League of Women Voters of Minnesota Records

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Version 3
August 20, 2018

A Declaration of World Citizenship

State of Minnesota

WHEREAS, in recognition of the greatly increased interdependence of the world in this age of nuclear power, pollution, hunger, and

WHEREAS, realizing that the common interests of man can only be met through world cooperation, and

WHEREAS, seeking to free mankind from the curse of war and to harness all available sources of energy and knowledge to the service of man's needs, and

WHEREAS, aware that we can best serve our city, county, state and nation when we also think and act as world citizens,

NOW, THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED, that we, the Governor and Legislative Leaders of Minnesota recognize the sovereign right of our citizens to declare that their citizenship responsibilities extend beyond our state and nation. We hereby join with other concerned people of the world in a declaration that we share in this world responsibility and that our citizens are in this sense citizens of the world. We pledge our efforts as world citizens to the establishment of permanent peace based on just world law and to the use of world resources in the service of man and not for his destruction.

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, that as a symbol of our obligations as world citizens, we proudly display the United Nations flag with the United States flag at the main entrance to the State Capitol and urge other states to do the same.

Effective March 26, 1971.

Wendell R. Anderson
Governor, State of Minnesota

Stanley W. Holmquist
Senate Majority Leader

Rudy Perpich
Lt. Governor

Ernest A. Lindstrom
House Majority Leader

Nicholas D. Coleman
Senate Minority Leader

Aubrey W. Dirlam
Speaker of the House

Martin O. Sabo
House Minority Leader

We, the undersigned, commend the State Officials for the above splendid World Citizenship Declaration. We recognize that Minneapolis was the first city to adopt such a Declaration in March 1968, and now Minnesota is the first State in the Nation to adopt World Citizenship. We urge our cities, other states, our nation and other nations to follow this example, which is a valuable step in building a World Community of Peace under Just Law.

Hubert H. Humphrey — Senator
Bill Frenzel — Member of Congress
Donald M. Fraser — Member of Congress
Walter F. Mondale — Senator

Chief Justice, Minn. Supreme Court
Malcolm Moos — Pres., University of Minn.
David Roe — Pres., Minn. AFL-CIO
Robert J. King — Pres., Minn. State Bar Assn.

Pres., Minn. Council of Churches
Leo C. Byrne — Coadjutor, Archbishop
Eli J. Kahn — Pres., Minn. Rabbinical Assn.
Harlan M. Smith — Pres., Minn. World Federalists

Mary Ann McCoy — Pres., League of Women Voters
David Krogseng — Chmn., Minn. Republican Party
Richard Moe — Chairman, Minn. D.F.L. Party
Mrs. Orville B. Hognander — Pres., U.N. Association of Minn.

Pres., Minneapolis Urban Coalition
(U Thant) — Secretary General, United Nations
Leon Cook — Pres., National Congress of American Indians

WHAT TO DO ABOUT THE UN—

a guide for international relations chairmen, 1973-74

1974: World Population Year . . .

It is my hope that the World Population Year and the Conference will rank in the history of the UN among the great events of the seventies, and that they will bring us appreciably closer to the day when the world can say that the demographic problems facing us are understood and actions to solve them are under way.

UN Secretary-General Kurt Waldheim

Oct. 24: World Development Information Day

There are now global reasons for speeding development which transcend the interests of either the richer or the poorer countries . . . 'development' needs redefining, so it comes to mean what it really is: the restructuring of the world order to assure a fuller, and wiser, use of the whole world's resources.

Rudolph A. Peterson, Administrator, UNDP

Population and development are two topics which might be chosen as a thematic focus for 1973-74 programming in relation to UN Day, in membership meetings or in other UN activities.

In proclaiming 1974 World Population Year, UN Secretary-General Kurt Waldheim said "It is impossible to think of solutions to the major problems confronting the world—economic development, pollution of the environment, improvement in the quality of life, even disarmament—without some reference to population trends." And before the World Population Conference is held in Bucharest, Romania in August, 1974, there will be preliminary symposia on population and social and cultural aspects of family well being and on population and human rights.

World Population Year provides an excellent opportunity to interrelate different program interests within your organization. Population also offers exciting possibilities for relating UN programs to the interests of groups not primarily concerned with the UN as well as continuing contacts with familiar organizations.

Whether you choose population or development as your thematic focus you will find a multitude of resources available.

✓The Center for War/Peace Studies has published a special edition of *Intercom,* TEACHING ABOUT POPULATION as a guide to discussion, study, and resources on population. Copies are $1.50 and are available from the Center for War/Peace Studies, 218 E. 18th St., New York, NY 10003.

✓The Population Crisis Committee, 1835 K St. NW, Washington, D.C. 20006 and the Population Institute, 100 Maryland Ave., NE, Washington, D.C. 20002 are both helping organizations to plan for World Population Year.

✓A speaker's list is available from the Citizen's Committee on Population and the American Future, 1725 K St., N.W., Washington, D.C. 20006.

Throughout the next year, the World Population Year secretariat of the UN will be working to mobilize the skills and energies of government, political leaders, public officials, professional associations, labor unions, religious institutions, businesses, women's organizations, student groups and the information media to disseminate population information and knowledge on which national policies, community and personal attitudes and decisions about population may be based. A multitude of booklets, leaflets, wall charts, posters, and audiovisual materials will be prepared. Some good UN materials that are free and already available include:

POPULATION: CHALLENGE TO SOCIAL PROGRESS—a four-page fact sheet prepared by the International Labor Organization.

WORLD POPULATION YEAR—leaflet on aims, principles, program approach, roles of governments, nongovernmental organizations, youth.

WORLD POPULATION CONFERENCE—leaflet on its aims and organization.

UNITED NATIONS FUND FOR POPULATION ACTIVITIES—what it is, how it works.

For further information on these and other UN materials on population write to the United Nations Fund for Population Activities, 485 Lexington Ave., New York, N.Y. 10017.

NEW OPTIONS FOR THE WORLD'S PEOPLE includes a brief history of the UN's work in the population field; data on world population; sections on the goals of World Population Year, on plans for the World Population Conference and the Population Tribune, and on the relationship between development and population policies; as well as suggested topics for discussion and suggestions for citizen actions. More copies are available from UNA/USA, 833 U.N. Plaza, New York, N.Y. 10017, $6/100.

community guide

League of Women Voters Education Fund
1730 M Street, N.W.,
Washington, D. C. 20036

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Use radio and TV

Whatever your focus, don't forget the media. Both radio and television stations owe you a certain amount of public service time. Don't expect them to offer it to you. Ask for it. (For ideas, see the LWVUS publication HOW TO BUILD A SIGHT AND SOUND IMAGE (#427, 50¢) and also the Jan-Feb., 1973 National VOTER article on cable TV.)

If you do get some TV time, you might be interested in the United Nations Development Programme's new 16 mm., 24 minute color film ONE AND A HALF DREAMS. It's the story of what's being done through the UN to help reduce the burdens of poverty. The film is accompanied by a utilization and discussion guide and is available free for TV, large group showings and limited specialized purposes.

Another good film is THE PROBLEM IS LIFE, 29 minutes, color, available for rental fee of $11.00 from Contemporary Films, McGraw Hill Rental Library, Princeton Road, Hightstown, New Jersey 08520 (also 838 Custer Ave., Evanston, Illinois 60202 or 1714 Stockton Street, San Francisco, California 94133). It describes a vast birth control program in India being implemented by the UN at the request of the Indian government. The film deals with the central problem of motivating the population toward family planning and how this problem is being overcome.

Other audio-visual resources from UNDP include 60-second TV spots; "The World of UNDP" slide set; and the "Do-It-Yourself" Display Kit. The magazine COMMITMENT, the UNDP service bulletin, will be presenting programming ideas and reference data for World Development Information Day.

Three good giveaways available in quantity from UNDP are:

THE UNDP IN FACTS, FIGURES, PHOTOS . . . AND ACTION. A basic, six-page flyer on the work, structure and scope of the UNDP's activities.

WHAT IN THE WORLD CAN YOU BUY TODAY FOR LESS THAN 43 CENTS? A single sheet that shows graphically how the U.S. annual per capita contribution to the UNDP is being spent for worldwide development, with what resultant benefits.

NEW DEVELOPMENTS IN DEVELOPMENT Rudolph A. Peterson presents a new rationale for development as the framework for the UNDP's future efforts and programming. Reprint of an article in June 1973 *Vista* magazine.

To order any of these and to get a listing of all materials available for World Development Information Day write to DSIS/UNDP—Room 300, 345 East 46th Street, New York, New York 10017.

Two new pamphlets available free from the UN Centre for Economic and Social Information (CESI), United Nations, New York, New York 10017 are:

WORLD DEVELOPMENT INFORMATION DAY. Explains the purposes of World Development Information Day and suggests how to celebrate it. Includes a bibliography.

A COMMITMENT TO ACTION: THE INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT STRATEGY presents questions and answers interpreting the strategy for the Second Development Decade in terms of its purpose, its provisions, and its relationship to national economic policies.

For overall keeping up with UN economic and social issues, DEVELOPMENT FORUM, a new monthly, has a good mix of viewpoints on both national and international activities. Subscriptions are free from Centre for Economic and Social Information, United Nations, Palais des Nations, CH-1211 Geneva 10, Switzerland.

Every day is UN Day

Although UN Day (October 24) provides a natural opportunity to promote public discussion, understanding and support for the UN, don't feel you must confine your programming to that date or your emphasis to population and/or development. December 10 is Human Rights Day, the 25th anniversary of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. This might be an opportunity to join with other organizations in a public education campaign on UN actions on human rights, to stimulate public support for U.S. ratification of the UN Human Rights Conventions.

Whatever your emphasis, the most comprehensive guide for planning UN Day or year-round programs is the UN Day manual, PROJECT OUTREACH: MAKING YOUR UN DAY COUNT, published by the United Nations Association (UNA-USA). (Each League that returns the enclosed label will get the manual for 50¢.)

This year's manual will feature for the first time detailed outlines for programs keyed to four major UN issues: economic development, environment, population and human rights. It will also include a "how to" section, a selection of ideas from past programs, tips on how to inform elected officials on UN matters, guidelines for working with the media and a bibliography of UN and UNA materials. Since this manual will go to all UN Day chairmen and UNA chapter leaders as well as to local branches of organizations belonging to UNA's Council of Organizations, there's good potential for cooperating with many community groups in organizing UN activities.

UNA's continuing series of fact sheets are excellent for use in the community and within the League. They can be reproduced locally or ordered from UNA/USA, 833 UN Plaza, New York, New York 10017 $2/100. The latest ones are:

FACT SHEET #10: THE UNITED NATIONS: WHAT HAS IT DONE FOR THE U.S. LATELY?: A list of 15 major U.S. domestic concerns and how the work of the UN has benefited them, e.g. narcotics, prison reform, the energy crisis.

FACT SHEET #11: THE UN AND THE ITEM ON TERRORISM: A review of UN actions to combat terrorism, and an explanation of the underlying political and economic issues that have prevented more concrete results.

A new fact sheet on the Law of Sea is now in preparation and should be ready later this summer.

Although many of these materials are aimed at celebration of UN Day, you should seize opportunities throughout the year to write letters to the editor or articles for newspapers, to submit questions to candidates for public office, to do radio tapes or TV spots. Schools and local organizations are always looking for speakers and program ideas. Let them know what materials and information you can provide on the UN. If you have a speaker's bureau, try to have speakers who can talk on the UN. The League's UN Observer is available wherever it is geographically and financially feasible.

The UN's new leaflet UN IN BRIEF should be excellent to give away at film showings and exhibitions, in stores and banks, for use in schools and libraries, and to send to newspaper editors. A colorful 20-panel brochure, it includes basic facts on the structure of the UN, highlights of its activities, and a "Did You Know" section on some of the questions most asked about the UN. $7/100 from United Nations Sales Section, Room LX-2314, United Nations, New York, New York 10017.

In addition to these new materials, the League has other publications available to help you: INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS PROGRAMMING, 1972-73 (#136, 35¢), MORE? (#104, 75¢), and IR WRAP-UPS. Consult the LWV publications catalogs for a full listing of League publications.

ORDER FROM League of Women Voters of the United States 1730 M Street, N.W., Washington, D. C. 20036 • Pub. No. 329-15¢

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THE ECONOMIST MAY 18, 1974

THE WORLD *United Nations*

The assembly in session, and President Boumedienne of Algeria, the man who got them all there

First, second, third and fourth worlds

This commentary on the Special Session of the UN General Assembly on the problems of raw materials and development which took place between April 9th and May 2nd is by Barbara Ward

When the special session of the United Nations General Assembly, summoned on the initiative of President Boumedienne of Algeria to discuss "the problems of raw materials and development", closed on May 2nd, it left behind the feeling that possibly something new had taken place. Mr Henry Kissinger called the session part of an "unprecedented agenda of global consultations in 1974" which implied "a collective decision to elevate our concern for man's elementary well-being to the highest level". Britain's chief representative at .the United Nations, Mr Ivor Richard, put it rather more simply. He said: "Things will never be the same again".

Yet the change could well have escaped the casual observer. If we count the marathon discussions held at the three Unctad conferences and add in the 1970 debates in the UN assembly on a "strategy for the second decade of development", it cannot be said that most of the points at issue during the special session had not been discussed before. At least half of President Boumedienne's speech at the opening of the session covered familiar ground: the bias against the poor nations in the world economy, their unfavourable terms of trade in the 1950s and 1960s, the pile-up of their debts—now standing at $80,000m—the involuntary depreciation of their reserves, their sense of powerlessness at the highest level of international decision-making in investment and monetary affairs.

Nor did the two working documents prepared for the special session by the developing countries' Group of 77 —a declaration of principles and a programme of action—prove to be strikingly different from earlier pleas and proposals for international action. The principles denounced exploitation, foreign occupation, colonialism and apartheid, declared the nations' right to control their own resources and to nationalise them if necessary, and asked for control over multinational corporations, for recognition of "producers' associations", for universal representation in international bodies and a speedier implementation of the policies agreed on for the second development decade.

These policies, set out in the programme of action, cover the customary rubrics of more aid, more investment in developing nations' industry, more preferential treatment in trade, higher raw material prices and monetary arrangements geared to the needs of the poor. If listeners to the lengthy speeches and readers of the flow of documents acquired a slight sensation of having heard much of the debate before, a rapid perusal of earlier documents would show their suspicions to be justified. "What I tell you three times is true" is, of course, very largely the case in relation to the developing world's problems. But it does not always make for easy listening.

Moreover, the end of the session had a melancholy resemblance to the close of earlier consultations. The principles and the plan of action, somewhat modified in three weeks of debate, were carried by a fairly exhausted assembly

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Version 3
March 18, 2019

FROM:

UNA USA

The United Nations Association of the United States of America
345 East 46th Street, New York, New York 10017

TO:

NAME (PLEASE PRINT OR TYPE)

ORGANIZATION

ADDRESS

CITY STATE ZIP

To receive your copy of the 1973 UN Day handbook, **PROJECT OUTREACH: Making your UN Day Count,** please fill in both halves of this request form/label and return it with 50¢ to UNA-USA, UN Day Program, 345 East 46th Street, New York, N.Y. 10017. (Regular sales price of handbook is $1.00)

NAME (PLEASE PRINT OR TYPE)

ORGANIZATION

ADDRESS

CITY STATE ZIP

Please send me _____ additional copies of the handbook at 50c each; 10/$4.50 (payment enclosed).

I am also enclosing $ _____ as my contribution to assist UNA-USA in maintaining its UN Day program.

League of Women Voters Education Fund

INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS
W R A P - U P

February, 1974

HIGHLIGHTS OF THE 28TH GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF THE UNITED NATIONS

The 28th General Assembly of the United Nations opened on September 18, 1973 amidst high hopes and many words about detente and universality. The opening-day admission of the Bahamas, the German Democratic Republic and the Federal Republic of Germany increased UN membership to 135. Admission of the two Germanys was widely hailed as a historic step in moving the organization toward full universality. Secretary-General Kurt Waldheim called the entry of the Germanys a symbol of the new mood of detente that had brought so much hope to mankind.

In his first official statement as U.S. Secretary of State, Henry Kissinger addressed the General Assembly on September 24. He presaged a more effective role for the UN in preserving the peace saying, "We should delay no longer. The time has come to agree on peacekeeping guidelines so that this organization can act swiftly, confidently and effectively in future crises."

Less than two weeks later, the Middle East war erupted suddenly and the political and diplomatic developments that followed preoccupied UN diplomats and overshadowed the Assembly. While measures to end the conflict were handled by the 15-member Security Council, the Assembly did approve a $30 million budget for six months of operation of the UN Emergency Force now stationed between Egyptian and Israeli forces.

On December 18, after passing 150 resolutions and writing a new treaty aimed at protecting diplomats from attack, the 28th General Assembly agreed on a recess -- instead of the customary adjournment -- so that delegates could be summoned back quickly if Middle East developments warranted. Great Britain's Sir Donald Maitland found the thirteen week General Assembly's record 110-item agenda "rather dogeared", but U.S. Ambassador W. Tapley Bennett Jr. praised the work of the Assembly as "a real achievement." (U.S. Ambassador John Scali was hospitalized in November and Ambassador Bennett was Acting Permanent Representative until the adjournment of the General Assembly.)

Although Ambassador Bennett called the 28th General Assembly "a constructive force for international cooperation on the broadest scale," he rebuked the membership for not acting to curb terrorism. The United States had led an unsuccessful effort in the General Assembly on measures to combat terrorism last year. This year, western delegates acknowledged that political overtones of the problem precluded strong support for anti-terrorism action and did not press for discussion. Instead, they concentrated their efforts on securing agreement on a treaty to protect diplomats, reasoning that since public officials are a prime target of terrorists, the treaty is a first step toward combating terrorism. The treaty endorsed by the General Assembly provides for the prosecution or extradition of those who attack diplomats.

The Middle East situation, together with political wrangling about American troops in South Korea and an unsuccessful attempt by China to expel the Cambodian government from the UN took much of the delegates' time and interest.

An acrimonious Korean debate, the first on the subject in three years, was resolved by a compromise accord which called for negotiations between the two Koreas (not yet UN members) to achieve peace and national unity free from outside intervention.

On the Cambodian issue, a move to give the Lon Nol regime's UN seat to Prince Sihanouk was averted by Liberian Ambassador Nathan Barnes' successful move to adjourn that debate until 1974.

The General Assembly approved a dozen resolutions on disarmament, many echoing past Assembly calls to the nuclear powers to curb the development of new weaponry and to halt all nuclear tests. The General Assembly again called for an international agreement to ban the development, production and stockpiling of all chemical weapons.

The Assembly also adopted a Soviet proposal (first brought up in 1958 and twice before rejected) that the big powers slash their military budgets by 10 per cent and that one-tenth of this saving be apportioned as economic assistance to poorer countries. China called the proposal a "hoax", and abstentions by western nations make it virtually certain that nothing will come of the proposal.

As in the past, this session saw many resolutions concerning southern Africa. Some condemned South Africa's racial policies and called on the Security Council to impose punitive sanctions. Others denounced the British for not using force to bring down the white minority government of Rhodesia, which declared her independence from Britain in 1965, and criticized the United States for continuing to buy Rhodesian chrome in spite of an embargo on all trade with Rhodesia imposed by the Security Council in 1968.

In other significant actions the 28th General Assembly agreed to:
- Adopt a $540 million dollar budget for 1974-75, the first budget adopted for a two-year period. The new budget is 23% higher than current spending to take into account the devaluation of the dollar, other currency changes and world-wide inflation.
- Convene a World Food Conference in November 1974 in Rome. The conference, first proposed by U.S. Secretary of State Kissinger, will explore ways to maintain adequate food supplies in the face of rising world demand and to prevent hunger and malnutrition resulting from national disasters.
- Hold a special high-level conference in 1975 on world development and international economic cooperation. Some countries want this conference to undertake a sweeping review of currency questions, trade and aid, the relationships between prosperous and poor countries and a new strategy for using resources.
- Add Chinese and Arabic to the working languages of the General Assembly (now English, French, Russian and Spanish). The Arab States have agreed to pay the entire cost for the first three years Arabic is used.

And also during this session at the United Nations:
- The Group of Eminent Persons studying the impact of multinational corporations on development and on international relations held two sessions, one in New York and one in Geneva, to hear testimony from representatives of governments, multinational corporations, trade unions, interest groups and academics. The final report of the Group is expected to recognize the value of multinational companies, as well as the problems they can give rise to, and will contain proposals for possible action by governments and the international community.
- The Law of the Sea Conference convened in December for a two-week organizational session. The Conference, which will reconvene in Caracas, Venezuela in June 1974, will attempt to negotiate a comprehensive treaty dealing with such ocean problems as the limits of the territorial sea, the zones of national economic jurisdiction, the rights of passage through straits, fishing pollution, scientific research and an international regime to regulate mining on the deep ocean floor.
- Began plans and preparations for promoting equality throughout the world in International Women's Year, 1975.
- Held four population symposia in preparation for the World Population Conference to be held in Bucharest, Rumania in August 1974.
- Celebrated UN Day, designated World Development Information Day this year, with a one-day Development Forum attended by planning ministers from both developed and developing countries, UN officials, and members of the international press.

Reading Suggestion: The Imperative United Nations by Donald F. Keys. Single copies available free from The Stanley Foundation, Stanley Building, Muscatine, Iowa 52761.

Publication Number 464 15¢ a copy 20 copies/$1.00

1730 M STREET, N.W., WASHINGTON, D.C. 20036 TEL. (202) 659-2685

memorandum

League of Women Voters Education Fund

THIS IS GOING ON DPM

August, 1974

TO: State and Local Leagues (Attention IR Chairmen)

FROM: Mrs. Ruth Clusen, Chairman LWVEF, Mrs. Ruth Hinerfeld, Chairman International Relations Committee, and Mrs. Martha Aasen, UN Observer

This mailing includes four enclosures related to the United Nations:

1. The LWV Ed Fund Community Guide, What to Do About the UN, 1974-75
2. UNA-USA order labels for the 1974 UN Day Handbook, Making Your UN Day Count: Ideas for Action
3. Flyer on the Foreign Policy Association's Great Decisions 1975 booklets
4. Reprint of a commentary on the spring 1974 Special Session of the UN General Assembly on raw materials and development by Barbara Ward, "First, Second, Third and Fourth Worlds," The Economist, May 18, 1974

This material is provided to help you plan UN activities. The LWV Ed Fund's UN Community Guide contains references and materials selected to provide you with information and ideas for developing programs for both members and the public.

The 1974 UN Day handbooks are available for 50¢ each to Leagues using the enclosed UNA-USA labels.

Contributions to the Fund are deductible for income tax purposes

What to do about the UN...74-75

The events of the past year have put the UN on the front pages and have increased public awareness of the work of the world organization. The expanded UN peacekeeping efforts in the Middle East and Cyprus, the Special Session of the General Assembly on Natural Resources and Development in April, three UN conferences--on Population (August 1974), the Law of the Sea (June to August 1974 with a later session scheduled for 1975), and Food (November 1974)--all point to the UN as the major global mechanism at work on many of the world's interdependent problems.

Organizations, groups and individuals planning programs and activities about the UN will therefore find that in 1974-75 multipronged international efforts are being made to resolve world problems. Whatever the focus of programs selected, the rekindled interest in the UN can add momentum to them.

INTERNATIONAL WOMEN'S YEAR

The UN General Assembly has proclaimed 1975 as International Women's Year (IWY) with the aim of:

promoting equality between men and women;

integrating women into the total social and economic development efforts of nations, particularly during the Second UN Development Decade; and

recognizing women's increasing contribution to strengthening world peace.

The highlight of the year will be a UN conference in Bogota in June 1975 on promoting equality between men and women. Throughout the year, however, it is hoped that UN agencies, national governments, nongovernmental organizations and citizen groups the world over will participate in a wide-ranging program of action to increase women's participation in efforts to solve world problems.

The UN Economic and Social Council's Comission on the Status of Women (the main UN body dealing with women's issues) has suggested a wide range of activities for interested individuals and groups. These include efforts to influence governments to ensure full equality before the law in all fields; projects calling attention to special problems women face; exhibits, awards and other events highlighting contributions of outstanding women to society.

Ample resources are available from the UN to anyone planning UN Day celebrations, membership meetings or other community activities focusing on International Women's Year. Also, resources can be obtained from the League of Women Voters, Common Cause, National Organization of Women and other organizations which have been working for passage of the Equal Rights Amendment.

The United States Center for International Women's Year, established to provide information and coordinate efforts for the observance of IWY, will answer questions and provide program suggestions (1630 Crescent Place, NW, Washington, DC 20009).

One of the best pamphlets on IWY is "Equal Partners" published by UNA-USA and the U.S. National Commission for UNESCO. It contains background on the UN's IWY proclamation, the history of the UN's work on behalf of women, pertinent data on the status of women in many countries, suggestions for citizen action and a list of resources. (UNA-USA, 345 East 46th Street, New York, NY 10017, 25¢ for single copies, $6/100.)

Two good, free background booklets put out by the UN Office of Public Information are Equal Rights for Women--IWY, 1975 and Equal Rights for Women--A Call to Action. The latter contains the preamble and eleven articles of the Declaration on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women with a brief commentary on each article.

For a monthly newsletter on nongovernmental organization activities in connection with IWY write to Euna Ellis, Room 3115, UN, New York, NY 10017.

PEACEKEEPING

UN peacekeeping has excited renewed attention with the expansion of peacekeeping efforts in the Mideast and Cyprus. An excellent lead-off for a program on UN peacekeeping is the film, UN Emergency. It describes the organization and operations of UNEF II through scenes shot in the Mideast, at the Security Council in New York and at the Geneva Peace Conference. An accompanying brochure, Can the UN Keep the Peace in the Middle East This Time, deals with some common questions raised about the new Mideast operations, placing them in the context of past UN efforts and precedents for the future. Film rental ($8.00 plus return postage) from the Institute for World Order, Inc., 1140 Avenue of the Americas, New York, NY 10017, 5¢ each in bulk; single copies free.

THE OCEANS

The Law of the Sea Conference, now meeting in Caracas, (1975 session, Vienna) faces perhaps the most complex series of interrelated issues of international law ever dealt with the limits to national jurisdiction, fishing and mineral rights, conservation and marine pollution, and the future of the new concept of the oceans as the common heritage of mankind. Journal Films, Inc., 909 West Diversey Parkway, Chicago, Ill. 60614 can provide the nearest rental source and a list of libraries where the film may be borrowed.

The Ocean Foundation Project (245 Second Street, NE, Washington, DC 20002) has a series of fact sheets on the Law of the Sea Conference and a newsletter to keep readers up to date on Washington and UN developments affecting the oceans.

A clear introduction to issues involved in the Law of the Sea Conference is John J. Logue's four-page article, "The Ocean Crisis: The Struggle to Protect, Manage, and Exploit the World's Oceans," part of the Vital Issues series (Center for Information

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Pub. No. 526 15¢

community guide

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on America, Washington, Ct. 06793; single copies 35¢ each; ten or more, 20¢ each.

FOOD AND POPULATION

The increasingly urgent interrelated problems of food supply and population pressures will be the subject of several conferences in 1974. The UN World Population Conference in Bucharest, Romania, August 19 to 30 will focus on the vital problem of world population growth. (The conference, including a resource list, was a topic of the League of Women Voters Education Fund's COMMUNITY GUIDE, What To Do About The UN: A Guide for International Relations Chairmen 1973-74.)

The World Population Conference will be preceded by an International Youth Population Conference, also in Bucharest, which will discuss population issues and how youth can be involved in policy-making processes. The Youth Conference will also submit recommendations to the World Population Conference. The World Population Conference will be paralleled by the Tribune (in Bucharest), a conference organized by nongovernmental organizations to give private groups and individuals opportunity to discuss population and related issues. Information from Conference of Non-Governmental Organizations in Consultative Status with the UN, c/o International Social Service, 345 East 46th Street, New York, NY 10017.

Amidst a world food crisis of growing proportions, the UN's World Food Conference is convening in Rome, November 5 to 16, 1974. The conference will emphasize efforts to increase food production, consumption and trade with developing countries and will attempt to develop a global system of world food security. For details, write World Food Conference, UN Headquarters, New York, NY 10017.

The World Hunger Action Coalition was recently established in Washington, DC to focus public and official attention on the world food problem and World Food Conference. Among organizations in the coalition are CARE, Catholic Relief Services, National Farmers Union, YWCA, American Friends Service Committee, League of Women Voters of the US and American Freedom from Hunger Foundation. The coalition has announced a national week of concern for World Hunger, September 22-29 and is circulating a nationwide petition urging the promotion of policies to alleviate world hunger. The petition with signatures will be presented to the secretary of state on September 30. Details from American Freedom from Hunger Foundation, 1100 17th Street, NW, Suite 701, Wash., DC 20036.

The World Population Day Project sponsored by the Coalition for Population Year focuses national attention on both population and food issues. The project, which follows the World Population Conference and precedes the World Food Conference, will culminate on UN Day, October 24. Coalition for Population Year, 110 Maryland Ave., NE, Washington DC 20002, can give more information.

UN DAY AND YEAR ROUND ACTIVITIES

All these themes--IWY, food, population, the sea, peacekeeping--offer exciting possibilities for UN day programs as well as for ongoing programs during the year. These interdependent issues also offer possibilities for interlinking different program interests within organizations.

Whatever the program emphases, the most comprehensive guide for planning UN Day or year-round programs is the UN Day manual, Making Your UN Day Count: Ideas for Action, published by the UNA. The manual has step-by-step guidelines for setting up UN Day programs and shows how the topics of the three UN world conferences can be tied to local interests. UNA also has special program kits for each UN conference with a scenario for a model conference, background information, discussion questions, film lists and bibliography. (Kits are $2.50 each from UNA-USA, 345 East 46th Street, New York, NY 10017.)

There are opportunities throughout the year to submit questions to candidates for public office, to write letters to the editor or articles for newspapers, to do radio tapes or tv spots. Radio and tv stations have public service time available upon request. Schools and civic organizations are always looking for speakers and program ideas and can undoubtedly benefit by being informed about resource material on the UN available from various organizations.

Organizations with speakers bureaus might try to have speakers who can talk on the UN and the issues it is facing. When outside speakers are invited, it is always advisable to inform other groups in order to insure a sizable audience, to share resources and to broaden the dimensions of the program. The League of Women Voters' UN Observer is available to talk wherever it is geographically and financially feasible. (Mrs. Martha Aasen, 31 Ellery Lane, Westport, Conn. 06880.) AID will provide speakers on many UN-related subjects. (Clifton Wheeler, Director, Office of Public Affairs, AID, Department of State, Washington, DC 20520).

OTHER SOURCES

While people often request UN materials on a regular basis, there is no comprehensive "UN mailing list." However, special materials and resources are produced on a periodic basis for public education and information by agencies and divisions of the UN such as the Office of Public Information, the UN Development Programme (UNDP) and the Centre for Economic and Social Information (CESI). Most UN materials are free, but some are sold through the UN Sales Section, New York, NY 10017; e.g. Commission on the Status of Women, Report on the Twenty-Fifth Session ($5.00) and The Impact of Multinational Corporations on Development and on International Relations ($10.00).

UNDP's resource aids include the film One and a Half Dreams, tv spot announcements, fact sheets, photographs, posters, display and advertising materials. The Gondwana Factor is UNDP's new two-page brochure on interdependence. The quarterly Commitment gives brief reports on UNDP activities; the insert, Ways and Means, offers programming ideas and resources. Free from UNDP/DI, 345 East 46th Street, New York, NY 10017.

For keeping up with all UN economic and social issues, Development Forum (a monthly), contains a variety of viewpoints on both national and international activities. Subscriptions free from CESI, UN, Palais des Nations, CH-1211, Geneva 10, Switzerland.

UNA's The Inter Dependent is another good monthly covering international issues (subscriptions $3 per year; $2 for students, free with UNA membership). Some new UNA Fact Sheets: # 2A The Financing of the United Nations (revised); #6A The Middle East (revised); #13 The World Bank Group: Putting Stock in Development; #14 Consciousness-Raising at the UN: The Sixth Special Session ($2/100 copies for each issue).

The Overseas Development Council's special subscription plan offers ODC's entire 1974 publication output on interdependent issues, including the book, Agenda for Action, 1974, for $12 (1717 Massachusetts Ave., NW, Suite 501, Washington, DC 20036).

Several UN agencies publish regular magazines. The UNESCO Courier, International Labour Review and World Health have scheduled important articles on women in relation to the themes of IWY. Ceres is a Food and Agriculture Organization bimonthly. UNICEF News, a quarterly, reports UNICEF's involvement in health, education, and nutrition of children in the developing world.

In addition to the above, numerous periodicals feature substantive articles on UN-related topics. A sampling:

Barbara Ward, "First, Second, Third and Fourth Worlds," The Economist, May 18, 1974.

"Women Around the World," The Center Magazine, May-June, 1974.

"Population--A Special Report," The Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists, June, 1974.

Seyom Brown and Larry L. Fabian, "Diplomats at Sea," Foreign Affairs, January, 1974.

Lester R. Brown, "The Next Crisis? Food," Foreign Policy, Winter 1973-74.

FROM:

UNA USA

The United Nations Association of the United States of America
345 East 46th Street, New York, New York 10017

TO:

NAME (PLEASE PRINT OR TYPE)

ORGANIZATION

ADDRESS

CITY STATE ZIP

To receive your copy of the 1974 UN Day handbook, **MAKING YOUR UN DAY COUNT: IDEAS FOR ACTION,** please fill in both halves of this request form/label and return it with 50¢ to UNA-USA, UN Day Program, 345 East 46th Street, New York, N.Y. 10017. (Regular sales price of handbook is $1.00).

NAME (PLEASE PRINT OR TYPE)

ORGANIZATION

ADDRESS

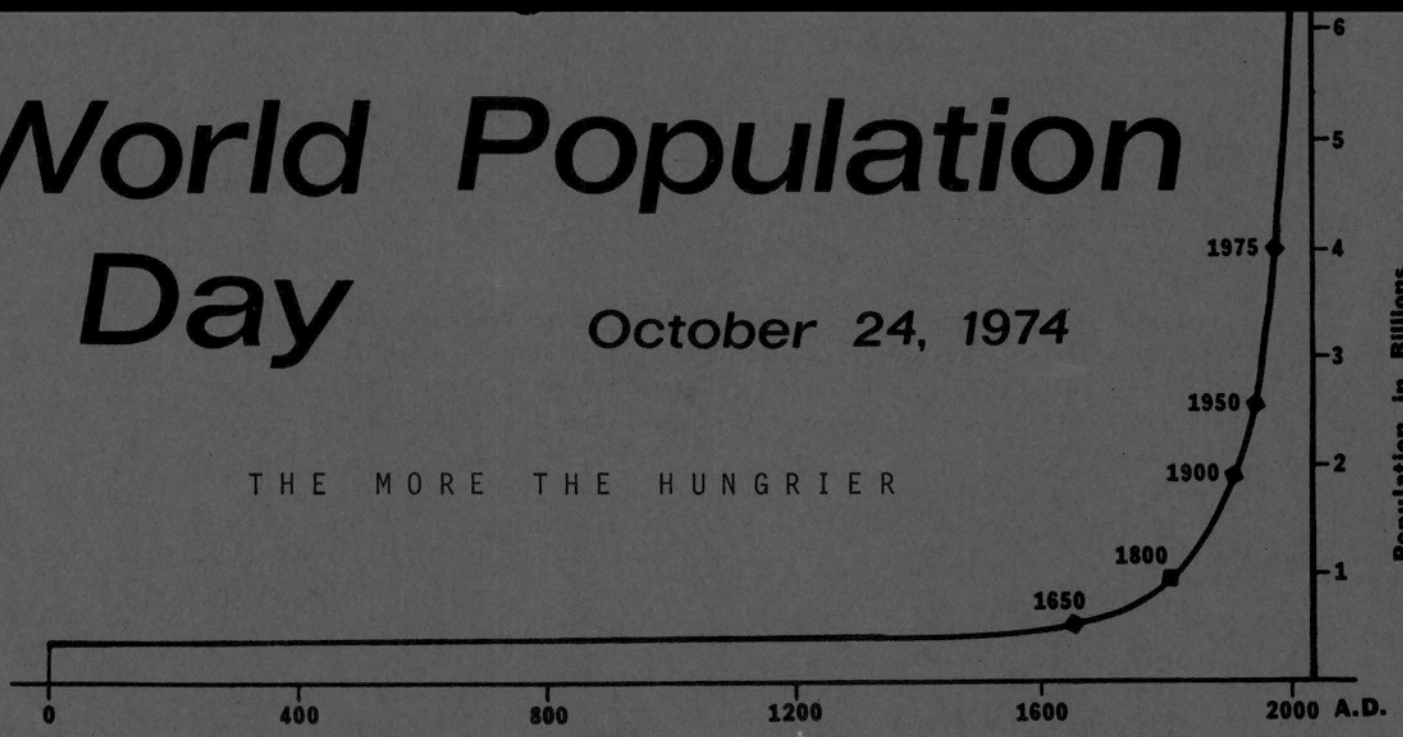
CITY STATE ZIP

Please send me _____ additional copies of the handbook at 50c each; 10/$4.50 (payment enclosed).

I am also enclosing $ _____ as my contribution to assist UNA-USA in maintaining its UN Day program.

World Population Day

October 24, 1974



OBJECTIVES

To make Americans aware:

1 - of UN World Population Year and UN Food Conference activities;
2 - of the necessity for a global population plan of action and global food reserves;
3 - that Americans, less than 6% of the world's population, consume close to 40% of all resources, and that by conscious effort to alter this pattern as well as commitment by their government to meeting the social needs of developing nations, we can help bring about and sustain an improved quality of life for all.

ACTIVITIES

In Minnesota, leaders outside the Twin Cities area are desperately needed. Your organization is needed to plan an activity which will reach the attention of the public. People who now are not well aware of the international food crisis nor the need for a slowing of the population growth must be awakened and learn more.

* *Request the Governor's Declaration of Population Day*
* *A Public Opinion poll*
* *Distribution to teachers of a study guide on population and the food crisis*
* *Television showing of network and local shows and spot ads*
* *Distribution of literature, bumperstickers and buttons at shopping centers and on the street*
* *A Concert or Speaker Event outside the Twin Cities area*
* *Circulation of a petition asking U.S. cooperation in international food and population planning. This is for organizations that choose to be involved politically.*

SPONSORING ORGANIZATIONS

Sponsors are the US Coalition for World Population Year, which includes:

Action for World Community
American Freedom from Hunger Foundation
Center for Concern
Environmental Action Foundation
National Organization of Non-Parents
National Student Lobby
National Student Association
United Nations Association
Population Institute
Planned Parenthood - World Population
Students' Advisory Committee for International Affairs
United Methodist Council on Youth Ministries
United Settlement House
Zero Population Growth

In addition, Minnesotans endorsing it include the following:

American Friends Service Committee
Environmental Concerns
League of Women Voters of Minnesota
Minnesota Association of Seniors
Minnesota Education Association
Minnesota Citizens Against Throwaways
Minnesota Council on Family Relations
Public Education Research Committee
Sierra Club of Minnesota
Women's International League for Peace and Freedom of Minnesota
World Federalists of Minnesota
American Association of University Women

It is estimated that ten thousand persons will die each day this year due to a lack of food or the right kind of food. World-wide inflation and bad weather have intensified the unpleasant truth about overpopulation: the days of abundance are gone. Even if all the world's food were evenly distributed, it would not be adequate to support everyone. Despite all this, it is expected that spaceship Earth will take on another 70 million passengers this year.

Inadequate supplies of food, water, and other resources are the lot of some two billion persons today. It is scandalous to even consider allowing population to continue growing unchecked. And this is not just a problem of the year 2000 -- the multiplying process is in full force today, broadening the already serious distance between population growth and our capacity to support it.

Yes, it is true that population growth in some countries has slowed, and it is a possibility that in the developed nations, the growth rate will continue to decline from the present rate of 0.8 percent to zero by 1985. But in the developing nations, where the bulk of the world's population resides, the growth rate is expected to remain high, giving us 6.7 billion inhabitants by the year 2000.

On the positive side, steps taken to relieve the population problem bring us further down the road to solution of many other problems. Malnourishment, housing, disease, education, pollution, depletion of resources, war, overcrowded cities -- pressures on almost all major problem areas would be eased by rational, effective population policies. Steps to remedy the ills of the world's poor will be powerful tools in the overall plan. Mandatory control of family size is not considered an acceptable solution.

The relationship between food and population is basic. We have too long ignored this fact. As nations confronted with these difficult problems, the tendency is to look inward, to isolate ourselves and seek national solutions. But that will no longer work in a world of interdependent nations; a world half hungry cannot be a world at peace. Immediate international plans must be made for food aid, increased food production, and workable population policies.

The United Nations, in attempting to deal with what its Secretary-General has described as "the principle challenge to our generation," has declared 1974 to be World Population Year. Individual governments and persons on all levels are becoming involved in a variety of approaches to increase awareness of the population problem and to find effective ways of dealing with it.

October 24, United Nations Day, has also been designated this year as World Population Day in the United States. It is hoped that this day will give Americans a clearer view of the profound role they play on the world scene.

WHAT CAN YOU DO?

* *Let us know that you will participate in Population Day*
* *Read about population and food problems. There's lots in the news*
* *Write letters - to the papers and to your legislators whenever you read about food prices, hunger, population or inflation. (How do you cope with the rising price of beans or potatoes if you earn $500 a year?)*
* *Let your government--and your church-- know that you care and want them involved. Our government's contribution to food and development aid has dwindled to 1/4 of 1% of our GNP. We put a man on the moon in less than ten years but we can't end mass starvation because something called "political will" is lacking.*
* *Use less--especially meat, energy, fertilizer, and all non-recyclable goods.*
* *Increase contibutions to agencies that give overseas agricultural, health and family planning assistance. Their costs are increasing fast, but not so their revenue.*
* *Send tax-deductible contributions to assist in achieving educational and public information objectives to:*

World Population Day
c/o Environmental Concerns
111 E. Franklin, Suite 210
Minneapolis, Mn, 55404

QUESTIONS? Contact *Zero Population Growth Twin Cities*
111 E. Franklin Ave. Mpls. Mn. 55404
Mrs. Jean Stuart, Mn Coordinator 935-6105

PETITION FOR A UNITED STATES POPULATION POLICY

TO THE PRESIDENT AND MEMBERS OF CONGRESS:

We urge you to consider the adoption of a national population policy for the United States. We support the recommendations made by the Commission on Population Growth and the American Future which included population stabilization as a desirable goal, provision of family planning services to those in need of them, social and economic changes to enhance the quality of life for all Americans, and equal rights for women.

(Please sign and pass along to a friend)

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RETURN TO:
The Committee for World Population Day
C/o United Nations Association
345 E. 46th Street, N.Y., N.Y. 10017

These petitions will be circulated in conjunction with WORLD POPULATION DAY, October 24, 1974.

1974 has been designated by the United Nations as World Population Year, and many nations are being urged to adopt national policies aimed at reducing population growth. The U.S. government is pressuring other countries to limit their numbers, although we ourselves have no comprehensive population policy. Yet the U.S. plays a crucial role in the world situation since we, 6% of the world's population, consume about one third of its non-reproducible resources. Despite recent decreases in our birth rate, our population is still growing by 1.5 million annually - and that doesn't include illegal immigration which may add nearly half a million people each year.

Minnesota United Nations News

MINNEAPOLIS-ST. PAUL, MINNESOTA — OCTOBER 1974

"OUR RESOURCES: A World Crisis" is Morning Topic at

UNITED NATIONS RALLY OCT. 25

9:30 a.m. St. Paul Hilton

GOVERNOR ANDERSON'S SIGNING of UN Week proclamation is viewed by Evelyn Schiele, state UNAM president, and Tom Fitz-Gibbon, UN Week co-chairman for St. Paul. David A. Bell, state UN Week chairman was unable to be present.

Our planet's dwindling resources and its effect on all the world's nations and peoples is the morning topic at the United Nations Rally on Friday (October 25) in St. Paul. The program opens at 9:30 a.m. at the Hilton Hotel, Kellogg Boulevard at Wabasha.

The morning session promises to be timely and provocative. Three prominent specialists will give us their view of some newly discovered global realities involving world resources. Their panel topic is "Resources: A World Crisis."

Moderator and first speaker will be Dr. Luther P. Gerlach, professor of anthropology at the University of Minnesota.

The United Nations Rally, the focal point of UN month in Minnesota, has been an annual event since 1945, when 2,000 women met to urge formation of the United Nations. Founder and first president of the Rally was Mrs. Arthur Brin.

Since 1968 the United Nations Association of Minnesota (UNAM) has been a co-sponsor of the rally program, in which 84 organizations now participate.

President of this year's rally is **Mrs. Roy G. Letourneau;** program chairman is **Mrs. Earl G. Yonehiro. Mrs. Robert J. Malone** is ticket chairman.

Dr. Luther P. Gerlach will open the session with slides taken on his recent visit to several Asian and Middle East countries. The trip was made as a member of the Energy Resources Lecture Team, sponsored by the U.S. Information Agency.

Titling his talk "Growth, Scarcity and the World System Dilemma," Dr. Gerlach will describe the team's visits with foreign leaders and the difficult problems they discussed.

"With our hosts," he said, "we exchanged ideas about the kinds of policies, technologies and social institutions humans must invent to build an adaptive future. Naturally we found no two countries quite alike, but all gravely troubled and perplexed by huge new problems linked with global resources.

"For us at home a lot of rethinking is necessary. *One point is: if we want to get, we have to give. Nations will have to work out a whole new set of agreements and understandings to govern the flow of resources. Independence is a myth in this interdependent world. We have helped make it so."*

As a specialist in social movements and social change, Dr. Gerlach is internationally recognized. His research studies in East Africa, the Caribbean, Japan and elsewhere have resulted in many articles, reviews, two co-authored books and several audio-visual productions, including two films in collaboration with Encyclopedia Britannica.

(Continued on page 2)

DR. LUTHER P. GERLACH, professor of anthropology at the University of Minnesota, is morning session moderator and panelist at the Rally.

His "Lifeway Leap" TV series on social changes appears **Thursdays, 6:30 p.m., on KTCA (2).**

Saul Mendlovitz To Discuss UN At Rally Luncheon

A devotion to world peace, a dedication to world order, and a warm faith in human potentials on our planet—these can be said to characterize our distinguished luncheon speaker at the UN Rally.

Saul H. Mendlovitz, president of the Institute for World Order, has titled his address "The World Community—Conflict or Cooperation."

"We will all enjoy hearing Prof. Mendlovitz," said Barbara J. Stuhler, associate director of the World Affairs Center at the University of Minnesota.

"He is dynamic and dramatic—and exceedingly knowledgeable about the issues and problems of developing some semblance of world order. This is a study to which he has been devoted for years."

Currently a professor of law at Rutgers University, Saul Mendlovitz has co-authored several books, with Richard A. Falk, on world order and international law. He has also written numerous scholarly articles on the legal, social and political problems involved in improving global peace and justice. Many of these articles have also been published abroad.

In 1970 Prof. Mendlovitz became a consultant to the Social Science Advisory Board of the U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency. He is also vice chairman of the Consortium on Peace Research, Education and Development. He currently is vice-chairman of

SAUL H. MENDLOVITZ
Luncheon Speaker

an American Bar Association subcommittee on arms control and disarmament.

After obtaining his B.A. degree at Syracuse University, Mendlovitz attended the University of Chicago where he received a doctorate in law (J.D.) in 1953.

At Harvard Law School he was a visiting scholar (under a Ford International Relations Fellowship Grant). And at Princeton he was a research fellow in the school's International Studies Center. In June this year he was elected president of the Institute for World Order. □

UNICEF AWARD pin is given to Lola Adelsheim, right, by Gertrude Hognander.

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"Resources: A World Crisis."

UNITED NATIONS RALLY OCT. 25

(Continued) Gerlach.

Currently KTCA-TV (Channel 2) is running Prof. Gerlach's "Lifeway Leap" television series on social changes in the U.S. Each episode (starting Oct. 3) is at 6:30 p.m. on Thursdays. The Minneapolis Tribune in late July published three articles on the professor's Asian tour with USIA teammates.

ALEXANDER SHAKOW
Morning Session Speaker

Alexander Shakow of the State Department's Agency for International Development (AID) is the second panelist in the morning session. He entered government service as a Peace Corps executive and now is Deputy Assistant Administrator in AID's Bureau for Program & Policy Coordination.

Mr. Shakow, a native of Boston, received his B.A. degree from Swarthmore College, and his doctorate (Ph.D. in economics) at the London School of Economics and Political Science at the University of London.

He began his federal service in 1963. With the Peace Corps in Indonesia he served successively as associate, deputy, and acting director. In April 1965 he was named director of the corps' operations there. Later he was recalled to Washington as special assistant for the corps' new education programs.

He joined AID in 1968 as Washington director of the Office of Indonesia, Malaysia and Singapore Affairs and in July this year was sworn in to his present position.

For his Peace Corps work Dr. Shakow received the William A. Jump Memorial Foundation Award. This is presented to one or two federal employees annually for "outstanding service in the field of public administration and for notable contributions in this field to the efficiency and quality of public service."

In his panel discussion Alexander Shakow will also talk about coping with increasing demands on the world's resources.

"The oil, food and fertilizer crises of the past year," he said, "are most prominent and account for the focus on this topic. I shall try to outline what the United States government is seeking to do to enhance cooperation with all countries towards better sharing of the world's resources.

"In particular I shall discuss what we may expect from the UN's World Food Conference in Rome next month. Also what long-term efforts are under way to expand availability of essential foodstuffs by increasing productivity in the developing countries. And finally, what is being done to help bring population growth rates into better balance with food and other essential resource availabilities."

JAMES W. HOWE
Morning Session Speaker

James W. Howe, Senior Fellow of the Overseas Development Council in Washington, D.C., will address the UN Rally's morning session on "Managing Global Resources in a New International Order."

Mr. Howe received his bachelor's degree at the University of Nebraska, his M.A. at American University, and an M.P.A. degree at Harvard University.

His professional career in international activities began in the international division of the Bureau of the Budget, followed by program analysis for U.S. foreign assistance agencies.

He was named Deputy Director of the USAID mission to Brazil following two years as Director of the Program Office in a similar USAID mission to Vietnam. He later headed the program office covering the Latin American Bureau of AID.

In 1969 he served as Director of USAID to the East Africa community (Kenya, Uganda, Tanzania), and in 1971 joined the Overseas Development Council, of which he is now Senior Fellow.

"Managing Global Resources in a New International Order" is the general title of Mr. Howe's talk.

"I will try to describe the nature of the world resource picture," he said, "including energy and food in particular, and identifying its impact on various nations and groups of people. I shall speculate about the ability of international institutions to cope with the resource matter and finally discuss its implications for U.S. foreign policy.

"The central threat to the security of nations right now is that inflation and recession will so damage the international economic order that cooperation will return to confrontation—thus causing the economic crisis to deepen.

"Critical shortages and specific price explosions have played a central role in feeding inflation, but the answer is not to retreat into an economic fortress America nor to do battle with economic adversaries abroad—policies which in the early 30s had such disastrous consequences. Instead the times call for new dimensions in international cooperation." □

A NEW UN FILM on the Middle East crisis helped draw visitors to this special United Nations gift display in the skyway of Minnesota Federal.

UN Flag Raising Set For Oct. 21

Symbolizing the start of UN Week in Minnesota, UN flags will fly from many flagpoles in the state beginning at 9 a.m. Monday, October 21.

At that hour Christen Finsness, a UNAM director, will lead a flag-raising procession down Nicollet Mall, accompanied by President Evelyn Schiele and other officers. Vice presidents Serene Hanson, Alberta McNeal and Shirley Dahl plan to join the traditional flag-walk, along with many others.

The walk will begin at Northwestern National Life plaza and continue down the Mall to Midwest Federal Plaza, Mr. Finsness said. He is a vice president of NWNL.

Business firms will raise their US and UN flags successively as the procession pauses briefly at each place. Several firms fly the twin flags the year around, including Midwest Federal and the Minneapolis Federal Reserve Bank.

The downtown firms flying the UN flag on UN Day include the following:

Albrechts
Bank of Minneapolis
Colwell Press
Curtis Hotel
Donaldsons
F&M Savings Bank
Federal Reserve Bank
First National Bank
Harolds
Holiday Inn
Hyatt Lodge
Jackson Graves
Midwest Federal S&L
Northern States Power
NW Bell Telephone
Northwestern Natl. Life
Northwestern Natl. Bank
Radisson Hotel
Twin City Federal
Hubert W. White
Young-Quinlan Co.
Y.M.C.A.

SEN. HUBERT HUMPHREY GETS WARM WELCOME from Vice President Serene Hanson at our UNAM booth at the State Fair. Chairman James W. Nelson arranged the display.

OUR SPECIAL THANKS go to **Midwest Federal** and the Greentree Corporation for their continuing contribution of the space for the Gift Box and special promotions in the Midwest Plaza Arcade.

