temporarily, with the region's physical and economic constraints.

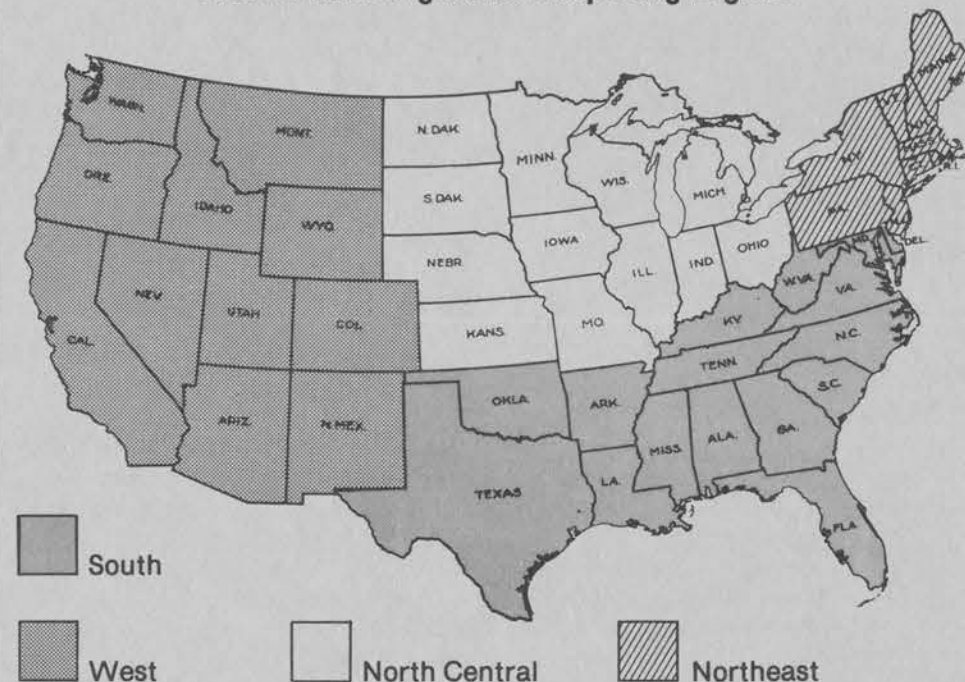
Production costs/Value of products sold - Despite the large regional differences in production approaches and types of farm products, there were similar rates of increase among all regions in production costs and the value of agricultural products sold.

Land value - As might be expected, land values increased by substantial margins in all regions. The large increase in the East may be

due more to non-agricultural investment in land.

The Upper Midwest Council will be analyzing patterns of change at the county level based on the 1974 Census of Agriculture computer tapes. A report will be issued toward the end of the year. ■

U.S. Census of Agriculture Reporting Regions



NATIONAL SCIENCE BOARD UPPER MIDWEST REGIONAL FORUM

I would like more information on the NSB Regional Forum in Minneapolis on October 25th. Please send me registration materials.

Name _____

Address _____

Representing: _____

Mail to: NSB Regional Forum
Upper Midwest Council
Federal Reserve Bank Building
Minneapolis, Minnesota 55480

FORUMS ON FOOD ISSUES HELD

As part of its ongoing work in regional agricultural issues, the Council sponsored two meetings in early September which focused on the world food problem.

Discussing his recently published report, *Agriculture in an Interdependent World: U.S. and Canadian Perspectives*, T. K. Warley, professor of Agricultural Economics, University of Guelph, Ontario, traced the series of developments that have occurred in the world economic and food environment. The report was commissioned by the Canadian-American Committee, a bilateral research organization sponsored by the National Planning Association, Washington, D.C. and the C. D. Howe Research Institute, Montreal.

D. Gale Johnson, professor of Economics and provost, University of Chicago, spoke to a group of 50 on Soviet agriculture and food policies and their implications for the stability of international grain markets. Dr. Johnson's analysis and conclusions are published in *The Soviet Impact on World Grain Trade*. The report was commissioned by the British-North American Committee, an organization established to study and comment upon British-North American relations. The Committee is sponsored by the National Planning Association, the C. D. Howe Research Institute and the British-North Amer-

ican Research Association, London.

Summaries to these reports are available free through the Council. Copies of the full reports also can be ordered from us. There is a charge of \$4.00 for *Agriculture in an Interdependent World* and \$3.00 for *The Soviet Impact on World Grain Trade*. ■

NSB - continued from page 1

port to the President and the Congress. Similar forums have already been held in Atlanta, Seattle and Dallas and the two final efforts will be convened in the near future, one each in the Northeast and Southwest regions.

Conference participants obviously are not expected to identify or come forth in October with specific research topics or proposals relating to food or water, land-use or information-systems. But they will be asked to give some advance thought to the major questions in each of these issue areas and to generate some ideas on what possibly can be achieved by new, increased, or improved research on the scientific components of these difficult issues.

To request registration material for the NSB Forum, please use the form on this page. For further information, contact the Council office. ■

RECENT REPORTS AVAILABLE

The following studies are available by writing or calling the Council, Federal Reserve Bank Bldg., Minneapolis, MN 55480; (612) 373-3724.

Upper Midwest Agriculture in Perspective - Agricultural Changes Between 1969 and 1974: Comparing the Upper Midwest to Other Regions of the United States, September, 1977, \$1.00.

Emerging Forces in Conflict: Critical Choices for the Upper Midwest - The Next Ten Years, April, 1977, \$5.00.

Impacts of Energy Uncertainties on the Food System in the Upper Midwest, May, 1977, summary \$1.00, full report \$5.00.

Creating National Energy Policy, March, 1977; full text is \$1.00, 22-page summary is free.

Agricultural Changes in the Upper Midwest, 1969-1974, February, 1977, \$1.00.

Moving Natural Gas from Alaska: Arctic Gas is the Best Choice, February, 1977, \$1.00.

America's Energy Future: Crises are Just Around the Corner, October, 1976, no charge.

Land Use: Trends and Policies in the Upper Midwest, February, 1976, \$5.00.

Northern Great Plains Coal: Conflicts and Options in Decision Making, April, 1976, \$5.00.

Northern Great Plains Coal: Issues and Options for Suppliers and Users, August, 1975, \$2.50.

Population Mobility in the Upper Midwest: Trends, Prospects and Policies, August, 1974, \$2.00.

upper midwest council

federal reserve bank building
minneapolis, minnesota 55480

Phone No. (612)373-3724

Non-Profit Org.
U.S. Postage
PAID

Minneapolis, Minn.
Permit No. 282

Jerry Jenkins, President
League of Women Voters of Minnesota
555 Wabasha St.
St. Paul, MN 55102

Willes Joins Board

Mark Willes, president of the Federal Reserve Bank of Minneapolis, has been elected to the Council's Board of Directors and will serve on the Executive Committee. Willes came to Minneapolis last spring from the Philadelphia Federal Reserve Bank where he was first vice president.

A 1963 Columbia University graduate in economics and statistics, Willes received his Ph.D. in economics and finance from Columbia in 1967. In 1966 he served as research economist for the House Banking and Currency Committee in Washington. In 1971 he was appointed economic advisor to the President's special assistant for consumer affairs. After receiving his Ph.D., Willes joined the faculty of the Wharton School of Finance and Commerce while also serving as consulting economist at the Philadelphia Federal Reserve Bank. In 1969 he joined the Philadelphia bank full time as research director and in 1971 he was appointed first vice president and chief operating officer.

Regional Growth Varies

The 1976 population estimates, released earlier this year, show a variation in population growth among states in the Upper Midwest. To compare these recent figures with past trends, we have assembled the table below which depicts population shifts in the Upper Midwest and the nation between 1950 and 1976. The figures are from the U.S. Bureau of the Census.

The 1976 population figures for North Dakota, South Dakota and Montana already have exceeded 1980 projections. These states have experienced wide variation in growth: substantially declining growth rates in the 1960s and increasing growth rates in the 1970s. Conversely, states in the eastern part of the region (Michigan, Minnesota and Wisconsin) experienced declining growth rates in the 1970s.

These shifts in population migration have major implications for economic growth, tax revenues, political balance, and provision of public services, especially education. ■

	Population (in thousands)		Population Change (in Percent)		
	1970	1976	1950-1960	1960-1970	1970-1976
Iowa	2825	2870	5.2	2.5	1.6
Michigan	8882	9104	22.8	13.5	2.5
Minnesota	3806	3965	14.5	11.5	4.2
Montana	694	753	14.2	2.8	8.5
Nebraska	1485	1553	6.4	5.2	4.6
North Dakota	618	643	2.1	-2.2	4.1
South Dakota	666	686	4.3	-2.1	3.0
Wisconsin	4418	4609	15.1	11.8	4.3
TOTAL	23,394	24,183	14.8	9.6	3.4
United States	203,212	214,659	18.5	13.3	5.6



UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA

Continuing Education and Extension

World Affairs Center
306 Wesbrook Hall
77 Pleasant Street S.E.
Minneapolis, Minnesota 55455
(612) 373-3799

October 12, 1977

TO: World Affairs Center member organizations and colleges

FROM: William C. Rogers, Director

A handwritten signature in cursive script, reading 'W. Rogers'.

The World Affairs Center Board Directory is used by numerous Minnesotans who are interested in world affairs activities. We expect to distribute several hundred copies by the middle of November. We have been told by member organizations and others that the Directory is a useful tool, but only when it is correct and published as near to the beginning of the year's program activities as possible. Every year we attempt to update the Directory, and every year it becomes more difficult to get responses to our questionnaire from our members.

This year the questionnaire was sent to members in August, and we have had responses from only 21 of our 45 member organizations and colleges. We intend to publish the attached list as it is, unless we receive corrections immediately. We are sure that your organization or college would rather have your entry correct than outdated. May we hear from you with your corrections right away?

A number of our members have sent no representatives to Board meetings, nor responded to our Activities Report requests for news, for quite some time. According to our By-Laws the Board of Directors may take action to discontinue an organization's membership. If your organization is no longer interested in membership, please let us know so the Board can terminate your membership and we can drop your entry from the Directory.

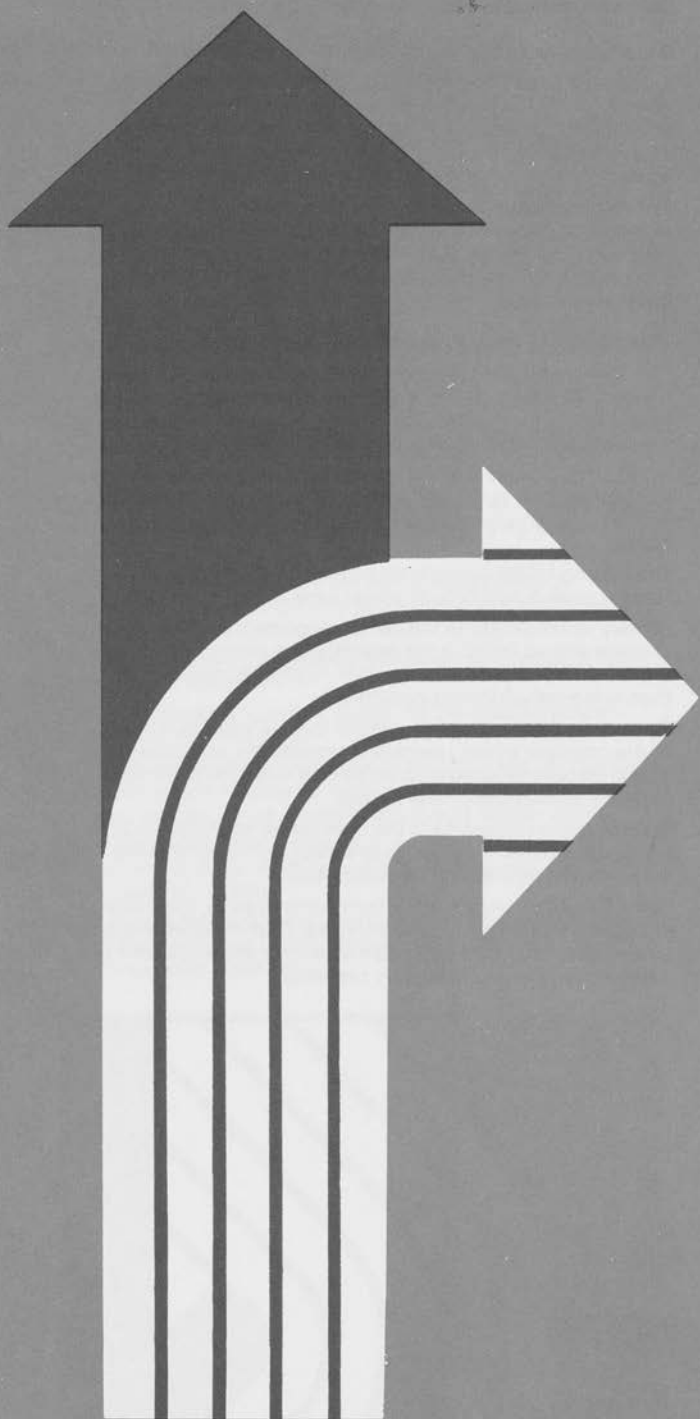
We look forward to receiving your corrected Board listing and to renewed cooperation with your organization.

WCR:mje

enc. World Affairs Center Directory

AT THE TURNING POINT

OCT 13 1977



ARMS CONTROL OPTIONS

At The Turning Point: Where We Are

Experts agree we are on the brink.

The United States and the Soviet Union are developing new generations of already deadly weapons which threaten to unbalance the "balance of terror." And both are developing completely new weapons systems — such as the neutron bomb — which may soon make the old ones obsolete anyway.

The momentum of the arms race is increasing in other parts of the world, too — particularly in politically volatile areas where the build-up of conventional arms has become a dangerous scramble for the most sophisticated, and expensive, weapons available.

Some Facts and Figures Tell the Story:

The World's annual military expenditures are now at a staggering \$370 billion. In two days, the world spends the equivalent of a year's budget for the entire UN system; in three hours it equals the cost of all UN peacekeeping operations.

In 1976, the US Government spent less than \$3 per person on all contributions to the UN system, \$32 on education, \$35 on food and nutrition programs — and \$418 on the defense budget.

The US and USSR account for two-thirds of all the world's military outlays and 75% of global arms sales.

Military expenditures in the developing countries have increased almost 200% in the past 10 years to a level of over \$80 billion a year, 5% of their GNP—a greater percentage than in the industrialized countries.

By the year 2000 enough plutonium may be extracted from civilian nuclear power reactors to provide the raw material for 10,000 Hiroshima-sized nuclear bombs — half of them manufactured outside the United States.

Sixteen million illiterates in the developing countries — 2/3 of whom are women — could go to school for a year with the money spent on one Trident submarine.

Some 60 million people are directly employed by the military or provide related goods and services. That includes a special kind of brain drain: half a million scientists and engineers are engaged exclusively in military research.

At The Turning Point: Where We've Been

From Bow and Arrow to Ballistic Missile

From the beginning man seems to have exercised his greatest ingenuity in developing new and more dangerous technologies with which to defend his life and property — and to prey on his neighbors. Until the end of the last century, disarmament was usually the terms of surrender imposed by the victor. In the late 19th century, however, when weapons became more destructive and impersonal, the need for arms control became more urgent. Since then, governments have tried, generally unsuccessfully, to curb, if not halt, what has been called the "mad momentum" of the global arms race.

A Brief Look Back

1899, 1907: The Hague International Peace Conferences produce the first proposals for international arms control standards (e.g., prohibition of poisoned weapons).

1919: League of Nations Covenant gives high priority to "reduction of national armaments," but contains no specific procedural provisions.

1921: Washington Conference on Limitations of Armaments, a US initiative, results in a partial and temporary agreement on naval limitations.

1925: Geneva Protocol bans the use of bacteriological weapons and gas. It is the only pre-World War II multilateral arms control agreement in effect today.

1932: Disarmament Conference, convened by League of Nations, ends in deadlock.

1945: UN Charter is adopted, giving the UN specific responsibilities for disarmament.

1946: The Baruch Plan, proposed by the US in the UN General Assembly, offers to place all nuclear materials under international control. Soviet opposition prevents further action.

1953: "Atoms for Peace" proposal, made by President Eisenhower, results in the establishment of UN International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA).

1962: Proposals for General and Complete Disarmament, submitted by the US and USSR, contain fundamental differences and are shelved indefinitely.



Current Arms Control Agreements

Since 1945, an unprecedented number of arms limitation agreements have been achieved, many of them first proposed in the UN General Assembly and the result of steady pressure from that body.

1959: Antarctic Treaty internationalizes and demilitarizes that continent.

1963: Partial Test Ban Treaty bans all testing of nuclear weapons in the atmosphere, outer space and underwater. Over 100 nations, not including France and China, are now parties to the treaty.

1967: Outer Space Treaty bans all military activities in outer space.

Treaty of Tlatelolco designates Latin America a nuclear-weapon-free zone, prohibiting the parties from testing, producing or acquiring nuclear weapons. **Protocol I**, requires colonial powers with territories in the area to "denuclearize" them. **Protocol II**, pledges the nuclear powers to respect the nuclear-free status of Latin America. The US has signed Protocol I and ratified Protocol II.

1968: Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT) pledges non-dissemination of nuclear weapons by those nations already possessing them and non-acquisition by all others. Its provisions assure the non-nuclear states of access to nuclear technology for peaceful purposes. There are 100 parties to the NPT, not including France, China and some "near nuclear" countries, e.g., Brazil, Israel, Pakistan, South Africa.

1971: Seabed Treaty bans weapons of mass destruction from the ocean floor beyond a twelve-mile coastal zone.

1972: Biological (Bacteriological) Weapons Treaty (BW) bans the development, production or stockpiling of biological agents except for peaceful purposes such as immunization.

Anti-Ballistic Missile Agreement (ABM) limits the number of US and USSR ABM sites, defensive missiles and tests of defensive weapons. It was the result of the first round of the Strategic Arms Limitations Talks (SALT I).

Interim Agreement sets a ceiling on the number of US and USSR offensive ballistic missiles and launchers at about current levels. Also part of SALT I, it expires in October 1977.

1974: Vladivostok Agreement, not yet in treaty form, places an overall ceiling of 2,400 offensive delivery vehicles of which 1,320 may be equipped with multiple warheads (MIRVs). Within these limits, the US and USSR are left free to choose their own "mix" of delivery systems. It was the first stage of SALT II.

Threshold Test Ban Treaty (TTBT) limits US and USSR underground nuclear tests to yields of 150 kilotons, the equivalent of 150,000 tons of TNT. It was submitted to the US Senate, but has not yet been ratified.

1976: Treaty on Peaceful Nuclear Explosions (PNEs), a companion measure to the TTBT, provides for a 150 kiloton limit on PNEs for projects such as extractions of underground energy sources, and includes provisions for on-site inspection. It was submitted to the Senate with the TTBT.

Environmental Warfare Treaty prohibits the "hostile" use of environmental modification techniques having "widespread, long-lasting or severe effects."

At The Turning Point: Where We're Going

Issues on the Arms Control Agenda: Although still a long-term goal, achievement of general and complete disarmament is generally considered politically unfeasible, at least for the present. As a result, the emphasis has shifted to negotiation of less comprehensive issues considered more likely to produce results, which could lead to still further progress. The number of these collateral issues has grown steadily as various components of the disarmament process have been identified.

SALT II: The negotiations between the US and USSR on stricter limitations on offensive weapons systems have been complicated by the development of new weapons, e.g., the US cruise missile and the Soviet Backfire bomber, which have blurred the distinction between strategic and tactical weapons. Meanwhile, the non-nuclear nations are prodding the superpowers to give more emphasis to **qualitative** limitation as well as quantitative reduction of strategic arms, and have generally withheld support of multilateral arms control measures which do not contain pledges to negotiate further curbs in the nuclear arms race.

Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty (CTB): Until recently, the main obstacle to conclusion of a treaty banning underground nuclear tests has been verification, with the US demanding a certain number of on-site inspections and the USSR insisting on "national" (seismic) systems. In 1976, however, the Soviets indicated a willingness to compromise on a "voluntary framework" for on-site inspections in cases of suspected violations. Remaining issues are whether or not to include a ban on PNEs and if the treaty should apply to all nuclear countries, including China and France.

PNEs: The NPT guarantees the non-nuclear states access to PNEs. The problem is how to prevent a country with access to PNE technology from developing a nuclear weapons system of its own — as India was suspected of doing when it exploded an underground nuclear device in 1974.

Nuclear-free Zones: The General Assembly has endorsed the general concept of nuclear-free zones, but still to be resolved are questions on the permissibility of PNEs in the zone, the boundaries of the zone, its effects on security arrangements and alliances, and, for the nuclear powers, the issue of freedom of transit for planes and naval vessels carrying nuclear weapons.

Nuclear Safeguards: Under the NPT, the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) has primary responsibility for inspecting civilian nuclear facilities to prevent diversion of fissionable materials to military uses. The IAEA does not, however, have authority over non-parties to the NPT, except on a voluntary basis. Two broad approaches to the problem have been suggested: the use of multinational fuel reprocessing centers under IAEA supervision and agreements among suppliers of nuclear materials not to sell to countries not bound by stringent IAEA safeguards agreements. The US has suspended all exports for at least three years pending reevaluation of the reprocessing question and has asked other nuclear suppliers to follow suit.

Chemical Weapons (CW): There is some agreement on a "phased" approach to a CW treaty, which would prohibit the most lethal chemicals first, but many problems remain. The

distinction must be drawn between chemicals used for military purposes and those — sometimes identical — used in industry and medicine. Some substances, like tear gas, are used for internal security purposes. Moreover, new compounds are developed every year, some with potential military uses. Finally there is the question of verification: any laboratory or chemical plant is a potential source of chemical weapons, and stringent safeguards will be required.

Controlling International Arms Transfers: Most discussion of the conventional arms weapons race centers on limiting international transfers. The Carter Administration is on record in favor of reducing US exports wherever possible, but political and security considerations have thus far precluded any major unilateral reductions. In addition, most non-nuclear nations have reacted coolly to proposals for multilateral agreements, contending that these would divert attention from the more serious threat of nuclear weapons.

Reduction of Military Budgets: In 1973, the USSR proposed a 10% reduction in the military budgets of the five permanent members of the UN Security Council (China, France, UK, US, USSR), with 10% of the savings thus effected to be transferred to the developing countries in the form of increased economic assistance. In the West there have been considerable doubts about the feasibility of this approach, primarily because of the difficulty in establishing common criteria for measuring military expenditures and verifying reductions in military outlays. Governments have been asked to suggest ways to develop and operate a system of standardized reporting.



The Charter Provisions

Responsibility is given to the General Assembly to "consider the principles governing disarmament" and to the Security Council to work out specific proposals for a "system for the regulation of armaments." The assumption was that the five permanent members of the Security Council would retain their own arms to maintain international security until a permanent UN peacekeeping force could be established. Political differences between the US and the Soviet Union prevented establishment of the force, and the General Assembly has become the focus of disarmament discussions.

The Assembly as Catalyst

Disarmament questions have figured prominently on the Assembly agenda from the outset, and now account for almost 80% of the sessions of the Assembly's First (Political) Committee. It is in the Assembly that the non-nuclear powers, particularly the developing countries, have been able to exert pressure for progress, set principles and priorities and create machinery to expedite negotiations. Proposals first made in the General Assembly have led to the completion of major multilateral treaties. Assembly endorsements have given international status to arms control agreements achieved in other bodies, and reports authorized by the Assembly have stimulated negotiations on issues ranging from nuclear proliferation to the effects of chemical warfare.

The CCD: Helpful Hybrid

The CCD, the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament, is the primary forum for multilateral negotiations. A hybrid among international organizations, it is based on a tripartite division among representatives of Western states, the Soviet bloc and the non-aligned nations. It was created by the General Assembly, reports to it and is guided in part by its recommendations, but is technically an autonomous body. The US and USSR are co-chairmen in recognition of their special responsibilities as superpowers. This unique organizational structure is credited with producing five of the multilateral arms control agreements now in effect.

Next Steps

Special Session of the General Assembly. In May 1978, the Assembly will convene its eighth special session, its first devoted exclusively to disarmament, to review the status of current arms control negotiations, set guidelines and priorities for the future, and it is hoped, stimulate further progress.

The UN Center for Disarmament. Established in January 1977, the Center is expected to become an important clearing house for information. Among other things, it will publish texts of treaties and statistics on military expenditures and other relevant data.

Organizational Changes. There has been increasing dissatisfaction with the peripheral role of the United Nations in disarmament matters. In addition, the refusal of France and China to participate in the CCD has been a major source of frustration. As a result, proposals have been made to restructure CCD, create new multilateral negotiating bodies and hold periodic special sessions of the General Assembly.

Suggestions for Citizen Action

The main focus of activities related to arms control issues should be continuous communications with elected federal officials, particularly in the Senate and House of Representatives. It is they who approve arms control agreements, appropriate defense expenditures, set arms export policies and authorize military research and development projects. They will want to know the views of their constituents on these vital issues.

For the Individual

Individuals can make their voices — and votes — heard. The key is to keep informed.

Monitor your Congressional representatives' voting records. Write to them to rebut or support their positions.

Watch for newspaper, radio and TV editorials on arms control with which you disagree. Respond with a letter to the editor; in the case of a broadcast editorial the "equal time" concept applies and thoughtful rebuttals must be aired free of charge.

Respond to statements on radio "call-in" shows, or take the initiative yourself. These programs are designed for individual participation. They are, in effect, public versions of debates you might have at home with relatives and friends.

Watch for announcements of public meetings. Programs sponsored by responsible private organizations are a good way of gaining information on various aspects of current arms control issues.

Support or join organizations whose point of view reflect your own. This, too, will help you keep up to date on new developments.

For the Program Planner

Establish community working groups to study and make recommendations on various aspects of disarmament issues. Debate the recommendations of each group at an open forum.

Invite your Senators and Congressmen to a community or statewide "Congressional hearing." Ask representatives of business and labor, civic, church and student organizations to make statements.

Encourage representatives of women's groups and minorities to participate in your programs and to call or write to their elected representatives. These groups have considerable energies and a strong sense of commitment which can be channeled to disarmament issues once the facts and figures are made available to them.

Convene an open forum to stimulate community discussion on possible approaches to conversion to civilian production and employment. This is particularly appropriate in areas where the economy is at least partly dependent on military contracts.

Sponsor a debate on the desirability of developing nuclear power as opposed to other sources of energy. In areas hard hit by fuel or power shortages, this is likely to produce lively debate — and interest on the part of the participants in discussing related nuclear issues.

Conduct a model UN Special Session on Disarmament. The simulation, or role-playing technique, is a good way of increasing understanding.

Circulate questionnaires on current arms control issues, and forward the results to your elected representatives. Try to get

expert assistance in preparing the questions.

Remind local newspaper, radio and TV stations to use the Operation Turning Point materials, which have been sent to them. (Refer to the code number of the materials, rather than the title.) If materials have not been received or have been lost, write to Operation Turning Point, Box 2000, Church Street Station, New York, N.Y. 10007.

Some Topics for Discussion

These questions are not intended to elicit yes or no answers, but to raise other questions, to stimulate discussion and to develop an informed public opinion.

1. Are Soviet-American arms control negotiations more likely to be successful if the United States is superior militarily or if there is a rough equality between the two great military powers?

2. Should the US consider unilateral cutbacks in the development and production of new strategic weapons systems as a stimulus to further arms control negotiations?

3. Should a Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty (CTB) include a ban on the testing of peaceful nuclear explosions (PNEs)?

4. Should the Senate ratify the Threshold Test Ban Treaty (TTBT) as an interim measure toward a Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty (CTB)?

5. Should the US continue to restrict exports of nuclear materials and equipment as one means of controlling the spread of nuclear weapons? Should this policy be pursued vigorously even if other nuclear suppliers do not follow suit? Should the US restrict its exports of conventional weapons?

6. The United States is currently allocating between 5 and 6% of its GNP for military expenditures. Would you favor reducing the defense budget and applying some of the savings to other programs such as multilateral development assistance?

7. Do you agree with those countries that accuse the US and USSR of seeking to perpetuate their military superiority at the expense of other countries?

8. Should there be any linkage between US military aid and the observance of human rights in recipient countries?



A Brief Glossary

Ballistic Missile: Any missile, which, after launch, travels without power to its target.

ICBM: Intercontinental Ballistic Missile, an offensive weapon with a range of over 3,000 miles. **ABM:** Anti-Ballistic Missile, a defensive, interceptor missile.

Conventional Weapons: Non-nuclear weapons.

Conversion: Process of switching from military to civilian production and employment.

Cruise Missile: An unpiloted jet-powered aircraft which flies at low altitudes carrying either conventional or nuclear warheads.

Deterrence: Any strategy, including deployment of weapons, designed to discourage enemy attack.

Enrichment: The process of refining natural uranium to increase the amount of U-235, the fissionable isotope, relative to the more common U-238 found in the natural ore.

Essential Equivalence: Approximate equality between two sides in overall strategic capabilities despite differences in the types of weapons used by each.

Horizontal Proliferation: The spread of nuclear weapons to non-nuclear nations.

Kiloton: The equivalent of 1,000 tons of TNT, usually used to measure the power of a nuclear bomb. **Megaton:** The equivalent of 1,000 kilotons.

MIRV: Multiple Independently Targeted Reentry Vehicle, two or more warheads carried by a single missile, each one capable of attacking a different target.

Nuclear-free zones: A political or geographical area in which production and deployment of nuclear weapons are prohibited.

Payload: The explosive power carried by a missile or bomber.

Plutonium: A man-made radio-

active element, usable in nuclear weapons, which is produced by fission in a nuclear reactor.

PNE: Peaceful nuclear explosion.

Reactor: A facility which produces a controlled nuclear chain reaction. **Breeder reactor:** Produces more fissionable materials than it consumes as a by-product of its operations.

Reprocessing: The stage in the nuclear fuel cycle in which uranium and plutonium are separated from the other elements in a reactor's spent fuel.

SALT: Strategic Arms Limitation Talks between the US and USSR.

Strategic: Relating either to a comprehensive, long-range plan of attack or to a specific weapons system designed to attack targets in the enemy's homeland.

Tactical: Relating to relatively small-scale, short-term battlefield operations.

Thermonuclear reaction: Release of heat energy through fusion, so called because it takes place at extremely high temperatures.

Vertical Proliferation: The continued quantitative and qualitative increase in nuclear weapons by the nuclear powers.

Warhead: That part of a missile carrying the explosive or other materials intended to inflict damage.

Weapons-grade materials: Highly enriched or refined fissionable materials, e.g., weapons-grade uranium which has about 90% of the isotope U-235 (as opposed to 3% in power reactor fuel).

Yield: The amount of destructive force released by the blast of a weapon. Usually refers to nuclear weapons, expressed in terms of kilotons, the amount of TNT required to produce the same effect.

Selected Bibliography

Books

The Game of Disarmament: How the United States and Russia Run the Arms Race, by Alva Myrdal, Pantheon, New York, 1977, 416 pp., \$15.00.

International Arms Control: Issues and Agreements, edited by John H. Barton and Lawrence D. Weiler, Stanford University Press, Stanford, 1976, 444 pp., \$12.95.

The Last Chance, by William Epstein, The Free Press, New York, 1976, 341 pp., \$14.95.

The Permanent War Economy, by Seymour Melman, Simon & Schuster, New York, 1974, 384 pp., \$3.95.

World Armaments and Disarmament: SIPRI Yearbook 1976 and 1977, by Stockholm International Peace Research Institute, The MIT Press, Cambridge, \$25.00.

Booklets, Monographs, Pamphlets and Reports

Controlling the Conventional Arms Race, UNA Policy Panel Report, 1976, 85 pp., \$2.00.

The Disarmament Process: Where to Begin, by Robert C. Johansen, Institute for World Order, 1140 Avenue of the Americas, New York, N.Y. 10036, 1977, 32 pp., \$25.

A Sheaf of Documents on Disarmament: Preliminary Materials for the Eighth Special Session of the UN General Assembly Devoted to Disarmament, World Conference on Religion and Peace, 777 United Nations Plaza, New York, N.Y. 10017, 1977, 11 pp., \$1.00.

Strengthening of the Role of the UN in the Field of Disarmament: 39 Proposals, World Conference on Religion and Peace, 777 United Nations Plaza, New York, N.Y. 10017, 1976, 15 pp., \$1.25.

World Military and Social Expenditures 1977, by Ruth Leger Sivard, Institute for World Order, 1140 Avenue of the Americas, New York, N.Y. 10036, 1977, 32 pp., \$2.50.

World Military Expenditures and Arms Transfers, 1966-75, US Arms Control & Disarmament Agency, Publication 90, Superintendent of Documents, US Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. 20402, Stock No. 002-000-00058-0, 1976, 85 pp., \$1.50.

Periodicals

Arms Control Today, The Arms Control Association, 11 Dupont Circle, NW, Washington, D.C. 20036. Free.

Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists, 1020-24 East 58th St., Chicago, Ill. 60637.

Daedalus, Summer 1975: "Arms, Defense Policy, and Arms Control" (entire issue).

The Defense Monitor, Center for Defense Information, 122 Maryland Ave., N.E., Washington, D.C. 20002. Free.

25¢ each

100/\$9.00

1000/\$75.00

AT THE TURNING POINT: ARMS CONTROL OPTIONS

Published by:

**UNITED NATIONS ASSOCIATION OF THE U.S.A.
300 East 42nd Street
New York, N.Y. 10017**

In cooperation with

**INSTITUTE FOR WORLD ORDER
1140 Avenue of the Americas
New York, N.Y. 10036**

Co-sponsored by:

American Ethical Union
American Association of University Women
Americans for Democratic Action
Baptist World Alliance, New York Office
Church Women United
League of Women Voters Education Fund
National Conference of Christians and Jews
National Council of Jewish Women
National Council of Women of the U.S.
Population Institute
Promoting Enduring Peace
Quota International
Unitarian Universalist UN Office
Unitarian Universalist Women's Federation
United Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A.,
Program Agency
Women's International League for Peace and Freedom
Women's League for Conservative Judaism
World Conference on Religion and Peace, U.S. Section
World Federalists Association
World Without War Council
YWCA, National Board

Written by: Ellie King



**OPERATION TURNING POINT
END THE ARMS RACE**



League of Women Voters of the United States 1730 M Street, N.W., Washington, D. C. 20036 Tel. (202) 296-1770

memorandum

TO: State and local Leagues
FROM: Ruth Clusen
RE: Panama Canal treaties

This is going on DPM

October, 1977

Enclosed is an LWVEF UPDATE INTERNATIONAL, The Panama Canal Treaties--Separating Fact from Fiction.

As you are well aware, last month the United States and Panama signed two treaties on the Panama Canal. Before the treaties can take effect, they must be approved by a two-thirds vote of the Senate. The ratification battle promises to be fierce and the outcome will have ramifications far beyond the canal and our relations with Panama. It will affect our relations with developing countries in the Western hemisphere and around the world.

With the 1978 congressional election coming up, public opinion will certainly play a pivotal role in the Panama Canal debate. Already the various sides are marshalling their forces. But the public is largely uninformed and misinformed on the facts of the treaties, and it is important that the decision not be made in an atmosphere of emotionalism based on widespread misconceptions.

As the September NATIONAL BOARD REPORT indicates, the board discussed the inquiries we have been getting from Leagues asking where they could get factual information and what kind of action, if any, Leagues could take. Although the League does not have a specific position on the Panama Canal, nor does the issue seem to fall easily under any of the existing IR positions, the board agreed it is consistent with League practice to provide citizen information and/or undertake community education on this crucial issue.

What Can You Do? Depending on your interest and the situation in your community, your local League can spread the facts about the treaties and promote rational discussion. Fortunately, League members are experienced in the techniques of citizen information.

If your League decides it has the interest and resources, start by appointing someone to organize the work. This might be the IR chairman, someone on the IR committee, or another League member with a particular interest in the issue.

Think creatively about what might be right for your community; and don't feel confined to the list below.

Get out the facts.

- * Promote the LWVEF UPDATE, which is designed to help citizens sort out the basic facts from misconceptions about the treaties. It can serve as a one-stop resource on the treaties not only for League members, but for all interested citizens. Order additional copies in bulk for distribution in your community and encourage other groups to purchase the UPDATE for their own members (\$.20 a copy; 20 copies/\$1.00; pub. #390). Social studies teachers and school libraries may be looking for a balanced coverage of the issue on one sheet.

- * Line up one or more interested League members to research the treaty issues more fully and become the local "expert". Check recent newspapers, news magazines, or other periodicals. Additional sources of information are listed on the UPDATE.

- * Volunteer to speak at gatherings of interested citizens--church groups or service clubs (e.g., the Chamber of Commerce might be interested in how the treaties affect U.S. trade).

Organize a meeting

* Work with other concerned groups to organize a special town meeting or forum on the issue, possibly in conjunction with an area community college, the AAUW, the United Nations Association, local political parties (remember to ask both), etc. Promote the UPDATE as a basis for discussion.

* Draw speakers from the faculty of a local university or from other informed citizens. If you have enough people involved, and preferably some money for expenses, contact James Montgomery, Bureau of Public Affairs, Department of State, Washington, D.C. 20520, for information on State Department speakers.

* Structure the meeting as a debate. Treaty opponents include the American Legion and Veterans of Foreign Wars. Supporters include the AFL-CIO, the U.S. Catholic Conference, and the National Council of Churches.

Use the media

* Make sure your local newspapers, radio, and TV resource people know that the League has information available.

* Promote your events on "community bulletin board" segments of radio and TV broadcasts or with public service announcements (psa's). Your station's public service or community affairs director may be willing to run a psa announcing that the League has factual information on the treaty (even if you are not inundated with requests, you should get visibility).

* Invite reporters to cover your meetings (It lets them know what you are up to even if they can't come.).

* See if your radio station would do a show on the Panama Canal treaties with League help. A Leaguer could serve as a resource for a call-in show or as a moderator for a pro and con debate.

* Offer your local newspaper editors, and radio or TV editorial directors the UPDATE as background for an editorial.

Contact Congress. Unlike many foreign policy issues, the Panama Canal treaties are bound to generate great public interest. The Senator who must vote on ratification and even Representatives who may have to vote upon enabling legislation are anxiously looking to their constituents for indications of public sentiment. Organized mailings with form post cards (all in opposition to the treaties) are already beginning to deluge congressional offices. Thoughtful letters from concerned individuals are important. While the League has no official position on the treaties, individual League members can express their views.

So, encourage League members and all interested citizens to become informed and to take part in deciding the future of the Panama Canal.

* * * * *

For your information, two groups taking action at the national level are: in support, the Committee for Ratification of the Panama Canal Treaties, c/o New Directions, 2021 L Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036; in opposition, the Panama Canal Task Force of the American Conservative Union, Congressional Building, 422 1st Street, S.E., Washington, D.C. 20003.

Please let the LWV IR department know about the activities you decide to undertake so we can share innovative examples with other Leagues.

PANAMA CANAL
THE NEW TREATIES

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

PANAMA CANAL: THE NEW TREATIES

On September 7, 1977, in the presence of the leadership of 25 other American republics and Canada, President Carter and Panama Chief of Government General Omar Torrijos signed two treaties governing the future operation and defense of the Panama Canal. The signing ceremony is a prelude to the actual advice and consent of the Senate to the treaties and the exchange of instruments of ratification, which comes only after the Senate votes its approval. These treaties would replace the 74 year-old treaty now in force—a treaty which came into being

Today, our best way of insuring permanent access to the canal is not our exclusive or perpetual control of its operation, but rather the active and harmonious support of the Panamanian population.

under unusual circumstances in a vastly different age, and which has become the source of unnecessary and potentially serious problems for the United States.

The most important fact about the new treaties

with Panama is that they protect the fundamental U.S. interest in an open and secure canal for the long-term future. Our ships, both naval and commercial, will have a guaranteed right of passage through the canal, as will the shipping of all nations on nondiscriminatory terms. We have primary responsibility for the defense of the canal until the year 2000, and we will have the right to act after that to insure in any situation that the canal remains open and secure.

The new agreements are now before the Senate for advice and consent. The Senate and the American people must now consider carefully the substance of the treaties, why they are necessary, why the President and five of his predecessors have strongly supported achieving such agreements, and how they best serve our basic national interests.

WHY WE NEGOTIATED THE TREATIES

The world has changed a great deal in 74 years, and the actions required of us to protect our interests have changed accordingly. We have negotiated new treaties because the old treaty arrangements, by not being responsive to modern political realities, could no longer provide the protection our interests continue to warrant. In today's world, our control of the civilian government in the zone is no longer necessary to operate or defend the canal itself. It contributes only to tensions with Panamanian citizens, who

resent—as we would—the presence of a foreign power running a government within their territory. Today, our best way of insuring permanent access to the canal is not our exclusive or perpetual control of its operation, but rather the active and harmonious support of the Panamanian population. In the opinion of our highest civil and military authorities, the new treaties are the best way of accomplishing this. In the last analysis, the fair solution, the one that shows our understanding and concern for the rational feelings of the Panamanians, is also the one which best preserves our national interests.

The United States controls the Canal Zone, a strip of territory ten miles wide, coast to coast, slicing through the heart of a small, independent country and splitting it in half. The United States controls all Panama's deepwater ports. It exercises exclusive jurisdiction over 550 square miles of Panama's best land, much of it unused, which Panamanians naturally feel could be productively developed to benefit their economy—land which now serves only to hem in Panama's urban areas and stunt their growth. The United States operates virtually all business enterprises within the zone, thereby inevitably curtailing opportunities for the growth of Panamanian commerce.