To **Minnesota Federal S&L** for their cooperation in making possible our Skyway Plaza projects.

To the **Dayton Company** for letting us use their Eighth St. skyway for our UN-supporting activities.

To **Serene Hanson** and **Midwest Federal** for special courtesies in arranging Board and Executive Committee meetings. □

BILL MAYNES' TALK on "The Rules of Global Games: America's Approach to Changing World Order" was taped and broadcast by KUOM on September 30. The original talk was given at a UNAM directors' meeting in late August at the Campus Club at the University of Minnesota.

Dr. Maynes, a son-in-law of UNAM's President Schiele, is Secretary of International Programming for the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace.

UN WE BELIEVE

SUE HANNA is our new Exec. Office Administrator.

PEGGY CARLIN of UNA-USA brought ideas, wit and charm on her recent visit here.

OUR NEW PRESIDENT Mrs. Burtrum C. (Evelyn) Schiele, left, accepts her gavel from Mrs. Orville C. (Gertrude) Hognander, past president.

MINNESOTA UNITED NATIONS NEWS
Official Publication
United Nations Association of Minnesota
55 South Eighth Street • Room 200
Minneapolis, Minnesota 55402
Telephone 333-2824

GEORGE DONALD BILLINGS, Editor

MRS. BURTRUM C. (EVELYN) SCHIELE, President

Printed by HOFFMAN PRESS

DAVID A. BELL
State UN Week Chairman

Governor, Mayors Name Chairmen For Busy UN Week

Minnesota's continued strong support of the UN was reflected by the naming of several UN Week chairmen and issuance of UN-supporting proclamations.

David A. Bell, president of Knox Reeves Advertising, Minneapolis, was appointed State UN Week Chairman by Governor Wendell R. Anderson.

Alpha Smaby, a former legislator, was appointed by Mayor Albert J. Hofstede to be UN Day chairman for Minneapolis.

Richard P. Bailey, president of Hamline University, and **Thomas P. FitzGibbon**, assistant secretary of Midwest Federal in St. Paul, were named co-chairmen for St. Paul's UN Day by Mayor Lawrence D. Cohen.

In response to letters from State Chairman Bell, many mayors, councilmen, school officials and civic leaders around the state are planning activities during UN Week.

"The United Nations," said Mr. Bell, "has the only existing machinery to quickly focus the attention of 135 sovereign nations on crisis situations, peacekeeping, and more important, peace promotion.

"The UN hasn't always worked perfectly because it is not a world government and preserves each nation's sovereignty. But the machinery itself is nearly perfect. The UN lives and breathes on the support of the people of its member nations; and without that support it can only stumble.

"United Nations Week offers a great opportunity to learn about this remarkable organization—and what it can do for all of us now, and in generations to come."

Alpha Smaby, as Minneapolis UN Day chairman, said the non-peacekeeping work of the UN is often overlooked.

"It has given leadership," she said, "and initiated programs in every facet of life on this planet. From human rights to the law of the sea; from narcotic control and prison reform to urban problems; from the energy crisis and pollution to recommendations for standards for nuclear plants; from unemployment and women's rights to trade balances and monetary systems; from insect control and disease prevention to safety measures at sea and in the air. The list is almost endless.

"Yes, United Nations Day is a time to do some thinking about what the UN is doing now, and the better things that it can do tomorrow—with our help." □

"....it may be that many young people who have emerged from adolescence in recent years have grasped some central ideas about the collective problems and destiny of the human race more thoroughly than some of their elders—who argue that these matters are too difficult and complex for young people to understand."
(From *World Problems in the Classroom* by Herbert J. Abraham: Unesco)

MAYOR ALBERT HOFSTEDE signs Minneapolis' UN Week proclamation with Alpha Smaby (center), Minneapolis UN Day Chairman and Pres. Evelyn Schiele.

WATCH FOR THESE PROGRAMS!

For extra news about UNA activities during UN Week, Ms. Anne Harris, chairman of radio and television coverage during the period, suggests you watch for these programs:

Oct. 14, Mon., 8 am, KMSP-TV's "News & Views."
Oct. 21, Mon. 2:30 pm, WTCN-TV's "Profiles."
Oct. 23, Wed., 6:30 pm, KTCA-TV's "Inquiry," with Dr. Robert Riggs discussing the UN's role.
Oct. 27, Sun., 7:30 am, WTCN-TV's "Concern."
WCCO-TV's "Midday News," 12-12:30 pm, will interview Mrs. C. E. (Gertrude) Swanson, of the US Committee for UNICEF, during UN Week. **WCCO's "Boone & Erickson"** will also talk to UN people on their radio program, **10:30 - 11:45 am.**
Nov. 5, Tues., noon, WTCN-TV's "What's New" will have Dr. Harlan Finney and Prof. Robert Kennedy discussing "World Food & Population."

ALMOST 700 PERSONS attended Law Day dinner to hear Elisabeth Mann Borgese. Dr. Malcolm Moose, left, was then president of the University of Minnesota.

AUDIENCE LAUGHS at quip during a press conference with Madame Borgese preceding the Law Day dinner. Geri Joseph and York ("Mr. U.N.") Langton are at far right.

VOLUNTEERS ARE NEEDED!

Please call the **UN CENTER, 333-2824,** if you can volunteer any time for the Gift Box or Office. Hours 10-1 or 1-4.

Margaret Amberg, 644-7612
Volunteer Chairman
Ivon Wilson, 488-7770
Office Management Chairman

WORKSHOP LEADERS Alberta McNeal, left, (our UNESCO Committee Chmn.), Barbara Stuhler of World Affairs Center, U. of M., and Roger Wangen, Coordinator of Social Studies, Minn. State Department of Education. (Ms. Stuhler is former vice-chairman of the U.S. Natl. Commission for UNESCO).

Believed first time in U.S.

Educators Attend Pilot UNESCO-Aided GLOBAL EDUCATION WORKSHOP

A stimulating and successful Global Education Workshop for teachers, said to be the first of its kind in the U.S., was held in Minneapolis earlier this month. The 2-day project was aided by a participation program grant from UNESCO.

Sponsors of the workshop were the Minnesota UNESCO Committee (UN Association of Minnesota), Minnesota State Department of Education, Social Studies Service Center, and the World Affairs Center of the University of Minnesota.

An ultimate goal of the project is improved global education and international understanding for Minnesota students, according to Alberta L. McNeal, chairman of UNAM's UNESCO Committee.

But specific workshop objectives were to find out what global understanding and attitudes a graduating high school student should have; what teaching aids are available or needed; and what is needed to create teacher enthusiasm for including more global education in social studies programs.

Some 45 selected teachers from public, private and parochial schools attended the workshop, held at the A.A.U.W. clubhouse. Invitations were limited due to space considerations, but included all parts of the state.

The list included Rochester, Winona, Brainerd, Duluth, Mankato, St. Cloud, Owatonna, Faribault, Moorhead, Granite Falls, Fridley, Hopkins, Bloomington, Robbinsdale and St. Louis Park. Twin City schools, the U. of M. and Hamline University were also on the invitation-list.

The idea for the workshop was conceived by Barbara J. Stuhler, former vice chairman of the U.S. National Commission for UNESCO and now associate director of the World Affairs Center, University of Minnesota.

Chairman Alberta McNeal said a UNESCO book, "World Problems in the Classroom" was cited by Barbara Stuhler as an excellent text for a workshop project. It would be a pilot program this fall, possibly followed by a larger conference next year.

"Roger K. Wangen, coordinator of social studies education at the Minnesota State Department of Education, ably spearheaded the workshop plans," said Mrs. McNeal. "He sent out letters, invited teachers and gave outstanding support.

"James Olson, director of the Social Studies Service Center in Roseville, also worked on many phases of the workshop project and aided immensely in developing a crisp, orderly agenda.

"Our entire UNESCO Committee gave their support to this project, which we hope is just the beginning of an expanded program in teaching international understanding in the classroom.

"A long range goal would be that tomorrow's high school graduate, constantly exposed to worldwide events through mass media, will be able to interpret global concerns based on knowledge acquired in school, and to view world events in better perspective."

Members of UNAM's UNESCO Committee include Chairman Alberta McNeal; Donna M. McCoy, secretary; Margaret M. Mull, treasurer; Barbara Stuhler of World Affairs Center; Roger Wangen, State Department of Education; and James Olson, director of Social Studies Service Center, Roseville.

Sister Karmen Burg, Catholic Education Center, St. Paul; John Edie, Blake School; Dr. Wesley St. John, Hamline University; Mardonna Bartholet, Edina West Upper Division; Ralph Karki, Columbia Heights Senior High School; and Mark Welter, Robbinsdale Armstrong Senior High School. Gertrude L. Hognander and Evelyn Schiele, past president and president, respectively, of United Nations Association are also committee members.

Among the nationally known educators addressing the workshop were Dr. Lee F. Anderson, associate professor of political science and education at Northwestern University, and H. Tom Collins, director of the Center for War/Peace Studies, New York. □

TWO BUSY CHAIRMEN, Virginia McCollister (UNICEF) and Eldri Dieson (Membership) compare notes during a special UN promotion in Dayton's skyway.

UNICEF Cards To Be Offered At New Locations

World children need your help!

An emergency was declared last May 24 by the 30-nation board of the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF). They are seeking help for the close to 500,000,000 children threatened by the world's food and energy crisis.

It is also feared that $40-to $50-million will be needed over the next few years to help children in the 70 countries most seriously hurt by the economic crisis.

Here's where you can help—by buying UNICEF cards. Remember that UNICEF depends entirely on voluntary contributions from governments and individuals through fund-raising campaigns. One campaign UNICEF relies most heavily on is greeting card sales.

This year two regional committees, Northeast and Southwest, will be formed to handle card sales in outlying metropolitan areas.

MID-AMERICA BANK of Roseville, 2440 N. Fairview Avenue, will be used **Dec. 2** through **Dec. 21** for UNICEF card and gift sales by the Northeast Committee. Members include Marilyn Mills and Mrs. Rex Knowles of Roseville, Carol McIntyre of Shoreview, Lois Iverson of St. Anthony, Mrs. James R. Andrews of Arden Hills, and Mrs. Ted Gates of New Brighton.

Ivon Wilson will assist the committee as a resource aide from UNAM's board of directors.

LEISURE LANE, 71st Street and France Avenue S., will have a UNICEF table **November 18** to **December 21**, operated by the Southwest Committee. Members are Mrs. John Helgeson and Mrs. Walter Wojtalak of Edina; Mrs. James F. Feilzer, Mrs. Robert S. Wilson and Anne Harris Liss of Bloomington, and Mrs. Robert Tait of Richfield.

Corporate card sales to business firms will be handled by UNAM directors Douglas Gillespie and Tom Martinson.

UNICEF cards will also be available at: **UN CENTER & Gift Shop**, 55 S. 8th St. (across from Daytons); **Scarlet Trunk**, 916A Excelsior Avenue W., Hopkins (West Suburban Women's Club); and from **Mrs. Maurice Adelsheim, Sr.**, 4655 Emerson Avenue S. (822-0490 after Nov. 15). □

TRICKS OR TREATS boxes for Halloween gifts to UNICEF may be picked up at Mayflower Congregational Church (Educ. Building) at 100 E. Diamond Lake Road, Minneapolis. **Just phone 827-3037.**

HELPFUL SPONSORS

York Langton, chairman of our Long Range Finance Committee, reports receipt of "Sponsors' Gifts" ($100 to $500) from the following persons or firms:

Mrs. William H. Abbott, Governor Elmer L. Anderson, John Cowles, Sr., Cargill, Inc., Coast to Coast Stores, Harold W. Greenwood, Jr., Mayor & Mrs. Al Hilde, Jr., York E. Langton, Mrs. John Musser, Mr. and Mrs. Richardson B. Okie, Louis J. Smerling, Archie D. & Bertha M. Walker Foundation, and Clifford L. Whitehill.

"We are most grateful for this support," Mr. Langton said, "for without it our program would have to be curtailed. We also greatly appreciate the additional commitment of a number of members who make contributions in addition to their annual dues. For all this we do thank you!"

UN FLAG AWARD PINS were presented in February to volunteers who had contributed 100 hours or more in dedicated service to our organization.

The pins were presented to **Alice Brunat, Myrtle Dickinson, Martha Koenig, Iva Moen, Sigrid Okerlund, Frances Shields, Celia Torney, Ivon Wilson and Eldri Dieson.**

Other volunteers received certificates in appreciation for the effective, essential role they play in UNAM activities.

UN DAY
OCTOBER 24

& Population Day

WORLDWIDE GIFTS from UN-member nations draw wide interest. This temporary UN and UNICEF gift display was held in the Dayton skyway on Eighth Street.

SHIRLEY DAHL, Gift Shop Manager, puts gay halter on a toy donkey.

Rainy Days Pull In New Customers

Rainy days are great for business in UNAM gift shops!

The bleaker it is, the better, says Shirley Dahl, manager-buyer of the shops (and a new VP of UNAM).

"Rainy days are specially good on the Plaza," she said. "People use the skyways and walk through interlocking buildings when the weather is bad. They seem to be in the mood for buying anything that will boost their morale.

"Apart from rainy or chilly days we get extra business from summer visitors in town. And of course our volume is very good any time from September 15 through Christmas. Last year you just couldn't get through those narrow aisles in the UN Center shop."

Sales almost tripled last year, she explained, over the previous year. And this year it is running about 50% over 1973.

An interesting point is that there's no pilferage of UNAM stocks. "It's just amazing how honest people are," Shirley added. "We've had only four bounced checks in two years and only one was uncollectable. I think this is just remarkable when some downtown stores are allowing 15% for pilferage in their markup."

Customers are interested in knowing where articles come from. "Once they see a price ticket which lists a country," Shirley explained, "they very carefully look at the others.

"People seem to be thinking in terms of whether or not the manufacturing nation is in the UN, and in terms of *uniting* nations—and so are we. So when somebody asks we tell them that very thing: that we're urging the binding of nations into an amalgamated world program." □

New Officers & Directors Named

Officers elected to head UNAM for 1974-5 were: Mrs. Burtrum C. Schiele, president; Mrs. Lloyd K. McNeal, 1st vice president; Mrs. Hubert O. Hanson, 2nd vice president; George Donald Billings, 3rd vice president; Dr. Wesley St. John, 4th vice president; Mrs. Oliver J. Dahl, 5th vice president; Mrs. Edmund T. McCoy, secretary; Clifford L. Whitehill, treasurer; and Mrs. Edward O. Johnson, assistant treasurer.

Directors (term ending 1975) are Mrs. William H. Abbott, Mrs. Marvin Chelgren, John Crosby, Marjory Curry, Lloyd Evans, Christen Finsness, Robert Ihrig, Tom Martinson, James W. Nelson and Dr. Harlan M. Smith.

Directors (term ending 1976) are Bernard M. Casserly, Lynn M. Elling, Warren P. Eustis, Douglas Gillespie, Dr. John Hanson, Mrs. Robert W. Hill, Mrs. Harold L. Holden, Mrs. Robert McCollister and Mrs. Robert J. Schweitzer.

Directors (term ending 1977) are Mrs. Douglas W. Baker, David A. Bell, Eldri Dieson, Mrs. Al Hilde, Mrs. Orville C. Hognander, William R. Howard, York E. Langton, Mrs. Burton Paulu, Mrs. Harold F. Ring, Irvin Rose, and Samuel L. Scheiner.

ADVISORY COUNCIL newcomers, including some former directors whose terms have expired: Mrs. Martin E. Abel, Mrs. Maurice Adelsheim, Sr., Mrs. James E. Annett, Mrs. Helen Carlson, W. Harry Davis, John Edie, James Fishbaugher and Maynard B. Hasselquist.

Charles C. Hokans, Joseph G. Kasper, Mrs. John A. Madson, John C. McNulty, Mrs. Jack C. Merwin, Margaret M. Mull, Jacob J. Nammar, Cecil E. Newman, Richardson B. Okie, Dr. Eugenia Oole, E. Allan Otto and Mrs. Robert Plunkett.

Theodore M. Richter, Alpha Smaby, Carolyn Sorensen, Barbara Stuhler, Dr. Loren E. Tesdell, Dr. Archie S. Wilson, Mrs. Edward J. Westlund and Mrs. Jon K. Wilbrecht.

COMMITTEES for 1974-5.

Personnel: Jule Johnson, Chmn., Virginia McCollister and Elliot Schweitzer. **Volunteers**: Margaret Amberg, Chmn. **Special Promotions**: Katie Plunkett and Betty Merwin. **Finance**: Cliff Whitehill and Jule Johnson, co-chairmen, and York Langton. **Public Relations**: George Billings (editor), Carolyn Wilbrecht and Irvin Rose. **Program**: Dr. Wesley St. John, Chmn., Alice Moore, Barbara Stuhler, Alberta McNeal and York Langton.

Speakers Bureau: Serene Hanson, Chmn., and Jane Abel. **Literature**: Jeannette Malone, Chmn., Geraldine Westlund and George Billings. **Membership**: Eldri Dieson, Chmn., Helen Carlson, John Hanson, Charles Hokans and Joseph Kasper.

Gift Shops: Shirley Dahl, Chmn., and Genevieve Annett. **Education, Schools:** Florence Ring, Chmn., Jim Fishbaugher, Harry Davis, Marjory Curry and Eugenia Oole.

Public Affairs: William Howard, Jane Hilde, Richardson Okie and Doris Cook. **Unesco**: Alberta McNeal, Chmn., and Barbara Stuhler. □

JOIN THE UNA NOW! With your membership you get the monthly "Interdependent" with timely, capsuled news and vital information from United Nations Association headquarters.

Locally you can enjoy interesting meeting, excellent projects and rewarding conferences—plus international gift shops at UN CENTER and in MIDWEST PLAZA.

Join now, and support our efforts.

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House

Developing countries suffer from oil price rise.

Arabs put money in Europ. bks on 8 day withdrawal, so bks can't help poor countries

Must recycle money & some loss of sovereignty + loss of wealth to us.

We have a greater monopoly on food than Middle East does on oil. We manipulate the supply thru farm subsidies (more than entire foreign aid) just as much as Arabs have oil. Ameri consumer has no right to be protected any more than other consumers

Fertilizer shortage - Thru green revolution we made south (world) dependent on fert. Using fert. in south is more efficient (same amount produces more - used for too many crops in north). Not realistic to just stop feed. in poor countries

Popul. rate down" & death rate up recently so growth rate slowed up.

Children only role for women in poor countries
Must recognize interdependency
Give up some sovereignty.

Shabow

AID & Government stand

Gerlach

4½ million tons of grain goes into pet food

Most of globe knows about each other, Alienation from rest of world

Ecological systems } interrelated
War "
Poverty "

10 to 1 these systems will collide

Military to Police
Greed to Need

(socialism = the letting which is red)

Education, mobilization,

UNITED NATIONS RALLY - FOCAL POINT OF MINNESOTA UN MONTH

Friday, October 25, 1974
ST. PAUL HILTON HOTEL

9:30 a.m. MORNING SESSION . . . Panel Discussion

RESOURCES: A WORLD CRISIS

Alexander Shakow . . . . . Deputy Administrator in the Office of Program and Policy Co-ordination for A. I. D.

James W. Howe . . . . . Senior Fellow, Overseas Development Council

Moderator

Luther P. Gerlach . . . . . Professor of Anthropology, University of Minnesota

11:45 a.m. LUNCHEON

THE WORLD COMMUNITY:
CONFLICT OR COOPERATION ?

Saul H. Mendlovitz . . . . . President of the Institute for World Order
and
Professor of Law, Rutgers School of Law
State University of New Jersey.

TICKET ORDER FORM

RETURN TO:

UN Rally Ticket Chairman
Mrs. Robert J Malone
1865 Gluek Lane
St. Paul, Minnesota 55113
(Telephone 631-0368)

TICKETS MAY ALSO BE PURCHASED AT:

Dayton's Ticket Offices
Downtown
St. Paul or Minneapolis

OR

UN Association of Minnesota
55 South 8th St., Room 200
Minneapolis, Minnesota 55402
(Telephone 333-2824)

☐ Enclosed is my check for $_____ to cover _____ tickets at $7 each
☐ Enclosed is my check for $70 to reserve a luncheon table for 10
☐ Enclosed is my check for $_____ as a contribution

} Entire day's program and luncheon included.

Name _____ Organization _____

Address _____ Phone _____
Street City State Zip

PLEASE MAKE CHECKS PAYABLE TO UN RALLY FUND

THE UN RALLY 1945 - 1974

The United Nations Rally, the focal point of UN month in Minnesota, has been an annual event since 1945, when 2,000 women met to urge formation of the United Nations.

Since that time many distinguished speakers, such as Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt, Mme. Pandit–Nehru, and Ralph Bunche, have been brought to the Twin Cities by Rally Committees to describe and evaluate UN activities. The Rally membership has grown from its original 36 to its present 84 participating organizations. On their behalf, a 25 member Women's UN Rally Committee plans the program and co–ordinates the arrangements for the Rally.

Founder and first president of the Rally was Mrs. Arthur Brin. Her successors have been: Mmes. Donald J. Heng Sr., Charles Rauch, Allan Q. Moore, J. Edward Gerald, Burtrum Schiele, R. L. VanFossen, Orville Hognander, Burton Paulu, and Harold L. Holden.

President of the 1974 Rally is Mrs. Roy G. Letourneau. Mrs. Earl G. Yonehiro is 1974 Program Chairman. Mrs. Robert J. Malone is Ticket Chairman. The United Nations Association of Minnesota has been a co–sponsor of the Rally since 1968. Its president is Mrs. Burtrum C. Schiele.

UNITED NATIONS RALLY

29th YEAR

FRIDAY OCTOBER 25 1974

ST. PAUL HILTON HOTEL

$7 FOR ENTIRE DAY

SPONSORED BY THE WOMEN'S UNITED NATIONS RALLY AND THE UNITED NATIONS ASSOCIATION OF MINNESOTA

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*American Assn. of Univ. Women–Mpls. Branch/St. Paul Branch
American Red Cross
Arch. Council Catholic Women
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Assn. of Universalist Women
Augsburg College
*B'Nai B'rith Women's Council, Mpls.
Brandeis Univ. Natl. Women's Comm.
Twin Cities Branch
*Business & Prof. Woman's Club, Mpls.
Catholic Interracial Council, T. Cities
Church Women United–Greater Mpls./St. Paul/Minnesota
City of Mpls. Education Assoc.
College of St. Catherine
*DFL Women's Federation
Edina Women's Club
*Faculty Women's Club, U. of Minn.
Foreign Policy Association
*Hadassah, Mpls. and St. Paul
Hennepin Co. Republican Workshop
Hopkins Women's Club
International Institute
*Jewish Community Center of Mpls.
*Junior League, Mpls. and St. Paul
Lawyers' Wives of Hennepin County
*League of Women Voters: Bloomington, Burnsville, Brooklyn Center, Chaska, Crystal–New Hope, Eden Prairie–Minnetonka, Edina–Excelsior–Deephaven, Fridley, Falcon Heights, Golden Valley, Minneapolis, Minnesota, New Brighton, Richfield, Robbinsdale, Roseville, St. Anthony Village, St. Louis Park, St. Paul, Shoreview, Wayzata, White Bear
Lutheran Soc. Serv. Aux., Mpls.
*Mpls. Cent. Lab. Union Counc. AFL–CIO
*Mpls. Chamber of Comm., Women's Div.
*Mpls. Council PTA
*Mpls. League of Catholic Women
Mpls. Retired Teachers, Inc.
Mpls. Public Library
Mpls. AFL–CIO
Minn. Council Experiment Intl. Living
*Minn. Fed. Women's Clubs, 5th Dist.
Minn. Federation Women's Clubs
Natl. Council Jewish Women, Mpls./St. Paul Sect.
National Council of Negro Women
Planned Parenthood of Mpls.
St. Louis Park Women's Club
Sorosimist Club
Minnesota International Center
*National Council for UN Rally
*Town League of Women Voters, Mpls./St. Paul Sect.
UN Association of Minnesota
*Urban League Guild of Mpls.
Women's Club of Mpls.
Women's Alliance of First Unitarian Soc.
Women's Aux. Mpls. Dist. Dental Soc.
*Women's Intl. League, Peace and Freedom
*Women's Rotary Club
World Affairs Council of Minneapolis
World Federalists, Minn. Br.
World Fed. Paris
*Young Women's Christian Assoc. Zonta International, Minneapolis
*ORIGINAL MEMBER

THE UN RALLY 1945 — 1974

In 1944 Mrs. Arthur Brin, civic leader and teacher with interests and efforts directed to the attainment of world peace, called together 36 Minneapolis women's groups. To indicate their support for the new international organization proposed by the Dumbarton Oaks Conference, they held the first Rally in early 1945, planned for one thousand women and drew two thousand. Mrs. Brin, who served as first president of the Rally, had one of the proudest moments of her life when she was nominated by President Truman to attend the conference for the writing of the United Nations' charter in San Francisco that year.

Since those early beginnings the Rally has been an annual event and its membership has increased from its original 36 to 85 cooperating organizations. Presidents who have succeeded Mrs. Brin have been Mmes. Donald J. Heng Sr., Charles Rauch, Allan Q. Moore, J. Edward Gerald, Burtrum Schiele, R. L. VanFossen, Orville Hognander, Burton Paulu, Harold L. Holden, and Roy G. Letourneau. The UN Association of Minnesota has been a co-sponsor since 1968.

Many distinguished speakers, such as Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt, Mme. Pandit-Nehru, Ralph Bunche, and Barbara Ward, have been brought to the Twin Cities by Rally Committees to describe and evaluate UN activities with a recurring theme that international cooperation offers the best hope for world peace.

Further, quoting from remarks at the 1973 annual meeting of the American Society of International Law by Saul H. Mendlovitz, our keynote speaker of today: ***"It is necessary to accept seriously not only the rhetoric but the reality of the term 'the global village'. The task then of thoughtful and responsible individuals over this next two and a half decades, is to attempt to form a broad social transnational movement in which various peoples throughout the globe will have genuine participation in the creation of new kinds of transnational cooperation and new kinds of global institutions."***

MEMBER ORGANIZATIONS

Alrusa
*American Assn. of Univ. Women—Mpls. Branch/St. Paul Branch
*American Red Cross
Arch. Council Catholic Women
Assn. of Jewish Women's Organizations
Assn. of Universalist Women
Augsburg College
*B'nai B'rith Women's Council, Mpls.
Brandeis Univ. Natl. Women's Comm., Twin Cities Branch
*Business & Prof. Women's Club, Mpls.
Catholic Interracial Council, Twin Cities
Church Women United—Greater Mpls./St. Paul/Minnesota
City of Mpls. Education Assoc.
College of St. Catherine
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*Faculty Women's Club, U. of Minn.
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Hennepin Co. Republican Workshop
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*Minn. Fed. Women's Clubs, 5th Dist.
Minn. Federation of Women's Clubs
Minnesota International Center
*Natl. Council Jewish Women, Mpls./St. Paul Sect.
*National Council of Negro Women
Planned Parenthood of Mpls.
St. Louis Park Women's Club
Soroptimist Club
UN Association of Minnesota
*Urban League Guild of Mpls.
*Woman's Club of Mpls.
Women's Alliance of First Unitarian Soc.
Women's Aux., Mpls. Dist. Dental Soc.
*Women's Intl. League, Peace and Freedom
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TWENTY-NINTH ANNUAL
UNITED NATIONS RALLY

Friday
October 25, 1974
St. Paul Hilton Hotel

. . . To maintain international peace and security;
. . . To develop friendly relations among nations;
. . . To achieve co-operation in solving international economic, social, cultural and humanitarian problems, and in promoting respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms;
. . . To be a centre for harmonizing the actions of nations in attaining these common ends.

— The United Nations Charter

Sponsored by
The Women's United Nations Rally
and
The United Nations Association of Minnesota

$7.00 for the entire day—including Luncheon

UNITED NATIONS RALLY — FOCAL POINT OF MINNESOTA UN MONTH

FRIDAY, OCTOBER 25, 1974

9:30 MORNING SESSION

Panel Discussion

"RESOURCES: A WORLD CRISIS"

Wabasha Room . . . . . Lower Lobby

Introductions: Mrs. Robert M. Moore
Program Committee
Women's United Nations Rally

ALEXANDER SHAKOW
Deputy Administrator in the Office of Program and Policy Co–ordination for A.I.D.

JAMES W. HOWE
Senior Fellow, Overseas Development Council

Moderator

LUTHER P. GERLACH
Professor of Anthropology, University of Minn.

The University of Minnesota Radio Station KUOM will broadcast the UN Rally at 1:00 p.m. on the following Fridays: November 1, The Panel and November 8, Saul H. Mendlovitz.

THANK YOU

We wish to extend our sincere appreciation and thanks to all individuals and organizations whose generous support enabled us to bring this outstanding program to you.

The United Nations Association of Minnesota invites you to join its membership in its year long program of activity in support of the United Nations. Applications for membership will be available in the foyer.

11:45 LUNCHEON – Ballroom

Presiding . . . . . Mrs. Burtrum Schiele
President, United Nations Assn. of Minnesota

Invocation . . . . . Dr. Paul Noren
Pastor Emeritus, Mt. Olivet Lutheran Church

Solo . . . . . ***"Hymn of All Nations"***
(Finlandia by Sibelius)
Mildred Bullock, Soprano
Gertrude Hognander, Accompanist

Introduction of Guests

Introduction of Speaker . . . . . Barbara Stuhler
Program Committee
Women's United Nations Rally

Address: ***THE WORLD COMMUNITY: CONFLICT OR COOPERATION***

SAUL H. MENDLOVITZ

President of Institute for World Order
and
Professor of Law, Rutgers School of Law

SONG OF PEACE
Text – Lloyd Stone
Finlandia – Sibelius

This is my song, O God of all the nations
A song of peace for lands afar and mine
This is my home, the country where my heart is
Here are my hopes, my dreams, my holy shrine
But other hearts in other lands are beating
With hopes and dreams as true and high as mine.

My country's skies are bluer than the ocean
And sunlight beams on cloverleaf and pine.
But other lands have sunlight too, and clover
And skies are everywhere as blue as mine.
O hear my song, Thou God of all the nations
A song of peace – – for their land and for mine.

WOMEN'S UNITED NATIONS RALLY

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Ex Officio:

Mrs. Harold Holden – – Immediate Past President

The Board of Directors composed of members from various of its 85 participating organizations initiates, plans, and handles arrangements for the Rally. Invaluable help has been provided by members of the Minnesota UN Association. A special thank you is due also to others of our member groups who have assisted with various assignments.

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1974

MINNESOTA CHAIRMAN, UN DAY,
. . . . . David Bell
MINNEAPOLIS CHAIRMAN, UN DAY,
. . . . . Mrs. Alpha Smaby
ST. PAUL CO–CHAIRMEN, UN DAY,
. . . Dr. Richard Bailey and Mr. Thomas FitzGibbon, Jr.

UN: are there cracks in the glass house?

Not since 1960 when Khrushchev pounded his shoe on a table in the General Assembly has so much attention been directed to the United Nations. Whatever words--tumultuous, revolutionary, historic,--are used to describe the 29th General Assembly of the United Nations, most people would agree with Secretary General Kurt Waldheim's assessment: "In the past the Assembly has sometimes been criticized for failing to generate real public interest and concern. That criticism could certainly not be made of the session which has just closed."

Just as the shoe-pounding incident once symbolized Cold War attitudes at the UN, the picture of the PLO's Arafat, standing, gun holster in view, beside the armchair normally reserved for heads of state, has come to symbolize the changed attitudes and relationships of today's member nations. This year's General Assembly (GA) actions and debate reflected fundamental political and economic changes in global relationships. Voices other than those of the so-called Cold War adversaries now matter at the United Nations. The flexing of economic muscle by the oil-producing nations last year bolstered and unified the developing nations--the "new majority" of UN members. The developing nations with new-found confidence, now insist that UN programs, priorities and actions be reoriented to meet their economic and social needs.

Some GA votes, initiated and enacted by the new majority with little regard for minority sensitivities, attracted much attention and caused rancor in the Western World. Yet, other less-publicized votes on the 110 item agenda were supported and welcomed by the developed world. Said U.S. delegate Joseph M. Segel, "From the viewpoints of most of the Third World countries, the 29th General Assembly was a great success. From the viewpoint of the American press, it was a virtual disaster. Neither conclusion is entirely correct. It was a mixed bag." He continued, "If you look at a summary of our votes in the plenary body, you will probably be astonished to learn that we joined in adopting 125 resolutions, 90 by consensus, while opposing only 17 and raising objections to 32 others. In fact, on the two resolutions that our State Department considered most important for strategic considerations (the Cambodian and Korean issues), we lobbied extensively and won both times."

©1975 League of Women Voters Education Fund Pub. # 570 35¢ March 1975

The UN General Assembly began its 29th session in September by admitting Bangladesh, one of the world's most populous nations; Grenada, one of the smallest; and Guinea Bissau, one of the newest, to bring the total membership to 138. The agenda was one of the longest and most diverse the United Nations has ever considered. Items ranged from such humanitarian concerns as "Strengthening of the Office of the UN Disaster Relief Coordinator" and UN action on global problems of food and population to such administrative and budgetary matters as the "Translation of some official documents into the German language."

It was not until the General Assembly addressed the items, "Relationship between the UN and South Africa" and "The Question of Palestine" that what was expected to be an uneventful--even dull--session suddenly came to life.

SOUTH AFRICA LOSES VOTE

On November 12, the GA voted 91 to 22 to uphold a ruling by the Assembly's president, Foreign Minister Abdelaziz Bouteflika of Algeria, that "the General Assembly refuses to allow the delegation of South Africa to participate in its work." Contrary to widespread reports, South Africa's membership in the United Nations was not revoked, but the country was suspended from participation in the 29th session of the General Assembly. Nonetheless, it was the first time in UN history that a member state had been denied the right to participate and vote in an Assembly.

The United States unsuccessfully challenged the ruling denying South Africa the vote in the GA, which was also opposed by other members including Britain and several Western European and South American countries. The move to suspend South Africa was led by African members who denounced the South African government's racial policies, its refusal to relinquish control over Namibia

UPDATE International

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(South West Africa) and its military support for Rhodesia's white minority government. Nations opposed to the suspension expressed abhorrence for South Africa's practice of apartheid, but argued that depriving it of an Assembly seat was unlawful under the UN Charter and could set a dangerous precedent for the future.

Article V of the UN Charter stipulates that a suspension of membership must be recommended by the Security Council. On October 30, before the vote suspending South Africa from GA participation, the Security Council had refused to suspend South Africa's UN membership. The U.S., Britain and France had used their veto power in the Security Council to block an African-led campaign to expel South Africa from the United Nations. At that time, the three Western powers argued that the world could more easily bring about change in South Africa if communications were kept open through the United Nations.

LEGITIMIZING THE PLO

GA action on resolutions dealing with Israel also generated controversy, especially in the United States. In a move that some saw as evidence of international logrolling, Arab members led a successful drive supported by Communist nations to invite the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) to speak in the GA plenary debate on "The Question of Palestine." The Assembly approved a resolution declaring that the "Palestinian people is the principal party to the question of Palestine" and invited the PLO as "the representative of the Palestinian people," to participate in the deliberations. Represenatives of liberation organizations have participated on a number of occasions in other UN committees and activities but never in GA debate.

In a highly controversial ruling, President Bouteflika limited Israel's right to speak during the Palestine debate. Israel had put her name on the speaker's list for each day of debate. President Bouteflika ruled, that, under Rule 74 of the Assembly's procedures (which allows for limiting the number of times each representative may speak on a question), that all states be permitted to speak only once during debate. His ruling was affirmed by a vote of 75 to 23 with 18 abstentions.

On November 13, as Yasir Arafat addressed the GA, he was greeted with enthusiasm from many Third World delegates on the Assembly floor. Subsequently, two resolutions concerning the PLO won GA approval. One recognized the Palestinians' right to return to their homes and property. Israel protested, arguing that the implementation of the resolution would mean Israel's destruction. The second, gave observer status to the PLO for the 29th General Assembly. Contrary to some news reports, the PLO was not granted UN membership.

Arafat was not the first person not representing a nation state to speak before the General Assembly. Although Pope Paul VI had addressed the General Assembly in 1965, there has been disagreement as to whether the Pope spoke in his capacity as head of the Roman Catholic Church or as the head of a sovereign state, Vatican City. The Pope's address elicited emotional reactions of a nature different from those which accompanied the appearance of the PLO leader. The latter ranged from jubilant acclaim to disgust at the recognition accorded a representative of a group which has admitted to using terrorist tactics to achieve its goals. Arafat's reception and the granting of observer status at the UN to the PLO may have set far-reaching precedents; by recognizing the PLO, the General Assembly may have opened the door to demands for similar treatment from other liberation movements.

CONTROVERSY IN UNESCO

The General Assembly was always intended to be a political forum where nations could debate issues from widely differing viewpoints. The UN specialized agencies, on the other hand, are theoretically free from the tug and pull of international politics. But theory and practice frequently differ. At about the same time as the Palestine debate in New York, the General Conference of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), meeting in Paris, adopted several resolutions on Israel. Many observers considered these resolutions to be politically motivated.

One resolution rejected Israel's request to be included in the European regional grouping of member states. There are five such groups: Asia and Oceania, Latin America and Caribbean, Africa, Europe and the Arab states. Prior to the November 1974 General Conference, Israel--along with the United States and Canada--was among 15 states which did not belong to a regional group. In recent years, UNESCO has emphasized regional activities and conferences, and the November meeting placed in regional groups all major nation members but one--Israel. Israel may participate as an observer in activities or conferences sponsored by any regional group, since all UNESCO members have that right.

A second resolution condemned Israel "for persisting in altering the historic features of the City of Jerusalem and undertaking excavations which constitute danger to its monuments." The General Conference based its condemnation on Israel's failure to comply with the terms of a 1954 UNESCO convention banning archeological excavations without UNESCO supervision in territories occupied during armed conflicts--in this case, Jerusalem.

That same resolution called on the UNESCO Director General to withhold from Israel economic assistance in the fields of education, science and culture until such time as Israel "scrupulously respects" UNESCO resolutions "on the protection of the cultural heritage of Jerusalem." UNESCO action in cutting off aid was largely a symbolic sanction because Israel receives relatively little cultural assistance from UNESCO. In 1973-74, Israel contributed in dues eight times the $24,000 it received in aid.

In another resolution, the General Conference called on Israel to refrain from any act "hindering the population of the occupied Arab territories in the exercise of their rights to national education."

Widespread publicity quickly aroused world opinion. Although General Conference delegates voting in favor of the resolutions said they were motivated by Israel's persistent violation of the 1954 UNESCO convention and Israel's nonadherence to past UNESCO decisions, the taint of politics could not be removed. Many U.S. and European intellectuals and scientists threatened to boycott UNESCO. The Swiss voted a 10 percent cut in that country's annual UNESCO contribution. In the United States, a Foreign Assistance Act amendment, proposed by Senator Case (Rep., N.J.) and passed by Congress, barred any new U.S. appropriation for UNESCO until the resolutions affecting Israel were rescinded. The U.S. National Commission for UNESCO, made up of about 100 individuals appointed by the U.S. Secretary of State, condemned UNESCO's actions against Israel.

UNESCO Director General Amadou M' Bow of Senegal said, "There has been reference to the 'politicization of UNESCO', as if the agencies of the United Nations system had not in fact been born of a political determination to found a just and durable peace...UNESCO is composed of almost the same member states as the UN. The delegates to its General Conference are government representatives. It is therefore natural that the problems which perturb the world today should find an echo there." He implored UNESCO members to return to dialogue, tolerance and understanding. He said that UNESCO should, perhaps, avoid adopting resolutions that leave profound bitterness among members.

A UNESCO background paper released after the General Conference points out that "Israel has not been excluded from UNESCO by the decision on regional groupings. Indeed, no provision for the exclusion of any member state is made by the organization's constitution: South Africa, which withdrew from UNESCO in 1956 over its stand on race, and Portugal, which withdrew from 1972 until this year, did so voluntarily."

ON THE PLUS SIDE

While the issues of South Africa, the PLO, and UNESCO filled headlines in the United States, other important actions taken by the 29th General Assembly were, by comparison, neglected by the press.

"YOU NEED MUCH STRENGTHENING."

One of the more sensitive issues on the Assembly agenda involved Cyprus--the overthrow of the island's government, the Turkish invasion, and the problem of displaced persons from both the Greek and Turkish communities. The Assembly unanimously called for the withdrawal of all "foreign armed forces," a halt to "foreign interference," the safe return of an estimated 70,000 refugees and continuation of the inter-community talks under the aegis of the Secretary-General's Special Representative. The Security Council endorsed the Assembly recommendations and extended authorization of the decade-old UN peacekeeping force on Cyprus.

In other action on peacekeeping, the Security Council also extended the mandates for six months for both the United Nations Emergency Force (UNEF) and the United Nations Disengagement Observer Force (UNDOF). The General Assembly approved financing of UNDOF's deployment between Israeli and Syrian forces on the Golan Heights and UNEF's operations in the Egyptian-Israeli buffer zone.

The General Assembly acted in a number of areas where the United Nations is increasingly becoming the major international instrument for dealing with global or "interdependent" issues. The Assembly endorsed the World Plan of Action and other resolutions of the World Population Conference held under its auspices last August in Bucharest. The General Assembly also provided the needed fol-

"The recommendations of the Assembly are the result of compromise, bargaining, long and harrowing discussions at meetings, and so on. I do not believe that these methods have changed much since 1948. What has changed is that we are now achieving universality. Membership in the organization has almost tripled in less than 20 years. The organization is the reflection of the member states composing it, and looking around us we see that it is indeed the configuration of our world which is being transformed, and not the methods of the organization. What has changed is that it is no longer possible for a small group of powerful countries to take decisions for the whole human race without consulting it. Just because we are in this 'glass house' does not mean we can insulate ourselves from what happens outside. Over the past few years the international community has been confronted with a new order of problems of dimensions hitherto unknown. Never have we seen with as much acuity as today the profound interdependence between nations large and small, rich and poor. The only possible course for humanity is one of sincere cooperation in mutual respect." *Foreydoon Hoveyda of Iran.*

low-up to the November 1974 Rome Food Conference by establishing a World Food Council and an International Fund for Agricultural Development. (See the LWVEF's UPDATE International, "Food/People: The Troublesome Equation," #550, February 1975.)

The General Assembly called on governments to participate actively in observing International Women's Year (1975) and establish national machinery "to train and equip women to make a greater contribution to, and become more fully integrated in, the economic and social life of the nation" and "to eliminate discrimination on grounds of sex." Plans continued for the IWY Conference now slated for June 19 to July 2, 1975 in Mexico City.

When U.S. delegates are asked what they consider to be on the credit side of the ledger for the 29th General Assembly, they point to the vote on Cambodian (Khmer Republic) representation and the vote on South Korea. The Assembly rejected a campaign, led by China, to expel the Cambodian government headed by President Lon Nol in favor of Prince Norodom Sihanouk, the deposed leader who heads a government in exile in Peking. Following intensive U.S. lobbying, the Third World bloc split, and the General Assembly voted a narrow 56 to 54 with 24 abstentions to maintain the Lon Nol government's representation of Cambodia.

The United States also defeated a campaign, led by some Communist and developing countries, for the withdrawal of the 38,000 American troops from South Korea and an end to the UN Command there. (The Command was set up in 1950 to defend South Korea from a North Korean invasion.) The Assembly urged continued talks between North and South Korea and included the recommendation that the Security Council give future consideration to the question of withdrawing the UN Command.

OTHER BUSINESS AS USUAL

Acting on the report of the UN Group of Eminent Persons on multinational corporations (termed "transnational" by the UN), the 29th GA established a Research Center on Transnational Corporations and an Intergovernmental Commission on Transnational Corporations. The 48-member commission, to be elected by the Economic and Social Council, will draw on the expertise of representatives of business, labor, the academic community, consumer organizations and other groups around the world. The General Assembly instructed the commission to define "transnational corporations," establish a code of conduct, oversee the code's application and guide the work of the Information and Research Center.

An effort which began under the League of Nations more than 50 years ago reached fruition when the 29th GA session agreed on a definition of aggression. Legally, the definition provides the necessary trigger for invoking Chapter VII of the UN Charter which calls for mandatory Security Council peacekeeping action in cases of aggression. Politically, it is worded broadly enough so that aggression can be defined in any way the Security Council decides, and it is unlikely that the definition will have any appreciable effect on the behavior of governments. Its mere existence, however, is a valuable addition to international law and a potentially useful precedent for the future.

The Assembly passed a record 21 resolutions on disarmament issues ranging from acceptance of a report on the effects of nuclear radiation to a call for the complete cessation of nuclear testing, but most resolutions repeated those of prior GA sessions. The continuing gap between such resolutions and their implementation led one veteran observer to point out that "we must not confuse activity with progress."

The Assembly once again refused to deal with international terrorism. Western powers, hoping to establish conventions which would discourage hijackings and similar acts, were unable to garner sufficient international support. Arabs charged that the Western initiative was aimed at them and African nations feared that antiterrorist measures could be used to suppress legitimate liberation movements.

Near the session's end, the Assembly established a 42-member ad hoc committee to discuss proposals to revise the UN Charter and "to consider other suggestions for the more effective functioning of the UN that may not require amendments to the Charter." The UN Charter has been amended in the past, most notably to enlarge the Security Council and ECOSOC. Any basic changes at this time, however, are considered unlikely. The permanent members of the Security Council are opposed to changes in the Charter, particularly those affecting their veto power. Any Charter revision is subject to the veto. Whether or not the committee makes any specific recommendations, it will serve as a forum to reassess UN procedures which many nations feel do not accurately reflect the interests of the numerical majority.

THE THIRD WORLD--ONE VOICE OR MANY?

The Korean and Cambodian votes have been cited as evidence that the Third World is not a monolith. The Third World bloc and even the Arab bloc split on both these important votes. Some influential Asian delegates sided with the U.S. position, mainly because of uneasiness concerning Peking's designs.

In assessing the 29th General Assembly, many UN delegates pointed out that neither total nor constant agreement existed among the so-called "nonaligned" bloc. There was often division between the "moderate" and the "radical" groups of developing nations. Delegates reported behind-the-scenes disagreements on developing country strategy between the Algerians, who throughout the session acted as self-appointed leaders of the Third World under GA President Bouteflika, and the more moderate delegations from Yugoslavia and Indonesia. At the end of the session, it was clear to many that Bouteflika had been the most deliberately political of all GA presidents, although he was not accused of misinterpreting the will of the General Assembly. He accepted challenges to his rulings suspending South Africa and curbing Israel's right to speak, but his rulings were upheld by large majorities in each case. As the UN saying goes, the Assembly is master of its own procedures and the majority commands the Assembly.

Certainly, in this General Assembly, President Bouteflika was the most visible and audible symbol of the profound transformation the United Nations has undergone since the Sixties. At that time, colonial empires gave way to scores of newly independent nations, which sent their representatives to New York to become members of the world organization. Having achieved political independence, these new countries began to strive for economic self-determination.

Charles W. Yost, former U.S. Ambassador to the United Nations wrote in the New Republic, "Ever since the less-developed countries became the majority they have been passing resolutions calling on the rich to assist much more substantially in their development, to improve the terms of trade that have until recently been heavily in their disfavor, and to police multinational corporations, which they believe have in many cases exploited them. The fact that there has been only a very modest response to these repeated appeals accounts in substantial part for the recent quadrupling of oil prices by OPEC, for the wave of nationalizations of foreign properties, particularly in Latin America, and for the one-sided resolutions on these subjects adopted by the UN Assembly.

The developing nations, for the most part former colonies still chafing from long histories as the suppliers of cheap raw materials and the buyers of increasingly costly manufactured goods from the Western industrialized nations, have pushed for "economic liberation" at every session of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD) since that body was established in 1964. They spelled out their demands for more equal distribution of world wealth in the New International Economic Order, a resolution adopted by the UN's Sixth Special Session on Raw Materials and Development last April. They continued to solidify their position in the Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of States adopted by the 29th General Assembly. The New International Economic Order will undoubtedly dominate discussions in the Seventh Special Session on Development and International Economic Cooperation to be held in September of 1975 immediately preceding the 30th regular GA session.

The Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of States stemmed from a proposal made by Mexico at the 1972 session of UNCTAD. Though roughly parallel to the New International Economic Order of the Sixth Special Session, the wording of the charter was considerably softened during long negotiations in the GA Second Committee. The United States had originally accepted the general idea of the charter, but the U.S. delegation

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"Rather than trying to reserve decision-making on these critical issues for a 'rich man's club' of affluent states, the 'practical majority' must, if it wishes the decisions to be carried out, submit them at an early stage to a forum of all concerned. To the same end the 'numerical majority' must forego the symbolic 'triumphs' that so provoke and alienate their powerful partners, must be less compliant to the small coterie of radical activists within their group, and must engage systematically in a far more persistent search for consensus among the two 'majorities.'

"Finally, however, let it be clearly remembered what the General Assembly is and what it is not. It is a sounding board, a spectacular global opinion poll, a 'face the world' talk show. It is not a parliament to pass laws or coerce its members. When decisions need to be taken by the United Nations they will be taken, in regard to the maintenance of peace, by the Security Council, where the United States and four others have a veto, and in regard to the critical issues of economic interdependence in the specialized agencies and conferences, few of whose decisions can in fact be implemented without the support of those possessing, in each case, the relevant economic resources." *Charles W. Yost, former U.S. Ambassador to the United Nations.*

voted against it "with deep regret" in the Second Committee because no compromise had been reached on its most controversial provisions. (Voting on the charter in the Second Committee was highly unusual in that delegates voted on individual paragraphs and articles. Fifty-four separate votes were taken with the U.S. voting yes on all but 14 and abstaining on 8.) Among charter provisions opposed by the United States and other developed nations were those:

- giving countries nationalizing foreign property the right to settle compensation disputes according to domestic rather than international law (in other words, without the international safeguards of full and fair compensation demanded by the West);
- legitimizing the formation of producers' associations (cartels) such as OPEC;
- recognizing the right of each nation to regulate and supervise the activities of multinational corporations operating within its national boundaries;
- proposing "indexation" (that is, establishing linkage between the price of exports and imports) so that when prices of manufactured goods imported by developing nations go up, prices of the raw materials they export automatically increase by a comparable amount. (Developing nations have long complained that the prices of their raw material exports have been falling while the prices of the manufactured goods they import from developed nations have continued to rise.)

WHO RUNS THE UNITED NATIONS ?

Debate during the 29th General Assembly on the Rumanian item "Strengthening the role of the United Nations" underscored the Assembly's divisions and alignments and brought to the surface the undercurrent of tensions and resentments running throughout the session.

Having returned from a trip to Ohio and Washington, D.C., where he was besieged by public and congressional criticism of recent actions taken by the General Assembly and UNESCO, John Scali, U.S. Ambassador to the UN, warned of decreasing public support for the United Nations. His speech to the General Assembly launched the "Grand Debate" at the UN and sparked headlines and public debate. "The function of all parliaments is to provide expression to the majority will. Yet when the rule of the majority becomes the tyranny of the majority, the minority will cease to respect or obey it, and the parliament will cease to function..." Ambassador Scali said. "My country cannot participate effectively in the United Nations without the support of the American people and the American Congress. For years they have provided that support generously...[but] support is eroding--in our Congress and among our people..."

Ambassador Scali and other Western diplomats cited a growing tendency in the General Assembly to adopt unenforceable resolutions. "Each time the Assembly adopts a resolution that it knows will not be implemented, it damages the credibility of the UN," Ambassador Scali said.

Western critics also accused the Assembly of violating its charter and rules of procedure. The Western countries complained that harsh, one-sided, unrealistic resolutions and unfair, even illegal, parliamentary tactics by the developing-nation majority undermined the organization's purpose. Insisting on greater "realism," Westerners warned that continuation of current trends would transform the Assembly into a Third World lobby which passes resolutions no longer taken seriously by those in the position to carry them out.

"No positive action can be undertaken in the United Nations if there is not the prior acceptance of the countries whose cooperation is indispensable if the programs are to be implemented; in the economic field especially, consensus is frequently necessary," said Ambassador Edouard Longerstaey of Belgium.

Third World speakers responded sharply and criticized what they saw as the self-serving arguments of the developed nations. They pointed to U.S. dominance of the UN during the first phase of the organization after World War II. "The countries which today are rebelling against the rule of the majority are the very same which constituted the majority of yesterday...those countries had the additional advantage of having taken part in drafting the charter and the rules of procedure of our organizations and have thus been able to ensure that their own views would prevail," said the chief delegate of Algeria, Abdellatif Rahal.

Third World delegates charged the West with hypocrisy, arguing that for 25 years the West's supposed commitment to racial justice was not reflected in its votes on southern African issues. They also argued that if the Assembly's current majority used a ruse to circumvent the charter in pursuit of what they regarded as an eminently just cause (South Africa's exclusion from the 29th General Assembly), so did the Assembly's U.S.-led majority on November 3, 1950. On that day, the General Assembly passed the famous "Uniting for Peace" resolution which allowed it to take action on a matter threatening international peace if the Security Council was unable to act. The resolution was supported by the United States as a means to circumvent Soviet opposition to the use of UN forces to repel the North Korean invasion of South Korea.