Within this enclave we operate not just a canal, but a foreign government on Panamanian soil. This government maintains a police force, courts, and jails to enforce U.S. laws, which apply equally to all persons, including both Panamanians and U.S. citizens. Here, an American community of 37,500 soldiers,

workers, and their dependents enjoy a unique lifestyle. We also maintain military bases in the zone.

For all these extraordinary rights, including the right to operate the canal, the United States pays Panama an annuity of \$2.3 million.

Origins of the 1903 Treaty

Dissatisfied with the existing treaty since its first days, Panamanians have blamed its unfavorable terms on the unusual circumstances under which it was concluded. In 1903, Panama was a part of Colombia. After Colombia rejected a treaty which would have allowed the United States to build a canal, the province of Panama revolted. The newly independent state had little bargaining power, and wound up with a canal treaty less favorable than the one that Colombia had rejected. It was a treaty, moreover, that no Panamanian even saw before it was signed. Negotiating for Panama was a Frenchman, a stockholder in the bankrupt French canal company that

"You and I know too well how many points there are in this treaty to which a Panamanian patriot could object."—U.S. Secretary of State John Hay, 1904.

benefited greatly when the United States purchased its assets. He and U.S. Secretary of State John Hay

signed the treaty at Hay's house in the evening, just hours before the arrival of a Panamanian delegation which they feared would hold out for better terms. Later, in a letter to a U.S. Senator, Hay confided that the treaty was "vastly advantageous to the United States, and we must confess, with what face we can muster, not so advantageous to Panama. . . . You and I know too well how many points there are in this treaty to which a Panamanian patriot could object."

Origins of the New Treaties

This situation is a constant frustration to Panama's desire for national development, and a constant affront to its sense of national dignity. Over the years, the United States has tried to respond to Panamanian objections. The treaty was modified in 1936 and in 1955, abrogating the U.S. rights to intervene in Panama's internal affairs and establishing equal working conditions for Panamanians in the Canal Zone. But these and a few other changes did not remove the 1903 treaty's basic inequities, especially the feature most objectionable to Panamanians: the exercise of rights forever over a large slice of Panamanian territory by the United States as if it were sovereign.

In January 1964, the severe strains in our relations arising from deep-seated Panamanian dissatisfaction culminated in riots along the Canal Zone border, killing 20 Panamanians and 4 Americans and injuring 500 persons. Panama briefly broke diplomatic rela-

tions with the United States and subsequently took its case to the United Nations and the Organization of American States.

In these international forums, the other Latin American nations, most Third World nations, and even our European allies have strongly supported Panama. The depth of feeling has made the negotiation of new treaty arrangements not only a major hemispheric issue, but also the standard by which many countries judge American sincerity in our relations with smaller countries everywhere. For much of the world, the 1903 treaty is seen as inconsistent with traditional American support for self-determination, decolonization, and respect for the dignity of all nations, great and small.

In December 1964, President Johnson, after consulting with former Presidents Truman and Eisenhower, and with bipartisan support, made a public commitment to negotiate a wholly new, fixed-term canal treaty. Presidents Nixon and Ford continued that commitment, and negotiations were successfully brought to a conclusion under President Carter.

The 1977 treaties are thus the product of 13 years of diplomatic efforts by four U.S. administrations, Republican and Democratic. Like all treaties they contain compromises by both sides and, accordingly, they are controversial in both countries. In Panama they have been denounced as "disguised American intervention," in America as a "giveaway." But from the point of view of the United States as a world

power with global responsibilities, the treaties reflect a statesmanlike resolve to move forward from an outmoded and inequitable status quo, and to achieve a fair solution consistent both with our vital national interests and with our national values.

The key to this solution is realizing that the best defense for the canal is the active cooperation of the Government and people of Panama.

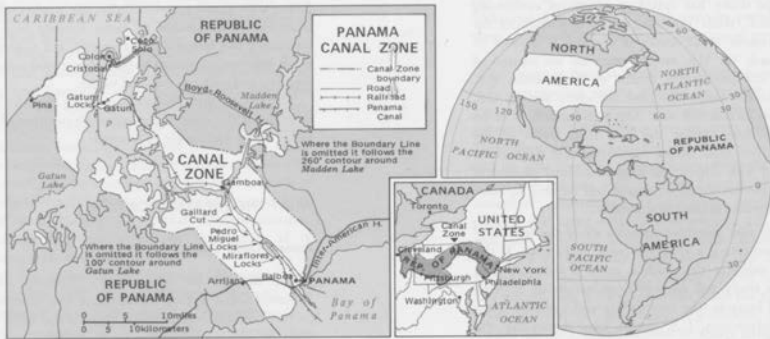
WHAT THE TREATIES CONTAIN

Panama Canal Treaty

The first of the new treaties (formally called "Panama Canal Treaty") terminates and supersedes previous treaties related to the canal. It also spells out ways in which the canal is to be operated and defended until the year 2000:

- The United States retains primary responsibility for canal operations and defense until the end of the century, but with increasing Panamanian participation. The Panamanians—who already make up more than 70 percent of the work force—will thus have ample preparation to take over responsibility in 2000.

- The Canal Zone as an entity ceases to exist, and Panama assumes general jurisdiction over the area. The United States retains the right to use all



land and water areas and installations necessary for the operation, maintenance, and defense of the canal until the end of the century. Until then, the United States retains bases to provide full security for the canal. In allowing Panama to assume jurisdiction over the zone, the United States is not giving up sovereignty over territory which belongs to us, like Alaska or the Louisiana territory. Legally the zone has always remained Panamanian territory and the United States has never had sovereignty over it, merely treaty rights within it.

• The canal is to be operated by a U.S. Government agency called the Panama Canal Commission, with five American and four Panamanian directors. Until 1990 the canal Administrator (chief executive officer) will be American, with a Panamanian deputy; thereafter the Administrator will be Panamanian with an American deputy. The United States will be able to set tolls until the end of the century. Increased economic benefits to Panama under the treaty will come exclusively from a share in these canal tolls, not from the U.S. taxpayer.

- The treaty has extensive provisions concerning personnel. While providing more opportunities for Panamanians at all levels, it contains a number of safeguards for U.S. employees, who are assured of rights and protections similar to those which U.S. Government employees have elsewhere abroad. U.S. criminal jurisdiction over American citizens is to be phased down during the first three years of the treaty, but U.S. citizen employees and dependents charged with crimes will have procedural guarantees and those convicted of crimes will be able to serve any sentences in the United States.

- The two countries agree to study the feasibility of constructing a sea-level canal in Panama. If the study indicates that such a canal is necessary—and such a study will include examination of environmental impacts—the two parties will agree on terms for construction. U.S. studies have shown that the best routes for a sea-level canal—which, if feasible, would be easier to operate and defend than the present lock canal and could handle bigger ships—lie in Panama. For this reason the United States agreed during this century not to negotiate with any other country for the construction of a sea-level canal in the Western Hemisphere, and Panama agreed that no sea-level canal would be constructed in Panama except by agreement with the United States.

- The treaty provides for payments to Panama as follows: a share of tolls (depending on the level of traffic, this would initially yield \$40 to \$50 million

per year); an annuity of \$10 million; and up to an additional \$10 million if canal revenues permit. All these payments are exclusively from canal revenues.

To promote Panama's economic development, the U.S. contribution will be stepped up through a program of loans, loan guarantees, and credits totaling approximately \$295 million over the next five years. These financial arrangements will involve no grants and no gifts from the United States; they will all be repaid by Panama with interest. Because of "Buy American" provisions, this economic cooperation package will bring substantial benefits to U.S. business and labor. In addition, to assist Panama to develop a capability for canal defense, the United States will make available military credits totaling \$50 million over a 10-year period. While the package developed out of the treaty negotiations, it lies outside the treaties and imposes no treaty obligations on the United States.

Neutrality Treaty

The second treaty is entitled "Treaty Concerning the Permanent Neutrality and Operation of the Panama Canal." Under this regime of neutrality the canal is to remain open to merchant and naval vessels of all nations indefinitely, without discrimination as to conditions or tolls. It is in Panama's own financial

interest—and in the interest of its close democratic South American friends who rely on the canal most heavily—that the canal remain open to all, with competitively low tolls so as to encourage maximum use and income.

The neutrality treaty does not give the United States the right to intervene in the internal affairs of

As the Joint Chiefs of Staff have repeatedly emphasized, U.S. military interests in the canal are in its use, not its ownership. The same is true of our commercial interests.

Panama, an independent sovereign state. It does, however, give the United States and Panama responsibility to insure that the canal remains open and secure to ships of all nations at all times. Each of the two countries shall have the discretion to take whatever action it deems necessary, in accordance with its constitutional processes, to defend the canal against any threat to the permanent regime of neutrality. They each, therefore, shall have the right to act against any aggression or threat directed against the canal or against the peaceful transit of vessels through it.

The neutrality treaty further provides that U.S. and Panamanian warships and auxiliary vessels shall be entitled to transit the canal expeditiously. This has been interpreted by both governments to mean as quickly as possible and without any impediment, going to the head of the line if necessary.

WHAT THE TREATIES ACCOMPLISH

The new Panama Canal treaties are now the subject of considerable discussion in the United States. The discussion is often confusing, complicated by legal arguments over the meaning of sovereignty, the interpretations of treaty language, and the propriety of negotiating with the Torrijos regime. It is true, for example, that certain human rights violations in Panama have come to our attention. We have discussed these with Panamanian leaders, and will continue to speak out if other violations occur. It is interesting to note, however, that when Panama's overall record on human rights was recently challenged, Panama was quick to invite scrutiny by the Inter-American Human Rights Commission. In a related area, interested Americans have questioned the degree of Communist influence in Panama. The facts are that the Panamanian Communist Party is permitted to exist but has no legal status; it has only about 500 members, none of whom are in the government. Panama maintains normal diplomatic relations with Cuba, but Cuban influence is likewise very limited, and Panama has no diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union. In contrast, under the Rio Treaty, Panama is a military ally of the United States.

These treaties, like all treaties, must be judged by one principal criterion: do they serve the best interest of the United States? The answer is that they do—and not only because in being fair to Panama, they are also true to our national values. Beyond fairness, we

have very real, material interests in the canal. We must be clear about what those interests are and how the treaties safeguard them.

As the Joint Chiefs of Staff have repeatedly emphasized, the U.S. military interests in the canal are in its use, not its ownership. The same is true of our commercial interests. We want to be sure that

The treaties reflect a statesmanlike resolve to move forward from an outmoded and inequitable status quo, and to achieve a solution consistent both with our vital national interests and with our national values.

whenever we need to move a ship through, we will always be able to do so.

This requires an arrangement that guarantees, as much as is humanly possible, against any future obstruction to our free passage. It means making sure that:

- The canal system is not physically put out of use by sabotage or by inexpert operation.
- Ships passing through are safe from attack.
- Ships are not barred from entering by arbitrary or discriminatory policies, or by involvement of the canal in international disputes.
- Ships are not effectively barred by excessive tolls.

These treaties accomplish all of these objectives.

The usefulness of the canal to the United States is in the time and money it saves our armed forces and our commercial enterprises when they move vessels and cargoes between the Atlantic and Pacific. That is why we built it, and that is why we continue to care about its future.

Beyond this, our new relationship with Panama will remove a major obstacle standing in the way of our other policy objectives throughout Latin America and the world. It will silence accusations of colonialism and disarm the propaganda of our foreign adversaries, enabling us to pursue with enhanced respect and credibility our broad national goals in trade, defense, human rights, and world leadership.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE, U.S.A.
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20520

POSTAGE AND FEES PAID
DEPARTMENT OF STATE
STA-501



Third Class Bulk Rate

HELENE L BORG
ACTION CHAIRMAN
LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS OF MINNESOTA
555 WABASHA
ST PAUL

MN 55102

Keeping the IR Momentum Going

Now that the League has adopted an updated UN position and reaffirmed its trade and development positions, Leagues have a golden opportunity to go full steam ahead on wide-ranging information efforts and effective action on many fronts. This COMMITTEE GUIDE is designed to assist local and state international relations chairmen and committees with managing the IR program for 1977-78. It offers suggestions on:

- ☐ Keeping the committee and League members up to date on IR issues.
- ☐ Informing the community at large on selected IR topics.
- ☐ Taking action (as a League or in coalition with other groups) on League IR positions.

To help you focus your energies, the national board and IR committee suggest two IR priorities for the next program year: 1) community information on the economic and social purposes and achievements of the United Nations; and 2) action and community education in opposition to increasing pressures for protectionist trade measures. At the same time, don't forget development, on the back burner now but capable of heating up at any moment.

Managing the IR program

How many activities you plan to undertake on IR issues will depend on the person power, time and money available; member interest; the kind of information your community needs and which issues are ripe for action.

IR committees range from large, energetic groups to single, overworked chairmen trying to hold down the IR portfolio in addition to others. At a minimum, someone needs to watchdog IR communications from the LWVUS and update the IR files. Watch the NATIONAL BOARD REPORT for the latest IR plans, including upcoming publications. Check REPORT FROM THE HILL for late-breaking legislative developments, and keep an eye out for an ACTION ALERT on IR, when quick action is needed. (See forthcoming revised Action handbook.)

Where it is feasible, form a resource committee to back up the person holding the IR portfolio. Committee members might be drawn from those who took an active role in the UN consensus; new members are also good bets for getting involved in world problems. (See *In League* for advice on organizing resource committees.) You may want to divide responsibility, with each member becoming "the expert" on an issue or group of issues. But choices will have to be made. Even the largest and most hard working committee would probably have difficulty covering every subject in the varied IR smorgasbord.

Start by carefully reading the positions and background descriptions of the program in *Impact on Issues*. Then develop a strategy. Where is congressional or executive action expected during the next year? Which issues are most relevant to your community? On what topics are information and education most needed? (See *Making An Issue of It: The Campaign Handbook*, #613, 75¢.)

© 1977 League of Women Voters of the United States

Order from

League of Women Voters of the United States, 1730 M Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036. Pub. No. 130, 20¢

Don't overlook the value of teaming up with other organizations by sharing information, planning public education, or even taking action together. Contact the local United Nations Association (UNA), World Affairs Council, American Association of University Women (AAUW), church groups, or the Chamber of Commerce. (See the still-valuable COMMITTEE GUIDE, *International Relations Programming 1974-75*, pub. #554, 25¢, for many good ideas on managing the IR program.)

FOCUS 1—Highlighting the UN's economic and social achievements

"The League of Women Voters believes that the United Nations remains the best existing instrument to promote world peace and to improve the social and economic health of the world's people. We strongly support U.S. participation in the UN system and favor U.S. policies that strengthen the UN's capacity to solve problems of global interdependence."

Statement of position on the UN,
Summer '77 National VOTER.

The UN study brought League members up to date on the United Nations system. League members are now armed with good documentation about how much has been accomplished in economic and social fields—particularly by the specialized agencies—that often doesn't get the kind of headlines UN failures and political squabbles receive. But many people in the community at large have not heard about the UN's successes in health care, education, economic development and so on.

The LWVUS's public opinion survey, conducted this spring with the help of 75 local Leagues around the country, confirmed that more information to increase awareness of the UN's social and economic achievements is desperately needed. To help plan community education on the United Nations, the LWVUS has published a COMMUNITY GUIDE, *Sharing the UN's Successes* (#129, 30¢). It includes tips on tying UN issues to local communities and sources for information on UN success stories. Don't forget to recheck the F & I's, *North and South at the UN: The Economic Challenge* (#642) and *The U.S. at the UN: Fight, Flight or Something in Between?* (#647), and the still-valuable COMMUNITY GUIDE, *What To Do About the UN...* #745, (#526).

Local Leagues may also get a chance to take some action under the new UN position—especially since the Carter administration seems to be upgrading the United Nations as an element of U.S. foreign policy. Keep an eye out for increasing emphasis on the United Nations as a forum for key international negotiations. And, of course, there's the yearly battle over the U.S. financial contribution to the United Nations. We can counter the withholding or withdrawing of funds from specialized agencies that take political actions under the section of our UN position that opposes placing conditions on U.S. participation in the United Nations except in extreme cases.

committee guide



League of Women Voters
of the United States
1730 M Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20036

FOCUS 2—Countering pressures for protectionism

"The League of Women Voters continues to believe in a liberal U.S. trade policy. We are convinced that the political and economic interests of this country and of its citizens collectively and individually are best served by such a policy, which paves the way for harmony with other nations, stimulates economic development at home and abroad, and expands consumer choice. We believe that our trade policy should be flexible, efficient and that it should be based on the public interest, not on special or sectional interests."

Impact on issues

With the domestic economy still sluggish and unemployment still high, pressures to protect U.S. producers from imports are rising. Community information is needed on the trade-offs between the interests of workers in import-affected industries, consumers, and workers in export-related industries. Good community education provides the basis for action when restrictive trade legislation comes before Congress or when the President considers trade alternatives.

The LWVUS supports adjustment assistance to import-injured workers and to firms that will retain such workers for existing jobs; we also support tax incentives for firms to retool or convert to other products. While the Trade Act of 1974 provides for adjustment assistance, the scale of the problem has been modest and encumbered by red tape. Labor has dubbed it "burial insurance."

So far, President Carter has avoided restrictive new tariffs and quotas in the case of imported shoes and color television sets, opting instead for "orderly marketing agreements" (temporary voluntary ceilings on imports) as a stop-gap measure, while trying to work out a complete overhaul of adjustment assistance. We will keep you informed of developments so that you can jump in at the right moment. An updated LWVEF publication on trade will be available this winter.

Meanwhile, *The Politics of Trade* (#431, 75¢) and *Tackling the Trouble with Trade* (#458, 60¢) are still good background tools. For your own updating, the best sources of information on this fast-changing topic will be such newspapers and magazines as *Business Week* and *The Wall Street Journal*. Some libraries may subscribe to the *Journal of Commerce* or the *National Journal*.

Trade offers an obvious opportunity to link international relations to your own community, since businesses and consumers in all areas of the country are influenced by world trade. For example, the Illinois LWV is doing a statewide trade update this year, gathering information on the impact of trade and investment in each local community, and surveying consumer attitudes. (For specifics, contact the state IR chairperson, Joan Nell, 1495 Northwoods Circle, Deerfield, IL 60015.)

Other Leagues in areas with industries hurt by imports may want to monitor the adjustment assistance program in their community. Is information on how to apply for help readily available to those affected? Have workers and industries been able to receive assistance? Has the assistance proven adequate? What changes do you think are needed? Please forward the results of any monitoring project to the LWVUS to help us evaluate the proposed programs.

And don't forget the development connection

"The League of Women Voters believes that long-term requirements for world peace, humanitarian obligations, and long-range national interests demand U.S. policies that help less developed countries reach self-sustaining economic growth. League members understand that the development process encompasses more than economic growth and urge that the focus be on concerns of development and on an improved quality of life for the people of developing countries. U.S. development assistance policies should enhance human dignity and fulfill basic human needs. . . . The League deems it essential that the trend of reduced aid be reversed and that U.S. contributions for development assistance be increased."

Impact on issues

The recent UN consensus emphasized how closely related economic development issues are to UN activities and the patterns of world trade. The North/South dialog will continue to dominate much of the UN's discussions. Refresh your memory by reviewing the report on the LWVEF-sponsored symposium, *U.S. Relations with the Developing Nations: The New International Economic Countdown*. (#692, 75¢). One trade-related item high on the Third World's agenda is commodity agreements to stabilize the prices of primary products. At the Spring 1977 Conference on International

Economic Cooperation in Paris the United States committed itself to work out commodity arrangements. The League supports such agreements where appropriate on a case-by-case basis.

Pushing for increased appropriations for both our bilateral and multilateral aid programs is always an action opportunity. This year, there will be a chance to go beyond the mere dollar figures to consider the whole structure of our foreign aid system. President Carter has ordered a review of U.S. aid programs in the context of a possible "substantial increase" in aid levels. And Congress will start preliminary work this fall on a major rewrite of the foreign assistance authorization bill for next year. Watch *REPORT FROM THE HILL* for developments. The Overseas Development Council's, *The United States and World Development, Agenda 1977*, is an excellent analysis of the issues involved (\$4.95 from ODC, 1717 Massachusetts Ave. N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036).

If your committee has the time and interest to delve even deeper into development issues, there are many "hot" issues you can pursue, such as population control, multinational corporations, technology transfer, women in development, food production and agricultural development, and even desertification (the problem many nations now face as their land slowly becomes desert).

You might think about . . .

Regardless of where you decide to focus your energies there are many activities you can consider, ranging from the quick and easy to the ambitious. For instance, . . .

To keep your committee and members informed:

- ☐ Highlight news events on relevant IR issues in your bulletin.
- ☐ Place your League on the mailing list for your state's Department of Commerce newsletter.
- ☐ Build a meeting around the taped comments of an expert, e.g., local businessperson, economist, etc.
- ☐ Place your League on the mailing list for the free *Multilateral Trade Negotiations News*, Dept. of Commerce, Room 3027, Washington, DC 20230; then summarize items of interest in your bulletin.
- ☐ Write to the U.S. Agency for International Development, Office of Public Affairs, Dept. of State, Washington, D.C. 20523, for current program information (e.g. U.S. AID Programs for FY 1978 describes which businesses in each state are involved in AID programs).
- ☐ Invite people to speak to your League who have attended the Transnational Dialogues sponsored by the ODC and the Kettering Foundation to talk about the needs and aspirations of developing nations. Contact ODC (address above) for names in your area. A university extension office might also be a good source for speakers.
- ☐ Tap into the Great Decisions discussion program of the Foreign Policy Association. 345 E 46th St. N.Y., N.Y. 10017

To relate IR positions to your community:

- ☐ Investigate any state protectionist policies and laws that may be affecting the actions of state commissions and officials.
- ☐ Write to state commissioners or officials regarding state trade policies ("Buy American" provisions).
- ☐ Observe local trade group meetings.
- ☐ Get appointed to a local or state trade bureau.
- ☐ Contact agriculture groups, such as state or local producers' associations, commodity groups, farm organizations, etc., for participation in trade meetings.

To inform your community:

- ☐ Develop a display of trade materials—emphasizing the impact of international trade on your community or state—for use in schools, libraries and shopping centers and for meetings of the chamber of commerce, labor unions, church and service clubs. Such projects could be funded through organizations, citizen groups, state humanities boards or private foundations.
- ☐ Offer similar information in the form of a brochure.
- ☐ Work with your school system to develop a presentation for classes or a seminar for teachers on the United Nations.
- ☐ Convey the same insights through a public meeting.
- ☐ Outline to a TV or radio station the format for a program on one of the IR topics. Stress how the issue affects your community.

To take effective IR action:

- ☐ Read *REPORT FROM THE HILL* regularly. See that your members are alerted to contact legislators.
 - ☐ Make member action easy by supplying postcards or stationery at meetings, for on-the-spot letter writing.
 - ☐ Collect a file of representatives' views for use as a reference in later phone and letter contact.
- Of course, these techniques just scratch the surface of the myriad IR possibilities your League might undertake. Have fun!

WORLD AFFAIRS CENTER

BOARD OF DIRECTORS

1977-78

OFFICERS

CHAIRMAN: Ms. Gladys Brooks, 5056 Garfield Ave. S., Minneapolis, MN 55419
(823-7672)

VICE-CHAIRMAN: Mr. John Edie, 4832 Queen Ave. S., Minneapolis, MN 55410
(H. 926-8538, O. 377-5800)

SECRETARY: Ms. Mary Letourneau, 2706 Brookridge Ave., Crystal, MN 55422
(H. 545-5700, O. 781-6887)

STAFF

World Affairs Center
University of Minnesota
306 Westbrook Hall
77 Pleasant St. S.E.
Minneapolis, Minnesota 55455

William C. Rogers, Director (373-3709)

Jay Greenberg, Assistant Director (373-3740)

Mercedes Erickson, Senior Secretary (373-3799)

PUBLIC MEMBERS

Ms. Bonnie Neubeck, International Planning Manager, The Tennant Company, 701 N. Lilac Dr., Minneapolis, MN 55422 (540-1297)

Prof. James Houck, Agricultural and Applied Economics, 332k Classroom Office Building, 1994 Buford Ave., University of Minnesota, St. Paul, MN 55108 (376-3560)

Prof. Dale Huffington, Continuing Education in the Arts, 320 Westbrook Hall, 77 Pleasant St. S.E., University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, MN 55455 (373-4947)

KEY to the following designations:

Rep. - Representative
Alt. - Alternate
* - Reporter
Pres. - President

(over)

ALLIANCE FRANCAISE OF THE TWIN CITIES

Ms. Jasmine Keller, 2629 E. Lake of the Isles Blvd., Minneapolis, MN 55408
(374-2626) - Pres., Rep., *

Ms. Nelly Blackburn, 2108 Oliver Ave. S., Minneapolis, MN 55405 (374-3336) - Alt.

AMERICAN ASSOCIATION OF UNIVERSITY WOMEN - MINNESOTA DIVISION

Ms. Martha O. Nelson, Box 88, Rush City, MN 55069 - Pres.

Ms. Donna McCoy, 2305 W. 52nd St., Minneapolis, MN 55410 (922-3575) - Rep.

Ms. Beverly Patterson, 501 Unique Dr., Burnsville, MN 55337 (894-5857) - *

AMERICAN RED CROSS YOUTH SERVICE PROGRAMS

413 Auditorium St., St. Paul, MN 55102 (224-4981)

11 Dell Place, Minneapolis, MN 55403 (871-7676)

Ms. Starr Rausch, 11 Dell Place, Minneapolis, MN 55403 (871-7676, ext. 26) - Rep., *

AMERICAN YOUTH HOSTELS, INC. - MINNESOTA COUNCIL

475 Cedar St., St. Paul, MN 55101

Mr. Steven Nelson, 208 Shaubut, Mankato, MN 56001 (H. 507/387-5321, O. 222-0771,
ext. 45) - Pres.

Mr. Frank Braun, 2024 Drew Ave. S., Minneapolis, MN 55416 (H. 926-9319, O. 373-2266) -
Rep.

Mr. George Colarich, 615 E. 22nd St., Minneapolis, MN 55404 (H. 871-5491, O. 222-0771,
ext. 45) - Alt., *

AUGSBURG COLLEGE, MINNEAPOLIS, MINNESOTA 55454

731-21st Ave. S. (332-5181)

Dr. Oscar A. Anderson (H. 722-4443, O. 332-5181, ext. 660) - Pres.

Ms. Mildred Joel, 2904-18th Ave. S., Minneapolis, MN 55407 (H. 724-7903, O. 322-5181) -
Rep., *

BEMIDJI STATE UNIVERSITY, BEMIDJI, MINNESOTA 56601

R. D. Decker - Pres.

Dr. Alexander G. Nadesan, 403 Lincoln Ave., Bemidji, MN 56601 (H. 218/751-4026,
O. 218/755-3964) - Rep.

BEMIDJI STATE UNIVERSITY - continued

Ms. Lorna Sullivan, Rt. 2, Box 361, Bemidji, MN 56601 (H. 218/751-1102, O. 218/755-2024) - *

CARLETON COLLEGE, NORTHFIELD, MINNESOTA 55057
(507/645-4431)

Mr. Robert Edwards (H. 507/645-9644, O. 507/645-4431, ext. 501) - Pres.

Prof. Robert E. Will, Department of Economics (H. 507/645-4532, O. 507/645-4431, ext. 482 & 266) - Rep.

Mr. George Dehne, Director of College Relations (507/645-4431, ext. 461) - *

COLLEGE OF ST. BENEDICT, ST. JOSEPH, MINNESOTA 56374
(1/363-5786)

Sister Johanna Becker (H. 1/363-8695, O. 1/363-5786) - Rep., *

COLLEGE OF ST. CATHERINE, ST. PAUL, MINNESOTA 55105
2004 Randolph Ave. (690-6500)

Sister Alberta Huber (690-6525) - Pres.

Ms. Caroline White (690-6549) - Rep.

Mr. York Febres (690-6570) - Alt.

Sister Karen Kennelly (690-6500) - *

COLLEGE OF ST. THOMAS, ST. PAUL, MINNESOTA 55105
2115 Summit Ave. (647-5000)

Dr. Demos Hadjiyanis, Prof. of Economics (H. 789-0977, O. 647-5663) - Rep., *

ENGLISH SPEAKING UNION - MINNESOTA BRANCH

Mr. Roger E. Montgomery, 52 Groveland Terr., Minneapolis, MN 55403 (H. 377-7592, O. 330-4027) - Pres., Alt.

Mr. Richardson Okie, Peninsula Road, Dellwood, White Bear Lake, MN 55110 (429-9292) - Rep., *

Mrs. David B. Paulsen, 3816 Chowen Ave. S., Minneapolis, MN 55410 (922-9328) - *

BEMIDJI STATE UNIVERSITY - continued

Ms. Lorna Sullivan, Rt. 2, Box 361, Bemidji, MN 56601 (H. 218/751-1102, O. 218/755-2024) - *

CARLETON COLLEGE, NORTHFIELD, MINNESOTA 55057
(507/645-4431)

Mr. Robert Edwards (H. 507/645-9644, O. 507/645-4431, ext. 501) - Pres.

Prof. Robert E. Will, Department of Economics (H. 507/645-4532, O. 507/645-4431, ext. 482 & 266) - Rep.

Mr. George Dehne, Director of College Relations (507/645-4431, ext. 461) - *

COLLEGE OF ST. BENEDICT, ST. JOSEPH, MINNESOTA 56374
(1/363-5786)

Sister Johanna Becker (H. 1/363-8695, O. 1/363-5786) - Rep., *

COLLEGE OF ST. CATHERINE, ST. PAUL, MINNESOTA 55105
2004 Randolph Ave. (690-6500)

Sister Alberta Huber (690-6525) - Pres.

Ms. Caroline White (690-6549) - Rep.

Mr. York Febres (690-6570) - Alt.

Sister Karen Kennelly (690-6500) - *

COLLEGE OF ST. THOMAS, ST. PAUL, MINNESOTA 55105
2115 Summit Ave. (647-5000)

Dr. Demos Hadjiyanis, Prof. of Economics (H. 789-0977, O. 647-5663) - Rep., *

ENGLISH SPEAKING UNION - MINNESOTA BRANCH

Mr. Roger E. Montgomery, 52 Groveland Terr., Minneapolis, MN 55403 (H. 377-7592, O. 330-4027) - Pres., Alt.

Mr. Richardson Okie, Peninsula Road, Dellwood, White Bear Lake, MN 55110 (429-9292) - Rep., *

Mrs. David B. Paulsen, 3816 Chowen Ave. S., Minneapolis, MN 55410 (922-9328) - *

EXPERIMENT IN INTERNATIONAL LIVING

Mrs. Thomas P. Brennan, 7012 Mark Terrace Dr., Edina, MN 55435 - Pres.

GREEK-AMERICAN CULTURAL AND EDUCATIONAL SOCIETY

Ramar Bldg., 111 E. Franklin Ave., Minneapolis, MN 55404 (874-9100)

Mr. Evangelo Kalambokidis, 1963 Rockstone Ln., New Brighton, MN 55112 (786-8287) - Pres.

Prof. George Stephanopoulos, Dept. of Chemical Engineering, 257-D Chemical Engineering Bldg., 421 Washington Ave. S.E., University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, MN 55455 (H. 338-1561, O. 373-2309) - Rep.

Mr. Virgil Dias, 505 Ontario St. S.E., Minneapolis, MN 55414 (331-1215) - *

GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS COLLEGE, ST. PETER, MINNESOTA 56082
(507/931-4300)

Dr. Melva Lind (507/931-4300) - Rep.

Mr. Steve Waldhauser, Director of News Service - *

HAMLIN UNIVERSITY, ST. PAUL, MINNESOTA 55104
1536 Hewitt Ave. (641-2800)

Dr. Wesley St. John, Dir., International Studies Center and Prof., Political Science (H. 646-8331, O. 641-2245) - Rep., *

INTERNATIONAL CULTURAL EXCHANGE

Ms. Chloe Doyle, 163 Elizabeth Ln., Burnsville, MN 55336 (890-4462) - Alt., *

INTERNATIONAL INSTITUTE OF MINNESOTA

1694 Como Ave., St. Paul, MN 55108

Mr. Edward Bruno, 2148 E. 5th, St. Paul, MN 55119 (H. 738-2148, O. 733-3465) - Pres.

Mr. Robert J. Hoyle, Executive Director (647-0191) - Rep., *

IRISH AMERICAN CULTURAL INSTITUTE

683 Osceola Ave., St. Paul, MN 55105 (647-5678)

Dr. Eoin McKiernan, 683 Osceola Ave., St. Paul, MN 55105 (H. 227-4544, O. 647-5678) - Pres.

Ms. Leah Curtin, 2163 Dayton, St. Paul, MN 55104 (644-9346) - Rep.

IRISH AMERICAN CULTURAL INSTITUTE - continued

Ms. Sarah P. Oviatt, 683 Osceola Ave., St. Paul, MN 55105 (H. 699-3921, O. 647-5678) - *

JAPAN-AMERICA SOCIETY OF MINNESOTA, INC.

Mr. W. Soren Egekqvist, 5316 Dundee Rd., Minneapolis, MN 55436 (H. 922-2243, O. 544-4124) - Pres.

Ms. Kimi Hara, Rt. 1, Box 37, Maple Plain, MN 55359 (H. 479-1460, O. 296-5493) - Rep., *

Ms. Yoshio Sako, 227 Bloomington Rd., Ft. Snelling, St. Paul, MN 55111 - Alt.

JEWISH COMMUNITY RELATIONS COUNCIL AND ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE OF MINNESOTA AND THE DAKOTAS

15 S. 9th St., Suite 400, Minneapolis, MN 55402 (338-7816)

Mr. Bill Aberman, 8900 Minnehaha Circle, Minneapolis, MN 55426 (935-6065) - Pres.

Mr. Morton W. Ryweck, Executive Director, 1916 Penn Ave. S., Minneapolis, MN 55405 (H. 374-5580, O. 338-7816) - Rep., *

LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS OF MINNESOTA

555 Wabasha, St. Paul, MN 55105 (224-5445)

Ms. Helen Borg, P.O. Box 5, Mound, MN 55364 (472-2674) - Pres.

Ms. Pat Llona, 5936 Grove St., Edina, MN 55436 (920-0426) - Rep.

Ms. Judy Rosenblatt, 2225 Draper Ave., St. Paul, MN 55113 (631-0022) - Alt.

Ms. Mary Davies, 1001 S. 10th St., Moorhead, MN 56560 (218/233-2175) - *

MACALESTER COLLEGE, INTERNATIONAL CENTER, ST. PAUL, MINNESOTA
1600 Grand Ave.

Dr. David B. Sanford, 2427 E. Lake of the Isles Blvd., Minneapolis, MN 55405 (H. 377-8323, O. 647-6310) - Director

Ms. Janice K. Dickinson, 1899 Selby, St. Paul, MN 55104 (H. 647-1786, O. 647-6300) - Rep.

Ms. Sondra Decker Fruzzetti, 69 Macalester St., St. Paul, MN 55105 (H. 698-5990, O. 647-6310) - Alt.

Ms. Marjorie C. Johnson, 810 W. Arlington Ave., St. Paul, MN 55117 (H. 488-5137, O. 647-6310) - *

MANKATO STATE UNIVERSITY, MANKATO, MINNESOTA 56001

Dr. Douglas Moore - Pres.

Mr. Kuhn H. Lee, Director, International Student Office (H. 507/388-6452, O. 507/389-6618) - Rep., *

Ms. Carole Peterson, Asst. Dir., International Student Office (H. 507/345-6707, O. 507/389-6618) - Alt.

MINNEAPOLIS JAYCEES

400 S. 7th St., Minneapolis, MN 55415 (335-2125)

Mr. Marlowe Senske, 400 S. 7th St., Minneapolis, MN 55415 (H. 866-7150, O. 874-4209) - Pres., Rep., *

MINNEAPOLIS PEOPLE-TO-PEOPLE, INC.

Ms. Harriet Holden, 3822 W. Calhoun Pkwy., Minneapolis, MN 55410 (929-5224) - Pres., Rep.

Ms. Gertrude Swanson, 3505 Irving Ave. S., Minneapolis, MN 55408 (827-3868) - Alt., *

MINNESOTA COUNCIL OF CHURCHES

122 W. Franklin Ave., Minneapolis, MN 55404 (871-1571)

Executive Director (871-1574)

Rev. Robert Allen, First Presbyterian Church, 308 Water St., Albert Lea, MN 56007 (H. 507/373-1740, O. 507/373-2035) - Pres.

Rev. Albert Lehman, 122 W. Franklin Ave., Minneapolis, MN 55404 (871-1571) - Rep.

Mr. Tom DiNanni, 122 W. Franklin Ave., Minneapolis, MN 55404 (871-1571) - *

MINNESOTA COUNCIL FOR THE SOCIAL STUDIES

Ms. Zada Koblas, 3852 Garfield Ave. S., Minneapolis, MN 55409 (H. 822-4220, O. 348-7481) - Pres., Rep., *

MINNESOTA FARMERS UNION

1717 University Ave., St. Paul, MN 55104 (646-4861)

Mr. Cyril Carpenter, 1717 University Ave., St. Paul, MN 55104 (H. 888-0345, O. 646-4861) - Pres.

MINNESOTA FARMERS UNION - continued

Mr. Dennis Gardner, 1717 University Ave., St. Paul, MN 55104 (646-4861) - Rep., *

Mr. Robert Rumpza, 1717 University Ave., St. Paul, MN 55104 (H. 644-2988, O. 646-4861) - *

MINNESOTA FEDERATION OF BUSINESS AND PROFESSIONAL WOMEN'S CLUBS, INC.

Ms. Dorothy Hebert, 425 S. 6th Ave., St. Cloud, MN 56301 (H. 1/251-1178, O. 1/252-1450) - Pres.

Ms. Jule Ann S. Johnson, 4548 Stevens Ave. S., Minneapolis, MN 55409 (823-5551) - Rep., *

MINNESOTA FEDERATIONS OF WOMEN'S CLUBS

912 Upper Midwest Bldg., 425 Hennepin Ave., Minneapolis, MN 55401 (332-0067)

Mrs. Ernest Tinseth, Box 1093, Willmar, MN 56201 (1/235-0799) - Pres., Rep., *

MINNESOTA INTERNATIONAL CENTER

711 E. River Rd., Minneapolis, MN 55455 (373-3200)

Mr. Paul Cashman, 2140 Folwell St., St. Paul, MN 55108 (H. 645-2976, O. 376-1375) - Pres.

Ms. Frances Paulu, Executive Director, 711 E. River Rd., Minneapolis, MN 55455 (H. 823-7700, O. 373-3200) - Rep., *

Ms. Ruth Fitzmaurice, 6400 York Ave., Minneapolis, MN 55435 (920-9783) - Alt.

MINNESOTA LIBRARY ASSOCIATION

State Organization Service, 30 Shops Bldg., 319-15th Ave. S.E., University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, MN 55455 (373-3170)

Ms. Barbara Hughes, 548 Rice Creek Ter., Fridley, MN 55432 (560-2618) - Pres.

Mr. Edward Swanson, 1065 Portland Ave., St. Paul, MN 55104 (H. 291-1261, O. 296-4549) - Rep., *

MINNESOTA PTSA

55 Sherburne Ave., St. Paul, MN 55103 (224-4841)

Mrs. L. F. Gulbrandson, 624-2nd St., Proctor, MN 55810 (218/624-5563) - Pres.

Mrs. J. M. Leibel, Rm. 209, 55 Sherburne Ave., St. Paul, MN 55103 (224-4841) - Alt., *

MINNESOTA WORLD TRADE ASSOCIATION

5235 Xerxes Ave. S., Minneapolis, MN 55410 (926-6202)

Mr. Arthur Cadeiux, Business Manager

Mr. Paul Strand, MTS Systems Corporation, 8055 Mitchell Rd., Eden Prairie, MN 55343 (944-4000) - Pres.

Mr. Robert Slenes, Export Manager, General Resources International, Inc., 201 S. 3rd St., Hopkins, MN 55343 (H. 631-0658, O. 933-7474) - Rep., *

MO PAN AMERICAN CLUB

Mrs. Russell Polivka, 405 W. Minnehaha Pkwy., Minneapolis, MN 55419 (H. 825-0688 , O. 336-1554) - Pres.

Mrs. Marilyn Cuneo, 4622 Bloomington Ave. S., Minneapolis, MN 55407 (825-9419) - Rep.

Mrs. Alfred Bjornnes, 2222 Pillsbury Ave., Minneapolis, MN 55405 (871-8360) - Alt.

Mrs. W. J. Burtzlaff, 4650 S. Xerxes Ave., Minneapolis, MN 55410 (926-2215) - *

MOORHEAD STATE UNIVERSITY, MOORHEAD, MINNESOTA 56560

Dr. Roland Dille (H. 218/236-9393, O. 218/236-2243) - Pres.

Dr. A. Khoshkish, Political Science Department (H. 218/238-5781, O. 218/236-2942) - Rep.