Some nations questioned the seemingly contradictory position of the United States on the issue of universal membership. "For years the United States rejected the restoration of lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations, yet last week it lamented the temporary, punitive action by this Assembly against South Africa," Abdallah Saleb Ashtal of Democratic (South) Yemen said. "When the Soviet Union vetoed their resolutions in the Security Council, it was an abuse of the 'veto power' but when they cast a triple veto to retain the membership of South Africa in the UN, theirs was a 'responsible act.'"

Alfonso Garcia Robles of Mexico said that rather than a "tyranny of the majority" in the Assembly, there was all too often "a paralyzing dictatorship" of the big power minority with its Security Council veto. Chaidir Anwar Sani of Indonesia said that a majority exists on issues regarding decolonization, the New Economic Order, and to a certain extent, the Middle East and South Africa. It consists of "developing countries which in the past have suffered from exploitation and who now want to see the rules of the game changed," he said. He also suggested that the apprehensions of the "so-called" minority of major powers be recognized and that all nations examine their own behavior in the United Nations.

In the final days of the debate, many delegates picked up this theme of self-criticism and both developed and developing nations called for negotiation and cooperation rather than confrontation. "On the one hand, the major powers increasingly bypass the multilateral framework. On the other hand, the developing countries increasingly have to take recourse to confrontation, as a result of the lack of political will of the developed countries to cooperate. Only by joint efforts, only in a multilateral framework can we hope to succeed. That framework is the UN," Johan Kaufmann of the Netherlands said.

UN: THE WORLD REFLECTED

No participant in the "Grand Debate" denied that the configuration of today's world is totally different from that of the early days of the UN. When the Charter was drawn up in San Francisco, World War II was almost over. The Allies were still for the most part united. There was little thought of the coming Cold War or of the future effects of nationalism in the developing world. The framers of the UN Charter gave little thought to such topics as development, population, energy, the environment and global food supplies. Few people in 1944-45 had the vision to foresee the dimensions of the problems of the post-war world.

The United Nations reflects the changes that have taken place in those 29 years. It is no longer "a small club of nations, mostly European in background and outlook," a Jordanian delegate said. In today's United Nations five permanent members of the Security Council (the Allies of the Second World War) seldom agree. The days have passed when the U.S. had only to say a word and 20 Latin American republics and other allies would form a secure majority in a 51-member General Assembly. Now the former territories and colonies in Africa and Asia outnumber the original members. The work of the UN system has increasingly reflected the concern of these new nations with problems of economic development, education, health, racial discrimination and self-determination.

The General Assembly, where the Third World has a majority, can only make recommendations. Binding decisions, except those relating to the budget, can be taken only by the Security Council where the major powers have permanent seats and veto power. GA resolutions, though they may not be law, do reflect the opinions of governments, which in many, if not in all, cases represent a large majority of the world's people. Some UN critics have recently argued that many UN delegates do not truly represent their people, pointing out that many come from authoritarian countries and are not elected by "democratic" means. Nonetheless, the UN Charter does not specify the form of government a member country must have. As the late Dag Hammerskjold said, the General Assembly is "a reflection of the world as it is."

"The UN is an intensely political organization," said Robert Rhodes James, Principal Officer in the Executive Office of the Secretary-General. "In any field in which it is engaged, the political element is dominant. By 'political' I include national rivalries, group rivalries, ambitions, and ideological differences. This element remains the 1945 concept and must remain if this Organization is to be real, and is to reflect the actual realities of the world we live in and not the world which we would like to be inhabiting. It is this

reflection of world realities, the world as it is, which gives the UN its strength, its relevance, and its potentialities."

WHAT KIND OF FUTURE?

What should be done for the United Nations to achieve its potential--to become the organization of which its founders dreamed? What is the future of the United Nations? What should the U.S.'s role be in shaping that future?

Some forecast a scenario that goes like this: The United States, upset by Third World behavior and political defeats in the General Assembly, cuts off all contributions to the United Nations. The Middle East oil-producing nations fill the 25% gap in the UN budget and the General Assembly votes to move UN headquarters to Algeria. The UN is out of the U.S. and the U.S. is out of the UN.

This dramatic extrapolation of current disenchantment with the United Nations does not seem exaggerated to some. For example, former Senator Peter Dominick (R., Colo.) has proposed that the U.S. withdraw from active participation in the General Assembly while continuing to protect U.S. interests by participating in the Security Council and to work with many of the UN special agencies. "General Assembly irresponsibility has now made it [the GA] irrelevant and increasingly harmful. We should let it go its way without us, not only without our participation, but with any luck in some other locale than New York," he said.

Others have suggested that the United States cut back financial support for the United Nations, continue its policy of what the U.S. Mission calls "damage limitation" and undertake important negotiations only bilaterally or in such organizations as the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund where the developed nations still have control.

Former U.S. Ambassador Charles W. Yost has a different view: "What should be the response to these political pyrotechnics in the UN Assembly? Should the Western countries further reduce their already half-hearted support? Just the contrary. If a mutually destructive cold war between north and south, between developed and developing countries, seems to be brewing, the United Nations, where all are represented, is precisely the place to deal with it, to mitigate it, to overcome it."

All that is being written and spoken in the continuing debate about the UN's value and performance remind many UN observers of the words of the late Secretary General U Thant. "Take care, in today's troubled world there might not even be a chance to establish a new international organization, much less one better than the United Nations. Cherish it, improve it, but do not forsake it..."

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memorandum

League of Women Voters Education Fund

March 7, 1975 THIS IS GOING ON DPM

TO: State and Local League Presidents (for International Relations Chairmen)

FROM: Ruth Hinerfeld, Chairman, International Relations Committee

The LWVEF International Relations Department is pleased to be able to send you the latest issue of Commitment focusing on International Women's Year.

The UNDP Commitment contains materials which supplement the December memo on IWY to state League presidents and the article in the Fall issue of the VOTER. It also contains an insert listing programming ideas and resources on IWY.

Please pass this material to your state or local International Relations Chairman (or whichever Board member has this portfolio) so that she may use them in programming.

Contributions to the Fund are deductible for income tax purposes

COMMIT-MENT 1974 NUMBER FOUR

1975 A YEAR FOR THE WHOLE HUMAN RACE

Yes, another Year ... and yet *not* just another Year. Because, in three specific ways, 1975—International Women's Year—has broader aims and greater significance than its name alone implies.

First of all, International Women's Year is not solely a global extension of the women's liberation movement—a movement which has primarily been of, by and for upper and middle class elites in the world's wealthier countries. On the contrary, the Year is one for *all women everywhere*—including, particularly, the women of the developing nations.

Secondly, the main thrust of the Year is not simply toward "equality". Rather, it is toward *adequate preparation for equal opportunity in a partnership of responsibility.*

This basic conceptual enlargement leads directly to the Year's third major goal—*which is not simply the betterment of women but of all humankind.*

To say that women everywhere have long been an underprivileged majority, is only to repeat a truism. But for the women of the low-income countries—and for those countries themselves—that truism can, and often does, have truly tragic implications. Stifled by patriarchal traditions, crippled by illiteracy, tied down to manual labour and an unbroken cycle of child-bearing, hundreds of millions of these women lead "lives of incompleteness". And because of this, their intelligence, creativity, devotion and energy are getting only marginal use as instruments for speeding development progress. The UN's designation of 1975 as International Women's Year is a pledge to begin bringing this vast segment of humanity into the mainstream of civic, social and economic life.

As the article on page 5 clearly shows, a first step in many communities may be preparing women to accept new opportunities—even such basic ones as the opportunity for schooling; or for training in skills that will help them ease household burdens, contribute to family earnings, raise healthier children and enjoy better health of their own.

Far beyond this, of course, women must be equipped and allowed to practice, on a par with men, the entire range of trades and professions—and to engage themselves in all aspects, and at all levels, of cultural and political life. In short, they should feel competent, comfortable and needed in whatever societal niche they choose—from housewife or mother to careerist or policy-maker and anything in between. And it is certainly worth noting that, in several low-income countries, women have already gained great prominence in public life and fill the highest governmental positions—proving conclusively that sexual prejudice can be overcome.

There are many injustices to be righted in countries, at all stages of development. But sometimes, in its extremest expressions, the drive for women's advancement overlooks the complementary need for partnership in responsibility. Yet this, too is what Women's Year is really about—because the entire validity of having such a Year rests on the idea of liberation "for", not just liberation "from".

Thus the goal for 1975 is to start breaking down every barrier to the forward movement of women in all parts of the world—freeing them to share both the tasks and the fulfillments that are the birthright of all humankind.

This issue of COMMITMENT is a call to every non-governmental organization to exert special efforts toward that end. NGOs often operate almost solely within the comfortable confines of their own membership structures. International Women's Year demands extraordinary initiative and ingenuity in reaching out beyond this pattern. It requires a concerted effort to help great masses of women build a more rewarding life for themselves and a more productive life for their countries. ■

A MESSAGE FOR "COMMITMENT"

by
MRS. HELVI SIPILÄ
Assistant Secretary-General
Centre for Social Development
and Humanitarian Affairs

I think there is a strong natural bond between the interests of the NGO community and the aims of International Women's Year. This is based not simply, or even primarily, on the fact that the majority of NGO members are women. Far more important is the fact that the majority of NGOs are concerned and social minded activists, who have at their disposal the "machinery" for getting things done.

The critical problems that confront the world today—including shortages of food and fuel, out-of-control inflation, and a general deterioration in conditions of daily life—often bear down especially hard on women. Thus it is particularly ironical that women are still largely denied the right and the opportunity to play a full role in dealing with these problems. Considering the waste of talent and energy involved, that is a truly tragic paradox for the whole human race.

International Women's Year gives us a new chance to put this paradox behind us once and for all. However, there are three prerequisites that I would like to call to your special attention. Men and women must work at the job together. Both must devote to this task not only their hearts and minds but their full organizational strength. And that organizational strength must be drawn from all sections of the community and from all communities of the world.

Separatism and inequality are too wastful of human potentials and too destructive of human hopes to be tolerated any longer. I hope you will join your forces with those of the United Nations in doing away with our age-old divisions *now.* ■

A UNITED NATIONS DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMME
SERVICE BULLETIN FOR NON GOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATIONS

IWY—AS A MATTER OF FACT

	MORE DEVELOPED AREAS		LESS DEVELOPED AREAS	
Female adult illiteracy	Europe North America	4.7% 1.9%	Africa Asia Latin America	83.7% 56.7% 27.3%
Percentage of females studying at: Primary level	Europe North America	87.8% 88.2%	Africa Asia Latin America	32.9% 45.2% 66.3%
Secondary level	Europe North America	32.4% 61.5%	Africa Asia Latin America	19.0% 27.9% 25.6%
University level	Europe North America	5.0% 8.0%	Africa Asia Latin America	2.0% 3.8% 4.5%
Percentage of women economically active	Europe North America	29.4% 25.0%	Africa Asia Latin America	26.3% 21.5% 17.1%
Percentage of economically active women employed in agriculture	Europe North America	23.0% 2.5%	Africa Asia Latin America	49.0% 52.0% 12.0%
Percentage of women between the ages of 15 and 19 who are married, divorced or widowed	Europe North America	6.7% 9.9%	Africa Asia Latin America	40.7% 27.9% 15.2%
Average of number of children	Europe North America	Between 2 and 4	Africa Asia Latin America	Between 5 and 7
Life expectancy		74 years		55 years
Women in national parliaments—some examples:	Denmark Finland USSR	17% 21.5% 38%	Egypt Trinidad & Tobago India	2% 7% 2.3%

WOMEN TO WOMEN—SMALL TO GREAT

Statistics can be desensitizing. Large numbers, in particular, tend to produce numbness. Thus, when we read that nearly two billion people in the world's developing countries live in rural areas where only one in ten has access to health care facilities, the figures may have little impact unless we put a human face on them.

But one of the things they *do* mean is that the well-being—and even the survival—of almost all the children in these areas totally depends on whether or not their mothers can give them adequate care. This is why the Associated Country Women of the World (ACWW) focusses constant attention on finding innovative ways to strengthen the capabilities these homemakers imperatively need.

The ACWW has some 8,000,000 members in 68 countries—more than half of them citizens of the low-income nations. A major task of the Organization's affiliates in these nations is to work for improved living conditions, for better homes and better planned families, and for the basic education women require to fight poverty, hunger and disease. Self-help programmes are key to ACWW's approach. In partnership with governments and UN agencies (who supply guidance); with ACWW members from the industrialized nations, (who provide financial assistance); and with the local people (who carry out the projects), far-reaching activities have been initiated throughout the developing world.

What's happening in Sri Lanka is a good case in point. The Government, with UN help, is relocating families from the slums of Colombo to uncrowded parts of the countryside. The people themselves are building the roads and the homes. Through the UNESCO Gift Coupon Scheme, ACWW member societies overseas raised the funds to set up training and handicraft centres in twenty-five new villages. These were provided with looms, sewing machines and nutrition education materials for the women and with books and playground facilities for the children. ACWW's national affiliate, the Lanka Mahila Samiti, furnishes raw materials for the Centres' production activities and a sales outlet for the finished goods at their Craft Shop in Colombo. For villages where there are no centres, ACWW financing has made available a mobile demonstration unit. The Lanka Mahila Samiti also maintains a permanent leadership training facility in Kaduela, where young women can avail themselves of both short and long-term courses.

ACWW believes that women's clubs have an important role to play in the total development effort. But, they are also aware that without adequate preparation, the involvement of women in decision-making is neither likely nor realistic. However, when the teaching is done by leaders whom women know and trust, they very rapidly become capable of playing effective roles.

Not too many years ago, for example, women in Kenya were not expected to be actively involved in community affairs. But great changes have taken place in a relatively short time. An ACWW pioneer decided to help small groups of women who accompanied their husbands to Nairobi, where the men went to study agriculture, by teaching them basic methods of bettering their way of life. There was only one requirement: upon their return home, these women had to share with others the knowledge they had gained.

News travelled fast and, when the next "school session" began, scores of wives came to avail themselves of this opportunity. At ACWW's suggestion, UNICEF began to supply some much-needed milk for the children, as well as for others in poverty-stricken rural areas. Next, large-scale child-feeding programmes were started and a network of local women's clubs—the Maendeleo Y Wanawake (the Women's Movement)—sprang up in conjunction with them. Today there are thousands of these clubs throughout the country. And, at the recent session of the Status of Women Commission in New York, Kenya sent as its delegate the first President of the Maendeleo Y Wanawake—a major symbolic and practical step forward for Kenya's womanhood.

The Indians of the American Northeast used to have a saying that: "The way to cross a river is to cross a river". By this they meant that learning comes from doing and that the essential thing is to start, no matter in how small a way. ACWW activities, throughout the developing lands, are proving the wisdom of this adage. And they are also demonstrating that, when women help women, even the smallest start at the lowest local level can lengthen into great upward strides nation-wide. ■

A PRELIMINARY LOOK AT THE YEAR AHEAD

Many activities for 1975 are already in advanced planning stages but not all dates or locations have been firmly set. Readers interested in any of the events outlined below should consult the IWY BULLETIN, issued periodically by the Centre for Social Development and Humanitarian Affairs, UN—and also available from any UN Information Centre or UNDP Resident Representative's office.

1 January 1975	Launching INTERNATIONAL WOMEN'S YEAR (occasion for national NGO statements and proclamations.)
February 1975	Regional Seminar to be held in Mexico. Theme: Integration of women in development with special reference to population factors. (UN sponsored)
18-22 February 1975	Congress of Business and Professional Women of the Americas/Mexico City, Mexico. Theme: Women and work. (Sponsored by the National Federation of Business and Professional Women of the U.S.)
8 March 1975	International Women's Day.
April 1975	Western Hemisphere Seminar, Kingston, Jamaica. Theme: The Realization of Women's Rights. (Co-sponsors: UNESCO with the UNESCO National Commissions of Jamaica, Canada and the United States.)
23 June-4 July 1975	International Women's Conference, Mexico City, Mexico. (UN-sponsored inter-governmental meeting.)
Fall 1975	West Africa Regional Seminar. Theme: Integration and Participation of women in development with special reference to population factors. (UN sponsored).
(Dates not determined)	Regional Seminar in Buenos Aires, Argentina. Theme: Women in development and measures to eliminate discrimination against women. (UN sponsored.)
October 1975	World Congress of Women, German Democratic Republic. Theme: Equality, Development, Peace. (Sponsored by the Women's International Democratic Federation.)
December 1975	Inter-regional seminar in Australia. Theme: Mass media, sex roles and attitudes. (UN sponsored for media people.)

BEFORE, DURING AND AFTER

As part of their normal activities, the UNDP and its participating agencies have long been working with governments throughout the developing countries on projects which—directly or indirectly—affect the lives and vocational opportunities of women at many levels.

Here are a few examples of this continuing and intensifying effort—and of the way in which it parallels major goals of International Women's Year.

SOME OBJECTIVES OF INTERNATIONAL WOMEN'S YEAR	SOME RELATED UNDP ACTIVITIES:
Improving working conditions and opportunities for rural women.	In the *Central African Republic*, UNDP is assisting the technical training of female instructors to service rural schools with courses in nutrition, health education and home economics. In the *Philippines*, UNDP is helping Central Luzon State University expand its agricultural training facilities to fulfill the needs for personnel in the Government's land reform and rural development programme. Almost half the students are women. Many are studying animal husbandry and crop production to prepare themselves for agricultural extension work. Others are learning home economics with special emphasis on dietetics and food preparation. Upon completion of her four-year UNDP-sponsored training, a *Botswanian* woman will assume the post of Community Development Officer where it will be her responsibility to assist farm families in making more efficient use of their resources. Specific duties will include the planning, execution and administration of home economics courses at national schools and in districts and villages as well.
Increasing literacy	UNDP is supporting a number of adult education programmes with women as participants. In *Iran* for example, women are being taught to read and write as they learn health, nutrition and family planning techniques. Three of the first "graduates" have re-enlisted as instructors. Women outnumber men in a functional literacy programme in *Gabon* which also covers health education, handicrafts, animal husbandry and market gardening.
Ensuring equality of educational opportunities at all levels.	UNDP is assisting the Government of *Nepal* to increase the proportion of girls in schools from an estimated 13 per cent in 1971 to 40 percent by the end of 1975. In *Upper Volta*, UNDP has assumed responsibility for a UNESCO-initiated project to assure equal access of girls and women to education. The aim is to adapt education to the specific needs and interests of women and girls in rural areas, so that they can better participate in the socio-economic development of their countries. UNDP is helping secondary schools in *Burundi* to develop courses for women in administrative and commercial skills, management and agriculture.
Up-grading the participation of women in all fields	In *Thailand*, UNDP provides fellowship for instructors at the Technological Research Institute to study abroad. Many women are being equipped for work in market analysis, economic marketing, data retrieval, industrial microbiology, food and fuel technology. At the Rangoon Arts and Science University in *Burma*, several female students are working in a UNDP-supported project on peaceful applications of nuclear energy. The *Yemen Arab Republic* has recently established a Women's Welfare Section to encourage female participation in public affairs. Under the direction of a woman expert, provided by the UNDP, this section organises and expands women's associations and advises the Government on policies for involving more women in economic and social activities.

MAKING HASTE SLOWLY

by Truong Thanhdam

(Editor's Note: This article bluntly challenges some widely held assumptions about women's needs and aspirations. But since it reflects the first-hand experience of a woman raised and educated in a developing country, it provides a useful and thought-provoking counterpoint to more commonly expressed ideas.)

"Equality" is not just a matter of numbers. It is one thing to cite the overall facts and figures on the inferior status of women. But interpreting and applying this data "across the board" is quite a different matter. For the world is not a homogeneous place—and, although the problems of inequality may appear alike everywhere, this seeming resemblance is deceptive.

To begin with, there are several countries where equality between men and women is as old as the society itself. A married Burmese woman, by tradition, retains her name and property rights. She doesn't even wear a wedding ring. And in many African nations, women have always played as important a part as men in economic activities.

More meaningful still, in today's kaleidoscope of cultures not all women have the same attitude towards equality. Some, in fact, still live behind "veils" so thick that they screen out the very concept. Policy makers who proclaim the need to change, expand and elevate women's roles must take into consideration the outlooks of such women, and the needs of their societies as well.

The low-income woman in a remote village of Oman, for example, is unaware of any such thing as "development". She has never questioned the inequities between men and women, simply accepting and living with them as part of her culture. Full equality may not seem nearly as important to her as the possibility of access to basic services which will make life easier for her and better for her children. And efforts to push her into participating in the development of her country will very likely fail because she is preoccupied with the day-to-day problems of her family and community. Change must be sought in terms of her needs and interests—rather than in terms of some abstract ideal.

Moreover, the drive for equal representation of women in all fields and at all levels may be quite premature in societies where survival itself is threatened by shortages of food, jobs and basic skills. What is urgent in these situations is to build a labour force that can make the economy grow. After all, the real inequity that overshadows most others is the economic one. Put another way, a woman should never be given a job solely for the sake of equal representation—just as she should never be denied a job simply because of her sex. Artificially created equality, and its handmaiden "tokenism", can be merely cosmetic gestures of appeasement to an uneasy social conscience, rather than real contributions to an effective development effort. On the other hand, women in genuine leadership roles can be positive models for others, and can use their positions to bring about meaningful equality.

In some developing countries, women have long been accustomed to total dependence on men. This situation is changing, but many of these women have not yet overcome their feelings of inferiority. They still regard themselves as subordinate to men. Training them for what are traditionally men's jobs does not necessarily confer on them equality of status. On the contrary, it may thrust them into a discomforting situation for which they are ill-prepared. What these women need now is a full recognition of their worth in their current roles, out of which will come a fuller recognition of their rights—by themselves as well as by men.

None of this means that fundamental changes must not eventually take place in women's role and status. And practical possibilities for altering today's picture lie in the hands of the *young*. Tradition has not yet unbreakably shackled the pattern of their thinking and behaviour. Education can make them more aware of their rights and potentials—more willing to be independent and to accept greater responsibilities. Already these young women of the developing world understand the importance of equal participation in progress. Thus they should be a major focus of efforts to strengthen economies and societies by the injection of woman power. For not only are they prepared to be changed in their own ways. They are also ready to set in quicker motion the wheel of change itself. ■

AN AFRICAN "FIRST"

The Economic Commission for Africa is taking the initiative in establishing a "Pan African Women's Centre and African Women's Development Task Force" to begin operating in 1975. The Centre will be a focal point for mobilizing African women to broaden their horizons and strengthen their skills. It will conduct research and training programmes and act as a clearing house on services available to bring African women more fully into the development process. The Centre's training activities—which, for the most part, will be implemented in the field rather than at its headquarters—will seek to equip women throughout Africa with skills in food production and preservation, nutrition, handicrafts, economic management, communications and organization. By heightening women's abilities in fields they are already engaged in, the aim is to increase their participation in national and local project planning and execution.

The Task Force, to be composed of African women and men, will provide a volunteer corps to assist in training; to engage directly in rural development projects; to stimulate the spirit of voluntary service; and to enhance awareness of the potentials of women. Volunteers will be chosen for their specialized talents and experience in areas of need.

Further information on the Centre and its Task Force may be secured from the Economic Commission for Africa in Addis Ababa. ■

...What You're Doing ...What You've Done

IN UPPER VOLTA:

Christian Aid (UK) has recently earmarked $140,000 for Community Development and Afforestation Programmes in Upper Volta, $18,000 of which will aid the Agricultural Center at Matourkou, near Bobo-Dioulasso. This agricultural and community development project, with UNDP assistance, is making it possible for farm families in many villages to shift from nomadic to settled agriculture, which is less arduous and can net them two to three times more income. Women, traditionally key agricultural workers, participate in the programme's training activities. They receive instruction in agricultural techniques new to the region—such as the use of oxen in ploughing—in literacy, and in cooking, sewing and hygiene. Christian Aid's grant will be used to help settle 20 families, to secure equipment for well-digging and other purposes, and to purchase tree seedlings and materials for building community centres and village stores.

IN THE USA:

The founding conference of the Coalition of Labour Union Women (CLUW) was held in Chicago in March, 1974. It brought together 3,380 women, all members of the 58 international labour unions who wish to improve working conditions for women. They came from 40 U.S. states, and from countries as far distant as Nigeria and New Zealand; and they ranged from young to old, from blue to white-collar workers, from those who never graduated from high-school to those with master's degrees. The coalition's objective is to break down barriers of discrimination and win equal rights, equal pay, and equal opportunity for millions of working women.

IN THE PHILIPPINES:

Women's participation in development was the theme of a recent conference sponsored in Manila by the Ala-Ala Foundation. Representatives from men's and women's development-oriented organizations took part in the discussions. Ms. Nazalina Lim, the Foundation's Executive Director, suggested that the Foundation would back vocational schools which do *not* teach traditional female skills such as cosmetology, home economics and handicrafts. "We have enough of that", she said. "We need women electricians, plumbers, carpenters, and women in the more technical areas which are normally taught only to men." She also indicated that the Foundation will hire a research group to compile a bibliography of all materals about women in the Philippines for reference and in-depth studies.

IN PERU:

Aymara nurses, with the assistance of the Maryknoll Sisters, have been training Aymara women in the Department of Puno to be community health leaders. The altiplano has a very high mortality rate, and births are complicated not only by the lack of medical attention and sanitary conditions, but by the fear obsessing mothers that they will be attacked and killed by a spirit at the moment of birth. This spirit is usually associated with a falling star or a bright light in the sky. Because these cultural and religious beliefs affect the health of the people, training for the Aymara women includes not only instruction in basic sanitary practices, but also "reflection sessions" about the spirits that "cause" illness. During these discussions the leaders in the programme share their medical expertise and, together with the village women, evaluate what is helpful and what is harmful in local beliefs about illness.

AT UN HEADQUARTERS:

The Committee on International Women's Year, composed of the representatives of international NGOs in consultative status with ECOSOC, has drawn up a statement addressed to the World Food Conference. It points out that a "large percentage of the food raised in the developing areas of the world is raised by women," and calls on government agencies, international bodies, and non-governmental groups, for basic steps which can be taken to help these rural "farmers" increase both the quantity and quality of the food they produce. Suggestions included the provision of simple tools and labour-saving devices which will lighten grueling and time-consuming tasks; the establishment of training centres for women agricultural workers; the enlistment of volunteers to teach family care and nutrition, cottage and home industries, and food preservation and marketing techniques; and campaigns to raise the status of women in rural areas. The relationship between the status of women and food production is succinctly pointed up in the text's concluding sentence: "Rural women can use their full capacity most effectively to increase the production of food and strengthen the rural economy when, *as persons*, they become a respected unit of society."

COMMITMENT is a quarterly service bulletin issued primarily to help non-governmental organisations in their development assistance activities. The Editor welcomes comments on coverage, examples of NGO activities, and questions about the UNDP. Please send items to:

Virginia F. Saurwein, Editor, COMMITMENT
DSIS/UNDP, 345 E. 46th St., New York, N.Y. 10017

For additional copies of COMMITMENT, contact the nearest UN Information Centre or UNDP office.

CHECKLIST FOR NGO ACTION (continued)

- In both developed and developing countries, time-consuming tasks often inhibit women in realizing their full potential. You can help to initiate or support the use of such labour-saving "devices" as child-care centres, improved community facilities, home-maker counselling services or—where needed—basic appliances and tools.

☐ Have you suggested women candidates for training courses, conferences or workshops in the field of development? Are you ready to sponsor such participation, if necessary? Information on how to go about this may be obtained from your national IWY Committee if there is one; from pertinent government agencies (e.g. to learn about opportunities in agricultural training, contact Offices of Development Planning or Ministries of Agriculture); or from local Field Offices of the United Nations Development Programme.

THROUGH PRESS AND PUBLIC INFORMATION MEDIA

Can they be encouraged to:

☐ Carry articles on IWY and on the status of women in your country and community, reporting inequalities where they exist?

☐ Display the IWY symbol and/or provide space for ads on Women's Year which may be submitted by local organizations?

☐ Report regularly on the events of the Year and on international, national and local activities related to it?

☐ Open a regular column to air citizens' views and/or reports on fair or unfair practices and attitudes affecting women?

☐ Follow through by initiating or supporting drives to enhance women's rights or improve their working conditions?

☐ Portray women—in advertising and in feature material—as important participants in all aspects of business, government and the professions?

☐ Give full recognition to the dignity of women's role as home-makers?

☐ Help support community events and activities related to IWY—such as poster or photographic contests, organization workshops or conferences?

☐ Place women in positions of editorial authority that do not limit their contributions to "women's news"?

☐ Prepare a special supplement (newspapers) or programme (radio and TV) in conjunction with International Women's Day, 8 March—or the International Women's Conference?

THROUGH EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS AND LIBRARIES

Can your organization help them to:

☐ Review books, textbooks and reading material for the attitudes they reflect regarding women? (This could be a classroom exercise.)

☐ Sponsor debates or poster, photo and essay contests—on the rights of women, equal opportunities for women, women as contributors to economic and social development, or attitudes and myths about women which need to be changed?

☐ Set up classroom discussions or teaching units using the inside pages of this issue of WAYS AND MEANS?

Plans and activities for International Women's Year are being hampered by the low level of contributions from governments. Non-Governmental Organizations can assist the Year by urging governments to bolster their financial support. The IWY Secretariat will also welcome direct contributions from foundations, NGOs, business and industry, and individuals. Checks should be sent to the Secretary-General of the United Nations, and earmarked for the IWY Fund.

RESOURCES FOR IWY

SOME KEY ADDRESSES

International Women's Year Secretariat
Centre for Social Development and Humanitarian Affairs
Room 3115
United Nations
New York, N.Y. 10017, U.S.A.

•

Centre for Economic and Social Information (CESI)
United Nations
New York, N.Y. 10017, U.S.A.

•

The Women's Programme
Human Resources Development Division
Economic Commission for Africa
P.O. Box 3001
Addis Ababa, Ethiopia.

•

UNICEF
866 United Nations Plaza
New York, N.Y. 10017, U.S.A.

NEWSLETTERS

IWY BULLETIN
Periodic up-dating of plans and activities for IWY. Available from the IWY Secretariat (address above) or from local United Nations Information Centres.

AFRICAN WOMEN
Covers subjects indicated by title. Issued by the Women's Programme of ECA (address above).

PUBLICATIONS

DECLARATION ON THE DISCRIMINATION AGAINST WOMEN (DPI/297)
Available from United Nations Headquarters and United Nations Information Centres.

EQUAL RIGHTS FOR WOMEN
A Call for Action (DPI/494). Describes the work and accomplishments of the United Nations Commission on the Status of Women, and the issues before it. Available from United Nations Sales Section, United Nations, New York. 25c

CESI NOTES
A series of releases and speech reprints pertinent to IWY. Available from CESI (address above).

BRIEFING AND PRESS KIT ON INTERNATIONAL WOMEN'S YEAR
A packet of basic materials on IWY issued by CESI and regularly up-dated. Available from CESI (address above).

EQUAL PARTNERS
Brochure summarizing aims and issues of IWY. Includes action suggestions geared to U.S. audiences. Available from UNA-USA, 345 East 46th Street, New York, N.Y. 10017, U.S.A. 25c

COMMITMENT—1974 No. 4
"1975—A YEAR FOR THE WHOLE HUMAN RACE"
Information and action leaflet geared primarily to women's role in development. Available from the UNDP, Division of Information, United Nations, New York, N.Y. 10017, U.S.A.

FILMS:

WOMEN UP IN ARMS
28½ min. Black and white film which takes a look at attitudes women have about themselves in some of the low-income countries. English and French—available from United Nations Headquarters and United Nations Information Centres.

FEAR WOMAN
28½ min. Colour. Portraits of three successful Ghanaian women. English only. Available from United Nations Headquarters and United Nations Information Centres.

Additional films are in preparation by the United Nations, UNICEF and ILO. The IWY Bulletin will carry information about these as they are released.

MISCELLANEOUS

IWY EMBLEM
Glossy reproduction for reprinting. Available from CESI (address above).

IWY LAPEL BUTTON
Available in ½ inch and one-inch sizes from UN WE BELIEVE, 55 East 43rd Street, New York, N.Y. 10017, U.S.A. $10/100 buttons; $45/500.

GLOSSY PHOTOGRAPHS
8" x 11" black-and-white photographs reproduced on pages 3, 4 and 5 of this issue of WAYS AND MEANS are available from UNDP, Division of Information, United Nations, New York, N.Y. 10017, U.S.A.

WAYS AND MEANS

PART NINE

PROGRAMMING IDEAS AND RESOURCES FOR NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL NGOs

1975: A YEAR FOR REACHING OUT

"Equality, development and peace" are three themes around which governments, organizations and individuals will focus their efforts during International Women's Year. This is a logical linkage, for without equality for women adequate rates of economic and social development progress can never be achieved, and, failing such progress, there are diminished chances for peace.

This issue of WAYS AND MEANS presents some suggestions for non-governmental organizations (NGOs) which will enable them to participate directly in fulfilling the objectives of International Women's Year. Such activities by NGOs should not be confined to their own membership. As responsible bodies they can—and should—take initiatives which will help mobilize their governments, press, national institutions, and the peoples of their countries as a whole.

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CHECKLIST FOR NGO ACTION

BY ORGANIZATION MEMBERSHIP

☐ Are you informed about international and national activities planned for the Year? (Subscribe to the IWY Bulletin—see Resource Section, page 6). Have you formulated a policy or statement on Women's Year, or on those of its goals which reflect your organizational concerns? If so, have you publicized it? Forwarded it to your government officials? Sent it to your organization's accredited representative at UN Headquarters for possible submission to the IWY Conference in Mexico City, 23 June to 4 July 1975?

☐ Have you surveyed your own organization's attitudes towards women?

- ☐ How well are they represented on your governing and programming committees?
- ☐ Are they being given equal access to the opportunities your organization offers?
- ☐ Does your organization actively promote equal rights for women?
- ☐ Does your programme reach out to assist women who are not members of your organization?

☐ Are women in your community being given equal access to education, training, health care, job opportunities? If not, why not?

☐ Have you planned any projects that will help remedy this problem? Some examples:

- Below average working conditions for women can be brought to the attention of employers, and pressures applied for righting these conditions.

(see page 5)

UNITED NATIONS DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMME • UNITED NATIONS • NEW YORK, N.Y.

GETTING THE MOST...AND PAYING THE LEAST

Like anything of value, progress has its price . . . and that price can often be high. Moreover, change in any major field of human life always produces "echoes" in other areas. Thus it's important to be aware—as far as prediction is possible—of the side-effects that may arise from advances in the status of women.

The following questions are designed to stimulate discussion on a few of the factors involved. For many, if not most of them, there are probably no definitive answers. But considering these questions—and others which the pictures may stimulate—should at least provide helpful insights and perhaps some guides to action.

(Note: Glossy prints of the pictures, in 8" x 10" size, are available as discussion aids or for use with media—see Resource Section, page 6).

1 Women in many low-income countries—and particularly the least developed—are often extensively employed at hard manual labour.

- ☐ Do you feel this represents a kind of "equality", or the reverse? What might be the benefits and what might be the drawbacks:
  - ☐ for the women directly concerned?
  - ☐ for their families?
  - ☐ for the local economy?
  - ☐ for the national economy?
  - ☐ for the overall picture of employment and incomes?
- ☐ What impact might women's employment in such work have on their prospects for advancement?

2 Throughout the developing world, significant numbers of women are beginning to enter the industrial labour force.

- ☐ What effects, good and/or bad, is this likely to have on:
  - ☐ their role as mothers?
  - ☐ their role as home-makers?
  - ☐ their role as community members?
- ☐ How might it eventually alter basic cultural patterns and ways of life?
- ☐ What working conditions are particularly essential to women's:
  - ☐ personal well-being?
  - ☐ job productivity?
- ☐ What special provisions does your community make for mothers who must work outside the home?

4 In most industrialized nations, women have been active in politics for at least two generations. But their participation has thus far failed to produce many major changes in political systems or policies.

- ☐ Why do you think this is the case?
- ☐ Might the outcome be different in the low-income countries where women are just starting to take an important hand in politics at many levels? If so, how and why?
- ☐ What issues are most likely to arouse the concern of women in these countries?
- ☐ Do you believe they will tend to be basically "conservative" or "radical", and why?
- ☐ What might motivate them to take greater interest in politics?

3 Women are also moving into new positions of authority.

- ☐ How might this alter:
  - ☐ their picture of themselves?
  - ☐ the way men see them?
  - ☐ the relationship between the sexes?
- ☐ Do you think that the roles of men and women are totally interchangeable—or that each sex may have, to some extent, equal but differing contributions to make?
- ☐ What problems can be caused by rapid changes in sex roles—and how can these problems be forestalled or minimized?

5 ☐ With daily life in developing countries often a struggle for sheer survival, in what roles do you think women can contribute the most to making things better:

- ☐ for themselves?
- ☐ for their families (and particularly their children)?
- ☐ for their communities?

(Consider, in this connection, the urgency in many areas of checking population growth—and the influence of women, and their role and standing in society, on this problem).

6

- ☐ What effects might the introduction of simple labour-saving devices have in the life of women in developing countries?
- ☐ How might this, in turn, be reflected by changes in the life of local communities?
- ☐ What might be the results of channelling major development efforts and resources into meeting the specific needs of women?
- ☐ What kinds of programmes and projects would be involved—and are there any underway in your community?

The Economist

March 29, 1975

The blows of March

Once again, the Americans have learnt the limits of their power. They also have to face the fact that there is no substitute for the power they have

A confident country learns from its defeats; a rattled and divided one forgets what it was trying to do before it ran into trouble. King Faisal's assassination is the fourth blow to hit American foreign policy this month. The new regime in Saudi Arabia will require an adjustment in American ideas, even if Prince Fahd does now collect the reins of power in his own hands. But it does not change what the United States hopes to do through its recently built connection with the great oil power of the Arab world. All the shocks of the past month have their lessons for Mr Ford, but the lessons are local and specific; it is the temptation to generalised despair about its foreign policy that has to be resisted in the United States.

The abandonment of much of South Vietnam may be a reason to change American policy in that country, if there is still time for a change; or it may be a reason for concluding that no American policy can do much about Indochina any longer; or it may even be reason to say, as some old American opponents of the war are now saying, that it is probably best to keep the present policy going for a time in the hope of salvaging something from the ruins. But Mr Kissinger's empty-handed return from the Middle East, and King Faisal's death, are certainly no ground for changing American policy in that region, although that policy may now have to be pursued through different men and by different means. Nor is the collapse of the democratic hope in Portugal any reason for changing American policy in Europe. These four events make it necessary for Americans to recall what they have been trying to do in the world since 1945, not abandon it. But the United States is a rattled and divided country, with an exhausted Mr Kissinger facing a Congress trying to assert its power over foreign policy, and the defeats of March could yet produce the wrong result.

So what is American policy?

Because a whole generation has died since 1945, Americans have lost the habit of reminding themselves what their foreign policy has been trying to achieve since then. It has certainly not been confined to the pursuit of exclusively American interests. If it had, the United States would have concentrated on its own defence, and perhaps, though not certainly, on the defence of the centres of industrial power in western Europe and Japan that are linked to the American economy. It would not have given its aid to Greece and Turkey in 1947, or to South Vietnam in the 1950s, and it would not now be spending so much effort on trying to strike a balance between Israel and its Arab neighbours; all these things are peripheral to a strict definition of purely American interests. This is the danger of trying to redefine American policy now in terms of a stern application of Realpolitik. The aims of Realpolitik have to be national aims; the tests by which it is measured, as Bismarck taught the world, can only be those of a nation-state pursuing its own particular ends. No one in western Europe, or in Israel, or any other country that depends on the backing of American power, can want the United States to redefine its policy in those terms.

It is more difficult than that. There has been a large element of ideology in American policy for the past 30 years, because the emergence of Soviet power after 1945 brought the issue of ideology into the centre of world politics. The United States could have ducked that issue, but only by retiring within its own frontiers; and no other nation that shared its ideas about politics, but lacked its power, would have invited it to do that. It can try to contain the dangers of the conflict with Soviet power, as successive presidents since John Kennedy have tried to do. It can even ignore ideology when there is something to be gained by that, as the semi-alliance with China since 1971 has done. But so long as two very different ideas about the organisation of society remain the centre-piece of international politics—and only the Soviet government can decide how long that will remain true—the dispute between them will be the starting-point of American policy.

The only American policy that would not involve a retreat to the America of the 1930s is a policy designed to support those countries where the ideas of liberal and pluralist politics have taken root, or where the conditions exist in which they might take root. That would be a complex enough business in itself, but it is not even as simple as that. The support of such countries requires

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memorandum

The League of Women Voters of the United States

June 1975

THIS IS GOING ON DPM

TO: Local and State League Presidents and International Relations Chairmen

FROM: Ruth Hinerfeld, Chairman, International Relations Committee

RE: UPDATING ON UNITED NATIONS POSITION

The Report from National Council has already informed you about the adoption of a motion calling for membership updating prior to national Convention on the League's United Nations position. This memo is intended to explain the motion, its implications for local programming and assistance that will be forthcoming from the national IR Committee.

The motion, which was overwhelmingly approved by Council delegates, proposed:

> "That the national board encourage local Leagues to update their members on the League's United Nations position and the changing nature of the United Nations by providing direction and an every-member article in the fall issue of the Voter;
>
> That local and state boards be asked to discuss the following questions:
>
> > Does basic agreement with the League's UN position still exist among your members?
> >
> > What kind of action do you think the League should take regarding the United Nations? "

Why an Updating

The visible and controversial nature of several UN events in the fall and winter of 1974-75 reminded many League members how long it has been since our last UN study (1962-64) and how much the world--and the United Nations--have changed in that time. The motion adopted by National Council delegates expressed the feeling that the time is ripe, and the timing ideal in a national program-making year, for League members to review the history of the League's position on U.S. participation in the UN and some of the major differences between the United Nations system as it was at the time of the last League study and the UN as it is today. The Council motion does not call for a new study of the UN or a reevaluation of our UN position.

In a related Council action, delegates reaffirmed the League's continuing support of U.S. policies to strengthen the UN system. They sent the following telegram to the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, which was at that time holding hearings on U.S. participation in the UN:

"The 1975 National Council of the League of Women Voters of the U.S. composed of delegates from all 50 states, the Virgin Islands, Puerto Rico and the District of Columbia, wishes to commend the Senate Foreign Relations Committee for holding hearings on the United Nations at this crucial point in the UN's history. We deplore recent UN General Assembly and UNESCO General Conference actions which violate the spirit of the UN Charter. We do not feel, however, that withdrawal of U.S. participation from these organizations is an appropriate response. We strongly urge that the U.S. provide firm constructive leadership to support UN policies and programs which promote the spirit of the Charter."

The opportunity for members to indicate their desire for a new UN study or reevaluation of our position is readily available through the national program-making process this year. The updating is, in fact, intended to enable League members to be better informed about the UN and the League position when they consider whether or not a new study or reevaluation is necessary. The motion's questions pertaining to membership agreement with the position and UN-related action are addressed to local and state boards to encourage them to conduct an updating which will help their members evaluate the necessity for or desirability of a new study. The motion does not direct local and state League boards which discuss these questions to transmit their answers to the national board. In order to guide the board in formulating proposals for the 1976-78 national program, however, we propose that Leagues reflect their members' answers to the Council questions in their contributions to the regular program-making process.

How to Handle the Updating

What to do about the UN this year is all cut out for you. Whether or not you choose to do this updating and how you do it is up to you. We would like to recommend that you plan one meeting for the updating, but it's for you to decide how much time and effort you can give it based on your other program and personnel commitments, calendar plans and so on. The amount of time and effort you can afford will, of course, determine how thorough your updating can be. One meeting should suffice for a review of the League position and an overview of major changes in the UN. An extensive examination of the UN system--what it is and how it works--would take much longer and would be more appropriate to a new study than to the updating called for in the Council motion.

Since an updating is essentially a program review and catch-up, it lends itself to a wide variety of information-giving program formats--a unit meeting, workshop, public or inter-League meeting, mock UN assembly, radio or TV programs, bulletin articles, etc. But if the format chosen precludes member discussion, local boards may want to provide for some method of ascertaining membership opinion relative to the two questions posed by the Council motion.

As for scheduling the updating, you will probably want to hold a meeting after members have received the Fall Voter which will, as called for by the Council motion, contain an article on the history of the League's UN position and major changes in the UN. The Voter should reach members

by early November. The best time to schedule the updating would be in late November or early December prior to national program-making.

How We Will Help

The LWV Education Fund has provided you with what we consider to be one of your basic resource materials, the recently published Update International, "Are There Cracks in the Glass House?", which describes recent UN developments and their relation to many of the changes that have occurred in the UN system. This year, What to do about the UN, the annual guide to UN programming, will be a Committee Guide to updating League members on the UN. It will be mailed to Leagues in the late summer. Tha fall issue of the National Voter, described above will also be available.

What to do before the Committee Guide, What to do about the UN, arrives? In your summer reading, watch for UN news in the papers and other periodicals, and catch up with some recent writings about the UN and some basic background information on the League position and the UN system in the publications listed below:

United Nations--Current

"Are There Cracks in the Glass House?", Update International. March 1975. #570. 35¢ (8pp.) League of Women Voters Education Fund.
Major developments at the UN during the 30th General Assembly session presented in historical and political perspective.

Daniel P. Moynihan, "The United States in Opposition", Commentary. March 1975. Page 317. $1.25.
Frequently quoted article which traces economic problems, economic and political views and international behavior of third world nations to ideological roots in British socialism; proposes more assertive UN role for U.S. in dealing with developing countries.

Harlan Cleveland, "The U.S. vs. the U.N.?", The New York Times magazine. May 4, 1975. Page 16.
Recommends procedural changes to bypass voting system in UN and make organization more effective.

Hearings on the UN. Senate Foreign Relations Committee. Congressional Record. May 15, 1975. S 8363 (20pp.) Includes testimony of Arthur J. Goldberg, J. William Fulbright, Richard N. Gardner, Joseph M. Segel, William F. Buckley, Jr., and Prof. Richard A. Falk.

Hearings on the UN. Senate Foreign Relations Committee. Congressional Record. May 22, 1975. S 9002 (7pp.) Includes testimony of R. Buckminster Fuller, Norman Cousins, and Ambassador Scali.

The Inter Dependent. Monthly newspaper of the United Nations Association of the USA. (8pp.) Annual subscription $4.00. UNA-USA, 345 East 46th Street, New York, N.Y. 10017. (A sample copy was sent to every state and local League in April 1975.)

UN 30. Special anniversary issue of The Inter Dependent. Magazine form. 150-200 pp. Reduced cost to League members: $1.00 to cover postage and handling. UNA-USA. Articles and special features covering full range of UN issues and activities by authors including Richard Gardner, Harlan Cleveland, Lord Caradon, Rudolph Peterson.

United Nations--Background

Everyman's United Nations. 1968. $2.50 (paperback) 634 pp. UNA-USA.

Everyman's United Nations Supplement. 1971. $1.95 (paperback) 248 pp. UNA-USA.

Orders: 345 East 46th Street, N.Y., N.Y. 10017. Attention: Albert Araujo, Publications Coordinator. Basic reference on UN structure and history of the organization's activities from its founding through 1970.

LWVUS position on United Nations

Documents: Background on National League Program 1974-76. #521. 60¢. LWVUS. Statement of UN position, pp. 16 and 17.

Study and Action: 1972-74 National Program. #409. 75¢. LWVUS. History of UN position and action, pp. 23 and 24. Statement of position pp. 39-41.

RESOLUTION ON THE UNITED NATIONS
June, 1975

WHEREAS the League of Women Voters of Minnesota and the United States has a long-standing commitment for supporting the United Nations as a peacekeeping agency.

WHEREAS this potential of the United Nations has not been fully implemented.

BE IT RESOLVED that the League of Women Voters of Minnesota request our representatives at the United Nations, and the League of Women Voters of the United States Representative at the United Nations, to seek solutions that will strengthen the United Nations enforcement authority, when acting to make secure international peace and territorial integrity of nations.

For example, no substantial action has been taken to enforce the Resolution of November 1, 1974, relating to the Cyprus crisis.

Saving the U.N.

The self-destructive trend of voting futile, propagandistic resolutions in the United Nations General Assembly could be arrested by the reforms recommended a few days ago by an international study group. The 25-member panel has focused on restructuring the U.N.'s economic machinery to improve cooperation between rich and poor nations. But one of its principal proposals—negotiated solutions to disputes by small groups of responsible countries instead of the irresponsible voting of resolutions which cannot be implemented—should be applied to political as well as economic debates in the General Assembly.

Appointed by the Secretary General on the nomination of their governments, the members of the panel were drawn from all the regions of the world; 17 came from developing countries and eight from the industrial nations, including the United States, the Soviet Union, the main Common Market countries and Japan. Their constructive proposals thus approximate a semi-official consensus of the world organization.

Instead of confrontation, deadlock and the adoption of futile resolutions by the overwhelming majorities the developing countries are able to marshal, the panel suggests discussion in private by small negotiating groups set up by the Economic and Social Council. Each group, representing the countries most directly involved in the issues under consideration, would be headed by a prominent individual who would devote full time to the search for agreements.

Such a procedure, if tried and found successful in economic issues, could undoubtedly be applied to political questions as well.

The reason the General Assembly does not work now is that countries with 10 per cent of the world's population and 5 per cent of its output can muster a two-thirds majority in the General Assembly. Half that number can block a Soviet-American proposal—and have done so.

The disparity between nations with voting strength in the General Assembly and those with effective power in the real world has led to frustration on both sides. That situation is unlikely to be changed substantially by attempts of the oil-rich nations to use their new money power to take the leadership of the developing world. Apart from any other reform proposals it is clearly essential for the United States to regain its influence with the Third World by taking the lead in providing development aid, as urged by John Scali, the outgoing United States Ambassador to the United Nations.

New proposals to deal with raw materials as well as energy and with the over-all problems of development have been under discussion in Washington. Together with reform of the United Nations structure, such measures are crucial to efforts at halting the growing radicalization of the developing countries and moving from confrontation to negotiation, compromise and cooperation.

THE NEW YORK TIMES, TUESDAY, MAY 27, 1975

for disaster relief. PL 480 food aid would also be integrated more closely with AID's ongoing rural development programs.

THE BAD NEWS: NO MONEY

Development assistance programs took a beating last year in Congress and prospects for this year may be no better. Congressional attention has been focused on a U.S. economy wracked by the worst recession since the Great Depression and the worst inflation in peacetime history. The budget crunch has been felt in programs ranging from defense to school lunches. Budget outlays for development have traditionally been relatively small. In FY 1974, for example, the United States devoted approximately 1.1 percent of its federal budget to development according to AID compared to 30 percent for defense.

In addition to budget pressures, the development aid program will undergo its usual barrage of criticism from long-time opponents who use aid as the whipping boy in their more general opposition to U.S. involvement in foreign affairs. Some congressional opponents of development aid argue that their negative votes reflect a lack of constituent interest in development assistance.

Constituent concern may not be as vocal for development programs as it is for domestic programs, but according to a recent survey a large majority of the American people strongly supports humanitarian and emergency aid. *In a Harris survey conducted for the Chicago Council on Foreign Relations in December 1974--when inflation was running over 12 percent and unemployment figures were approaching eight percent--79 percent of the respondents favored giving economic aid if it was certain to end up helping the people of the recipient country.*

The Agency for International Development (AID) budget goes through both the authorization and appropriations processes in Congress. Authorization is handled by the Senate Foreign Relations Committee and the House International Relations Committee. Appropriations are handled by the two bodies' Appropriations Committees. The final piece of legislation determining how much AID can spend is the appropriations bill.

What happened on the FY 1975 legislation for the bilateral development assistance portion of the AID budget could be repeated again this year. Actual appropriations were cut far below authorized spending levels. The FY 1975 appropriations bill for foreign aid reduced the amount authorized for development assistance from $849 million to $574 million, with food and nutrition programs taking the brunt of the cut.

The decreases in FY 1975 appropriations in the food and nutrition item and the population and health items were particularly disappointing to those who had followed the proceedings of the UN Food Conference and the UN Population Conference last year. AID's bilateral food and nutrition programs focus on exactly what the UN Food Conference decided was most necessary to solve the world food problem: an increase in agricultural productivity in the developing nations. AID's bilateral population programs supplement and are carried out in coordination with such multilateral programs as the UN Fund for Population Activities (UNFPA).

Bilateral Development Assistance
Programs Administered by AID
($ millions)

	FY 1975 Authorization	FY 1975 Appropriation	FY 1976 Proposed Authorization*
Food and Nutrition	500	300	628
Population Planning and Health	165	125	248
Education and Human Resources Development	92	82	89
Selected Development Problems	53	37	99
Selected Countries and Organizations	39	30	

*Combines categories "Selected Problems" and "Selected Countries and Organizations."