Mr. Glenn Tornell - *

ST. CLOUD STATE UNIVERSITY, ST. CLOUD, MINNESOTA 56301

(1/225-0212)

Mr. Charles J. Graham, 9 Highbanks Pl., St. Cloud, MN 56301 (H. 1/253-2904, O. 1/255-2122) - Pres.

Dr. William H. Nunn, 913-5th Ave. S., St. Cloud, MN 56301 (H. 1/251-1445, O. 1/255-2056) - Rep.

Dr. C. Robert Frost, Route #1, St. Cloud, MN 56301 (H. 1/253-5252, O. 1/255-4287) - Alt.

Ms. Patricia S. Potter, 1116-12th St., St. Cloud, MN 56301 (H. 1/251-9079, O. 1/255-3111) - *

ST. JOHN'S UNIVERSITY, COLLEGEVILLE, MINNESOTA 56321

(1/363-2033)

ST. JOHN'S UNIVERSITY - continued

Mr. Joseph P. Farry, Assistant Professor Government - Rep., *

Mr. Raymond Larson, Assistant Professor Modern Languages - Alt.

ST. PAUL JAYCEES

155 Endicott Arcade, St. Paul, MN 55101 (222-1708)

Mr. Linus Tumbleson, 155 Endicott Arcade, St. Paul, MN 55101 (H. 224-8888, O. 298-2048) - Pres.

Mr. Dave McMillan, Vogel, Nemo, Stapleton and Brenner, 2300 American National Bank, St. Paul, MN 55101 (227-6661) - Rep., *

TWIN CITIES INTERNATIONAL PROGRAM FOR YOUTH LEADERS AND SOCIAL WORKERS, INC.

400 Ford Hall, 224 Church St. S.E., University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, MN 55455 (373-4607)

Ms. Mirium Cutts, 373 Woodlawn, St. Paul, MN 55105 (699-1236) - Pres.

Ms. Pearl Mitchell, Ramsey County Welfare Department, 160 E. Kellogg Blvd., St. Paul, MN 55101 (298-4651) - Rep.

Ms. Rose Erlander, 2867 James Ave. S., Minneapolis, MN 55405 (822-7913) - Alt.

Ms. Merrillyn Belgum, 415 Ford Hall, 224 Church St. S.E., University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, MN 55455 (H. 571-1752, O. 373-4607) - *

TWIN CITY YMCA WORLD SERVICE

St. Paul YMCA, 475 Cedar St., St. Paul, MN 55101 *222-0771)

UNITED NATIONS ASSOCIATION OF MINNESOTA, INC.

Rm. 200, 55 S. 8th St., Minneapolis, MN 55402 (333-2824)

Ms. Mary Lou Nelson, 17 S. 1st St., #602A, Minneapolis, MN 55401 (H. 338-1548, O. 333-2824) - Pres., *

Ms. Mardonna Bartholet, 5876 Sunrise Dr., Minneapolis, MN 55419 (H. 920-5224, O. 944-2110) - Rep.

WOMEN'S INTERNATIONAL LEAGUE FOR PEACE AND FREEDOM - MINNESOTA BRANCH

111 E. Franklin Ave., Minneapolis, MN 55404 (870-9716)

Ms. Corrine Ack, 5535 Loring Ln., Minneapolis, MN 55422 (546-9659) - *

WOMEN'S UNITED NATIONS RALLY

Ms. Elizabeth Ebbott, 409 Birchwood Ave., White Bear Lake, MN 55110 (426-3643) - Pres., Rep., *

Ms. Pat Llona, 5936 Grove St., Edina, MN 55436 (920-0426) - Alt.

WORLD AFFAIRS COUNCIL OF GREATER MINNEAPOLIS

Ms. Cecile MacInnes, 2800 W. 44th St., Minneapolis, MN 55410 (929-6915) - Pres.

Mrs. Joseph Dobbins, 6816 Logan Ave. S., Minneapolis, MN 55423 (866-8856) - Rep., *

Ms. Elsa Kornfuehrer, 130-15th Ave. N., Hopkins, MN 55343 (938-1661) - Alt.

WORLD FEDERALISTS, USA - MINNESOTA BRANCH

Mr. Ted Richter, 1900 W. Co. Rd. F, St. Paul, MN 55112 (H. 566-4165, O. 633-4031) - Pres., *

Dr. Joseph Schwartzberg, 2728 Upton Ave. S., Minneapolis, MN 55416 (H. 926-7118, O. 373-2665) - Rep.

Ms. Sue Ebner, 718 S.E. 4th St., Minneapolis, MN 55414 (331-8681) - *

The Panama Canal Treaties: Separating Fact From Fiction

In short

As the TV cameras watched, President Carter and General Omar Torrijos of Panama put their signatures to two treaties on September 7, 1977. The signing would up 13 years of negotiations over the control and operation of the Panama Canal, capping the efforts of the last four U.S. presidents. If ratified, the two treaties would replace the Treaty of 1903, which has come under rising criticism within the United States, from Panama and from other nations around the world. The new treaties recognize Panama's sovereignty over the territory of the Canal Zone and over the canal itself. One covers the period from now until the turn of the century, during which time Panama would gradually assume control over the canal. The other assures the Canal's permanent neutrality and gives U.S. warships rights of passage. The treaties are supported by former President Ford, former Secretaries of State Henry Kissinger and Dean Rusk, and the Joint Chiefs of Staff of the U.S. armed services. The next step is approval by the U.S. Senate. There, in spite of this high-level support, the treaties face a tough fight. It is crucial that the ratification debate be based on facts and not fiction.

Background

President Theodore Roosevelt became interested in building a canal through Panama, then a province of Colombia, around the turn of the century, after a French company went bankrupt in the attempt. When Colombia rejected a treaty offer from the United States in 1903, the province of Panama declared itself independent—with U.S. support, including gunboats off the coast. Immediately, a Frenchman, Bunau-Varilla, rushed to Washington and signed a treaty on behalf of the fledgling country of Panama, just one day before Panamanian negotiators arrived. As former Congressman James Symington (D-Missouri) has put it, "History offers few examples of formalities concluded by a new-born republic under greater duress."

The 1903 treaty gave the United States "in perpetuity the use, occupation, and control" of a 10-mile zone across the narrow neck of the middle of Panama. While Panama retained titular sovereignty over the zone, the United States was granted "all rights, power, and authority . . . which the United States would possess and exercise if it were sovereign." In return, the United States agreed to pay Panama \$10 million initially and \$250,000 per year (raised several times since, to the

current level of \$2.3 million per year).

The building of the 51-mile canal across the Isthmus of Panama was a remarkable engineering accomplishment for the United States. It cost over \$390 million, as well as the lives of thousands of workers—U.S. citizens, Panamanians and others—who faced malaria, yellow fever and accidents as they carved a waterway out of the jungle. Since it opened in 1914, the canal has been an important, though recently declining, factor in international commerce and military strategy.

Dissatisfaction with the 1903 treaty

Panamanians have always objected to the terms of the treaty so speedily accepted in their vulnerable situation, but over the years their dissatisfaction with a treaty giving another country authority over a strip of their territory has intensified. As the world's colonial powers of the 19th century have given their former colonies independence one after another, U.S. control over a portion of Panama has been viewed as an anachronism by other countries. The canal issue has, in fact, become a sore point in U.S. relations with nations of the western hemisphere, which have expressed their support for revising the treaty in unanimous resolutions of the Organization of American States (OAS). Panamanian resentment of the current treaty arrangements came to a head in 1964, when a dispute over which flags would fly over a school in the Canal Zone erupted into violence. Believing that the United States' major interest—an open and smooth-running canal—would be better served by a treaty that the Panamanians supported than by one that they opposed, then-President Johnson began negotiations for a new treaty.

What the new treaties would do

The product of 13 years of negotiations is actually two treaties. Under the **Panama Canal Treaty**, the United States would retain authority to operate the canal, with increasing Panamanian participation, through 1999. During this period, Panama would assume possession of the Canal Zone but would grant the United States the right to maintain military bases for the defense of the canal. Panama would receive an estimated \$50-60 million a year from Canal revenues, depending on their size and adjusted for inflation. The Carter administration has also pledged its best efforts to give Panama an economic aid package of loans, guarantees and credits over the next several years totalling about \$295 million.

In return for the United States agreeing not to negotiate with any other Central American country to build a sea-level canal until after 1999, Panama would agree



not to allow any other country to build a canal through its territory without U.S. consent. Numerous studies suggest that the least expensive and most feasible route for such a canal would be through Panama.

In the **Treaty Concerning the Permanent Neutrality and Operation of the Panama Canal**, Panama permanently guarantees unrestricted access and nondiscriminatory tolls for the shipping of all nations. Under the treaty, the United States would retain the right to defend the canal against external attack and to use the canal for its warships, regardless of what they were carrying or where they were going. A separate accompanying protocol offers other nations the opportunity to join in support of the canal's permanent neutrality.

Economic factors

Only seven percent of the foreign trade going into or out of U.S. seaports in 1976 passed through the canal. This was down from 13 percent in 1949 and represents less than 1 percent of our gross national product (GNP). While the canal is still important for U.S. trade, it is much less so than in the past, partly because many of the new super tankers and containerized cargo ships are too large to pass through the canal. In recent years, canal revenues have declined, and tolls were raised in 1974 after being held virtually constant since 1914. Although the economic benefits the United States derives from the canal have been on the wane, the canal is still vitally important for several other nations, particularly Panama, which counts directly on the canal for about 13 percent of its GNP and indirectly for much more. Clearly, Panama has an even greater economic stake than the United States in seeing that the canal remains open and well run.

Military factors

The United States will maintain military bases and troops for the defense of the canal until the year 2000 and retain the permanent right to defend the canal after that date. U.S. and Panamanian warships are assured passage.

The major strategic military importance of the canal to the United States is to provide mobility for troops and supplies in time of war. However, some military strategists have called attention to the fact that the increased size of our Navy's ships and the vulnerability of the canal to missile attack or sabotage have also decreased its strategic value in recent years. In fact, many people argue that a treaty the Panamanians enthusiastically support will actually make it easier to defend the canal against internal attacks or sabotage, whereas canal defense would become increasingly difficult in the face of growing Panamanian resentment.

Foreign policy factors

The Latin American nations and much of the rest of the developing world are highly vocal about the need to change what they regard as a remnant of colonialism. Some people argue that turning the canal over to Panamanian control would damage U.S. prestige; others maintain that a failure to adjust to a changed world, in which any signs of colonial rule are abhorred, would actually be much more detrimental to U.S. standing in the world. Chief U.S. negotiator Ellsworth Bunker contends that ratification of the treaties would "be a strongly positive element in our overall relationship with other Latin American neighbors." The outcome of the Senate's debate is expected to have a profound impact on U.S. relations not only with the western hemisphere but with nations around the world.

What people are saying—pro and con

"The record is absolutely clear. The United States bought and paid for the Panama Canal. It is our property. It belongs to the people of

this country. . . . We bought it; we have paid for it. It is ours."

Senator Strom Thurmond, *Congressional Record*, March 29, 1974.

"Contrary to the belief of many Americans, the United States did not purchase the Canal Zone for \$10 million in 1903. Rather, the money we gave Panama was in return for the rights which Panama granted us by treaty. We bought Louisiana; we bought Alaska. In Panama, we bought not territory but rights. It is clear that under the law we do not have sovereignty in Panama."

Ambassador Ellsworth Bunker, chief U.S. negotiator. Quoted in the *New York Times*, Aug. 1, 1977.

"Torrijos as dictator has been a consistent violator of human rights in Panama. In light of President Carter's strident—and laudable—campaign for human rights, isn't signing the treaties a blatant act of hypocrisy?"

Representative Philip Crane (R-Illinois), *Washington Post*, Sept. 12, 1977.

"... we have discussed this issue [human rights] with the government. . . . Already there are encouraging signs. On September 13, Panama invited the INTER-AMERICAN HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION to send a team to investigate the human rights conditions in Panama. In addition, it has invited the UN to send observers to its plebiscite on the new treaties next month."

At the same time, the Panamanian Government has made continuing and real commitments to the economic and social rights of its citizens."

Secretary of State Cyrus Vance before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, September 26, 1977.

"It does not, I can assure you, feel good at all when your country is divided in two by a 10-mile zone in which your language is not spoken, your laws are not applied, and your country is not your country."

A Panamanian banker quoted by Joseph Treaster, *New York Times*, August 11, 1977.

F.Y.I.

The Panama Canal Treaty in Perspective, Helen C. Low. Brochure published by the Overseas Development Council, 1717 Mass. Ave. N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036. (1-10) copies, 10¢ each. \$3.30/100 copies. Includes list of other sources.

Text of Treaties Relating to the Panama Canal. Free from Department of State, Bureau of Public Affairs, Washington, D.C. 20520. Also in the *New York Times*, Sept. 7, 1977, p. A16.

"Panama Canal Giveaway Violates Constitution," Senator Orrin G. Hatch (R-Utah), article in *Conservative Digest*, September 1977, Vol. III, no. 9, pp. 32-33.

"A New Treaty for Panama?" (Two articles, one pro and one con.) *AEI Defense Review*, No. 4. Order from American Enterprise Institute, 1150 17th St. N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036 for \$1.50; also available in some libraries.

The Path Between the Seas, David McCullough (New York: Simon and Schuster), 1977, \$14.95.

Questions for discussion

1. Should the United States seek to maintain its present control over the Panama Canal and Canal Zone indefinitely? Why or why not?
2. What do you think would be the consequences, if any, if the proposed Panama Canal treaties were rejected?
3. Would the United States' national interests be served best by ratifying the treaties? If not, what are the alternatives?



WITHDRAWAL OF US GROUND COMBAT FORCES FROM KOREA

1. Background: Since the signing of the Korean Armistice Agreement in July 1953, the Republic of Korea, aided by US ground, air, and naval forces, has maintained an uneasy truce along the 38th parallel dividing the Korean peninsula. Under the US-Korea Mutual Defense Treaty of 1954, each party recognizes that "an armed attack in the Pacific area on either of the parties in territories now under their respective administrative control...would be dangerous to its own peace and safety and declares that it would act to meet the common danger in accordance with its constitutional processes." US forces have been stationed in Korea pursuant to these treaty obligations. However, it has never been our intention to keep our ground combat forces in Korea indefinitely.
2. Changing circumstances: Although peace in the area remains elusive almost 25 years after the end of the Korean war, President Carter has concluded that changing circumstances will permit the careful, phased withdrawal of US ground combat forces from Korea over a 4-5 year period. This decision, involving full consultations with the Korean Government, is based on several factors:
 - A. The pattern of great power interests in Northeast Asia has changed substantially. We do not believe that it is in the interest of either the People's Republic of China or the Soviet Union to encourage North Korean aggression. In fact, recent evidence suggests that these two powers may now be exerting a moderating influence on the North.
 - B. In the last decade the South Korean economy has emerged as one of the strongest and fastest growing in Asia. This impressive growth has permitted the rapid phase out of US economic assistance, and it has enabled Korea to assume a greater share of its defense burden. Korean combat forces, numbering about 600,000, are already well-trained and equipped, and will be further modernized under a South Korean force modernization program that envisions the expenditure of approximately \$5 billion in the 1976-1981 period. Although the US expects to be asked to cooperate in this program, subject to Congressional approval, its cost will be borne by South Korea.
 - C. The US security commitment to South Korea remains firm. Even after the withdrawal of ground combat troops is complete, we will maintain a significant presence in Korea, including powerful air units. These forces, coupled with the presence of major US air, ground, and naval units in the western Pacific, will provide a strong deterrent to North Korean aggression.

- D. The President has made clear his intention that our ground combat force withdrawal will be accompanied by appropriate actions to assure that it does not weaken the Republic of Korea's defense capabilities.
3. The withdrawal program: There are now over 40,000 US military personnel in South Korea. The phased withdrawal will involve about 33,000 ground combat troops, and significant fighting units will remain until the final stage of the withdrawal program. President Carter has asked Congress to authorize the transfer to the Korean Government, on a grant basis, of certain military equipment now in the possession of US forces in Korea. The current value of the equipment intended for transfer is estimated to be up to \$800 million.
4. The future: US troop withdrawal will not alter the goal of permanent peace in Korea. We will continue to support efforts to ease tensions through any forum which involves the full participation of both North and South Korea. To this end we urge resumption of serious discussions between North and South Korea, suspended in 1975, and we continue to support the entry of both Koreas into the UN.



memorandum

TO: State League Presidents with copy for International Relations Chairs
 FROM: Ruth Robbins, International Relations Chair
 DATE: November 21, 1978

Ruth Robbins, LWVUS IR Chairs asks

I am writing to extend an invitation to your state board to select a League leader from your state to attend a national trade conference the League of Women Voters Education Fund is holding April 5-7, 1979 at Wingspread, the Johnson Foundation Conference Center in Racine, Wisconsin. This national conference is the first step of a trade education outreach project which will consist of State League trade education projects. The money contributed to the trade education project by a wide variety of donors will fund the national conference and will provide \$500 pass-through, seed money to all state Leagues, the District of Columbia, Puerto Rico and the Virgin Islands for their projects. The League leader selected to attend the February April conference should be prepared to develop and direct the state League project."

omit rest to # on p 3

The Conference: The purpose of the national conference is 1) to give League leaders substantive information on how trade affects the world economy; how trade affects the U.S. economy; how our trading partners view trade issues and problems; how various sectors in the U.S. economy view trade issues; and how U.S. trade policy is shaped.

2) to provide an opportunity to become familiar with and experiment with an educational technique that each League will be required to use as the first phase of its project. The technique is a "consultative group process," and its purpose is to bring together individuals with conflicting points of view and engage them in a discussion about trade.

3) to provide League leaders with an opportunity to discuss innovative and creative ideas for state League projects that successfully reach out and educate the public and involve those who are the decision-makers in trade policy.

The Project: The first stage in the national project is the conference.

Following the conference, League leaders will develop a project for their own states, bearing in mind the overall purpose of the trade education project: 1) to identify gaps in information/understanding of trade issues among the public and run a project designed to fill those gaps (to be done by each League's developing a project around the theme of its state's stake in world trade); 2) to begin to build a climate for ongoing discussion and interaction, especially among public opinion constituency leaders and decision-makers; and 3) to develop techniques for an educational (as opposed to polemical) exchange of conflicting viewpoints.

November 21, 1978

To help Leagues fulfill these goals, the following steps will be required of each League: Following the national conference, but prior to submitting project proposals, the project director will interview public opinion constituency leaders (for example, representatives from agriculture, labor, industry, public interest/consumer groups) to identify what they consider the major trade issues to be; the ways in which they could be addressed; how U.S. policy should be formulated to address their concerns; and in what ways the League project could be designed to reach the public. After receiving their input, the project director will draw up a project proposal for submission to the national IR Committee.

The second required step will occur after approval of the project and receipt of the seed money. It will be the first formal phase of each state's project. The project director will bring together those constituency leaders she has already interviewed for a consultative group discussion of trade issues. The purpose of this group session is to generate a learning experience for all and to contribute to a better understanding of various points of view. It will also serve to strengthen conditions that encourage on-going interaction (in other words to move away from what is so often prevalent: that is those who share common beliefs "only talking to each other"). Leagues will receive assistance at the national conference to carry out this consultative process. Dr. Jon Kinghorn of the Kettering Foundation is an expert in this field and will explain the process, answer questions and conduct a session with Conference participant experts from labor, industry and agriculture. League participants will also break up into groups to conduct mock consultative sessions among themselves with each person assuming a different sectoral role.

League project directors will be receiving instructions and interview and group session formats to follow in carrying out these requirements.

To help you and your board select your conference participant/project director, the following factors should be considered:

*Before the April conference the participant must be prepared to compile a state economic profile. The profile should identify the major economic sectors for the state; contain information on make-up and volume of imports and exports; estimate the number of jobs dependent on trade (both import and export-related); identify the firms and workers that are receiving adjustment assistance (as a way to get a handle on those being injured by imports). To help you with this profile we will be receiving and will send you information compiled by the Commerce Department's Office of Trade Analysis that gives state figures for agricultural and manufactured exports. Other sources of information are Chambers of Commerce; state government offices that work on economic development; state offices of the U.S. Department of Commerce. Statistics on

November 21, 1978

firms receiving adjustment assistance by state are available from Mr. Jack Osburn, Trade Act Certification Division, Room 6022, Department of Commerce, Washington, D.C. 20230. Information on numbers of workers receiving adjustment assistance and numbers of workers by industry in a given state is available by writing to Mr. Harold Bratt, Room S5303, Office of Trade Adjustment Assistance, Department of Labor, 3rd and Constitution, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20210. Please note that the offices providing information on adjustment assistance are not able to give you information on the total number of people in the workforce or total number of firms operating in your state. That information should be available from your state government.

*The participant should be familiar with the issues to be considered.

*The participant should have experience in working on International Relations for the League (state or local) and should have already demonstrated an ability to communicate with the public.

*The participant should show promise of further developing her capabilities as a League leader.

Conference facilities and funds allow for a maximum of 70 participants. State Leagues, Washington, D.C., Puerto Rico and the Virgin Islands are invited to send one participant each.

"We will be able to cover most of the expenses of League participants. The Johnson Foundation is providing conference facilities at Wingspread, including luncheons and dinners. Contributions from several corporations and organizations will make it possible for the League to provide lodging for all participants. We will also defray 85% of the transportation costs for the 53 Leagues involved."

^{D.M.T. balance}
Enclosed is a registration blank which should be returned as soon as possible. Registrations will not be accepted if they arrive after February 1, 1979.

If you have any questions please write Joan Twiggs, International Relations Department, League of Women Voters Education Fund, 1730 H Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036.

Looking forward to seeing you at Wingspread.

League of Women Voters Education Fund
1730 M Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20036

REGISTRATION BLANK

FOR

INTERNATIONAL TRADE CONFERENCE

April 5-7, 1979

The League leader to attend the symposium will be:

name: _____

league function: _____
(specify whether state or local level)

address: _____
(street)

_____ (city) _____ (state) _____ (zip)

telephone: _____
(area code)

Member of: _____
(local league)

PLEASE RETURN THIS REGISTRATION TO THE INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS
DEPARTMENT, LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS EDUCATION FUND BY
FEBRUARY 1, 1979.

FEB 27 1978

League of Women Voters of the United States 1730 M Street, N.W., Washington, D. C. 20036 Tel. (202) 296-1770



memorandum

This will go on DPN

TO: Local and State Leagues Presidents
(Attention: IR Chairmen)

FROM: Ruth Robbins, National IR Chairman

RE: Passage to India and Sri Lanka

WHO? WHAT? WHY?

There is no substitute for face-to-face encounter! I have always had to depend on the written and spoken word to understand how the League's development position addresses the needs and aspirations of the people in developing countries. So, it was with great enthusiasm that I accepted the invitation of the Overseas Development Council (a nonprofit, nongovernmental organization that has done a great deal of research into the problems of Third World nations) to join a group of Americans traveling to India and Sri Lanka (formerly Ceylon). The purpose of the trip, funded by the Charles F. Kettering Foundation, was educational: to give hand-picked Americans, representing different constituencies, an opportunity to talk directly to rural and urban dwellers, laborers, farmers, businessmen, academicians and government officials in both countries.

The American participants were most congenial, as well as dedicated. There was an extra bonus for me: Ruth Hinerfeld was one of the group. The group quickly put to use the discussion skills that LNV members regard as standard equipment, the two "Ruths" serving as discussion leaders and recorders at many of the meetings.

The three week South Asia trip (in October and November, 1977) was part of a larger project--The Transnational Dialogues--which included two other groups visiting West Africa and Latin America. The three groups will meet in Racine, Wisconsin, February 12-15, 1978, to plan follow-up activities.

We had opportunities for dialogues with high government officials, with the man on the street and on the farm, and with American embassy staff in both countries. Meetings and conferences were scheduled everywhere we visited, including ones with Sri Lankan Prime Minister Jayewardene, American Ambassador to Sri Lanka W. Howard Wriggins, and Archer Blood, deputy to American Ambassador Robert F. Goheen (who was out of India at the time).

It wasn't all work. Everywhere there were receptions and dinners in our honor. In New Delhi, we were guests in the homes of Rotarian families and Mr. Blood hosted a cocktail party with Indian government officials and their wives. In Ludhiana, we dined with the Vice Chancellor of the Punjab Agricultural University and others on the faculty; in Anand, with the director of the National Dairy Development Board; in Colombo, with Ambassador Wriggins and other Sri Lankan VIPs; and, another evening, with members of the Marga Institute, a nongovernmental research organization.

The most moving hospitality, however, was the tea offered by the village and city dwellers we spoke to. Indians and Sri Lankans expect guests to partake of food

and it is insulting to refuse. Interesting how even a straight tea drinker gets used to hot tea boiled with milk and lots of sugar.

But these events, pleasant and even moving as they were, were the least of our agenda. Our only scheduled sightseeing was a visit to the Taj Mahal. Most days we were on the go for 12 to 16 hours. Any "free" time was spent by the group discussing what we had seen and what our impressions were. The itinerary read like "If it's Tuesday, this must be Belgium." It was all in all an unforgettable experience that could only come once in a lifetime.

NATIONAL PROFILES

The best advice I received before I left for Asia was to look beyond the abject poverty so we could see the potential. Urban and rural decay must be seen in conjunction with urban and rural accomplishments. Development and growth cannot be measured in terms external to the Indian setting; western expectations have no meaning.

In writing this report, I am following those words of advice. Yes, there's poverty; yes, it's bad; no, it is not hopeless. There is a great deal of challenge in what is possible and it is going to take a long time. Thirty to fifty years is much more realistic than five to ten. What follows dwells on the potential; you've already read and heard too much of the despair.

Most impressive in both countries is the vitality of the democratic systems, as was demonstrated in the recent elections. Visiting several months after the defeats of both Mesdames Gandhi of India and Bandaranaike of Sri Lanka made us very aware of the struggle between pressures for change and pressures to protect vested interests. In both countries people vote out governments with whose policies they disagree and freely criticize elected officials and bureaucracy.

Although India and Sri Lanka have many characteristics and problems in common, the countries are so different in size and their problems are so different in magnitude that comparisons are difficult. India, with a population of more than 640 million, is composed of 22 diverse states, each having a great deal of autonomy. Some are relatively well-off; some are incredibly poor. Philosophically and politically they run the gamut from individualistic capitalism with emphasis on economic growth (Punjab) to welfare orientation with emphasis on providing social services (Kerala). They differ culturally, as well; the people of India speak more than 15 different languages. Sri Lanka, on the other hand, with a population of 13½ million, is very homogeneous.

India--In Brief India, which is 80 percent rural and 20 percent urban, rates low on a quality of life index scale. Its people have a life expectancy of 50 years, a literacy rate of 34 percent, and a per capita income of \$140 per year. Its death, birth, and infant mortality rates are high. Forty percent of its people are malnourished, living below the poverty level (variously defined as anywhere from \$4.50 to \$9.00 per month); 10 percent are unemployed, 10 percent are underemployed. The disparities between rich and poor are staggering. The only social service the central/federal Indian government supplies is primary education. It distributes no food to the poor and provides no health services. People in trouble, except in disaster situations such as the recent cyclone, must rely on private charities. The rate of population growth, while down, is still 2.1 percent or 13½ million additional people each year.

India's food problem is as much an income problem as a production problem. Since the only way to get food in India is to grow it or buy it, India has to increase not only its crop yields but also the purchasing power of the poor. Food for which there is no "effective" demand (demand plus the ability to pay) is stored. Ironically, after three good monsoon seasons, India now has 20 million tons of grains in reserve in spite of the fact that 240 million people are malnourished.

The government knows that a successful agricultural strategy must be backed by a high employment strategy. Lowering unemployment and underemployment is a top priority. Recognizing that capital intensive industrialization benefits a smaller fraction of the population, economic development plans now stress job-producing, labor intensive agricultural and industrial technology. Small farms, processing plants in rural communities, cottage industries are being encouraged.

Most Americans "know" India through a few dated stereotypes. It is no longer accurate to characterize it by the words "poverty," "Taj Mahal," "snake charmer." Although a very poor country, India has the world's 10th largest GNP and is one of its leading steel producers. It exports small-scale machinery to other developing countries and has enough scientific and engineering skill to have developed a nuclear bomb. But these two sectors--exports and technology--are successful elements of an otherwise stagnating economy whose economic growth is barely more than its population growth. India, striving for self-sufficiency, discourages imports and therefore boasts a foreign exchange reserve of \$4.5 billion.

Sri Lanka--In Brief Sri Lanka, a beautiful island, is predominantly agricultural. Its people have a life expectancy of 68 years; the literacy rate is 81 percent. Its low death, birth and infant mortality rates are comparable to those of the most advanced societies. Its high rank on the quality of life index scale has been achieved in spite of its poverty: a per capita annual income of \$130--\$10 less than India's. It has narrowed income inequalities so that the top 30 percent is not quite as rich as it once was and the lower 30 percent not quite as poor.

The success of Sri Lanka in meeting basic human needs is due to its opting for distributive justice at the expense of economic growth. Every person in Sri Lanka receives 1.1 pounds of free rice each week and 3.3 pounds at a subsidized price. Health services and free education (primary through college) are provided by the government. Sri Lanka's social performance is considered a "spectacular success," but its economic performance has been called a "dismal failure." It has neglected the processes that encourage savings and investment in the economy and has undermined individual incentive through its schemes of distribution. As a result, Sri Lanka has to import 40 percent of its food; its industrial plant is operating at below 50 percent of its capacity; it has an unemployment rate of 20 percent and an underemployment rate of 20 percent. It supports its social programs through foreign aid. However, its foreign indebtedness has grown so large that its debt payments equal its export earnings.

Many Sri Lankans are beginning to question the social accomplishments which must be seen against a background of considerable poverty. They point to a high degree of malnutrition in spite of the food program. They question what an 81 percent literacy rate means, when 37 percent of the students drop out of school by the end of primary grades (5th) and another 37 percent before the 10th grade.

They question especially the premises of the education system, which is based on the British system, concentrating on academic subjects with practically no vocational training. This has had a negative effect, leading to bitterness and frustration on

the part of the academically-educated youths, for whom there are not enough jobs. It is estimated that half of them are unemployed. Many leave the country, adding to a serious "brain-drain" situation. There is one evident positive effect of education, and that is political awareness. 87 percent of those eligible voted in the last election.

Many Sri Lankans are beginning to ask that more resources be distributed into economic development. They see a basic needs strategy accompanied by an employment strategy as the next stage of development.

DEVELOPMENT

Development can be discussed in terms of four different objectives: GNP growth; self-reliance; employment; distributive justice/basic needs. If we were to rate India and Sri Lanka on each of the four we would say India has been successful in becoming self-reliant; has made too little progress in GNP growth; has been a failure in employment and distributive justice. Sri Lanka, on the other hand, has been successful in distributive justice; has failed in GNP growth, employment and self-reliance.

In determining policies and allocations of resources, the four compete and it is often necessary to make hard choices. A country may emphasize one and then another but sooner or later all must be given attention or the system becomes unbalanced.

DEVELOPMENT EFFORTS: INDIA The states of Punjab and Gujarat are the center of agricultural change in India.

Punjab After a three year drought, the first harvest in 1968 brought record-breaking gains in grain production, primarily wheat. This was the beginning of the green revolution which resulted from the use of new varieties of high-yielding seeds, increased fertilizer and irrigating more arable land. The green revolution achieved its greatest success in the Punjab region which showed a three-fold increase over a 10 year period--larger than Taiwan, often regarded as the model agricultural success. This year, for the first time, India is exporting food, much of it from Punjab.

Punjab, known mostly for its wheat production, is also encouraging dairying and animal husbandry. To increase the output of milk, high-producing pregnant cows of various breeds and frozen semen from these breeds have been imported for cross-breeding purposes. Under the auspices of the Punjab Agricultural University, work is also being done to improve the buffalo stock, still the primary source of milk. We visited a dairy farm and a milk processing plant where we tasted various milk products including ice cream. In a country in which there are no roadside eateries, it was fascinating to stop at a milk bar where a sweetened milk is sold. The milk bars have had a tremendous impact on increased milk consumption in the state.

Gujarat Given the unemployment situation in India, what is good for Punjab may not be good for India. Punjab is a state in which the large farm flourishes, labor is imported from neighboring areas and the needs of the small farmer are neglected. It was, therefore, quite exciting when we arrived in Gujarat and saw how the small farmer was the nucleus of a thriving milk industry.

In Gujarat, the villages we visited were inhabited by small farmers, average 2-3 acres, and landless laborers. Most owned 1-3 buffaloes, a few had cows. Small-scale dairying, often referred to as the white revolution, has a vast potential for raising the income of the small farmers, marginal farmers and landless laborers in rural areas--and it is labor-intensive. Milk cooperatives are set up which are owned by farmers and landless laborers themselves.

We visited the Anand milk cooperative in the village of Anand, Kaira District. Milk coops exist in 12 of the 19 districts in Gujarat. The Anand Pattern, practiced in Gujarat, consists of a two-tier structure: cooperative societies in the villages and a union at the district level where the processing of milk products takes place. There are about 250,000 farmers in the more than 800 villages in the Kaira district. A member of the farmer's family, most often a woman, brings the surplus milk to the village collection station twice a day where it is tested for quantity and quality. She is paid for the morning milk when she brings in the evening milk and vice versa, providing the family with a constant source of income. The milk collected in each village is then transported to the district where it is pasteurized and sold as liquid milk. Any unsold milk is converted into butter, a variety of cheeses, milk tablets (sweetened milk concentrate given to children as candy).

We were at the collection station at 8 am to watch farmers or members of their families deliver the milk. We watched the weighing and testing process; and saw them get paid. We spent the day talking to villagers through interpreters, touring the processing plant and tasting its wares. Farmers own shares (5 rupees or 62¢ per share) in the coop and receive up to 9 percent interest per year. If the coop earns more money than expected, the farmer is paid more money for his milk.

The district union, through the village societies, provides at cost a number of technical inputs to enhance milk production. The most important of these are: artificial insemination services, veterinary first aid treatment available in each village, weekly veterinary visits and round the clock emergency health care service; supply of quality seeds and root slips for production of green fodder and supply of balanced cattle feed. (Unfortunately, villagers get more nutritious food and health care for their animals than for themselves or their children.)

Planning Commission Recommendations Raj Krishna, member of the Indian Planning Commission, talked about the second plan for economic development, which will go into effect April, 1978. It is geared to attack unemployment and poverty.

Agricultural Sector: Prime Minister Desai is emphasizing agricultural output by raising the budget allocation from 22 percent to 40 percent. Unfortunately, the green revolution has begun to peter out. Crop yields are falling and wheat is stabilizing. The green revolution was primarily successful in Punjab; it must be spread to other arable sectors of the country. If India is to increase its output, further technology and research and development in agricultural outputs is needed. Seed quality and varieties must be improved; less expensive fertilizer developed; more land brought under irrigation (only ¼ of the arable land is irrigated); electrical power extended to more villages; two and even three crops a year must be planted. Small farmers (1 to 5 acres) must have access to these inputs plus credit and marketing facilities.

Industrial Sector: Mr. Desai has decided to hold back big industry to build up small and cottage industries that can supply the basic needs of the largely rural population. There will be close control over what can and cannot be produced. Labor-intensive technology will be encouraged; capital-intensive discouraged.

Public Works Program for Landless: A massive public works program to create jobs for the landless unemployed is being developed. Roads, rural electricity, storage facilities, safe drinking water, market facilities are all things that are needed. The government is also experimenting with an employment guarantee plan and a Food for Work program.

Education: Emphasis is to be shifted from higher to primary and secondary education and from arts and sciences to vocational. The present system has created unemployables for there are few jobs for those being educated. In rural areas, girls' education is neglected as most are needed to babysit and work in the home. This, too, is to change.

DEVELOPMENT EFFORTS: SRI LANKA In order to be self-sufficient in food, Sri Lanka has to double its output. Its biggest problem, like India, is lack of irrigated land. Two-thirds of the country lies in the dry zone which needs water for crop growing. And in the wet zone, where rice is grown, the water removes 75 percent of the nitrogen fertilizer which is very expensive to replace. Sri Lankan agronomists estimate the country could grow two rice crops per year and even five crops in two years because it has two monsoon seasons every year. This plus high yield varieties and replacement of fertilizer loss could bring rice self-sufficiency by 1981.

Mahaweli Dam The Mahaweli Ganga (river) Basin Development Program of the government of Sri Lanka is a massive undertaking which will cost an estimated \$700 million to \$1 billion. This program is designed to bring 900,000 acres under irrigation (600,000 new acres and 300,000 improved acres) to benefit directly over 10 percent of Sri Lanka's population and to enhance their drive for self-sufficiency in food. The program's master plan calls for implementation of the project in stages--each a separate viable unit. The first stage, which has been completed, diverted Mahaweli Ganga water to increase the water supplied to 127,000 acres of existing irrigated land and to irrigate 104,000 acres of new land. We visited the dam and diversionary site, and were told that the next stage will irrigate 87,000 more acres of land, develop it and resettle 28,000 peasant families on it. The Sri Lankan government is hoping to complete the entire project well before the original 30 year timetable.

Sarvodaya Movement The Sarvodaya Movement is an effort to help in the self-development of the villages of Sri Lanka. Twenty years old, it is now in operation in about 1100 villages. We visited the headquarters which house over 300 persons being trained in agriculture, carpentry, metal work, bamboo and rattan work, arts and craft, batik making, photography, printing, community leadership and running pre-school centers in which health care and nutrition are stressed. Upon completion of their training, the trainees return to their villages to put into practice what they learned.

The Sarvodaya Movement is a practical program that has villagers determine village needs and then take whatever action is required, i.e. rehabilitating roads and irrigation facilities. Their motto is, "We don't think of Sri Lanka as 13½ million mouths to feed but as 13½ million talented heads with double the number of hands to work."

THE ROLE OF THE UNITED STATES In an interdependent world, international harmony and security depend upon alleviating the friction between rich and poor nations. It is in the U.S. self-interest to encourage the economic development of those South Asian countries where democracy flourishes in spite of poverty. No matter what our other commitments, it is foolhardy to ignore a country the size of India or give it second place in U.S. foreign policy considerations.

Our group spent the last day talking over what we had seen and learned and what we would say to President Carter on our return, if we had the opportunity! The U.S. must recognize that only India and Sri Lanka can solve their own problems. They have to determine their needs and priorities, and then implement the development projects they devise. The U.S. can play an active and supporting role through greater partnership with these countries, acknowledging their right to shape their own development strategies; trade liberalization made possible by U.S. forward planning and adjustment assistance for U.S. labor and industry; and shared science and technology such as research adapted to developing country needs, increased basic research cooperation, easier technology transfers. U.S. development assistance should be given through multilateral channels where possible and bilateral aid. Educational assistance should stress vocational education.

* * * * *
The trip was a unique opportunity to visit a country, not as a tourist; to make new friends, both American and foreign; to have an unusual learning experience. I fell in love with India, Sri Lanka and the people. Their problems are great, but so is their determination to overcome them.

To: Members of the International Relations Committee
From: Pat Llona, Chair
Re: Minutes of March 16, 1978, meeting
Date: March 17, 1978

Received calendar of upcoming events and past ones.

Discussed Focus on Trade. Commended Pat for a good job.

Had brief report on UNA meeting on corporate investment in South Africa and passed out UNA handout and 3M handout (March 8 meeting at International Institute).

Canadian American Dialog III will be April 12 - 13.

Law Day is May 4.

. "Whatever Happened in the Middle East" - May 12.

Cyprus Ambassador speaking at Campus Club on April 21, 12:00. Reservations to Mary Mantis, 644-1156.

Check on US and UN plans for 1979 International Year of the Child. (Judy, call Lucy Cutler.)

Passed around articles and new publications on several relevant issues. Several were taken to read and report on.

Plan to order more Trade Current Focus from LWVUS to have at World Trade Week (if money left from grants - Pat).

Pat reported on letter to all outstate Leagues recommending cooperation with District Export Council to sponsor informational meetings in their areas to promote exporting.

Pat suggested gathering statistics on MN trade similar to study done in Illinois.

Pat wrote article on Trade Focus for VOTER and larger one to accompany Board Memo.

Judy Rosenblatt



LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS
OF MINNESOTA

PHONE (612) 224-5445

555 WABASHA • ST PAUL, MINNESOTA 55102

INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

To: Local LWVMN IR Chairs
From: Pat Llona, LWVMN IR Chair
Date: May 9, 1978

The following book review of THE DISARMAMENT PROCESS: WHERE TO BEGIN was prepared by Mary Swanson, LWV-Richfield. The author is Robert C. Johanson - Institute for World Order.

Disarmament - arms reductions to the lowest level possible without making internal law enforcement impossible.

Governments seldom strive to disarm unless compelled to do so by public pressure. It is best to avoid as unproductive: modest arms control measures that are easily implemented but do not lead toward disarmament; and pushing toward the goal of comprehensive disarmament, but without directed action toward particular steps to begin the process that will reach this goal. Citizen groups should support proposals that are linked to initiating a disarming process.

Range of Issues

1. Banning all Nuclear Tests -

- Pro - would prevent additional countries from developing their own nuclear weapons.
 - would inhibit the further sophistication of nuclear explosives for weapons.
 - would slow the gap between nuclear and non-nuclear countries.
 - non-nuclear countries would not be encouraged to acquire nuclear weapons.
- Con - Russia wants to continue peaceful nuclear explosions.
 - There is no agreement as to verification procedures.
 - Neither China nor France have ratified the Partial Test Ban.
 - Some near-nuclear weapon countries do not favor a comprehensive test ban.