SUMMING UP

The end of the Vietnam war and recent changes in international economic relationships have offered the United States a new perspective on its policies abroad. The United States has a unique opportunity to take a fresh look at its relations with developing nations and to reappraise its foreign economic assistance, adjusting its development assistance program to cope with newly perceived problems. More of U.S. official development assistance can be returned to genuine development purposes to support the programs adopted by the world community at the UN Food Conference and the UN Population Conference. The underlying political and economic forces at work in the world call for continued U.S. recognition of an interdependent world. A strong development assistance program is the first component of a U.S. commitment to respond constructively to the new challenges of the developing world.

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DEVELOPMENT AID: Will it be caught in the crunch?

The American people, so the word goes, are abandoning their traditional optimism. Disillusioned by Vietnam, demoralized by Watergate, and bedeviled by recurring economic crises, Americans reportedly are indulging in a mood of withdrawal from world responsibility.

The question raised by this pessimistic assessment of America's mood accurate or not, is whether the country can afford the indulgence. The realities of global interdependence indicate that it cannot. Americans who are worried about how their pocketbooks will be affected by the recent Soviet grain purchase or another oil embargo are learning from experience that the economic well-being of this country is increasingly dependent on the actions of other nations. Interdependence, it appears, is an ongoing process that cannot be reversed by either personal whim or government fiat.

That Americans have not completely turned inward and written off the rest of the world is dramatically demonstrated by a recent poll showing a sizeable majority favoring economic aid to the developing nations (see page 4). U.S. relations with the developing nations are a crucial element in a foreign policy designed to cope with interdependence. Such major problems as energy, food, access to raw materials, population, a stable international monetary system and protection of the earth's environment are not going to be solved without cooperation between rich and poor. The United States is increasingly dependent for new trade and essential raw materials on the developing nations which now account for nearly one-third of U.S. exports and more than one-fourth of U.S. imports. From 50 percent to 100 percent of U.S. domestic requirements of such essential minerals as tin, nickel, manganese, mercury, chrome, cobalt and bauxite come from the developing world. With new found unity and increasing political and economic power, the developing nations have been demanding a reordering of the international economic system to further a more equal distribution of the world's wealth. They would like to make the international trade and monetary systems more responsive to the needs of development (for more information see UPDATE International: UN: Are there Cracks in the Glass House? pp. 5-6. pub. #570). Lack of a constructive U.S. response could not only sour the international trade and investment climate for years to come, but could also stymie reforms which are in the interests of both developing and industrialized nations.

The U.S. executive branch is currently reviewing the entire gamut of U.S. relations with the so-called Third World to determine areas of mutual concern. Constructive U.S. policies in trade, investment, and finance can go a long way toward answering some of the increasingly vocal concerns of the developing nations. The U.S. delegation to the upcoming Seventh Special Session of the UN General Assembly, devoted to development and international cooperation, is expected to arrive at the September meeting with positive proposals for negotiation and eventual adoption in hand. Meanwhile, U.S. development aid to the poorest nations remains a crucial aspect of U.S.-Third World relations. It is one of the most immediate and tangible ways in which the United States can help the developing nations meet their most pressing needs. Long-term supporters of foreign aid believe that humanitarian objectives are ample justification for the existence of strong development assistance programs. But the increasingly recognized facts of interdependence add a new element of U.S. self-interest in decreasing the confrontation and increasing the cooperation between the industrialized and the developing nations.

U.S. AID ON THE WANE

U.S. official development assistance (ODA)--bilateral assistance under the Foreign Assistance Act, contributions to multilateral agencies, PL 480 "Food for Peace" grants and loans, and Peace

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UPDATE International

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Corps programs--has been declining in real terms for several years. In 1964-66,U.S. ODA averaged $3.4 billion per year.* In 1974, the United States spent approximately the same amount. At first glance, it would seem that amounts devoted to development have remained stable, but ten years of inflation have eroded the buying power of $3.4 billion by more than 50 percent.

Another way to measure aid flows, in addition to amounts of money disbursed, is in terms of percentage of gross national product (GNP). U.S. ODA in 1974 was .25 percent--one-fourth of one percent--of GNP compared to an average of .49 percent during the 1964-66 period. How does the United States compare with other rich countries? The United States ranked thirteenth out of seventeen developed nations in terms of the percentage of GNP which it spent on ODA in 1974. In 1974, Sweden spent .72 percent of its GNP on ODA; the Netherlands spent .62 percent; and France spent .60 percent. These amounts from the industrialized nations pale in comparison to estimated aid disbursements of the newly rich oil-producing countries. Kuwait devoted 6 percent of its ballooning 1974 GNP to ODA. The United Arab Emirates spent 4 percent; and Saudi Arabia spent 3.5 percent, according to Organization of Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) statistics.

The Challenge of Development

"The problem of development is a human problem and is best seen in the perspective of human beings:

An estimated 800 million persons in the developing world suffer from malnutrition.

For the poorest, life expectancy is almost 30 years less than in the United States.

Infant mortality is nearly four times higher than in the United States. One of every five children dies before the age of 5.

There is no regular access to health services for 85 percent of the people in less-developed nations.

Current world population of 4 billion will double in 40 years if the present growth rates continue. Population growth in the less-developed countries will account for 85 percent of that growth.

"Through development assistance, the United States seeks to help solve those most pressing problems of poor people in poor countries. The total amount we spend in that effort...is roughly one-seventh what we Americans spend annually on alcoholic beverages and about one-fourth what we spend on tobacco products."

Committee Report on International Development and Food Assistance Act of 1975; August 1, 1975.

* ODA statistics in this section are taken from preliminary data contained in Organization of Economic Cooperation and Development press release/A (75) 27, Paris, June 26, 1975.

Statistics, of course, do not tell the whole story. They indicate only amount, not place of destination. In 1974, the United Nations drew up a list of 33 nations most seriously affected (MSAs) by price increases in food, fuel, and fertilizer. The criteria used by the UN to select these countries were (1) a per capita income of $400 or less in 1971 (2) a projected overall balance of payments deficit in 1974 or 1975 equivalent to five percent or more of estimated imports (3) and foreign reserves.

The MSAs are the newly christened "Fourth World," set apart from other developing nations by their abject poverty and their dismal futures. They are nations so hampered by economic stagnation and rising import costs that they have virtually no hope for improvement without outside help.

It is interesting to note that in 1974, 37 percent of U.S. bilateral offical development assistance went to nations listed as MSAs, according to AID figures. Aid to South Vietnam, which is not on the MSA list, accounted for approximately 25 percent of U.S. ODA in 1974.

Poverty, of course, can be found in nations other than those listed as MSAs. Some nations may have average per capita incomes of more than $400, but income is distributed so unevenly that large segments of the population live on incomes considerably below the average. Nonetheless, the percentage of total aid going to the MSAs can measure to some extent the willingness to assist those nations with the greatest human need.

THE AID MAZE

U.S. development aid can be divided into two categories: bilateral and multilateral. The major portion of bilateral assistance, or country-to-country aid, is included in the Agency for International Development (AID) budget and the PL 480 or "Food for Peace" program. Multilateral aid consists of U.S. participation in international organizations engaged in development activities.

A large portion of U.S. bilateral assistance contained in the AID budget has been directed toward objectives other than development. In fiscal year 1975, for example, only 40 percent of the $2 billion AID budget went toward development assistance. Approximately $660 million was slated for security-supporting assistance (balance of payments support for such countries as Cyprus, Israel and Egypt), $440 million was to be spent on Indochina Postwar Reconstruction, and $100 million was scheduled for a Middle East Special Requirements Fund.

The PL 480 program also has objectives other than economic development. Its declared purposes are to develop and expand markets for U.S. agricultural commodities, to combat hunger and malnutriation, and to promote the foreign policy of the United States as well as to promote economic development. The PL 480 program includes, in Title I, sales of food on concessional payment terms, and, in Title II, food grants. Food grants have traditionally accounted for about 30 percent of total food aid expenditures.

Because of commodity shortages and higher food prices, the quantity of food shipped overseas has varied from an average of nine million metric tons annually during the period of 1969-72, to 3.3 million metric tons in fiscal year 1974. PL 480 food has been increasingly sent to nations to which the State Department has made special foreign policy commitments. During fiscal year 1974, more than 66 percent of Title I, or almost half of the commodities shipped under PL 480, went to Cambodia and Vietnam. Some PL 480 food is also being sent to the Middle East and Chile.

About 20 percent of U.S. official development assistance is contributed to multilateral institutions. During FY 1975, expenditures committed to international organizations engaged in development activities totalled about $900 million of which about $139 million was channelled through the AID budget. It will go to several agencies of the United Nations, to the International Development Association (the soft loan window of the World Bank), and to such regional organizations as the Inter-American Development Bank (IDB) and the Asian Development Bank (ADB).

THE GOOD NEWS: REFORM

Development theory has undergone a dramatic change during the past decade. Concentration of development efforts on the industrial sectors of developing economies has brought about substantial economic growth in many of the developing nations. But population growth has obliterated gains in GNP in per capita terms, and industrial growth has done little to improve living conditions for the poorest 40 percent of most developing nations' populations. Most development experts now agree that new strategies of economic development must be created which will have as their primary goal a more equitable balance in the distribution of the benefits of economic growth.

Reflecting a recognition that there is more to development than an increase in GNP, Congress directed AID in the 1973 Foreign Assistance Act to concentrate its development efforts on "people-oriented"programs. In response to Congressional directives, AID has organized its activities around five functional categories: food and nutrition; health and population planning; education and human resources; selected development problems (such as transportation, urban development and export promotion); and selected countries and organizations (such as cooperatives and credit unions). Sponsored by Senator Charles Percy (R-ILL),an amendment to the 1973 Foreign Assistance Act also required that AID funds be used in a way to encourage the integration of women into the economies of developing nations.

In the past,economic and military assistance have been considered together in the same piece of legislation. In recent years members of Congress who would otherwise favor economic assistance voted against the foreign aid bills to protest U.S. involvement in Vietnam. In August, for the first time in 25 years, the International Relations Committee of the House of Representatives approved an economic aid authorization bill separate from military aid. Full House action in the fall will determine whether development aid supporters have been right in insisting that development assistance can make it through Congress on its own merits without being tied to U.S. global security interests. Other changes included in the bill, entitled the International Development and Food Assistance Act of 1975, include:

- provisions that would allow AID to use repayments, or "reflows", of loans for new programs. Loans under existing legislation are to be repaid to the Treasury Department.
- special emphasis on increasing food production overseas.
- incorporation of development assistance and food aid in a single piece of legislation for the first time.

The PL 480 food aid program has been a target of Congressional reform for some time. Several members of Congress have argued, with considerable public support, that the primary criteria for a nation receiving food aid should be need rather than political or security ties to the United States. With this in mind, Congress passed an amendment to the Foreign Assistance Act of 1975 requiring the Administration to allocate 70 percent of Title I food aid to countries on the UN's list of MSA countries. This requirement contributed to the Administration's decision to increase the PL 480 budget in FY 1975 so that foreign policy commitments as well as humanitarian concerns could be met.

There are moves in both the legislative and executive branches for a comprehensive review of the food aid program.Circumstances have indeed changed since 1954, when the PL 480 program was originally adopted. At that time PL 480 was intended as a temporary measure to be discontinued when surpluses of U.S. farms goods disappeared.

Its main objective was seen as the development of commercial markets. PL 480 was revised extensively in 1966 to reflect declining U.S. food surpluses and to emphasize the importance of food aid as a means to combat malnutrition and promote agricultural self-help and voluntary family planning activities. The requirement that the United States could send as food aid only surplus commodities was dropped from the law. Still remaining in the law, however, is the requirement that no commodity be made available for PL 480 use if it is needed to meet domestic demands, carry-over requirements or anticipated commercial export needs.

The obvious uncertainties of the current assessment method and the need for a continuous food aid program less affected by fluctuating supply and demand has led to many proposals to revise PL 480. One such proposal would reorder the priorities in the law. Commodities would be programmed first for disaster relief, then for agricultural assistance programs, and finally for market development, foreign policy uses, and surplus disposal. A minimum of one million tons would be set aside annually, unaffected by commodity availability, to be used

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memorandum

The League of Women Voters of the United States

THIS IS GOING ON DPN
August 1975

TO: State and Local Leagues (Attention IR Chairmen)

FROM: Ruth Hinerfeld, Chairman of the International Relations Committee
Martha Aasen, UN Observer

This mailing includes five enclosures related to IR program:

1. The LWVUS Committee Guide, What to do About the UN Updating
2. Flyer on the Foreign Policy Association's Great Decisions 1976 booklets
3. UNA-USA order labels for the annual survey Issues before the 30th General Assembly of the United Nations
4. Flyer on the UNA-USA's monthly newspaper The Inter Dependent and the commemorative book UN 30
5. Flyer on the Overseas Development Council's The U.S. and World Development: Agenda for Action 1975.

This material is provided to help you plan your IR activities this year.

The LWVUS Committee Guide contains references and materials selected to provide information and ideas on the UN for those Leagues planning to update their members on UN issues.

what to do about the UN UPDATING

committee guide

Today's United Nations is different from the world organization visualized by its founders. It has had to cope with concerns and problems that were not even imagined in 1945. The UN has grown from 51 to 138 countries. A membership mostly European in background and outlook has changed to one where nations from the developing world outnumber the original members. The UN has branched out from a fairly simple structure aimed at saving "succeeding generations from the scourge of war" to a colossus of specialized agencies, international conferences and special sessions grappling with such global problems as economic development, population, energy, the environment, the world food supply and the status of women.

Certainly nothing has changed overnight. But the controversial actions taken by the 29th General Assembly (GA) and the United Nations Education, Science and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) in late 1974 abruptly awakened an otherwise inattentive American public, making it seem as though the "new majority" and new relationships at the United Nations were a dramatic departure from the past rather than a gradual evolutionary change. The inability of the United States to muster support for many of its positions, the seemingly monolithic stance of the Third World bloc on economic issues, as well as on many political questions, and an apparent disregard for the letter and spirit of the UN Charter among UN members evoked an outcry from much of the American public --including many members of the League of Women Voters.

The actions which seem to have rankled the American public most were those taken by the General Assembly and the UNESCO General Conference regarding Israel. (For background on these actions, see UPDATE International "UN: Are There Cracks in the Glass House? pub. #570).

There is increasing fear that attempts to isolate Israel will continue when the General Assembly convenes in September. A conference of thirty-nine Islamic nations meeting in July called for the expulsion of Israel from the UN and other international agencies, and the Arab states are reportedly spearheading a move to carry out the conference's resolution.

The Arab nations have so far been able to use their new financial and political power to take a leadership role among the developing nations. Many developing nations consider the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) as a potent model for united action to transfer wealth, and they admire OPEC members for their ability to "take on" the industrialized nations. The Arab nations have espoused a variety of economic issues important to Third World countries and therefore have been successful in gaining Third World support for their own political views. The Arab nations will continue to press their views at the UN, and the developing country majority will undoubtedly continue to hold sway in General Assembly voting on resolutions dealing with international economic policy.

The policy question for the United States is what to do about this "new majority." One obvious response would be to withdraw in protest from the General Assembly or from the entire UN system. This response has seemed a more likely possibility since Secretary of State Kissinger's July 15 speech in Milwaukee. "...The coerced are under no compulsion to submit. To the contrary, they are given all too many incentives simply to depart the scene, to have done with the pretense," Kissinger said.

An alternative response for the United States would be to continue what it has been doing--working behind the scenes and through the UN structure to oppose what it considers contrary to the Charter and to U.S. economic and political interests, while encouraging UN programs which further functional cooperation. Still another alternative response might consist of efforts to restructure the UN to make it a more effective institution and to give new emphasis in US foreign policy to the potential of the

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Pub. No. 559--35¢.

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UN in addressing problems of global dimension.

The League's UN position "supports U.S. policies to strengthen the UN system and its ability to keep the peace." The alternative of withdrawal would be inconsistent with the League's UN position. Instead, the League would support U.S. efforts to move beyond the second alternative, which is U.S. policy today, to seek new responses which would prevent the weakening of the organization and equip it to deal with today's problems.

At Council 1975 in Washington, D.C., a motion calling for a member update on the League's UN position before 1976 National Convention was adopted overwhelmingly. The motion asks members to examine the League's UN position and decide whether the overall objectives expressed by the position are still applicable to the current situation. The council resolved:

"That the national board encourage local Leagues to update their members on the League's United Nations position and the changing nature of the United Nations by providing direction and an every member article in the fall issue of the Voter; That local and state boards be asked to discuss the following questions:
Does basic agreement with the League's UN position still exist among your members?
What kind of action do you think the League should take regarding the United Nations?"

A June memo from Ruth Hinerfeld to local and state League presidents explained the council motion. This COMMITTEE GUIDE has two related purposes:

- to give League boards, and IR chairmen especially, additional background on the council motion.
- to offer some suggestions about how to conduct a review if your board decides that your members need to be updated.

GETTING STARTED

Exactly what is meant by an "updating?" It is an opportunity for League members to review the League's UN position. It is not a new study of the UN nor is it a reevaluation of the League's UN position. League members are asked by the motion to review the history of the League's position and action on U.S. participation in the UN and to examine some of the major differences between the UN system as it was at the time of the last League study (1962-64) and the UN as it is today. Members will have the opportunity to indicate their feeling about a new UN study or reevaluation of our position through the national program-making process this year.

How to begin? Probably the best way would be with a review of the League's UN support position. Get copies of Documents, Study and Action, the Summer 1975 National VOTER and the forthcoming Fall issue. See how our position has developed beginning with the League's early support for the League of Nations. Discover the part the League played in the shaping of the UN Charter and working for Charter ratification and U.S. membership in the various agencies of the UN system. Examine the action we have taken from the UN's inception, when the League undertook the most intensive nationwide public support campaign in its history, to 1975 when council delegates sent a telegram to the Senate Foreign Relations Committee reaffirming the League's continuing support for U.S. policies to strengthen the UN system. (See June memo referred to above for text of telegram and the Fall 1975 National VOTER for a description of action, particularly recent action, taken on the UN position.) Look at the interrelationships of all our IR positions. League action on many economic and social issues discussed in the United Nations often takes place via our other separate but complementary IR positions, especially in the area of development aid.

Since this is essentially a catch-up, there will not be time for an extensive examination of the UN system. Try for a broad overview of how the world and the UN have changed since the 1962-64 study.

How many and what kinds of meetings a League will schedule, how much time and effort can go into the planning and preparation of those meetings must be decided by individual Leagues. Since the Fall issue of the National VOTER should reach members by early November, the best time to schedule the updating would be in late November or early December, prior to national program-making. Whatever the format--units, workshops, public meetings, radio and TV programs or bulletin articles and inter-League activities--local League boards will want to provide for some method of ascertaining membership opinion on the two questions posed in the council motion, so that either the desire for a new study or satisfaction with the League's position will be reflected in local League input into national program-making.

Though unit meetings and workshops are tried-and-true ways of getting League members together, your League calendar may already be filled with a variety of program "musts." This updating, however, offers an opportunity for innovative programming. Some ideas Leagues have used on special UN programs which may be adaptable to a general purpose UN updating are as follows:

- Mock UN Assembly, and mock Food, Law of the Sea, and International Women's Year conferences;
- Poverty meal followed by a discussion of UN involvement in global problems;
- Simulation game on distribution of world wealth and resources;
- UN film A Day in June on cable TV followed by discussion groups on UN peacekeeping;
- Speaker or panels reporting on a UN conference; and
- Mock congressional hearings on U.S. participation in UN.

Take advantage of the existing situation. Use the increased public interest to involve people in and out of the League in your review. Citizen information is an integral part of all League activities. The interdependence of UN global issues will enable you to find planners and participants for your review both in and out of the League.

There is no way you can cover everything. Try to limit the scope of your review. You might choose to concentrate on how the UN and the world have changed and try to see how changes in the one have brought changes in the other. There are a variety of approaches which can be applied, depending on the time, interests, and resources of your League and your community (see In League: Guidelines for League Boards, pub. #275 pg. 35-37.)

UN POSITION AT A GLANCE

"The League of Women Voters of the United States supports U.S. policies to strengthen the UN system and its ability to keep the peace.

"...The League has given unswerving support to the United Nations and has examined its strengths and weaknesses with a friendly but critical eye. Realizing that no organization which reflects today's tense and troubled times can be free from conflicts of interest, occasionally acrimonious debate, and some mistakes, we have been heartened by the success of the United Nations in peacekeeping and in contributing to creation of the basic conditions for a peaceful and stable world through economic and social programs.

"At its 1962 convention the League, by an overwhelming majority, decided to re-examine and re-evaluate the U.N. system as it is today, to determine what U.S. policies could strengthen that system, and to consider the appropriate relationship between the United Nations and U.S. foreign policy. Results of two years of concentrated study are: broadening of League positions to include support of the principle of one-nation-one-vote in the General Assembly and of continuing negotiations to reduce the risk of war; greater appreciation of the role of the United Nations in keeping the peace and awareness of the necessity for improving its ability for doing so; insight into the problems created by the rapid increase in membership; recognition of the vitality that the new member nations have brought to the organization; deepened understanding of the mutual interest of the United States and the United Nations; strong reaffirmation of support for the UN system...."

U.S. Contributions to the UN - 1974

	Amount	Per Capita
Assessed contributions to the UN regular budget and specialized agencies*	$142,603,000	$.66
Voluntary contributions to such programs as the United Nations Development Program, the World Health Organization, and UNICEF	165,020,000**	.77
Peacekeeping Operations in Cyprus and the Middle East***	38,437,000	.18
	346,060,000	1.61

*The US assessed contribution is limited by statute to 25% of the total assessments for the UN regular budget and for most of the specialized agencies.
**Figure does not include US contributions to the UNESCO, WHO, and WMO special programs or to the special humanitarian programs.
***The US pays about 29% of the cost of the peacekeeping operations.

Source: Int'l Affairs Division, Office of Mgmt. and Budget

A BRIEF BACKGROUND

The most visible sign of change at the UN is the so-called new majority, composed mostly of the former colonial nations in Asia and Africa. In 1945, there were four independent African states; now there are nearly 50. Asia has emerged from centuries of imperial rule and foreign domination. The problems that have arisen since 1945 are directly related to the emergence of these new nations. The work of the UN system has increasingly reflected their concerns with problems of health, education, racial discrimination, self-determination and economic development. The new nations have had a numerical majority since the sixties, when many of them achieved nationhood; but it was not until 1975, during the 29th GA, that their votes prompted U.S. Ambassador John Scali's accusations of "the tyranny of the majority."

UN and UNESCO action on Israel and South Africa caused the most public controversy last fall, but differences on economic issues were considered more important by many nations at the UN. The flexing of economic muscle by OPEC gave the developing nations a new cohesion and brought calls for economic self-determination to match the political independence they had already achieved. The developing countries had spelled out their demands for equal distribution of the world's wealth in the New International Economic Order (NIEO), in the Sixth Special UN Session on Raw Materials and Development in April 1974. In the 29th GA, voting on the Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of States found the developed world opposing such key NIEO components as producer cartels, linkage between prices of raw materials and manufactured goods, and national jurisdiction over nationalization disputes. (See UPDATE International, pub. #570.) Discussions on NIEO are taking place at such traditional economic forums as the United Nations Industrial Development Organization (UNIDO) and the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD). NIEO considerations have influenced the work of the UN Environment Programme, the Food and Population Conferences and the International Women's Year Conference. They will undoubtedly hold center stage at the Seventh Special Session on Development and International Economic Cooperation to be held in September 1975, immediately preceding the 30th regular GA session.

As the world's problems have changed since 1945, so have the UN's methods of dealing with them. The Seventh Special Session, like the Sixth, will focus on economic affairs. There have been Years, Conferences, even Decades to focus public, national and international attention on global problems. In 1974, there were UN conferences on Population, Food and the Law of the Seas. This year's International Women's Year Conference focussed world attention on the triple theme of equality, development, and peace and adopted a ten-year Plan of Action. The Decade for Action to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination was proclaimed in 1972; and 1975 is the midpoint of the Second Development Decade. There is new machinery to deal with new or newly recognized problems including a UN Environment Programme, a World Food Council, and the proposed International Research and Training Institute for the Promotion of Women. There are improved ways of dealing with continuing problems. The mandates of the Emergency Force and the Disengagement Observer Force, the two Middle East peacekeeping operations established in late 1973, include a limited right of self defense for observers, provisions for stationing of observers on both sides of the cease-fire lines, and provision for the departure of observer forces only by Security Council action.

What has remained unchanged since 1945 is the UN Charter. It has been amended a few times, most notably to enlarge the Security Council and the Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC). Some participants in the "Great Debate" of the 29th GA pushed for Charter changes, saying that a large portion of the UN membership had no part in the drafting of the Charter and that all UN procedures should be reoriented to reflect today's world. The 29th GA established a 42 member ad hoc committee to discuss proposals to revise the UN Charter. Despite this move, no fundamental changes are expected. The permanent members of the Security Council, including the United States, are opposed to changes in the Charter, particularly those affecting their veto power. And any Charter revision is subject to the veto. A group of 25 experts appointed by the Secretary General recommended in June that the UN structure be reorganized to deal more effectively with economic issues. Their proposals, which do not necessarily require Charter revision, will be discussed at the Seventh Special Session in September.

The League of Women Voters began to support U.S. participation in the UN in 1945, working for ratification of the UN Charter. Our commitment to the concept of international cooperation and organization, however, goes back to the League's founding in 1920. Through the years, League support for U.S. membership in the UN has been continuous but

not utopian. It has been based on study of the organization and a realistic recognition of its problems. The updating will provide League members a new opportunity in this 1976-78 national program-making year to see where we have been, where we want to go, and whether we are still on the right course in our UN position.

SUGGESTED RESOURCES

UN CURRENT AND BACKGROUND

League of Women Voters Education Fund, "UN: Are There Cracks in the Glass House?" UPDATE International. March 1975. #570. 35¢. Major developments at the UN during the 29th General Assembly session, presented in historical and political perspective.

Daniel P. Moynihan, "The United States in Opposition." Commentary. March 1975. $1.25. Frequently quoted article which traces economic problems, economic and political views and international behavior of Third World nations to ideological roots in British socialism; proposes more assertive UN role for the United States in dealing with developing countries.

Harlan Cleveland, "The U.S. vs. the U.N.?" The New York Times Magazine. May 4, 1975. Recommends procedural changes to bypass voting system in UN and make organization more effective.

Charles Yost, "Clash of the 'two Majorities': Whose United Nations?" The New Republic. Dec. 28, 1974. 50¢. "How to Save the United Nations." Saturday Review World. Dec. 14, 1974. 75¢. Former U.S. Ambassador to the UN Yost assesses recent developments at the United Nations and makes recommendations for the future.

U.S. Positions at the 29th U.N. General Assembly. Feb. 1975. Free. Excerpts from statements of President Gerald Ford,Secretary of State Henry A. Kissinger, U.S. Representative to the U.N. John Scali and other U.S. officials in explanation of votes and positions on issues before the United Nations. Department of State publication 8800, International Organization and Conference Series 119. Office of Media Services, Bureau of Public Affairs, Washington, D.C. 20520.

Hearings on the UN. Senate Foreign Relations Committee. Congressional Record. S. 8363. May 15, 1975. 25¢. Includes testimony of Arthur J. Goldberg, J. William Fulbright, Richard N. Gardner, Joseph M. Segel, William F. Buckley, Jr. and Prof. Richard A. Falk. Superintendent of Documents, GPO, Washington, D.C. 20402.

Hearings on the UN. Senate Foreign Relations Committee. Congressional Record. S. 9002. May 22, 1975. 25¢. Includes testimony of R. Buckminster Fuller, Norman Cousins and Ambassador Scali. Superintendent of Documents, GPO, Washington, D.C. 20402.

The 29th General Assembly, United Nations Newsreport #14. Donald Keys' annual report on the UN. $2. Uncommon perspective on topics including: The Great Debate, the Revolutionary President, the PLO and the future of Palestine, United Nations Reform and Improvement, Whose Charter of Economic Rights and Duties? World Federalist UN office, 777 UN Plaza, Room 10-D, New York, N.Y. 10017.

Report of the United States Delegation to the 18th Session of the General Conference of UNESCO. Paris, France. October 18-November 24, 1974. Submitted April 2, 1975. Available free from United States National Commission for UNESCO Secretariat, U.S. Dept. of State, Washington, D.C. 20520.

Henry Kissinger, "The Global Challenge and International Cooperation." July 14, 1975. Speech before the Institute of World Affairs of the University of Wisconsin, Milwaukee, Wisconsin. Available free from the Bureau of Public Affairs, Office of Media Services, Washington, D.C. 20520.

Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of States. OPI/542. Recommendations for a new world economic order, as adopted by the UN in December 1974. Available free from: Office of Public Information, UN, New York, NY 10017.

UNA-USA Publications

The Inter Dependent. Monthly newspaper of the United Nations Association of the USA. Annual subscription $4.00. UNA-USA. (A sample copy was sent to every state and local League in April 1975.)

UN 30. Special anniversary issue of the Inter Dependent in magazine form. Reduced cost to League members: $1.00 to cover postage and handling. UNA-USA. Articles and special features covering full range of UN issues and activities by authors including Richard Gardner,Harlan Cleveland, Lord Caradon, Rudolph Peterson.

Issues before the 30th General Assembly. Background on issues to be discussed in the General Assembly and UN committees during 30th GA. UNA-USA. Will be published in the Fall.

Charter of the United Nations. UN. 1974. 50¢ each.

Everyman's United Nations. 1968. $2.50. (paper).

Everyman's United Nations Supplement. 1971. $1.95. (paper).

UNA-USA Fact Sheets. Excellent background information about the UN and key issues. 100/$2.00. Single copies free:

--9528 No. 2A. The Financing of the United Nations. May 1974. Explanation of the UN financial structure and relationship of U.S. contributions to those of other member nations.

--9535 No. 4A. United Nations Peacekeeping. December 1974. Explanation of the UN Charter provisions for international peace and security as well as past and present UN peacekeeping activities.

--9537 No. 6A. The Middle East. December 1974. Review of the continuing role of the UN in the Middle East situation from 1947 to the present.

--9548 No. 7A. The UN Secretariat: The International Civil Service. March 1975. Description of the personnel and workings of the UN Secretariat. This, along with 8A and 9,is designed to respond to some of the most frequent criticism of the UN.

--9549. No. 8A. The UN Security Council. April 1975. The responsibilities of the Security Council and explanation of its structure and functions.

--9550 No. 9. The UN Charter. June 1972. Discussion of the UN Charter: its principles, provisions and origins.

--9560 No. 10A. What has the UN Done for U.S. Lately? November, 1974. UN actions in areas of pressing domestic concern to all Americans.

--9561 No.11. The UN and the Item on Terrorism. January 1973. Underlying issues, past actions taken and proposals currently in negotiation.

--9562 No. 12 A. The UN and the Law of the Sea. March 1975. An analysis of the major issues dealt with at the UN Conference on the Law of the Sea including the question of territorial limits, fishing rights and the establishment of machinery to regulate activities in international waters.

--9586 No. 14. Consciousness Raising at the UN: The Sixth Special Session. June 1974. Explanation of economic and political developments leading up to the Special Session on Raw Materials and Development and an analysis of its results.

Orders: All of the above UNA-USA publications are available from UNA-USA: 345 East 46th Street, N.Y., N.Y. 10017.

BACKGROUND ON LEAGUE POSITION

Documents: Background on National League Program 1974-76. #521. 60¢. LWVUS. Statement of UN position, pp. 16 and 17.

Study and Action: 1972-74 National Program. #409. 75¢. LWVUS. History of UN position and action, pp. 23 and 24. Statement of position pp. 39-41.

Report from the Hill. December 1974. Letter to Ambassador Scali from LWVUS.

FILMS

There are a number of good UN films available. If you include a film in your update, you should probably schedule more than one meeting. Leading Film Discussions,a guide to effective programming with films, is available from LWV/New York City, 817 Broadway, New York, New York 10003. $2.00. The UNA's List of Recommended Films together with the recently published UN 16mm film catalogue is available from UNA-USA for a 25¢ handling charge. All of the following films are 28 minutes in length, in color and for use on 16mm sound projectors. The films,all in the UN International Zone series, are available for rental at approximately $1.00 per minute plus handling charges from:

FMS Films, P.O. Box 7316, Alexandria, Virginia 22307.

McGraw-Hill Films, 1221 Avenue of the Americas, NY, NY 10020.

Turning Point. An analysis of the Sixth Special Session of the UN General Assembly in the spring of 1974. The film alternates between scenes in rich and poor nations and provides a view of the role and operation of the GA at this Special Session, the "turning point" in the economic relations between the developing and the industrialized nations. The viewpoint of the film is mainly that of the developing nations.

Womanpower: Equality and Development. Comprehensive overview of the role of women in the world and the desired impact of IWY. Includes a three-day international forum on the role of women in Population and Development in 1974 at the UN.Tunisia, a country in which the Personal Status Code of 1956 granted women legal equality, is used as an example of improvements resulting from equal rights legislation.

Womanpower: The People's Choice. Depicts the kinds of problems faced by women running for elective office in Colombia. The campaigns of three women, one seeking the Presidency, a second the Senate and a third seeking election to the Bogota City Council, are covered in the film. The role of the UN and IWY are effectively included.

A Day in June and UN Emergency. Companion films on UN peacekeeping operations in the Middle East. UN Emergency is a chronology of the hammering together of UNEF in the fall of 1973. A Day in June deals with UN peacekeeping efforts on the Golan Heights in the buffer zone between Israel and Syria.

Tragedy or Triumph. An overview of the world food crisis. Beginning with the effects of the drought in sub-Sahara Africa, the film explores the causes of other dislocations in world food supplies, resulting inflationary pressures, the impact of the energy crisis, and finally a partial list of the next steps which must be taken by the world community.

The Minnesota Endorsement
of
The Declaration of Interdependence

RECOGNIZING the urgent need to move ahead with this Bicentennial Project, and

FURTHER RECOGNIZING Minnesota's leadership role in promoting World Citizenship with the first State Declaration,

BE IT RESOLVED that it is appropriate and fitting for this great state to offer strong support and endorsement of This Declaration of Interdependence,

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED that as a symbol of our support for this Declaration, we continue to proudly display the United Nations flag with the United States flag at the State Capitol,

FINALLY, we urge the leadership of all other states to take similar action.

EFFECTIVE Law Day, May 1, 1976.

Wendell R. Anderson
Governor, State of Minnesota

Nicholas D. Coleman
Senate Majority Leader

Rudy Perpich
Lt. Governor

Lee Andersen
House Majority Leader

Robert D. Ashbach
Senate Minority Leader

Martin O. Sabo
Speaker of the House

Henry Schreiber
House Minority Leader

Jim Lord
State Treasurer

Joan Growe
Secretary of State

Robert W Mattson
State Auditor

Warren Spannaus
Attorney General

We, the undersigned, commend the State Officials for this endorsement of The Declaration of Interdependence. We urge other states, our nation and other nations to follow this example, which is a valuable step in building a World Community of Peace Under Just Law.

Member of Congress

Hubert H Humphrey
U.S. Senator

Walter F Mondale
U.S. Senator

Chairman, Independent-Republicans of Minn.

David Roe
President, Minn. AFL-CIO

Rick Scott
Chairman, Minn. DFL Party

President, Mpls. Urban Coalition

Chief Justice, Minn. Supreme Court

A. C. Feldman Jr.
Exec. Director, Minn. Council of Churches

George C. Master
President, Minn. State Bar Assn.

Jerry Jenkins
President, League of Women Voters

C. Peter Magrath
President, University of Minnesota

President, World Federalists Assoc.

John R. Roach
Archbishop of Minneapolis & St. Paul

John Edie
President, UNA of Minn.

A Declaration Of INTERdependence

WHEN IN THE COURSE OF HISTORY the threat of extinction confronts mankind, it is necessary for the people of The United States to declare their interdependence with the people of all nations and to embrace those principles and build those institutions which will enable mankind to survive and civilization to flourish.

Two centuries ago our forefathers brought forth a new nation; now we must join with others to bring forth a new world order. On this historic occasion it is proper that the American people should reaffirm those principles on which the United States of America was founded, acknowledge the new crises which confront them, accept the new obligations which history imposes upon them, and set forth the causes which impel them to affirm before all peoples their commitment to a Declaration of Interdependence.

We hold these truths to be self-evident: that all men are created equal; that the inequalities and injustices which afflict so much of the human race are the product of history and society, not of God or nature; that people everywhere are entitled to the blessings of life and liberty, peace and security and the realization of their full potential; that they have an inescapable moral obligation to preserve those rights for posterity; and that to achieve these ends all the peoples and nations of the globe should acknowledge their interdependence and join together to dedicate their minds and their hearts to the solution of those problems which threaten their survival.

To establish a new world order of compassion, peace, justice and security, it is essential that mankind free itself from the limitations of national prejudice, and acknowledge that the forces that unite it are incomparably deeper than those that divide it -- that all people are part of one global community, dependent on one body of resources, bound together by the ties of a common humanity and associated in a common adventure on the planet Earth.

Let us then join together to vindicate and realize this great truth that mankind is one, and as one will nobly save or irreparably lose the heritage of thousands of years of civilization. And let us set forth the principles which should animate and inspire us if our civilization is to survive.

WE AFFIRM that the resources of the globe are finite, not infinite, that they are the heritage of no one nation or generation, but of all peoples, nations and of posterity, and that our deepest obligation is to transmit to that posterity a planet richer in material bounty, in beauty and in delight than we found it. Narrow notions of national sovereignty must not be permitted to curtail that obligation.

WE AFFIRM that the exploitation of the poor by the rich, and the weak by the strong violates our common humanity and denies to large segments of society the blessings of life, liberty and happiness. We recognize a moral obligation to strive for a more prudent and more equitable sharing of the resources of the earth in order to ameliorate poverty, hunger and disease.

WE AFFIRM that the resources of nature are sufficient to nourish and sustain all the present inhabitants of the globe and that there is an obligation on every society to distribute those resources equitably, along with a corollary obligation upon every society to assure that its population does not place upon Nature a burden heavier than it can bear.

WE AFFIRM our responsibility to help create conditions which will make for peace and security and to build more effective machinery for keeping peace among the nations. Because the insensate accumulation of nuclear, chemical and biological weapons threatens the survival of Mankind we call for the immediate reduction and eventual elimination of these weapons under international supervision. We deplore the reliance on force to settle disputes between nation states and between rival groups within such states.

WE AFFIRM that the oceans are the common property of mankind whose dependence on their incomparable resources of nourishment and strength will, in the next century, become crucial for human survival, and that their exploitation should be so regulated as to serve the interests of the entire globe, and of future generations.

WE AFFIRM that pollution flows with the waters and flies with the winds, that it recognizes no boundary lines and penetrates all defenses, that it works irreparable damage alike to Nature and to Mankind -- threatening with extinction the life of the seas, the flora and fauna of the earth, the health of the people in cities and the countryside alike -- and that it can be adequately controlled only through international cooperation.

WE AFFIRM that the exploration and utilization of outer space is a matter equally important to all the nations of the globe and that no nation can be permitted to exploit or develop the potentialities of the planetary system exclusively for its own benefit.

WE AFFIRM that the economy of all nations is a seamless web, and that no one nation can any longer effectively maintain its processes of production and monetary systems without recognizing the necessity for collaborative regulation by international authorities.

WE AFFIRM that in a civilized society, the institutions of science and the arts are never at war and call upon all nations to exempt these institutions from the claims of chauvinistic nationalism and to foster that great community of learning and creativity whose benign function it is to advance civilization and the health and happiness of mankind.

WE AFFIRM that a world without law is a world without order, and we call upon all nations to strengthen and to sustain the United Nations and its specialized agencies, and other institutions of world order, and to broaden the jurisdiction of the World Court, that these may preside over a reign of law that will not only end wars but end as well that mindless violence which terrorizes our society even in times of peace.

WE can no longer afford to make little plans, allow ourselves to be the captives of events and forces over which we have no control, consult our fears rather than our hopes. We call upon the American people, on the threshold of the third century of their national existence, to display once again that boldness, enterprise, magnanimity and vision which enabled the founders of our Republic to bring forth a new nation and inaugurate a new era in human history. The fate of humanity hangs in the balance. Throughout the globe, hearts and hopes wait upon us. We summon all Mankind to unite to meet the great challenge.

-- Henry Steele Commager

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October 24, 1975

1730 M STREET, N.W., WASHINGTON, D.C. 20036 • TEL. (202) 296-1770

memorandum

The League of Women Voters of the United States

THIS IS GOING ON DPM

OCTOBER 1975

TO: State and Local Leagues (Attention IR Chairmen)

FROM: Ruth Hinerfeld, Chairman of the International Relations Committee
Martha Aasen, UN Observer

Enclosed in this mailing is the United Nations Association-USA publication "The Seventh Special Session."

The Seventh Special Session of the UN General Assembly on Development and International Economic Cooperation marked a significant departure from the pattern of confrontation and acrimony which had characterized U.S.-developing country discourse in the UN during the past two years. Through intense negotiations in an atmosphere of conciliation, agreement was reached on many guidelines for potential future international economic cooperation.

"The Seventh Special Session" should be of particular interest to Leagues now engaged in the process of updating their members on recent UN history and the League's UN position.

A limited number of additional copies may be obtained at $1.00 each from UNA-USA, 345 East 46th Street, New York, N.Y. 10017. "The Seventh Special Session" also appears as an insert in Issues Before the United Nations General Assembly in 1975. That publication contains useful background information on the special session and the current session of the UN. $3.00 from UNA-USA.

Continuing review and analysis of what's happening at the UN is provided by The Inter Dependent, UNA-USA's monthly newsletter. $4.00 for annual subscription from UNA-USA.

UNITED NATIONS ASSOCIATION of the UNITED STATES of AMERICA

THE SEVENTH SPECIAL SESSION

OF THE UNITED NATIONS GENERAL ASSEMBLY
SEPTEMBER 1-16, 1975

A Report and Assessment
Published as a Supplement to
ISSUES BEFORE THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF THE UNITED NATIONS IN 1975

South Africa and the Maldives sent no delegations to S-VII.

A/Res. 3362 (S-VII)

For more detailed background, see Chapter II of Issues Before the United Nations General Assembly in 1975 (UNA-USA, September 1975)

A/PV. 2349, Sept. 16

At 4 a.m. on Tuesday, September 16 -- four days behind schedule -- 136 exhausted delegates to the Seventh Special Session (S-VII) of the General Assembly straggled out of a basement conference room at the United Nations in New York, their task finished. After 16 days of almost round-the-clock negotiation, they had agreed unanimously -- albeit with some carefully stated reservations -- on a 6,000-word resolution entitled "Development and International Economic Cooperation."

To an outsider, this masterpiece of economic jargon and diplomatic patchwork would be close to unreadable. But its mosaic of ideas, intentions and proposals -- and its promises of further negotiation and action -- were laden with historical possibility. For the subject in hand involved key issues of trade and development which, for two years past, had formed a sinister amalgam with the 1973 oil troubles, and the political passions of the Middle East and Africa, to generate a crisis of bitter recrimination and even threats of conflict between the developed countries (DCs) of the world's North and the increasingly assertive less developed countries (LDCs) of the South.

Later that morning, after a few hours' sleep, the heads of delegations filed into the main UN assembly hall for formal adoption of Resolution 3362 and a short round of speeches. Said US Ambassador Daniel P. Moynihan: "We have shown that we can negotiate in good faith....The system works." Said Abdelaziz Bouteflika of Algeria, the session's president and a leading exponent of Non-Aligned militancy: "Another decisive gain for the community of peoples in their struggle for more progress and justice."

As much as the hard-won compromise resolution itself, such benedictions from opposite political corners gave promise that the

dramatic two-year chapter of North-South confrontation was now at an end. The North had tacitly acknowledged the South's new oil-based power and, in cautious and measured terms, accorded new priority to some of the South's main economic claims. The South, in turn, had rejected the all-or-nothing counsel of its militant faction, accepted some significant ideas put forward by the North, and agreed to compromise or defer some of its own cherished objectives. Not once in the session had the LDCs used their overwhelming voting strength: there had been no voting. Not once had the US or any other Northern power renewed old threats to pick up its money and walk out. Nobody had surrendered, been humiliated, or done a victory dance. All had been done by negotiation, compromise and consensus.

What seemed in the making, still in fuzzy outline, was no less than an economic pact of peace between North and South, a peace of mutual advantage and mutual forbearance. But before such a peace could be realized, both sides must start a new chapter -- perhaps less dramatic but no less difficult. The patchwork generalities of Resolution 3362 must be sorted out, assigned priorities, and spelled out in a dozen negotiating forums. Only then would it be possible to know whether September 1975 had marked a mere truce or the beginning of a genuine peace.

The Background

The South's complaints against the North* are of long standing. They reflect ironies and misapprehensions on both sides. On an increasing scale all through the UN years, there have flowed to the LDCs from the industrial North -- through UN channels and otherwise, motivated by a mixture of political prudence, good business and simple good will -- varying kinds and amounts of development assistance. In addition there have been more massive, but more unevenly distributed, private investments whose net benefits are a subject of much disagreement.

Despite all these transactions, in most developing countries the pace of development soon fell visibly behind the bright expectations that had been aroused. Frustration mounted during the 1960s over the widening gap in per capita income between rich nations and poor. Many LDC leaders resented their inability to gain better control over their own countries' economic destinies, which they sometimes perceived as being decided mainly in the board rooms and government ministries of the North. LDCs began to reject the idea of aid as a mere act of benevolence and to insist on new trading opportunities, as well as financial aid, as a matter of right.

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*This paper omits discussion of the "East" -- the Soviet bloc and China -- whose role in these UN controversies has been limited mainly to adding verbal and voting support to the already crushing LDC majorities. On a world scale, their role as traders with, or sources of development assistance to, the LDCs remains minor.

The General Assembly, with its growing LDC majority, responded to this impatient mood. In 1964 it called the first UN Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD) and soon after established it as a permanent institution. In 1966 it created the UN Industrial Development
A/RES. 2626 (XXV) Organization (UNIDO). In 1970 it proclaimed a detailed -- and in key respects controversial -- International Development Strategy (IDS) to guide both DCs and LDCs in the Second Development Decade. But these and other institutional actions, far from closing the North-South policy gap, only seemed to shed a harsher light on it. Major trade-and-aid targets of the IDS remained unmet. Both the Assembly and UNCTAD became pressure points for LDC claims and, on occasion, for one-sided voting victories over the North. Such numerical victories, far from conferring any real power of action on the victors, seemed merely to sharpen DC resentment -- especially in the United States -- and thus further erode public support for development aid. To make matters worse, as these storm clouds gathered in the Southern sky, the United States was increasingly distracted by war in Indochina and political-economic troubles at home.

The storm broke in 1973 when the 12 nations of the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) acted in unison to quintuple the export prices of their crude oil -- effecting what soon appeared as a permanent shift of economic, and hence political, power.

Moreover, the diplomatic power of oil was supplemented by a working alliance between OPEC and the poor majority in the General Assembly. Thereby the oil exporters could deflect to the DCs some of the anguished appeals of the oil-importing LDCs, hardest hit of all by high oil prices. This they sought to achieve by enlisting the LDC majority in a campaign not just to benefit OPEC, but to promote a general shift of world economic power toward the developing South.

In this context the first call was sounded for what would become the Seventh Special Session of the General Assembly. It came in September 1973, just as the oil crisis was coming to a head, from the Algiers summit meeting of the Conference of Non-Aligned Countries -- a 75-nation grouping all of whose members are LDCs and among which, as members or observers, are almost all the members of OPEC. The proposal was for a special Assembly session in 1975 "at a high political level devoted exclusively to the problems of development." Couched in non-
A/RES. 3172 (XXVIII) prejudicial language, it won the backing of the DCs at the General Assembly that fall and was adopted unanimously in December. The special session was set for early September 1975. With 20 months available for preparation, even the US saw possibilities of useful negotiation on troublesome development and organizational issues.

But the road to September 1975 proved singularly rough. On January 31, 1974 Algeria, reacting angrily to a US call for a strategy meeting of major oil consumers, seized the initiative with an urgent request for a special Assembly session that very spring. The agenda -- "raw materials and development" -- was designed to further cement the new OPEC-LDC alliance. With Washington in a crisis of leadership, the hastily prepared Sixth Special Session (S-VI) met in New York in April. On May 1, 1974 it adopted, without a vote but only after vain DC resistance, a crusading manifesto entitled "Declaration and Program of

A/Res. 3201 and 3202 (S-VI)

Annexed to A/Res. 3281 (XXIX)

Action of the New International Economic Order" (NIEO). This new document went beyond the IDS of 1970 on such tough questions as nationalization, commodity producer cartels, "indexation" of LDC export prices to the rising prices of DC exports, and even "restitution" for past "alien and colonial" exploitation. Thenceforward the NIEO became a central document in the position of the UN majority on exonomic issues. Last fall the same themes were included in the Mexican-sponsored Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of States (CERDS) which the Assembly adopted on a bitterly divided vote.

Yet the negotiating spirit was not dead. Rather, each side, aware of the other's power, seemed to be jockeying for position. For a time the US concentrated on attempts to reduce OPEC's grip on Northern energy markets and its influence among the poorer LDCs. This approach scored no early success. In April OPEC, true to its grand alliance, refused to parley with the major oil-consuming countries' new International Energy Agency (IEA) over oil prices and supplies unless other raw materials were also on the agenda. After much soul-searching Washington joined its IEA partners in accepting the essence of this OPEC position.

Meanwhile, in a similarly conciliatory mood, the US decided early in 1975 to prepare much more thoroughly and constructively for S-VII than it had for S-VI of painful memory. Undaunted by the still militant posture of the LDCs (at UNIDO's general conference in Lima in March still another LDC manifesto had been pushed through against a lonesome "no" from the US), Washington kept a high-level interdepartmental policy committee at work all spring and summer preparing positions for S-VII and for related economic conferences elsewhere. In a series of speeches from May to August, Secretary of State Kissinger -- even while bluntly disputing some cherished LDC concepts -- began to unveil a new and more forthcoming US policy on such key issues as commodity trade. A similar evolution had been under way among the nine nations of the European Community. Meanwhile the LDCs, through their caucus known as the Group of 77 (an obsolete name; it now includes 105 nations), were formulating their own proposals. By July, when the Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC) held its annual Geneva session, North and South were able to agree on a list of six topics: (1) trade, (2) monetary reform and development finance, (3) science and technology, (4) industrialization, (5) food and agriculture, and (6) restructuring of the UN system.

Distributed as A/10112, June 13

Especially to OECD, Paris, May 28 (State Department press release 302)

E/Res. 1980 (LIX), July 31

Beyond the bare bones of these topics, detailed papers appeared during July and August -- first from the 77, then from the European Community, the Commonwealth and others -- proposing actual language for the decisions of S-VII. Of the major participants in the preparatory committee, only the US delegation remained mute. US diplomats, themselves largely in the dark, dutifully fended off inquiries with one answer: "Wait for the Kissinger speech."

First embodied in E/AC.62/L.4 and annexes, Aug. 11

The Special Session: Ingredients for Negotiation

As foreign ministers and delegates gathered on September 1, despite the new hope in the air experienced hands knew full well that the North-South economic gulf was still wide, and that two weeks would not close it. The most that S-VII could achieve would be a compromise resolution setting broad guidelines for further negotiation.

Annex I of A/10003/Add.1 (Part I), Aug. 29

On the opening day, only one formal proposal lay before the Assembly, that of the Group of 77. Conspicuous in it were favorite NIEO proposals known to be unwelcome, or downright unacceptable, to the US and other DCs; for example:

-- an "integrated" approach to price supports for an entire group of LDC commodity exports;
-- "indexation" of LDC export prices to tie them to rising prices of DC manufactured exports;
-- DC official development assistance (ODA) to reach the IDS target of 0.7 percent of GNP -- over twice the present level -- by 1978;
-- creation by the International Monetary Fund (IMF) of extra amounts of special drawing rights (SDRs) as an "automatic" source of financial resource transfers to LDCs -- the so-called "SDR link";
-- negotiated "redeployment" of some DC industries to LDCs.

A/AC.176/2, Sept. 4

Next the European Community produced a paper with comments on, and some revision of, the Group of 77 draft. But the main response must be from the United States. Dr. Kissinger, busy completing the Sinai disengagement pact, kept his place on the first-day speakers' list and instructed Ambassador Moynihan to deliver his speech.

The Kissinger Proposals

The speech was of monstrous length -- nearly 10,000 words, an hour and 40 minutes in delivery. Among the proposals crowding its pages were these:

-- Commodities. Rejecting price-fixing arrangements as a cure for the gyrations of commodity export prices, Kissinger proposed to replace the IMF's inadequate "compensatory financing" program with a Development Security Facility which would lend up to $10 billion in four years -- presumably at less than commercial interest -- to compensate LDCs for shortfalls in their export earnings. For the poorest nations the loans could be converted into grants. In addition, the US would sign a new international tin agreement, negotiate for further agreements on coffee, cocoa and sugar, back liberalized IMF financing for commodity buffer stocks, and support new "consumer-producer forums" to deal with supply and demand problems in copper and other key commodities.

-- Trade barriers. To favor LDC manufactured exports, Kissinger announced that the US would implement its somewhat flawed generalized system of preferences next January 1. In the current multilateral trade negotiations he called for relaxation of non-tariff barriers in favor of LDCs; offered to accept some LDC export subsidies for limited periods without countervailing duties; stressed priority for reducing tariffs on tropical products; and offered to reduce "escalation" of tariffs according to value added by processing. For such benefits he asked something in return: security of supply through "supply-access commitments as part of the reciprocal exchange of concessions" in the MTN.

-- Development finance. Kissinger ignored the controversies over targets for official development aid and "automatic" aid through SDRs. He promised new US money for the regional development banks, for the UN Natural Resources

Revolving Fund, and, if "others" would do their part, to replenish the World Bank's soft-loan International Development Association. But above all he stressed private enterprise. He called for quadrupling (to $400 million) the capital of the International Finance Corporation (IFC), the World Bank group's lending arm for LDC business enterprise; proposed an international investment trust under the IFC to mobilize capital for LDC enterprises; urged a new World Bank group effort to raise $2 billion a year for LDC raw materials development. And he urged new negotiations for "balanced standards of conduct" to improve relations between transnational corporations (TNCs) and LDC hosts.

-- Technology. Kissinger proposed an international energy institute to help LDCs develop new energy sources; an international industrialization institute; technical aid for non-food farm and forest products exported by LDCs -- jute, cotton, rubber, etc., all hard pressed by synthetic substitutes; increased health, nutrition and family planning services to LDCs at the community level; and an international center for exchange of technological data.

-- Food and agriculture. Kissinger called anew for establishment of world food reserves including 30 million tons of wheat and rice. To help LDCs grow more food, he said Congress would be asked for $200 million, on a matching basis, toward the proposed $1 billion agricultural development fund. He renewed the US pledge of 6 million tons of emergency food aid toward the 10-million-ton world target for 1975. Finally, he suggested a massive effort to reduce post-harvest waste of food through better storage and preservation.

-- UN restructuring. Kissinger called for "widely shared" decision-making power in "areas basic to the welfare of others" -- pointedly mentioning oil along with trade and finance. He called for decisions by consensus in the General Assembly but by vote in the World Bank group "where voting power is related to responsibility." He endorsed a restructuring of UN economic institutions along the lines of the "group of 25" experts' report, and urged the Assembly to act on this matter in 1976.

E/AC.62/9, June 1975

It was a remarkable document -- addressed to, yet looking beyond, the immediate occasion. Its lofty auspices were made explicit by references to President Ford, Treasury Secretary Simon, and a special Congressional advisers' group.* It was ingenious in moving the US toward some key LDC concerns without banking too much on a third-world-weary Congress. It was blunt in rejecting commodity price-fixing -- and even blunter in warning lest new oil price rises erode the DCs' will to aid the LDCs. Unwilling to write off oil-importing LDCs as vassals of OPEC, it offered the "poorest" countries new benefits on food, energy and health. It boldly championed private investment -- not a fashionable theme in the Group of 77 -- and equally boldly upheld the commodity consumer's interest in security of supply. Some proposals might be diplomatic non-starters, at best seeds planted for the future. But the immediate message -- clearly understood by the UN delegates -- was that the US intended to negotiate.

*Congressional advisers on the US delegation were: Senators Javits, McGee, Percy, Bellmon, Dole, Packwood, Humphrey, Clark, Domenici, Glenn and Morgan; and Representatives Diggs, W.J. Green, Buchanan, Biester, Whalen and Obey. On Sept. 11 Messrs. McGee, Javits and Diggs urged Congress and the public "to view favorably the Administration's constructive efforts to join in an international undertaking to improve economic prospects of mankind."

The Making of Resolution 3362

Clearly, the Kissinger ideas now had to be translated into resolution form and married by ingenious drafting with those already circulated by the Group of 77 and the Europeans. But the US delegation, lacking instructions, marked time until Kissinger -- home at last from the Sinai negotiation -- met with them in New York on Friday, September 5, and made clear his aim was to emerge from S-VII with a consensus document. Moynihan and his staff thereupon spent the weekend revising the Group of 77 text: deleting or softening unwanted provisions, borrowing useful language from the European paper, and splicing in as many of the Kissinger ideas as the traffic would bear. The result, circulated on Monday, signaled the start of serious talks.

Ad Hoc Committee Working Paper No. 10

All through the second week bargaining proceeded in working groups. Many tradeoffs were arranged, but on September 12, the date set for adjournment, key issues of trade and aid remained deadlocked. At this point there arrived from Washington Thomas O. Enders, Assistant Secretary of State for economic affairs and a reputed hardliner. In a tense "summit" negotiation lasting all weekend, he and Ambassador Moynihan faced a top-level delegation from the Group of 77, headed by Manuel Perez Guerrero of Venezuela. In this phase the US began to draw back from some of its apparent concessions in Working Paper 10. Hardliners among the 77, led by Algeria and Iraq and egged on by the Soviet Union, were all for using the Americans' backward step as an excuse to retaliate by withdrawing all concessions and reverting to the original 77 text. To prevent this disaster, the 77's moderate leaders must have some visible concessions from the North on key LDC points in dispute -- all of them high on Washington's anathema list. As Monday dawned one issue, price indexation, had been compromised; but on commodity integration, the 0.7 percent aid target and the "SDR link," neither side would budge. Only after learning that night of discreet soundings in Congress, which showed no hope of acceptance for the LDC demands, did Perez Guerrero and his colleagues opt for consolidating their gains in a consensus document. In the wee hours before dawn Tuesday, the deal was made. Some points dear to the 77 would remain in the text in words not accepted by the US and other Northern members; the objectors would state their reservations in the record of S-VII, but not in plenary session; and the resolution would be adopted by consensus.

In the patchquilt of Resolution 3362, each side had its gains and losses. The 77 could point to one more endorsement of the NIEO and the Lima declaration, and to such ideas as price indexation, the 0.7 percent aid target, the "SDR link," easing of debt burdens, activation of the languishing UN special fund for the hardest-hit LDCs, a "code of conduct" for transfer of technology, revision of patent conventions, "redeployment" of industry to LDCs, and making UNIDO into a specialized agency. Most of these points were much attenuated by compromise and by the detailed reservations of the US and other Northern delegations. But their survival in the text had symbolic value and possibly more than that.

US reservations in USUN press release 93, Sept. 16

On their side the Americans could point to inclusion, in one form or another, of no less than 15 proposals from the Kissinger speech -- among them the development security facility, promotion of private investment in LDCs through the World Bank and IFC, the technological information center, special aid to LDCs in food, health, post-harvest food preservation, agricultural research and food security. Equally significant was the watering down of the most unwelcome LDC proposals.

However, microscopic study of Resolution 3362 can be misleading. Like all Assembly resolutions, it is legally non-binding, all the more so in view of the accompanying reservations in the record. Much of its language is purposely ambiguous. In its treatment of specific issues it is at best a snapshot of the negotiating situation at a particular moment. What gives it its rare importance is less the detailed picture than the moment of history which it records, when two major world forces chose to turn toward reconciliation.

The Outlook

S-VII could not have hoped to end North-South tensions. But it palpably moderated them by its strong emphasis on interdependence and the need to negotiate stable economic relationships. The consequences will crowd the negotiating calendar for years to come. Even the current 30th General Assembly will receive an interim report on efforts to restructure the UN system (a final report is due a year hence) and will debate a new item, likely to be an annual fixture, on "implementation" of Resolution 3362.

More substantive work will proceed elsewhere: in the multilateral trade negotiations; in further wide-ranging negotiations in the World Bank group; in preparations for UNCTAD-IV next May; in talks next year on a constitution for the proposed UNIDO specialized agency; and in the World Food Council. Also, and crucial to the whole enterprise, two lines of negotiation will proceed outside the UN. The energy-and-raw-materials talks, involving OPEC, the IEA and other LDCs, will start in Paris in December. And the leading economies of the North will discuss coordinated policies to spur their still lagging growth, on which LDC export markets will vitally depend.

The coming complex of negotiations will test the readiness of both North and South to follow through on Resolution 3362 -- and, indeed, to meet each other's main concerns even beyond the scope of that document. For the North, secure access to raw materials is likely to weigh most heavily. For the South, trade, capital, technology, and a bigger share in decision-making will be the priority issues. In addition, both sides may try again for ground rules on the place of TNCs in development.

On most such matters a key question will be the attitude of Congress, more than ever claiming parity with the executive in foreign affairs. As Enders told a UN press conference just after S-VII, many of the Kissinger proposals will require "Congressional action or concurrence." The action of Congress will ultimately reflect its predominant attitude on a basic question: Does a prudent calculation of the national interest call for a substantial American effort toward more constructive North-South relations? In recent years the Third World, especially in its actions in the Assembly, has often been perceived as menacing American well-being and offending American pride. But the nations composing it are half the human race. Their interests demand constructive collaboration by the developed countries on terms both sides can accept. Failing such collaboration, they have shown themselves capable of actions harmful to the interests of all. The destinies of North and South are thus interlocked. The working out of terms on which to pursue a common destiny will require many countries, including the US, to think anew.

USUN press release 96, Sept. 16

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UNITED NATIONS ASSOCIATION of the UNITED STATES of AMERICA
345 EAST 46th STREET, NEW YORK, NEW YORK 10017

UNITED STATES CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE UNITED NATIONS IN 1975[1]

ASSESSMENTS FOR REGULAR BUDGET AND SPECIALIZED AGENCIES	TOTALS FROM ALL STATES	U.S. CONTRIBUTION	% OF TOTAL	PER CAPITA[2]
United Nations Regular Budget	$ $325,075,000	$81,269,000	25.00	$ .381
Food and Agricultural Organization	62,650,000	13,571,000	25.00	.064
Intergovernmental Maritime Consultative Organization	3,002,000	143,000	4.76	.0007
International Atomic Energy Agency	26,660,000	7,429,000	27.95	.035
International Civil Aviation Organization	13,187,000	3,356,000	25.00	.016
ICAO – Joint Financing Program	6,433,000	2,428,000	37.75	.011
International Labor Organization	45,135,000	11,284,000	25.00	.053
International Telecommunication Union	16,355,000	1,181,000	7.22	.006
United Nations Educational, Scientific & Cultural Organization	77,890,000	– –[3]	– –[3]	– –[3]
Universal Postal Union	4,222,000	168,000	3.97	.0008
World Health Organization	129,665,000	29,319[4]	25.00[4]	.137
World Intellectual Property Organization	1,831,000	105,000	5.72	.0005
World Meteorological Organization	7,175,000	1,683,000	23.46	.008
TOTAL	$719,280,000	$151,936,000	21.12	$.716
PEACEKEEPING				
United Nations Peacekeeping Force in Cyprus UNFICYP	$ 24,000,000	$ 9,600,000	40.00	$.045
United Nations Emergency Force in the Middle East United Nations Disengagement Observer Force (Golan Heights)	85,052,000	24,571,000	28.89	.115
TOTAL	$109,052,000	$ 34,171,000	31.33	$.160
VOLUNTARY PROGRAMS				
International Atomic Energy Agency Operational Program	$ 9,430,000	$ 2,500,000	26.51	$.012
United Nations Children's Fund	70,100,000	17,000,000	24.25	.080
United Nations Development Program	414,346,000	77,897,000	18.80	.365
United Nations Environment Program	11,852,000	3,200,000	27.00	.015
United Nations/Food and Agricultural Organization World Food Program	297,870,000	70,000,000	23.50	.328
United Nations Fund for Drug Abuse Control	7,143,000	5,000,000	70.00	.023
United Nations Fund for Population Activities	63,136,000	20,000,000	31.68	.094
United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees Program	14,422,000	1,471,000	10.20	.007
United Nations Educational and Training Programs for Southern Africa	1,335,000	50,000	3.75	.0002
United Nations Relief and Works Agency (UNRWA)	102,369,000	42,055,000	41.08	.197
United Nations Institute for Training and Research	1,502,000	400,000	26.64	.002
World Health Organization Special Programs	19,230,000	1,500,000	7.80	.007
World Meteorological Organization Voluntary Assistance Program	4,545,000	1,500,000	33.00	.007
TOTAL	$1,017,280,000	$242,573,000	23.85	$1.14
SPECIAL HUMANITARIAN PROGRAMS				
United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees:				
Guinea Bissau Resettlement Program	2,900,000	1,000,000	34.50	$ .005
Indochinese Refugee Program in Thailand	– –[5]	5,800,000	– –[5]	.027
Cyprus Humanitarian Assistance	29,041,000	13,500,000	46.49	.063
Chile Refugee Relief Program	– –[5]	400,000	– –[5]	.002
United Nations/Food and Agricultural Organization Sahelian Trust Fund	12,070,000	1,533,000	12.70	.007
TOTAL	$44,011,000	$22,233,000	36.43	.104
GRAND TOTAL	$1,889,623,000	$450,913,000	23.86	$2.11

UN DRO
UNCTAD
UNIDO
UNU

[1] Data for calendar year 1975 is preliminary as of June 1976. Data on contributions to the regular budgets of the United Nations, the specialized agencies, and UNEF represent amounts assessed by the appropriate bodies. Data on voluntary contributions to UNFICYP, UNEF, other voluntary programs, and special humanitarian programs represent commitments by governments which may include the value of commodities and services as well as cash.

[2] *Per Capita* is based on mid-1975 population estimate of 213.5 million.

[3] No funds appropriated because of Case Amendment prohibiting UNESCO funding.

[4] Represents the maximum amount that may be contributed under the 25% statutory limitation.

[5] Figures not available.

1730 M STREET, N.W., WASHINGTON, D.C. 20036 • TEL. (202) 296-1770

memorandum

The League of Women Voters of the United States

November 17, 1975
THIS IS GOING ON DPM

TO: State and Local presidents

FROM: Ruth C. Clusen, President, and Ruth Hinerfeld, International Relations Chairman

The following letter was sent to President Ford following the November 10 UN General Assembly vote equating Zionism with racism. The same letter was sent to Secretary of State Henry Kissinger, Ambassador William Buffum, Ambassador Daniel P. Moynihan and other members of the U.S. Mission to the United Nations. We sent a very similar letter to Senator John Sparkman, Representative Thomas E. Morgan, and Representative Donald Fraser.

Dear Mr. President:

The League of Women Voters of the United States wishes to go on record as vigorously opposing the recent UN vote equating Zionism with racism. The resolution is undoubtedly one of the worst mistakes the UN General Assembly has made to date It accomplishes nothing for its proponents and creates an emotional divisiveness which erodes the General Assembly's ability to act as a constructive force in international relations.

The League has supported U.S. participation in and the strengthening of the United Nations since the UN's earliest days, but recent events have caused many of our members to question their long-time support.

We commend the U.S. State Department and the U.S. Mission to the United Nations for having worked hard to postpone the vote until a later date and to explain to other UN delegates the seriousness with which passage of the resolution would be taken by the U.S. public. We only wish your efforts had been successful.

We agree with State Department spokesmen who have warned against a hasty U.S. reaction which would act against U.S. interests. More than ever before, the United States needs an international organization capable of coping with the complex and interrelated economic and political problems facing all nations of the world. We wish to urge you, despite this most recent setback, to continue working within the Security Council, the General Assembly, and in UN specialized agencies and committees toward a fulfillment of the purposes upon which the United Nations was founded.

Very respectfully yours,

Ruth C. Clusen
President

555 WABASHA. ST. PAUL. MINNESOTA 55102 TEL (612) 224-5445

The League of Women Voters of Minnesota

SPECIALIZED AGENCIES OF THE UNITED NATIONS

December 12, 1975

TO: Local League International Relations Chairmen

FROM: Mary Davies, State International Relations Chairman

RE: UN Update

WHO — World Health Organization - 142 members and 3 associate members, 1974 expenditures: $182,665,000, sets international regulations, conducts an epidemic warning system, assists in improving health education and public health facilities in developing countries, encourages and coordinates medical research.

FAO — Food and Agriculture Organization - 131 members, 1974 expenditures: $169,930,000, works to improve the quality and quantity of the world's food.

UNESCO — UN Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization - 135 members and 3 associate members, 1974 expenditures: $125,970,000, tries to improve the quality of life through literacy programs, scientific research, and the preservation and exchange of cultural and historic properties.

ILO — International Labor Organization - 125 members, 1974 expenditures: $93,202,000, improves working conditions and sets international safety and employment standards.

IAEA — International Atomic Energy Agency - 106 members, 1974 expenditures: $32,272,000, promotes peaceful uses of nuclear energy.

ITU — International Telecommunication Union - 143 members and 1 associate member, 1974 expenditures: $30,629,000, sets frequencies for all international and space communications by telephone, radio, TV or satellite, and has begun work on a worldwide direct-dial telephone system.

ICAO — International Civil Aviation Organization - 129 members, 1974 expenditures: $19,037,000, promotes safe and efficient civilian air travel by regulating aircraft operation, safety and navigation equipment, pilot training, the use of a common language and noise levels over land areas.

WMO — World Meteorological Organization - 140 members, 1974 expenditures: $13,946,000, clearing house for information, standardization of instruments and weather observations.

GATT — General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade - 83 contracting parties plus 17 countries participating under special arrangements, 1974 budget: $8,719,000, multilateral treaty setting rules for international trade and lowering of trade barriers.

UPU — Universal Postal Union - 154 members, 1974 expenditures: $6,680,000, standardizes international postal rates and assists countries in establishing and improving postal services.

IMCO Intergovernmental Maritime Consultative Organization - 88 members and 1 associate member, 1974 expenditures: $4,823,000, responsible for standards of ship design and safety and navigation procedures.

IBRD International Bank for Reconstruction and Development - 124 members, 1974 expenditures: $1,533,000,000, the World Bank with its affiliates the International Development Association (IDA) and the International Finance Corporation (IFC) lends money to governments and private enterprise in developing countries.

IMF International Monetary Fund - 126 members, 1974 administrative budget: $50,717,820, promotes stabilization of currency exchange rates and provides governments with funds to meet balance of payments.

WIPO World Intellectual Property Organization - 74 members, became affiliated with the UN in 1974, complements UNESCO work on copyrights in addition to responsibility for patents and trademarks.

OTHER MEMBERS OF UN SYSTEM

UNICEF UN Children's Fund - 1974 expenditures: $99,706,000, provides emergency and long-term assistance to mothers and children through health centers, nutrition programs, teaching materials and training of personnel to provide these services. About 125 governments provide on a voluntary basis over 70% of the Fund's income.

UNIDO UN Industrial Development Organization - set up in 1967 to promote industrial growth in developing nations and to coordinate efforts of all UN agencies in this field, provides technical assistance, research, training.

UNCTAD UN Conference on Trade and Development - 147 members, 1974-75 appropriations from UN budget: $33,114,000, concerned with commodities, manufactures, shipping, transfer of technology.

UNHCR UN High Commissioner for Refugees - provides emergency relief and promotes and safeguards the rights of refugees in employment, education, freedom of movement. Does not run its own programs but assists governments and other organizations.

UNEP United Nations Environment Programme - created as outgrowth of Stockholm Conference on the Human Environment in 1972, is to identify major environmental problems, monitor, exchange information.

UNITAR UN Institute for Training and Research - an autonomous organization supported by voluntary contributions. Research and training programs emphasize the needs of developing countries.

League of Women Voters Education Fund

INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS
W R A P - U P

February, 1976

UN: WRAPPING UP THE THIRTIETH

September 16, 1975 was a memorable day for UN recordkeepers. UN delegates, weary from 16 days of intensive, round-the-clock sessions of the Seventh Special Session (7th SS) on Development and International Economic Cooperation, wound up that session, formally closed the 29th regular session of the General Assembly (which had been in recess since December 18, 1974) and opened the 30th General Assembly (GA), all within a few hours of the same day.

"We have shown that we can negotiate in good faith. Not least, we have shown that this can be done in the unique and indispensable setting of the UN. This system works," said U.S. Ambassador to the United Nations Daniel Patrick Moynihan at the close of the 7th SS.

Other delegates also expressed satisfaction with the serious, pragmatic negotiations and the cooperative mood of the 7th SS. Its significance rested not on the contents of its final resolution entitled "Development and International Economic Cooperation" (and described by one delegate as "economic jargon and diplomatic patchwork") but in the willingness to negotiate and to compromise that made the resolution possible. Sparked by a wide-ranging message from Secretary of State Kissinger on the first day of the session, a spirit of conciliation pervaded the 7th SS and interrupted for a short moment a decade of rhetorical confrontation between the industrialized and the developing nations.

THE TONE CHANGES

The new look and tone of the 7th SS lasted about four weeks. By mid-October, the old look of confrontation had resurfaced with a vengeance in the bitter dispute over the action taken by the Third Committee, then later by the General Assembly, in approving a resolution equating Zionism with racism.

Of almost 200 resolutions passed by the session, the anti-Zionism resolution eclipsed all others in the attention it received in the American press and the reaction it evoked from the U.S. public. The form in which the resolution finally emerged was unexpected, but support for an anti-Zionism statement of some sort had been demonstrated earlier. Resolutions urging opposition to Zionism as a "threat to peace" had already been adopted at meetings of African and non-aligned nations. And one such resolution was part of the Declaration of Mexico, a document passed by the International Women's Year Conference.

Many observers viewed the anti-Zionism resolution as a face-saving device for the radical Arabs who had failed in their efforts to have Israel ousted from the General Assembly. Others believed that many countries voted for it to slap the face of Israel's main supporter--the United States--because of long-standing antagonisms and irritation with the new outspoken diplomatic style of the U.S. at the United Nations. A number of nations said that, despite their opposition to the resolution, they had voted in favor of it because of their dependence on Arab oil and investments and their desire to maintain the solidarity of the African-Arab bloc. And U.S. representatives quietly acknowledged that the United States had not fully exerted its diplomatic muscle in the battle to have the resolution voted down or deferred. U.S. ambassadors in various capitals throughout the world had been devoting all their resources to securing support for a pro-U.S. vote on a resolution affecting Korea (see below).

Whatever the reasons for the failure of the United States and other Western nations to counter Arab efforts in lining up votes, the "irresponsible and obscene resolution," as Ambassador Moynihan described it, was adopted by the GA on November 10--72 in favor, 35 opposed, with 32 abstentions.

Its effects remain to be seen. As a GA resolution, it is not binding on member nations as is a Security Council resolution. But it has recharged the momentum of Arab efforts to legitimize the role of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) in Middle East peace talks while further eroding the diplomatic position of Israel. (The PLO made an important gain when the Security Council later invited the organization to participate on an equal footing with member states in its discussion of the Middle East question.) The resolution also caused a halt to Western support for the UN "Decade of Action to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination"--a result foreseen by over half the non-Moslem black African countries who parted company with their usual voting allies to vote against or abstain on the resolution.

Most of the Western nations and other countries that joined the United States in opposing the resolution have tended to treat it as an ideological aberration which bears watching but may have no lasting effects. The reaction of public, press, and government officials in the United States, however, has been extremely strong. Some members of Congress have introduced bills or resolutions to end U.S. participation in the General Assembly, cut funding for all or part of the UN system, or punish the countries that voted in favor of the resolution by withholding bilateral economic assistance. Secretary of State Kissinger has initiated a policy of selective aid cutbacks tied to UN votes; and the Administration has stated its intention to review U.S. participation in the UN to distinguish between those areas of UN activity which benefit the U.S. and those which work against U.S. interests. In general, the U.S. is expected to de-emphasize the importance of the GA as a significant actor in international affairs and to concentrate its political efforts in the Security Council where the U.S. can veto resolutions it considers inimical to its interests. UN experts in and outside government have already begun to discount publicly the importance of the GA in relation to the Security Council which passes binding resolutions and the UN's specialized agencies where most of the nuts and bolts of UN work takes place.

OTHER BUSINESS

The strains of the Middle East appeared to dominate GA activity, but the session debated other pressing world problems as well. Among other things, the 30th GA:

☐ passed two contradictory resolutions concerning the Korean question. Both resolutions supported the dissolution of the UN Command set up in 1950 to repel the North Koreans after their invasion of the South. One resolution, however, supported by North Korea, China and the Soviet Union, called for the withdrawal of all foreign troops and a peace accord between North Korea and the United States--without South Korean involvement. (The U.S. delegate stated that U.S. troops were in South Korea under a 1954 bilateral agreement and were outside UN jurisdiction.) The other resolution, supported by South Korea, the U.S., and Japan, urged the resumption of North-South talks on unification.

☐ called for the immediate withdrawal of Turkish troops from Cyprus and the return of refugees displaced by the Turkish forces.

☐ passed a number of resolutions condemning South Africa, which, ousted from the GA last year, did not participate in this year's session. (The United States did not vote for all these resolutions but did make two forceful statements criticizing South Africa's racial policies.)

☐ debated foreign intervention in Angola during the debate on South Africa. Madagascar called for the condemnation of the "direct intervention of South African armed forces in Angola." Zaire then asked the Assembly to condemn all foreign intervention in Angola. Neither country was able to muster majority support and no statement on Angola was passed.

☐ established the International Women's Decade 1975-1985 and approved the comprehensive Plan of Action for the decade which was drawn up at the UN International Women's Year conference in Mexico in July 1975. (The United States abstained on the "umbrella" resolution which endorsed the World Plan of Action and the Declaration of Mexico because of its inclusion of language equating Zionism with racism.)

☐ passed more disarmament resolutions than ever before. Nonetheless, most observers believe that any movement in this area could result only from direct negotiations between the two superpowers.

☐ approved a declaration condemning the practice of torture. Although the Dutch-sponsored resolution imposes moral rather than legal obligations on governments, it was cited by many as the most positive achievement of this GA.

☐ enlarged from 42 to 47 members the Special Committee on the Charter of the UN and the Strengthening of the Role of the Organization. Some of the veto-wielding permanent members of the UN are opposed to Charter change and little is expected of this committee. Because its recommendations do not require Charter revision, however, much more is expected from the report of the Group of High Level Experts on the Structure of the United Nations System. The 7th SS established an Ad Hoc Committee on Restructuring of the Economic and Social Sector of the UN to examine this report and make future recommendations to the GA.

☐ brought the total number of UN members to 144 with the admission of six newly independent countries: Cape Verde Islands, Sao Tome and Principe, Mozambique, Papua New Guinea, Comoros and Surinam.

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memorandum

The League of Women Voters of the United States

THIS IS GOING ON DPM
March 16, 1976

TO: State and Local League Presidents

FROM: Ruth Clusen, President, and Ruth Hinerfeld, IR Chairman

We would like to urge you to write to President Ford to make League views known on a very important trade issue. By April 20, the President must determine his response to the domestic shoe industry's request for import relief. The League believes that the President should choose adjustment assistance rather than tariffs or quotas as the most appropriate remedy to the injury the shoe industry has suffered as a result of increased imports.

BACKGROUND

During its more than 40 years of supporting liberal trade, the League has worked for the systematic reduction of tariffs and opposed other measures impeding trade such as quotas. We have recognized, however, that certain domestic industries are vulnerable to injury by import competition. When such injury occurs, we believe it is far preferable to provide adjustment assistance to injured firms and workers than to impose trade restrictive tariffs and quotas. As we state in our position on trade, "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 (liberal trade) policy, which paves the way for political harmony with other nations, stimulates economic development at home and abroad, and expands consumer choice."

On February 20, the International Trade Commission (ITC) reported to the President that the U.S. shoe industry is suffering serious injury from increased imports. When serious injury is found, the Commission may recommend one or a combination of three remedies: tariffs, quotas, or adjustment assistance to injured workers and firms. The five-member Commission was unable to reach majority agreement on the appropriate remedy and have therefore made no such recommendation to the President.

The President must, by April 20, decide whether any import relief is in the national economic interest of the United States. If so, he must decide whether to impose tariffs or quotas on shoe imports to protect the domestic shoe industry or whether the injured workers and firms should be granted adjustment assistance to help them adjust to increased imports from overseas. The President could also extend his deadline beyond April 20 by 90 days if he decides to enter into bilateral negotiations with the main shoe-exporting nations to obtain from them promises to limit the volume of their exports to the United States.

During ITC's consideration of the shoe case, several people presented testimony which pointed out the inflationary impact of the protection the domestic shoe industry is seeking. Fred Bergsten, a Senior Fellow at the Brookings Institution speaking on behalf of Consumers Union of the U.S., warned that the quotas

proposed by the domestic shoe industry would be an immediate cost to the consumer and the cost would increase with time. "Consumer costs would rise by $3.7 billion in 1981," he said.

The President's Council on Wage and Price Stability, the government watchdog on inflationary forces, strongly warned against meeting the shoe industry's demands for quotas. Such quotas would, according to the Council, increase the average wholesale price of a pair of shoes by about ten percent. The Council pointed out that such a price increase would cause a "loss to the consumers who would have to buy fewer shoes or shoes of lower quality because of the higher prices for all shoes." The Council said that the shoe industry in the United States should look to adjustment assistance for the help it needs. "A trade adjustment assistance program would be less inflationary than the petition's proposed quota system. If properly designed, such an assistance program could even be anti-inflationary, if the benefits of retraining, relocation and modernization exceeded the costs of the program," the Council said.

UNITED NATIONS ASSOCIATION of the UNITED STATES of AMERICA, 345 East 46th Street, New York, N.Y. 10017

FACT SHEET

Revised
March, 1976

UNITED NATIONS CHARTER

One of the most frequent criticisms of the United Nations is that it is no longer the same institution the United States helped establish in 1945 and no longer reflects the same political values. The UN has indeed changed—but so has the rest of the world.

Since 1945 there have been far-reaching changes at all levels of society—economic, technological, sociological and cultural—and these changes are reflected in new international relationships. Almost 100 new nations have been created and admitted to the UN — with US approval. Nearly all are ex-colonies and almost all are very poor. Their traditions and needs are very different from our own and the policies they espouse at the UN reflect their own distinctive priorities and aspirations. As a result the UN Charter, created primarily by western, industrialized countries, has become the focus of considerable debate.

WHAT IS THE UN CHARTER?

The Charter, which came into effect on October 24, 1945, is the "constitution" of the United Nations, establishing its basic principles, purposes and machinery. It is an international treaty which all UN member states must ratify in accordance with their own national processes. In the United States, the Charter was ratified in the Senate by a vote of 89-2. Under the terms of the "necessary and proper" clause of the United States Constitution, it became federal law through the United Nations Participation Act passed by Congress in 1945.

WHAT ARE THE PRINCIPLES OF THE CHARTER?

The Charter is based on 7 main principles:

1) The equality and sovereignty of all member states.

This is the key to understanding the UN; it is not an international government, but an organization whose members have come together voluntarily to achieve a common purpose.

2) Fulfillment "in good faith" by all members of obligations assumed under the Charter.
3) Peaceful settlements of disputes.
4) Renunciation of the threat or use of force.
5) Cooperation with the UN in any action it takes.
6) Encouragement of non-member states to abide by its principles.
7) Non-intervention by the UN in the internal affairs of any state.

The Charter also calls for freedom of religion. Many faiths, each with a different conception of God, are represented at the UN. A moment of silence opens and closes each General Assembly session, and there is a Meditation Room at UN headquarters which is open at all times. There is no mention of God in the Charter just as there is none in the U.S. Constitution.

WHAT IS THE BASIC MACHINERY OF THE UN UNDER THE CHARTER?

The Charter established six main organs of the UN: the General Assembly, Security Council, Economic and Social Council, Trusteeship Council, the International Court of Justice and the Secretariat.

THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY is the central body of the UN and the only one in which all member states are represented. In general, it forms the main forum for discussion, formulates policy and coordinates the work of other organs and subsidiary bodies. The Assembly has no power to pass laws that are binding. Its resolutions are *recommendations* for action backed only by the force of world opinion.

THE SECURITY COUNCIL is the main political organ of the United Nations and is given the "primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security." Five permanent members, China, France, the United Kingdom, the US and USSR, have the power of veto in this body.

THE ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL COUNCIL (ECOSOC) is the UN's planning body for the promotion of economic, social and humanitarian progress.

THE TRUSTEESHIP COUNCIL is responsible for the supervision of territories voluntarily placed under the international trusteeship system by the administering governments. There were originally 11 trust territories; all but one have now become independent nations. The remaining one is the US Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands.

THE INTERNATIONAL COURT OF JUSTICE is the principal judicial organ of the UN. It is empowered to hear cases involving legal disputes between governments and to give *advisory opinions* to the UN and its related agencies to clarify questions of international law and interpretation of the Charter.

THE SECRETARIAT is the administrative arm of the United Nations and is headed by the Secretary-General. Its headquarters are in New York City. There are approximately 10,000 men and women employed as Secretariat members in posts around the world.

CAN THE CHARTER BE REVISED?

Yes. Amendments to the UN Charter come into effect when they have been passed by a vote of two-thirds of the General Assembly and ratified by two-thirds of the member states including the five permanent members of the Security Council (China, France, the United Kingdom, the US and USSR).

The Charter has been amended five times since 1945. Three of these concerned the Security Council, one enlarged the Council from 11 to 15 members, and two simultaneous amendments increased from 7 to 9 the number of votes needed to pass various resolutions in the Council. The fourth and fifth amendments enlarged the membership of the Economic and Social Council from 18 to 27 and subsequently to 54 member states.

Provisions for a general charter review conference are also included. The item has been regularly deferred by the General Assembly since it was first placed on the agenda in 1955. The five permanent members of the Security Council, who must concur, are opposed to any basic change, particularly with regard to their veto power in the Council. In addition, many governments feel that the circumstances leading to compromises at San Francisco in 1945 are no longer present and any effort to open the question would in fact result in a far less effective document. The Third World countries, on the other hand, would like to see the Charter revised to change those UN procedures which they feel do not accurately reflect their interests or their numerical power.

The General Assembly has established a committee to discuss charter revision as well as all possible ways of strengthening the effectiveness of the UN.

WHAT COUNTRIES CAN BECOME UN MEMBERS AND HOW ARE THEY ADMITTED?

Membership is open to all "peace-loving" nations who have "acceded" to the Charter (ratified it after it came into force) and who thereby agree to abide by its provisions. They are admitted by the Security Council and a two-thirds vote of the General Assembly. The 51 original signatories to the Charter in 1945 became members by virtue of their participation in the San Francisco Conference and their subsequent ratifications of the Charter.

The only additional qualification for membership is the ability of a country to carry out its responsibilities under the Charter. Size, population, income level and system of government are not factors, some newly independent "mini-states", however, such as the Pacific islands of Tonga and Western Samoa, have chosen to allow the former colonial governments (in this case the United Kingdom and New Zealand respectively) to conduct their foreign affairs. They have never applied for membership.

CAN A MEMBER STATE BE EXPELLED OR WITHDRAW?

Yes. The Charter provides that a member state may be expelled if both the Security Council and the General Assembly decide that it has "persistently violated" the UN Charter. This provision has never been invoked.

> *The seating of the People's Republic of China in 1971 was not an expulsion of a member state. It was recognition of the People's Republic of China rather than the Nationalist government as the legal representative of the Chinese people.*

There are no specific provisions in the Charter for withdrawal. Indonesia is the only country ever to have left the UN. After a change in its government, it resumed participation the following year. (1966)

WHAT WERE THE ORIGINS OF THE UN CHARTER?

THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS (1920) Covenant was the basic model for the United Nations. There are, however, several important changes. Where the Covenant was a traditional agreement among governments, "the high contracting parties," the UN Charter adopts the democratic tenor of the U.S. Constitution in its preamble beginning with *"We the peoples of the United Nations."* Where the Covenant of the League required unanimous votes in both the Assembly and the Council, the Charter provides for a more flexible decision-making process. Above all, the Charter includes provisions for military and political enforcement procedures which the League of Nations did not have. Finally, where the Covenant was included in the Versailles Treaty after World War I, the Charter was deliberately separated from the peace treaties and related political issues resulting from World War II. (Article 107)

THE ATLANTIC CHARTER (1941), proclaimed by President Franklin D. Roosevelt and Prime Minister Winston Churchill, listed eight principles for a "better future for the world," including the fullest collaboration between all nations.

THE DECLARATION OF THE UNITED NATIONS (1942) was signed by 26 nations which accepted the principles of the Atlantic Charter and pledged to gain victory through action "by the United Nations", the first time these words were used.

THE MOSCOW DECLARATION (1943) was an agreement by China, the United Kingdom, the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. to set up an international peacekeeping organization.

THE DUMBARTON OAKS CONFERENCE (1944): Representatives of the United Kingdom, the U.S. and U.S.S.R. engaged in the first substantive talks on the powers and structure of a United Nations and laid the foundation for the Security Council, along with recommendations on membership and the aims and principles of the organization. Prior to this first preparatory conference, a committee of experts headed by Under-Secretary of State Sumner Welles had written the preliminary working draft of the Charter.

THE YALTA CONFERENCE (1945), attended by President Roosevelt, Prime Minister Churchill and Marshal Stalin of the Soviet Union, resulted in an agreement on the method of voting in the Security Council. Also, because of Soviet fear of the overwhelming preponderance of non-Communist votes in the United Nations, particularly seating for the countries of British Commonwealth, it was agreed that Byelorussia and the Ukraine should have separate seats.

THE SAN FRANCISCO CONFERENCE (1945), which resulted in the signing of the UN Charter was officially sponsored by China, the United Kingdom, the United States and Russia. All suggestions and final revisions of the basic working drafts presented by the big powers were discussed and negotiated in this forum.

The Conference was attended by 850 delegates and advisors from 50 countries, including 170 Americans and observed by 42 non-governmental organizations and by a press corps of over 2,000. The American delegation under Secretary of State Edward Stettinius was bipartisan and included Senator Arthur Vandenberg (R., Mich.), Senator Tom Connally (D, Texas), the ranking members of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee; Representative Sol Bloom (D, N.Y.) and Charles Eaton (R, N.J.), the ranking members of the House Committee on Foreign Affairs; Commander Harold Stassen (R), and Virginia Gildersleeve, Dean of Barnard College.

It has frequently been alleged that Alger Hiss wrote parts of the Charter, was Secretary-General of the San Francisco Conference and was therefore subsequently able to dictate UN policies. These statements are all false. At the San Francisco Conference, Hiss served as Secretary of the Conference, and his role was limited to mechanical and administrative duties such as scheduling meeting rooms, arranging for translators, distributing documents, etc. He was not a member of the U.S. delegation at San Francisco and at no time had any voice or vote in its proceedings. (The San Francisco Conference was an ad hoc (temporary) conference, and the work of the Secretariat of that Conference should not be confused with the UN Secretariat which came into being later.) Finally, as noted above, the U.S. working drafts for the Charter were drawn up in committee.

UNITED NATIONS ASSOCIATION of the UNITED STATES of AMERICA, 345 East 46th Street, New York, N.Y. 10017

FACT SHEET

Revised April, 1976

UNITED NATIONS PEACEKEEPING

In the 30 years of its existence, the United Nations has had a generally successful record in dealing with threats to the peace. It has helped settle disputes in almost 50 countries through the Security Council, the General Assembly and the behind-the-scenes efforts of the Secretary-General. Nevertheless, a major source of criticism of the UN continues to be its alleged ineffectiveness and inability to prevent or even stop wars. Much of this criticism is based on the widely held misconception that the UN is a political entity which can force its member states to take action against what they consider their own national interest. The UN has no such power. If it had, neither the US nor any of the other big powers would have signed the UN Charter. It can take action only when its member nations — particularly the major powers — agree to do so. Political conflicts are dealt with by the UN only when the parties to the dispute *want* the UN to act. Generally, long-standing intractable issues, having reached crisis proportions, are brought to the UN only as a last resort when all other means have failed.

A prime example of this was the 1971 war between India and Pakistan which was brought to the Security Council only after hostilities had begun. The UN was unable to take effective action when the US sided with Pakistan and the USSR vetoed all calls for withdrawal of Indian troops from Bangladesh. In the Middle East, on the other hand, the US and USSR have both tried to *avoid* political and military confrontation, and have used multilateral means to supplement bilateral negotiations with their respective allies and with each other. As a result, the UN has been able to provide the only mutually acceptable peacekeeping mechanism. It has been the indispensable safety valve for all concerned.

The Charter Provisions

The UN Charter specifically prohibits UN intervention in the internal affairs of any government without its express consent. This includes civil wars such as those in Nigeria, Angola, Lebanon and Northern Ireland. In cases of international disputes, the Security Council is given "primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security". (Article 24)

The Functions of the Security Council

The Council's functions are divided into two categories:

1) **Chapter VI** of the Charter concerns the peaceful settlement of disputes through voluntary acceptance of the recommendations of the Council. Foremost among the actions taken in this category has been the authorization of small, mobile observer groups to supervise ceasefires or patrol international boundaries where incursions have been suspected, for example in the Balkans in 1946, Kashmir in 1947, the Middle East in 1949, and Lebanon in 1958. None of these forces were armed or had any authority other than to report incidents as they occurred.

2) **Chapter VII** of the Charter empowers the Security Council to take direct action to deal with serious breaches of the peace. Under these provisions the Council may take any action it deems necessary including the imposition of economic or diplomatic sanctions, the severance of transportation and communications, and the use of armed force. The Council has exercised these powers just once, in the case of the economic sanctions imposed against Rhodesia.

In practice, the UN has established its major peacekeeping operations under what has become known as "Chapter 6½", a combination of both Chapter VI and Chapter VII, developed on an *ad hoc* basis in response to specific situations.

All member states are legally obliged to "accept and carry out" Security Council decisions (Article 25), making it the only UN body with the power to enforce its own decisions. In order to do so, however, it must have the consent, or at least the lack of opposition, of the five permanent members of the Council (China, France, the UK, US and USSR). One permanent member with its veto power is therefore able to stop any Security Council action. Other UN organs, such as the General Assembly, can only make recommendations to their members.

The "UN Army"

The Charter calls for agreements to be made between the Security Council and UN member states for military units to implement Council decisions. A Military Staff Committee comprised of the representatives of the chiefs of staff of the five permanent members of the Council was set up to advise and assist the Security Council in these and other military matters. Because of political differences between the United States and the Soviet Union, the necessary agreements were never completed with regard to the chain of command, the number and types of forces to be used and their deployment. The Military Staff Committee still holds regular monthly meetings, but is popularly known as the "UN's phantom army".

The Role of the General Assembly

Under the Charter the General Assembly may only draw the Security Council's attention "to situations which are likely to endanger international peace and security" (Article 11), but technically is not permitted to make any recommendations with regard to a dispute under discussion in the Council. In recent years, however, the Assembly has, in fact, debated many items on the Security Council agenda, such as the Middle East, Cyprus and Rhodesia.

Under the *"Uniting for Peace"* resolution passed by the General Assembly in 1950, if the Security Council is unable to take action because of a veto by any of the permanent members, the General Assembly may be called into emergency session by any 9 members of the Security Council, with no veto applicable. This procedure has been used only three times, in the Suez and Hungary crises of 1956, in September 1960 after US-Soviet agreement on UN operations in the Congo broke down, and in 1971 during the India-Pakistan War.

Because the General Assembly can only make recommendations without power to enforce them, the UN peacekeeping operations it authorized in the Middle East and the Congo had to be carried out on a voluntary basis. All troops participating were contributed voluntarily by member states, and these forces were stationed on Egyptian and Congolese territory only with the consent of the two governments.

In the Middle East, in the absence of Israeli consent, the UN was permitted to station its forces only on the Egyptian side of the border. When the consent of the host government was withdrawn in 1967, and a request by the Secretary-General to move the force to the other side of the border was refused by the Israeli government, the UN was forced to disband it.

The UN Operation in the Congo (ONUC) was authorized in 1960 to preserve the unity and territorial integrity of that country just after it attained independence. It remained there for four years until the stability of the Congolese government was assured.

Since then, with the increase in UN member states and a corresponding erosion of the pro-US majority, there has been little inclination on the part of the US — or the other permanent members of the Security Council — to use the *Uniting for Peace* device.

The Constitutional Crisis

France, the USSR and several other countries maintained that under the Charter, all peacekeeping operations are the responsibility of the Security Council alone, and that actions taken by the General Assembly under *"Uniting for Peace"* are therefore illegal and not binding on member nations. For this reason, these countries have not paid their assessed shares of the costs of UNEF and ONUC, even though the International Court of Justice in an advisory opinion in 1962 declared that these expenses were "expenses of the Organization" under the meaning of Article 17 of the Charter, which gives the Assembly the authority to apportion them.

Several countries have also withheld part of their payments to the regular budget on similar grounds with regard to the amortization of the UN Bond issue. These bonds were authorized in 1961 to help defray the costs of the Congo and the Middle East peacekeeping operations.

By 1964, the USSR's withholding of its peacekeeping assessments had risen to the point where it was subject to sanctions of Article 19. The United States tried to invoke this provision but could not obtain the necessary majority to enforce it. The US later backed away from this confrontation, but stated its right to withhold funds in the future for activities to which it, too, might be opposed.

The result was a major constitutional and financial crisis for the United Nations. Because of the important issues involved, the General Assembly in 1965 created a special committee of 33 members which is studying the entire question of future peacekeeping operations.

The major issues to be resolved by the Committee of 33 are:

1) **Authorization** of peacekeeping operations and the relative roles of the Security Council and the General Assembly: Do the words "primary responsibility" for peace and security mean "exclusive" as well? Or does the General Assembly have some residual authority to act in cases where the Security Council is deadlocked?

2) **Financing:** Does the power to authorize expenditures rest with the Security Council along with its peacekeeping responsibilities, or is there some way for the majority of UN members to make recommendations?

3) **Administration** of peacekeeping operations: What should be the proper role of the Secretary-General? As chief administrative officer of the UN, should he be given guidelines within which to run the day-to-day operations of the force, or should the Security Council supervise all details?

Because of fundamental differences over these issues, the Committee of 33 has not been able to produce any agreed recommendations. Its work was made somewhat easier, however, by the significant progress achieved as a result of the 1973 Yom Kippur War.

The Middle East and UNEF II: Correcting Past Mistakes

On Authorization:

A major weakness of the first UNEF, established by the General Assembly in 1956, was its inability to function without the consent of the Egyptian government on whose territory it was stationed. UNEF II, established after the October 1973 War, is not so vulnerable to a request from either Israel or the Arab states that it be terminated. Any substantive Council action is subject to a veto, and it is considered unlikely that the force would be withdrawn unless both the US and the USSR concur.

The intensive negotiations which have marked each successive renewal of the mandates of both UNEF II and the UN Disengagement Observer Force on the Golan Heights (UNDOF) have been interpreted as tactical political maneuvers rather than as efforts to have the forces removed. A Chinese veto of continuation of the forces also appears remote.

The mandates of the forces represent compromises by both the superpowers. The Soviet Union had long emphasized the decisive role of the Security Council in establishing and controlling any peacekeeping operations; the US had emphasized the operational authority of the Secretary-General and the commander in the field. The guidelines for UNEF II, drafted by the Secretary-General and accepted by the Council, affirm the continuing right of the Council to oversee the force but leave day-to-day decisions in the hands of the Secretary-General and the UNEF commander.

On Financing:

The funding of UNEF II was approved by the 28th General Assembly as an "expense of the Organization" under Article 17 of the Charter which gives the Assembly the power to approve the UN budget. This is in keeping with the 1972 advisory opinion of the International Court of Justice but at variance with the Soviet view that financial arrangements for peacekeeping operations must be authorized by the Security Council.

The funds collected for UNEF II and UNDOF have again been placed in a special account, apart from the regular UN budget. The assessments are apportioned under a special scale in which the five permanent members of the Security Council pay about 63% of the total, with each contributing approximately 15% more than they would to the regular UN budget. The United States, for the year ending October 24, 1976, will pay about $30 million in addition to at least another $30 million to build and operate the electronic monitoring facilities in the Sinai set up as part of the disengagement agreement of September 1975. Twenty-three industrialized countries are assessed at their normal scale, while 82 developing countries have been granted an 80% reduction. The 29 "least developed" countries received a 90% reduction, paying a minimal $800 each. China, opposed in principle to all UN peacekeeping operations is not participating in the funding, nor are Albania, Libya and Syria.

On Composition:

The United States accepted the Soviet demand for "equitable geographic distribution", meaning inclusion of a member of the Soviet bloc. As a result, logistical contingents were brought in from Poland and Canada to represent both East and West. Front-line military duty is currently assigned to contingents from seven countries: Austria, Finland, Ghana, Indonesia, Iran, Senegal and Sweden. In addition, a small Iranian naval unit is patrolling the shoreline along the Sinai buffer zone. The United States and the Soviet Union, excluded from UNEF and UNDOF, each have a small number of unarmed observers in the UN Truce Supervision Organization (UNTSO), first established in 1949.

At the 29th General Assembly, the Committee of 33, using the precedents of UNEF II, was able to produce for the first time a "tentative and preliminary draft of agreed guidelines" for future UN peacekeeping operations. No further progress has since been reported.

Other Current UN Peacekeeping Operations

The United Nations Force in Cyprus (UNFICYP) was established by the Security Council in 1964. Originally authorized for three months, the force has been extended since then for three and six-month periods to provide a buffer between the Greek and Turkish Cypriote communities and to maintain law and order while a special representative of the Secretary-General seeks a settlement of the underlying political problems on the island.

The force is being manned by contingents from 7 countries (Austria, Canada, Denmark, Finland, Ireland, Sweden and the United Kingdom). The Force had gradually been reduced from its initial strength of 6,000 to approximately 3,000. Since the invasion of Cyprus by Turkey in the fall of 1974, the duties of the Force have been expanded to include humanitarian assistance to displaced persons throughout the island. UNFICYP is funded by voluntary contributions now totaling $175.2 million from 58 member nations and three non-members (Switzerland, South Korea and South Viet Nam). The Force operates at a chronic deficit, currently about $35 million. The US has contributed a total of $80.9 million.

A small (123) observer group is also on duty in Kashmir. Like UNTSO, it was established in 1949.

UNITED NATIONS ASSOCIATION of the UNITED STATES of AMERICA, 345 East 46th Street, New York, N.Y. 10017

FACT SHEET

Revised April, 1976

FINANCING THE UNITED NATIONS

In recent years, US financial contributions to the UN have become the focus of sharp debate in the Congress, the Administration and among large numbers of responsible private citizens. Much of the discussion, however, appears to be based on some serious misconceptions. What follows is an attempt to bridge this information gap on how the UN system is financed and how much it actually costs.

Funding for the operations of the UN system falls into two categories, **assessments** levied on all member nations by the United Nations and its specialized agencies, and **voluntary contributions** to sustain special programs such as the United Nations Development Program (UNDP) and UNICEF. Some miscellaneous income is also derived from sales of books, stamps and souvenirs and fees from guided tours.

In the context of contributions to the entire UN system, assessments for the UN regular budget are relatively minor. Only 15% of the total US contribution goes to the regular budget, while almost 60% goes to the UN's voluntary programs. The remainder goes to payments for UN peacekeeping operations and assessments to the specialized agencies (World Health Organization, Food and Agriculture Organization, etc.) each of which has its own governing body and its own budget.

THE UN REGULAR BUDGET

The regular budget covers the costs of the day-to-day operations of the organization including staff salaries, travel, meetings and conferences and building maintenance. In addition, it includes the administrative costs of certain UN operations such as the Office of the High Commissioner for Refugees and the International Council of Justice. The regular budget does *not* provide for the financing of UN peacekeeping operations.

In an effort to promote better planning and management techniques, the United Nations has instituted a "program budget" system. Under this system a four-year plan and a two-year budget are adopted every other year. The budget shows all UN Secretariat expenditures in nine major fields of operations including political affairs, economic and social activities, human rights, legal activities, etc. As approved by the 30th General Assembly, the regular UN budget for 1976 and 1977 totals $745.8 million, an increase of 21.8% over the previous two-year period. Secretary-General Kurt Waldheim, in his annual budget statement, attributed almost half of this increase to inflation and currency fluctuations. After deductions for income and other adjustments, the total amount assessed on all UN members for 1976 is $313.75 million, of which the US share is 25% or $78.4 million. This is a net contribution of about 37¢ per American.

HOW ASSESSMENTS ARE DETERMINED

The General Assembly adopts a new scale of assessments every three years based on the recommendations of a 13-member expert Committee on Contributions, which includes an American member. Assessments for individual countries are broadly determined by relative ability to pay based on net national income. The assessment formula takes into account the following criteria: per capita income; a minimum assessment of .02% which now applies to 72 developing nations; special reductions for member states with very low per capita incomes and a ceiling of 25% for the largest contributor, the United States.

The 25% ceiling on the US assessment (along with a corresponding increase in US voluntary contributions) was proposed by the President's Commission for the Observance of the 25th anniversary of the United Nations (Lodge Commission) in 1970. Subsequently, Congress threatened to act unilaterally to lower the US contribution from its previous level of 31.5% by refusing to appropriate funds over the 25% level. The US delegation to the UN, in two years of intensive negotiation on the issue, asserted that this was merely a return to principles enunciated in 1946 that no one country should pay more than one quarter of the costs of the organization. At that time, the US assessment was set at 40% because of the severe economic dislocations caused by World War II; there have been a series of gradual decreases since then. The 25% ceiling has also been applied to US assessments for most specialized agencies, but not for voluntary contributions.