2. Establishing Nuclear-Weapon-Free Zones -

- Pro - would protect states within a region from the threat of one of them acquiring nuclear weapons. All states of an area would have to agree to the ban. Would prevent the stationing or deployment of nuclear weapons by nuclear countries within the banned territories.
 - Large sections of the globe could become sanctuaries where no nuclear weapons could exist or be used.
 - This idea is supported by a majority of states, UN General Assembly.
 - Nuclear-free zones may cover areas where no state exercises sovereignty (not covered by the NPT, such as Indian Ocean)

3. Limiting Strategic Arms - will provide a point of reference for scaling down the numbers of arms.

- Con - Reductions in numbers of strategic weapons can be offset by improved accuracy or by adding warheads on each missile.
 - Only very large reductions in numbers will substantially reduce the arms buildup. (Reductions of 20% per year of delivery vehicles for 10 years would be a suggested schedule.)

4. Prohibiting Tests of New Missiles -

- Pro - would prevent the development of new types of multiple warheads and maneuvering re-entry vehicle.
 - Reductions could be verified by satellites and means not requiring foreign inspection of any country's territory.

(Over)

- Con - Resistance of the world's powerful governments to reduction of their arsenals. Thus, the lesser powers would need to be involved to bring pressure on the superpowers.
5. Stopping the Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons - should be combined with a policy of denuclearization including all present nuclear-weapon countries (even civil nuclear power plants).

Con - Less powerful countries will not be agreeable to giving up access to nuclear weapons permanently without a reciprocal prohibition against the right of nuclear-weapon countries to retain them.
 6. Restricting the Use of Nuclear Weapons - would question the right to use nuclear weapons under any circumstances as genocidal. First pledge--nuclear weapon states would never launch nuclear weapons against non-nuclear weapon countries. Second pledge--never to use nuclear weapons first. (Accepted by U.S. in regional application in the Treaty of Tlatelolco, O.A.S.O.)
 7. Prohibiting Incendiary Weapons - would protect civilians during war. Work is scheduled to resume on this in 1977 through revision of the Geneva Conventions.
 8. Prohibiting Chemical Weapons - would prohibit manufacture or possession of chemical weapons as well as their use (Geneva Conventions).
 9. Curtailling International Arms Transfers - the majority of states who purchase weapons were not in favor of this. They insist arms transfers can be curtailed only after large military powers cut back their own supplies and developments. Three-fourths of all sales of arms come from the U.S. and Russia.
 10. Reducing Military Expenditures - would be an effective means of disarmament.

Pro - Future security would not then depend on large national military arsenals and would begin to look to the creation of alternative arrangements for security.

Con - Comparisons of various national budgets and verification of cutbacks could be very difficult and imprecise. Budget cuts could be made effective by tying them to "force levels."
 11. Initiating General and Complete Disarmament - calls for comprehensive arms reduction by all national governments according to timetable. This should be the ultimate goal of smaller steps for general disarmament.
 12. Establishing a Transnational Peace Force - would be an alternative for protecting security in a disarmed world. Could also be used to enforce international law.
 13. Establishing a United Nations Center for Analysis and Monitoring of Disarmament - would provide a global agency to verify disarmament rules.

Of these issues, the two most promising issues to work on are (6) a pledge for no-first-use and (10) reduction of military budgets. Two others likely to be understood and popular are (1) comprehensive test ban and (2) nuclear-weapon-free-zones.

Two final issues which are not at present very popular could be worked on as desirable: (1) disarmament and (12) transnational peace force.

GRAPH PREPARED BY MARY SWANSON, LWV-RICHFIELD

Now - 48 hours assured warning time - is down from 30 hours recently predicted.
(Alexander Haig, NATO Commander)

<u>1977 Levels</u>	<u>United States & NATO</u>	<u>Russia & Warsaw Pact</u>
Heavy Bombers	400	140
Sea-Based Missiles	656	880
Land-Based Missiles	1,054	1,500
Missile Warheads	7,500	3,500
Defense Costs in Dollars	\$90 - 112 Billion	\$130 - 150 Billion
Armored Personnel Carriers	14,600 (NATO)	31,200 (W.P.)
Tanks	6,200 (NATO)	23,100 (W.P.)
Artillery	2,320 (NATO)	5,570 (W.P.)
Self-Propelled SAM	200 (NATO)	2,550 (W.P.)
Military Investment	\$39 Billion	\$65 Billion
Av. Production 1972-76 Tanks	469	2,770
APC (see above)	1,556	4,990
Artillery	162	1,310
Fighters	573	1,090
Helicopters	733	666
Air to Ground Missiles	27,351	27,000
Military Manpower	2.2 million (U.S. alone)	4.4 million (Russia alone)
Divisions in Central Europe	ration of 1 to 3	
Central Europe Combat Forces	630,000 (NATO)	345,000 (W.P.)
Proposed defense spending 3% increase (for NATO)		
U.S. Budget	\$115.2 billion dollars 1979 increase of 10 billion over current U.S. budget (23% of all federal spending)	

Bibliography

Aviation Week and Space Technology, January 23, 1978
Aviation Week and Space Technology, February 6, 1978

THE U.N. SPECIAL SESSION ON DISARMAMENT

While you read this, the U.N. Special Session on Disarmament is going on. The world has long passed the point of reason in arms accumulation. The excess can be demonstrated in the mock dog fights between inferior (Soviet) and superior (U.S.) fighter planes, where there are no survivors no matter the technical edge. This microcosm of the true dimension reminds one of the tombstone message that said the dead driver had the right of way. Here is some background on the present arms situation worldwide:

Curbing of arms sales will be tough. If the U.S. tries to curb, other nations with arms to sell will probably fill in. The biggest buyers these days are in the Middle East. Third World countries buy equally from the U.S. and Russia - between \$4 and \$5 billion worth per year. The Third World countries asked for the U.N. Special Session, but they did not stress - in preparatory talks - the potential for development money replacing arms money. However, they did place the two super-powers on notice that any more upward movement of arms by them would induce a horizontal effect of arms development on the rest of the world. Attendees at World Law Day in Minneapolis recently heard Rear Admiral Gene LaRocque (retired) say he expected 100 nations to be nuclear nations by year 2000. The best idea put forth so far on disarmament, it seems, is cutting of military budgets in all countries because nations could still set priorities, and the cuts could be verified.

Topics of discussion and bargaining in Strategic Arms Limitation Talks (SALT II) are numerous and extremely complicated. The U.S. Cruise Missile (a drone) cannot be tracked and is super-accurate. The Russian Backfire Bomber flies faster than sound at low altitudes, and though designed to hit China and Western Europe, can be refueled en route to the U.S. While SALT talks proceed, the Russians have developed a mobile missile easily converted from capable of hitting a European target to capable of hitting the U.S., and it won't be covered by SALT because the long range warhead is simply stockpiled and not yet on the mobile vehicle which now transports the European missile. The new MX Mobile ICBM² of the U.S. would cost about 34 billion once it's off the drawing board and into production. Though this easy-to-conceal-in-tunnels missile would be an answer to the Russian missile mentioned above, Congress might not buy the cost. SALT wouldn't cover this either, so the Soviets could possibly duplicate it.

There is confusion over the Neutron Bomb. Our 7,000 nuclear warheads in place in Europe are far more dangerous in blast and radiation capability. The Neutron Bomb blast and heat extends only 400 yards from ground zero, and there is little fallout. The advantage of pin-point destruction and of limited radiation so troops can move in quickly is a distinct advantage which the NATO force needs to offset the huge numerical advantage of the Warsaw Pact Force, according to many specialists.

If and when SALT II ever becomes a reality, a grey area will be ready for SALT III. It includes among other things the question of satellite killers (or Killer Satellites) designed to knock out space vehicles used for communication and intelligence and agreement verification. The Soviets have them; the U.S. will probably get them, and no agreement is proposed to cover limitation as long as no reconnaissance is interfered with.

One might ask what part the public in the super-power countries plays in each country. Briefly, in the U.S. there may be objections to emplacement of new ICBM mobile missiles. In the Russian domain, some of the Warsaw Pact natives are restless over having little money to spend on consumer goods because of arms efforts.

An arms reduction would hopefully diminish the potential for MAD; Mutually Assured Destruction.

*MX potential is a speed greater than 15,000 m.p.h., target range of 6,000 miles, and accuracy of 100 feet.

EUROPEAN ECONOMIC COMMUNITY (E.C.) - COMMON MARKET

On April 24 a number of I.R. Leaguers had an opportunity to meet and discuss the European Economic Community (E.C.) - Common Market - for 2 hours with Madame Marie Jose de Saint Blanquat, senior information officer for the E.C. stationed in Brussels. Mary Dobbins (also of the Richfield League) took notes:

1. '58 through '73 were golden years for the E.C. After the oil embargo, protectionist attitudes surfaced. The E.C. is a customs union surrounded by a common tariff.
2. The future European Parliament will be as democratic as possible. The goal was for 1978, but French elections got in the way. The English saved the day by saying they needed more time. The goal is now 1979. There will be 410 representatives. It will be a constituent assembly which will establish laws. The Parliament will control finance. It will have taxing powers.
3. Greece, Portugal and Spain have applied for membership.
4. Of prime concern for the new E.C. will be the monetary coordination. There will some day be a common currency, perhaps.
5. Whereas trade with China was unthinkable 6 months ago, they are looking toward most favored nation treatment for China in the future. There are no restrictions on many Chinese items. The USSR is very critical of these trade relations.
6. There is enormous free trade involving Ireland, Iceland, Sweden, Norway, Switzerland, and Benelux countries. Globalization of free trade is hoped for by 1981.
7. The E.C. believes Carter is right on nuclear controls. But how to accomplish? Pressure, maybe.
8. Spain is a big problem. It is moving too swiftly toward democracy. The Left will cause trouble. Spain is the 10th largest industrial nation.
9. The Common Agricultural Policy (CAP) is a problem. Protection of small farms is costly.
10. The VAT Tax and Agricultural Tariffs make the E.C. financially an independent entity.
11. Mondale's, Carter's and Straus's visits were all looked upon favorably.
12. There is a problem with the enormous trade deficit with Japan. When European, Japanese and American journalists met to exchange views, the Japanese press got the message across in Japan as to what was happening. Further meetings of journalists are planned because the respective countries' publics were not hearing enough about the trade picture.
13. Energy is an international problem. OPEC needs Common Market technology.
14. India is important and is courted by all nations.
15. Saudi Arabia oil policies are stable. Are Iran's?
16. The E.C. claims to be doing a lot for developing countries and is concerned about the North/South dialogue. Ex: The General System of Preferences.
17. The political inheritance of Spain in Latin American countries makes it competitive with the U.S. in influence and may mean a more stable L. A. continent.
18. There is much world-wide "dumping" which the E.C. is constantly fighting.

The following are notes by Pat Llona on Madame San Blanquat's second H. H. Humphrey address at Macalester:

1. The E.C., Japan, & U.S. combined, account for 60% of total World National Product. Also 70% of the trade of the free world.
2. These 3 are not in agreement on everything. The 3 sectors - free trade, energy, and North/South dialogue have Protectionism as the main issue.

3. The U.S. especially in the electronics field has been invaded by Japan. Now it has an agreement to reduce the Japanese trade surplus and to allow freer exports to Japan. The E.C. would like to make an agreement with Japan also because of a \$5 billion trade deficit. It would like Japan to diversify its exports more. Hoped for is that Japan will open borders to food products and French/British airbus. When borders are short, everyone loses.
4. Canada, Netherlands, Switzerland and Sweden all agreed to cancel the L.D.S.'s debts. For Yemen and India, the E.C. will do likewise. For others they will extend the dates of payment and reduce the rate. This decision was on March 6 and already is producing favorable results.
5. The socialist countries are in worse financial straits and will not help the L.D.C.'s.
6. The E.C. would like to comply with desires of the L.D.C.'s but not by "indexing." Decided instead on International Commodity Agreements. There are 2 windows: Buffer Stocks and Common Fund. The next International Conference on Trade and Development in 1979.
7. Europe depends for its energy on Fast Breeder Reactors. It's importing enriched uranium and still needs lots of technology on reprocessing plutonium.
8. Carter has a policy of non-proliferation. Treaty assures uranium from U.S. and lasts until 1995. U.S. recently asked E.C. to reconsider the treaty. E.C. said no. No decision yet.



**LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS
OF MINNESOTA**

PHONE (612) 224-5445

555 WABASHA • ST PAUL, MINNESOTA 55102

INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

TO: Local League International Relations Chairs
FROM: Pat Llona, LWVNM International Relations Chair
June 13, 1978

DEVELOPMENT U.S.

On foreign aid and the U.N. development programs:

The next time someone complains about foreign aid ask them if they know that --

- Most developing nations have per capita incomes about 1/20th of the official U.S. poverty line, yet buy between 35 and 40B worth of our U.S. goods and services per year.
- Developing countries take about 1/3 of our export sales per year.
- 5 million U.S. jobs are now underwritten by U.S. trade with developing nations.
- For every \$1.00 the U.S. paid into organizations such as the World Bank about \$2.00 has been spent in the U.S. economy.
- We are significantly dependent ourselves on developing countries for the raw materials that our industries need. In other words, the U.S. is not self-sufficient and is definitely part of an interdependence of nations. (Chart next time)

ACTION - please save:

Addresses of Congressmen:

Senators: Muriel Humphrey, 2113 Dirksen Senate Office Bldg., Washington, DC 20510
Wendell Anderson, 304 Russell Office Bldg., Washington, DC 20510

Representatives:

- Dist. 1 - Albert Quie, 2185 Rayburn House Office Bldg., Washington 20515
- 2 - Thomas Hagedorn, 325 Cannon House Office Bldg., Washington 20515
- 3 - Bill Frenzel, 1026 Longworth Office Bldg., Washington 20515
- 4 - Bruce Vento, 422 Cannon House Office Bldg., Washington 20515
- 5 - Donald Fraser, 2268 Rayburn Office Bldg., Washington 20515
- 6 - Richard Nolan, 214 Cannon House Office Bldg., Washington 20515
- 7 - Arlan Stangeland, 1518 Longworth Office Bldg., Washington 20515
- 8 - James Oberstar, 323 Cannon Office Bldg., Washington 20515

President: The President, The White House, Washington, DC 20500

Vice-President: The Vice President, The White House, Washington, DC 20500

Be ready for all Action Alerts. Ask your president to see "Report from the Hill." It's a monthly mailing. Your portfolio has a section and often there are suggestions for "What You Can Do."

IR Publications:

"Interdependent" (U.N.A.) - 300 E. 42nd St., New York, NY 10017 - \$6.00, students \$5.00.
U.N.A. membership \$20.00 includes "Interdependent."

State Department Bulletins (best buy ever) - \$18.00 subscription - Department of State, USA, Washington, DC 20520. (Can request "Law of the Sea Conference," Jan. 18, 1978; "America's Stake in an Open Trading System," Feb. 27, 1978 - they were published previously but cost of these unknown.)

1. Railroads are fuel efficient, good for transportation of coal, oil, automobiles. It is a regulated industry competing with non-regulated and subsidized transportation modes. Railroad mergers and regulations are under Interstate Commerce Commission rules. 1976 - rules allow "Consolidation of Services" under Secretary of Transportation. It started Jan. 1978
 2. Agricultural Trade Negotiations - 10 or 12 negotiations are carried on directly between importers and exporters. In addition the U.S. special trade representative, Robert Straus, negotiated on agriculture at Geneva Multilateral Trade Negotiations. There are 3 categories: a) International Commodity agreements (feed grain, wheat, dairy, meat, etc.); b) Bilateral negotiations; c) Codes - "Thou shalt not use - countervailing duties, effort subsidies" etc.
- There is interest in liberalizing trade long term
 - Export of soybeans - 189 million metric tons - 1971; 203 million metric tons - 1977. (U.S. exported 25% of the product.)
 - Wheat efforts were just under 3B for 1977. Vigorous export expansion is imperative. Farmers should compete each season for 45% of world markets. Expansion is ongoing in several countries. Price is a rational allocator of effective results.
 - Hall thinks Commodity Credit Corporation credit should be available to all wheat importing countries. The special section of the World Trade Act of 1974 which contained a clause about liberalizing Jewish Emigration from Russia had the opposite effect. 35,000 were permitted in '73; 13,200 in '74 and it has stayed at that level since.
 - Hubert Humphrey said industry, business and trade cannot be turned off and on because of certain political abuses.
 - P.L. 480 (Food for Peace) should not be for commodity surplus disposal from our country.
 - There was only 5m funding for wheat export expansion. Wheat carryover is 50m bushels under government ownership, 60m bushels farmers can hold for best price.
 - In 1965 cotton was about 1/2 of exports to France. We stimulated poor quality cotton to be produced and lost market.
 - Food, fuel, high technology goods and finance - are all high priced in new international economic environment. Any net exporter of these has the "bucks."
 - Exports from the U.S. 10% of gross national product.
 - While world exports were increasing 10-fold, the U.S. exports were increasing 7-fold.
 - Out of 94 million employees in the U.S., 8-9m own their jobs to exports.
 - Top 15 countries account for 70% of all exports. Canada takes 20% of U.S. exports.
 - Some industrial countries have slipped. Others have come up. Venezuela and all OPEC countries moved up.
 - The U.S. is directing efforts to those that have the money to spend. The exporter picks out areas of growth and redirects exports. Brazil has bought less in dollar terms and is way down in volume. It has put up barriers. Windfall countries are OPEC (oil), coffee, and sugar countries. Central and South American and Africa have all benefitted from these commodities at times.
 - The dollar is helping by depreciation. Japan is not gaining by it. Markets like SE Asia where the U.S. and Japan compete is where dollar depreciation is benefitting U.S. (Makes our goods cheaper.)
 - The more we see currency fluctuations, the more we see foreign investment in the U.S.
 - Investors know more about our business than U.S. exporters here.
 - Export promotion policies promoted by heads of departments, but who is actually doing it? Exporters find it slow going. Since export expansion policy was initiated by the President, lots of departments are involved. Treasury, Commerce, Export/Import Bank.
 - Opinion is that all departments need "nuts and bolts" meetings to get delays out of the way. Need incentives to export to get enmeshed in balancing the budget.
 - Exports are hindered because several countries in Africa, Asia and Europe are "belly-up" (have no foreign exchange for even essentials).
 - There is optimism because the I.M.F. has worked well with both L.D.C.'s and Developed countries. ex. Italy, U.K. and Mexico in 1976. The I.M.F. worked painfully with

- each government. Austerity was accepted and now economics are growing. Now summit meetings are held by heads of economic institutions rather than governments. They hold out against devaluation, and are diffusing the north/south conflict. They are keeping weak countries from sliding off the precipice. (ex. - meeting at Rambouillet)
- The Federal Credit Insurance Association works with 30 private institutions to help exporters meet competition. Makes exporter more comfortable.
 - Argentina is recovering. Rood is its power base. It has the highest standard of living in L.A. It is possible to generate a high return on the dollar here.
 - In Japan there are 113m people and there is not enough agriculture to feed them.
 - Japan has promised to speed up the procedure for testing goods and is trying to improve economic growth by 7%.
 - Note: May 28 "Chase International Finance" says Japan Trade Surplus is still huge, but is beginning to shrink in dollar terms.
 - Japan requires patience. Its distribution system is complex. Partnerships are not too successful. U.S. should note how Japan improves product quality.
 - China - engineers understand solid state, mass memory, etc. and can discuss. China does some limited manufacturing. Products are 10-20 years older than U.S. products.
 - Singapore is industrializing.
 - Indonesia and Malaysia - oil exploration; pipelines needed.
 - Australia - customs similar to U.S. Easy to deal there. Bulky goods are made there.
 - India - burdened with bureaucracy.
 - Middle East - developing processes for raw materials. Spending billions on infrastructure. Planning whole new cities. One temperature control contract is for \$48 million. Previous record was for \$8 million.
 - Europe - Dollar depreciation has helped U.S. sell there. U.S. sells through reliable distributors. Easy to sell there.
 - Exporters need training. Technical staff needs training. Strategies best developed by local people.
 - GATT - tariffs agreement - tariffs same for all goods coming into country no matter where from.
 - General System of Preferences - gives Mexico advantage over U.S. (Mexico a developing country)
 - Most Favored Nation treatment - approved by U.S. House for Hungary, a Communist country.
 - Reverse preferences - (for African colonies of European countries) now abolished. However, in Dakar, where the French were, there is still French advantage.
 - In Latin American there is advantage for U.S.
 - Politics in broadest sense not as big a problem as barriers to trade and Protectionism.
 - In Europe with a company within the E.C. as Honeywell has, there is less problem.
 - Japan protects leather industry.
 - Europeans would like only European aircraft - U.S. competitive.
 - There is a Multifiber agreement on orderly marketing (non-market disrupting) with 20 different countries.
 - There are low wages and high labor content from developing countries.
 - In Korea \$9 million was earned for jogging shoes and this went to 44m 4 years later.
 - Korea has a ban on footwear imports that is embarrassing to the U.S.
 - The U.S. has a 2 billion deficit with non-OPEC countries. We purchase 7B in agricultural products such as: coffee, cocoa, bananas. They purchase 5B in ag. products such as: 1/2 of U.S. wheat, 69% of U.S. rice, 50% U.S. cotton. Over half our U.S. flour goes to non-OPEC, L.D.C.'s.
 - For total purchases of our manufactured exports the L.D.C.'s exceed combined sales of Japan, W. Europe and Communist countries. L.D.C.s take railroad and infrastructure materials.
 - Steel executives in U.S. are writing protectionist legislation
 - Efforts to increase Protectionism are far greater than those trying to prevent it. We have lost some jobs in "impact" areas but no one knows how many others have been lost because of Protectionism.
 - Note: Gov. Perpich said he'd taken a great deal of "ribbing" for signing the Protectionist "Buy America" bill passed this session. Two government representatives from Washington no doubt told him that official Washington policy is against this type of legislation.

-Facts: 1 in 8 workers in U.S. produce for exports. 1 in 3 acres of farm land are producing products for export.

Note: Official trade deficit declared just before W.T.W. and not yet noted by most of the speakers, is 31.4 billion for '77. (Way worse than predicted)

-The present administration wants to increase efforts significantly. One policy is to resist restrictions on the Export/Import Bank. Adjustment Assistance procedures are also being simplified with fewer restrictions against (League's position is for this to happen).

Notes on Wheat:

1977 - weather worldwide good and NO accumulation of stocks. Acreage was down. Land shifted away from grain. Balance of supply and demand will be closer. China will be an important wheat importer.

Russia may not be through buying for the Sept./Oct. shipment. They seem to be hinting there is a built-in growth factor and fluctuation in crops there isn't the only reason for buying from U.S. They're building stocks and taking advantage of low prices to stockpile, perhaps.

-A forecast of supply and demand simply drives business into other hands.

-There is a commitment in Developing Countries to improve diets. Need feed grains. Soviets willing to enter into trade agreements. Personal income is rising in Eastern (Comecon) Countries.

-Land in Eastern Europe is already being used to the greatest extent possible. They will probably continue to import feed-grain products.

-Fats and oils consumption in People's Republic of China low, but opportunity for U.S. is coming here.

-L.D.C.'s may be single greatest factor in grain growth.

-Import demand for wheat and feed grains up 57 million metric tons over previous 6 year period. Income growth important to consumption. With good growth rate abroad U.S. could have 31.5 B exports (19 B without).

-We helped mushroom growers in Taiwan. Now Taiwan one of first 12 markets in the world for our manufactured goods (Note: it paid to help).

In the U.S. our trade representatives have the power to negotiate but not to ratify trade agreements. In other countries trade negotiator signs on the dotted line.

France In France the agricultural sector has been a supported of the central government against Communists. It's hard to fight an agricultural policy (C.A.P.) with support from anti-communists. Ag. sector has stabilized French government.

-In France they're still arguing that the U.S. is unreliable source of soy beans because of U.S. embargo several years ago. France developed a crop, but soybeans not easily adapted to climate and conditions there.

-60% of the French efforts go to E.C. neighbors.

-For France, agricultural exports are like oil.

-France depends 100% on outside energy.

-The Common Agricultural Policy (CAP) and common external tariff for the E.C. are about the only things these countries are together on.

On target prices, U.S. -

-Political, not market-oriented.

-Inflated land prices go onto product cost. Target price is a magnet to loan level. Target price can't get low enough to move grain into foreign markets. American consumers neglected here.

-International Trade talks can contribute to world economic facility with market-supporting decisions - not restrictions that fence in prices.

-Says Jackson-Vanich amendment hasn't been effective on Human Rights. Should be repealed. The Centrally Planned (Communist) economics are not changing.

More next month.

xerox for Borg/Berkwitz JUN 22 1978
orig to Wona

BILL FRENZEL
THIRD DISTRICT, MINNESOTA

WASHINGTON OFFICE:
1028 LONGWORTH BUILDING
202-225-2871

STAFF DIRECTOR
RICHARD D. WILLOW

Congress of the United States
House of Representatives
Washington, D.C. 20515

DISTRICT OFFICES:
MAYBETH CHRISTENSEN
180 FEDERAL BUILDING
MINNEAPOLIS 55401
612-725-2173

IRIS SAUNDERS
3601 PARK CENTER BOULEVARD
ST. LOUIS PARK 55416
612-925-4540

June 22, 1978

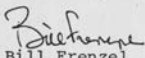
Ms. Pat Llona
Ms. Helene Borg
League of Women Voters of MN
555 Wabasha
St. Paul, MN 55102

Dear Pat & Helene:

Thanks for your letter of June 12. I will not support any of the amendments which would restrict funding to the international lending institutions, because I agree, as you do, that those organizations are vital for promoting development in lagging economies that will only in turn aid our own country through added export opportunities.

I appreciate your concern and your good counsel.

Yours very truly,


Bill Frenzel
Member of Congress

BF:pce



LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS OF MINNESOTA

555 WABASHA • ST. PAUL, MINNESOTA 55102 • TELEPHONE (612) 224-5445

June 12, 1978

The Honorable William Frenzel
1026 Longworth House Office Building
Washington, DC 20515

Dear Mr. Frenzel:

Our concern is the Foreign Aid Appropriations bill that will be considered in the House on June 15. We hope that if restrictive amendments come up for a vote, you will oppose them. We think that progress in the Multilateral Trade Negotiations at Geneva will be impeded by protective legislation imposed at this time.

We are especially concerned that the U. S. continue its leadership in promoting the sharing of development funds through International Financial Institutions (IFI). These institutions cannot function effectively if Congress imposes restrictions on U. S. contributions. We believe any protective measures taken by Congress will make lowering of tariff and non-tariff barriers much more difficult to negotiate. The health of our trading partners in the developing world is important to our own financial future; if the IFIs help nations with few commodities promote their products, these nations can obtain the foreign exchange to buy what they need for development from the U. S.

Thank you for your attention.

Sincerely,

✓ Pat Llona, International Relations Chair
Helene Borg, President
League of Women Voters of Minnesota

TOM HAGEDORN
2ND DISTRICT, MINNESOTA

COMMITTEES:
AGRICULTURE
PUBLIC WORKS AND
TRANSPORTATION

WASHINGTON OFFICE:
325 CANNON HOUSE OFFICE BUILDING
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20515
(202) 225-2472

Congress of the United States
House of Representatives
Washington, D.C. 20515

July 26, 1978

DISTRICT OFFICES:
202 POST OFFICE BUILDING
MANKATO, MINNESOTA 56001
(507) 387-8226
211 SOUTH NORTON STREET
ALBERT LEA, MINNESOTA 56007
(507) 377-1676
421 EAST FIRST AVENUE
SHAMPEL, MINNESOTA 55379
(612) 445-7667
GEORGE L. BERG, JR.
ADMINISTRATIVE ASSISTANT

Ms. Pat Llona
International Relations Chairperson
League of Women Voters of Minnesota
555 Wabasha
St. Paul, Minnesota 55102

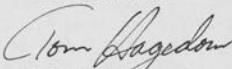
Dear Ms. Llona:

I wish to acknowledge your letter of July 19 expressing your concern in regard to the Foreign Aid Appropriations bill which will be considered by the House some time in the near future.

Although it is difficult to predict what amendments will be offered when the Foreign Aid bill reaches the House Floor, I do think there is a need to cut back on foreign aid. As you know, the U. S. dollar is in serious trouble all over the world today. I am enclosing an article which appeared in the Washington Post yesterday concerning the financial assistance we have given to Micronesia.

I do appreciate having your comments on foreign aid and they will be kept in mind when this legislation reaches the House sometime in August.

Sincerely yours,


Tom Hagedorn
Member of Congress

TH:bjo

Enclosure



**LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS
OF MINNESOTA**

PHONE (612) 224-5445

555 WABASHA • ST PAUL, MINNESOTA 55102

INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS UPDATE

NOTES ON MAGAZINE ARTICLES, Summarized
by Mary Swanson

To: Local LWV IR Chairs
From: Pat Llona, LWVMN IR Chair
Date: September 13, 1978

-- SAVE --

US NEWS - August 21, 1978

US nuclear strategy is built on a triad of nuclear forces:

1. Land-based ICBM
2. Submarine launched ballistic missiles
3. Bombers

By 1983 the Soviets may be able to knock out land-based missiles. Our strategy to counter this would be a system of mobile missiles (MAP) (multiple-aim point system). A system of 20 silos for each missile with random movement between them. (Joint Chiefs of Staff proposal)

The Air Force proposes an Mx missile more powerful and accurate than Minuteman with identical knock-out potential to the Soviet missiles that they will be facing.

The Secretary of Defense proposes a long-range missile to be used on both submarine and land or simply modifying existing Minuteman missiles to make them more mobile, accurate, and powerful.

Arms-control advocates argue that:

1. The threat is only theoretical, not actual. Russian's weapons are too unreliable.
2. The US could launch Minuteman missiles before the enemy warheads struck and disabled them.
3. There would still be 2 parts of our defense system left, even if the missiles were destroyed. These could still retaliate.
4. Creating new mobile missile force now would upset the delicate balance of negotiations needed for SALT agreement.

Defense alternatives to the new missile system:

1. Proposal to launch our missiles as soon as our radar detected a Soviet attack on USA.
2. Discard the triad concept and phase out the Minuteman force in favor of additional submarines for missile-launching and bombers with cruise missiles.
 - a. This projects an image of weakness and loss of confidence to have our land-based missiles "driven-out" by the Soviets.
 - b. Soviets could concentrate on other two legs of the triad.

Bombers already have an uncertain future

1. Carter cancelled the B-1
2. SALT provision now being negotiated to limit range of cruise missile to 1500 miles - which could be challenged by an extended Soviet air-defense system.



LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS
OF MINNESOTA

PHONE (612) 224-5445

555 WABASHA • ST PAUL, MINNESOTA 55102

INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

UPDATE

Pm-P

TO: Local League International Relations Chairs
FROM: Pat Llona, LWVMN International Relations Chair
October 10, 1978

Some remarks on Arms Control by
Thomas Hirschfield - Deputy Director Weapons Evaluation

1. 2/3 of the Strategic forces on each side (Warsaw Pact/NATO) are inter-continental.
2. Political argument against limiting our defenses is possibility of Russian blackmail as other countries perceive Russia is stronger than U.S. Called: "Finlandization."
3. NATO is maldeployed. Germany is beefing up its ground forces this year.
4. The forward movement of a SALT agreement will be the result of a commonality of interests between the U.S. and Russia.
5. Weapons cost a great deal more today. Example is top of line aircraft that was 300,000 range now 24 million.
6. The Soviets have MIRVed their missiles (Multiple-Independently Targeted Reentry Vehicles). Those of U.S. are lighter and more accurate. Those of Russia contain more megatons and are getting more accurate.

GIST

Board Memo L.R.
—A quick reference aid on U.S. foreign relations
primarily for Government use. Not intended
as a comprehensive U.S. policy statement.

SEP 5 1978



BUREAU OF PUBLIC AFFAIRS

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

US PROSPERITY AND THE DEVELOPING COUNTRIES August 1978

1. **Background:** During the last 10 years, US prosperity has become increasingly intertwined with the growth and stability of the less developed countries (LDCs). We are already dependent on those countries as important markets for US goods and services, as unique sources of certain imports, as the locus of profitable US private investment, and as the recipients of mutually advantageous loans by US banks. The economies of some LDCs have grown so large that they are beginning to have a significant impact on global prosperity and on the ability of the US and other industrialized countries to recover from economic recession.
2. **Trade relationships:** The importance of the LDCs to the US economy is illustrated by very substantial and growing trade ties.
 - In 1977, the LDCs bought US merchandise worth \$42 billion, or about 35% of total US exports. Members of the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) took \$14 billion and non-OPEC developing countries, \$28 billion. The LDCs bought 40% of all US exports of manufactures in 1977. We sell more manufactures to the LDCs than to Western Europe, Japan, and the Communist countries combined.
 - The LDCs accounted for two-thirds of all US motor vehicle exports (excluding those to Canada), and half or more of US exports of industrial machinery, electrical machinery, and aircraft (including Canada). They bought 50% of our wheat exports, 60% of our cotton exports, and 70% of our rice exports.
 - The US imported goods worth \$67 billion from the LDCs in 1977 -- 45% of total US imports. We paid \$31 billion to the OPEC countries for energy, but \$34 billion of our total imports from LDCs came from non-OPEC countries.
 - During the last 5 years, LDCs have consistently provided over 25% of US raw material imports and over 50% of our food imports. They provide all of our coffee and cocoa, as well as other tropical products not produced in the US.
 - We depend on LDCs for over two-thirds of our demand for bauxite, tin, natural rubber, and other strategic materials.
 - Between the early 1970s and 1977, sales of US goods to LDCs grew by 22% per year, compared with 15% for sales to the developed countries. Of the 35 countries in 1977 which imported US goods worth over \$400 million, LDCs occupy the first 12 places, when ranked by growth rate of US imports (early 1970s to 1977).

3. Investment, loans, and services: Nearly half of total US receipts from foreign investment, loans, military services, travel and fares, shipping, construction and engineering, insurance, and other services came from the LDCs in 1977.
 - In 1977, the US enjoyed a \$13.6 billion surplus on its service account with the LDCs. This offset more than half of the \$25 billion deficit on the trade account, including a \$19 billion deficit with OPEC countries.
 - The stock of US direct investment in LDCs amounted to \$29 billion at the end of 1976, or 20% of total US private foreign direct investment. The LDCs are the source of 47% of our earnings from private foreign direct investment.
 - LDCs provide the US with 45% of our earnings from other forms of US private investment abroad, including portfolio investment and loans. In mid-1977, US commercial bank loans to borrowers in LDCs totaled \$52 billion. The US Government held an additional \$26 billion in official loans to the LDCs.
4. Impact of LDC prosperity: The US has many reasons for encouraging the rapid growth and development of the LDCs, in addition to the obvious fact that -- as they develop -- they will provide larger markets for US goods and services.
 - By the mid-1980s, the World Bank expects economic growth in the more advanced LDCs to have a significant, positive impact on the growth rates of the developed countries. The collective demand of the LDCs is already influential in sustaining the production of goods and services in the US and other industrialized countries during periods of economic recession and in accelerating their recovery from recession.
 - Prosperous LDCs are less likely to experience political disturbances that could threaten US security interests, disrupt the supply of raw materials, or endanger US direct investments. Moreover, more rapid development of certain LDCs could lessen the flow of illegal immigrants into the US.
 - We can enhance the growth and development of the LDCs by providing generous amounts of development assistance -- directly and through the multilateral development banks. (In 1977, US outlays of official development assistance were \$4.3 billion, or 0.22% of our Gross National Product.) We can also help by fostering free trade and by continuing to allow free access to US capital markets.

Poorer nations believed key

By Flora Lewis
New York Times Service

Paris, France

The conviction is spreading among European economic experts, some politicians and some business leaders that the West must look to the semi-developed world to pull itself out of its chronic economic slump and renew sustained growth.

More of them have concluded that there is no way to create jobs without inflation.



Analysis

cumbing through despair, but it also resulted in what came to be called economic miracles. There were special factors. It served to restore and revive devastated productive capacity, but the experienced labor, the know-how, were already there in the infra-structure.

In the developing world the need was to create an ability to produce

In effect, it adds up to saying that industrial countries can't prosper further by just taking in one another's laundry and that new industrial countries are getting better at laundry anyway. So the advanced nations must move on to another level of business, as they did after the first Industrial Revolution, drawing on the rest of the world for markets as well as raw materials.

Charles B. Young, vice president of Citibank and head of its Paris office, told the European Economic Community seminar that his bank had



Partially Scanned Material

The remainder of this page/item has not been digitized due to copyright considerations. The original can be viewed at the Minnesota Historical Society's Gale Family Library in Saint Paul, Minnesota. For more information, visit www.mnhs.org/library/.

INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS COMMITTEE

November 2.

Present: Mary Swanson, Judy Rosenblatt, Pat Llona

We discussed the possibility of expanding Focus on Emerging Issues in February to include Arms Control and Disarmament. Pat would suggest it at the Action Committee meeting.

Station W.W.T.C. will take 90 second spots on any subject from League. How about doing an IR topic on Protectionism. Will probably excerpt from article in Voter.

We decided to add to one of the next Board Memos something about the ILO question. Also an update on H.F. 7797 (See Report from the Hill) and something on the Cargo Preference bill that didn't pass. Judy's article in the Roseville Voter will be used.

In the next Memo also will be something on UNICEF.

It was agreed that an effort should be made to put something in the November December Voter on the Focus coming up in February as well as an article to prepare members. Judy suggested asking National for the background material they're using to write the Ed Fund article which was promised for the fall but which won't be completed till January. She will get in touch with them.

Mary Swanson volunteered to write an abbreviation of the Dumping article she read in Time recently. We're all collecting more material on Protectionism, which was already approved as The Focus topic.

Judy reported on her activities doing a spot on W.W.T.C. on the U.N. Poll and also on the talk she delivered to the U.N.A. Minn. at the premiere showing of the new 15 minute film on stressing interdependence that is called "Alpha to Omega; the Beginning or the End" and which features John Denver and Norman Cousins. We all attended the U.N. Rally. Judy will report on it. Pat was program chairman of the Rally this year. Pat attended the Global Education workshop at the AAUW sponsored by UNESCO. An important point brought out was that there has been little of world affairs attempted in Social Science courses in the state since 1954. Only a core of about 25 teachers statewide are putting any stress on concern for getting a world outlook or consciousness into education. Some plans were made to change this. William E. Gardner, Dean of the College of Education U. of Minn. spoke of the global education need. Koryne Horbal, of the U.N. delegation to the U.N. spoke about the work done to retain the 3 million in the budget for INY activities that was almost dropped from the foreign aid bill. William Nunn spoke about a nation-Japan as a global citizen, and Roger Wengen, Social Studies consultant, State of Minn. summed up what had to be done to get global education integrated at all grade levels in the future. Just before the U.N. Rally there a U.N. Week Forum at the U. of Minn. which Martha Oye and Pat attended. Terrance Harold former President and Chairman of the Executive Committee Pillsbury Company was moderator. Panelists were: Atherton Bean, Chairman, Executive Committee, International Multifoods, Michael Sloan, Director Carnegie Center for Transnational studies and H.T. Wang: Director Information Analysis, U.N. Centre on Transnational Corporations. Mr. Sloan stressed: Contract services that transnationals can deliver abroad. Mr. Bean suggested that in the 50's not much was known of commercial and economic development abroad, but that is now changing. He suggested that from personal experience that the stability of a country induces investment, but that in countries where there is instability and lack of safety for investors there is little inducement. Mr. Wang suggested that foreign governments should clarify their own policies to make development easier.

At the U.N. Rally Judy had printed a handout on League position on the U.N. as well as results of the Poll. Any left over will be passed out at future meetings.

Pat sent an Action letter to the committee in Congress considering Cargo Preference Legislation. A few days later this legislation failed to pass. An explanation will be in the Board Memo.

Page 2....November 2 meeting continued....

Pat mentioned her part in planning World Trade Week. There will be at least one day for those not able to attend the whole registration. It will be designed for the general public at a one-day-reasonable registration fee.

Mary reported on her recent trip to Greece and Egypt. These are two poor countries. Exports from Egypt are: cotton, rice and corn. Exports from Greece are: citrus products, almonds, cotton, and bauxite. Greece has applied to enter the Common Market.

Judy spoke of receiving a letter hoping the League in Minn. will state early its support for International Children's Year in 1979. She will mention it at the Board meeting which may start the ball rolling to have the President appoint regional commissioners.

Judy mentioned two publications that are free from A.F.S.C. (a Quaker organization). Write to 1501 Cherry St. Philadelphia, Penna. 19102 for a publication about the Panama Canal and one on Southern Africa.

Meeting adjourned. P.S. Mildred Pratt, 503 Fremont, Anoka 55303 to be added. to IR Ctee.

November 17....IR meeting at Martha Oye's following World Affairs Council Study Group meeting.

Attendance: Martha, Pat, Judy Rosenblatt, Mary Swanson, Marguerite Benson, Mary Dobbins.

Minutes of last meeting read for those not present. Marguerite agreed to attend as Judy Spadaccini could not from Mpls. League. Pat stressed that anyone interested in IR should participate as these meetings are for background on League concerns as well as planning for Focus, etc. Hope to raise level of consciousness in League on IR.