The admission of West Germany to the UN in 1973 made it financially feasible for the UN to agree to the US demands, thus avoiding a serious constitutional and financial crisis. West Germany, now the fourth largest contributor to the UN, is assessed at 7.1%, a figure which more than offsets the 6.5% reduction in the American contribution.

In the scale of assessments adopted by the 28th General Assembly, the assessments were raised for 12 member nations. Japan had the largest increase, up 1.75 points to a level of 7.15%. Other countries whose assessments were raised are: Austria, Canada, China, Denmark, Greece, Israel, Italy, Kuwait, Libya, the Netherlands and Sweden. A new scale of assessments is now being drawn up for adoption by the 31st General Assembly to go into effect January 1, 1977. It will not only reflect the greatly increased income of the oil-producing nations, but also the elimination in 1974 of the *"per capita* ceiling" as a criterion for determining assessments. Up to now, under this principle, no country had to pay a higher *per capita* assessment than the largest contributor, the United States. The change will primarily affect the high-income, sparsely populated Persian Gulf nations of Bahrain, Kuwait, Qatar and the United Arab Emirates, all of which voted against the change. By contrast, Saudi Arabia has a fairly large population, 7.7 million, with a *per capita* GNP of only $600 compared to $6,200 in the United States and $12,050 in Kuwait.*

The top ten contributors to the UN budget account for nearly 80% of the total:

	% of budget	assessment for 1976 (in millions of $)	per capita GNP*	gross per capita contrib.
United States	25.00%	$92.3	$6,200	44¢
USSR**	15.14%	$47.3	2,030	19¢
Japan	7.15%	26.4	3,630	24¢
West Germany	7.10%	26.2	5,320	42¢
France	5.86%	21.6	4,540	41¢
China	5.50%	20.3	270	3¢
United Kingdom	5.31%	19.6	3,060	35¢
Italy	3.60%	13.3	2,450	24¢
Canada	3.18%	11.7	5,450	53¢
Australia	1.44%	5.3	4,350	23¢

**World Bank Atlas, 1975*

**including Byelorussia and the Ukraine

THE UN DEFICIT AND THE QUESTION OF ARREARS

One of the UN's chronic problems is late payment of assessments; as of December 31, 1975, 66 countries had contributions outstanding. Up to now, this situation has been compounded by the slow appropriations process in Congress and the difference between the UN's calendar year (January 1-December 31) and the US fiscal year (July 1-June 30). However, with the scheduled change in the start of the US fiscal year to October 1, the appropriations for the "transitional quarter" (July 1-September 31, 1976) are expected to allow the US to catch up on its back payments. From 1976 on, the US will be able to pay its assessment on October 1 for the following year.

Before a member is subject to loss of vote in the Assembly under Article 19 of the Charter, its arrears for past years must equal the total of two full years' assessments. No UN member is currently in arrears within the meaning of this provision. The $30 million debt left behind by the Republic of China (Taiwan) has been virtually written off as uncollectible, although it technically remains on the books as a "special account" and is included in the overall UN deficit.

THE PEACEKEEPING PROBLEM

The bulk of the UN debt, now estimated at about $105 million, stems from its peacekeeping operations, which were funded separately from the regular budget. Contributions to the first UN Emergency Force in the Middle East (UNEF) and to the United Nations Operations in the Congo (ONUC) were placed into two separate accounts and members of the UN were assessed for each by the General Assembly on a scale similar to that of the regular budget. The USSR and several others, later joined by France in the case of the Congo, refused to pay because they maintain that under the Charter all peacekeeping operations should be the responsibility of the Security Council only. Because the assessments for UNEF and ONUC were levied by the General Assembly, their argument is that these assessments are not legally binding, even though the International Court of Justice in an advisory opinion in 1962 declared that these expenses were "expenses of the Organization" under the meaning of Article 17 of the Charter, which gives the Assembly the authority to apportion them.

Several countries have also withheld part of their payments to the regular budget on similar grounds with regard to the amortization of the UN Bond issue. These bonds were authorized in 1961 to help defray the costs of the Congo and the Middle East peacekeeping operations.

By 1964, the USSR's withholding of its peacekeeping assignments had risen to the point where it was subject to the sanctions of Article 19. The United States tried to invoke this provision but could not obtain the necessary majority to enforce it. The US later backed away from this confrontation, but stated its right to withhold funds in the future for activities to which it, too, might be opposed.

Twenty-five countries including France have responded to subsequent General Assembly calls for voluntary contributions to make up the deficit. The largest contribution thus far has been from Japan, $10 million. The Soviet Union has not contributed despite an implicit offer to do so if Article 19 were not invoked at that time. Any US contribution to reduce the deficit is contingent on a Soviet contribution.

Another peacekeeping operation, the UN Force in Cyprus (UNFICYP) is being funded entirely through voluntary contributions, but with a chronic deficit which now stands at about $35 million. An important breakthrough was made with the establishment of the second UN Emergency Force in the Middle East (UNEF) following the October 1973 war. With Security Council control over the authorization and duration of the Force assured, the Russians and French agreed to pay their share of a special scale of assessments under which the five permanent members of the Security Council pay over 60% of the cost. This arrangement was officially endorsed by the General Assembly under its authority to apportion expenses. China, however, opposed in principle to all UN peacekeeping operations, is not participating in the funding of either UNEF or the UN observer force on the Golan Heights (UNDOF), nor are Albania, Libya and Syria.

VOLUNTARY CONTRIBUTIONS

The United States is the largest contributor to the UN's social, economic and humanitarian programs, but ranks 14th in per capita contributions. In terms of the percentage of GNP allocated to the UN, the level of US contributions has been steadily declining. It now stands at .036%. Sixty-eight countries contribute a greater share of their GNP. An analysis of voluntary contributions to five major UN programs — UNDP, the UN Fund for Population Activities, UNICEF, the UN High Commissioner for Refugees and the World Food Program — shows that in 1974, the last year for which complete figures are available, the US contributed 85¢ per US citizen.A sampling of other donor countries shows West Germany contributing 73¢ to these same programs; Belgium, 86¢; New Zealand, $1.27; Kuwait, $2.04; Canada, $2.27; Saudi Arabia, $2.76; the Netherlands, $4.12; Norway, $8.02; Sweden, $8.43 and Denmark, $9.86.

THE DIVIDENDS FROM OUR INVESTMENT

Exact figures are not available, but the United States has been pointedly criticized by some of the UN's member states for allegedly making an annual profit of at least $100 million from the UN. This figure seems reasonably accurate. For example, just having UN headquarters in the United States has its benefits. It costs New York City and the Federal Government about $12 million in diplomatic tax exemptions and special police protection, but members of the UN Secretariat and the UN diplomatic corps are estimated to spend between $150 million and $180 million in this country for official and personal expenses. Two million more is spent by the UN to rent extra office space.

There are other benefits as well. US firms supply about ⅓ of the equipment used by the UN in its development projects around the world; UNDP alone contracts for over $40 million per year in American goods and services. Development projects also create demand for follow-up investment, much of it from private enterprise and some from the UN's World Bank. Almost 40% of the Bank's debts are held in US dollars, and interest payments alone have added almost a billion dollars to the American economy. In addition, approximately $80 million is on deposit in US banks by the UN system itself. Finally, if estimates are correct that the UN spends half of its annual budget in the United States, the returns to the US from its investment in the UN are handsome, even by conservative standards.

TO: State and Local Leagues (Attention: IR Chairmen)

FROM: Ruth Hinerfeld, Chairman, International Relations Committee
Martha Aasen, UN Observer

SUBJECT: INFORMATION SERVICE ON THE UN

Many Leagues have expressed the desire for more UN information on a regular basis. The United Nations Association of the U.S.A. is now offering such a service -- an INFORMATION SERVICE ON THE UNITED NATIONS. Leagues that subscribe to it will receive:

1. THE INTER DEPENDENT, UNA's monthly newspaper dealing with United Nations and world affairs (11 times a year, available free to UNA members).

2. UNAKIT, a program and information kit issued quarterly and containing samples of available materials, as well as program suggestions and idea exchanges.

3. FACT SHEET, published almost every month (10 or 11 times a year) on current issues affecting U.S. participation in the UN. (Most recent Fact Sheets: seabed, terrorism, World Bank, Sixth Special Session of the General Assembly, Middle East.)

4. POLICY PANEL REPORTS, issued periodically by panels of distinguished citizens which examine in depth such important issues as: southern Africa, the spread of nuclear weapons, foreign policy decision making. Upcoming panel reports will address themselves to the control of conventional arms, science and technology and food.

The annual fee for this information service is $15. Leagues interested in subscribing should mail the tear-off form below together with check for $15 to UNA-USA, 345 East 46th Street, New York, N.Y. 10017. (Checks are tax deductible)

REQUEST FOR INFORMATION SERVICE ON THE UNITED NATIONS
from

LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS OF _____

ADDRESS _____ ZIP CODE _____

PERSON FILLING OUT THIS FORM _____

TITLE _____ ADDRESS _____

Please subscribe the above named League to the Information Service on the United Nations, especially arranged by UNA-USA for the League of Women Voters.

Our check for $15 to cover the annual information service is attached.

9/74

The Minnesota Endorsement
of
The Declaration of Interdependence

RECOGNIZING the urgent need to move ahead with this Bicentennial Project, and

FURTHER RECOGNIZING Minnesota's leadership role in promoting World Citizenship with the first State Declaration,

BE IT RESOLVED that it is appropriate and fitting for this great state to offer strong support and endorsement of This Declaration of Interdependence,

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED that as a symbol of our support for this Declaration, we continue to proudly display the United Nations flag with the United States flag at the State Capitol,

FINALLY, we urge the leadership of all other states to take similar action.

EFFECTIVE Law Day, May 1, 1976.

Wendell R. Anderson
Governor, State of Minnesota

Nicholas D. Coleman
Senate Majority Leader

Rudy Perpich
Lt. Governor

 Harold Anderson
House Majority Leader

Robert O. Ashbach
Senate Minority Leader

Martin O. Sabo
Speaker of the House

Henry Sieben
House Minority Leader

Jim Lord
State Treasurer

Joan Growe
Secretary of State

Robert W Mattson
State Auditor

Warren Spannaus
Attorney General

We, the undersigned, commend the State Officials for this endorsement of The Declaration of Interdependence. We urge other states, our nation and other nations to follow this example, which is a valuable step in building a World Community of Peace Under Just Law.

Don Fraser
Member of Congress

Hubert H Humphrey
U.S. Senator

Walter F Mondale
U.S. Senator

Charles H Slocum
Chairman, Independent-Republicans of Minn.

David Roe
President, Minn. AFL-CIO

Rick Scott
Chairman, Minn. DFL Party

Earl Craig, Jr.
President, Mpls. Urban Coalition

Robert J Sheran
Chief Justice, Minn. Supreme Court

O. C. Lehman Jr.
Exec. Director, Minn. Council of Churches

George C. Master
President, Minn. State Bar Assn.

Jerry Jenkins
President, League of Women Voters

C. Peter Magrath
President, University of Minnesota

[illegible]
President, World Federalists Assoc.

John R. Roach
Archbishop of Minneapolis & St. Paul

John Edie
President, UNA of Minn.

A Declaration Of INTERdependence

WHEN IN THE COURSE OF HISTORY the threat of extinction confronts mankind, it is necessary for the people of The United States to declare their interdependence with the people of all nations and to embrace those principles and build those institutions which will enable mankind to survive and civilization to flourish.

Two centuries ago our forefathers brought forth a new nation; now we must join with others to bring forth a new world order. On this historic occasion it is proper that the American people should reaffirm those principles on which the United States of America was founded, acknowledge the new crises which confront them, accept the new obligations which history imposes upon them, and set forth the causes which impel them to affirm before all peoples their commitment to a Declaration of Interdependence.

We hold these truths to be self-evident: that all men are created equal; that the inequalities and injustices which afflict so much of the human race are the product of history and society, not of God or nature; that people everywhere are entitled to the blessings of life and liberty, peace and security and the realization of their full potential; that they have an inescapable moral obligation to preserve those rights for posterity; and that to achieve these ends all the peoples and nations of the globe should acknowledge their interdependence and join together to dedicate their minds and their hearts to the solution of those problems which threaten their survival.

To establish a new world order of compassion, peace, justice and security, it is essential that mankind free itself from the limitations of national prejudice, and acknowledge that the forces that unite it are incomparably deeper than those that divide it—that all people are part of one global community, dependent on one body of resources, bound together by the ties of a common humanity and associated in a common adventure on the planet Earth.

Let us then join together to vindicate and realize this great truth that mankind is one, and as one will nobly save or irreparably lose the heritage of thousands of years of civilization. And let us set forth the principles which should animate and inspire us if our civilization is to survive.

WE AFFIRM that the resources of the globe are finite, not infinite, that they are the heritage of no one nation or generation, but of all peoples, nations and of posterity, and that our deepest obligation is to transmit to that posterity a planet richer in material bounty, in beauty and in delight than we found it. Narrow notions of national sovereignty must not be permitted to curtail that obligation.

WE AFFIRM that the exploitation of the poor by the rich, and the weak by the strong violates our common humanity and denies to large segments of society the blessings of life, liberty and happiness. We recognize a moral obligation to strive for a more prudent and more equitable sharing of the resources of the earth in order to ameliorate poverty, hunger and disease.

WE AFFIRM that the resources of nature are sufficient to nourish and sustain all the present inhabitants of the globe and that there is an obligation on every society to distribute those resources equitably, along with a corollary obligation upon every society to assure that its population does not place upon Nature a burden heavier than it can bear.

WE AFFIRM our responsibility to help create conditions which will make for peace and security and to build more effective machinery for keeping peace among the nations. Because the insensate accumulation of nuclear, chemical and biological weapons threatens the survival of Mankind we call for the immediate reduction and eventual elimination of these weapons under international supervision. We deplore the reliance on force to settle disputes between nation states and between rival groups within such states.

WE AFFIRM that the oceans are the common property of mankind whose dependence on their incomparable resources of nourishment and strength will, in the next century, become crucial for human survival, and that their exploitation should be so regulated as to serve the interests of the entire globe, and of future generations.

WE AFFIRM that pollution flows with the waters and flies with the winds, that it recognizes no boundary lines and penetrates all defenses, that it works irreparable damage alike to Nature and to Mankind—threatening with extinction the life of the seas, the flora and fauna of the earth, the health of the people in cities and the countryside alike—and that it can be adequately controlled only through international cooperation.

WE AFFIRM that the exploration and utilization of outer space is a matter equally important to all the nations of the globe and that no nation can be permitted to exploit or develop the potentialities of the planetary system exclusively for its own benefit.

WE AFFIRM that the economy of all nations is a seamless web, and that no one nation can any longer effectively maintain its processes of production and monetary systems without recognizing the necessity for collaborative regulation by international authorities.

WE AFFIRM that in a civilized society, the institutions of science and the arts are never at war and call upon all nations to exempt these institutions from the claims of chauvinistic nationalism and to foster that great community of learning and creativity whose benign function it is to advance civilization and the health and happiness of mankind.

WE AFFIRM that a world without law is a world without order, and we call upon all nations to strengthen and to sustain the United Nations and its specialized agencies, and other institutions of world order, and to broaden the jurisdiction of the World Court, that these may preside over a reign of law that will not only end wars but end as well that mindless violence which terrorizes our society even in times of peace.

WE can no longer afford to make little plans, allow ourselves to be the captives of events and forces over which we have no control, consult our fears rather than our hopes. We call upon the American people, on the threshold of the third century of their national existence, to display once again that boldness, enterprise, magnanimity and vision which enabled the founders of our Republic to bring forth a new nation and inaugurate a new era in human history. The fate of humanity hangs in the balance. Throughout the globe, hearts and hopes wait upon us. We summon all Mankind to unite to meet the great challenge.

—Henry Steele Commager

© World Affairs Council of Philadelphia 1975

October 24, 1975

Borg

LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS OF MINNESOTA

555 WABASHA, ST. PAUL, MINNESOTA 55102

International Relations Committee Meeting

Monday, June 28, 9:30 A.M. , state office

Agenda:

1. UN study: LWVUS consensus will be due April 15. What help do local Leagues need to carry out the study? LWVUS will have committee guides and Facts * Issues in November. If local Leagues ask for a workshop on IR can we respond?

2. TTrade Week - May 1977. League sponsorhsip of an event during the observfance = Possibly invite Lwvus staff person to participate. Could use as PR thrust for LWVMN membership push. Perhaps could use our event on KTCA People and Cauàses and/or Minnesota PUblic Radio.

3. Meeting in Sept. with Peggy Carlin of UNA-USA. She will be speaking at UN Rally Tea but is willing to meet with us at 9:30 A.M. Sept. 10 to try to stimulate interest in the UN in Minnesota. Where to hold meeting? What to cover? Who should come?

4. Possible Focus on Emerging Issue meeting devoted to an aspect of International Relations. Do we want to suggest a topic? Could it be done in conjunction with a Voter giving background info., agenda for meeting, and bibliography.
5. Recommendation to Board on policy for sponsoring non-League events.

6. July-August Voter - Would Pat Llona be willing to take material from Trade Week meetings and put into an article on recent trade matters?

Helene - Od hod to change date - You're not on committee but would appreciate your input if you could come or write any ideas

Mary D.

TELEPHONE 224-5445

INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS COMMITTEE MEETING
JUNE 28, 1976

Present: Davies, Borg, Jenkins, Watson, Ann Kelly-Rochester, Mary Dobbins-Richfield

We agreed that we need to revive interest in international relations among League members as well as reaching out to the general public. We would also like to stimulate interest in international relations among high school students. We decided this could be done through a Focus on Emerging Issues program.

FOCUS ON EMERGING ISSUES: By having an IR Focus in January it could serve as a stimulus among League members for the UN consensus due April 15. The purpose of our Focus would be to get Minnesotans to recognize global interdependence by approaching from a personal angle so the participants would be able to make a local/global link. We see the Focus as a means of changing peoples attitudes so that they recognize the effects of international change on their daily lives. In order to encourage participants to become actively involved in this process we envision presenting discussion groups with scenarios...what would happen if....? using specific, urgent situations. Discussion groups would explore the global consequences and group consensus would be reported to the main group. A panel of knowledgeable persons could be used to react to the group reports. We would also need to have an opening presentation in order to set the stage and suggest areas to consider within the scenarios. The Nov.-Dec. Voter could be used to stimulate interest in the topic and present background information and bibliography. Davies will get a proposal to Stone and Waldo. Committee members will begin thinking up scenarios.

TRADE WEEK-MAY 1977: Plans will need to be formulated when more specific information is known. A LWVUS staff person in IR could be asked to participate. Pat Llona will be checking on progress.

MEETING WITH PEGGY CARLIN OF UNA*USA: We will meet at 10:00 A.M. at the state office (Sept. 10)unless response to our invitations is overwhelming and we need more space. A personal invitation will be sent in July to IR people in each local League; we will check to see whether they can all be included in UN Rally Tea as well. They will be asked to bring bag lunch and then can use that time to compare notes with each other on their portfolio. The invitation will include an agenda so those coming some distance will know what to expect. We will need to know how many plan to attend. We will ask Ms. Carlin to give some help in how to bring the public along on our UN study. Davies will write to several outstate Leagues requesting name of IR person so they can be invited to meeting in Sept.

LLONA VOTER ARTICLE ON TRADE MEETINGS: Llona should write up material and editor will use when appropriate. If it doesn't work into Voter perhaps it could be sent to local IR people thorugh the Board Memo.

UNA-USA United Nations Association-USA • 345 East 46th Street, N.Y.C. 10017 • (212) OX 7-3232

THE UNITED NATIONS UNDER ATTACK: THE ISSUES AND SOME ANSWERS

1. The UN has been behaving badly and doesn't deserve our support.

It is not the "UN" which is behaving badly. The United Nations merely provides the hall in which delegates cast their votes according to their governments' instructions. The resolutions adopted by the General Assembly and other bodies are reflections of those instructions and represent the views of individual – and sovereign – member nations. The United Nations as an organization should not be blamed for their sometimes irresponsible actions. To withhold financial support or threaten to withdraw is like punishing Congress for the unpopular actions of some of its members – or closing an opera house because the tenor sang off key. To withdraw from the UN is to abdicate our responsibilities. To improve it, we must act from within with greater purpose than ever before.

2. The UN is controlled by a block of irresponsible nations which support hostile and unenforceable resolutions.

Lop-sided majorities do, in fact, pass ill-conceived resolutions in the General Assembly as well as its subsidiary bodies. However, these resolutions are not "law". They are not "enforceable" and we would not want them to be enforced. They are recommendations only, not legally binding on any member state. Moreover, contrary to current impressions, the majority of decisions taken by the General Assembly are adopted *with* the support of the United States. Last year, at the 30th General Assembly, out of 256 resolutions and decisions, the controversial ones on which the United States voted "no" came to only 20, or just 7.8%. Finally, just as voting coalitions in Congress tend to shift with individual issues, so do they shift in the UN. The Zionism resolution, for example, was supported by only 72 member nations, a bare majority, reflecting a deepening split in the "Third World bloc" and an increasing awareness of fundamental differences in political opinion. By contrast the 1974 resolution granting observer status to the PLO had the support of 114 governments.

3. The UN'S voting procedures should be changed so that the "ministates" can't hold the balance of political power.

The problem here – if it is a problem – is that the United Nations is a democratic institution. The question of majority rule vs. minority rights in democratic procedures is an old one. Those seeking to prevent "irresponsible" voting and "bloc" voting in the United Nations have usually advocated weighted voting, but no acceptable formula has as yet been put forward. In the Security Council the veto power held by the five permanent members is essentially a form of weighted voting – and the object of severe criticism. Most suggestions for revised voting procedures in the General Assembly and other UN bodies have centered on voting determined by population. If that system were adopted in the General Assembly, China and India, with a combined population of almost 1½ *billion* would obviously be in the most commanding positions, with the Soviet Union a weak third. If voting procedures determined by financial contributions were adopted, the United States, as the world's dominant economic power, would be in the driver's seat, as it is in international financial institutions such as the World Bank where voting is weighted in accordance with the number of shares held by member governments. No believer in democratic principles however, – and certainly no developing country – would be likely to support national wealth as the major criterion for power in primarily political bodies.

Perhaps the most constructive approach would be to adopt the technique of *consensus* now used almost routinely in the Security Council and most recently used with great success at the Seventh Special Session of the General Assembly. Consensus would mean dialogue in which there would be no "winners" or "losers". No delegate would be forced to take extreme positons in public when he might be willing to compromise in private. It will take time and effort, however, to develop the consensus concept and to see if it is politically feasible.

4. We shouldn't even bother to cooperate with the developing countries. Most of them are small, powerless, and consistently oppose us on important economic and political issues.

Refusal to negotiate with over half the world's population is short-sighted and will obviously accomplish nothing but our own isolation. On the other hand, serious initiatives can produce unexpectedly good results. This is what happened at the Seventh Special Session of the General Assembly held in September, 1975.

5. We should withdraw US financial support from UN development programs because most of the recipients of the funds are the countries which vote against us.

One of the great strengths of programs such as UNDP and UNICEF is their non-political character. Assistance is determined soley by need and by the individual country's ability to absorb the funds efficiently. The ultimate aim is to help the developing countries help themselves; the ultimate beneficiaries of UN assistance are not UN delegates, who typically are from an educated elite, but the illiterate, the children, the very poor and the very ill. To cut off this aid would be punishing the innocent for the actions of their government officials.

Continued multilateral aid is also important in terms of our own self-interest. The developing countries possess many of the natural resources we will need in the future. If they are economically strong they will also provide new markets for our goods and services. Even now, the developing countries account for almost 1/3 of our exports, 1/4 of our foreign investment – and a $2 billion balance of trade *surplus* for us. Far from being a "give away", US contributions to UN aid can be an economic asset for the United States in turning aid recipients into valuable trading partners.

To punish *all* developing countries for the actions of some by withholding US contributions to UN programs would not only be unwise but also be unworthy of a nation that has always helped the poor and the suffering. A reassessment of *bilateral* aid to offending countries especially, where military assistance is involved, would seem a more constructive and equitable approach.

6. The UN is not the same institution we helped establish in 1945 and no longer reflects the same political values.

There is no question that the UN "ain't what she used to be". But neither is the rest of the world. Since 1945 there have been far-reaching changes at all levels of society — economic, technological, sociological and cultural—and these changes are reflected in new international relationships. This is seen most clearly in the fundamental disagreements between the industrialized and the Third World countries. They may be expected to continue for some time to come.

The causes of these differences are to be found in the history of western colonialism and of the UN itself. For 15 years, the United States commanded an automatic majority of its own in the UN and rarely hesitated to push for passage of resolutions over the objections of others. Since then, almost 100 new nations have been created and admitted to the UN — with US approval. Nearly all are ex-colonies and almost all are very poor. Their only political power is in their collective numbers. Their traditions and needs are very different from our own and the policies they espouse at the UN reflect their own distinctive priorities and aspirations. The political rivalries and economic practices of the developed world are seen as secondary to their own economic development and to the elimination of *apartheid* and other vestiges of colonialism. Their frustration over these issues has become the linchpin for alliances on other issues as well, notably the Middle East.

7. The UN maintains a double standard, criticizing some countries for actions which it does not condemn in others.

This statement is generally true. The General Assembly's failure to condemn terrorist acts by the Palestinian extremists is inexcusable. Much attention has been paid in the UN to racism in South Africa and not enough to the suppression of civil liberties in the Soviet Union or under the dictatorships of Latin America and elsewhere. Recently, however, some steps have been taken to restore some balance and to broaden the scope of the discussion of human rights. The situation in Chile is now on the agenda, as are the issues of torture of prisoners and violations of privacy through electronic and other "snooping" techniques.

The United States' record on human rights issues is good — but not perfect either. We have at times given support to totalitarian and sometimes corrupt regimes, a form of political expediency at odds with our basic values. Our hesitancy in taking firm action against South Africa's policy of *apartheid,* our violation of the Security Council sanctions against Rhodesia, etc. make us appear the ally rather than the antagonist of racial discrimination. The US position is further eroded by our failure to ratify or even sign most of the conventions on human rights adopted by the United Nations. Our justification has been the same as that used by the Soviet Union and others: the supremacy of national law and the Charter provision prohibiting any UN intervention in domestic affairs.

The US should criticize responsible UN organs when justified, but we should be prepared to accept valid criticism in return.

8. The UN is ineffective. It has been unable to prevent or even stop wars.

The alleged ineffectiveness of the UN is based on the widely-held misconception that the UN is a political entity which can force its member states to take action against what they consider their own national interest. The UN has no such power. It can take action only when its member nations — particularly the major powers — agree to do so. When political disputes brought to the UN are "dealt with" it is because parties to the dispute *want* the UN to deal with them. Generally, however, long-standing, intractable issues, having reached crisis proportions, are brought to the UN as a last resort when all other means have failed. In the words of Secretary-General Kurt Waldheim, it is "like taking the patient to the doctor when he is almost dead".

The effectiveness of the UN is further limited by its own Charter. In cases of internal disputes, such as the civil wars in Nigeria, Angola and Northern Ireland, the UN cannot act without the consent of the government involved. In cases of international disputes, only the Security Council has the authority to enforce its own decisions. To do that, it must have the consent, or at least the lack of opposition, of its five permanent members. One permanent member with its veto power is therefore able to stop any Security Council action. Had the Charter been structured otherwise neither the US nor the USSR would have signed it in 1945 — or now.

Despite these built-in weaknesses, when given the authority to function, the UN's ability to adapt quickly and effectively to individual situations has been demonstrated from the Balkans and Indonesia to Kashmir and the Congo. In all, the UN has helped settle disputes in almost 50 countries in its first 30 years, through the Security Council, through the General Assmbly and through the behind-the-scenes efforts of the Secretary-General. Where peacekeeping operations have broken down, as in the Middle East and Cyprus, it has been because the parties to the conflict were not willing to let the UN settle the issue. What is apparently needed is not only a UN military capability but an acceptance of the UN as the major forum for reconciling conflicting political views on seemingly insoluble issues.

9. The UN is against Israel.

Voting patterns in the General Assembly and other UN bodies, show all too clearly that most UN members are strongly critical of Israel, even hostile. Mathematically, Israel is increasingly isolated and outnumbered. Politics, national or international, can rarely be reduced to mathematical formulas, however, and Middle East questions are no exception. In this case, old grievances, traditional rhetoric and political log-rolling have tended to create a momentum of their own. Over the years an effective voting coalition against Israel has been forged, based on common economic and ideological interests as well as a deep concern among small states that military successes should not be sanctioned or "rewarded".

This working majority has been reinforced by their impression, however erroneous, that Israel is an echo of the colonial period, a western-dominated country created in 1947 by an automatic western majority, protected by the industrialized countries, with political leaders who are primarily European in origin.

The situation would be no different if the UN did not exist. Anti-Israeli voices are raised even more vociferously in other forums such as the Islamic Conference and the periodic meetings of the non-aligned countries. The UN, on the other hand, gives Israel and her allies the only major opportunity in which to react publicly, and in many cases to balance the tone of the debate..

Moreover, the Israelis themselves recognize the continuing value of the UN to their future survival and have never suggested withdrawal. In 1947, the UN ratified the legitimacy of the state of Israel. Today, without the UN peacekeeping forces in the Sinai and the Golan Heights it is doubtful that there would be any cease-fire, however shaky. Continuing violence would mean disaster for Israel in the long run.

10. The United States is paying too large a share of the costs of the UN.

The United States is the world's wealthiest nation; our GNP is well over one *trillion* dollars, or almost 30% of the world's total. It has long been agreed that, UN assessments should be based on ability to pay, and the United States formerly contributed about one-third of the UN's regular budget. Neither the US nor the other members of the UN had ever wanted to have any one member nation pay so large a share, and in 1972 the General Assembly agreed to cut our assessed contribution to 25%.

Each American pays just about 30¢ per year for the regular UN budget, or $63.5 *million* out of a national budget of over $300 *billion.* Combining all our assessed and voluntary contributions to the UN system, each American pays under $2.00. Fourteen other countries pay a greater per capita amount, primarily the countries of western Europe and four oil-producing states, (Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, Qatar and the United Arab Emirates). *Sixty-eight* countries contribute a greater share of their GNP. Therefore, although the US share of UN costs may seem large in absolute terms, it is by no means disproportionate to what others put in .

11. With our economic and military power, we don't need the UN. Bilateral diplomacy is more effective.

Even for a major power like the United States, bilateral diplomacy is effective only in certain matters. Many of the world's most urgent problems — food shortages, the environment, dwindling supplies of natural resources, nuclear proliferation — must be dealt with on a world-wide basis. National action alone is not enough. The UN and its agencies continue to provide the only established global mechanism for dealing with these major international issues.

The UN has also proved to be a unique arena for effective diplomacy. It is the only place where communication with all nations is possible, instantaneously in a crisis, on a continuing basis and informally on issues of more long-range concern. It is for this reason that 14 heads of government and over 100 foreign ministers attended the 30th General Assembly in person. They came not only to state their countries' positions in public but also to meet in private with their counterparts from all over the world, to discuss matters of mutual concern, identify like-minded allies and negotiate with potential adversaries. The corridors of the UN are to the world what the Capitol cloakrooms are to the United States, indispensable meeting places in which to reconcile differences and arrive at mutually acceptable compromises.

For more detailed background information on these subjects, see UNA-USA PUblications List.

SUGGESTIONS FOR ACTION:

A few ideas for individual citizens and the groups to which they belong. Use any or all of them in the way most appropriate to your own situation.

1. Invite all political candidates to indicate their stands on these issues in writing or at a special "Candidates Night" on the UN.
2. Form a panel to challenge opponents of the UN to a public debate on these issues, either at an open meeting or on television.
3. Use this information to reply to misleading articles or unfavorable editorials in local newspapers, and on radio and TV news reports.
4. Approach the editor of your local newspaper or anchor man of the nightly TV news show, and ask him to run a series of background features on each of these items.
5. Contact the public broadcasting station in your area and ask for an airing of these questions.
6. Monitor radio talk shows and call in your replies to attacks on the UN.

JUNE 1976

UNITED NATIONS ASSOCIATION of the UNITED STATES of AMERICA, 345 East 46th Street, New York, N.Y. 10017

FACT SHEET

A GLOSSARY OF ECONOMIC TERMS

August, 1976

The list which follows is designed to clarify the meanings of those words, phrases and acronyms most frequently used in discussions of current international economic issues. Although some are in general use, they are defined here in their specific international context. The many United Nations bodies dealing with economic issues are not included; descriptions of these organizations are available in UN and other UNA publications.

APPROPRIATE TECHNOLOGY, production methods in agriculture and industry suitable to local resources, the skills of the available manpower, amount of capital and the degree of development of the individual country concerned. In the developing countries (LDCs) this frequently means labor-intensive, moderately priced and relatively unsophisticated technology. Also called *immediate technology.*

BALANCE OF PAYMENTS, the difference between a nation's expenditures and income, including "invisibles" such as interest payments and shipping charges, in a nation's international transactions, both public and private. A *balance of payments deficit* exists when payments exceed receipts.

BRAIN DRAIN, the emigration of trained professionals and technicians, usually from the LDCs to the industrialized western countries, to take advantage of better financial opportunities, better facilities in which to work and a more stimulating intellectual environment in their chosen fields. In the past 20 years, an estimated 140,000 scientific workers have emigrated from Latin America alone.

BUFFER STOCKS, stockpiles from which commodities are bought or sold whenever necessary to maintain relative stability of supply and prices. (See commodity agreements)

CAPITAL INTENSIVE, describes a method of production typical of the industrialized countries which uses relatively more capital and capital goods, (e.g. machinery) than labor per unit produced.

CHARTER OF ECONOMIC RIGHTS AND DUTIES OF STATES (CERDS), adopted by the 29th General Assembly in 1974, suggests standards for international economic relations roughly parallel to the New International Economic Order (NIEO, see below).

COMMODITY, generally understood to mean unprocessed minerals or agricultural products. In general use, it can mean any article of commerce.

COMMODITY AGREEMENTS, multilateral arrangements between consumer and producer nations to stabilize supplies and prices of individual commodities, usually by establishing quotas on production, imports and exports. Current agreements deal with cocoa, coffee, sugar and tin, among others. The LDCs are supporting a proposal for an *integrated commodity system* under a single agreement providing for internationally-funded buffer stocks of 19 key products. The prices of these commodities would be keyed in part to the prices of manufactured articles.

COMMON MARKET, usually refers to the *European Economic Community* (EEC), but can also mean any customs union which eliminates all trade barriers within the group and establishes a common external tariff on imports from non-member countries. A common market similar to the EEC exists in Central America.

COMPENSATORY FINANCING, a program of the International Monetary Fund which offers loans to countries suffering temporary shortfalls in income due to temporary falls in prices of commodities.

CONFERENCE ON INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC COOPERATION (CIEC), popularly known as the Paris Conference, intended to an alternative to larger forums for "North-South" negotiations. It works through four commissions on energy, raw materials, development and finance, each with co-chairmen from nations with different economic interests. Its 27 members include western industrialized countries, LDCs and members of OPEC.

CONVERTIBLE CURRENCY, or "hard currency" like the US dollar, which may be exchanged for gold or other currencies without restriction. Convertible currencies, including the Japanese yen, the Austrian schilling and the German mark, are based on sound, usually developed and industrialized, economies as well as substantial holdings of international reserve assets (gold, US dollars, pounds sterling and SDRs) (see below). *"Soft currencies"* are usually only used locally, in the developing countries and in the socialistic states which artificially control their values and circulation.

DEVELOPED MARKET-ECONOMY COUNTRIES, the relatively wealthy, highly industrialized western countries operating under an economic system in which the private sector plays the major role.

DEVELOPING COUNTRIES (LDCs), countries in which large segments of the economy are still comparatively undeveloped and the majority of the population very poor, although there are wide variations of GNPs and per capita income. Most LDCs have economies based on exports of raw materials and their infrastructures (transportation, social services, educational systems, etc.) are inadequate for their needs.

DUMPING, the sale of goods in foreign markets below prevailing price levels to dispose of surpluses.

EXTERNAL DEBT SERVICE, interest charges owed to other governments, international and regional organizations and private corporations, usually western banks. In some non-oil-producing developing countries, debt service alone absorbs 20% to 30% of foreign exchange receipts, usually forcing still further borrowing. The LDCs, in the so-called Manila Plan, have proposed rescheduling of all commercial debts and some official debts, and outright cancellation, or at least waivers, of the debts owed by the 27 poorest nations.

FLOATING EXCHANGE RATES, the system in which the international value of a currency fluctuates or "floats" according to supply and demand. Occasionally a government will buy or sell its currency in the international markets to prevent wide swings in the rate of exchange. This is called "managed" or "dirty" floating.

GENERAL AGREEMENT ON TARIFFS AND TRADE (GATT), the only multilateral treaty laying down agreed rules for world trade. It also functions as an international trade organization and is the major forum for negotiations of tariff reductions and other measures to liberalize trade relations among western market-economy and some Third World nations. Its more than 80 members account for four-fifths of the world's trade.

GENERALIZED SYSTEM OF PREFERENCES (GSP), under which the LDCs' exports are admitted to the industrialized countries duty-free up to a certain level, or at reduced rates, on a non-reciprocal basis. The US tariff preference scheme went into effect in 1976 with specific exception made for some countries, notably members of the Organization of Petroleum-Exporting Countries (OPEC, see below), and certain products such as textiles.

GROSS NATIONAL PRODUCT (GNP), the total value (at current prices) of a nation's goods and services including government expenditures and investments abroad, during a given period of time, usually one year. Different methods of computing GNP and variables such as currency fluctuations frequently result in disparate figures.

GROUP OF 77 (G77), usually synonymous with all the LDCs in the United Nations. The term originated with those 77 countries which in 1964 presented a series of economic demands at the first UN Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD I). The group now encompasses over 110 nations.

GROUP OF TEN, the major industrial countries in the International Monetary Fund (IMF) which among them control a majority of the votes.

GROUP OF TWENTY, an advisory committee of the IMF, composed of the Group of Ten and ten developing countries, established to deal with issues of international monetary reform.

INDEXATION, a system proposed by the LDCs to bring the prices of their imports and exports into balance with each other. Under indexation, the prices of their exports, primarily commodities, would be keyed to the prices of their imports, primarily manufactured goods, without regard to external market factors. This system would be somewhat similar to the old "parity" concept for US farm prices.

INTERNATIONAL RESOURCES BANK (IRB), a US proposal for a new agency to act as an intermediary between the LDCs and private sources of funding for development of natural resources. If established, it would negotiate agreements on profit-sharing and payments schedules, guarantee investments and oversee commitments to train local personnel.

KENNEDY ROUND, 1964-1967, the best known of the GATT trade negotiations. It was the first time that non-tariff barriers (see below) were dealt with, and the first time that tariff reductions were discussed on the basis of broad categories of products rather than on an item-by-item basis.

LABOR INTENSIVE, describes production methods typical of the developing countries which use more labor than capital per unit produced.

LEAST DEVELOPED COUNTRIES, sometimes known as the "Fourth World", defined by the UN as those 27 countries with per capita GNPs of $100 a year or less. Under other UN criteria, manufacturing accounts for less than 10% of their GNP, and their literacy rates are 20% or less. The group includes countries such as Afghanistan, Haiti and most of the countries in Africa's Sahelian zone.

LESS DEVELOPED COUNTRIES (LDCs), the earlier terminology, no longer in common use, for the developing countries and the origin of the LDC acronym.

MOST FAVORED NATION (MFN), the principle under which the most favorable terms of trade extended by one country to another are automatically extended to all other trading partners who have MFN status.

MOST SERIOUSLY AFFECTED COUNTRIES (MSAs), 44 countries suffering severe balance of payments deficits as a result of the 1973 oil embargo and subsequent inflation. The MSAs include the least developed countries as well as countries somewhat better off, such as Egypt, India and Kenya.

NEW INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC ORDER (NIEO), the statement of development policies and objectives adopted at the Sixth Special Session of the UN General Assembly in 1974. An accompanying Declaration calls for equal participation of the LDCs in the international policy-making process and enunciates 20 principles covering a wide range of issues including commodities, natural resources, tariffs and monetary reform. The US and several other delegations voiced reservations on items such as the Declaration's endorsement of indexation and producers' associations. (see below)

NON-TARIFF BARRIERS (NTBs), national legislation including import quotas, health, safety and packaging regulations and customs evaluation methods which restrict the volume of imports, intentionally or not.

OFFICIAL DEVELOPMENT ASSISTANCE, foreign aid given by governments both bilaterally and multilaterally. In the International Development Strategy adopted in 1970, the General Assembly asked that official development assistance from the industrialized countries be increased to .7% of their GNPs by 1980. In fact, the average figures decreased from .34% in 1969 to .32% in 1974; in the United States, the amount in 1974 was .036%.

ORGANIZATION OF PETROLEUM-EXPORTING COUNTRIES (OPEC), a prominent example of an international commodity cartel or "producers association". The 13 members of OPEC account for almost 60% of the world's current oil production.

PERMANENT SOVEREIGNTY OVER NATURAL RESOURCES, a principle advocated by the LDCs as a means to prevent exploitation of resources particularly in extractive industries such as mining, by transnational corporations (TNCs – see below) and other foreign agencies. The term was first used in the UN in 1952 and is the subject of the 1962 Declaration which includes eight principles including the right of governments to impose conditions on the investment of foreign capital and "appropriate" compensation in cases of nationalization or expropriation.

PRODUCERS ASSOCIATIONS, the LDCs' term for international commodity cartels, in control of enough of the world's supply of an individual commodity to be able to control production and set prices unilaterally. (see OPEC)

SAFEGUARDS, also known as "escape clauses", provisions in most trade agreements permitting special measures to protect an industry from undue injury caused by increased imports of a product subject to a trade concession.

SEMI-MANUFACTURES, products such as rubber and steel which have been processed from raw materials and are intended for use in manufactured articles. The LDCs, seeking to expand their own industrial capacities, are asking for tariff concessions on semi-manufactures as well as on raw materials.

SOCIALIST COUNTRIES, usually refers to the east European *developed* countries, rather than all countries, including the LDCs, having centrally planned economies. Their contributions to multilateral development programs have been small and frequently come with stringent conditions. Only recently have the LDCs begun to make demands on these developed socialist states similar to those on the developed-market economy countries.

SPECIAL DRAWING RIGHTS (SDRs) or "paper gold", created by the IMF as a new international reserve currency to supplement traditional reserve assets – gold, US dollars and pound sterling. SDRs are expressed in terms of dollars, and are allocated to individual countries on the basis of their economic strength. Like gold, they may be used for settlement of international accounts.

TARIFF, a system or schedule of duties imposed by a government on imports. The *duty* is the tax itself, paid by the importer on a particular shipment.

THIRD WINDOW, an interim World Bank facility to provide loans at subsidized interest rates midway between the Bank's regular 8.85% and the nominal ¾% charged by the Bank's soft loan affiliate, the International Development Association (IDA). It was created primarily to benefit "middle income" developing nations most seriously affected by the world economic crisis.

THIRD WORLD, another term for the LDCs.

TOKYO ROUND, the sixth and latest in the series of GATT trade negotiations. The current talks began in 1973 following the adoption of the Declaration of Tokyo, an effort to give renewed political impetus to the GATT discussions. About 100 nations, including non-members of GATT are participating.

TRANCHE, a credit granted by the IMF to its member nations. Each country is entitled to a series of four tranches under increasingly difficult conditions. The first tranche usually carries few conditions, the fourth might be contingent on stringent economic reforms such as a reduced or eliminated budget deficit. A recent agreement provided for a 45% increase in the amount of credit to be made available in each tranche.

TRANSFER OF TECHNOLOGY, refers to LDC access to new technology as a key factor in their economic growth. Major obstacles have been the ownership of patents by private corporations beyond the scope of intergovernmental agreement, restrictive licensing arrangements and expensive royalties. The LDCs are demanding a code of conduct for the transfer of technology to redress the balance between the LDCs and the transnational corporations (TNCs).

TRANSNATIONAL CORPORATIONS (TNCs), the official UN term for multinationals, usually understood to mean those private corporations with direct investments abroad, and in many cases production facilities as well. It does not normally mean those companies whose overseas operations are confined exclusively to sales. The enormous economic power of the TNCs in relation to the LDCs, their ability, in some cases, to dominate local economies and governments, and what the LDCs see as the TNCs' one-sided exploitation of their natural resources have given rise to demands for a code of conduct to govern the activities of TNCs.

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FACT SHEET

August, 1976

THE WORLD BANK GROUP: PUTTING STOCK IN DEVELOPMENT

The largest source of development funds within the UN system, the World Bank Group is composed of three closely interrelated institutions, the World Bank itself and its two affiliates, the International Finance Corporation (IFC) and the International Development Association (IDA). The Bank, which began operations in 1946, is intended to provide funds to governments through conventional interest-bearing loans. The International Finance Corporation was established in 1956 to invest in private enterprise in the developing countries; IDA was established in 1960 following a United States initiative calling for a mechanism for concessionary or "soft" loans for the Bank's poorest members. The president of the Bank, Robert S. McNamara, is president of the other two agencies as well. The only requirement for membership in the Bank Group institutions is that a country must also join the International Monetary Fund (IMF), which regulates international currency.

The Bank Group's relationship to the United Nations is the same as that of the other specialized agencies. It is governed by a formal agreement recognizing its operational and financial independence while establishing a close working relationship with the entire UN system.

HOW IT WORKS: WITH ITS MEMBERS

The World Bank Group is unique among UN bodies in that it is governed by a system of voting weighted in accordance with the number of shares of stock held by member governments. The number of shares subscribed to by a member is assigned on the basis of its economic and financial strength. In the Bank the United States has over 20% of the total shares, more than double that of the second largest shareholder, the United Kingdom. (This practice of weighted voting, which would have placed them in a perpetual minority position, may partly explain the refusal of the USSR and most eastern European countries to participate. Only Yugoslavia and Romania are members of the Bank.) In a reflection of shifts in the world economy, shares held by the members of the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) doubled to almost 10% in 1976.

The Bank is also unique in the UN system in its heavy reliance on private sources of funding. Its total capitalization is now $39.2 billion, but the 127 members of the World Bank, in paying their share of the capital subscriptions, are only obliged to pay 10% of the total, only 1% in gold or dollars. The remaining 90% is "on call" if needed. The bulk of the money the Bank lends comes from its own borrowing operations, primarily the sale of bonds to both private and institutional investors and through direct borrowing from other financial institutions. Almost 25% of the Bank's outstanding debts are held in US dollars, and interest payments to American investors have come to over a billion dollars.

HOW IT WORKS: WITH ITS BORROWERS

Projects selected by both the Bank and IDA must be economically and technologically sound and must be of high priority in the overall development program of the recipient country. There must be a "reasonable assurance" that the loan will be repaid, and it will be granted only if the borrower is unable to obtain financing at reasonable rates from other sources. This has the effect of directing elsewhere immediately remunerative projects such as oil exploration. Other criteria include environmental impact (the Bank has appointed an environmental adviser) and the project's potential for creating employment opportunities.

Suitable projects are usually identified through the Bank's own economic analyses or through the pre-investment surveys funded by the United Nations Development Program. The Bank also provides over 80% of the follow-up investment capital resulting from UNDP surveys.

Strict supervision is maintained over a project throughout its duration, with emphasis on good management and close coordination with other aid and development efforts in that country. The funds committed for a project are normally used only to pay the cost of imported goods and services, almost 25% of which come from the US. Local costs are paid by the host government, usually more than half of the total cost.

In a new five-year plan for fiscal years 1976-1980 the World Bank will commit approximately $40 billion to over 1,000 development projects, a 58% increase over the last five years, and a 153% increase over the 1966-1970 period. Most of the projects will reflect the recent shift in emphasis from large "hardware" projects such as roads and power plants to projects oriented to the social aspects of development, especially population planning, education and agriculture.

The Bank has maintained an excellent credit rating. Because it borrows at prevailing interest rates, however, the interest it charges its borrowers is necessarily high. In May 1976, the Bank adopted a formula for setting interest rates, 1/2 of 1 percent above the average cost of funds borrowed by the Bank in the preceding 12 months. The rate, currently 8.85%, will be revised quarterly. The Bank's finances were further strengthened by a decision to set a lending ceiling of approximately $5 billion a year. These new policies make it more expensive for Third World and developing countries to obtain loans, but the Bank's rates are still lower than those recipient governments could get on their own.

THE INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT ASSOCIATION

Current statistics indicate that the developing countries have been the hardest hit by dislocations in the world economy. One half of the population in these countries, some one billion people, live on 20¢ a day. The reality behind these statistics are best described by Mr. McNamara:

> "Relative poverty means simply that some countries are less affluent than other countries or that some citizens of a given country have less personal abundance than their neighbors . . . . but absolute poverty is a condition so degraded by disease, illiteracy, malnutrition and squalor as to deny its victims basic human necessities. It is a condition of life suffered by relatively few in the developed nations but by hundreds of millions of the citizens of the developing countries . . . a condition of life so degrading as to insult human dignity."

It was to help these poorest of the world's people that IDA was established.

Under the terms of its mandate, IDA makes loans that are "more flexible and bear less heavily on the balance of payments than those of conventional loans". Countries are eligible for IDA loans if they have a per capita GNP of less than $375 per year. At that level the difficulties of paying debt service charges become almost insurmountable; in many countries the debt burden, compounded by inflation and currency fluctuations, has made it necessary to use as much as 20% or 30% of their total foreign

exchange receipts merely to keep up with these payments. In a few cases, IDA loans do not even match these debt service payments. Loans from IDA are therefore designed to increase badly needed economic assistance while not adding materially to this debt burden. All IDA loans so far have been for 50-year periods at no interest and with no payment required for ten years. A small charge of ¾% is levied on all IDA loans to cover administrative costs on funds as they are disbursed.

Membership in IDA, which now stands at 116, is divided into two categories. Part I is composed of 21 industrialized countries which contribute almost 95% of the total funding; Part II (developing) countries pay only 10% in convertible currency, the remainder in their own. The voting in IDA gives the developing countries a slightly greater voice than they are able to command in the Bank, although control is still in the hands of the Part I countries. The United States has 25.14% of the total voting power.

WHERE THE MONEY COMES FROM:

IDA's members have subscribed a total of $1.3 billion in initial shares and it has also received funds from special contributions from member nations, from income transferred from the World Bank (a total of almost $1 billion to date) and from short-term investments of its liquid capital. None of these sources, however, is adequate to the overall needs of the agency, and it was assumed from the outset that funds would have to be added by the developed countries from time to time if operations were to continue at an acceptable pace. During periods when additional funds are not available, IDA activities must be cut back severely, forcing serious interruptions in long-term development planning and sometimes actually lessening the cumulative value of assistance already given. Thus far, there have been four agreements reached on replenishment of IDA funds, in 1964, 1969, 1971 and 1973. In all except the last, the United States contributed about 40% of the total in three annual installments. The fourth agreement called for a four-year payment schedule and a reduction of the US share to 33 1/3%, a total of $1.5 billion or $375 million per year. The shares of other countries, especially West Germany and Japan, went up accordingly.

Unlike the Bank's loans which are financed in the international bond market, US replenishments of IDA's capital are subject to Congressional approval. Congress trimmed the 1976 appropriation to $320 million, putting the US in default of its obligation to IDA for the first time. A similar cut is predicted in the 1977 appropriation. IDA funds will be depleted by July, 1977; a fifth replenishment authorized by the General Assembly is currently under negotiation.

WHERE THE MONEY GOES:

IDA loans to date have passed the $10 billion mark, over 1/3 of it for agricultural and rural development programs. 90% of the 1975 commitments went to those countries with a per capita GNP of less than $200 per year. Typical IDA projects include a $27 million loan to Bolivia for agricultural development of rural areas and $13.3 million to Mali for rehabilitation of livestock production in the Sahelian zone.

THE THIRD WINDOW:

In January 1975, the World Bank authorized the creation of a one year program, The Third Window, to be an intermediate lending facility for those countries with per capita GNPs between $200 and $375 per year. It had the effect of softening the Bank's high interest rates through subsidies of up to 4% and freeing IDA funds for use by the least developed countries. In its one year of operation, the Third Window allocated $600 million to such projects as vocational training in Paraguay and support of major irrigation systems to increase food grain production in India. Its mandate has now expired and it is not considered likely that the Third Window will be continued. The developing countries are expected to seek other means of mobilizing additional financial resources within the UN system.

INTERNATIONAL FINANCE CORPORATION

Private venture capital has historically been a major source for accelerating economic growth. The IFC was established to meet the need for such financing and to promote the growth of private enterprise in the developing countries.

Investments are made by IFC without government guarantees if an enterprise shows a potential for profit and if it will be of benefit to the economy. IFC investments are always made in partnership with other private investors and may take the form of stock purchases or long-term loans or both. The loans generally run from 7 to 12 years and are made at prevailing interest rates. The IFC is never the majority stockholder nor does a representative of IFC sit on the Board of Directors. A certain degree of supervision is maintained instead by periodic field visits and consultations with management.

There are 104 members of IFC, including 85 developing countries. They have subscribed a total of $108 million, almost one third from the United States, with additional funds borrowed at regular rates from the World Bank. Since 1956, total IFC commitments have reached almost $1.3 billion to 249 enterprises in 57 developing countries. Total accumulated profits stand at about $71 million.

OTHER AGENCIES IN THE WORLD BANK GROUP

THE INTERNATIONAL CENTER FOR SETTLEMENT OF INVESTMENT DISPUTES

ICSID was established in 1966 as part of the Bank's continuing effort to encourage the flow of private capital into the developing countries by removing some of the fear of loss. This body sits as a board of conciliation or arbitration in disputes related to private investment, such as compensation in cases of nationalization.

ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT INSTITUTE

Roughly equivalent to a staff college, EDI trains selected personnel from all over the world in development techniques. The Institute has trained approximately 4,000 people since its establishment in 1955; most have gone on to managing development projects, with a large percentage training personnel in their own countries.

A BRIEF HISTORY

The Articles of Agreement for the World Bank, more formally known as the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, were drawn up by 44 allied governments at the United Nations Monetary and Financial Conference at Bretton Woods, New Hampshire, in July, 1944. In December, 1945, 28 of these governments signed the Articles as well as the Charter for the International Monetary Fund. Congress authorized US participation in both bodies in July, 1945, and headquarters for both the Bank and IMF were established in Washington, D.C. in June, 1946.

The Bank's first loans, $500 million to four European countries for post-war reconstruction, were made in 1947, but it soon became apparent that the Bank's limited resources would be inadequate for the mammoth job of re-building, which was then undertaken by the United States through the Marshall Plan. The Bank then turned solely to development assistance.

The continued failure of the Arab states to "drive Israel into the sea," the humiliation of the 1967 war, and the bitterness of the refugees both in and out of the camps eventually caused leadership to pass from the moderate Palestinians to Yasir Arafat's Al Fatah and the other guerrilla organizations making up the PLO. The refugee camps, most of them in Jordan, became their political as well as military base. In 1970, King Hussein forcibly expelled the PLO from the East Bank as a threat to his own authority and to the stability of the country. Following the Arab summit conference in Morocco in 1974, Jordan ceded its claim to the West Bank in favor of the PLO in an attempt to reestablish Arab unity on the issue in the United Nations.

The PLO subsequently shifted its base of operations to Lebanon, again over the opposition of that government. In the process, the PLO tipped the artificial political balance between Christians and Moslems heavily in favor of the Moslems. The outcome of the resulting civil war is still in doubt, except that it appears to have sharpened underlying differences within the Arab world. The Arab League has attempted — so far unsuccessfully — to ease the crisis without help from non-Arab countries and has specifically asked the UN not to intervene.

Over the years the number of Palestinians has grown to 1.5 million refugees still living in the camps and another two million living as citizens in Israel, Jordan, Syria, Lebanon and other countries in the Middle East. Because they outnumber the Israelis, there is concern in Israel that they could eventually change the character of the Jewish state if the occupied territories, particularly the West Bank and Gaza, were to become permanent parts of Israel. On the other hand, the most frequently mentioned solution to the problem, an independent Palestinian state in those two territories, is opposed by the Israeli government on grounds of security.

August 1976

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The UN and the Middle East

The Middle East remains one of the most intractable and controversial issues on the UN agenda. From the outset it has been a test, not only of the UN's peacekeeping capabilities, but also its ability to provide the mechanism for accommodating conflicting political views on seemingly insoluble issues. In general, the US and USSR have tried to avoid political and military confrontation in the area and have used the United Nations to supplement bilateral negotiations with their respective allies and with each other. The immediate parties to the dispute, however, have chosen *not* to use the UN except as an arena in which to air old grievances. The Arab states, their numerical superiority over Israel reinforced by political bargaining and economic clout with the Afro-Asian nations, have been able to mobilize large majorities in support of a series of one-sided anti-Israeli resolutions. Israel, regularly outvoted and increasingly isolated, no longer bothers to take its case to the UN, although it has never considered withdrawal from the world organization. The result is an anomalous situation in which the UN appears to have little or no impact on political development in the Middle East, while it is at the same time an indispensable safety valve for all concerned.

HIGHLIGHTS OF UN ACTIONS

1947: The UN's first special session was called to deal with the Palestine question. The League of Nations mandate under which Britain had governed Palestine was to lapse in May 1948 and disputes over the future status of the country had led to widespread violence. Britain was unable to enforce a solution and asked the UN to deal with the problem. A committee set up by the General Assembly subsequently recommended partition of Palestine into two states, one Arab and one Jewish with Jerusalem an international area. All three were to be linked in an economic union.

Despite Arab opposition the UN approved partition (Resolution 181) and a mediator, Count Folke Bernadotte, President of the Swedish Red Cross, was appointed to promote a peaceful settlement of the dispute. He was later assassinated.

1948: The League mandate expired and the independent state of Israel was proclaimed along the lines of the partition agreement. Arab states attacked the next day.

1949: Separate armistice agreements, negotiated through Ralph Bunche, Count Bernadotte's successor, were signed by Israel with Egypt, Lebanon, Jordan and Syria. The UN dispatched the UN Truce Supervision Organization (UNTSO), a small group of military observers, to supervise the cease-fire and report to the Secretary-General if necessary. They carried no arms and had no authority to take any action. UNTSO is still on duty in the Middle East. At about the same time, the UN established the UN Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees (UNRWA) to collaborate with the host governments in humanitarian aid to the Palestinians who had fled from Israel during the fighting. UNRWA, still functioning, is supported by voluntary contributions, but operates at a chronic deficit.

1956: Following Egypt's nationalization of the Suez Canal, Israeli, French and British forces invaded the Sinai peninsula. Security Council demands for withdrawal were vetoed by the French and British, and the General Assembly was called into emergency session. In a series of resolutions, the Assembly requested all troops to withdraw behind the 1949 armistice line and authorized the establishment of a UN Emergency Force (UNEF) to prevent renewed fighting and supervise the withdrawal. UNEF sucessfully prevented large-scale fighting for ten years.

1967: The Egyptian government called for the withdrawal of UNEF. While the Secretary-General tried to negotiate an extension of the force, UN positions along the border were taken over by Egyptian forces. Yugoslavia and India then withdrew their contingents from the UNEF command. A request by the Secretary-General to station the force on the Israeli side of the border was refused by Israel, and UNEF was disbanded. Egypt then restricted all shipping through the Strait of Tiran to the Israeli port of Elath. Israel regarded this decision as a *casus belli.* Security Council attempts to ease tension failed, and hostilities broke out when the Israelis attacked on June 5. The "Six-Day War" ended with Israel occupying the Sinai Peninsula and the Golan Heights.

After five months of intensive negotiations, the Security Council unanimously passed Resolution 242, still generally regarded as the basis for a final agreement. In it, the Council declared that in order to fulfill the principles of the UN Charter, a peace settlement should include the application of two basic principles: the withdrawal of Israeli armed forces from occupied territories, and the "termination of all claims or states of belligerency and respect for and acknowledgement of the sovereignty, territorial integrity and political independence of every state in the area and their right to live in peace within secure and recognized boundaries."

1973: The "Yom Kippur War" began with Arab attacks on Israeli-occupied territories. After three weeks of fighting, with the US and USSR on the verge of military confrontation, the non-aligned members of the Security Council proposed a resolution calling for an immediate cease-fire and the establishment of a second UN Emergency Force (UNEF II) in

the Sinai. The resolution was adopted unanimously, with China not participating. A disengagement agreement was later achieved between Israel and Syria, and the UN Disengagement Observer Force (UNDOF) was stationed on the Golan Heights. The two agreements represented the first time since 1956 that Israel had agreed to pull back from any captured territory and permit a UN buffer force to take its place.

Because the two forces were established by the Security Council and not the General Assembly, any further substantive action would be subject to a US or USSR veto. They are therefore not as vulnerable to a request for their removal from either Israel or the Arab states. The mandates of both have since been extended several times, each time following intensive negotiations generally interpreted as political maneuvers rather than as efforts to have the forces removed.

1974: The long-simmering issue of the Palestinians came to a boil in the 29th General Assembly when the "Question of Palestine" was proposed as an item separate from the overall "situation in the Middle East." In a resolution adopted in October, the Assembly stated its belief that "the Palestinian people is the principal party to the question of Palestine" and invited the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) as "the representative of the Palestinian people to participate in the deliberations of the General Assembly on the question of Palestine." This procedure had been used with liberation organizations in the Security Council and UN committees, but never in the General Assembly itself.

In November, the Assembly adopted two more resolutions by overwhelming majorities. The first affirmed the right of the Palestinians to "national independence and sovereignty" and called for the return of the Palestinians "to their own homes and property from which they have been displaced and uprooted." This was taken by Israel as a call for the destruction of the state of Israel, although many speakers in the debate specifically rejected this interpretation. The second resolution conferred upon the PLO the status of non-voting permanent observer to the UN. Although neither the UN Charter nor the Assembly's own rules of procedure mention this, up to that point observer status had only been given to non-member *nations* or organizations representing groups of nations.

The same bloc of nations which brought about these Assembly resolutions voted for a series of anti-Israeli actions in several of the UN specialized agencies as well, including UNESCO and the World Health Organization (WHO).

1975: An agreement, initiated by the United States, was signed by Israel and Egypt calling for a further Israeli pullback in the Sinai. In return, it was agreed that the mandate of UNEF II, relocated further east, would be renewed annually instead of every six months as in the past. To help implement the agreement, 200 American civilian observers were to be posted inside the UN Zone at the Gidi and Mitla passes.

At the 30th General Assembly, the Middle East debate again focused on the role of the Palestinians. Almost all UN member nations, including the United States, were beginning to acknowledge the key role the Palestinian question will play in the overall peace settlement and the Assembly's actions reflected the new situation. One resolution called for participation of the PLO "on an equal footing" in all peace efforts. A second established a committee to recommend ways for Palestinians to achieve their "inalienable rights."

Fears that a move would be made to expel Israel from the Assembly proved groundless when similar resolutions failed at both the annual meeting of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) and at the full meeting of the non-aligned countries prior to the Assembly. An apparent face-saving device for the Arab nations, the resolution equating zionism with racism was supported by only 72 countries, a bare majority.

1976: The Middle East was on the Security Council agenda four separate times in the first half of the year. On three of the four items the US vetoed resolutions it called unbalanced against Israel. The first veto was on a resolution dealing with the Palestinian question at a session called as the price of Syrian acceptance of the latest renewal of the UNDOF mandate on the Golan Heights. The second was on Israel's handling of unrest in Jerusalem and West Bank and the third on the report of the committee on Palestinian rights established by the 30th General Assembly. The Committee had recommended a two-stage process to implement the Palestinians' "right to return" to their homeland, the first stage to return all those displaced in 1967, the second to help refugees from the two earlier conflicts.

The fourth Council session, on incidents in the Israeli-occupied territories, resulted in a relatively mild "majority statement." It called some Israeli actions, particularly the establishment of Jewish settlements, obstacles to peace. This also reflected the position previously stated by the United States. The PLO participated without vote in all the debates, triggering a brief Israeli boycott of the proceedings.

LOOKING AHEAD: THE GENEVA CONFERENCE

The formal peace conference, which is to seek a permanent peace settlement in the Middle East, opened briefly in December 1973 under UN auspices with the US and USSR as co-chairmen. It was attended by Secretary of State Henry Kissinger and the foreign ministers of the USSR, Israel, Egypt and Jordan. The conference has been in recess ever since. For a variety of reasons, pressure has been mounting to reconvene it.

In November 1975, the Soviet Union called for resumption of the Conference with the PLO invited as full participants. The US responded with a counterproposal, rejected by the USSR, for a preparatory meeting among the original participants to discuss the question of PLO representation. The Israeli government has consistently stated it will not participate in any peace conference with the PLO, at least until the PLO formally recognizes Israel's right to exist and halts all hostilities.

The issues to be dealt with either at Geneva or elsewhere will be the implementation of the key provisions of Security Council Resolution 242. For Israel, the main issue wil be the right to exist "within secure and recognized boundaries"; for the Arab states the "withdrawal of Israeli armed forces from territories occupied" in the 1967 war and a solution of the Palestinian question. Israel has implied acceptance of a partial withdrawal as part of an overall settlement provided the negotiations can be conducted directly with the Arab states. Up to this point, although a number of Arab states have officially stated their willingness to recognize Israel, negotiations have been conducted through intermediaries.

THE ISRAELIS AND THE PALESTINIANS: A CONFLICT BETWEEN COUSINS

The rivalry between Jew and Arab in Palestine is a comparatively modern phenomenon. Prior to the late 19th century, small numbers of Jews had lived there in relative harmony with the dominant Moslems: both spoke Semitic languages; both had similar religious traditions (Islam draws heavily on Judaism as well as Christianity); both trace their ancestry to Abraham and his two sons. The Jews trace their lineage to Isaac, the Arabs to Ishmael. Most Jews, however, had been driven out of the Holy Land by the Romans in the first century and were scattered throughout the world in the Diaspora, or dispersion. Since then, the concept of a "return to Zion" (the hill dominating Jerusalem) has been a major theme in Jewish religious observances.

In the 1880's, Jewish refugees from the pogroms in eastern Europe were permitted by the Turks to settle in Palestine. Signs of friction soon began to appear as the Jewish population increased rapidly and the Arabs began to think of them as potential threats to the land they had occupied for over a thousand years. The real struggle for Palestine, however, began after World War I.

ISRAEL: A BRIEF BACKGROUND

1894: In the wake of the Dreyfus trial Theodor Herzl, a Viennese Jew, published *Der Judenstaat,* a book in which he set forth his concept of a Jewish state in Palestine as the only way for world Jewry to be free of persecution.

1917: The *Balfour Declaration* was issued by Arthur Balfour, British Foreign Minister, reportedly out of gratitude to Chaim Weizmann, the chemist and zionist leader who directed the British Admiralty Laboratories during World War I. The Declaration read as follows:

"His Majesty's Government view with favor the establishment in Palestine of a national homeland for the Jewish people and will use their best endeavors to facilitate the achievement of this object, it being clearly understood that nothing shall be done which may prejudice the civil and religious rights of existing non-Jewish communities in Palestine, or the rights and political status enjoyed by Jews in any other country."

1920: The *Balfour Declaration* was incorporated into the terms of the British Mandate in Palestine.

1937: After repeated Arab rioting against British policy, a special Royal Commission declared the mandate unworkable, and recommended partition of Palestine. The Arabs rejected the proposal.

1939: The British government issued a White Paper, reversing the *Balfour Declaration*. Jewish immigration was to be severely restricted for five years and then discontinued completely if the Arabs wished. The outbreak of World War II forced the shelving of the White Paper.

1945: Despite continued restrictions on immigration, thousands of Jewish survivors of World War II headed for Palestine, most of them entering the country illegally, frequently under fire. By 1947 increasing violence, much of it directed against the British authorities, forced the UK to bring the problem before the United Nations.

1948: Palestine was partitioned, the state of Israel created by the UN, and all Jews became eligible for Israeli citizenship. Since then, immigration from all parts of the world has swelled the Jewish citizenry of Israel (within pre-1967 boundaries) to almost two million, or 85% of the current population. Moslems account for 11.3%, about 374,000.

THE PALESTINIAN VIEW

Arab nationalism developed after World War I with the collapse of the Ottoman Empire. Its goal was to restore the historic power and influence of Arab culture in the area and to achieve independence from all external influences. The establishment of a Jewish state, as promised in the Balfour Declaration, was seen both as an obstacle to Arab unity and as an artificial creation of the British, a symbol of post-war domination by the great powers. The 1948 partition of Palestine and the creation of Israel by the UN without referendum or any other form of popular consent was attacked by the Palestinians as a flagrant violation of their right of self-determination. It is on this issue that they have based their continuing opposition to Israeli statehood.

The situation was further complicated when, at the time of partition, Jordan assumed control of the West Bank and retained authority there until the Israeli occupation in 1967. The better educated, more affluent Palestinians deeply resented domination by the Bedouins of the East Bank, a factor which was to have considerable impact on later developments.

in South Africa in 1890, seized much of their land from the indigenous Matabele and Mashona tribes. The Corporation's charter was renewed in 1914. It was not until 1923 that Rhodesia was formally annexed to the British crown as a self-governing colony.

Rhodesia entered into an uneasy federation with Northern Rhodesia (Zambia) and Nyasaland (Malawi) in 1953. It collapsed within ten years because of those two countries' fears of white domination following the adoption of a new Rhodesian constitution in 1961. Its "double roll" electoral system provided the legal underpinning for white minority rule by effectively eliminating all but a handful of Africans from the government. It was at this point that the UN first began to discuss "The Question of Southern Rhodesia."

HIGHLIGHTS OF UN ACTIONS

1961–1965: The General Assembly repeatedly asked Britain to suspend the constitution on the ground that it had not been approved by a majority of the people. The British maintained they had no authority to intervene but would not grant independence before majority opinion had been determined.

1965: The Ian Smith government unilaterally declared its independence (UDI) over British opposition. The Security Council, meeting at the request of the UK, asked all governments to withhold recognition of the Smith regime and recommended a *voluntary* embargo on all shipments of arms, ammunition, oil and oil products to Rhodesia. The Council also asked the UK to use "all appropriate measures" to bring down the Smith government. The General Assembly called for the use of force.

1966: Several attempts at negotiation having failed, the Security Council, again at the request of the UK, imposed *mandatory* economic sanctions against Rhodesia under Chapter VII of the UN Charter dealing with threats to the peace. The sanctions applied to Rhodesia's main exports including chrome and tobacco as well as to imports of oil and arms. (All governments are legally bound to abide by Security Council decisions taken under Chapter VII. This is the only time this provision has been invoked.)

1968: The Security Council expanded the sanctions to include virtually all trade with Rhodesia.

1970: The United States and Britain vetoed a Security Council resolution calling for the use of force by the UK. It was the first American use of the veto power.

1971: The US Congress adopted the Byrd Amendment to the Military Procurement Act permitting the importation of Rhodesian chrome in violation of the Security Council sanctions.

1972–1975: General Assembly resolutions became more militant and more critical of countries violating the sanctions. In the Security Council, several calls for sanctions against South Africa, the major offender, were vetoed by the US, the UK or both.

1975: South Africa, presumably worried about guerrilla actions along its borders, and seeking to break its own diplomatic isolation, began to exert pressure on Rhodesia. Prime Minister Vorster began consultations with moderate black African leaders. As a result a meeting was arranged between Smith and leaders of the African National Council (ANC), the umbrella organization for three liberation groups in Rhodesia. The meeting was dramatic but unproductive.

1976: The Security Council unanimously extended the economic sanctions to trademarks and franchises as well as insurance of cargoes bound for Rhodesia.

US Policy

The United States voted for the Security Council sanctions in 1966, 1968 and 1976, and up to 1971 was in full compliance with them. The passage of the Byrd Amendment in 1971 was argued to be a security measure, to avoid reliance on a political adversary, the USSR, for a strategic material. (At that time, the US stockpile of chrome was 5.3 million tons, more than 12 times the amount considered necessary. The government has subsequently sold much of it.) Repeated attempts at repeal of the amendment have failed.

Secretary Kissinger, in his Lusaka address this year reiterated Administration opposition to the Byrd Amendment. He warned Ian Smith that he could expect no help from the United States, endorsed the goal of majority rule within two years and pledged economic and technical assistance to the new Rhodesian government. The US together with Britain is now trying to effect a compromise by proposing financial help and property guarantees to whites.

August 1976

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The UN and Southern Africa: The End of an Era?

Among the oldest and most emotional issues on the UN agenda are those related to the white minority regimes of southern Africa. Today, almost 25 years after the question of *apartheid* in South Africa was first raised in the General Assembly, events in southern Africa appear to have attained a momentum of their own. The former Portuguese colonies of Angola and Mozambique achieved independence under black majority rule following the 1974 coup in Portugal. The last act in the Rhodesian drama seems imminent; independence in some form for Namibia (South West Africa) is almost certain although the time table remains in doubt; and there are increasingly serious stresses within the core of southern Africa, the Republic of South Africa itself.

Southern African issues have always had the highest priority among the black African states in the United Nations. Within the Organization of African Unity (OAU) there are differences between black Africans and Arabs, between former French and former British colonies, between oil-producing and oil-consuming states, between "moderates" and "radicals." The cement which holds all of them together is the goal of achieving liberation from white minority rule, the constant reminder of former colonial status and the racial, economic and political discrimination which frequently went with it. To them, the main question is no longer *whether* but *how* and *when* black majority rule in southern Africa will be achieved. In 1969, under the leadership of Presidents Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia and Julius Nyerere of Tanzania, both former revolutionaries, the black African states issued the Lusaka Manifesto in which they advocated *peaceful* change to majority rule. They explicitly rejected black as well as white racism and carefully noted strong white ties to southern Africa: "All the peoples who have made their homes in the countries of southern Africa are African regardless of the color of their skin." They asked for help from all other nations in achieving their goals, offered flexibility in the methods to be used, but warned that without progress, "patience will be exhausted."

Patience did eventually become exhausted. Angola and Mozambique won independence and majority rule only after a long and costly guerrilla war. Guerrilla raids are now increasing in Rhodesia and violence is also on the rise in Namibia and South Africa. Adding to the instability are severe economic dislocations, caused partly by conflict and partly by world economic conditions, in those black African countries in southern Africa which are to some degree dependent on South Africa and Rhodesia by geography or economic necessity — Angola, Mozambique, Zambia, Malawi, Botswana, Lesotho and Swaziland. Mozambique's primary source of foreign exchange, for example, is the wages of 100,000 of its citizens working in South Africa. Under a 1928 agreement, 60% of these earnings, over $100 million a year, goes directly to the government.

US Policy

United States policy toward southern Africa has been ambivalent. At first the leading champion of decolonization and majority rule, the US in the 1960's became preoccupied with interests in other areas, principally Vietnam. Irritation over relentless African attacks on US southern African policy resulted in a series of US votes against the African positions. By 1974, official US policy was openly reported to be a "tilt" in favor of the white minority governments in southern Africa.

During this period, the Soviet Union and its allies were vociferous in their support of the black liberation movements and began to provide them with arms and ammunition. By the time the Angolan civil war broke out, the USSR had established its credentials as a major ally of the liberation movements while the US was considered an open antagonist. The way for the Russian/Cuban intervention was thus prepared.

In the wake of these developments, the Administration completely reversed US policy. Secretary of State Henry Kissinger, in a speech in Lusaka in April, 1976, pledged unqualified support for majority rule in southern Africa and increased financial aid and technical assistance for the black nations of Southern Africa. The same support was not forthcoming from Congress: a special $25 million appropriation requested by the Administration for southern Africa was cut from the foreign aid bill almost immediately.

SOUTH AFRICA: THE HEART OF THE "WHITE REDOUBT"

South Africa is the industrial and financial core of white southern Africa. The most highly developed country on the continent, and the wealthiest, it is the least vulnerable to external pressure for change.

It is also the only country in the world with an official policy of racial segregation. The stated goal of *apartheid*, or "separate development" is the establishment of separate, independent all-black and all-white states in South Africa in which the racial and cultural traditions of each would be preserved.

The Boers and the British

In 1652, the first permanent white settlement was established by the Dutch East India Company at what is now Cape Town. The first Dutch (Boer) settlers, joined later by the Germans and French Huguenots, were the ancestors of today's Afrikaners.

In 1806, the British seized the Cape colony and took formal title to it at the Congress of Vienna in 1815. The Boers, resentful of British control, moved inland from 1836 to 1852 on their *Grand Trek*, fighting a series of bloody clashes with several African tribes along the way. The Orange Free State and the Transvaal which they founded were recognized as independent states

until the discovery there of gold and diamonds. Conquered by the British in the Boer Wars, they became British colonies in 1902. In 1910, along with Natal and the Cape Colony, they were incorporated into the Union of South Africa. In 1934 the Union became an independent member of the British Commonwealth.

The Afrikaner-led Nationalist Party established *apartheid* in South Africa after coming to power in the election of 1948. In 1961, stung by sharp criticism of its racial policies by other members of the British Commonwealth, South Africa withdrew and became a republic.

HIGHLIGHTS OF UN ACTIONS

Since 1952, when the issue of *apartheid* was first placed on the General Assembly agenda, South Africa has been a major topic of debate in most UN meetings. The Assembly, the Security Council and other UN bodies have attacked *apartheid* and have recommended increasingly strong action aimed at isolating South Africa diplomatically, economically and politically. These actions have escalated from relatively mild criticism to suspension and, in some UN specialized agencies, outright expulsion. A major problem has been the conflict between promotion of human rights and the UN Charter's prohibition against intervention in the domestic affairs of a sovereign state.

1960: Following the "Sharpeville Massacre" in which 69 blacks were killed during a demonstration, the Security Council called on South Africa to bring about "racial harmony" and to "abandon its policies of *apartheid*."

1963: The Security Council recommended a *voluntary* embargo on shipments of arms and military vehicles to South Africa.

1970: The arms embargo was expanded to include spare parts, military licenses, patents, training and technical assistance.

1974: Supported by a controversial procedural ruling by its President, Abdelaziz Bouteflika of Algeria, the 29th General Assembly suspended South Africa from participation in the Assembly. South Africa has not returned since then but has participated in Security Council debates.

1976: Rioting over the use of the Afrikaans language in Bantu schools erupted in the black township of Soweto outside Johannesburg. 176 people were killed. The Security Council unanimously condemned South Africa for its resort to deadly force and declared *apartheid* the real cause of the trouble.

The Soweto riots and others which followed are the last and most dramatic symptoms of gradually increasing internal strain. South Africa's economy, in particular, is beginning to show signs of weakness. A chronic labor shortage has caused an easing in the job reservation laws barring blacks from certain skilled jobs. There have been mounting pressures for higher wages. Imports have been increasing faster than exports; the deficit is being made up by the sale of gold — which dropped sharply in price in 1976.

The black African states, therefore, are pressing their demands for economic sanctions as the best way to weaken Prime Minister Vorster's government. In their view, it is "foreign economic interests," including the United States, which are supporting *apartheid* by supporting the South African economy.

US Policy

In general, the US position is based on the assumption that isolation will only increase extremism in South Africa. US policy, therefore, is to try to maintain influence by maintaining communications. In his Lusaka speech, however, Secretary Kissinger had this warning for South Africa: "There is still time to bring about a reconciliation of South Africa's peoples . . . but there is a limit to that time — a limit of far shorter duration than was generally perceived even a few years ago."

The US has consistently opposed economic sanctions against South Africa as futile given that country's economic strength and geography, further maintaining that pressures would hurt the black population more than they would help. The government therefore neither encourages nor discourages investment there. Today, more than 300 US corporations have direct investments in South Africa amounting to about $1.1 billion per year. The US has generally adhered to the arms embargo although there have been some questionable arrangements.

NAMIBIA: SOUTH AFRICA ONCE REMOVED

In Namibia, the UN has found its strongest historical and legal grounds for opposing the South African government and its policies of *apartheid*.

The League of Nations Legacy

South West Africa became a German protectorate in 1884, was captured by the South Africans in 1915 and in 1920 became a League of Nations mandate. South Africa was given authority by the League to govern the territory as an integral part of the Union of South Africa.

Under Article 22 of the League Covenant, a mandate was a "sacred trust of civilization" and was to be governed "on behalf of the League." The Administering power was to "promote to the utmost the material and moral well-being and social progress of the inhabitants of the territory." The UN charged that this principle was violated by South Africa when *apartheid* was introduced into South West Africa. South Africa claims that the mandate lapsed with the demise of the League and that the UN has no authority over the territory.

HIGHLIGHTS OF UN ACTIONS

1946: The General Assembly refused a South African request to annex the territory and recommended that it be made a UN Trusteeship. South Africa did not press the issue and announced it would continue to abide by the "spirit of the mandate."

1950: In an advisory opinion requested by the Assembly, the International Court of Justice held that there was no legal obligation to bring South West Africa into the UN trusteeship system. However, the territory still had international status which could not be changed without UN consent and South Africa had an obligation to report to the UN as the legal successor to the League.

1960: Ethiopia and Liberia, the only two independent African states under the League, instituted a *contentious* suit in the World Court. Claiming that South Africa had not fulfilled its international obligations in the territory, they asked that South West Africa be placed under UN supervision and the *apartheid* laws annulled. In 1962, over South Africa's objections, the Court accepted jurisdiction in the case.

1966: The Court unexpectedly refused to decide the merits of the Ethiopia/Liberia suit on the grounds that neither country had a direct "legal interest" in South West Africa. The Court left open the possibility of political action by the UN.

Less than three months later, the General Assembly unilaterally revoked the League mandate, theoretically placed the territory under direct UN control and declared South African occupation of South West Africa illegal.

1967: A special session of the General Assembly established The Council for South West Africa to establish UN authority there. (Its name was soon changed to The Council for Namibia.) South Africa has never permitted the Council to enter the territory.

1969: The Security Council endorsed the Assembly's termination of the mandate and called for South Africa's withdrawal.

1970: The Security Council asked all governments to cease all commercial, financial and political actions, which might imply recognition of South African authority over the territory. At the same time, the Council asked the International Court for another advisory opinion which in effect would determine the legality of the UN's actions.

1971: The Court upheld all UN actions and recommendations.

1973: The Security Council set a deadline of May 30, 1975 for South African compliance with past resolutions.

1975: Just prior to the May 30 deadline, South Africa pledged self-determination "without interference" in Namibia and accepted the possibility of "independence *as one state* if that is what they choose." (In 1964 the Odendaal Commission had recommended partition of the territory into white reserves and 11 tribal homelands.) South Africa would remain in the territory "only as long as the inhabitants so wish," but would still not accept any UN supervision. The Africans immediately demanded a mandatory arms embargo against South Africa. This evoked the so-called "triple veto" by the US, UK and France.

1976: The Security Council set another deadline of August 31, 1976 for compliance with the UN resolutions. A week before that date, plans were announced for formation of a multiracial government, and a target date of December 31, 1978 for independence. There was no mention of plans for an election and no mention of participation by the South West People's organization (SWAPO), the largest liberation organization in the territory, recognized by the UN as the representatives of the people of Namibia.

US Policy

The US supported the revocation of the mandate in 1966. Since 1970, US policy has officially discouraged new private investments in Namibia. Pressures from stockholders, particularly church groups, have discouraged continuation of already existing enterprises. In 1975, Standard Oil of California became the last of five US oil companies to withdraw from offshore explorations in the territory.

In his Lusaka speech, Secretary Kissinger called for a definite time table for unqualified self-determination and said the US would ease its economic restrictions only after concrete steps had been taken toward majority rule.

RHODESIA: THE CRISIS HAS COME

Rhodesia, or Zimbabwe, its African name, is technically a colony in rebellion although it has never been under the direct control of the British government. No government, not even neighboring South Africa, has recognized its independence. Its white population holds all political power although outnumbered by Africans 20 to 1. It is almost completely surrounded by independent black African states and is mobilizing against increasing guerrilla raids from Zambia and Mozambique. Its young people are beginning to leave. The downfall of Prime Minister Ian Smith's government seems inevitable and few people think the change will be peaceful.

The Rhodes Legacy

In 1899, a year after the Africans had been forced to grant all mineral rights to gold-seeking Europeans, Cecil Rhodes was granted a charter for his British South Africa Corporation under which Rhodesia was to be ruled. White settlers, first recruited in South Africa in 1890, seized much of their land from the indigenous Matabele and Mashona tribes. The Corporation's charter

1975: The Africans, irritated by unkept Arab promises, particularly the relatively low level of financial aid from the Arab states, were also aware of the negative effect their actions had had in the industrialized countries. In July, at the annual meeting of the OAU, a resolution calling for the expulsion of Israel from the UN failed to obtain majority support. A similar proposal was also defeated at the full meeting of the non-aligned foreign ministers in August. Because of the lack of consensus, the question of Israeli expulsion was never even raised in the General Assembly. As a matter of fact, the Seventh Special Session achieved an unexpected spirit of conciliation. At the 30th General Assembly, the resolution equating zionism with racism, apparently a face-saving device for the Arab nations, commanded only a bare majority.

THE COALITION TODAY

The political situation within the coalition has remained relatively unchanged. African solidarity, the core of the Third World majority, is still generally the rule despite internal differences. It is the basis for a symbolic Third World unity on decolonization and *apartheid* as well – although neither is of direct concern to either the Latin-American or the Arab states.

It is economic issues which are of immediate concern to all countries in the coalition, and which provide the bond which holds them together. For example, following a meeting in Manila earlier this year, the developing countries came to the fourth UN Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD IV) prepared with a complete package of agreed proposals. The industrialized countries were divided, so not much could be accomplished.

On Middle East questions, on the other hand, divisions continue to be apparent. Conscious efforts were made at a series of UN meetings in 1976 to tone down anti-Israeli resolutions, and at the spring meeting of the Economic and Social Council the Africans were able to completely block a move to inject the zionism/racism issue into the final resolutions. Where similar efforts failed in other UN bodies the votes were by very narrow margins. Prospects for the 31st General Assembly seem to indicate more of the same.

AUGUST 1976

UNA USA United Nations Association-USA • 345 East 46th Street, N.Y.C. 10017 • (212) OX 7-3232

THE THIRD WORLD COALITION: MYTH OR MONOLITH?

In 1974, at both the Sixth Special Session and the 29th regular session of the UN General Assembly, a so-called "new majority" of Third World countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America began to dominate the headlines. In reality, the coalition was neither new nor necessarily always a majority, and within a year what had appeared to be a monolithic voting bloc began to show signs of strain, a delicate and shifting balance of frequently conflicting national interests.

THE THIRD WORLD: A DEFINITION

The Third World is generally understood to be those countries listed as "developing" economically (LDC's), sometimes known as the Group of 77 (G77). Seventy-seven developing countries in 1964, had presented their economic demands at the UN Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD I); the group now encompasses over 110 nations.

Historically and politically they have a great deal in common. At one point in their history most were subjected to colonization by a foreign power. Most did not exist as independent states in 1945, had no voice in the framing of the UN Charter and are beginning to challenge its essentially western, European philosophy and orientation. However, the UN gives them a forum in which the strength of their numbers can be felt. It gives them status as sovereign states and, above all, gives them access, without political obligation, to the financial and technical assistance they need for their development.

The Third World accounts for 70% of the world's population but only 30% of its income; most have economies based on exports of raw materials, and their transportation, social services and educational systems are inadequate for their needs.

Within this overall context there are significant differences. Per capita GNP varies widely, from an annual $10,560 in Kuwait to $50 in Bangladesh. Some countries, mainly the oil-producing countries and the Latin Americans, have relatively sophisticated economies, while at the low end of the scale are the "least developed countries." Under the official UN definition of this term, these 27 nations have per capita GNPs of $100 a year or less. Manufacturing accounts for less than 10% of their GNP. Their literacy rate is 20% or less. The group includes such countries as Afghanistan, Chad and Haiti. Another classification is the "most seriously affected nations" (MSAs), 44 countries suffering severe balance of payments deficits as a result of the 1973 oil embargo and subsequent inflation. The MSAs include the least developed countries as well as countries somewhat better off, such as Egypt, India and Kenya.

THE COLONIAL LEGACY

Among the Third World countries, only a handful have long traditions of independence. The rest were at some time and in some degree under European domination.

The colonial era began in the late 15th century with the search for the "Spice Islands" by the Spanish and Portuguese. By the end of the century Vasco da Gama had reached Calcutta, Columbus had landed in Santo Domingo and John Cabot had reached Nova Scotia. The race for colonies was on.

By the mid-18th century, imperialism was the central fact of international life and European civilization was the dominant force in much of the world. Britain, France and Holland had established their colonies in North America and were pushing into southern Asia and the Pacific. The Portuguese were in Macao and Brazil, the Spanish in the rest of Latin America and the Philippines. All had established coastal settlements in Africa, although the interior of that continent was still largely unknown. In the 19th century a new scramble for territories resulted in the Europeanization of Africa as well.

Much of what the Third World does is in reaction to this colonial legacy. As colonies, they had been used as sources of wealth and power for others. They were made to supply raw materials not available in the home country and be captive markets for its manufactured goods. The present global economic system, dominated by the industrialized countries, seems to many to be a continuation of the unequal relationships which prevailed under the old colonial system.

The majority of countries in southern and eastern Asia became independent almost immediately after World War II. Together with the Arab states carved out of the Ottoman Empire after World War I, they formed the original core of the Third World coalition. Most of the African nations were established after 1960.

The tradition of independence in Latin America dates back much further, to the early 19th century, when most of Latin America followed the United States pattern in proclaiming presidential republics. As a group, they were closely tied to the United States by geography, history and trade. Almost all were charter members of the United Nations. In the 1960's, however, resentment over US domination – and apparent US disinterest – was compounded by a drop in the Latin American share of world trade and increasing concern over the growing power of the transnational corporations (TNCs). The result was a gradual erosion of ties to the United States and a corresponding shift toward the Afro-Asian group. As latecomers, however, the Latin Americans are the most frequent defectors from the coalition. The Latin-American group's relative strength as a political bloc has declined as more nations were created in Asia and Africa, while only six new nations, mostly former British Caribbean territories, have been added to the group since 1945.

THE EVOLUTION OF THE COALITION: SOME HIGHLIGHTS

Although now unified primarily by economic issues, the Third World coalition had its origins in the political concept of *non-alignment,* neutrality between East and West. It was enunciated in the early years of the cold war by the first Prime Minister of India, Jawaharlal Nehru and his fiery spokesman at the UN, V. K. Krishna Menon. As a result of this initiative and as the first newly independent state to join the UN, India became the dominant force in what was to become known as the Afro-Asian group.

1950: Unified action by the non-aligned group began informally with the outbreak of the Korean War. At Security Council sessions India and Egypt, later joined by Yugoslavia, either abstained or didn't vote at all. Of the 16 countries contributing troops to the UN Command in Korea, only four were developing countries, and all were strongly anti-Communist at the time – Colombia, Ethiopia, the Philippines and Thailand.

1952: The issue of *apartheid* was placed on the General Assembly agenda for the first time. (Prior to that, in 1946, India had brought up the question of treatment of Indians in South Africa.)

1955: The Afro-Asian group met formally for the first time in Bandung, Indonesia. The conference gave the non-aligned group some cohesiveness, but its potential political impact was counteracted by the pro-Communist, pro-Chinese leanings of Indonesia's President Sukarno. The final communique did, however, foreshadow future developments in its call for an end to colonialism.

1960: Seventeen new member states were admitted to the UN, 16 from Africa. It was at this point that leadership of the non-aligned group passed permanently from India to Africa.

At the same session, the General Assembly adopted the Declaration on Decolonization which shifted the UN's emphasis from self-government to self-determination and independence for all territories regardless of location, size or economic and political viability. It was adopted unanimously. The United States and eight other western countries, considering the resolution somewhat unrealistic, abstained. The Declaration has become the basis for all subsequent UN actions in this area.

1961: The first official Conference of Heads of State or Governments of Non-Aligned Countries was held in Belgrade, Yugoslavia. With the exception of Cuba, all 26 participating governments were from Asia and Africa. (Bolivia, Brazil and Ecuador attended as observers.) In its formal statement of policy, the non-aligned group announced three principal priorities: disarmament, decolonization, and the elimination of *apartheid* in South Africa.

The General Assembly established the Special Committee on Decolonization (now the Committee of 24) to implement the 1960 Declaration. In 1971, Britain and the US would withdraw from the Committee in protest against what they felt to be the Committee's constant and sweeping attacks on Western "imperialism." The Committee's recommendations have nevertheless exerted some moral pressure toward the granting of independence to all territories.

1962: The developing countries began to take a unified stand on economic as well as political issues. Despite some reservations by the industrialized countries, the General Assembly adopted the Declaration on Permanent Sovereignty over Natural Resources. An outgrowth of a 1952 resolution, the Declaration contained eight principles, including the right of governments to impose conditions on the investment of foreign capital and "appropriate" compensation in cases of nationalization or expropriation.

1963: The Organization of African Unity (OAU) was established at a 22-nation conference in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia. The OAU brought several rival African groups together and made the African caucus the largest regional group in the United Nations. Its annual meetings have since become the bellwether for actions by the Third World group as a whole.

1964: The second non-aligned summit conference took place in Cairo with the number of participating governments almost doubled to 47. The number of observers from Latin America also grew to nine. The final communique contained two new elements which were to recur repeatedly in UN debates, reference to the rights of the "people of Palestine" and criticism of foreign military bases in dependent territories.

The first UN Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD I) was also convened that year, in Geneva. Designed as a mechanism for formulating global economic policy while reconciling economic difference, UNCTAD's formal meetings were until recently marked by unproductive confrontations between the developed and developing countries.

1969: The Lusaka Manifesto, calling for peaceful change in Southern Africa, was endorsed by the General Assembly.

1970: The third non-aligned summit conference was held in Lusaka, Zambia, attended by 54 nations. Although most of the discussion centered around southern Africa, it was clear that even without the official participation of the Latin-American states, the conference was becoming the Third World's major forum at which to arrive at agreed positions on important General Assembly agenda items.

1972: The non-aligned foreign ministers, by now meeting annually, convened in Georgetown, Guyana. The Georgetown Declaration, calling for a program of action on mutual economic cooperation, has since become the basis for many of the actions and demands made by the Third World group in the General Assembly and other bodies.

1973: The fourth non-aligned summit conference met in Algiers. For the first time, over half the UN membership sent official delegations, including several Latin-American states. The conference marked a turning point in the evolution of the Third World coalition. In shifting the emphasis from non-alignment to an activist alliance of the developing countries against *all* industrialized states, it set the political tone for the "new majority." Former priorities – development, decolonization and the elimination of racism – were restated but in more radical rhetoric. The Conference also called for a special General Assembly session on economic development (held in 1975 as the Seventh Special Session), announced support for producers' cartels like the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC), and issued the first warnings of the Arab oil embargo. The outlines of the new coalition had begun to take shape: the Africans, now the key "swing" group in the Third World, were willing to trade their votes on Middle East issues in exchange for Arab support on economic and southern African issues.

The Third World group did prove itself capable of taking major initiatives when necessary. In the wake of the October Yom Kippur War, when the Soviet Union and the United States were deadlocked and threatening military intervention, the non-aligned members of the Security Council drew up the compromise resolution calling for a cease-fire and the establishment of a second UN Emergency Force in the Sinai (UNEF II). It was also the developing countries in the General Assembly's Fifth (Budgetary) Committee which developed the special scale of assessments to finance it.

1974: The Sixth Special Session and the 29th General Assembly marked the high point of Third World unity. The former produced the guidelines for the New International Economic Order (NIEO); the latter endorsed the Mexican-initiated Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of States (CERDS), suspended South Africa from the Assembly and granted observer status to the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO).

League of Women Voters of Minnesota, 555 Wabasha, St. Paul, Minnesota 55102 Sept. 1976
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REMARKS FOR THE LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS OF MINNESOTA
SEPTEMBER 10, 1976

First of all, let me thank you for asking me to meet with you and giving me the opportunity to talk briefly about the United Nations and its increasing relevance to the needs of humanity, and to tell you in a few sentences what the organization I represent is all about. I should like to reverse that order and give you a quick explanation of the United Nations Association of the USA on the National Level.

Before I do this, I'd like to tell you a little story that I heard Chief Justice Earl Warren tell, when he was Chairman of the United Nations Association. The story, you will see, has a moral: A man wanted to hire a horse.....

The United Nations Association of the USA -- UNA-USA -- is a private, non-governmental, non-political organization, headquartered in New York City, across the street from the United Nations, and up two blocks from the U.S. Mission to the UN. We have a large constituency throughout the U.S., consisting of about 40,000 individual members, 20 state divisions, of which the Minnesota UNA is one and about 175 local chapters. We have affiliated with us over 150 other voluntary associations, such as the League of Women Voters, the YMCA and the YWCA, Lions Clubs, The American Association of University Women, Church Women United, The National Council of Women, National Council of Negro Women, National Council of Jewish Women, The Steel Workers of America, The National Education Association and so on and so forth. A potential constituency for the United Nations in this country of millions and millions of these organizations' members.

The purpose of UNA-USA is to acquaint the American public with the work of the United Nations, so that our citizens can make an informed judgment on U.S. participation in the United Nations. The League's re-examination of the United Nations will be of tremendous importance in bringing about the kind of citizen opinion that will get respectful attention on Captiol Hill, where, after all, the action concerning the UN is. That's why I proposed to the League immediately after your Convention when the item on the UN was adopted, that UNA-USA would prepare background materials for the study on the UN and provide those materials free of charge in triplicate to each League. The Committee Guide which has probably reached your League by now, announces these materials and also the availability of UNA's first rate newspaper The Inter Dependent, as well as that of our publication Issues Before

The 31st General Assembly, which, to my mind, is an absolute "must" for those who want to know what's happening at the UN and why.

I could tell you many more things about UNA-USA and what it does to get more knowledge about the UN into the mainstream of American Life. I could tell you, for instance, that on September 20 and 21st the second annual UN seminar for newspaper editors, editorial writers and publishers will take place. I could also tell you, that next Wednesday, UNA's Economic Policy Panel will be inaugurated, consisting of about 15 top U.S. corporate leaders, 15 outstanding labor leaders and 15 first rate academicians, This panel will come up with plans for a U.S. economic policy that makes sense in this era of shifing economic patterns.

I could tell you that UNA-USA is mandated by the President of the United States to carry out the National Observance of UN Day and that this year, more local UN Day Chairmen have already been appointed by Mayors throughout the U.S. than ever before at this time of year.

I could tell you lots more, and perhaps later, if there is some time left, I will. But now, I'd like to address myself to the United Nations system itself; what it does and what it doesn't do. What it can and what it cannot possibly do. Perhaps a brief reflection may by in order:

It may be useful to remeber that the UN was created thirty-one years ago in a totally different world from the one we inhabit now. One of the reasons New York City was chosen as the site for the UN Headquarters buildings was the fact that, in 1945, it was easily accessible by steamship. Today, this idea makes us smile. The UN came into being in an atmosphere of almost religious fervor. After the holocaust of World War II, the victorious allies were determined "to save future generations from the scourge of war" as the UN Charter in its preamble states. These allies realized that the world could not survice another World War in which the newly-harnessed atomic power would play the terminal role. And so, the United States, England, France, Russia and China, all comrades-in-arms, asked the world's nations to join them in a new international enterprise that would guard world peace and insure domestic as well as global tranquility. Built on the spirit of one-for-all, all-for-one, the five powers were to live harmoniously from then on, insuring that the rest of the world did likewise; each one, of course, was armed with veto power, just in case one of the other four should try to impose its will on the rest of them. The cold war made short shrift of that spirit of cooperation and in the process , the United Nations became a tempest-tossed assembly of powerless countries, unable to move beyond the frictions of the Berlin Wall, the 38th parallel, the Hungarian Debacle, and other cold war milestones. As long as the two super-powers were at loggerheads, as long as nations had to chose up sides -- with the U.S. or with the U.S.S.R. -- no serious progress could be made on anything that was opposed by one

or the other.

In those days the United States, the richest power, had an automatic majority in the UN, bitterly resented by the Soviets who took to the veto in the Security Council with predictable regularity. There was great support for the UN in this country then. Today, many of the staunch supporters of the UN in the late forties and in the fifties and early sixties, say that they are disillusioned with the UN, that it is no longer the institution they supported. The UN has changed, they say. Yes, indeed, it has. But then, so has the world. In fact, one of the most remarkable things about the UN is that it still exists after 31 years of the most drastic and dramatic changes the world has known since the Industrial Revolution.

In these past 31 years, we have seen the virtual ending of colonialism, we have witnessed a remarkable social revolution, and we are the beneficiares -- or perhaps victims -- of an incredible scientific and technological revolution. I need only remind you that when the Charter was signed in San Francisco in 1945, there was no coast-to coast television, no non-stop coast-to-coast flights, no transistor radio, no computer, no satellite communication, no man on the moon -- just to mention six out of hundreds of technological advances. And the UN has proved a flexible enough instrument to withstand the shockwaves of one sociological quake after the other. That it has survived 31 of the most turbulent years mankind has known and is alive and functioning is a small miracle in itself.

Looking back at the history of the United States, as we've all been doing in this Bi-centennial year, it strikes me that the good old USA didn't do nearly as well after 30 years of its existence. Thirty years after 1776, there were many who thought that the whole experiment of the Republic was a failure, that Congress wasn't working out, that is, was corrupt and lazy, that the national debt was unbearable and that the price each citizen was asked to pay for independence was just too high. We were a young nation then; only 30 years old. And now the United Nations has reached the age of 31. Still a very young organization.

Eleven days from now the 31st General Assembly will get under way in New York City. The UN has grown from 51 member nation in 1945 to 144 with the application of the 145th already approved by the Security Council and 146 and 147, waiting in the wings. During the coming months, the General Assembly will be attended by over 20 Prime Ministers,some 80 Foreign Ministers, more than a dozen heads of state. An enormously impressive gathering. These leaders do not come for ceremony alone. They meet in conference rooms, huddle in corners, gather in the corridors. Away from the spotlight of summit meetings they can exchange views and sound out one another's positions that will eventually affect their own countries and others as well.

Because the UN is a mirror to the world and reflects the changing expressions

on the face of the globe, the past two years have seen a shift in the heretofore almost accepted confrontation on east-west ideologies -- democracy versus communism -- to what is referred to as the north versus south positions, the industrialized nations of the north, versus the poor, developing countries of the south. This is an extremely complex situation. No sooner have you digested the facts of the northern rich states in opposition to the poor states in the south than there is a new condition: not all the developing south is poor. In just a couple of years, some of the developing south has become incredibly rich, while some of the industrialized north is struggling to keep its financial head above water. The shift from the political strife of the cold war and the political aspirations of the Third World -- the so-called non-aligned countries of Africa, Asia and Latin America -- to the quest for self-determination in the arena of world economics was gradual in coming but suddenly made headlines four years ago. Given the example of the OPEC countries economic pressure on the industrialized world, the Third World countries found that in joining together and forming a coalition, they could get the kind of concessions from the developed nations that they felt they needed for economic survival. Their first attempt to hammer out an economic modus vivendi with the industrialized nations gave them the high point of Third World unity but achieved nothing in terms of concrete progress. I refer to the 1974 Sixth Special Session on raw materials and natural resources in which they rejoiced over their common purpose, adopted the so-called New International Economic Order and carried their spirit into the 29th General Assembly where Third World votes joined to endorse the Mexican-initiated Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of States. It was their riding rough-shod over General Assembly rules by suspending South Africa from its sessions that prompted U.S. Ambassador John Scali to refer to the "Tyranny of the Majority". This unity, shown in 1974, no longer exists among the Third World countries. Because of Arab pressure for their votes and Arab threats of oil boycott, the Third World made common cause on issues in which they had no primary interest. They are no longer quite so willing to do this. The Seventh Special Session last year on economic development, was an example of cooperation and conciliation mostly due to U.S. initiatives. And, while this year's UNCTAD IV in Nairobi again did not produce much by way of clear achievement, the willingness was there from all sides and discussions are going forward on the enormously complex business of commodity prices transfer of technology, buffer stocks, an international resources bank and the many other items of a working world economic plan. To this whole process, the United Nations is totally relevant. It offers the forum where the voices of the world's nations can be heard. Often strident voices, a lot of shouting but no shooting. The UN has at the disposal of member nations a vast storage of knowledge of every kind. Together with its specialized agencies, its affiliated

bodies and its programs, the UN forms a world network of expertise in every field that affects human beings.

While the world press relishes the reporting of strife, of dischord, of global insults, a lot goes on behind the scenes of the UN that only rarely sees the light of a headline.

It is not generally known that, for instance, the UN issued a report on the danger to the human species of a rapid pollution of the environment. This report was sent to all member nations, including our own. If the UN's report had been heeded then, instead of 20 years later in 1972 when the Stockholm Conference on the Environment was held, a lot of pollution could have been avoided, a lot more fish would be in the seas, many more lungs would be healthier, many billions of dollars could have been saved. In the early sixties, a decade before the energy crisis, the UN, again in a report, predicted the shortage of crude oil, warned about the irreplaceability of fossil fuels. Again, no government paid attention. Voila, the energy problem we're all very familiar with. But slowly, over the past five or six years, governments are beginning to pay attention to UN initiatives. The Conference on the Human Environment in Stockholm was the first time more than 100 governments met to try and find solutions to a problem that defied national boundaries. After the two-week meeting which saw the adoption of a World Plan of Action, sceptics asked "but what was really accomplished?" It would be foolish to expect a conference of two weeks' duration, or even a month's duration, to solve a global problem of vast proportions. But looking back today, we see progress: over 60 nations now have ministries for the environment; they all have adopted national standards for environmental quality and laws to enforce them. The United Nations Environment Program(UNEP) with headquarters in Nairobi, Kenya, achieved a remarkable success earlier this year when it convened a meeting in Barcelona to plan strategy for cleaning up the Mediterranean. All countries bordering on Mediterranean were represented, including Arab countries and Isreal, and a plan was unanimously adopted.