Pat mentioned her part in League hostessing of 5 Latin and Central American Women on a State Department tour to get a good cross section of American life and on what women, especially, were doing in politics. Grace Harkness of the Mpls. League planned the election day activities which included taking them to a polling place, to the home for Battered Women, City Hall, Government Center, speaking to candidates and women council members, Walker Art Center, a meal in a Mpls. home and attendance at the Democrat victory headquarters at the Leamington Hotel. On Monday, Pat took them to the League Office and had the interpreter read to them on the way about what they were going to see. A CMAL meeting was starting and Harriet Burkhalter and Gerry Enders told them about the Metro Gov't. and CMAL organization. Following that they toured the Freshwater Biological Institute and had lunch with Mrs. John S. Pillsbury; then back to see the Edina City Hall.

Judy Rosenblatt reported about having talked to Beth Perkins in the National office about the Ed. Find material on Protectionism. Beth said the research had been started but she had no rough draft. Instead she is sending the background on the article. She said that the Burke-Hartke protectionist bill which was introduced in 1973 is down but not out. She also mentioned that there are speakers from the Common Market interested in coming to speak.

We discussed the Format for the Focus meeting: We agreed it had to be one of Action because League already has a position. We discussed possible speakers and uses of material: The old "Facts and Issues on Trade" and the "Trouble With Trade" is still relevant.

Speakers: From-Emergency Committee for American Trade
Chamber of Commerce
U. of Minn. School of Agriculture Phil Raup?
Department of Economic Development Lee Vann?
Possible address on trip to China or Japan by a business person.
Robert Straus
Juanita Krep - Commerce Department.

3 speakers and luncheon speaker ?

Mary Swanson says she will be attending the program on Russia on Dec. 1.

Mary Dobbins says she could write a background summary of the Sister Kennelly talk for the Board Memo (Panama Canal)

Mary Swanson will do Weapons Proliferations - Terrence Hoppman talk at World Affairs Council meeting recently.

Judy R. will summarize the U.N. Rally for the next Board Memo.

Mary will send the article on the I.L.O. from Time to Pat. Pat is writing Protectionist article for either the Voter or the Board Memo as an enclosure.

We agreed to meet after the next World Affairs Council study group meeting, since most everyone will be at Peg Fellands. If it isn't convenient to meet right after the study group we will go to Pat's house, 5936 Grove Street. Edina. 1:30 p.m.

Adjourned.

Report from Martha Oye on South Africa...from Prof. Wesley St. John of Hamlin University talk to the World Affairs Council on Dec. 1. 1977:

Prof. St. John made a summer trip to So. Africa. He stressed the importance of understanding the views of the Whites, particularly the mentality of the Afrikaners of Dutch descent, who are the chief architects of the Nationalist Party who have been in power since '48. Their views are no way defensible, but it is important to understand them since they hold the key to peaceful change in their country. They are the ones who make policies and are in command. But they are determined that change shall not come; that they must retain and sustain the policies and programs of separation and segregation and have control.

Why do they hold this position? They are products of conditioning, to preserve status, and the way they look at their past. They are victims of their own peculiar history and the way they interpret their history...a history of 3 centuries of struggle. If economic pressures or sanctions occur, Blacks will suffer first. However Blacks are willing to suffer, if it will bring about changes. The Whites are also willing to suffer. So it's a standstill, a tragic situation for all.

Suffering will be incalculable and will take a long time to resolve. White population is steadily decreasing. Now it's down to 16 % because young people are leaving. Perhaps when it gets down to 10 % changes might occur.

International Relations

UN

Development

Trade - Acronyms

H History - League Background + position

M Chart - terms + translations

M Early history including "tea" (M)

Swot Hawley

Trade Acts

GATT

IMF

World Bank

N/S dialogue

LDCs

P Concepts + rubber (H)

P MN

P Agric. + coffee (P)

M Domestic + tomatoes^(H) + garments^(H)

H MTN

- implementation

H Legal Problems for Trade

International Relations

Promote peace in an interdependent world, through cooperation with other nations and the strengthening of international organizations.

reexamined in 1996
Read position statement
p. 28 "Impact"

UN - studied fairly recently. Brought to our attention each year on UN day = luncheon + wkps

Development - new publication being written.

Support for development aid has reached an all-time low in Congress. As of 1978, about 800 million people, then 1/3 of the population of the developing world, still lived in absolute poverty. The goal of aid is rapid economic growth + reduction of this poverty.

Breakdown in support of aid is because military assistance + devel. aid got combined. When we became disenchanted w/ the war in SE Asia, we cut back on military aid, which turned out to be most of our aid. Need development assistance

(1977 US outlay = \$4.3 billion or 0.22% of GNP)

read position statement p. 32 "Impact"

⊗ ← Our development aid is not out of generosity. It is because we are interdependent. And that brings us to our Third League position under International Relations - Trade. The developing countries are ^{important} customers in the world marketplace. They facilitate the continued growth of labor productivity + help to ease inflationary pressures.

In the GATT, the MFA (multifiber agreement), the ASP (American Selling Price), and the OMA (Orderly Marketing Agreement) were discussed. They considered the role of the USITC (US International Trade Commission) and the effect of the NTMs (nontariff measures), the VATs and DISC (Domestic International Sales Corp.).

— Matsushita + Philips - their acronyms, ~~that's all~~

3 Trade: The LWF's interest in world trade began in 1920 when we investigated the high prices following WWI. This, combined with another study on the economic causes of war, convinced the Lg that high tariffs + restrictive trade practices add to consumer prices, reduce marketplace competition + cause friction among nations. Since then we've worked against high tariffs + ^{other trade barriers} for free trade including trade with the Eastern European countries, which we started promoting in 1965.

We've restudied our trade position many times - in the early '60s, ^{and} in 1972, when we urged adjustment assistance programs, i.e. aiding a faltering business thru direct assistance rather than by high tariffs or quotas.

~~The present~~ We've lobbied extensively all across the country ~~to~~ against protectionist legislation and for the many trade acts.

Our present position statement on Trade is:

p. 30 "Impact"

Marsha - chart - Translate acronyms
Marsha - early history (story on tea)

* Smoot-Hawley Tariff Act of 1930

originally to protect farmers + a few industries
Expanded by 1250 amendments attached to protect various products. Tariffs were raised by an average 53%. More than 1000 economists + other countries tried to convince Hoover to veto bill. Said they'd have no \$ to buy American goods. Anticipation of the passage of this bill contributed to the panic that caused the 1929 stock market crash. Other countries retaliated by raising their tariffs. Within 3 yrs. our industrial exports had declined by 73% + agricultural exports by 67%. Result = fewer jobs, closing factories, longer depression. Protectionist attitude spread + contributed to economic and political unrest that led to WWII

1934 - Reciprocal Trade Act - Roosevelt pushed thru.

Trade Associations

4

Led to New Internat'l Econ Order = integrated
prog. for commodity trade

Regional Organizations or Trading Blocs

EEC - free movement of goods, capital + labor among members
+ common tariff for rest of world + common econ,
social + monetary policies

Common Agric. Policy - maintain internal prices
above world prices

Have special trading relationships w nations +
groups. Lomé Conv. (1975) - 50 LDCs

1959 - European Free Trade Assoc. EFTA - UK, Denmark,
Austria, Norway, Portugal, Sweden, Switzerland
- to unify non EC nations

- full employ, financial stability, improvement of
living standards, expansion of trade = elimination
of tariffs + quotas + promote cooperation

1961 - Finland 1970 Iceland 1973 UK + Denmark left
Import duties on most indust. prod. removed by 1967

1972-73 - EFTA + EEC - bilateral trade agreement
- dismantle indust. tariffs btwn 16 nations, but
not agric.

Council for Mutual Econ. Assistance COMECON or CMEA

1949 - econ. coop. among E. Europ. nations + USSR

1962 - Mongolia joined 1972 - Cuba, Yugoslavia does not
participate fully + Finland, Iraq + Mexico are cooperants
Agreements aren't binding, so bilat. agreements often form
under CMEA umbrella

1964 - formed a bank to clear currencies

1971 - bank to finance joint investments of members
currency values based on Soviet ruble - transaction
values determined by negotiations
viable forum for econ. planning + coop.

LAFTA - Latin American Free Trade Area 1966

CARIFTA - Caribbean Free Trade Area 1968 - most free trade
CACM - Central Amer. Common Market 1960 - virtually dead

Argent. Bolivia, Brazil,
Chile, Colombia, Ecuador,
Mex., Paraguay, Peru, Uruguay,
- little prog. Venez.
Costa Rica, El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras,
Nicaragua

5

US - shaped by farm prog. Trade Acts

Reciprocal Trade Agreement Act of 1934 - amended + extended 'til 1962

1945 - Pres. could cut import duties by 50%

1948 - 1- "peril point" clause - duty rates below which tariffs could
not be cut w/out damaging industry ^{-eliminated in 1949 restored 1951} 2- changes in Sec. 22
to give Pres. more flex. to restrict imports that interfered w/ agric. price
supports (violated GATT obligations + req 1955 waiver)

1955 + 1958 - Pres. limited author. to reduce duties. Tariff Commission
determined peril points

Trade Expansion Act of 1962 - expired 1967

- trade liberalization. Pres. power expanded, many
restrictive clauses excluded, Peril pt. ^{not} retained but Tar. Com.
became US Int'l Trade Commission to advise Pres. on
probable econ. effects of changes

- adjustment asst. to firms + wkrs. Little granted

Trade Act of 1974

- Pres. reduce tariffs over 5 yrs., broadens unfair
trade actions, extends most-favored-nations +
preferences to LDCs

6 History - General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) has provided international framework for trade negotiations in the non-communist world since 1948. Basic tenet is nondiscrimination, referred to as "the most-favored nation" concept, which says that if you grant a trade concession to one country, you have to grant it to all the members of GATT.

By 1967 this had brought tariffs down to below 10% on the average.

1947

GATT - multilateral treaty dealing \approx internal trade

- 1- Non-discriminatory. No new preferential or bilateral agreements. Allowed exceptions for LDCs + regional trading groups
- 2- Domestic industries receive protection by tariffs. Agric. can have import quotas if domestic production restrictions are in force
- 3- Agreed-upon tariff levels bind each country. If raised, compensation must be made to injured countries
- 4- Consultations settle disputes
- 5- Can be waived under some circumstances \approx member agreement + compensation

In 1950s US requested agric. waiver (granted) - weakened our influence

7 rounds - Most recent

1960-61 - Dillon Round - regarded formation of EEC (Common Market) + its common external tariff for EEC members

1963-67 - Kennedy Round - $\frac{1}{3}$ reduction in tariffs
Some progress on agric.

1973 - Tokyo Round

IMF (international monetary fund) - purpose - orderly + stable monetary system

- members agree to free monetary movements among nations + to redeem its currency for foreign currency

- gold was basis (which meant \$) - broke down in 1971, \$ was devalued 8% in 1971 10% in 1973, then allowed to float. Market determines values moment to moment

International Bank For Reconstruction + Development

- World Bank \approx Internatl Finance Corp. + Inter. Devel. Assoc.

Channels capital into investments in LDCs

N-S Dialogue - 1964 - UN Conf on Trade and Devel.

- discusses gripes at LDCs

- meets every four yrs. up to UNCTAD IV 1976 now

④

LDCs = Less Developed Countries

- Important markets for US goods + services,
unique sources of certain imports, locus of
profitable US private investment, recipients of
mutually advantageous loans by US banks

1977 - LDCs bought \$42 billion (35%) of US exports
OPEC (Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries)
took \$14 billion + non-OPEC took \$28 billion
LDCs took 40% of all US exports of manufactures
(more than to Western Europe, Japan + Communist
countries combined)
 $\frac{2}{3}$ of all US motor vehicle exports (excluding Canada)
 $\frac{1}{2}$ or more of ^{US} exports of industrial machinery, electrical
machinery + aircraft (including Canada)
50% of wheat exports, 60% of cotton, 70% of rice

US imported \$67 billion from LDCs - 45% of total
US imports. \$31 billion to OPEC for energy, but \$34
billion of total imports from non-OPEC

During last 5 yrs. - LDCs provided over 25% of
US raw material imports + over 50% of food imports
All coffee + cocoa, + other tropical products not produced
in US
over $\frac{2}{3}$ bauxite, tin, natural rubber + other strategic materials

Between 1970-77 sales to LDCs from US grew by 22%
per yr compared to 15% to developed countries
Of 35 countries in 1977 which imported US goods
worth over \$400 million, LDCs occupy first 12
places, when ranked by growth rate of US imports
(70s to '77)

9

⑧

LDCs cont.

1/2 receipts from foreign investment, loans, military services, travel & fares, shipping, construction, engineering insurance + other services came from LDCs in 1977

- \$13.6 billion surplus (total trade deficit = \$25 billion incl. \$19 billion to OPEC)

- 47% of our earnings from private foreign direct investment

- 45% from other private investment abroad

More advanced LDCs - have impact on growth rates of developed countries. Collective demand of LDCs helps sustain production during recession + accelerates recovery. Prosperous LDCs more stable + lessons flow of illegal immigrants

10 Agriculture - World market not based on supply + demand
3/4 of wheat ^{wheat} brings higher than world market price, which is what US is paid for its exports. Only 14% of wheat, which is produced by 4 major exporting countries, is sold on world market at that set price. In US, Canada + Australia, price is considered inadequate + so subsidized Argentina "makes it" at that price

World market not competitive auction of producers selling to consumers. It's governments to governments. Sell wheat too cheaply - countries raise prices for internal markets. Thus, loss of export dollars causes trade deficit, weakens dollar, raises prices of imports incl. oil, so the benefits of having "cheap food" at home is probably offset by rising costs in all other areas

~~US~~ Farmers want IWA to regulate price + supply of wheat

'80 crop 19% below
19% below
saybeans down 33%

MN - 12% of nation's corn - High Fructose corn syrup - growth potential

Inc. magazine - 5 of 100 fastest growing firms in MN
(every firm on 100 list quadrupled sales from '75 to '80)

China grain deal - \$1 billion in export sales yearly for US farmers - Before deal, already bought 5.8 million metric tons this year. Deal = 6 to 9

Negotiating deals w/ Japan, Mex. + Israel. Russia buying it secondhand
Life stock cycle in downturn, Food costs might jump 14% in '81
Over half of US wheat + sorghams are exported

wheat all time high
Australia crop may be disastrous
Soviet crop down 30%

US cut off 17 million tons to Russia
(excess over 8 minimum)

AID etc.

1953 - agric. surpluses led to Agricultural Trade Development + Assistance Act of 1954 or Public Law 480

Sales were made for foreign currencies which were used to promote econ. devel. in recipient countries, to promote US farm products overseas + for other purposes.

Amendments in 1966 + 1972 gradually replaced sales in currencies \rightarrow sales under long-term, low-interest credit, repayable in \$ or convertible for currencies.

Credit sales = 70% of farm commodities

Donated some for disasters + self help prog.

Internat'l Devel. + Assit Act 1975 (amended 1977)

- integrated AID + US Mutual Security + PL 480

- increased emphasis on econ. dev. + self help in devel. countries + provid. food to poorest nations

Trade \rightarrow Communist countries

Prohibited after WWII - gradually lifted

- interdependence economically advantageous

- 5 yr grain agreement \rightarrow USSR

Tariffs - overall economic effects are a tax on consumers, an indirect subsidy to the protected industry + a narrowing of markets + possibly lower prices for exporters

Agriculture - ^{some supports are} price supports, storage prog., direct payments to producers, subsidized inputs, acreage allotments, quotas

W. Europe + Japan - concentrated on being self-sufficient

US + Canada - sought foreign markets

Domestic policies win out over free trade

e.g. US dairy, EC grain etc.

With free trade internal prices determined by domestic + world markets

$n\frac{1}{2}$ Export Subsidies

1955-1966 - $\frac{1}{3}$ of agric. exports subsidized

Since - ^{support} payments to farmers, allowing prices to move at world levels

Import Quotas

- dairy products, grains, cotton, peanuts, sugar, meat
Special legiol. restricts sugar + beef imports
- other commodities when price supports keep prices about internat'l competitive levels - Sec. 22
Escape clause provisions allow other regulations
e.g. sanitary packaging
- Producers benefit, but users are disadvantaged by higher prices. Interests of export producers clash w/ import producers.

Tomato war - used to get winter tomatoes from Cuba. 1960 - Florida established industry Unsuited conditions, so altered growing requirements. Developed tough skin + picked them green. Put through methylene "gas chamber" to give them a blush.

Mexico developed labor-intensive ripen-on-the-vine tomato industry - employs $\frac{1}{4}$ million + 5% of export earnings. US prefers Mex. tom. Fla. has gotten high tariff levels, rigid quotas + has manipulated health standards

Consumer - higher cost, inferior product
internatl. - illegal aliens

- bad feelings - now we need their oil

Labor - American wkrs have labored long + hard for decent working conditions, + wages. Now, they shouldn't have to compete w "sweatshops"
 $\frac{2}{3}$ of textile wkrs are the International Ladies Garment Workers Union - many poorly educated minorities (newest immigrants = little knowledge of English) Family resp. mean retreating + relocating is not an option. Alternative is welfare. Want reciprocal trade, but imports over last several yrs were 38% + domestic industry has grown only 6% (Other countries have barriers to US exports) Textiles regulated by Multi Fibre Agreement, a series of bilateral agreements, + MTN

13

Retailing - imported goods give buying choices + relief from high prices. Of 168 items (excluding cars + food) the average cost was 10.8% less than domestic goods of same quality. For low income consumers, imported goods cost 13% less than identical domestic goods. Should optimize both import + export opportunities.

Highly skilled capital-intensive country built on "Yankee ingenuity". Tradition of invention + innovation - Import high-priced, high-technology, capital-intensive items such as auto, motorcycles, TVs, appliances. Duty free + sold to top 40% of income level. Less affluent's income goes for food + clothes (controlled by tariffs + quotas) would be cheaper than domestic products + help check inflation.

International Trade - Style + Substance

"How we manage our international trade policy bears directly on our efforts to control inflation, on the stability of the dollar and on the effectiveness of our own foreign policy."

- Julius L. Katz, Asst. Sec. of State for Econ. + Bus. Affairs.

MTN agreement will benefit US - increase exports, help fight inflation, lessen government intervention in the world trading system, demonstrate the US's + other major trading nations' commitment to liberalized trade + rejection of protectionism, + increase the efficiency of the world trading system

EEC - European Economic Community

(Belgium, Denmark, France, Germany, Great Britain, Holland, Ireland, Italy, Luxembourg)

- trade in nonmember states accounts for 12% of ^{aggregate} GNP

Another 12% in (US - 8% of GNP is generated thru interntl trade)

Problems - 1- world wide recession turns countries to protection of national production 2- increased pace at which structural change is needed - more + more countries in world market in a more + more competitive way.

3- International monetary instability (decline in value of \$)

Need to resist protectionism, cope w redeployment or division of labor (must be done slowly to make it socially bearable), move toward a stable monetary system, + to integrate the LDCs into the world economy in an "orderly way". (Need bilateral + regional as well as multilateral solutions).

Japan

Japan - small country = $\frac{1}{2}$ US population. Less than 50% of US imports consist of essential materials necessary for production, while 80% of Japan's imports consist of such plus food stuffs. US exports = 30% are industrial supplies + materials, incl. coal.

16% - foodstuffs + other agric. products such as tobacco
 Less than 1/2 are manufactured goods.

Japan = 90% manufactured goods.

Each other's largest overseas customers = \$40 billion ¹⁹⁷⁸
 (\$12 billion trade deficit for US)

Jan. 1978 - tried to solve problems.

Result Japan has not reduced trade surplus significantly,
 due in large measure to 40% decline in value of \$
 against yen by end of 1978. Exports of steel +
 TVs declined, Japan's growth didn't reach 7% target, but
 was $5\frac{1}{2}$ - 6%, the highest of any industrialized country
 US didn't control inflation + hasn't significantly
 cut oil imports. Sales of US goods to Japan
 increased 29.8% in 1978 (\$6.1 billion). US share of
 Japanese imports slipped from 31% to 28.8% in 1978

LDCs were not satisfied $\hat{=}$ the Tokyo Round
 - particularly the relinquishing special differential
 treatment. They didn't want this "graduation" built in

MTN = Multilateral Trade Negotiations
 Tokyo Round (Geneva) = 7th session under GATT
 Previous rounds for tariff reductions. This
 one focused on non-tariff measures

Tries to establish ground rules for world trade
 US benefits - past 10 yrs, exports more than quadrupled
 to \$143 billion in 1978 (16% of everything we grow,
 manufacture or mine = 4.3 million jobs)

Subsidies - Will prohibit export subsidies, increase the
 discipline on use of domestic subsidies + set up rules
 for countries to take countermeasures against
 subsidized products that adversely affect their trade.

Standards + technical regulations

- Health, safety, environment. Code designed to
 allow affected parties to participate in the
 standards-making process + provide nondiscriminatory
 access to nat'l + regional certification systems.

Customs valuation - Duties will be assessed on
 an import's transaction value + other provided methods

Government procurement - eliminate favoring locals.

US will benefit

Safe guards - international trading rules + discipline

Licensing - Reduce unnecessary or unduly complicated
 requirements

Aircraft - eliminate tariffs, reduce other barriers (US major
 supplier)

Agriculture - Agreements on coarse grains, meats +
 dairy products (US largest exporter)

GATT reform - some special + differential treatment for
 developing countries. As they advance economically -
 obligations increase + exceptions decrease
 Dispute-settlement procedures improved

Industrial tariffs - not completed with Canada + many developed
 countries. Settled w/ Japan, European Community + OECD
 (Organization for Economic Cooperation + Development)
 US tariff cuts = 30-35% on average - same as on Kennedy
 Round

MTN agreements

Tariff reductions, concessions on product quotas (an NTB that is expressly trade-restrictive), agricultural agreements (only consultative) and Codes of conduct (cover use of NTBs)

= subsidies, safeguards, government procurement, standards, customs valuation + licensing

1- Subsidies + countervailing duties

Fiscal incentive to produce for export = Export subsidy

Prop up an "infant" industry = loans, grants or other
Fiscal incentives = Domestic subsidy.

Gives unfair competitive advantage in intern'l trade because selling price doesn't reflect true costs. European Community uses both subsidies vigorously, as do many Developing countries.

CVD = countervailing duty levied by US to counter unfair competitive advantage. Brings price to level it would have been w/out subsidy, thus closer to its market value.

New code prohibits use of export subsidies for industrial products + nonprimary mineral products. Tightens rules on agricultural product (subsidies used by European Community). Establishes rules governing domestic subsidies - agree to try to not use to affect trade + if do, may seek redress. Terms are being agreed on ind. rebates, favorable shipping terms, Value Added Tax (similar to states' sales tax) on locally consumed products. US has complicated tax-incentive system not covered yet.

Redress/dispute settlement - Unilateral - when domestic market's involved, business can complain to its government, which determines if countervailing duties are warranted. This recourse already exists.

Multilateral - if subsidized products are displacing a business' products in third-country markets, an

internatl com. can withdraw a GATT benefit

Country can seek redress even against subsidized agricultural products, altho these are allowed. A country may not use export subsidies to gain more than its "equitable share of world agri. trade, defined in part by its share in a 3yr representative period. Cannot significantly depress world prices. ^{created} Interatl Subsidies Commission

Code has dispute settlement mechanism - expert panel makes determination in 150 days

Effect of subsidy, not its existence, is what counts
US must amend CVD law to include injury test.

2- Safeguards

Can impose temporary tariff or quota to allow industry time to adjust to new imports. ^{GATT Article XIX}
(In US, taking this safeguard action is called "invoking the escape clause" - covered by US Trade Act of 1974)

Under GATT - Safeguard must apply equally to all nations from which product is imported. This principle of nondiscrimination, known as the most-favored-nation (MFN) principle, governs trade expansion as well as restrictions

Industry to industry arrangements sometimes made outside of GATT - agree to limit exports to other's home market. No guidelines for this.

New Code - can take "selective" safeguard action, but GATT can set conditions + limits on when + how
Devel. Count. want strict standards, EEC unwilling to accept strict guidelines

3- Government Procurement

US Buy America (must give contract to Amer. firm even if 6-12% higher. If for natl defense - 50%). Other countries of equiv. practices. New code forbids this except for natl security + agric. support. Must have equal bidding access

on anything over \$180,000. Can't divide a contract to get below this amount. Covers nat'l govs. but should encourage subsidiary govs. Only applies to those who sign code.

4 Customs Valuation

Often an impediment to trade because of different values used. ASP (American Selling Price) assigns import value equal to its Amer. made equivalent rather than actual value - now used only for some chemical and footwear imports

Will be replaced by ~~five methods~~ 1-transaction value - actual amount importer pays exporter (preferred method)

5 Standards

- encourages use of existing international standards + in terms of performance rather than design in an attempt to reduce artificial standards. Applicable to new + revised standards. Hope to eliminate double standards and impossible certification

Agricultural Trade

Includes a Meat Council + a Dairy Products Council
Latter sets prices below which commercial trade in dairy products is prohibited.

Developing Countries

Many participated for first time
Special + differential treatment along w/ obligations + responsibilities

1934 US levied import duties that averaged ^{world tariffs} yearly 60%
 Now 8%. New agreement reduces ~~tariffs~~ by a third over
 next 8 yrs. US would fall to about 4% Japan, from
 10% to 4%.

New agreement forbids subsidies on exports of industrial goods
 + prohibits agric. subsidies that would "materially
 undercut another country's domestic producers"

Eliminating Tar Buy Amer. law + its equivalents
 (\$12 billion in US) = \$24 billion a yr. market. All countries
 will follow uniform bidding practices + will publish
 clear regulations on govern. procurement
 Provides for monitoring abuses of technical
standards (used to keep out imports - Japan's antitungicide on fruit)
 + requires simpler licensing.

Eliminates Amer. Selling Price (9 diff. ways to calculate
 value of imports ^{used by countries} in order to impose duties) ASP is worst
 Used mainly on shoes + benzoid chemicals

ASP duty figured not on price paid for imported goods
 but comparable Amer. price. Artificially inflates prices
 Will use transaction cost instead. US can raise
 duty rates to keep prices up.

Ideally should have no export subsidies on agric. This
 would increase demand for unsubsidized US products
 Agreement merely asks countries not to use them

Japan agreed to reduce tariffs on US indust. imports 60%
 making their tariffs lower than ours on Japanese goods
 Rbt Trans Predicts big jump in farm exports to Japan by 1983 +
 beef up 4xs + oranges 5xs

Purpose to promote Free Trade, Benefit to Amer. is lower
 prices on consumer goods

21
US share of world exports fell from 21% in 1957 to 13% last year

Need an economy geared to compete + export thrust
world for an economic renaissance

— supposedly for free trade
Carter — negotiated agreement w Japan to restrict flow of TV sets, w Taiwan + Korea to limit import of shoes
Has proposed higher tariffs on imported sugar + an internal sugar treaty which would create a world sugar cartel
Approved a trigger-price system for steel imports ostensibly to prevent "dumping" by foreign producers, but really to buoy up US steel

Voted on bill to maintain textile tariffs, but has agreed to impose new restrictions on imports

Has made these concessions to try to placate protectionists

Trade is main way nations relate to one another. Can pave way for all endeavors or break communications

Congress ratified

— everything's scheduled over a period of time

— complaint mechanism is in operation

22 Trade needs a boost

World Trade Growth

1977-1979 - annual growth of 5-6%

1980 - prob. no increase (IMF + GATT say 2-3%)

1981 - predicted 3½%

Implementation - ^{Commerce Department} under US Trade Representative - ^{former H.E. Gov. As for in charge}

- continues negotiations on agreements
- has begun negot. on bilateral investment treaties, which would assure nondiscriminatory treatment of US investments abroad, encouraging foreigners here.
- gathering data on services trade
- encouraging US investments ^{+ trade} in Egypt/Israel

Grain embargo amelioration - buy contracts of undelivered (mostly corn), request Cong. for funding to inc. US food assist. prog. + permission to hold 4mmt of wheat for future assist., encour. farmers to reserve more grain

"Code" (standards, subsidies, licensing, anti-dumping) coms. are being.
- countries are gradually signing "code" agreements

Procurement - goes into effect next yr.

Need to keep promoting to combat protectionism

Antidumping - complaints filed by US steel against W. Europe
trigger price mechanism (adopted 1977) (establishes periodically adjusted price floor based on production costs of most efficient for. manuf. (Japan) + transp. + currency adjustments
"triggers" investigation if price falls below.

Devised to protect domestic steel + provide for competition
Steel industry wants "4" price raised

If anti-dumping duty is assessed, steel prices will rise +
~~then~~ reaction retaliation in other products might occur

Three main legal problems:

- I Sec. 911 Tax law needs to be changed or repealed. 2 or 3 bills will probably be considered during lame duck session

Gist - multiple taxation - home + abroad

Costs more to live abroad so companies raise pay to make up difference. Results in higher tax brackets, so people can't manage and refuse jobs. Thus, companies lose overseas contracts + export sales

- II Foreign Corrupt Practices Act - so complex it scares off even some of the most scrupulous + honest companies. Has cost US millions in lost business overseas. One need is consistency between Justice + SEC enforcement

- III Webb-Pomeroy Act - This is an antitrust provision passed in 1918 and intended to encourage US companies to form consortiums for export promotion, but it's "laced in ambiguity" + has been subverted. It was designed to exempt companies from the Sherman Antitrust Act if their association was for the sole purpose of export and did not lessen competition in the US.

In 1930 - over 50 of these associations existed and covered 20% of all our exports. In 1980 there were 33 associations + they covered less than 2% of exports

Why? - domestic market more attractive, Act doesn't include service sector from which 65% of GNP is derived, most associations lack resources to penetrate foreign market, and statutory vagueness and restrictive rule making and certification procedures create threat of future antitrust litigation

Now - US exports $\frac{1}{6}$ of manufactured products + $\frac{1}{3}$ of agriculture = \$120 billion worth = 4.5 million jobs in US

Protectionism = deprives consumers of wide choices + lower prices. Accelerates inflation by eliminating competition. Jeopardizes foreign relations. Poisons relations w/ 3rd world emerging countries

Some of things that can be done besides implementing MTN

Domestic arena

Manufacturing - changing attitudes of business community
12 million companies in US, but 200 account for 85% of all manufactured exports. US Commerce Dept. estimates that 20,000 to 30,000 have export potential

1978 trade mission of 130 companies w/ Com. Sec.

Juarez keeps - only 2 translated their brochures into Japanese = Awareness gap.

2 - eliminating government disincentives to US exports

US Foreign Econ. Policy is confused + diffused.

Decision making authority is spread thru depts. + "lacks orchestration + internal consistency". Need exports as a national goal - promote greater coordination thru state + federal officials

Some laws + regulations need elimination + revision
HR, EA, etc.

3 - positive steps - technical asst. esp. to small businesses

to help them take advantage of export possibilities, use bilateral trade agreements, especially w/ respect to nonmarket economies, more effectively, + provide incentives to spur research + devl. + innovation

DEC 11 1978

League of Women Voters Education Fund • 1730 M Street, N.W., Washington, D. C. 20036 Tel. (202) 659-2685



memorandum

THIS IS GOING ON DPM

November 1978

TO: State and Local League Presidents
FROM: Ruth Robbins, International Relations Chair
RE: Arms Control publication

Enclosed is the new CURRENT FOCUS: Security Through Arms Control? The League of Women Voters Education Fund has produced this CURRENT FOCUS in response to a convention request for a publication on arms control and disarmament issues.

Security Through Arms Control? provides citizens a context from which to view arms control agreements and the issues surrounding them. It explains the often confusing and intimidating arms control terminology, discusses some of the problems associated with various negotiations, and brings people up-to-date on the major arms control agreements now in existence or under negotiation.

Leagues that are interested in providing citizens with educational materials on SALT II will find this CURRENT FOCUS especially helpful during the ensuing months when the Strategic Arms Limitation negotiations reach their conclusion and public debate begins. As with the Panama Canal treaties debate, heated and emotional discussion is likely and it will be extremely important for the facts to be understood.

This well-balanced publication offers you a good opportunity to contact local news and political editors, to provide them with copies of the publication and to let them know where interested citizens may purchase their own copies.

More information on arms control issues can be obtained from other sources listed in the publication. Among them, Operation Turning Point offers leadership tools and materials. Especially recommended is the publication entitled "A Disarmament Report Card: The UN Special Session and Beyond." It is a good supplement to Security Through Arms Control? Single copies are free from Operation Turning Point, c/o Institute for World Order, 1140 Avenue of the Americas, New York, New York 10036.

The State Department has a number of speakers available to talk about SALT II. If you have enough people to attend a briefing contact David Fischer at the Office of Public Programs Room 5831; Department of State; Washington, D.C. 20529; (202) 632-1433.

Finally, be sure to get in touch with other community groups such as the United Nations Association or world affairs councils to see what's already in the works.

Security Through Arms Control?

Alamogordo, New Mexico, July 16, 1945: the United States opens the nuclear era. September 23, 1949: the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. October 19, 1952: the United Kingdom. February 19, 1960: France. October 16, 1964: the People's Republic of China. May 18, 1974: India.

... 159 countries ... 124,000 tanks ... 12,300 combat ships ... 35,000 military aircraft ... 400 billion dollars spent *each year* on military budgets. Every year, *twice* as much money spent on *new* weapons than is spent for the education and health of three-quarters of the world's people. This is the arms race.

The Antarctic Treaty ... the Treaty Banning Nuclear Weapons Tests in the Atmosphere, in Outer Space and Under Water ... the Non-Proliferation Treaty ... the Treaty on the Limitation of Anti-Ballistic Missile Systems ... U.S.-U.S.S.R. Agreement on the Prevention of Nuclear War. These are arms controls.

Arms control evolves from the recognition that the continuing development and deployment of new and more deadly weapons and ever larger armed forces is only one approach—and not necessarily the most effective—to assuring national security. Arms control negotiations can achieve verified limitations that can maintain strategic balances and offer extra dividends of relieving tensions, avoiding misjudgments and saving money.

For three decades the successive leaderships of the major powers of the world (with the exception of the People's Republic of China) have pursued arms control agreements as an essential complement to military capabilities in the structuring of national security.

Negotiating security: not a new idea

Arms control is not a new concept. Throughout history, society has tried to limit and outlaw war, modes of warfare, and even times and places of battle. An early example in U.S. history was the Rush-Bagot agreement of 1817 limiting U.S. and British naval forces on the Great Lakes.

It was not until the turn of this century, however, that proliferation of arms production, made possible by the Industrial Revolution, prompted earnest efforts toward arms reduction. International peace conferences at The Hague in 1899 and 1907 codified rules of war, established procedures and institutions for settling international disputes, and banned certain weapons (dumdum bullets, asphyxiating gases) and delivery systems (projectiles from balloons). Many of

these agreements disintegrated in the anarchy of World War I; some, such as the International Court at The Hague, have evolved and continue today.

In 1925 a U.S. initiative led to the signing at Geneva of an international protocol prohibiting the use of poison gas and bacteriological weapons in warfare. By World War II, all the great powers except, ironically, the United States and Japan, had ratified the protocol, and it was observed during the war. Japan finally ratified in 1970, the United States in 1975.

The dropping of the atomic bomb on Hiroshima underscored the urgency of limiting new weapons technology. Following World War II, the United States proposed that nuclear technology be turned over to the exclusive authority of the United Nations in order to prohibit national ownership and development. The U.S. also proposed that existing nuclear weapons be destroyed. When the Soviet Union rebuffed this U.S. initiative, the arms race moved toward the era of holocaust capability.

By the mid-1950s the arms race and the concurrent development of nuclear power for energy had complicated attempts to control nuclear materials and to reach the goal of "General and Complete Disarmament." The object of international debate therefore became individual measures, some step by step and some moving into new areas, that could reduce the dangers of devastation—nuclear, chemical, biological or environmental—brought by war.

In the decades since World War II, arms control agreements have taken various forms.

- Some prohibit a type of weapon, such as poison gas or weapons that might alter the environment or weather conditions.
- Others limit the quantity or quality of a weapon, such as the Strategic Arms Limitation agreements which limit Anti-Ballistic Missile (ABM) systems. (See Arms Control Terms on page 2 for definitions of weapons mentioned in text.)
- Several exclude a geographic region from nuclear competition, such as the Antarctic Treaty which bans any military activity in that region, or the Treaty of Tlatelolco which declares Latin America to be a "nuclear-weapon-free zone."
- Some, such as the Limited Nuclear Test Ban Treaty, inhibit the development and improvement of weapons and protect the earth's environment.
- Others relieve tensions and reduce the risk of miscalculation by providing for the exchange of information and notice of tests or maneuvers (e.g., the Hotline Agreement and various provisions of the Strategic Arms Limitation agreements).

CURRENT FOCUS



League of Women Voters
Education Fund
1730 M Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20036

Some arms control terms

Strategic weapons: Nuclear weaponry that can reach the territory of one nation from the territory of another.

Tactical weapons: Nuclear or nonnuclear weapons of a medium- or short-range targeting capacity, used primarily in a given battle zone.

Conventional weapons: Nonnuclear weaponry.

Delivery vehicle: The missile and/or missile carrier and/or bomb carrier that delivers a nuclear explosive against a target.

Throw weight: The amount of weight that can be put on the end of a missile and thrown from launch to target; an indirect way of measuring destructive power.

Yield: The effective energy released in a nuclear explosion; expressed in terms of equivalent tonnage of TNT required to produce the same energy release; kilotons (Kt) = thousands of tons, megatons (Mt) = millions of tons.

National Technical Means (NTM): The combination of intelligence activities—especially satellite photographic reconnaissance—by which one country can monitor activities in another country, without "on-site" inspection, in order to verify compliance with arms limitation agreements.

Mobile missiles: Land-based missiles that can be moved to avoid successful targeting by an opponent; the proposed U.S. MX missile, a weapon with greatly increased accuracy and yield, could be deployed as a mobile missile system.

MIRV: Multiple Independently Targetable Reentry Vehicle; a system of several warheads, each capable of being delivered against a different target, that can be carried on a single missile.

Triad: The combination of land-, air- and sea-based strategic delivery systems.

ICBMs: Intercontinental (land-based) Ballistic Missiles, such as the U.S. Minuteman.

SLBMs: Submarine Launched Ballistic Missiles, such as the U.S. Polaris, Poseidon and Trident (under development).

Heavy bomber: A strategic delivery aircraft, such as the U.S. B-52.

Cruise missile: A guided missile, similar to a pilotless jet aircraft, that can travel at low altitudes to evade radar detection; includes ALCMs (air-launched), SLCMs (submarine-launched) and GLCMs (ground-launched). Cruise missiles can carry either a nuclear or nonnuclear warhead.

Anti-Ballistic Missile (ABM): A missile capable of intercepting incoming ballistic missiles.

AWACS: Airborne Warning and Control System; a 747 jet plane equipped with highly sophisticated radar detection capable of serving as a combat zone command center for a wide geographic area.

Bi, multi and uni

Arms control can be advanced through three principal avenues: bilateral negotiations; multilateral negotiations; and unilateral initiatives.

Bilateral negotiations are conducted between two countries, with today's major negotiations occurring between the world's principal adversaries, the United States and the Soviet Union. Negotiations between these two powers are

being conducted in several forums with different topics. These include the Strategic Arms Limitation Talks (SALT) in Geneva and a series of Working Groups on topics ranging from banning chemical weapons to restricting military activities in the Indian Ocean.

Multilateral negotiations, which involve a larger number of countries, are currently being conducted in forums such as these:

- The Conference of the Committee on Disarmament (CCD), composed of national delegations representing the major political and geographic areas of the world, negotiated the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty, the Seabed Arms Control Treaty, the Biological Weapons Convention and a ban on environmental warfare.

- A Diplomatic Conference on the Reaffirmation and Development of International Humanitarian Law Applicable in Armed Conflicts meets periodically in Geneva to devise "rules of war" aimed at reducing unnecessary suffering or indiscriminate effects on noncombatants during armed conflict.

- The 1975 Helsinki Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE)—in which every European country as well as countries with direct interests in Europe, such as the United States and Canada, participated—included in its Final Agreement confidence-building measures to reduce uncertainties that might increase tensions, and even lead to war, by miscalculation. The CSCE established procedures for exchange of information and for advance notification of significant troop movements and maneuvers.

Unilateral initiatives, taken by one country to set an example or to prompt others to join in negotiations for a more complete and binding agreement, have also been tried in seeking arms control. Sometimes the technique works; sometimes it doesn't. In 1969 President Nixon announced that the United States unilaterally renounced all methods of biological warfare, and he ordered the disposal of all existing stocks of biological and toxin weapons. The President's initiative broke a long-standing negotiating deadlock, and within a year the UN General Assembly endorsed a U.S. and Soviet draft convention. Another U.S. initiative, by President Carter, seeking to prevent a rush to plutonium breeder reactors, has met with less success. Carter opposed development of the breeder reactor because it produces more plutonium than it uses, making the plutonium more accessible for weapons development. Heeding Carter's warning, some nations have slowed their development of "plutonium technology," but others persist. In the United States, the issue is still unresolved, with some members of Congress pushing hard for continued development of breeder reactors.

Strategic arms limitations

The Strategic Arms Limitation Talks are a continuing series of bilateral negotiations, originally proposed by President Johnson and Premier Kosygin and formally launched during President Nixon's administration in 1969. SALT is a process that recognizes that genuine arms limitations must be secured step by step. The objective is to negotiate treaties that reduce the levels of strategic weapons while maintaining a verifiable balance between the nuclear arsenals of the United States and the Soviet Union. The rationale is that by ensuring that neither nation can gain advantage from nuclear war, the security of both nations can be preserved more safely and at less expense.

The first step, SALT I, included an Anti-Ballistic Missile Treaty and an Interim Agreement on Strategic Offensive Arms, both of which were signed in 1972. The ABM Treaty limited Anti-Ballistic Missile defense systems to two sites in

each country. Subsequently, the 1974 ABM Protocol reduced the sites to one per country. (The United States has since deactivated its single installation in North Dakota.) The treaty is of unlimited duration, subject to review every five years.

The Interim Agreement set the stage for the SALT II phase by freezing the number of intercontinental and submarine ballistic missile launchers to the number operational or under construction at that time. The agreement was to last for five years then be replaced by SALT II agreements having permanent limitations and possible reductions. To allow more time to draft SALT II, both countries agreed to do nothing that would violate the terms of the agreement after the October 1977 expiration date.

The SALT II negotiations began in November 1972 with the goal of a comprehensive agreement limiting strategic offensive weapons. An important milestone was reached at the 1974 meeting between President Ford and Leonid Brezhnev at Vladivostok, when the two leaders agreed to a basic framework for a SALT II treaty. Key elements were that:

- the SALT II treaty would last through 1985;
- each country would be limited to equal aggregate totals of 2,400 strategic nuclear delivery vehicles;
- within the 2,400 total, each country would be limited to 1,320 MIRVed delivery systems;
- within the numerical limits set by the treaty, each country would be able to mix its weaponry to best serve its national defense posture;
- the treaty would not cover "forward-based" systems (i.e., nuclear-capable U.S. systems based in Europe such as fighter-bombers).

Negotiations within this framework have drawn out much longer than expected, however, with a number of key issues evading agreement. Principal among these have been questions relating to limits on the U.S. cruise missile and whether or not the Soviet Backfire bomber should be regarded as a strategic delivery vehicle.

In March 1977 the Carter administration proposed new limitations beyond the Vladivostok framework—including significant reductions in strategic arsenals. This initiative was rejected by the Soviet government which, not wanting to "change the rules in the middle of the game," insisted on the Vladivostok principles. Subsequently, Secretary of State Vance and Foreign Minister Gromyko agreed that the SALT II

Special Session on Disarmament

In May and June of 1978 the United Nations General Assembly convened a Special Session on Disarmament (SSOD) as an opportunity for all nations to air arms control issues, to suggest new initiatives for negotiation, and to build public understanding of and support for arms limitation and disarmament. The SSOD was not itself a forum for substantive negotiations, but it did agree to some changes in the international machinery for negotiation and discussion:

- A reconstitution of the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament (CCD), to be called the Committee on Disarmament (CD), with a rotating chairmanship rather than the CCD's U.S.-Soviet cochairmanship arrangement.
- Expanded membership of the CD from 31 to 40 countries. Of the major powers, neither France nor the People's Republic of China have been participating in the CCD; France, however, has agreed to assume its seat in the new Committee.
- Reorganization of UN committees concerned with arms control and disarmament.

treaty itself would follow the Vladivostok guidelines, but that alongside it would be a separate protocol of shorter duration dealing with several issues which cannot yet be resolved for the long term (such as cruise missiles). The two governments also agreed to formulate a statement of principles for a third phase of negotiations, SALT III.

The net effect of SALT II will be to impose equal numerical limits and some reductions on strategic systems; set some qualitative limits on those systems; and provide a framework for further limitations in SALT III. The SALT III treaty is expected to impose not only significant reductions in existing arsenals but could also restrict advances in the quality of technology and resolve the outstanding issues of the cruise missile, Backfire bomber and mobile ICBMs.

Comprehensive test ban

For two decades the international community has sought agreement on a comprehensive test ban (CTB) that would prohibit all testing of nuclear devices, underground as well as in the atmosphere, under water or in outer space. CTB would limit the advancement of nuclear weapons technology and thus impede further improvements in existing weapons. It would also demonstrate that the major powers are indeed committed to slowing the nuclear arms race and thus could help persuade other countries not to acquire or test nuclear weapons.

Partial steps toward ending nuclear testing have been taken. The Limited Test Ban Treaty of 1963 prohibits all but underground testing. One hundred five nations, including the United States and the Soviet Union, have ratified the treaty; an additional 16 have signed but not yet ratified it. Neither France nor the People's Republic of China has signed. In 1974 and 1976 the United States and the Soviet Union agreed to two further bilateral limitations, both as yet unratified: the Treaty on the Limitation of Underground Nuclear Weapons Tests and the Treaty on Underground Nuclear Explosions for Peaceful Purposes. These treaties impose a limit of 150 kilotons on any underground nuclear explosion.

Renewed efforts by the United States, the Soviet Union and the United Kingdom to draft a comprehensive test ban began in 1977. It now appears that the negotiations will result in a short-term treaty, rather than the indefinite-term agreement originally sought by the United States. This change was demanded by those in the United States who want to be able to "proof-test" the reliability of existing stockpiles of weapons within a few years.

Nuclear non-proliferation

Controlling the spread of nuclear weapons—and the capacity to create nuclear weapons—is widely considered the most urgent challenge on the world agenda. The problem is twofold: governments must be persuaded to commit themselves, by treaty and enforceable safeguards, not to produce nuclear weapons; and the use of nuclear power for energy must be controlled in order to minimize the potential for misuse of materials by governments, terrorists, or even criminals.

Many factors can affect the decision of a country to commit itself to developing nuclear weapons. Most important among them are:

- Security considerations, such as whether or not its rivals possess nuclear weapons, and how confident the country is about its conventional forces and its international security alliances.
- National pride and prestige, including the usefulness of nuclear weapons in building domestic popular support for the government and presenting a stronger posture in interna-

tional relations, and even as a rebuke to the major nuclear powers, which continue to add more weapons while warning other countries against their danger.

A nation must also consider the possible adverse consequences of "going nuclear." Fuel-supplier countries or the world community as a whole might impose sanctions against it, for example. Or, by acquiring nuclear weapons, a country might prompt a rival country to do the same.

Progress is being made in persuading nations to agree not to produce nuclear weapons. One hundred six countries have ratified or acceded to the 1968 nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (France, Israel, South Africa, India and the People's Republic of China are among those that have not signed).

Parties to the 1968 treaty are committed to the following:

- Countries that have not acquired nuclear explosives agree not to do so and agree to submit their peaceful nuclear energy and research activities to "safeguards" applied by the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA). (The treaty does not require countries possessing nuclear weapons to submit their domestic nuclear activities—whether in weapons production or for peaceful purposes—to IAEA safeguards, since their use of nuclear materials for weaponry is self-evident.)
- Countries that do possess nuclear weapons agree not to transfer nuclear explosives, or control over them, to any other country.
- All countries agree to promote cooperation in the peaceful uses of nuclear energy and to require IAEA safeguards on any nuclear material resulting from their exports.

Renewed efforts are now underway in the international community to encourage more countries to adhere to the treaty and to submit their nuclear energy and research activities to IAEA safeguards—procedures, such as accounting and the use of monitoring devices, that keep track of the nuclear materials and reduce the chance that such materials can be diverted—either by a government or by individuals—from peaceful use to weapons production without detection.

The second part of the proliferation problem—regulation of peaceful uses—is perhaps the more difficult to control. The use of nuclear facilities and materials in peaceful nuclear programs needs to be controlled to minimize the risk of any unauthorized diversion of nuclear materials for use in weapons.

There is general agreement that if the opportunity for nations to violate the Non-Proliferation Treaty is to be reduced to a minimum, IAEA safeguards must be strengthened politically and technically. This would include applying safeguards to the full scope of the peaceful nuclear activities of all countries—domestic uses and exports. It would also be necessary to make it more difficult for a nation to withdraw from safeguards; to strengthen the enforcement authorities of the IAEA; and to develop better technical means for implementing safeguards.

The United States and the United Kingdom are now completing agreements with the IAEA to submit their domestic nuclear energy programs—but not their weapons programs—to safeguards to try to encourage other nations to do the same. Canada and Australia now require all countries to which they supply nuclear fuels to submit their entire peaceful nuclear program to safeguards. The United States will soon impose similar conditions as a result of the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Act of 1978.

A further problem of proliferation, however, is not fully addressed by the treaty or by IAEA safeguards. The problem is that the continued expansion of nuclear energy programs is likely to result in an accumulation of weapons-usable materials (plutonium and highly enriched uranium), and the dilemma will increase dramatically as plutonium fuel cycles are employed. This accumulation poses two threats: (1) a gov-

The great SALT debate

The signing of a SALT II treaty will only be the start of the U.S. debate. For the treaty to go into effect, the Senate must ratify it by a two-thirds majority. It is an issue that is sure to stir intense debate in the Senate and throughout the country. The key issues:

- Verification: Can we be sure that the Russians are living up to the terms of the agreement?
- Parity: Do the treaty's limitations maintain a rough U.S.-U.S.S.R. parity or do they allow Soviet advantages?
- Linkage: Should we enter into any treaty with the Soviets, given, for instance, their track record on human rights or their activities in Africa?

Verification This is the process of determining, to the extent necessary to safeguard national security, that "the other side" is complying with the provisions of an agreement. The Carter administration contends that nearly six years of experience in verifying the ABM treaty have tested our "national technical means"—among them, satellite photographic reconnaissance—for monitoring Soviet activities. Our intelligence data are considered adequate by the Administration to assure that no major violations could occur without our knowledge.

Many opponents of a SALT agreement contend that the Soviet Union cannot be trusted to obey the treaty's restrictions. Proponents, however, insist that trust of the Soviets is irrelevant—that our own capacity to monitor their compliance would give us adequate notice to challenge or counteract any Soviet violation and that, indeed, if we could trust the Russians we wouldn't need a treaty in the first place.

Parity Have the Soviets moved ahead of the United States in the strength of their strategic forces? Many experts disagree on this question. Soviet missiles do have greater throw weight than U.S. missiles. On the other hand, the United States can deliver more warheads and bombs with greater accuracy. Each country has selected a different mix and emphasis in its strategic forces. The United States has emphasized a balanced "triad" of ICBMs, SLBMs and heavy bombers; the Soviets have emphasized ICBMs. Because of this mix of apples and oranges of different sizes, direct numerical comparisons are misleading. The question must be whether either country holds a significant total-effect advantage over the other; on this question, most experts agree that the answer is no.

Linkage Many Americans question whether we should "reward" the Soviet Union with a SALT treaty when they are engaging in actions of which the United States disapproves. Most frequently cited are repression of dissidents and an adventurist program of involvement in Africa. SALT supporters reply that the treaty is not a reward; it is needed as much by the United States as by the Soviet Union, and by achieving a treaty we can restrict Soviet military programs and lessen the chance that our disagreements with the Soviets could result in nuclear war.

ernment suddenly faced with a foreign challenge could abrogate its agreements and use accumulated nuclear materials to produce explosives within a matter of days or weeks; (2) terrorists or agents of other governments could steal weapons-usable materials, which have become increasingly more difficult to keep secure as they accumulate.

To address these problems, in April 1977 President Carter proposed: a restructuring of the U.S. breeder reactor program; an indefinite deferral of commercial reprocessing in the

United States; and the initiation of an International Nuclear Fuel Cycle Evaluation (INFCE).

Over 50 countries have responded to Carter's proposal for the INFCE effort, which is expected to last through early 1980. This international evaluation is considering the possibility of developing technical alternatives that do not involve fuel cycles using large quantities of highly enriched uranium or plutonium. However, some critics, doubting that this is possible in the foreseeable future, put the accent on devising safer methods of handling such weapons-usable materials. Such an approach could include the establishment of regional fuel cycle institutions that should maximize the effectiveness of IAEA safeguards while minimizing national access to dangerous materials. Such issues are being examined in INFCE and it is hoped that through some combination of institutional and technical approaches the risk of further proliferation can be reduced.

As a complement to the INFCE effort, the United States has also been moving toward greater controls over nuclear exports. Discussions have been held with other supplier countries, and the United States recently enacted the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Act of 1978 which sets forth a framework for U.S. nuclear exports that will help to assure that any such assistance is not misused for military purposes. It imposes tighter restrictions on new export agreements, seeks to renegotiate existing agreements and offers incentives to receiving countries to accept stronger controls in exchange for a guaranteed nuclear fuel supply.

Nuclear-weapon-free zones

The concept of nuclear-weapon-free zones is an important instrument in assuring non-proliferation. The concept is embodied in the Treaty of Tlatelolco (Treaty for the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons in Latin America), which bans both development and procurement of nuclear weapons in its 24 ratified states and establishes a regional agency to monitor compliance. IAEA safeguards are applied to protect against the diversion of nuclear energy materials for weapons production.

Nuclear-weapon-free zones have also been recently proposed for Africa, South Asia, the Middle East and Scandinavia—areas in which, presumably, nuclear weapons have not yet been acquired.

Another variation of a regional arms control measure is the concept of limiting military deployment in a region. The United States and the Soviet Union entered into negotiations in 1977 aimed at setting limits on their deployments in the Indian Ocean to dampen major military competition in an area that has heretofore not been subject to significant U.S. or Soviet deployments, and to be responsive to the concerns of the nations of the area.

Environmental warfare

Environmental modification is another sphere in which multilateral negotiations have produced some preventive measures. Environmental modification techniques could conceivably cause earthquakes or tidal waves or could produce changes in weather patterns, ocean currents, the ozone layer or the ionosphere. Current technology is not able reliably to inflict serious environmental damage on another nation (with the possible exception of defoliants). The Convention on the Prohibition of Military or Any Other Hostile Use of Environmental Techniques, negotiated in the CCD in 1976, blocks a form of arms race that could have catastrophic consequences. (The convention, however, does not prohibit research and development; in fact, it encourages the exchange of information on the peaceful use of environmental modifica-

tion techniques.)

The convention was referred to all member states of the United Nations by the General Assembly in December 1976; to date, some 50 countries, including the United States and the Soviet Union, have signed the treaty. The U.S. Senate has not yet ratified it, however.

Biological and chemical weapons

Following President Nixon's 1969 initiative renouncing biological and toxin weapons, negotiations began that led in 1971 to the Convention on the Prohibition of the Development, Production and Stockpiling of Bacteriological (Biological) and Toxin Weapons and on Their Destruction. More than seventy nations (including the United States and the Soviet Union) have become parties to the convention, which is the most significant agreement to date requiring nations to dispose of and forego weapons already in their arsenals.

The United States and the Soviets are currently working on draft initiatives to submit to the Committee on Disarmament that might lead to treaties banning chemical and radiological weapons as well. Chemical weapons—poison gases—were used in World War I, and large stocks of modern chemical weapons exist today.

Arms sales

The United States is the world's foremost arms merchant. The Soviet Union is second; France, the United Kingdom, and West Germany follow distantly behind.

In a much-trumpeted initiative following his inauguration in 1977, President Carter announced new limitations on arms sales abroad aimed at a significant cut in arms traffic (exclusive of NATO countries, Japan, Australia and New Zealand). The policy included constraints on:

- the sophistication of exported weapons;
- the development of advanced weapons exclusively for export purposes;
- the retransfer of U.S.-originated military equipment from the original recipient to another country;

Arms Control and Disarmament Agency

The United States Arms Control and Disarmament Agency (ACDA), established by Congress in 1961, advises the President and Secretary of State, as well as the Congress, on arms control questions. The only government agency in the world exclusively devoted to arms control, it was created as a result of strong public pressure, expressed through non-governmental organizations, for the United States to organize and vitalize its quest for arms control agreements.

The agency conducts studies and formulates and recommends policies on the full range of issues relating to arms control, such as the impact of arms control measures on the economy and U.S. foreign policy, U.S. positions in arms control negotiations, the impact of new weapons and policies on arms control, development of safeguards against nuclear proliferation, and the means for monitoring compliance with agreements that are achieved. The agency also prepares for and participates in many international negotiations on arms control. For information, contact:

U.S. Arms Control & Disarmament Agency
Office of Public Affairs
320 21st Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20451
(202) 632-9504

□ attempts by U.S. agencies to stimulate foreign requests for U.S. weapons.

Ultimately, the President reported an 8 percent reduction—from \$9.3 billion to \$8.6 billion—in the dollar value of new sales commitments from 1977 to 1978.

Carter's initiative has received mixed reviews both at home and abroad. Some have challenged the evenhandedness with which the Administration applies the new guidelines. Critics point especially to the sale of advanced AWACS aircraft to Iran and the sale of advanced aircraft to Egypt, Israel and Saudi Arabia.

The United States and the Soviet Union have now begun consultations on limiting the arms traffic. Long-term, lasting progress on reducing arms sales can probably only be secured through agreements among suppliers and recipients. It is unlikely that any significant progress will begin unless more than one major supplier takes a clear initiative in halting or imposing real reductions on foreign arms sales.

Mutual and balanced force reductions

Since 1973, twelve western nations and seven eastern states have been negotiating in Vienna on the question of mutual and balanced force reductions (MBFR) in a proposed "reductions area" encompassing the two Germanies, Belgium, The Netherlands, Luxembourg, Poland and Czechoslovakia, all of which are involved in the negotiations.

The NATO countries, outnumbered by Warsaw Pact forces stationed in Eastern Europe and Western Russia, have pressed for reductions that would lead to a *mutual balance of total forces* on both sides in the reductions area. The Pact, however, has sought *mutual percentage reductions*, which would preserve the current ratio of forces but at a significantly lower level.

Only recently has the Warsaw Pact indicated agreement in principle to the objective of a "common collective ceiling" or mutual balance. However, the two sides currently disagree on just how many troops are stationed in the reductions area. Because of this and the complexity of the negotiations, an agreement does not appear to be a near-term possibility.

Confidence-building measures

Arms control in its broadest sense means more than limiting the quantity or quality of weapons. It can also include procedural measures that serve to reduce tensions and the possibility that an innocent but misunderstood activity could result in confrontation and even conflict. While most agreements deal only with military capabilities, "confidence-building measures" address *behavior and intentions* as well as equipment and forces.

The most obvious case in point is the troop movements and maneuvers that routinely take place within the United States, the Soviet Union, Europe and elsewhere. These generally give little cause for concern to "the other side," but if such a movement, even though scheduled months in advance, should happen to occur during a moment of tension or confrontation, the other side might misinterpret the movement and react defensively.

With such possibilities in mind, the 1975 Helsinki Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe established procedures for exchanging information about troop movements and deployments and other military activities. Among the nonbinding agreements are provisions for 21-day ad-

vance notice of military maneuvers involving more than 25,000 troops in Europe. In addition, countries staging maneuvers are encouraged to invite observers to their exercises, to provide notification of major military movements and to promote exchanges among military personnel.

How can we be most secure?

Those debating arms control must, finally, ask the question, *How can we be most secure?* At one level, this translates to, *How much is enough?* If the United States and the Soviet Union can each destroy the other 100 times, do we need to make it 200 times? If we agree that 100 is enough, wouldn't 50 do?

In recent years, our national security and that of other countries has come to rest on more than the military and defense capabilities popularly associated with the term. Now, more surely than before, our security in an interdependent world is predicated on the security of others. That being so, the question becomes, *Can we be secure when most of the world's people are so insecure that they cannot even be sure of the basic necessities of life?* Have nations relinquished the broader idea of security—the common welfare—for a more narrow sense of security—armed might? What is more important to Iran's security: airborne radar command systems or hospitals? Does Peru need tanks more than it needs buses and schools? Does Zaire need pilots to fly jet fighters more than engineers to run its mines?

No one can guarantee that arms control will result in economic and social well-being for more of the world's people or that it will prevent war. However, no one can say that more and better weapons can achieve those goals either. What can be accomplished through arms control remains uncertain, but the questions are compelling. Is it likely that through the process of negotiation we can increase cooperation and understanding and reduce tensions that contribute to the chances of conflict? Can agreements to limit the acceleration of the arms race reduce the risks and the devastation of war?

Sources of information

Arms Control Association
11 Dupont Circle, NW
Washington, DC 20036
(202) 797-6450

Committee on the Present Danger
1028 Connecticut Avenue, NW
Washington, DC 20036
(202) 296-8654

Americans for SALT
324 4th Street, NE
Washington, DC 20002
(202) 547-8030

American Committee on East-West Accord
227 Massachusetts Avenue, NE
Washington, DC 20002
(202) 546-1700

For public education leadership tools, contact:
Operation Turning Point
Box 2000 Church Street Station
New York, NY 10046

Researched and written by Michael Shower, a citizen action/education consultant particularly involved with arms control and development issues.



THE DEFENSE MONITOR

SPECIAL
ISSUE

CENTER FOR DEFENSE INFORMATION — WASHINGTON, D.C.

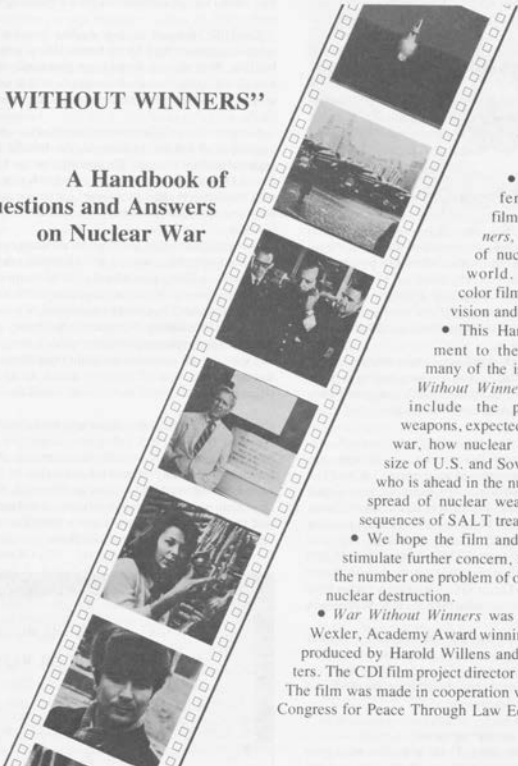
Volume VIII, Number 2

February 1979

"WAR WITHOUT WINNERS"

A Handbook of Questions and Answers on Nuclear War

In Brief

- 
- The Center for Defense Information's film, *War Without Winners*, explores the danger of nuclear war in today's world. The 27½ minute color film is available for television and general audiences.
 - This Handbook is a supplement to the film. It examines many of the issues raised by *War Without Winners*. These questions include the power of nuclear weapons, expected deaths from nuclear war, how nuclear war could start, the size of U.S. and Soviet nuclear arsenals, who is ahead in the nuclear arms race, the spread of nuclear weapons, and the consequences of SALT treaties.
 - We hope the film and the Handbook will stimulate further concern, study, and action on the number one problem of our time: the threat of nuclear destruction.
 - *War Without Winners* was directed by Haskell Wexler, Academy Award winning film maker. It was produced by Harold Willens and edited by Ian Masters. The CDI film project director was Arthur Kanegis. The film was made in cooperation with the Members of Congress for Peace Through Law Education Fund.

The Center for Defense Information supports a strong defense but opposes excessive expenditures or forces. It believes that strong social, economic and political structures contribute equally to national security and are essential to the strength and welfare of our country.

THE NEW MILITARY REALITY: Nuclear War Would Be Vastly Different From Past Wars

Question: How many people might be killed in a nuclear war?

Answer: At a minimum, 140 million people in the United States and 113 million people in the Soviet Union would be killed in a major nuclear war. Almost three-quarters of their economies would be destroyed. These estimates are from a recent study prepared by President Carter's National Security Council.

A separate study by the U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency calculates that attacks limited to military and industrial targets would produce immediate U.S. fatalities from 105 to 130 million and Soviet fatalities of 20 to 95 million.

Question: What would other effects of nuclear war be?

Answer: The soil, air, water, and food supplies would be heavily polluted by radioactive fallout and other debris from nuclear attack. People in the rest of the world would also be adversely affected. Radiation would poison vast stretches of the planet not directly involved. No part of the world would escape the ravages of a nuclear war. The threats of damage to the ozone layer and ecological disruption leave no assurance that the earth would remain habitable for life as we know it.

A massive attack with many large-scale nuclear explosions could cause such widespread and long-lasting damage that the attacking nation itself might suffer serious effects even if the country attacked did not retaliate.

Question: Why would nuclear war be so destructive?

Answer: Nuclear weapons have extraordinarily more explosive power than conventional weapons and if used the results would be catastrophic. For example, the biggest non-nuclear bomb used in World War II, the Grand Slam, had an explosive power of 11 tons of TNT. Today, just one of the U.S. Minuteman III missiles carries an explosive power equal to 510,000 tons of TNT, or more than 45,000 times more powerful than the largest non-nuclear World War II bomb. Both the U.S. and Soviet military forces have many weapons far more powerful than the U.S. Minuteman III missile.

The radiation and intense heat generated by nuclear explosions would produce massive destruction over prolonged periods that would be unprecedented in warfare. Temperatures many times hotter than the sun are produced by a nuclear weapon's detonation.

Question: How could nuclear war start?

Answer: Many different ways. There is no historical precedent so nobody really knows. But both the U.S. and the Soviet Union employ nuclear weapons as a central instrument of international policy and are prepared to use them today in combat in many parts of the world. Soldiers, air-

men, and navy men in the U.S., Europe, the Soviet Union, and China constantly train and practice for nuclear war. The military of all nuclear powers are planning for nuclear war.

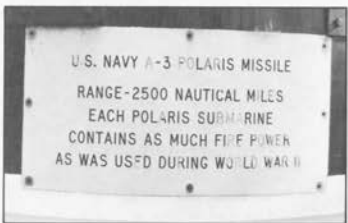
The U.S. buys and deploys nuclear forces to counter a massive surprise attack by the Soviet Union, a nuclear Pearl Harbor. With nuclear destruction potentially only 30 minutes away, preparedness for surprise attack seems necessary to the military but such an attack appears highly unlikely.

Nuclear war could begin as the result of the outbreak and escalation of conflict in Europe, the Middle East, other regional areas, or at sea. The inability of the U.S. and the Soviet Union to cooperate more effectively in a world filled with conflict and their propensity for competition in nuclear buildups continues to increase the serious prospect of nuclear war.

A nuclear war could also start by accident or miscalculation. Both countries have made their security dependent on enormous military bureaucracies and complicated electronic machinery. There is no guarantee that the control mechanisms, both human and mechanical, will function with no defects indefinitely. Advances in weaponry, particularly better delivery systems, have dramatically compressed time and space. Both countries maintain large forces on a close-to-war status. Fear of surprise attack in an ambiguous situation could compel hasty, uninformed decisions.

Question: Won't deterrence prevent nuclear war?

Answer: It is basic U.S. policy to try to prevent nuclear war by reliance on deterrence: the maintenance of a strategic force such that any attacker knows that such an attack would be followed by his own annihilation. But it seems clear that peace based on deterrence, a balance of terror, and the nuclear arms race is precarious. President Carter has said that "the security of the global community cannot forever rest on a balance of terror." Most Americans have



Plaque on Polaris submarine-launched missile at Navy Memorial Museum, Washington, D.C.

become complacent about the possibility of nuclear war but Defense Secretary Harold Brown states that "the United States and every country in the world is now subject to an erosion of security, a threat of annihilation that didn't exist 30 years ago."

Question: How long would a nuclear war last?

Answer: Intercontinental ballistic missiles (ICBMs) take only half an hour to reach their targets. Submarine-launched ballistic missiles (SLBMs) take fifteen minutes or less. Bombers and cruise missiles take a few hours to reach their targets. Within, at most, ten hours, both the Soviet Union and the United States could be devastated. To have so many casualties so rapidly would be unprecedented.

While a devastating nuclear exchange could take place within a few hours, it would also be possible for the carnage to go on for months afterwards, because both sides have missile-carrying submarines that could remain at sea for up to three months. Today the U.S., with 41 strategic submarines, has more than 21 such submarines at sea constantly. The U.S. now maintains round-the-clock some 3,000 strategic nuclear weapons at sea in submarines off the coast of the Soviet Union. The Soviet Union, normally deploying far fewer strategic submarines, keeps a force of approximately 200 sea-based nuclear weapons constantly targeted on the U.S. with the MIRVing of its SLBMs. The Soviet Union will probably be increasing its nuclear weapons at sea. Utilizing these invulnerable weapons, both countries could continue a nuclear war far beyond the initial strikes.

Question: Can we defend ourselves against a nuclear attack?

Answer: No. There is no defense against nuclear war. Both the U.S. and the Soviet Union have thousands of delivery vehicles, missiles and bombers, that can deliver many thousands of nuclear bombs. There are today only 64 deployed anti-ballistic missiles, all in the Soviet Union. The offense has an overwhelming and inescapable advantage over the defense.

Dr. William J. Perry, the Under-Secretary of Defense responsible for research and engineering, has stated: "I don't think it is possible to protect the American population, to any significant degree, from a surprise attack by the Soviet Union by any combination of ABM and civil defense."

Some years ago the U.S. and the Soviet Union began constructing large anti-ballistic missile systems. They realized these systems would not work and concluded that each side would just keep adding to its offensive weapons so as to saturate any defense system deployed by the other. Because such defenses would be costly and futile, in 1972 the U.S. and the Soviet Union signed a treaty restricting ABMs to insignificant levels. The U.S. today has no ABMs while the Soviet Union continues to maintain its old, insignificant system of 64 ABMs around Moscow.



President Carter: "War is no longer the brave sound of parades and drums and trumpets. We have seen it as it is, the loss of the young in the full flower of their promise, the death of families and entire communities, and the threat of nuclear devastation for the world."

Question: Why not try to protect ourselves with civil defense?

Answer: Civil defense might give us the illusion, but not the reality, of safety. There is no practical way to prevent the deaths of tens of millions of people in a nuclear war. The U.S. explored large-scale civil defense programs in the early 1960s but it was concluded that these were unworkable. Defense Secretary Harold Brown states: "The principal conclusion I drew from that experience was that the American political and social structure is not such that a massive civil defense program is politically feasible for us."

Secretary Brown also believes that civil defense would not be effective for the Soviets: "We don't think it would protect them." The American nuclear arsenal is more than adequate to overcome any civil defense measures that the Soviet Union might pursue. No more than the United States will the U.S.S.R. be able to rely on defense against a nuclear attack to evade the ravages of nuclear war.

A recent report of the Central Intelligence Agency on Soviet Civil Defense concluded:

"They cannot have confidence...in the degree of protection their civil defenses would afford them, given the many uncertainties attendant to a nuclear exchange. We do not believe that the Soviets' present civil defenses would embolden them deliberately to expose the USSR to a higher risk of nuclear war."

In evaluating the capacity of the United States to inflict massive destruction on the Soviet population it can be pointed out that the U.S. has 35 strategic nuclear weapons for every Soviet city over 100,000. Just two U.S. Poseidon submarines, each of which carries 160 nuclear weapons, can destroy all the 200 major Soviet cities with the destructive potential of 1,000 Hiroshima-size weapons.

NUCLEAR WEAPONS AND SECURITY: How Much Is Enough?

Question: How many nuclear weapons are there?

Answer: It is not known exactly. Both the U.S. and the Soviet Union practice secrecy about their nuclear arsenals, particularly the numbers of tactical nuclear weapons. It may be estimated, however, that the United States has as many as 30,000 nuclear weapons (including about 20,000 tactical weapons) and the Soviet Union has about 20,000 nuclear weapons. The nuclear weapons of the United Kingdom, France, and China could add several thousand to this total.

The strategic nuclear weapons, the weapons that are deliverable on the U.S. or the Soviet Union by intercontinental-range missiles and bombers, constitute the heart of the nuclear forces. The basic data on force levels today are the following:

	U.S.	U.S.S.R.
ICBM launchers	1054	1400
SLBM launchers (missiles on submarines)	656	950
Long-range bombers	350	150
Total nuclear weapons (in missiles and bombers)	9500	5000

Each bomber and many missiles (those with multiple warheads) carry a number of nuclear weapons for delivery on separate targets.

Question: How many nuclear weapons tests have there been?

Answer: Since World War II the U.S. has conducted nearly twice as many tests of nuclear weapons as the Soviet Union, which has contributed to U.S. superiority in nuclear weapons technology. For the period July 1945 through December 1977 the following numbers of tests were conducted:

U.S.	U.S.S.R.	United Kingdom	France	China	India	TOTAL
626	371	27	70	22	1	1117

Question: Who is ahead in the nuclear arms race?

Answer: The United States has generally taken the lead in the nuclear arms race. The U.S. is a much richer country than the Soviet Union and has vast technological resources. The U.S. has been, on the average, five years ahead of the Soviet Union in introducing new nuclear weapons. The U.S. has the first to develop the atomic bomb, the hydrogen bomb, the intercontinental bomber, effective intercontinental ballistic missiles, modern nuclear-powered strategic submarines, and multiple warheads (MIRVs) for missiles. The U.S. now appears to be on the verge of being the first to take the next significant steps in the arms race: development of effective cruise missiles, superaccurate missiles, and mobile missiles.

The most important single measure of nuclear capability is the total number of strategic weapons. By this measure, the U.S. has always been far ahead of the Soviet Union and has recently been more than keeping up with the expansion of the Soviet arsenal. The U.S. advantage will be maintained in the future. By 1985 it is estimated that the U.S. will have about 12,000 and the Soviet Union about 9,000 strategic weapons. Defense Secretary Harold Brown sums up the future prognosis:

"If you look at the measures of balance in strategic forces... you will see that the balance with or without SALT through the period 1985-86 is not adverse to the United States. The Soviets will be ahead in some things, we will be ahead in others."

Question: But isn't the Soviet Union catching up in military technology?

Answer: Admiral Stansfield Turner, director of the CIA, recently testified before Congress that "an overall assessment would be that we are well ahead of them in military technology." He added that "while virtually all of the Soviet inventory of weapons falls within U.S. production technology, the Soviets simply do not have the technology required to produce many of the U.S. weapons nor could they produce close substitutes."

Deputy Defense Secretary Charles Duncan has stated "in most technical fields, we still hold a five-to-seven year lead."

As technologies develop, the country that starts out behind tends to catch up in that particular technology, but then new technologies come in and one side or the other can get a headstart in that. For example, the Soviet Union is

U.S. Has Twice As Many Strategic Nuclear Weapons



Admiral Gene La Rocque
Center for Defense Information
122 Maryland Ave., N.E.
Washington, D.C. 20002

ing of its
novations
The U.S.
in nuc-

strategic
improving
ve in that
of the tremen-
dous force."

defense?
means of
ure. The
that our
ion never
enough
e nuclear
side from

curity of
they have
e nuclear
on "how
only.
in of the
recently
objective

because it depends upon uncountable factors,"

McGeorge Bundy, former national security adviser to President Kennedy, has addressed the enormous gap between what political leaders believe may be enough for national security and the views of military technicians:

"There is an enormous gulf between what political leaders really think about nuclear weapons and what is assumed in complex calculations of relative 'advantage' in simulated strategic warfare. Think-tank analysts can set levels of 'acceptable' damage well up in the hundreds of millions of lives. They can assume that the loss of dozens of great cities is somehow a real choice for sane men. They are in an unreal world. In the real world of real political leaders—whether here or in the Soviet Union—a decision that would bring even one hydrogen bomb on one city of one's own country would be recognized in advance as a catastrophic blunder; ten bombs on ten cities would be a disaster beyond history; and a hundred bombs on one hundred cities are unthinkable. Yet this unthinkable level of human incineration is the least that could be expected by either side in response to any first strike in the next ten years, no matter what happens to weapons systems in the meantime."

Question: If nuclear war starts don't we at least want to come out the winners?

Answer: A nuclear war will be a war without winners. If a few million more or less die on one side or the other, there



Admiral La Rocque at United Nations: "If everyone, including military officials, were more conscious of the tremendous destructive potential of nuclear weapons we might stop worrying about questions of advantage in the nuclear arms race."

will still be no winners. Defense Secretary Brown agrees: "In my view no one will win a nuclear war." He elaborates: "When it comes to strategic thermonuclear war, I don't think there is such a thing as No. 1 or No. 2. In exchanging of strategic nuclear weapons, the damage to both participants would be so great that there is no winner, and therefore no such thing as No. 1 and No. 2."

The traditional role of the military in all countries, in case of war, is to try to win. The military profession has always sought superiority and additional war-fighting and war-winning capabilities. Nuclear weapons, however, have changed the traditional rules of warfare. Despite this, however, the military in both the U.S. and the Soviet Union continue to approach the accumulation of military power in the nuclear age very much as they have in the past, trying to move closer to the illusion of military superiority.

Question: Can we achieve military superiority?

Answer: Political leaders in both the U.S. and the Soviet Union have sometimes appeared to pursue a more rational policy. As President Carter said in an address to the United Nations General Assembly:

"In the past, war has been accepted as the ultimate arbiter of disputes among nations. But in the nuclear era we can no longer think of war as merely a continuation of diplomacy by other means. Nuclear war cannot be measured by the archaic standards of victory or defeat."

President Leonid Brezhnev of the Soviet Union recently expressed similar sentiments on the need for a different approach to national security in the nuclear era:

"As for the Soviet Union, it considers that approximate equilibrium and parity are enough for defense needs. We do not set ourselves the goal of gaining military superiority. We also know that this very concept loses its meaning with the present enormous stockpiles of nuclear weapons and systems for their delivery."

NUCLEAR WEAPONS AND How Much Is Enough?

Question: How many nuclear weapons are there?

Answer: It is not known exactly. Both the U.S. and the Soviet Union practice secrecy about their nuclear arsenals, particularly the numbers of tactical nuclear weapons. It may be estimated, however, that the United States has as many as 30,000 nuclear weapons (including about 20,000 tactical weapons) and the Soviet Union has about 20,000 nuclear weapons. The nuclear weapons of the United Kingdom, France, and China could add several thousand to this total.

The strategic nuclear weapons, the weapons that are deliverable on the U.S. or the Soviet Union by intercontinental-range missiles and bombers, constitute the heart of the nuclear forces. The basic data on force levels today are the following:

	U.S.	U.S.S.R.
ICBM launchers	1054	1400
SLBM launchers	656	950
(missiles on submarines)		
Long-range bombers	350	150
Total nuclear weapons	9500	5000
(in missiles and bombers)		

Each bomber and many missiles (those with multiple warheads) carry a number of nuclear weapons for delivery on separate targets.

Question: How many nuclear weapons tests have there been?

Answer: Since World War II the U.S. has conducted nearly twice as many tests of nuclear weapons as the Soviet Union, which has contributed to U.S. superiority in nuclear weapons technology. For the period July 1945 through December 1977 the following numbers of tests were conducted:

U.S.	U.S.S.R.	United Kingdom	France	China	India	TOTAL
626	371	27	70	22	1	1117

Question: Who is ahead in the nuclear arms race?

Answer: The United States has generally taken the lead in the nuclear arms race. The U.S. is a much richer country than the Soviet Union and has vast technological resources. The U.S. has been, on the average, five years ahead of the Soviet Union in introducing new nuclear weapons. The U.S. has the first to develop the atomic bomb, the hydrogen bomb, the intercontinental bomber, effective intercontinental ballistic missiles, modern nuclear-powered strategic submarines, and multiple warheads (MIRVs) for missiles. The U.S. now appears to be on the verge of being the first to take the next significant steps in the arms race: development of effective cruise missiles, superaccurate missiles, and mobile missiles.

The most serious threat to the U.S. has recently come from the Soviet Union. The Soviet Union will have a strategic advantage in the future.

"If you... you through States... ahead in

Question: technology
Answer: recently
ment was
technology
Soviet in
technology
required
they pro
Deput

"In most technical fields, we still hold a five-to-seven year lead."

As technologies develop, the country that starts out behind tends to catch up in that particular technology, but then new technologies come in and one side or the other can get a headstart in that. For example, the Soviet Union is

U.S. Has Twice As Many Strategic Nuclear Weapons



Dear Admiral La Rocque:

I'd like to help get War Without Winners shown as widely as possible. I will contact the program directors of my local TV station to urge broadcast of War Without Winners.

City

I will distribute copies of your film flyer to my _____ church group, _____ union, _____ civic groups, _____ mailing list or other _____
Please send me _____ copies of the promotional flyer.
Please send me _____ copies of the Handbook *Defense Monitor* (25¢ each; bulk rates on request).
I have contacted your distributor, Films Inc., to _____ purchase or _____ rent War Without Winners.
I am enclosing a tax-deductible contribution of _____

(organization)

(signature)

(name)

(address)

(city)

(state)

(zip)

(phone)

(fax)

(telex)

(cable)

(radio)

(teletype)

(satellite)

(fiber optic)

(laser)

(microwave)

(infrared)

(ultraviolet)

(gamma rays)

(X-rays)

(radio waves)

(sound waves)

(light waves)

(heat waves)

(cold waves)

(pressure waves)

(magnetic waves)

(electric waves)

(gravitational waves)

(neutrino waves)

(dark matter waves)

(dark energy waves)

(dark radiation waves)

(dark matter waves)

(dark energy waves)

(dark radiation waves)

(dark matter waves)

(dark energy waves)

(dark radiation waves)

(dark matter waves)

(dark energy waves)

(dark radiation waves)

(dark matter waves)

(dark energy waves)

(dark radiation waves)

(dark matter waves)

(dark energy waves)

(dark radiation waves)

(dark matter waves)

(dark energy waves)

(dark radiation waves)

(dark matter waves)

(dark energy waves)

(dark radiation waves)

(dark matter waves)

(dark energy waves)

(dark radiation waves)

(dark matter waves)

(dark energy waves)

(dark radiation waves)

(dark matter waves)

(dark energy waves)

(dark radiation waves)

(dark matter waves)

(dark energy waves)

(dark radiation waves)

(dark matter waves)

(dark energy waves)

(dark radiation waves)

(dark matter waves)

(dark energy waves)

(dark radiation waves)

(dark matter waves)

(dark energy waves)

(dark radiation waves)

(dark matter waves)

(dark energy waves)

(dark radiation waves)

(dark matter waves)

(dark energy waves)

(dark radiation waves)

(dark matter waves)

(dark energy waves)

(dark radiation waves)

(dark matter waves)

(dark energy waves)

(dark radiation waves)

(dark matter waves)

(dark energy waves)

(dark radiation waves)

(dark matter waves)

(dark energy waves)

(dark radiation waves)

(dark matter waves)

(dark energy waves)

(dark radiation waves)

(dark matter waves)

(dark energy waves)

(dark radiation waves)

(dark matter waves)

(dark energy waves)

(dark radiation waves)

(dark matter waves)

(dark energy waves)

(dark radiation waves)

(dark matter waves)

(dark energy waves)

(dark radiation waves)

(dark matter waves)

(dark energy waves)

(dark radiation waves)

(dark matter waves)

(dark energy waves)

(dark radiation waves)

(dark matter waves)

(dark energy waves)

(dark radiation waves)

(dark matter waves)

(dark energy waves)

(dark radiation waves)

(dark matter waves)

(dark energy waves)

(dark radiation waves)

(dark matter waves)

(dark energy waves)

(dark radiation waves)

(dark matter waves)

(dark energy waves)

(dark radiation waves)

(dark matter waves)

(dark energy waves)

(dark radiation waves)

(dark matter waves)

(dark energy waves)

(dark radiation waves)

(dark matter waves)

(dark energy waves)

(dark radiation waves)

(dark matter waves)

(dark energy waves)

(dark radiation waves)

(dark matter waves)

(dark energy waves)

(dark radiation waves)

(dark matter waves)

(dark energy waves)

(dark radiation waves)

(dark matter waves)

(dark energy waves)

(dark radiation waves)

(dark matter waves)

(dark energy waves)

(dark radiation waves)

(dark matter waves)

(dark energy waves)

(dark radiation waves)

(dark matter waves)

(dark energy waves)

(dark radiation waves)

(dark matter waves)

(dark energy waves)

(dark radiation waves)

(dark matter waves)

(dark energy waves)

(dark radiation waves)

(dark matter waves)

(dark energy waves)

(dark radiation waves)

(dark matter waves)

(dark energy waves)

(dark radiation waves)

(dark matter waves)

(dark energy waves)

(dark radiation waves)

(dark matter waves)

(dark energy waves)

(dark radiation waves)

(dark matter waves)

(dark energy waves)

(dark radiation waves)

(dark matter waves)

(dark energy waves)

(dark radiation waves)

(dark matter waves)

(dark energy waves)

(dark radiation waves)

(dark matter waves)

(dark energy waves)

(dark radiation waves)

(dark matter waves)

(dark energy waves)

(dark radiation waves)

(dark matter waves)

(dark energy waves)

(dark radiation waves)

(dark matter waves)

(dark energy waves)

(dark radiation waves)

(dark matter waves)

(dark energy waves)

(dark radiation waves)

(dark matter waves)

(dark energy waves)

(dark radiation waves)

(dark matter waves)

(dark energy waves)

(dark radiation waves)

(dark matter waves)

(dark energy waves)

(dark radiation waves)

(dark matter waves)

(dark energy waves)

(dark radiation waves)

(dark matter waves)

(dark energy waves)

(dark radiation waves)

(dark matter waves)

(dark energy waves)

(dark radiation waves)

(dark matter waves)

(dark energy waves)

(dark radiation waves)

(dark matter waves)

(dark energy waves)

(dark radiation waves)

(dark matter waves)

(dark energy waves)

(dark radiation waves)

(dark matter waves)

(dark energy waves)

(dark radiation waves)

(dark matter waves)

(dark energy waves)

(dark radiation waves)

(dark matter waves)

(dark energy waves)

(dark radiation waves)

(dark matter waves)

(dark energy waves)

(dark radiation waves)

(dark matter waves)

(dark energy

NUCLEAR WEAPONS AND How Much Is Enough?

Question: How many nuclear weapons are there?

Answer: It is not known exactly. Both the U.S. and the Soviet Union practice secrecy about their nuclear arsenals, particularly the numbers of tactical nuclear weapons. It may be estimated, however, that the United States has as many as 30,000 nuclear weapons (including about 20,000 tactical weapons) and the Soviet Union has about 20,000 nuclear weapons. The nuclear weapons of the United Kingdom, France, and China could add several thousand to this total.

The strategic nuclear weapons, the weapons that are deliverable on the U.S. or the Soviet Union by intercontinental-range missiles and bombers, constitute the heart of the nuclear forces. The basic data on force levels today are the following:

	U.S.	U.S.S.R.
ICBM launchers	1054	1400
SLBM launchers	656	950
(missiles on submarines)		
Long-range bombers	350	150
Total nuclear weapons	9500	5000
(in missiles and bombers)		

Each bomber and many missiles (those with multiple warheads) carry a number of nuclear weapons for delivery on separate targets.

Question: How many nuclear weapons tests have there been?

Answer: Since World War II the U.S. has conducted nearly twice as many tests of nuclear weapons as the Soviet Union, which has contributed to U.S. superiority in nuclear weapons technology. For the period July 1945 through December 1977 the following numbers of tests were conducted:

U.S.	U.S.S.R.	United Kingdom	France	China	India	TOTAL
626	371	27	70	22	1	1117

Question: Who is ahead in the nuclear arms race?

Answer: The United States has generally taken the lead in the nuclear arms race. The U.S. is a much richer country than the Soviet Union and has vast technological resources. The U.S. has been, on the average, five years ahead of the Soviet Union in introducing new nuclear weapons. The U.S. has the first to develop the atomic bomb, the hydrogen bomb, the intercontinental bomber, effective intercontinental ballistic missiles, modern nuclear-powered strategic submarines, and multiple warheads (MIRVs) for missiles. The U.S. now appears to be on the verge of being the first to take the next significant steps in the arms race: development of effective cruise missiles, superaccurate missiles, and mobile missiles.

The most of the total U.S. has recent of the Soviet Union will have strategic up the future

"If you... you through States, ahead i

Question: technology
Answer: recently t ment wor technology Soviet in technology required they prov Deput

"in most technical fields, we still hold a five-to-seven year lead."

As technologies develop, the country that starts out behind tends to catch up in that particular technology, but then new technologies come in and one side or the other can get a headstart in that. For example, the Soviet Union is

U.S. Has Twice As Many Strategic Nuclear Weapons



Films Inc. (phone: 800-323-4222 toll free)
I would like to obtain the Center for Defense Information's film *War Without Winners*.

I would like to purchase a 16mm print. I enclose a check for \$300.

I would like to rent it for showing on _____ (date)

I enclose a check for \$35.

(name)

(address)

just now catching up to the U.S. in the MIRVing of its ICBMs but the U.S. is now moving toward new innovations in cruise missiles, mobile ICBMs, and other areas. The U.S. still sets the pace and direction of the competition in nuclear arms.

While much of the Soviet effort to improve its strategic forces in recent years has been concentrated on improving its strategic missiles, the U.S. has also been active in that field. General George Brown, the late Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, has said that "we have made tremendous technical progress since SALT I in our missile force."

Question: Don't we need nuclear weapons for our defense?

Answer: As long as nuclear weapons and the means of delivering them exist, we can never be really secure. The best we can hope for while these weapons exist is that our own retaliatory forces will persuade the Soviet Union never to start a nuclear war. We have today more than enough weapons for this purpose. Both sides have far more nuclear weapons than are required to prevent the other side from launching a nuclear attack.

The nuclear arms race has not improved the security of either the Soviet Union or the United States. They have diminished their own security as a result of the nuclear competition. They have both lost perspective on "how much is enough" when it comes to nuclear weaponry.

No less an authority than the former chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, General George Brown, recently stated that "how much is adequate is largely subjective because it depends upon uncountable factors." McGeorge Bundy, former national security adviser to President Kennedy, has addressed the enormous gap between what political leaders believe may be enough for national security and the views of military technicians:

"There is an enormous gulf between what political leaders really think about nuclear weapons and what is assumed in complex calculations of relative 'advantage' in simulated strategic warfare. Think-tank analysts can set levels of 'acceptable' damage well up in the hundreds of millions of lives. They can assume that the loss of dozens of great cities is somehow a real choice for sane men. They are in an unreal world. In the real world of real political leaders—whether here or in the Soviet Union—a decision that would bring even one hydrogen bomb on one city of one's own country would be recognized in advance as a catastrophic blunder; ten bombs on ten cities would be a disaster beyond history; and a hundred bombs on one hundred cities are unthinkable. Yet this unthinkable level of human incineration is the least that could be expected by either side in response to any first strike in the next ten years, no matter what happens to weapons systems in the meantime."

Question: If nuclear war starts don't we at least want to come out the winners?

Answer: A nuclear war will be a war without winners. If a few million more or less die on one side or the other, there



Admiral La Rocque at United Nations: "If everyone, including military officials, were more conscious of the tremendous destructive potential of nuclear weapons we might stop worrying about questions of advantage in the nuclear arms race."

will still be no winners. Defense Secretary Brown agrees: "In my view no one will win a nuclear war." He elaborates: "When it comes to strategic thermonuclear war, I don't think there is such a thing as No. 1 or No. 2. In exchanging of strategic nuclear weapons, the damage to both participants would be so great that there is no winner, and therefore no such thing as No. 1 and No. 2."

The traditional role of the military in all countries, in case of war, is to try to win. The military profession has always sought superiority and additional war-fighting and war-winning capabilities. Nuclear weapons, however, have changed the traditional rules of warfare. Despite this, however, the military in both the U.S. and the Soviet Union continue to approach the accumulation of military power in the nuclear age very much as they have in the past, trying to move closer to the illusion of military superiority.

Question: Can we achieve military superiority?

Answer: Political leaders in both the U.S. and the Soviet Union have sometimes appeared to pursue a more rational policy. As President Carter said in an address to the United Nations General Assembly:

"In the past, war has been accepted as the ultimate arbiter of disputes among nations. But in the nuclear era we can no longer think of war as merely a continuation of diplomacy by other means. Nuclear war cannot be measured by the archaic standards of victory or defeat."

President Leonid Brezhnev of the Soviet Union recently expressed similar sentiments on the need for a different approach to national security in the nuclear era:

"As for the Soviet Union, it considers that approximate equilibrium and parity are enough for defense needs. We do not set ourselves the goal of gaining military superiority. We also know that this very concept loses its meaning with the present enormous stockpiles of nuclear weapons and systems for their delivery."

Neither side will allow the other to achieve any meaningful superiority with nuclear weapons. The arms acquired by one side will in one way or another be countered by measures taken by the other side.

Dr. Henry Kissinger, the former Secretary of State, once posed the crucial questions about strategic nuclear superiority:

"And one of the questions we have to ask ourselves as a country is what in the name of God is strategic superiority? What is the significance of it politically, militarily, operationally at these levels of numbers? What do you do with it?"

Question: Should we be prepared for a limited, as well as an all-out, nuclear war?

Answer: The United States has been spending billions of dollars on nuclear weapons and new capabilities in order to fight a so-called limited nuclear war. These programs have been pursued even though the U.S. already has a very complex nuclear arsenal that provides many possibilities for limited use by the President.

The possibility of a limited nuclear war is a dangerous illusion. It must be recognized that any use of nuclear weapons by the U.S. or the Soviet Union carries a very high risk of escalation to a full-scale nuclear war. Both President Carter and Defense Secretary Brown have acknowledged this reality. President Carter has stated:

"I have a fear that once nuclear weapons are used, even the smallest ones are used, that there is a good likelihood that the nuclear war will escalate rapidly into the exchange of very heavy weapons between the warring countries."

Secretary Brown has been even more blunt:

"I believe a limited nuclear war is very unlikely. To me, it seems very unlikely, almost to the point of impossibility. . . . It is much more likely to me that if a few strategic weapons were fired that it would then escalate to larger and larger exchanges that would end up in an all out thermonuclear war that would destroy both countries."

Question: Is there a danger that the Soviet Union might come to think that it could gain such an advantage with a nuclear first-strike that it would be tempted to try it?

Answer: Although it is not possible to know with certainty what Soviet military objectives are, Soviet political leaders such as President Brezhnev do seem to acknowledge the new military realities of the nuclear age and the impossibility of gaining military superiority, either in the nuclear arms race or in a nuclear war. It has not been easy for the Soviet Union to keep up with the more advanced United States in the strategic arms race, particularly as that race has become increasingly focused on technological improvements. Simply to keep close to the U.S. in strategic nuclear capability has been an enormously expensive and difficult task for the Soviet Union.

In the view of Cyrus Vance, the U.S. Secretary of State, "insofar as strategic forces are concerned, their direction is

one of maintenance of rough equality or rough parity between the two nations."

Some people believe that in the next few years the Soviets might acquire the theoretical ability to destroy U.S. intercontinental missiles in their protective silos. Some people fear that the Soviets might use this to put pressure on the U.S. to wring a political or military advantage. This scenario of possible Soviet attack on Minuteman missiles has been rejected as "far fetched" by Secretary Brown who doubts that the Soviets would be tempted to make such an attack. There are far too many uncertainties involved, including the possibility that the U.S. would launch its missiles before the Soviet missiles arrived. Millions of American casualties would result from such a "limited" attack, raising the obvious prospect of devastating U.S. retaliation with thousands of weapons from bombers and submarine-based missiles.

General George Brown, former chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, agreed with Secretary Brown that the alarmist scenario is "unreal." "I can't take it seriously," he said.

Question: Will the strategic arms race remain limited to the United States and the Soviet Union?

Answer: Already, the Soviet Union must worry not only about the threat of nuclear weapons coming from the United States, but about the nuclear forces of France, Great Britain, and China as well.

Preventing the spread of nuclear weapons is essential for the survival of both the U.S. and the Soviet Union. It has been estimated that in twenty years, 100 countries will possess the materials and the knowledge necessary to produce nuclear weapons. By the year 2000, the total plutonium produced as a by-product of global nuclear power may be the equivalent of 1 million atomic bombs. As President Carter has said: "We know that by the year 2000, nuclear power reactors could be producing enough plutonium to make tens of thousands of bombs every year."

The Energy Research and Development Administration estimated in 1977 that the following 30 countries could produce nuclear weapons within 10 years:

Argentina	East Germany	Pakistan
Austria	West Germany	Poland
Belgium	Iran	Portugal
Brazil	Israel	Romania
Canada	Italy	South Africa
Republic of China	Japan	Spain
Czechoslovakia	Republic of Korea	Sweden
Denmark	Mexico	Switzerland
Egypt	The Netherlands	Turkey
Finland	Norway	Yugoslavia

If the U.S. and the Soviet Union are unable to control the expansion of their own nuclear forces, they are unlikely to be able to persuade potential nuclear powers to forego the status of having their own nuclear forces.

SALT: AN ALTERNATIVE?

Question: Why is Strategic Arms Limitation in the interests of the United States?

Answer: One answer to this question was recently provided by General Richard H. Ellis, Commander-in-Chief of the Strategic Air Command:

"The price of providing a comprehensive deterrent force capable of responding at all levels of conflict is high. Because there are a limited number of defense dollars available, I suggest to you that the best hope for the future is through SALT—a negotiated arms limitation agreement and a subsequent mutual reduction of forces. To me, the alternatives to a SALT agreement are unacceptable: apportionment, economic exhaustion resulting from an arms race, or a nuclear holocaust."

Question: Why are the Soviets interested in SALT?

Answer: Defense Secretary Harold Brown has given an authoritative reply to this question:

"The Soviets have as great an interest and should have as great an interest in strategic arms limitations as we do. It's in their security interests as well as ours to hold down the level of strategic arms because raising them by a notch so that they have more and we have more than we do now, will not make either of us more secure. It will make us less secure. Therefore, it's in their own self-interest to proceed with the Strategic Arms Limitation Talks, and an agreement, and I have observed that they act in their own interest."

Question: Did the SALT I agreement limit Soviet strategic forces?

Answer: Historically, the Soviets have always hung on to old military equipment as they have acquired new weapons. As a result of the SALT I agreements in 1972, however, the Soviets have been forced to get rid of at least 700 intercontinental ballistic missiles they probably would have kept otherwise. These are SS-7s, SS-8s, SS-9s, and SS-11s.

The United States has not had to retire any strategic missiles as a result of SALT I.

Official intelligence projections of the Nixon Administration in 1972 estimated what Soviet strategic forces could be in 1977 in the absence of SALT. Actual Soviet force levels in 1977 were substantially smaller:

Soviet Forces in 1977

	Potential Without SALT I	Actual
Nuclear Warheads	6750	4000
ICBMs	2250	1450
SLBMs	1050	880
ABMs	1000	64

Question: Has the Soviet Union cheated on the SALT I agreements?

Answer: The Defense Department has given a clear answer to this question: "It is our view that the U.S.S.R. has complied with the obligations it assumed in the SALT I Agreements."



Dr. George Kistiakowsky, former presidential science advisor: "Either we have to learn to live with the Russians or we and the Russians will die at about the same time."

Question: What would be the cost of not getting a new SALT agreement?

Answer: The Senate Budget Committee has estimated that "the failure to achieve an arms agreement could drive costs up by as much as 70 billion (in constant FY 1979 dollars) over the next 15 years under an option that includes 300 MX ICBMs, 32 Tridents, 75 cruise missile carriers, and other systems."

Question: Will a SALT II agreement restrain Soviet forces?

Answer: Yes. The Soviets could have substantially more strategic missiles by 1985 than they will probably be permitted under a SALT II treaty. Walter Slocombe, Director of the Defense Department's SALT Task Force, explains:

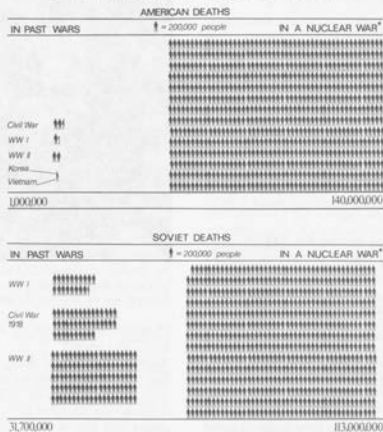
"The Soviets are now deploying . . . the fourth generation of ICBMs, the SS-17, 18, and 19, at a rate of between 100 and 150 a year. They also appear to be deploying or are on the verge of deploying a MIRV'd submarine-launched missile . . . The Soviets if not constrained by a SALT II agreement are projected to have close to 3,000 strategic delivery vehicles by 1985. Our SALT proposal would limit them to 2,160 delivery systems, and their proposal would limit them to 2,250. . . . The agreement would limit the two sides to 820 MIRV'd ICBMs, whereas the Soviets could deploy a much larger number without one."

Question: Will a SALT II agreement restrain U.S. nuclear forces?

Answer: Very little. Only the Soviet Union will have to get rid of existing nuclear weapons as a result of SALT II. The agreement will have very modest impact on U.S. strategic programs. The U.S. will retain great flexibility to continue work on various types of cruise missiles and on mobile intercontinental ballistic missiles. It will continue to deploy new Trident submarines and missiles and to make improvements in existing ICBMs. It will be able to deploy large numbers of new cruise missiles.

Obviously, the SALT treaties alone cannot be relied on to slow the nuclear arms race.

Nuclear War Would Mean Unprecedented Deaths



*estimate by US National Security Council

THE STAFF

Director:

Rear Admiral Gene R. LaRocca
U.S. Navy (Ret.)

Deputy Director:

Brig. Gen. B. K. Gorwitz
U.S. Army (Ret.)

Assistant Director:

Dr. Johanna S. R. Mendelson

Research Director:

*David T. Johnson

Senior Staff:

William J. Flannery
James J. Trevino, *Economist*
Arthur L. Kanegsberg
Dr. Thomas H. Karas
Evelyn S. LaBrida
Chao May Ahn Ei Mon
Patricia Endler

Research Interns:

Matthew M. Aid (Reich)
Nicholas S. Fish (Harvard)
Peter K. Skinner (Stanford)

*Principal Analyst this Issue

Darin Z. Bato—Cis Cob,
Connecticut

Arthur D. Berlin, Jr.—Captain
USNR (ret.); former Vice-President,
Allen-Hollander Co.

Benjamin V. Cohen—Former
Advisor to President Franklin D.
Roosevelt

James R. Compton—President J. R.
Compton Development Company;
Board of Trustees, Experiment in
International Living

Colonel James Donovan, USMC
(Ret.)—Author; former publisher,
Journal of the Armed Forces

Charles H. Dyson—Chairman of the
Board, Dyson-Kosner Corporation

Seth M. Glickman—
Investment Broker

Board of Advisors

James D. Head—President,
Strategy Development Company

Stewart Mott—Philanthropist

Paul Newman—Motion Pictures

Jahel Parton—Oil Producer & Cattle
Rancher, Madison, Texas

Lawrence S. Phillips—President,
Phillips-Van Heusen Corporation

Rudolph S. Rabin—President, The
Rabin Corporation, Chicago

Dr. Earl C. Ravenel—Former
Director, Asian Division (Systems
Analysis), Office of Secretary of
Defense

John Rockwood—Publisher,
Chicago, Illinois

Jonathan F. P. Rose—
Builder/Environmental Planner

Albert M. Rosenbaum—Vice
President, J. B. Williams Company

Robert P. Schumm—Metallurgical
Engineer, International Consultant for
Industrial Development

Alfred P. Shanes—Former President
Kaiser-Roth Corp.

Dr. Herbert Scoville, Jr.—Former
Deputy Director, Central Intelligence
Agency

Philip A. Struss—Partner,
Neuberger and Birman, Members,
New York Stock Exchange

Susan W. Weyerhaeuser—New
York, N.Y.

Harold Wilkins—Chairman of the
Board, Factory Equipment
Corporation

Abraham Wilson—Attorney,
Partner, Kadel, Wilson and Potts, New
York, N.Y.

Copyright © 1979 by the Center for Defense Information. All rights reserved. The Center for
Defense Information encourages quotation of any of the material herein without permission,
provided the Center is credited. The Center requests a copy of any such use.

A PROJECT OF THE FUND FOR PEACE



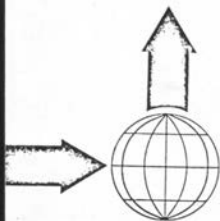
Center for Defense Information
122 Maryland Avenue NE
Washington DC 20002
202 543-0400

NON-PROFIT ORG.
US POSTAGE
PAID
Washington, D.C.
Permit No. 45490

focus on emerging issues

Sponsored by:

The League of Women Voters of Minnesota
World Affairs Center - University of Minnesota
The United Nations Association of Minnesota



**Global Arms Control:
Facing Off or Facing Up?**

GLOBAL ARMS CONTROL:
FACING OFF OR FACING UP?

8:30 a.m.
Wednesday, March 14, 1979

The NSP Auditorium
4th and Nicollet Mall
Minneapolis, Minnesota

PROGRAM

8:30 - 9:00 Registration

9:00 - 10:00 "Agreements and Challenges"
Professor Barbara Stuhler, Associate Dean of Continuing Education
and Extension, University of Minnesota; member of the Arms Control
Association; former LWVUS Chair of International Relations

10:00 - 10:55 "The Politics of the Arms Race"
Robert J. White, Editorial Editor, Minneapolis TRIBUNE

10:55 - 11:15 Break

11:15 - 12:10 "Technology Exchange With the East"
Robert E. Wesslund, Vice President, Technology Exchange, Control
Data Corporation

12:15 - 12:45 Lunch

12:45 - 1:45 "U. S. Arms Transfer Policy"
Leslie Brown, United States State Department; recent Deputy Senior
Assistant to Undersecretary of State for Security Affairs (Lucy
Wilson Benson, former LWVUS President)

1:45 - 2:45 "Sizing Up Arms, Facts, and Tensions Worldwide"
Professor Terrence Hopmann, Director, Quigley Center for Interna-
tional Relations, University of Minnesota

2:45 - 3:00 "The Perspective"
Dr. William C. Rogers, Professor and Director, Continuing Education
in Public Policy and World Affairs Center, University of Minnesota

Reservations are \$6.00 and include a box lunch. Reservations MUST BE MADE BY
MARCH 8. Reservations must be prepaid - NSP will not allow collecting at the door.

Please register me for
GLOBAL ARMS CONTROL: FACING OFF OR FACING UP?

Name _____

Organization _____

() Enclosed is the Workshop fee of \$6.00.

Please make checks payable to the League of Women Voters and mail to: LWVMN,
555 Wabasha, St. Paul, MN 55102, or call the LWVMN office at 224-5445.

BIOGRAPHIC DATA

Leslie H. Brown

Leslie H. Brown, who was born in Massachusetts in 1928, is a U.S. Foreign Service Officer currently serving as the principal Deputy to the Assistant Secretary for Oceans, International Environmental and Scientific Affairs. He came to that job after serving as the senior Special Assistant to the Under Secretary for Security Assistance, Science and Technology.

Mr. Brown joined the Department of State as an Intelligence Research Analyst in 1955. In 1965 he was detailed to the Institute for Defense Analysis and returned the following year to join the Bureau of Politico-Military Affairs, where he became head of the Office of International Security Planning. He left the Bureau of Politico-Military Affairs in the Fall of 1975 to become a Research Associate at the International Institute for Strategic Studies in London. During that period, he produced an Adelphi paper entitled "American Security Policy in Asia".

Mr. Brown received his undergraduate education at Harvard University, graduating in 1949. He served with the United States Air Force in Germany from 1950 to 1954. Mr. Brown was the recipient of the Department's Superior Honor Award in 1969. He is married to the former Jean Manchester of Boston, and has one child. The family lives in Alexandria, Virginia.

January 1979



[1979]

RUSSIA'S WEAKNESSES

SANFORD GOTTLEB/MY TURN

NEWSWEEK

We keep hearing that the Soviets are 10 feet tall. Wave after wave of speakers, films and press statements saturates us with the message that the Soviets can outwit us, outgun us, outbomb us. To believe these doomsayers, the Soviets own the future.

This propaganda does not square with reality. It emphasizes the Soviets' admitted strengths while ignoring their significant weaknesses. A headbashed balance sheet must include both.

Militarily, the U.S.S.R. plays in the big leagues. Its 5,000 strategic nuclear warheads could turn much of our country into radioactive rubble. Soviet forces in Europe pose a continuing threat to NATO. The Soviets have positioned Cubans to fight in Africa. The Soviet Union, like the U.S., is a big arms supplier.

But the United States also plays in the big leagues. Its 9,200 long-range nuclear warheads, more than half of them on virtually invulnerable submarines, could destroy the Soviet Union as a living society in a day. NATO is a real alliance, where the leading partner doesn't have to worry in which direction its allies will fire their guns in case of war. Soviet commanders may well worry about the loyalty of Poles, Czechs and East Germans. And all the alarms notwithstanding, the U.S. Navy controls the seas.

The two superpowers are roughly equal in strategic military power, with the United States holding a technological edge. It is an equality of mutual overkill. Neither nation is sure how to use this awesome power to advantage.

RESTIVE: As seen by the aging men in the Kremlin, the world is far from a Soviet oyster. The Soviet Union is indeed surrounded by hostile Communist states—China to the east, the restive countries of the Warsaw Pact to the west. Even before the Chinese-Vietnamese war, the U.S.S.R. felt obliged to keep more than half a million men along the tense border with China. Whatever their assigned duties, Soviet forces in Eastern Europe always have another role: prevention of more "Prague Springs."

Yet, Soviet military strength failed to prevent Hua Kuo-feng, China's No. 2 man, from visiting Eastern Europe and symbolically thumbing his nose at the Kremlin. Nor did Soviet military power dissuade Japan from signing a treaty of friendship with China. It couldn't even be used to pressure Romania into accepting the Warsaw Pact's increase in military spending. The Soviet Union, too, knows the limits of power.

Within the Soviet sphere of influence, religious feeling challenges Moscow's authority. John Paul II's election as Pope has only served to strengthen the already vibrant Roman Catholic Church in Poland, a highly successful counterweight to the Communists. There is a religious revival in East Germany; half the children born in Lithuania are being baptized. The Kremlin no doubt worries that an Islamic republic in Iran will provide a subversive example for the large Muslim population in the U.S.S.R.

In addition to its uncertain allies in Eastern Europe and its cantankerously nationalistic ally in Vietnam, the U.S.S.R. has client states in Afghanistan, Angola, Cuba, Ethiopia and South Yemen. Some of these are among the most impoverished countries in the world. All of them drain Soviet resources.

To the aging men in the Kremlin, beset with problems, the world is far from a Soviet oyster.

As for its strategic positions in Africa, the Soviet Union has lost more footholds (Egypt, Guinea, Somalia, Sudan) than it maintains (Angola and Ethiopia).

In Western Europe, Communist parties have been following parliamentary rules and have vied for power through the ballot. Virtually without exception they no longer take orders from Moscow.

With U.S.-Chinese relations warming, Moscow now increasingly complains of "encirclement." This theme, reminiscent of the late Stalin era, reflects Soviet anxiety rather than self-confidence.

Internal weaknesses sap the Soviet Union's ability to project its power abroad. The economy suffers from chronic shortages, making the Soviets dependent on the West for grain and modern technology. They have trouble satisfying the homelies of needs. Pravda recently reported that trousers without fly buttons have been issued to workers on the new Trans-Siberian Railway because of a button shortage. (Zippers are an even greater rarity.) Earlier, the newspaper reported that toothbrushes were unobtainable in certain parts of Siberia. The Soviets can launch missiles with multiple warheads, but they have yet to provide buttons and toothbrushes for all their people.

Politically, the Soviet system, which en-

courages conformity, discourages problem-solving. The country's numerous minority groups resent domination by the ethnic Russians. After six decades in power, the ruling group in Moscow has lost its standing as a role model to the have-nots almost everywhere in the world. The Soviet system has not lived up to its promise.

What are we as Americans to make of this mixed bag of Soviet weaknesses and strengths?

CHANGE: First, we must use our common sense to keep world politics in perspective. We know that the Soviets are beset with problems and can't wave a magic wand to tame an unruly world. Basic political change generally comes from local conditions, including nationalism, inequities and corruption. The Kremlin can exploit these conditions but not create them. Iran is a case in point.

Second, the Soviets are not likely to provoke a nuclear war. They have not forgotten their 20 million dead in World War II. It is hard to see what would drive Soviet leaders to run the risk of suffering fatalities five times as great in a single day.

Third, the Soviet Union and the United States have the power to destroy each other. Their weapons, if used, would poison the soil, the water and the air, and deplete the ozone in the atmosphere that shields us all from the ultraviolet rays of the sun. This gives both nations an overriding common interest in avoiding nuclear war.

Finally, we ought to cooperate with the Soviets where we can, compete where we must. Ending the arms race, halting the spread of nuclear weapons, tapping new energy sources and resolving regional conflicts are minimal conditions for survival. To continue living on our small, crowded planet, we must cooperate at least in these areas.

In the competition for influence in other countries, primarily in the Third World, Americans have potent advantages. Our ability to help raise living standards still serves as a magnet to the less-developed nations. The example of our free society still pulls people to our shores from every continent. The fundamental beliefs of our Founding Fathers manage to find their way onto wall posters in Peking. Many in the world still aspire to what we take for granted.

Sanford Gottlieb is arms-reduction coordinator of New Directions, a citizens' lobby on international issues based in Washington.

Borg ✓
Llona

JAN 11 1979

We are delighted to add that
Patt Derian (Mrs. Hodding Carter III),
Assistant Secretary of State for
Human Rights and Humanitarian Affairs,
will accompany Mr. Carter.

Ms. Derian will participate in the
2:00 P.M., January 19, public session,
answering questions concerning her
own responsibilities in the
Department of State.

MACALESTER COLLEGE
and the
WORLD AFFAIRS CENTER

invite you or your representative
to hear

HODDING CARTER, III

Assistant Secretary for Public Affairs
and

Spokesman of the Department of State
speak on

"Prospects for U.S. Foreign Policy in 1979"

January 19, 1979 2:00 p.m.
Janet Wallace Concert Hall
Macalester College

Acceptances: 647-6139



THE COUNSELOR
DEPARTMENT OF STATE
WASHINGTON

March 22, 1979

Ms. Helen Borg
PO Box 5
Mound, Minnesota 55364

Dear Ms. Borg:

On behalf of the Department of State I am pleased to join with the World Affairs Council of the University of Minnesota, the United Nations Association of Minnesota, and the League of Women Voters of Minnesota in extending to you an invitation to participate in a conference on SALT II. This event will take place at the Club House of the American Association of University Women beginning at 10:00 a.m., April 26.

The program's agenda is one that merits the closest attention of Americans who are concerned about our national security, particularly as it relates to our present efforts to negotiate an effective SALT II agreement. National security in a nuclear age is clearly an issue that cuts across all sectors of the community and affects each citizen directly. With the conclusion of a new strategic arms limitation treaty possible before the end of this year, this issue will occupy an increasingly important place in public debates throughout the country.

I am certain that programs of this kind can play a crucial role in developing and sustaining a climate of informed discussion on a broad range of security issues facing our country, and that this conference will be a useful one for you. For further information, call the World Affairs Council at 373-3799.

Sincerely,

Matthew Nimetz



THE COUNSELOR
DEPARTMENT OF STATE
WASHINGTON

March 15, 1979

Dear Ms. Borg:

Since February, when you participated in the Twin Cities conference on U.S. Security and the Soviet Challenge, important progress has been made in the negotiations for a new strategic arms limitation treaty. We hope to be able to complete the agreement in the near future.

As a leader in your community, you have no doubt heard many of the questions Americans have been asking about the SALT II treaty and how it will affect American security. A recent talk by Deputy Secretary of Defense Charles Duncan addresses many of those questions. I am enclosing a copy for your information.

The treaty text and more complete explanations of its contents will be made available to you as soon as the final agreement is reached. Meanwhile, please feel free to contact me if you have any specific questions.

Sincerely,


Matthew Nimetz

Ms. Borg
President
League of Women Voters of Minnesota
Post Office Box 5
Mound, Minnesota 55364

The Department of State



CURRENT POLICY NO. 58
March 1979

Bureau of Public Affairs
Office of Public Communication

SALT and the U.S.-Soviet Military Balance

*Remarks by the Honorable Charles W.
Duncan, Jr., Deputy Secretary of Defense,
at the Department of State, Washington,
D.C., on February 21.*

I very much welcome the opportunity to speak to you today on the U.S./Soviet military balance, a subject of vital concern to all Americans. As all of you well know, a sound military balance between the United States and the Soviet Union is fundamental to our national security.

National security is, of course, comprised of a number of factors. Military strength is a requisite of national security, but by itself it doesn't assure national security. The United States is by most measures the strongest Nation on earth. No other Nation can compete with us in economic power, political stability and cohesion, technological capability, appeal as to way of life, and fundamental soundness of international policies.

Only in military strength is one country -- the Soviet Union -- comparable to the United States. It is the military balance between ourselves and the Soviets that I want to focus on today.

THE SOVIET CHALLENGE

There has been a continuing military buildup on the part of the Soviet Union for over 15 years. The one output of Soviet society where they do well is building their military strength. Furthermore, their failure to compete successfully in other areas can only increase their incentive to continue the buildup. Perhaps an internal assessment of their strengths and weaknesses has indicated to the Soviets that military power is the only strength that is readily obtainable and, therefore, is the only means to global influence and geopolitical advantage.

We cannot define Soviet intentions with high confidence. Nevertheless, there can be no doubt that Soviet military power today is much greater than it was in the 1960's. There has been

a steady increase in Soviet military spending during each of the past 15 years. The annual rate of increase has averaged between four and five percent in Soviet buying power. Today their spending total substantially exceeds our own. By how much is not certain: it could be by as much as 45 percent. It certainly is by at least 25 percent.

I think it's important to emphasize that the Soviet increases in spending have not been affected by U.S. spending levels. Nowhere is there any evidence that they will reduce their forces or spending if we make unilateral reductions.

As a result of steadily rising outlays, Soviet armed forces have improved substantially. The Soviet defense establishment has expanded by about a million men. More than 1,000 ICBM launchers and more than 900 modern submarine-launched ballistic missile tubes have been added to Soviet strategic nuclear forces. Soviet medium range attack forces now have the mobile, Mirved SS-20 intermediate-range ballistic missile and the backfire bomber. Soviet conventional forces -- land, naval and air -- have all grown substantially in size. The quality of Soviet equipment has improved and in some cases closed the gap with the West.

In short, the Soviets have made enormous military strides during the past 15 years, and continue to do so. We cannot ignore them.

At the same time, we should not exaggerate where the Soviets stand today in relation to the United States and its Allies. The Soviets have not achieved overwhelming military power. They have had to develop their defense capabilities with an economy that is much less efficient than ours. We don't believe their expenditures are always properly directed. We think they have made some major mistakes in resource allocation. Their Allies are less reliable and less capable -- though better integrated -- than ours. Also the Soviets find it necessary to station as much as 25 percent of their ground and tactical air power facing the People's Republic of China. Their deployments are complicated by difficult geographic problems.

THE EAST-WEST BALANCE

What about our own capabilities? In strategic nuclear forces, the situation today is one of balance. The United States is ahead in some areas: deliverable warheads, heavy bomber numbers and payload, submarine quality, and generally (but decreasingly) in missile accuracy. The Soviets lead in some others: missile throw-weight, missile numbers (both ICBMs and SLBMs) and total number of delivery vehicles. Neither is in a position today to exploit its strategic weapons without encountering the unacceptable risk of catastrophic retaliation.

In the tactical nuclear area, the Soviets hold an advantage in medium-range bombers (such as the backfire) and in intermediate-range ballistic missiles: we have an advantage in battlefield systems, nuclear artillery, short-range missiles, and tactical aircraft.

With the Soviets and ourselves in general nuclear balance, conventional forces take on added importance. Geographically, Europe is the most important area for us and, within Europe, the central front is the key. This importance is reflected in the commitment we undertook in 1977, and will meet this year, in company with all other NATO allies, to increase real defense spending annually for several years with a goal of three percent per year.

We are, of course, concerned with more than Europe. In the Far East, although the Soviet Union has committed itself to a major upgrading of its forces, outside of Vietnam it has not enjoyed success in translating its military power into political influence. The new U.S. and Japanese relationships with the People's Republic of China will help preserve an effective equilibrium of power in the region.

Our principal allies in East Asia -- Japan and the Republic of Korea -- endorse and support our role in the region. In Korea, we will maintain our security commitment, proceed carefully and flexibly with ground force withdrawals, and maintain the balance on the Korean peninsula. Our forces in the Pacific will be improved qualitatively.

We are confident over our ability to win a conflict for sea control both in the Atlantic and the Pacific. However, there is a clear need to improve the overall quantity and quality of our naval forces.

That is a quick military assessment of East and West today. It is important to remember that such an assessment is much more than a static set of numerical comparisons. It's a mix of judgments involving the dynamics of forces arrayed against forces -- tanks versus anti-tank weapons, aircraft versus air defenses -- the relative quality of manpower, training, leadership, tactics, doctrine. Our view is that we have rough equivalence today.

THE U.S. RESPONSE

The troubling aspect is the continued and relentless Soviet military buildup. Clearly, our national security demands that we not permit present unfavorable trends in U.S. and Soviet defense expenditures to develop into real asymmetries in the future military balance. In the face of this challenge we are pursuing two complementary courses of action.

The first is to insure that our military forces maintain a credible deterrent capability despite the continued Soviet buildup. An adequate and properly balanced defense budget will provide the basis for the maintenance of this deterrence capability.

For this reason, the Administration has emphasized that we need to increase our defense effort in real terms. The President has shown great courage in submitting a budget that provides for real growth despite the many important claims on federal revenues and the urgent need to fight inflation.

What we seek to maintain at all times is -- first -- strategic capability of sufficient power so that we can retaliate effectively and flexibly after a nuclear attack on the United States or its Allies. We also have the objective, in conjunction with our Allies, to defend simultaneously against one major and one minor non-nuclear attack, or put another way, the global nature of a war in Europe.

That is our national strategy, and the basis on which we plan our forces. This is what it's been for a number of years. If we can continue to execute that strategy, then we've done our job well. If we can't it is my view that we have serious problems.

This brings me to a very important point. Soviet military expenditures cannot continue to rise -- and U.S. defense outlays cannot flatten or decline -- without a dangerous tilt in the balance of power and a weakening of the U.S. deterrent. The United States may be more efficient and ingenious than the Soviet Union and I think we are. But a large and continuing disparity between the two defense efforts is bound to have damaging effects in the future. We cannot tolerate such a disparity.

We have to think about certain programs now.

-- We have to consider the question of survivability of the minuteman force, with or without SALT II. A survivable land based missile is essential to our strategic deterrent, is provided for in our defense program and can be done within SALT II.

-- We must also modernize our theatre nuclear forces. As Soviet conventional forces are further modernized and become more proficient, NATO will have to do the same. We do not want to have to resort to nuclear options.

Obviously, maintaining our defense posture is not going to become any cheaper. We will still have the investment and operating expenses required by the current force structure, and we have new programs to fund as well.

SALT

At the same time that we modernize and improve our force structure, we must not lose any opportunity to reduce the military competition through equitable and verifiable arms control agreements. This brings me to the SALT II treaty which is the second course we pursue to enhance our national security and that of our Allies.

The emerging SALT II agreement will mean greater stability and predictability in the strategic balance between the United States and the Soviet Union. It will help ensure that a dangerous, wasteful strategic arms race will not occur.

For the first time, the provisions of the treaty will limit each side to equal numbers of strategic arms. It will rectify the numerical imbalance in total numbers of strategic nuclear delivery vehicles, as well as set equal ceilings on Mirved ICBM's and the total of all Mirv systems. These equal ceilings will hold the Soviets below the levels they would be willing and capable of attaining without SALT II.

Important limitations will freeze the number of warheads on existing ballistic missiles and limit the number allowed for new ICBM's. These restrictions are aimed at the Soviet throw weight advantage, which without limitation, would enable them to deploy 20 to 40 warheads on their largest ICBM's.

Additionally, a final overall level of 2250 will be set for the inventory of each side's strategic arms. This means that for the first time the Soviets will have to physically cut back their strategic arms inventory. Some 250 strategic systems -- missiles or bombers -- will have to be converted, destroyed or dismantled when SALT II is implemented fully.

This combination of limitations has a positive effect on our land based ICBM survivability problem. With limitations on missile launchers and numbers of warheads, the deployment of our new mobile ICBM system, regardless of basing mode, will be much more feasible than being faced with an unrestricted Soviet Arms buildup. SALT II becomes then, an important element in ensuring ICBM survivability.

There are two other important issues vital to the acceptability of the SALT II agreement. First, the verifiability of the provisions of the treaty and second, the effect of the treaty on our Allies.

The SALT II agreement can be verified by national technical means, including photo reconnaissance satellites and other technical measures. With these monitoring capabilities,

we are confident that no significant violation of the treaty could take place without the United States detecting it. We will be able to respond with appropriate actions before any adverse impact on the strategic balance can take place.

The SALT II treaty will not affect existing patterns of cooperation with our Allies or further cooperation in tactical nuclear force modernization. For example, under a protocol, we will be able to develop and test ground and sea-launched cruise missiles with no limit on range. This is of interest to our Allies as a possible response to the Soviet SS-20 IRBM and their backfire bomber. In short, the protocol period provides time for the U.S. and its Allies to consider cruise missile deployment and any arms control measures that we would desire to apply to these systems.

The overall impact of the treaty is best appreciated by considering the situation that would exist in the absence of any agreement. The Soviet Union would most certainly deploy substantially more nuclear delivery launchers and vehicles with Mirved warheads than now permitted by the SALT I treaty.

Clearly, the United States would respond to such a massive Soviet buildup. We would do whatever is necessary to maintain a balance. The net effect of a failure in SALT would be the inherent instability of an unrestrained and costly strategic arms competition without any increase in military security.

In sum, the current state of the military balance between the United States and the Soviet Union is best described as one of rough equivalence but with troubling trends. In the face of this challenge, we must continue to maintain a strong defense posture which will give us and our Allies the necessary deterrent capability. We require nuclear and non-nuclear forces that are ready as well as modern. The defense budget that was recently submitted by the Administration will provide the means needed to assure strong deterrence. As a complementary course of action, we seek an equitable and verifiable SALT II agreement. The treaty will both enhance our security and, at the same time, limit strategic arms competition.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE, U.S.A.
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20520

POSTAGE AND FEES PAID
DEPARTMENT OF STATE
5T A-501



Third Class Bulk Rt.

United States Senate

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20510

March 6, 1979

Ms. Helene Borg
President
League of Women Voters of Minnesota
P. O. Box 5
Mound, Minnesota 55364

Dear Helene:

I understand that the February 22 Conference on United States Security and the Soviet Challenge was most interesting and informative. The Greater Minneapolis Chamber of Commerce, the St. Paul Chamber of Commerce, the Minnesota Association of Commerce and Industry, the AFL-CIO, the Minnesota Newspaper Guild and the League of Women Voters are to be commended.

SALT II is a complex and difficult issue. I agree with Vice President Mondale's statement that strategic arms limitation is one of the most pressing issues for our generation, and believe that because it is so important, we must continue to negotiate limitations. However, I also believe that our desire for limitation should not blind us to the realities of strategic security and the Soviet challenge on regional issues around the globe.

When the negotiations are completed, SALT II will be sent to the United States Senate for ratification. There is no doubt that the Senate debate will be long, arduous and detailed. As I prepare to cast my vote on this important treaty, I need your assistance to make certain that your concerns and those of other Minnesotans are reflected in the debate.

I would ask that you join a process of consultation on SALT II now by using the attached questionnaire to communicate your reactions to the recent Conference. I am sending a copy to all those who registered for the Conference and ask that it be returned in a week or two. If another representative from your organization attended in your place, would you please forward the questions to his or her attention?

You can be sure that I will seek your further opinions as the debate continues and will always give careful consideration to your thoughts on this and other issues.

March 6, 1979
Page 2

Thank you for a timely response to this request.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read "Dave", with a large, loopy flourish on the left side that loops around the word.

Dave Durenberger
United States Senator

DD/bwj
Enclosure

HANDLING THE INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS PORTFOLIO:

1. Is your membership familiar with I.R. positions? Make copies of the I.R. section in IMPACT ON ISSUES, 1978-80 and distribute.
2. Read "Outlook 1979-80...Calendar/Counterpart Communiques" from LWV Minnesota, page 33.
3. Read page 11 of the National Board Report, June, 1979 and then watch for: New Committee Guide and Update on I.R. Program which will be coming out soon from National League.
4. Read "Report from the Hill," August, 1979, the I.R. Section, and the I.R. section in every succeeding issue.

U.N.

5. Ask your League to pay \$6.00 for a subscription to "The Interdependent," the monthly newspaper of the United Nations Association. It is going to give you what some of you asked for on "U.N. Happenings" and also covers our League topic of DEVELOPMENT.
6. Contact UNICEF - 331 E. 38th St. New York, NY 10016 - for free sample packet of materials, including basic facts about UNICEF and what you can do to help.
7. Come to the U.N. Rally. Or draw attention to U.N. Week by having a community ceremony involving other organizations. The governor has asked each community to send in the name of a U.N. Day chairman. Work with that person if you're not already it. (Edina League always has a flag-raising ceremony involving City Hall officials, school personnel, service organizations, AFS students and Scouts.)
8. For International Year of the Child activities, find out what your area is doing.... activities by what organizations. For this information write to Donna Seline at the United Nations of Minnesota office: 1026 Nicollet Mall, Minneapolis, MN 55403 - 333-2824. Donna is coordinator for the state. Speakers are available on IYC, the U.N. and UNICEF. (Note: this same office can send you a packet of U.N. info for \$1.00.)

U.N. and Development

9. Sponsor a program on Women in Development. (Next conference is July, 1980 - a mid-term conference on U.N. Decade for Women.) The new LNWUS publication (not yet available) will be a resource. Possible speakers could be Koryne Horbal from Minnesota, who is involved in this at the U.N.; or Arvonne Fraser, Coordinator US/AID Office on Women in Development.

Trade

10. See suggestions in "Outlook" - HERE IS A LIST FOR WHAT YOU CAN DO - (page cited).
11. Discuss at a unit meeting China's future as a U.S. Trading Partner. Some reference material is in the state office. Call Pat Llona at home: 920-0427
at office: 224-5445
12. Survey your community for what it is importing and exporting. Make a display and sell copies of "Continuing Crisis in Trade." If you have Ed Fund money collected and deposited with Washington from the finance drive (tax-deductible money) buy this piece for all members. It is also useful for prospective contributors as a gift.

13. Set up a speakers bureau on trade. Useful background material would be a subscription to U.S. Chamber of Commerce "Trade Negotiation Information Service." A yearly subscription is \$30.00. However, since this is rather costly, ask your library or Chamber to order it or make use of some of the things from the state office: "Minnesota Economic Profile," "World Trade Week, 1979."
(Note: at the end of the latter is a list of publications you can pick and choose from. This came out in June, 1979.)
14. The High School Debate Teams are debating a change in U.S. Trade Policy. Contact the debate coaches and ask the teams to debate for a public program on trade. The State Debate Coaches president is very enthusiastic and hopes Leagues will do this as it gives the teams experience. The season goes into February and starts in October.

If you are now sufficiently confused...take a dart and hit the page. You can't do it all.

Your friendly I.R. Committee, 1979-80

Testimony presented to the
Finance Subcommittee on Health and Human Services
Re: SF 430
by Jean Tews, President
League of Women Voters of Minnesota
March 3, 1983

The League of Women Voters of Minnesota has a position that states: we support a correctional system responsive to the needs of the individual offender and of society. The League supports Senator Don Samuelson's proposed legislation, SF 430, which would permit the appropriation of money to develop a "phase two" plan for a new correctional facility for women.

In February of 1982 the League of Women Voters of Minnesota established criteria which we have determined are important in the location and establishment of a women's correctional facility. We do not believe that the proposed closing of Shakopee and the transfer of women offenders to Sauk Centre responds to the needs of the woman offender. In fact, we believe that the Sauk Centre location falls short of our criteria in several respects.

- The facility, built in 1910, is located 120 miles from the Twin Cities. 80% of the women offender population comes from the Twin Cities Metropolitan area. Visiting by family, friends, children and probation officers would be difficult and expensive. 70% of the women have dependent children with whom they were living at the time of incarceration.
- Contact with the children is documented to be an important part of rehabilitation. The distance makes off-ground programming for vocational training and work release difficult because of the lack of public transportation.
- Community resources are limited in Sauk Centre. At present, the Women's Facility at Shakopee depends on 55 custody trained volunteers, 30 transportation volunteers, educational/vocational services, over 16 private industries, 33 program services, 9 culture resources, 24 churches and 48 recreation resources. The opportunity for employment outside the institution for work release at Saul Centre is not likely.

- Based on a Department of Corrections Study, we question the compatibility of the Sauk Centre community with the adult female offender.
- When incarcerated there in the past, the offenders felt they were not accepted by the community.

The move to Sauk Centre is not a temporary move. It will affect the woman offender for the next 30 to 50 years. It may be a fact that the state is not in a position to begin building any new buildings this year. However, we believe that this is not the time to make a decision which will have undesirable consequences for the woman offender for 50 years. Women have been waiting for years, while other correctional facilities have found funding.

We urge your support for SF 430 which would lead to the development of a new correctional facility for women.

WORLD TRADE WEEK -- 1979

(This packet of material is for your trade information file...for Trade Education Project - 1979-80.)

What did we learn on May 23 and 24, 1979?

Lieutenant Governor Lou Wangberg opened WTW by noting that Minnesota can contribute to building U.S. competitive edge in world trade.

Honorary Chairman WTW David T. McLaughlin (Toro President) noted the following: Minnesota has had a 14.4%/year growth rate in exports since 1963. Fourteen per cent of the manufacturers in Minnesota participate in export. There are incentives from Latin America to attract U.S. goods. Latin America is developing its own competencies. Their government and corporations are in lock step. We must do the following:

1. Identify foreign market opportunities (unique techniques and products);
2. Need to help to train and educate in opportunities. Should be a high priority of the state through the Office of Economic Development.

There should be a clear and ringing mandate that export is important and that government is behind it.

Barney J. Malusky, President and General Manager, Farmers Union/Grain Terminal Association: Minnesota has access to the Gulf. It has a northern port at the edge of the Plains. It is an important grain-gathering point - a world milling center. Minnesota is the leading state in Farm Cooperatives. We are leading agricultural producers:

5th in total value of all exports.....	1.5 B
5th in soy beans.....	487 M
5th in feed grains.....	474 M
8th in wheat.....	200 M
1st in dairy products.....	32 M
Top 10 in hides and skins, meat products, sunflowers	

Every 1 in 3 acres of agriculture goes overseas, and the figures are growing. Figures show that since 1950 the U.S. has been playing a diminishing role in export. In 1953 the U.S. had 16%...now has 12.5% of world trade. The U.S. share of agriculture today is 17%. Of this, more than 60% is feed grain on the world market originating in the U.S. We have been building a surplus in farm exports: 1978 - Agriculture surplus - 14 billion
Non-ag. deficit - 45 billion

In 1979 feed grains were over half of the mix. Feed grains and protein are needed by OPEC countries and the Less Developed countries. The East Block (Communist countries) are committed to better living (in food). They will be buying more agricultural products. The People's Republic of China (1/4 of the world's population) will increase grain purchases. Grains and oil-seeds will grow...by 60% perhaps by year 2000.

The world population will grow 5% by 2000. We in the U.S. need a policy for food exports. This is becoming a political consideration. For the average farmer 25% of receipts are from exports. He is more business-oriented than before. He is watching world grain prices. Export is vital to the farmer.

In the MTNs (Multilateral Trade Agreements) just completed, Japan agreed to no duty on soy beans. Europe will do the same for peanut imports.

Every nation wants to be self-sufficient in farm products. The problem of transportation is very important. Target prices must know the impact they have on foreign trade.

Dr. Sun Won Son, Economist, Northwestern National Bank of Minneapolis: 92% of American Companies sell only in the U.S. Before designing new products, we must look at overseas. Most American firms aren't big that sell overseas. (He said more, but I was interrupted by arrival of delegation from Latin America.)

Concurrent Sessions in P.M. - TRANSPORTATION

James R. Scoggin, Vice President for Transportation, Peavey Company: We are as far away as we can be to send our commodities overseas.

1. Mississippi River links us with the Gulf. But there are limited barges.
2. Great Lakes Seaway - is low cost, large volume...but limited season.
3. Highway system - goes to boats or storage.
4. Rails link with storage points, product areas, river ports and sea ports year-round. High bulk cost between water and heavy carriage.

In spite of distance and limitations these systems do work:

1. Corn by truck to Gulf.
2. Corn to Duluth to overseas ports.
3. Corn to Great Lakes for storage.
4. Corn to large rail to Pacific Coast. Rapid movement of corn to West Coast.

There should be more dollars to capitalize the facilities. Much has been spent by the grain trade. The national fleet is secured by shippers who financed cars. Few railroads can do the jobs by themselves.

Roger W. Wigen, Transportation Manager, 3-M, St. Paul: 3-M is in 50 countries. Thirty-one countries are manufacturing. In 1973, 40% of 4.6 billion of sales was overseas. Transportation cost of shipping mostly consolidated in Minnesota. One shipment takes 60 pieces of documents.

There are 5 railroad and 6 steamship proposals now before Congress that will affect transportation and trade for the U.S. The need for containerization is great.

Ralph O. Avery, Assistant Vice President, Pricing Negotiations, Burlington Railroad: Railroads need to know where the needs are. Agriculture and railroads are inseparable, interdependent. There is a freight car shortage. Railroad planners play by ear day to day. Railroads may become dominant because of energy problem. We need, therefore, to eliminate transportation peaks and valleys. Rail transportation will become more important over the next 10 years. We must spend billions now to meet grain transportation needs alone. Grain car locomotive manufacturers have made a major commitment - even without Congress.

Roger L. Bond, Director of Commerce, Associated Motor Carriers Tariff Bureau, Inc., St. Paul: Intermodal transport is rail and truck using cargo-carrying containers. These modes can go anywhere in the country. At the end of one mode you have a new transaction. Rails and barges can clear large numbers of containers from ports to terminals. Ships disgorge a mountain of containers. Rails clear out more efficiently than trucks. Motor carriers move out of rail terminal points. Combined resources of many to build intermodal systems. But container resources could be used more efficiently. The U.S. Government encourages intermodalism. But carriers from different modes must work together to establish rates, claim responsibilities, etc. It's illegal. No way they can legally meet to settle problems...considered a heinous crime - 2 carriers making joint rates. Intermodalism in international trade is tied to domestic need for joint operation.

John W. Lambert, President, Twin City Barge and Towing, St. Paul: 4,800 barge loads go to the Gulf; 7 million tons of corn, wheat soy beans, sunflower meal and seed pellets; 7,500 hopper barges are available. Adding barges 10 times as fast as retiring old ones. Vegetable oil goes in double-bottoms. There is intermodal warfare over Lock and Dam 26. There is a wrench in the transportation machinery here, and no interest shown by anyone in settling. Congress didn't make hard decisions. The transportation system is plagued by regulations and cross-eyed judicial officials. These systems - rail, highways and water, will be grossly lacking. We are not 1 million railroad cars short. In both rail and barges, there is absolute obsolescence. Carriers must stop pulling in opposite directions. In order to trade, shipper must have:

1. integration
2. stability
3. availability of transport.

Alan T. Johnson, International Marketing and Sales, Seaway Port Authority of Duluth ("The Duluth Port"): In the Lock and Dam 26 problem, the government doesn't know what it's doing. Part of the bill will be "user" charges. There was an \$8 million study to find out. Should have used this in buying rail cars or some shipping facility. Last year 62.8 million metric tons were shipped here (12.5% of all). It is 1 of 20 ports handling export - a large quantity.

90% of all cargoes are agriculture-related: bulks, tractors, food, and food for world food programs.

There is a 27-foot draft limit. Water is the cheapest form of transportation. There were 17 shiploads to the People's Republic of China last year. There are real problems in moving grain. Lock and Dam 26 is one. It would take 8 years to rebuild it once the President signs the bill. The Department of Justice, the I.C.C., and the Department of Transportation people can't even get together to decide that freight rates from source of product to consumer are important. The Department of Transportation can't seem to comprehend the enormity of the problem. There are four studies going on right now on River/Rail transportation. Improvements in transportation won't be by the American Association of Railroads but by individual railroad systems.

Concurrent Sessions - May 24

CURRENCY AND FOREIGN EXCHANGE DEVELOPMENTS

John McDevitt, Economist, 3-M: Canada, France, Germany, Italy, UK, Japan - export 3/4 of products in non-corn world. The Global Stock Market is 12% ahead of where it was a year ago:

London - up 16%

Canada - up 34%

Australia - up 27% (10% below previous high)

Japan - 2.7% (2% below all-time high)

Italy - up 27.9%

Symbolizes growing strength over 74-75 recession...and recovery.

Big Six slower than U.S. on recovery. Will enter 1979-80 with moderate growth Index about 6% above what it was one year ago on U.S. and Foreign Industrial production.

U.S.

Imports - up

Exports - same

Balance of Trade deficit

Big Six

Exports - up

Imports - same

Balance of Trade surplus

All non-Communist countries - 15% increase over last year.

1975 3.0 (lowest)

1976 13%

1977 13%

1978 13%

The Multilateral Trade Negotiations won't do much. Lower tariffs from 11% to 8% (which is 35%).

MTNs

1. Standards - significant. Will know what standards are applied against your product ahead of time.
2. Foreign firms can bid on domestic government contracts. Two-way street. We have a heavy dependence on foreign and national security materials.
3. 18% increase in commodity prices - will signify a way of life from now on. There will be an 8% - 10% increase in the next several years each year. All prices are increasing because of OPEC.

U.S. is the largest exporter/importer in the world. We export both merchandise and service:

<u>Merchandise</u>	<u>Service</u>	<u>Total Exports</u>
136.9	73.5	210.4 B

% of Gross National Product in exports - U.S. ranks 46 out of 49. 1/4 to 1/3 of GNP in Europe is exports.

World Trade Week - 4

(McDevitt, continued)

Scene - July, 1978 - Big Five - France, Germany, Japan, UK, USA

Background - sluggish economy, weak \$, riding trade deficit, U.S. pressure on Germany and Japan to stimulate economy (they are doing). Germany has real growth of 4% in 1979, expect 3.5% in 1989. Japan highest of anyone.

Business conditions in Canada: Real GNP growth 3.5%

Stock market up 36%

good climate

Business outlook in Europe: E. economies not as resilient - high level inventories. Inflation 8-8.5-9% in 1979.

Fifty-two percent of businessmen say there will be higher prices in 1979. U.S. goods will be more competitive.

How can we deal with unemployment was a big question at GATT. 7.2 million unemployed in Europe. (Decline in unemployment small in Germany but good.) France will be weak (1.3 million now, will be 1.5 million in 1979).

3-M in France economically sound. There is deemphasis there on state-run, marginal systems. In Germany business is booming. There is stimulation in housing and education. The economy is moving. And there is small inflation. In Italy business production fluctuates - up 25% in 1978; 9.8% in 1979. There are more Communists in government there.

U.K. - Conservatives won 48 seats - stronger mandate. Change of direction. July meeting of Big Seven will be more important. Will start new ways.

Japan will have highest GNP rate of any country (5.5%). Trade imbalance - a source of irritation. Will announce 5-year program upgrading quality of life. There will be \$1.1 trillion expenditure. Should help U.S. goods and service to participate. (Minnesotans now 16th ran in exporters of manufactured goods.) 7.7% of all states products; 1 billion higher in exports than 1972; 23,000 people dependent on export in Minnesota.

For Your Information.....

The Bureau of International Labor Affairs, Office of Trade Adjustment Assistance, lists the following Worker Adjustment Assistance Activity (Trade Act of 1974) in Minnesota:

Case data: 4/3/75 through 2/28/79

*Payment and Service Data: 4/3/75 through 12/31/78

Cases Instituted:	43
Certified:	17
Denied:	19
In Progress:	7

*Workers/Received Benefits:

2,150

*Amount Paid:

\$2,600,000

*Workers/Entered Training:

23

*Workers/Received Other Employability Services:

Job Search Allowances:

0

Relocation Allowances:

2

Job Placements:

1

example, can cover the entire Soviet Union in a day and locate ICBMs, bombers at air bases, and submarines in port, with great precision.

On the other hand, spy satellites can't detect submarines under the ocean and the number of bombs in the nosecone of a missile. Therefore, arms control accords must be designed to take into account the strengths and weaknesses of national means of verification.

If the arms race continues, new weapons systems will be developed that make inspection by national means very difficult. The strategic cruise missile is one of these. This precise, nuclear-armed aircraft would be small, could be launched from many different platforms (bombers, submarines, flat-bed trucks), and could be confused with shorter-range tactical cruise missiles. Thus, once developed, it presents major problems for verification.

In certain situations, on-site inspection may be useful to clarify unclear information obtained by national means. The treaty could require on-site inspection or set up a system of challenges by the participating countries. In other situations, however, the dispatch of inspectors to another country's territory will not necessarily add to the effectiveness of national means.

Verification should be designed to detect violations that could significantly affect a nation's security, and not attempt to deal with minute, unimportant details. Otherwise, the verification system will become unwieldy and undermine the gains to national security that should result from the arms pact.

17

Are there threats to our security aside from Soviet military power?

Anything that undermines our survival and national well-being should be considered a threat. The arms race is a threat because it increases the risks of war and squanders resources that could be used to improve the quality of life. The spread of nuclear weapons is a threat because it puts more fingers on the nuclear trigger. World-wide shortages of food, energy, and natural resources are threats to the living standards of Americans and all other peoples. Population pressures further complicate the problems of existence on a small and crowded planet. Pollution of the oceans, the air, and the soil are a direct threat to the survival of present and future generations. At home, unemployment, crime and drug addiction are threats to our security.

18

What can we do about these threats?

They're the kind that can't be solved by military force. They can only be met by directing our resources—brainpower, time, energy and funds—to their solution. Most of them don't stop at borders. They require cooperation among

governments. New forms of international cooperation will have to be worked out to deal with these problems. National security will have to be redefined to include this joint search for solutions to problems that threaten all humanity. National security will have to be assured through world security.

19

What can citizens do about it?

The decisions on whether and how to reverse the arms race—and whether and how to deal with other world problems—are made by the President, his top advisors, and the Congress. These officials are influenced by the political climate in the country. Citizens can influence the political climate directly and indirectly. They can, and should, write directly to their Senators, who must vote to ratify arms treaties, and to their Representative, who votes on military spending programs.

Citizens can also express their views through letters to the editor, radio call-in shows, and talks with influential people in their community. Citizens can educate themselves, then help educate others through literature, films, and conferences. Citizens can join and support organizations that study and/or lobby for arms control measures. Most of all, citizens can use their common sense to decide how best to make their voices heard in Washington.

If citizens don't influence the government, who will? For more information about arms control and what you, as a citizen, can do, write the New Directions Educational Fund.

THE TRUTH ABOUT ARMS CONTROL Additional Copies

single copies: \$15; 10 copies for: \$100; 50
copies for: \$400; 100 copies for: \$700; 1,000
copies for: \$5000.

CHARLES W. WHALEN, JR.
President

JACK T. CONWAY
Chair

New Directions Educational Fund

305 Massachusetts Avenue, N.E.
Washington, D.C. 20002

The Truth about Arms Control.

Q&A The Truth about Arms Control

Americans are brought up to believe in competition—in schools, in sports, in business, in politics. We expect competition to bring a variety of benefits.

There's one field, however, where competition brings nothing but trouble. That field is armaments, especially nuclear armaments. Governments play a dangerous game of "Can You Top This?" with weapons of mass destruction, as first one country, then another builds and deploys new generations of missiles, bombers and submarines. This dangerous game has no winners, only losers.

Survival depends on reaching agreements to end the arms race. But there are still powerful forces in this country that appear to oppose such agreements. If our government is to be able to conclude arms treaties, it will need the support of an enlightened public.

This series of questions and answers is published by the New Directions Educational Fund to help increase public understanding of arms control.

1

What is the greatest threat to our national survival today?

Nuclear war. It would kill tens of millions of people, and maim, burn, or subject many more millions to lingering nuclear radiation. It would reduce our cities to rubble. The remnant society would become engaged in a struggle for individual survival. Civilization as we know it today would no longer exist and recovery would require generations.

Yet, for three decades the United States and the Soviet Union have built nuclear arsenals of enormous destructive power. The United States now has 9,000 strategic nuclear warheads, the smallest of which is three times bigger than the Hiroshima bomb. The USSR has over 4,000 warheads. In addition, both countries have thousands of tactical (battlefield) nuclear weapons. (A single H-bomb can knock out most cities.)

We already have enough strategic H-bombs to target 41 on each of the Soviet Union's 219 major cities, and can use them to attack military targets as well. Each side has far more than it needs for deterrence. And each year sees the continued development of new weapons that increase the risk of nuclear war by miscalculation at a time of crisis.

As the competition in nuclear arms spirals upward, it also moves outward. Other countries, watching the example set by the two superpowers, are deciding whether to build The

Bomb. Unless the trend is reversed, as many as 35 countries (and even terrorist groups) could have their own nuclear weapons by the end of the century. The chances of nuclear war increase with each additional finger on the trigger.

2

What should be our highest priority security goal?

In his inaugural address President Carter called for the elimination of all nuclear weapons from this earth. This goal may not be achieved in our lifetimes, but it should guide our national efforts. As a start, we must make every effort to see that existing nuclear weapons are never used. Incentives for initiating their use should be eliminated and the opportunities for accidents reduced. Control over these weapons should be tightened and their spread to other nations or terrorist groups prevented. Existing nuclear stockpiles and overseas deployment should be reduced as rapidly as possible.

3

But can't a nuclear conflict be kept limited?

No one knows how to stop a nuclear conflict once it has started. The use of even a single weapon in a remote part of the world could easily escalate into all-out nuclear war; so could a conflict that begins only with conventional weapons. The firebreak between using conventional and nuclear weapons must be strengthened, not crossed.

4

What is the need for nuclear weapons if they are too dangerous to use?

The purpose of nuclear weapons is to deter other nations from using or threatening to use them. Nuclear war-fighting is a suicidal policy. There are no winners in a nuclear conflict, only losers. Aggressors as well as those attacked will be annihilated.

5

What kind of force does the United States need to deter nuclear war?

A successful deterrent force must be able to ride out a surprise attack and still be able to inflict unacceptable damage on an aggressor. It must be visible to a potential adversary, who must believe that retaliation against military and civilian targets could follow any surprise attack. The deterrent force should have a variety of options for suitable responses.

New Directions Educational Fund

McGeorge Bundy, national security advisor to Presidents Kennedy and Johnson, put the situation into a perspective we can all understand when he wrote, in 1969:

"There is an enormous gulf between what political leaders really think about nuclear weapons and what is assumed in complex calculations of relative 'advantage' in simulated strategic warfare. Think-tank analysts can set levels of 'acceptable' damage well up in the tens of millions of lives. They can assume that the loss of dozens of great cities is somehow a real choice for sane men. They are in an unreal world. In the real world of real political leaders—whether here or in the Soviet Union—a decision that would bring even one hydrogen bomb on one city of one's own country would be recognized in advance as a catastrophic blunder; ten bombs on ten cities would be a disaster beyond history, and a hundred bombs on one hundred cities are unthinkable. Yet this unthinkable level of human incineration is the least that could be expected by either side in response to any first strike in the next ten years, no matter what happens to weapons systems in the meantime."

6

Can the United States sustain a surprise attack and still retaliate?

Yes. The United States has 41 submarines carrying 5,000 H-bombs. There are 1,054 land-based missiles (ICBM's) carrying twice as many H-bombs. The United States has 349 bombers, carrying about 2,000 warheads, that can bomb targets in the Soviet Union. (Missiles can now carry more than one H-bomb or warhead; each warhead, known as a MIRV, can be directed to a separate target.)

If the Soviet Union were miraculously able to destroy all U.S. land-based missiles and bombers (a feat which is not technically feasible), it could still be annihilated by the 5,000 warheads deployed on U.S. submarines. That's more bombs than the Russians have in their entire arsenal. Just a single Poseidon submarine has enough warheads to destroy 160 cities. Moreover, the missile submarine fleet is virtually invulnerable since submarines are very hard to locate and to attack under the seas.

If only a small fraction of any of the three parts of our deterrent (ICBM's, bombers, submarines) were likely to survive a surprise attack, it would be enough to deter even a barely rational government from attacking the United States.

We've had to invent a new word—overkill—just to describe the fantastic levels of destructive power available in today's nuclear arsenal.

7

But isn't the United States in danger of becoming "Number Two" in the near future?

No. The United States has a clear lead in each of the most important areas: numbers of nuclear warheads (which determine how many targets can be hit), accuracy and reliability of missiles, MIRV technology, nuclear submarines, and computers. The United States also has three times as many heavy bombers. The USSR has more missiles with larger warheads. The Soviet navy has more ships, but the U.S. fleet displaces more tonnage and, more importantly, controls the seas. While the Soviet Union has caught up with or overtaken the U.S. lead in some areas, overall the United States has more military capability than any country in the world.

Furthermore, since the United States and the Soviet Union both have far more destructive power than they need for deterrence, the notion of being "Number One" or "Number Two" has lost its meaning.

8

Couldn't a military breakthrough change all that?

U.S. and Soviet nuclear forces are so numerous, so potent, and so diverse, that a breakthrough in any particular weapon cannot affect the power to deter. Even if 90 percent of all U.S. nuclear warheads were somehow destroyed, the remaining 10 percent could wipe out the 219 major Soviet cities four times over.

In the real world of Soviet political leaders, all of whom remember that 20 million of their countrymen were killed during World War II, it's hard to believe that they would risk a nuclear war that could now produce—in one hour—losses three to five times greater.

9

Can't the Russians defend themselves—or at least limit their losses?

The only real effort to develop a "defensive" nuclear weapons system—the anti-ballistic missile (ABM)—was practically abandoned in the SALT I Treaty of 1972. The United States and the Soviet Union then agreed to limit ABM's to two sites in each country. In 1974, they agreed to cut back to one site in each country. The United States decided not even to operate the one site, mostly because government officials concluded the ABM wouldn't work.

Some people say that the Soviet civil defense program would greatly reduce their losses in case of war and permit the USSR to take greater risks in confronting the United States. Their civil defense program, however, consists mostly of compulsory lectures, manuals, and plans to evacuate cities. The evacuation plans call for millions of city-dwellers to be sheltered in freshly-dug ditches in the countryside. That may be relevant to a small attack by China, but certainly not to a major attack by the United States.

David K. Shipler, Moscow correspondent of *The New York*

Times, reports that "the effort generates considerable reverence and black humor among ordinary people. 'What do you do when you hear the alert?' goes a standard old joke. 'Put on a sheet and crawl to the cemetery—slowly.' Why slowly? 'So you don't spread panic.'"

Shipler quotes a Western embassy official in Moscow as saying that official plans and publications "can produce exaggerated pictures of the effectiveness of civil defense, as of any other area of Soviet endeavor."

After studying U.S. and Soviet civil defense, the Joint Congressional Committee on Defense Production described as "a practical impossibility" the effort to maintain "major power status" after nuclear retaliation.

10

What good would arms control do?

Arms control agreements that reverse the escalating arms race can ease the fears on both sides and build a sense of stability and confidence. Such agreements are the best way to halt Soviet military build-ups and prevent our own government from spending more tax dollars on unnecessary weapons. Security would be enhanced. Agreements that succeed in cutting nuclear arsenals way back would reduce the chances of accidental war and encourage other countries not to build their own nuclear weapons.

11

Are there any other benefits?

The arms race is very costly. The governments of the world spend over \$350 billion a year on armaments. The United States and the Soviet Union account for 60% of this huge sum. Military expenditures, which pour money into the economy without producing goods and services the public can buy, are highly inflationary. Military spending is also highly wasteful in money and resources. (The military accounts for 78% of the federal government's vast energy use.) At present levels of military spending, the average person can expect during his lifetime to give up three to four years' income to the arms race.

Arms agreements that significantly reduce the levels of mutual overkill can reduce the size of military budgets. As budgets are cut, more people and resources can be shifted into activities that raise living standards: health care, new energy sources, pollution controls, housing, mass transit, education, etc. Investment in these activities not only meets public needs, but produces new jobs as well.

12

But don't we need big military budgets because they provide jobs?



Study after study shows that more employment can be generated through civilian activities than through the Defense Department. For example, a 1975 U.S. Labor Department study concluded that the number of jobs generated per \$1 billion spent is 72,800 for the military, 99,800 for state and local governments, and 201,500 for education revenue-sharing.

13

Why would the Soviets, who want to spread their system, agree to arms treaties with the United States?

Because they share with us some important common interests: avoiding nuclear war, halting the spread of nuclear weapons, reducing the economic burdens of the arms race. Agreements are built on common interests and are carried out as long as everyone concerned benefits from them. Agreements will not be reached in the first place unless they provide mutual benefits. In that sense, arms treaties are similar to labor-management contracts and marriages. And governments can still compete in other areas while cutting their dangerous competition in armaments.

14

While SALT negotiations are in progress, shouldn't we support all weapons programs to obtain "bargaining chips" and to induce the Soviets to negotiate seriously?

The Soviets cannot be blackmailed into accepting an arms control agreement which is not in their security interest. "Bargaining chips" only raise the level of armaments and make limitations more difficult. It is much harder to eliminate

weapons after they become available. Once developed, limits on their deployment may be very difficult to verify, and vested interests create political pressures for continuing these weapons regardless of their military value.

15

What should we do while international negotiations drag on with little progress?

We must exercise restraint in our national weapons programs, developing and procuring only those that satisfy an important security need, to avoid provoking dangerous and escalatory responses by the Soviet Union. National restraint by the United States and the Soviet Union is an essential element of arms control, which is needed before, during, and after negotiation of an international treaty. We should exercise leadership, set an example of restraint, and invite the Soviet Union to follow suit.

16

How do we know they aren't cheating on agreements?

The methods of checking on compliance are written into arms treaties. Most treaties reached so far rely on the so-called "national means of verification." This is technology—such as spy satellites, seismographs, electronic receivers and radars—which is operated by each country on its own.

This technology gives us capabilities that are far superior today than would have been the case under President Eisenhower's proposed "Open Skies" plan. Spy satellites, for

League of Women Voters of Minnesota, 555 Wabasha, St. Paul, MN 55102 - August, 1980

From Pat Llona, International Relations Chair, LWVMM

EXCERPTS FROM MESSAGES DURING WORLD TRADE WEEK, MAY, 1980:

(See also address by Louis Lehr, Chairman and Chief Executive Officer, 3M Company, which appeared in the July-August MN VOTER.)

Al Johnson, former Director, Minnesota State Energy Agency, spoke on "Energy and Trade"

1. One year ago 65% of the U.S. population didn't know we imported oil.
2. 15% of Congress doesn't believe we have an energy shortage.
3. 45% didn't think we really needed oil from OPEC nations.

In the U.S. we don't have electric-powered vehicles...we depend upon liquid fuels, but we now must start using energy efficiently.

We have had a checkered history in crude oil. At one time we attempted to keep foreign crude oil out of the U.S. In 1966 the 7 Sisters (largest U.S. oil companies) forced Iran to eat a \$.25 increase...from \$1.25 to \$1.50...making its oil non-competitive with our domestic oil. That was part of the genesis of OPEC, and in 1973 we effectively lost control of production and choice. In 1971 we imported 15% or \$4 billion worth of oil. In 1980 we were importing 8.2 million barrels per day...100 B worth...or 49% of total petroleum needs. Our domestic production has leveled off, and our reserves have decreased.

The U.S. has 2 times as many holes as the rest of the world combined. There are more oil wells in Kansas than in all the rest of the world. New oil has been decontrolled. There are no disincentives to drilling...just tired, worn-out oil fields. There is oil on the North Slope of the Beaufort Sea 150 miles out into the ocean, but this is not cheap oil. Today 45% of all the free world oil passes through the Straits of Hormuz at any one time.

South Africa has coal we have bought from them, and it's cheaper than from our own West. Our natural gas is dryer (less propane and methane). We import more and more from Canada, Mexico, Algeria.

In Trade and Energy - we do things more efficiently here. We can compete with any society on an equal basis. It is, however, difficult to compete with subsidized companies. There is construction going on in the Middle East, and dollars are there. We are not able to compete because of restrictive tax laws. Kuwait and Saudi Arabia would prefer to work with the U.S.

In the U.S. we have discretionary use of energy. Japan has 2% discretionary use, yet is number 1 in industrial production. In the U.S. we have been receiving some very wrong and mixed signals. Keeping oil prices down was a contributing factor. We need to conserve, and we need to be doing efficiently what we know best about doing. If the 145 million autos in the U.S. were to have correct tire pressure at one time, we would not need an Iraq or Iran. We are waiting for a big technological breakthrough, and we are resisting change. But we have to accommodate to change. Every production year will be in change. We're on the downslope in the use of petroleum. We will have to make liquid fuels from coal, methane, grain, etc. We need solid fuels so liquid fuels can be released to a higher use. Interference with the Straits of Hormuz is the Worst Case Scenario. Emergency services would get first priority. Food would be next. Commerce and industry would be last. We are very vulnerable.

Our climate could be impacted by the eruption of Mt. Helens. Acid rain in Alaska has been traced to the Ruhr Valley in Germany. The U.S., however, has the most potential for change. We have some of the richest farmlands in the world, but they are serviced by 3 bankrupt railroads. Railroad beds are bad; trains go 15-30 miles per hour. A \$17 million investment in Minnesota in highway transportation is going downhill.

(over)

Stephen Alnes, Executive Director, Upper Midwest Council

The Upper Midwest Council is a small research organization funded by 300 corporations in 7 states: North and South Dakota, Iowa, Wisconsin, Montana, Minnesota, and some of Michigan. It is basically the 9th Federal Reserve District.

One of this area comes 25% of U.S. agricultural exports and 7% of manufactured exports. Most of those companies exporting in this area "backed" into business through unsolicited inquiries because of the special products people wanted. In other words, business for them came directly...not through middlemen. Language has been no particular barrier because English is a world language. 200,000 farm jobs represent 26% of total employment.

While the government has done things to promote exports, it has also been erecting barriers to export. Joe Karth, former Congressman, represents a high technology lobbying group. He says that human rights figures as a criterion in selected countries on sales. Our nation is the only nation providing a political basis for export. All obstacles to export are there because of a constituency that wants them there, and this governs overseas sales.

Work is done to change things, but there is no hope of instant gratification. There is certainly no shortage of suggestions as to what to do. There have been at least 200 proposals, and 80 of these are embodied in legislation already in front of Congress. In raising the profit potential, you run into international agreements on tax subsidies. We must continue to increase government assistance along with private support.

One concurrent session had guests from Venezuela:

Dr. Arturo Obadia, Venezuelan Association of Exporters, Caracas, Venezuela

He spoke about what Venezuela has besides oil. This list includes: fish, cocoa, paraffin, diamonds, glass, aluminum, fruits, produce, certain machinery and transport (minor). There is growth of building and metals. He says Executive Order 12204 on General System of Preferences opened trade opportunities for Venezuelan exports to the U.S. Venezuela will push fast for trade with the U.S. now. It wants to trade in non-oil products. Investment in Venezuela is invited.

Why invest there? The average wage is \$10.00 per day with fringe benefits. Construction costs \$20-50 per square foot. Electricity is 4¢ per kilowatt hour. Gasoline prices are 31¢ per gallon. The rate of exchange (Bolívar to Dollar) has been the same in the last 20 years. 40% of Venezuela's trade is with the U.S. Takeovers are done with compensation. A body of law covers foreign investment.