There was no time in Stockholm to deal with the population problem, and so the UN set up a population conference in Bucharest in 1974, again attended by over 100 government representatives. As was the case with the Stockholm Conference, and indeed with subsequent world conferences, the results were not immediately apparent. However, positions were stated, differences accommodated, standards for governments' behaviors set. Since then, a great many governments have adopted national population policies and many more are in the process, all a direct result of the Bucharest Conference. The World Food Conference in Rome in 1974 established a World Food Council and initiated the International Fund for Agricultural Development. It also raised governments' consciousness to the urgency of finding solutions to the world's

food problem. Progress is slow, but it is happening.

The World Conference on International Women's Year is well familiar to all of you here. This week, the Commission on the Status of Women is meeting in Geneva to evaluate progress made since the Mexico City conference last June. In this country, a direct result of IWY is the plan for 56 states and territorial women's conferences to be held in 1977, culminating with a national conference on women. Your own President, Ruth Clusen, is actively involved in these plans.

The outcome of the HABITAT Conference that was held in Vancouver this spring will probably not be apparent for some time to come. Governments did adopt a Declaration of Principles which will slowly be put into action around the world. And, of course, the Law of the Sea Conference which is going on in New York right now, has such far-reaching consequences and demands such a high degree of cooperation among nations that progress will be measured by nautical inches, not nautical miles.

Next year, the United Nations is sponsoring a world Conference on Water, followed by a world Conference on Desertification. All these are whoof and wharp of interdependence, the strands of the cloth of which human life on this planet is cut. You asked me if the United Nations is relevant to today's global needs? Show me one other vehicle, one other mechanism or machinery that exists in the world today and that has the potential -- potential, mind you -- for harmonizing world conflicts, for coordinating international efforts to make human life a little better, for exchanging global information and stimulating global thinking, for setting standards and applying yardsticks to governmental actions, for providing small and large, rich and poor countries alike with a forum in which to speak up and speak out and be heard. If you can't show me such an organization, I'll support the United Nations till something better comes along.

I realize that there are many aspects of the UN that I haven't touched on. I haven't mentioned the Middle East, or peacekeeping, Nuclear proliferation and the UN's work in the peaceful uses of outer space. But I think I have spoken enough. I would welcome your questions, but, please, ask me only those questions to which I know the answer. Thank you.

LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS OF MINNESOTA

555 WABASHA, ST. PAUL, MINNESOTA 55102

To: Local League International Relations Chairpersons
From: Mary Davies, State Board
Date: August 11, 1976

Peggy Sanford Carlin, Vice President, United Nations Association of the United States, will be in the Twin Cities September 10th to speak at the UN Rally Tea. We are pleased that she has agreed to meet with League international relations chairpersons on Friday, September 10th, 10:00 a.m., at the state office. Ms. Carlin will be able to provide the needed stimulus to get you started on the UN study. She will let you know how UNA can help you, resources and materials available, and how to involve your community. Since some of you will be representing your League at the Rally Tea at 1:00 at the Governor's Mansion, we would ask you to bring a bag lunch. This will give you time to visit with other IR people. We do need to know how many will be coming, as a big crowd would necessitate larger facilities. Please let the state office know by September 3rd if you plan to attend. I look forward to meeting you.

TELEPHONE 224-5445

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

memorandum

August 1976

THIS IS GOING ON DPM

TO: State and local Presidents

FROM: Ruth Robbins, International Relations Chairman

The enclosed IR COMMITTEE GUIDE is to help your League prepare for the new United Nations study adopted by the 1976 national convention. The COMMITTEE GUIDE contains helpful hints for the entire study/consensus process, from organizing the resource committee to arriving at member agreement. A carefully selected bibliography should also help you search out pertinent background related to the consensus questions.

The national board has recommended that Leagues plan if possible two meetings, sometime between December 1976 and March 1977 to parallel the two-part focus of the study: the first meeting, to focus on the changing world context in which the economic issues dividing the industrialized and developing nations have come to the fore; the second meeting, to focus on the future U.S. role in the UN including proposals and prospects for restructuring the UN system. You will be receiving soon two LWVEF FACTS & ISSUES: North and South at the UN: The Economic Challenge and U.S. at the UN: Fight, Flight, or Something in Between. Background material made available especially for the UN study by the United Nations Association of the USA will also be mailed to you.

As stated in the May board report, the consensus questions will be mailed to you as soon as possible after the national board has approved the official wording in September. Remember, your consensus reports must be in the LWVUS office by April 15, 1977.

You and DPM subscribers have already received one LWVEF publication which should be particularly helpful in this study--U.S. Relations with the Developing Nations: The New International Economic Countdown, pub. #682, 75¢. If it is still in your files, be sure to pass it on to your IR Chairman. And urge your members to buy a copy as an introduction to some of the issues to be discussed in the study.

Good luck with your study!

This mailing also includes enclosures you will probably want to pass along to your international relations committee. One announcement previews the Foreign Policy Association's Great Decisions program for 1977. Many local Leagues have participated in Great Decisions programs in the past and have found them to be an excellent source of balanced information on foreign policy issues. The other announcement describes a kit of Foreign Policy Background Briefs FPA has prepared on today's major foreign policy issues. The kit was distributed to delegates attending the Voters Service Workshop at the LWV Convention '76 to be used as a tool in bringing foreign policy issues into the election campaign debates.

The General Assembly of the United Nations adopted on the evening of 1, November 1974 Resolution 3212 by 117 votes in favour, none against and no abstensions.

Article 5 of the Resolution reads as follows:

"(The General Assembly) consider that all the refugees should return to their homes in safety and calls upon the parties concerned to undertake urgent measures to that end".

The United Nations, conscious of its responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security, adopted a resolution in July, 1974, regarding the crisis on the Island of Cyprus. (RESOLUTION 353, adopted by the Security Council at its 1781st meeting on July 20, 1974.)

This Resolution consisted of three main actions to be undertaken in restoring peace to Cyprus:

1. Calls upon all States to respect the independence and territorial integrity of Cyprus; especially the withdrawal of all foreign armed forces and the cessation of all foreign interference in its affairs.
2. Considers that the existence of refugee populations of such magnitude is a threat to world peace and therefore all refugees should be returned to their homes in safety.
3. Expresses the hope that negotiations can be resumed between the Greek and Turkish Cypriotes under the United Nations supervision and that all parties will cooperate fully with the United Nations peacekeeping force in Cyprus.

Seven months have elapsed since the General Assembly adopted the above Resolution, and no affirmative action has been undertaken. The fate of the 250,000 refugees is still to be determined.

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'Humanitan Aid' Scandal

Edward L. Block, who resigned from A.I.D. in December, 1973, after 20 months in Vietnam where he inspected refugee conditions in all four regions of the country, told the House Foreign Affairs Committee on July 2, 1974:

"It is my judgment that the A.I.D.-funded relief and rehabilitation program in South Vietnam is a disaster for the refugees involved, a financial bonanza for the officials of the Saigon government, and an insult both to the American people who are being deceived and to the many conscientious American field officers whose reports on these deceptions are routinely suppressed by their superiors and higher-level officials..."

"We should know by now that A.I.D. is not requesting monies primarily for humanitarian purposes...The real objectives for continuing to supply A.I.D. funds to the refugee program in Vietnam are strongly political and military in character."

"Under the present system, controls over the expenditures of A.I.D.-provided funds are practically non-existent, leading to some blatant misuses."

"With such A.I.D. funds the GVN (Saigon government) will continue to resettle refugees in territories it does not control, giving their human cannon fodder a minimal amount of land (none in many cases) and allowances to survive on. Without the U.S. relief funds, however, the GVN will be forced to allow these people to return if they choose to their original farms in accord with the Paris Agreement."

A.I.D. FUNDS:

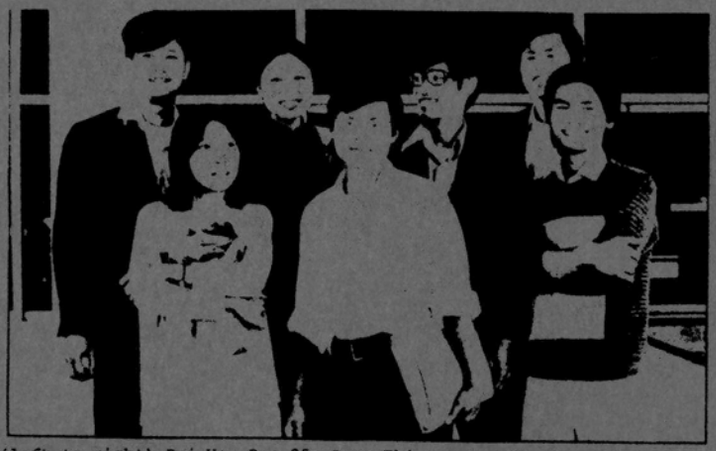
- support police harrassment, torture and assassination
- build prisons for political prisoners like the Tiger Cages at Con Son
- inable the Thieu regime to hold hundreds of thousands of refugees as dependents of the government rather than allowing them to return to their original farms and villages
- denies indigenous populations the right to self-determination in government

A.I.D. in Brazil

A.I.D. officials state flatly that A.I.D.-funded police training programs under the Office of Public Safety, OPS, are "not given to support Dictatorships."

However, in 1971, after holding a series of hearings on repression in Brazil, Senator Frank Church commented:

"...the U.S. aid programs to Brazilian military and police agencies serve mainly to identify the U.S. with a repressive government. The hearings revealed an altogether too close identification of the U.S. with the current Brazilian government, and they raise a serious question about the wisdom of assistance to the Brazilian police and military."



'left to right) Bui Van Dao,25; Doan Thi Nam Hau,25; Cao Thi My Loc, 25; Nguyen Huu An, 26; Nguyen Hoang, 31; Vu Ngoc Con, 26; Nguyen Dang Yen Truc, 24.

Students Face Deportation

When their visas expired, seven Vietnamese students who have been outspoken critics of the Thieu regime were denied political asylum in the U.S.

The students' opposition views mark them for certain imprisonment and torture. Even the Senate Appropriations Committee supports the students' contention:

> "The existence of political prisoners is beyond reasonable dispute...(and) substantiated accounts of cases of mistreatment and torture of such prisoners has been authoritatively reported."
> (Report on FY 1974 Foreign Aid Bill)

U.N. Article Supports Plea

Article 33 of the United Nations Convention on Refugees (ratified in 1968), states that "No contracting state shall expel or return a refugee where his life or freedom would be threatened on account of...political opinion."

A.I.D.'s Role in Deportations

The two women facing deportation, Cao Thi My Loc and Doan Thi Nam Hau, received a letter from A.I.D. terminating their training program under A.I.D. sponsorship. The agency also said that the government of the Republic of South Vietnam had requested their return and that "An international ticket for your return transportation to Vietnam is on hand in this office."

For action suggestions about what you can do to help the students or for more information, contact:

AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE

1925 NICOLLET AVE., SUITE #207

MINNEAPOLIS, MN 55403
(612) 870-1501

Paris Agreement Violated

Although the Paris Agreements explicitly rule out advisors to the police force, the South Vietnamese National Police continue to receive regular advice from Americans.

Local policemen still refer to "American police advisors," according to James M. Markham, Saigon bureau chief of the New York Times, who was detained by the police late in January, 1974, after a visit to a Vietcong-held area.

The New York Times made repeated attempts this past year to interview officials in the A.I.D. who are responsible for American aid to the police. Although the officials appeared ready to discuss the subject, they were ordered by the U.S. Ambassador, Graham A. Martin, to say nothing.

Executions Funded

A series of hearings, conducted by the House Committee on Government Operations, disclosed evidence of U.S. complicity in the torture and murder of tens of thousands of South Vietnamese civilians under the A.I.D.-funded Phoenix campaign.

A.I.D. VIOLATES Humanitarian Goals of the UNITED NATIONS

In South Vietnam, U.S. aid to the Saigon police apparatus extends all the way to the prison system, which is partially subsidized by OPS funds. A.I.D.'s involvement in the Saigon prison system was highlighted in 1970, when Congressmen visiting the Con Son prison complex were shown the notorious "tiger cages"for political prisoners.

U.S. Relations with the Developing Nations: The New International Economic Countdown

League of Women Voters Education Fund

A report of a League of Women Voters Education Fund symposium cosponsored by the Johnson Foundation and the Overseas Development Council, February 2-4, 1976.

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U. S. Relations with the Developing Nations: The New International Economic Countdown

"Interdependence" has become a well-worn word since it invaded the American foreign affairs vocabulary a few years ago. It crops up in discussions of global resources, international trade and world economic trends. And it usually introduces any discussion of U. S. relations with the developing nations.

The 1973 Arab-Israeli war and the resulting oil embargo can take much of the credit for bringing the word into vogue. Interdependence has come to be the catchword for a change in perceptions in both the industrialized and in the developing world. On the one hand, the rich nations have begun to realize that the health of their domestic economies has become increasingly dependent on developments beyond their own borders—a fact the developing nations have appreciated for a long time. On the other hand, the developing nations have begun to display a new assertiveness as they seek to influence decisions and other actors in the international arena. Although the developing nations may not be able to establish cartels for other raw materials and repeat the success of the oil producers' cartel, they have come to realize that when they act in unison their trade and investment policies can affect in measureable terms the international economic climate in which the industrialized nations must do business. With new-found unity, they have begun to demand that the international economic system established after World War II be changed to take into account their particular needs.

How do Americans view the developing countries? Do we see a threat posed by the developing nations' newly assertive posture in the United Nations and other international forums? Do we believe that U. S. cooperation in achieving developing nations' goals will mean personal sacrifices? How do we answer some of the basic "whys" and "hows" of U. S. relations with the developing nations?

It was to consider these and to pose other questions that members of the League of Women Voters from 42 states, the District of Columbia and Puerto Rico; experts from developing nations; UN officials; State Department officials; academic specialists; and representatives from Congress, business and labor gathered at Wingspread, the Conference center of the Johnson Foundation, in Racine, Wisconsin, February 2-4, 1976, for a symposium on U. S. relations with the developing world. The symposium, "U. S. Relations with the Developing World—the New International Economic Countdown," was held in cooperation with the Johnson Foundation and the Overseas Development Council, and with the assistance of the Institute for World Order, John Deere and Company, Exxon Corporation, Honeywell, Inc., Caterpillar Tractor Company and the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (World Bank). Specifically, the group came to:

- share the results of a presymposium public opinion sampling taken by the League participants in their local communities;
- participate in the ongoing debate between the industrialized and developing nations on issues presented in the developing nations' demand for a new international economic order;
- hear from the experts what they believe the options are for restructuring the international economic system, especially in the areas of trade and investment, energy, and food;
- devise strategies for bringing the issues to the people in their local communities so that a broad range of Americans can participate both intellectually and actively in determining the choices before the United States and the international community.

The survey

Each League participant conducted a series of six to ten interviews during the month preceding the symposium to gain impressions of what people in her or his local community think about U. S. relations with the developing nations. They talked to farmers, housewives, businesspeople, unemployed workers, and members of local unions, among others (see box).

In general, League members found that a great reservoir of good will toward the developing nations and compassion regarding their problems existed among the people they interviewed. One of the major barriers to tapping this reservoir, however, was a basic distrust shown of governments—both the U. S. government and governments in developing nations. A large majority of the people interviewed said that the U. S. government's motives in assisting development projects overseas were sometimes questionable. Many also said that the developing nations' governments could not be trusted to distribute the benefits of development equitably among the people. Themes that emerged again and again were a desire to separate U. S. development efforts from military or short-term political considerations and an insistence that efforts of both U. S. and developing nation governments be directed to helping the poorest help themselves.

In suggesting ways for the United States to cooperate, several interviewees mentioned the need for transferring knowledge of skills from individuals in the United States to individuals in the developing nations. A Minnesota farmer suggested that some way ought to be found so that rural communities in the United States can "neighbor" communities in the developing nations. Farmers have a long tradition of "shared barn building," and he suggested that this general concept be extended in some way to the developing nations. A skilled construction worker back on the job after almost a year's unemployment said that the most important thing Americans can do for people in the developing nations is to

The public opinion sampling

Each participant conducted at least six interviews during the three weeks before the symposium. The results were not expected to portray a representative sampling of opinion nor lend themselves to tabulation. Rather, League members were interested in discovering what range of opinion exists—and why.

League members interviewed people from different categories representative of their local communities, such as: a farmer or the owner of a small to medium-sized business, a corporate executive, a housewife, an unemployed person, a self-employed professional (i.e. doctor, lawyer, architect), a university student, an executive officer of a local union, a teacher, a welfare mother, a retired person, a factory worker. The interviewers were instructed not to interview either relatives or fellow League members.

The questions asked were open-ended, and the ability to probe with additional follow-up questions was as important to the value of the sampling as the initial questions asked. Interviewers were instructed to put the questions into their own words if the questions seemed awkward or were not eliciting responses.

■ In general, do you think it is worthwhile for the United States to do anything to cooperate with the developing nations? Why? How should the United States cooperate? Do you think that the developing nations are in any way a threat to the United States?

■ The developing countries say that one of the things they need most is the chance to sell their manufactured goods and processed raw materials to the United States so they can earn the dollars to buy food, equipment and other products from the United States. Allowing more of the developing countries products to be sold in the United States could lower prices for the consumer and help fight inflation. But imports from the developing countries that undersell goods made in the United States could also cause people in some industries to lose their jobs. How do you feel about these trade-offs?

■ What percentage of the U. S. government's budget do you think goes toward development aid? Do you think we should increase or decrease the amount of aid we send for the purposes of development? Are there conditions you would attach to development aid? What are they?

■ Do you see any sacrifices you will have to make because of U. S. cooperation with the developing nations?

■ If you were to ask Secretary of State Henry Kissinger one question about U. S. relations with the developing nations, what would it be?

teach them skills related to the industrial or agricultural needs of their own nations. A flour mill owner in Michigan said we should share our know-how with small entrepreneurs in the developing nations so that they can also process raw materials. That way, developing nation economies would employ more people and derive more income from exports. The Peace Corps was cited very often as a desirable type of people-to people program where skills rather than money can be transferred from the industrialized nations to the developing nations.

When asked the first question—whether the United States should cooperate with the developing nations—many people interviewed heard the word "aid" for "cooperate." The relationship is still perceived as "donor to donee" rather than as an interdependent partnership where the gain of one partner is the gain of both. Very few people responded negatively to this initial question. Most of those who did were people undergoing some economic hardship of their own, such as retired people living on fixed incomes or people living on welfare or low incomes. Many League members, however, said that several of the interviewees who were living within modest means still had a very positive attitude toward U. S. cooperation with the developing nations.

Interviewees who said the United States should cooperate were asked why they felt this way. Their answers varied greatly. Some people felt a moral obligation to assist poor people. Others had a rather ill-defined feeling that the concepts of "fairness" or "justice" were being violated by the great disparity of distribution of wealth in the world. Still others felt that the United States had to appease some of the hostility the poor nations felt toward the United States by showing that we were "good" members of the international community. Several business and labor persons said that we should help developing nations strengthen their economies so that markets for U. S. goods can be expanded. A few people also suggested that increased imports from the developing nations will lower the price of goods here in the United States and help ease the rate of inflation.

Most people interviewed felt that cooperation would not entail personal sacrifices for them, although several mentioned "adjustments" or "changes." A few cited the need for higher taxes to pay for U. S. assistance overseas and the fear that increased imports might adversely affect employment in the United States.

Very few of those interviewed felt the developing nations were a threat to the United States. Those who did answer yes to this question were more likely to cite terrorism or the increasing availability of nuclear weapons as the threat rather than medium- to long-term economic or political disruption.

League members found strong support for a liberal trade policy toward the developing nations, with several people stating that the U. S. economy is strong enough to withstand fair competition. Even most labor union officials and union members interviewed supported free tade with effective adjustment assistance mechanisms for affected firms and workers. (Under current adjustment assistance programs, eligible workers receive unemployment compensation and retraining and relocation allowances. Eligible firms are entitled to tax relief, technical assistance, and low cost loans.) A few

". . . there are no pat answers for setting the world 'right'."

housewives cited the need for increased imports from developing nations to bring the cost of shoes and clothing down. The most consistent exception to this general support for liberal trade was in Massachusetts, where almost all interviewed expressed concern for the unemployment impact of increasing imports from the developing nations.

Very few people had any familiarity with such new issues in U. S. relations with the developing nations as proposals for a new international economic order, commodity policy issues, or disputes over compensation for expropriation of investments. However, League members reported with some surprise that, although knowledge of specifics was very limited, almost everybody they interviewed had definite opinions to express. The only question which elicited a number of "don't know" answers asked what percentage of the U. S. federal budget is spent on development aid. Most of those who did venture a guess estimated that between 5 percent and 40 percent of the federal budget goes toward development aid overseas. (The actual figure is about 1 percent, varying slightly depending on how development aid is defined.)

The case for change

Throughout the three-day symposium, discussions varied widely. Topics ranged from the American public's attitudes toward the developing world, to international investment disputes, to vivid descriptions of the abject and dehumanizing poverty in many parts of the world. Questions were raised that, when answered, posed new questions. Yet, out of the varying discussions and the often conflicting points of view, a common outlook did seem to emerge. The symposium participants recognized deep and far-reaching changes occurring in the ways nations perceive their relationship to the international community. The group also agreed that there are no pat answers for setting the world "right." They displayed a compelling sense of urgency to put an end to the overwhelming human suffering in the world—tempered by the realization that development is an ongoing, complex, and slow process where answers to one problem can exacerbate another.

Despite the complicated nature of the problems which at times seemed insurmountable, a note of optimism was struck early and reemerged repeatedly throughout the symposium. The Honorable Neville Kanakaratne, the ambassador from Sri Lanka to the United States, expressed the view in his keynote address that "there is plenty of room, some opportunity, and a little time left for change."

He compared the increasingly vociferous demands of the developing nations for change in the international economic order to the labor movement in the United States in the Twenties and Thirties. In describing the need for a movement of "international collective bargaining for the working classes of the world," Ambassador Kanakaratne said that the two and one-half billion people living in developing nations produce the raw materials that are processed in the industrialized nations and sold back at considerably higher prices. But the raw materials producers are left without proper employment or acceptable living standards and are hardly able to maintain the basic dignity associated with human life. He warned that if deteriorating conditions were allowed to continue, they could lead to serious tensions within national boundaries, and consequently, between nations.

He called upon the industrialized nations to make adjustments in the current economic order to benefit the developing nations, urging action in three major areas:

Trade The developing nations depend for 80 percent of their export earnings on 10 major commodities. Consumers in the industrialized nations pay $200 billion for the final products of raw materials for which producers receive only $30 billion. The $170 billion gap must be reduced.

Monetary Reform The developing nations received only 4 percent of the $102 billion of international monetary reserves created between 1970 and 1974. Monetary reform must take account of development needs.

Aid The industrialized nations should increase the amount of official development assistance to .7 percent of their gross national products, as recommended in the 1969 Pearson Commission report. The western industrialized nations currently devote an average of .3 percent to development assistance, with the United States spending only .23 percent of its gross national product.

Addressing fears that the recipient nations are abusing aid funds, Ambassador Kanakaratne said that the post World War II phase during which aid could be used for personal or political advantage is virtually over. He said that the U. S. government has streamlined the aid process and that recipient nations have improved their end of the operation because their populations are demanding that economic benefits of aid be shared by more people. According to the ambassador, even in nations where governments are not directly accountable to the people through an electoral process, internal pressures have developed to the extent that attention must be paid to the lower echelons of society.

Ambassador Kanakaratne called upon the United States, in its bicentennial year, to mount a massive effort—similar to the post-war Marshall Plan aid to Western Europe—to bring the developing world into the international economic mainstream. Paraphrasing William Pitt the Elder, the British statesman, he said he hoped that Americans would be able to tell their children that "in 1976, the United States saved itself by its exertions and the world by its example."

Restructuring the system

Richard Gardner, Henry L. Moses professor of International Law and Organization at Columbia University praised the new conciliatory approach of the United States toward the developing world as demonstrated by Secretary of State Kissinger's September 1, 1975, message to the Seventh Special Session of the United Nations. But, Kissinger's new approach cannot be reconciled with the rhetoric of Ambassador Daniel P. Moynihan (who recently resigned as U. S. ambassador to the United Nations), Dr. Gardner said. He decried the lack of an effective link between U. S. bilateral and multilateral diplomacy and the apparent reluctance on the part of the United States to use its full diplomatic resources to influence votes on important General Assembly resolutions.

The press has recently reported that Secretary of State Kissinger has set up a special office within the State

Department to keep running watch on the UN voting patterns of developing nations that receive or request U. S. development assistance. Dr. Gardner acknowledged that there may be a conflict between such moves to link UN votes to bilateral assistance levels and the need to depoliticize aid to focus on human needs. But he termed it "unreasonable" to expect the United States to continue assistance programs in a nation engaged in a persistent pattern of irresponsible behavior in multilateral institutions.

Dr. Gardner said that the "Group of 77" (representing actually more than 100 developing nations) have done themselves and the United Nations terrible harm in their rhetorical name-calling. Behavior such as passing a General Assembly resolution equating Zionism with racism has "drawn down to a dangerous level the reserves of idealism and good will of the American people."

The United States must not approach relations with the developing nations on the basis of guilt, Dr. Gardner said. He said that the United States will deal with these nations not because they have been exploited or because they deserve charity, but on the basis of U. S. national interest. The United States needs the developing nations as raw materials suppliers, as markets for U. S. goods, and as constructive partners interested in creating a durable world order in which our institutions and people can flourish.

Many developing nations that rely on a few major commodities whose prices fluctuate drastically in the international market place have called for international agreements setting minimum and maximum prices for these key raw materials. Dr. Gardner termed "political and economic nonsense" commodity agreements setting artificially high prices designed to transfer resources from the industrialized to developing nations, but did endorse commodity agreements stabilizing prices along long-term market trends for the benefit of both producers and consumers. Where prices cannot be stabilized in a way satisfactory for both consumers and producers, efforts can and are being made, he said, to compensate shortfalls in export earnings due to commodity price fluctuations (See Ambassador Greenwald's comments on page 5).

The developing nations should not be stressing commodity agreements, but should be focusing on the central issue of market access, Dr. Gardner said. He urged the developing nations to make common cause with the American consumer and ask the United States to live up to its free market tradition by opening its market to goods produced in the developing nations. He cited World Bank statistics indicating that the foreign exchange earnings of developing nations would increase by $7 billion a year if the western industrialized nations placed no restrictions on imports of primary commodities and processed primary commodities. Moreover, for each percentage point increase in gross national product growth in the industrialized nations, developing nations' earnings would increase an additional $7 billion a year. The most important thing the United States can do for the developing nations in the long run, according to Dr. Gardner's assessment, is to maintain a dynamic and open economy.

Dr. Gardner also cited World Bank figures in estimating the external capital needs of developing nations. The flow of government loans and grants from the industrialized countries to the developing nations is currently about $15 billion annually. That amount needs to be increased by $10 billion if a 3 percent per capita growth is to be achieved in the developing nations, according to World Bank statistics. Based on past action and current budgetary restrictions in Congress, Dr. Gardner believes that even maintaining current levels of bilateral aid could be difficult. So, from where is the capital to come? Dr. Gardner suggested four "bright ideas," some of which have already been partially implemented:

- gold sales in the International Monetary Fund (IMF) with proceeds going to the developing nations;
- an increase in the capability of the World Bank to borrow from the oil-producing nations at market rates and lend to the developing nations at very low rates subsidized by the oil producers and the industrialized nations;
- sharing profits from the mining of ocean resources;
- linking an issue of special drawing rights, the so-called "paper gold" of the international monetary system, to international development.

Dr. Gardner called for a new *internal* economic order in the developing nations. He said a World Bank study shows that the top one-fifth of the population in the industrialized nations control about 40 percent of national income and the bottom 40 percent have about 20 percent of the national income. But in the developing nations, the top one-fifth control 50-60 percent of the national income and the bottom 40 percent have only 12-16 percent of the national income. The United States is trying to target aid programs now to the poorest of the poor, a policy long overdue, according to Dr. Gardner. But, he said, the solution to the distribution problem lies essentially in the hands of the governments of the developing nations.

"The United States must not approach relations with the developing nations on the basis of guilt."

U. S. initiatives toward the Third World

Ambassador Joseph A. Greenwald, Assistant Secretary of State for Economic and Business Affairs, injected a note of caution into the symposium considerations. He said the U. S. government basically accepts the developing nations' case for change, but the problems are too complex to be solved in one or two years.

He cautioned against ideological confrontations and described the Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of States (the document that contains much of the developing nations' demands), which passed the UN General Assembly during the 29th session in 1974, as the "kind of thing that is not going to get us ahead in dealing with specific and practical problems of modifying policies and changing structures." Although supporting the general thrust of the document, the United States joined two other UN members in voting against it because it contained some principles with which the United States could not agree. As an example, Ambassador Greenwald cited as particularly objectionable to the United States a provision calling for the settlement of disputes over compensation for expropriation according to domestic rather than international law.

As the most powerful economy in the world, the United States should take the lead in seeking a new era of international economic cooperation and in providing opportunities for developing nations to share in the benefits and responsibilities of the world economic system, Ambassador Greenwald said. He pointed out several areas where the United States has supported or promoted change:

- The United States has proposed a series of producer/consumer forums to discuss the problems of access to supply and stabilization of commodity prices. The Administration has negotiated the international tin agreement, which is being sent to the Senate for ratification. Other negotiations for agreements on coffee and sugar are being undertaken. The United States is still open to a renewal of negotiations (which recently broke down) on an international cocoa agreement.
- The United States has supported the establishment of an international system of nationally held grain reserves, increased its food aid, and authorized a $200 million contribution to the newly proposed International Fund for Agricultural Development (IFAD).
- In the area of trade, the United States has established a system of generalized tariff preferences to give some of the goods produced by developing nations special tariff treatment. In the multilateral trade negotiations now going on in Geneva, the United States is supporting a special package of tariff reductions on tropical products coming from the developing nations and favors reducing tariffs on processed raw materials to make it possible for developing nations to process more of their materials at home.
- The United States favored the recent liberalization of the International Monetary Fund's compensatory financing facility so that more loans will be available to developing nations undergoing shortfalls in export earnings. The United States also supported the establishment of an IMF Trust Fund financed from a sale of IMF gold to be used by the poorest nations. The Administration will also support the replenishment of the International Finance Corporation (which invests in developing nations), the regional banks and funds, and the International Development Association (the soft loan window of the World Bank).
- In the area of investment, the United States favors the establishment of a code of conduct for multinational corporations, technical assistance for developing nations interested in entering international capital markets, and a multilateral investment insurance scheme.

Ambassador Greenwald said that the Conference on International Economic Cooperation in Paris will be the primary focus of the dialog between the industrialized and the developing nations during the coming months. The advantage of the Paris Conference, as Ambassador Greenwald sees it, lies in its division into four commissions, each made up of fifteen nations from the industrialized and the developing worlds. Unlike the UN General Assembly where 144 nations gather to exchange rhetorical debating points, Ambassador Greenwald said that in Paris "no one on either side will be making speeches for home consumption."

Getting down to specifics—food, trade, energy

What are the areas that need special attention in U. S. relations with the developing nations, and what U. S. policies are needed? Three experts in the areas of food, trade and investment, and energy shared with the symposium their ideas on what can be done where.

Ambassador Edwin Martin, Chairman of the Consultative Group on Food Production and Investment in Developing Countries, said that the world food problem is one of distribution rather than production. "If we have enough good weather and good sense, we will have enough food," he said. "The problem is getting the food into the right stomachs." The poverty of nations and individuals is both the cause and result of the food problem, he said. Malnutrition directly affects productivity and reinforces the cycle. Poor education on what food to eat and how to prepare it, and poor distribution among nations and within nations and families worsen the problem.

Ambassador Martin called for a number of programs to increase the incomes of nations and individuals; to educate people, especially women, on nutrition to change eating habits; to reduce waste and increase the efficiency of the food production and distribution system, and to improve food quality through such measures as fortification or developing hybrid grains with greater protein content. The United States, he said, must keep home food production at maximum levels even if that means price supports for farmers during some years. He said importers and exporters must agree to set aside reserves of grain for lean years, and he rebuked the United States for not having set aside any of the 1975 harvest in case 1976 is not as good. He urged the United States to change

grain export priorities so that in tight supply situations preference can be given to exports to poorer nations over commercial exports to richer nations. The developing nations themselves must be encouraged to produce more food, a major goal of the new International Fund for Agricultural Development (IFAD).

Guy Erb, a senior fellow at the Washington D. C.-based Overseas Development Council (ODC) and an expert on trade and investment, questioned what he said was an underlying assumption of Americans that the United States has answers to the problems of developing nations. "Should a nation which nourishes itself on Fruit Loops and Hostess Twinkies lecture to other nations on nutrition?" he asked. He argued that the United States does not deal well with pockets of poverty at home and that Americans should *not* begin a discussion on development with the presumption that it is the developing nations' problem.

Mr. Erb said that the newly signed tin agreement that will be sent to Congress for ratification will be seen as a bellweather, indicating the general U. S. disposition toward commodity agreements intended to stabilize the prices of key commodities. He noted that the agreement will be strongly opposed in Congress by the tinplating and steel industry.

Mr. Erb said that the generalized system of tariff preferences (GSP), which was put into effect January 1, 1976 and allows selected products from selected developing nations to enter the United States market duty-free, may make a modest contribution to new trade, but does not go far enough. Numerous items of particular interest to developing nations are excluded, such as textiles, shoes, and electronic products, he said. Moreover, ceilings on duty-free imports contained in the GSP system act as a disincentive to new investment in the developing nations. Why should a country or company make the extra effort to increase production, when it knows that if its exports are successful in achieving a certain level, tariffs will once again be imposed?

The United States needs to adopt an overall approach to the trade problem, Mr. Erb said. The main barrier to fundamental trade reform is lack of domestic underpinning and support. Mr. Erb asserted that the United States has "failed dismally" in dealing adequately with the disruption caused by opening U. S. markets to foreign imports. "We cannot afford to have a small group of people bear the brunt of measures which benefit all," he said. The United States must sustain a domestic response to trade with the developing nations by carrying out an adequate adjustment assistance policy and by making fundamental economic shifts that take advantage of the "whole new world of export potential."

James Howe, a senior fellow of the ODC, termed energy "an intrinsically global problem" and proposed that a world energy council be created to consolidate efforts to develop new energy sources. He called for a massive international research effort that would mobilize resources in both industrialized and developing nations. He said the industrialized world could save at least 10 percent, or $150 billion, of expected research and development expenditures if efforts were consolidated.

Mr. Howe also proposed that an International Petroleum Development Fund be established to insure drilling companies against political risk. Nationalistic tendencies make the investment climate today very unstable and, if additional sources of petroleum are to be explored and developed, political risks must be minimized, he said.

During the discussion on petroleum sources, Donald Guertin from Exxon warned that expanding sources of supply is a very slow process. He said Exxon estimates that, even if major efforts are made to develop nuclear sources of energy, the United States will be relying for only 12 percent on nuclear sources and 50 percent on oil for its energy supply by 1990. And most of that 50 percent will come from the Middle East, he added.

During the discussion on energy, Mr. Erb questioned an assumption he saw underlying the discussion. "We are assuming in these predictions that current patterns of consumption will continue," he said. "Sitting around here in shirt sleeves in zero degree weather is an incredible luxury."

Ambassador Martin noted that interdependence exists among sectors as well as among nations. Food, nutrition, energy, trade and family planning are all interrelated subjects. "We cannot satisfy ourselves by plunging ahead on one front and forgetting the other," Ambassador Martin said. "We must keep the total picture in view if we expect to have effective results in any one area."

A look at aid

Arthur Handly of the U. S. Agency for International Development (AID) and Shahid Javid Burki of the World Bank addressed the topic of bilateral and multilateral aid.

U. S. commitment to bilateral assistance to developing nations has long been on the downswing. Mr. Handly reported that ten years ago, the United States contributed .50 percent of its gross national product to development overseas. Now the figure has shrunk to .23 percent.

"It was bad enough when only ONE of them sat on me!"

In answering a question about the reported new U. S. State Department policy linking the UN voting patterns of developing nations to levels of U. S. bilateral aid, Mr. Handly said that politics have always been a part of decisions on bilateral assistance. He said that during interagency discussions on aid programs, for example, the Department of Agriculture questions whether a project will cause competition for U. S. farmers, and the Department of Commerce makes its recommendations based on whether a project spurs U. S. exports. He said that the only thing new about State Department policy is that the department will intensify its scrutiny of this added factor in its conduct of bilateral relations. And, as he pointed out, development assistance is in many cases part of a bilateral relationship.

Ambassador Martin termed the policy "a short-sighted one, if publicly adopted. After we publicly cut off a country, such as Tanzania, they could never vote for us in the United Nations because they will be accused of betraying their nation for filthy American lucre," he said.

Mr. Howe pointed out that Egypt has voted against the United States on some very important UN issues, "and their aid is certainly not being cut." He expressed concern that a "punishment" policy would be applied toward only those very poor countries where our short-term political interests are not directly involved, while richer, more powerful nations' voting patterns would be overlooked.

One way to mitigate the politics of aid giving, according to Mr. Burki, is to channel it through such multilateral institutions as the World Bank and the United Nations Development Program. As things now stand, the United States has special interests in some nations, the oil-producing nations concentrate their aid flows to Islamic nations and those sympathetic on the Middle East question, and the European Community devotes much of its attention to its former colonies. It is becoming increasingly difficult for nations without such ties to obtain aid, he said.

Increased trade opportunities are not necessarily the answer to the poverty of the 37 poorest nations, according to Mr. Burki. Neither commodity agreements nor a generalized system of tariff preferences will do much for the jute, tea, oilseed, and banana producers of the world. "Capital requirements for these nations will be acute in coming years, and needs can only be met from the outside," Mr. Burki said.

Internal distribution of wealth, an often expressed concern of the symposium, is indeed a problem, Mr. Burki acknowledged. Nations such as Taiwan, Korea, and Sri Lanka have brought about significant redistribution, because their leadership elite has no interest in maintaining the status quo. But in several other nations, progress has been minimal. "Institutional constraints perverting the development effort must be eliminated, or any amount of outside resources won't make that much difference in alleviating the problem of poverty," he said.

"We are at the front edge of a revolutionary period."

A view from Congress, labor and business

How does a politician view the split between the rich and the poor nations? Congressman Edward G. Biester (R-Penn) shared some provocative thoughts on how the current debate fits into what he sees as an ongoing historical process. During the Bronze Age, kings did pretty well, he noted. They had heated homes, servants, good wine and food, and comfortable beds. Egyptian lords, Asian potentates, and African chiefs probably lived equally well. But how many people in the world lived so comfortably during that period? Only about 2,000 or 3,000 at the most. Today, hundreds of millions of people live that well and better. The process we are participating in today, he said, is nothing new—it is part of an ongoing process of expanding the numbers of people who are able to achieve adequate living standards.

What is new, according to Congressman Biester, is an increase in the potential for dynamic change because both the rich and poor have become increasingly aware of the differences between them. "We are at the front edge of a revolutionary period in which the poorest countries and the middle poor countries of the world have determined that they will no longer wait for our grace in terms of our participation in their hopes for changes," he said.

Rep. Biester said there are two kinds of politicians in a revolution—those that get shot and those that do not. If there is one thing in which politicians should be expert, he said, it is in discovering what it is those who are angriest want and knowing how to begin the process of a dialog to co-opt the revolution and transform it into a somewhat less violent, less dangerous upheaval.

Elizabeth Jager, an economist with the AFL-CIO, took exception to the idea that the United States is a rich nation. "I find it shocking that people can live in abstractions and talk about the world of tomorrow when they cannot see the horror growing around them," she said. She said that the current rate of unemployment, ranging from 5 percent to 12 percent in every major industry in the United States, is intolerable. She criticized the symposium for having ignored the "dominant players in the world today—the multinational corporations." She said that the AFL-CIO is not opposed to helping people in other nations, but that a so-called free trade philosophy helps only the multinationals, not the people.

She said that the AFL-CIO opposed the generalized system of preferences (GSP) and is working to have it repealed. In her opinion, the GSP is another of the many preferences that encourage American multinationals to locate overseas and eliminate American jobs. Closed political systems, tax incentives, and U. S. government investment insurance combine with oppressively low wages to make developing nations highly desirable locations for U. S. business, she said.

Multinational corporations have argued that their overseas investments have increased U. S. export potential and have therefore had the net effect of increasing American jobs. Ms. Jager said the AFL-CIO totally rejects this argument. "I have seen jobs go in the past 25 years which have never been

Five worlds in one

"THE FIRST WORLD includes the advanced industrial nations of Europe, North America and Asia that accept a more or less capitalist, market-oriented economy. The U. S., Canada, Japan, most of the nations of Western Europe, New Zealand and Australia clearly qualify. South Africa, Portugal, Greece, Spain and Argentina are borderline cases.

"THE SECOND WORLD includes the 1.3 billion people of the world's centrally planned, Communist-run nations, with the exception of Yugoslavia, which has a somewhat mixed economy.

"THE THIRD WORLD, with 620 million inhabitants, is made up of a large body of still poor states that need time and technology, rather than massive foreign aid, to build modern, developed economies. The nations in this category include the revenue-rich members of OPEC (Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries), as well as states whose development may be guaranteed by other key natural resources: Zaire and Zambia (copper), Morocco (phosphates), Malaysia (tin, rubber and timber). Into this group also fall nations like Taiwan, Singapore, South Korea, Mexico and Brazil, which are developed enough to attract foreign investment and borrow on commercial terms.

"THE FOURTH WORLD* contains the LDCs [developing nations] that have some raw materials, some modern economic infrastructure and some trained technocrats and administrators and thus could eventually achieve self-sustaining economic growth. But unlike Third World countries, they need significant financial help and special treatment by the industrial powers to spur exports of their goods and imports of technology. This group, with a population of 930 million, includes Peru, the Dominican Republic, Liberia, Jordan, Egypt, Thailand and Guinea-Bissau.

"THE FIFTH WORLD* countries, comprising 175 million inhabitants, are the globe's true basket cases, perhaps doomed to remain on a permanent dole. They have few, if any, easily exploitable resources to sell abroad, and most are seemingly unable to grow enough food to feed themselves. The most notable catastrophe countries are Mali, Chad, Ethiopia, Somalia, Rwanda and Bangladesh."

TIME Magazine
December 22, 1975

*In recent years, the number of "worlds" in which nations are grouped has proliferated from three to the five shown above. For many years after World War II, the "third world" referred to all of the so-called "nonaligned" nations. Later these nations were divided according to national wealth and stage of economic development into the "third world" and the "fourth world." Now some development experts have made a fifth delineation to describe the poorest nations whose problems vary in content and magnitude from those of the rest of the world.

replaced, and new industries have not come in to take up the slack," she said. The AFL-CIO does not want to destroy business, however, and is "interested in regulation rather than elimination of the multinational corporation," she said.

Japan is an often-cited example of a nation that overcomes somewhat more easily than the United States, the dislocations caused by changing patterns of international trade. Congressman Biester cited a conversation he had had with a Japanese banker who had recently been in Europe. Europeans had expressed the fear that Japan would soon dominate the electronics industry in Europe. The banker said that would be impossible; Japan is now a net importer of electronics. Japanese electronics businesses have relocated to Taiwan, Hong Kong, East Africa and Korea where less expensive labor makes the labor-intensive products more competitive. And the Japanese economy, more centrally managed than the U. S. economy, concentrates its efforts in areas where it *can* be competitive. The movement of labor-intensive industries to developing nations may be an inexorable process that cannot be stopped, according to Congressman Biester.

"We should not be wringing our hands about the capacity of the American economy to be dynamic," Rep. Biester said. He cited the watch industry as a primary example of an industry, once thought dead, revitalized through innovation and new technology.

Unemployment has increased around the world, Mr. Guertin from Exxon pointed out. The increase is due primarily to economic recession rather than the operations of multinational corporations. He expressed the view that there is probably no net effect of overseas investment on total employment in the United States; jobs are both eliminated and created. That does not mean, however, that attention should not be paid to individuals or communities ill-affected by increased imports, he said.

William Barton, President of International Business-Government Counsellors, Inc., defended the multinational corporation as one of the major supporters of industrial development around the world. "The multinational corporation would like to see living standards raised around the world," he said. "Raised living standards mean more business and greater stability in which to do business."

Mr. Barton acknowledged that the multinational firm has come under increasing attack in the developing nations. But, he said, many developing nations have contradictory goals. They want a transfer of technology but they also want to be able to expropriate investment with impunity. The U. S. government has no technology; it is held in the private sector by such firms as International Harvester, General Motors, and International Business Machines. So the developing nations must create a climate in which technology can be transferred through the private sector, he said. "Sure, the multinationals are willing to make adjustments in ownership and management, and many things the developing nations complain about may be justified, but let the companies operate under certain conditions that insure the companies' benefit as well."

Mr. Barton criticized the developing nations for misunderstanding the dynamic nature of wealth. He said they have

"As women, we are all living in developing nations."

been demanding a transfer of wealth without realizing that wealth is a day-to-day application of technology, hard work, and good management. What they really need, he said, is the concept of *producing* wealth rather than the wealth itself. He also called for an internal crack-down on corruption and inefficiency in developing nations' governments and a fairer distribution of wealth within nations. "The President of Mexico stresses the need for a redistribution of world wealth, but his country is one of the worst examples of maldistribution of internal wealth," Mr. Barton said.

Mallica Vajrathon from the United Nations Fund for Population Activities said she found Mr. Barton's views somewhat surprising. "You call for a greater internal distribution of wealth, and that means socialism. But when nations become more socialistic, the U. S. government shouts in the United Nations that the world is becoming anti-democratic," she said. Moreover, she said, corruption also exists in the United States and undermines the credibility of the United States' view of itself as the moral leader of the world.

Population and the status of women

As the bearers of children, the food buyers, sellers and preparers, and in many cases the agricultural workers, women in the developing nations play an indispensable role in the development process. But their needs and aspirations are often overlooked by the development experts from individual nations and from the UN system, according to Ms. Vajrathon who made a slide presentation on population programs and women in an evening session.

Awareness of self-worth is the most important contribution a development program can make to the education of women in developing nations, she said. While reading and writing may be important, it is essential that women realize they play an integral role in the functioning of their national economies and that, through bargaining, they can better their living standards. She belittled what has appeared in many countries to be the final solution to female unemployment in developing nations—the weaving or sewing of handicrafts. "Handicrafts are neither the most economical use of labor nor the most useful product to a developing nation," she said. "Why not teach women laborers to build something designed to improve living conditions, to sell in the local market?"

A communications expert, Ms. Vajrathon showed a series of slides demonstrating the male bias of numerous population control programs in developing nations. Family planning was invariably shown to be an advantage to the male for economic reasons and an advantage to the female as a means to enhance her sex appeal. She said many of the educational materials reinforce western sex stereotypes of a weak and dependent woman who must rely on a strong, determined man to make decisions affecting her well-being.

The situations of women in various nations are somewhat different, Ms. Vajrathon pointed out. In Pakistan and Bangladesh, women, especially those who are uneducated, are subservient to their husbands in every way. In Latin America, women have somewhat more freedom but the work they perform is primarily domestic. In Africa and Southeast Asia, even illiterate women are in business; they participate in the economy by growing, buying and selling food either as farmers or market women.

Ms. Vajrathon read the story of a 53-year old American woman whose husband died after a long and expensive illness. She was left with no money, no widow's pension, and did not qualify for social security until she was 60. "She had raised two children and had 31 years working experience in the home which qualified her only for domestic work," Ms. Vajrathon said. "And there is unfortunately a certain stigma in this country attached to domestic work."

What do women have in common across the world? Women live in societies where they have no power, where they invest their lives in a man rather than in themselves. "As women, we are all living in developing nations," Ms. Vajrathon said.

Planning the encounter back home

Participants spent the final day of the symposium devising strategies to bring some of the issues touched upon at Wingspread to the attention of their local communities across the country. They received tips, suggestions, and warnings from a panel of community education experts.

Carol Toussaint, Vice Chairman of the LWV Education Fund, urged the League participants to adopt their local media as allies in their education efforts. Learning what is newsworthy and knowing how to be newsmakers are the keys to media success. She suggested that League members take the four radio tapes produced by the Wingspread staff during the symposium to their community commercial and public radio stations to be aired locally. Contacts with press, radio, and TV should be maintained on a regular basis to find out what newspeople are interested in and how League members can match League and media needs.

A note of warning came from Jayne Millar Wood who urged that a period of individual and organizational reflection should precede and strengthen any action undertaken. Perceptions of a problem can dictate solutions, she said. For example, a person who perceives a hunger problem will recommend one solution. A person who perceives an underdevelopment problem will work toward another solution. And a person who sees, as some of the developing nations do, a problem of exploitation and oppression will react still differently. Some will talk about charity and compassion; others will call for justice and equality. She raised a series of questions that could serve as the basis of reflection:

What does development mean to the 3 billion people living in poverty and the 1 billion living in wealth in the world?

What does interdependence mean to me personally and how does it affect my community?

What are the meaning and the implications of the new international economic order? What are the costs and benefits? What do the people in the developing nations really want?

What are our preconceptions about developing nations, multinational corporations, labor? Are we educating to reinforce stereotypes?

Are we ready to change lifestyles ourselves?

Ted Weihe, staff specialist for the League of Women Voters of the United States, pointed out the different kinds of action—legislative, executive, and litigative—that can be taken to follow-up community education efforts. In the international relations area, he said, the League can be most effective in working on legislation at the national level.

Topics that will be coming up in the area of U.S. relations with the developing nations are development assistance legislation, reform of the Food for Peace (PL 480) program, ratification of international commodity agreements, trade legislation related to the ongoing multilateral trade talks taking place in Geneva, and legislation relating to U.S. participation in the United Nations and to UN funding.

Virginia Saurwein, chief of the Nongovernmental Organization Liaison Office of the United Nations Development Program, suggested that Leagues look beyond national publications for information on international economic issues and recommended easily obtainable sources of foreign news (see *Resources* below). She urged that in devising strategies participants choose only one or two aspects of the many complex problems raised in the new international economic order, to avoid overwhelming interested people at the local level. She stressed that global/community links must be made in any educational effort on international issues to bring the reality of current and future change into the daily thinking of individual Americans.

Sketching a plan

The League participants divided into groups and were assigned the task of devising innovative but realistic plans of community education on the issues discussed by the symposium. After two hours of discussion, the groups reported their results to the plenary.

A Community Resource Center League members working with other interested groups in the community could set up a community resource center to be used by students, teachers, civic groups and interested individuals to display up-to-date magazines, books, posters, films and other materials relating to development. The resource center could also keep a current list of speakers, including members of the community who had traveled overseas or who had developed a special expertise, available to speak to students or civic groups.

Community-to-Country Relationship Participants in this group said that international issues seem far removed and abstract to people in local communities. They would recommend coping with this problem by narrowing the focus of a one or two-year educational program on U.S. relations with the developing nations. Each local League in a designated community or region could select only one particular developing nation on which to focus its attention. The local League could study and direct community attention to the lifestyle, income distribution, and exports of the selected country as well as the effects of American activities in the nation such as bilateral development assistance and the role of U. S./based industries. Some of the theoretical questions (Does aid get to the people? Does multinational investment help or hinder the economy?) could be researched in relation to the one specific nation. The League could invite nationals from that country, U.S. government officials involved in relations with the country, and U.S. businessmen doing business there to speak at public meetings. The local League would try to involve the local business and labor community as well as the schools in the study. (One way to involve the schools, for example, is to sponsor a poster exchange program—to be conducted between elementary school children in the U.S. and the particular developing nation—with students drawing scenes of daily life in their own country.) After a period of research and study, participating local Leagues would meet at the state or regional level to pool their research and to discuss and report back to their communities differences in findings. These results would then be shared with other Leagues throughout the country.

Area Workshops A group of League leaders from each state could be trained through a series of regional workshops across the country to discuss the topic of economic development with the general public. They could concentrate on communicating only one or two basic issues, such as trade problems of developing nations, or the downward trend of U.S. development assistance, and would raise as many questions as they would be expected to answer. The state-level League group could travel to local communities throughout the state to talk to local Leagues and other interested community groups.

Slide Presentation Each state League could prepare a slide presentation which would incorporate information prepared at the national office of the League or by the United Nations. The slides, however, would be prepared by the state League and would concentrate on making the global/local connection by relating community issues to international economic development. The slide presentation would point out "development" problems in the state and in other nations, and the economic relationships between developing nations and the state's industry, business, and labor. The slide presentation could be made available to local Leagues, schools and civic groups to be used as a stimulus to discussion.

Interviews and Question-Asking The League would make a nationwide effort to sensitize people to the new issues in U. S. relations with the developing nations and to some of the basic questions Jayne Wood raised in her presentation. This would be done through asking candidates for national office in public forums their thinking on the topic. Local Leagues would also conduct in their communities public opinion samplings on the issues, making results known through the local media and in reports to Congressional representatives, and stimulating community discussion and effective media coverage of the issues and the basic choices involved. The League as an organization could, through a national study, educate its own members to be aware of the links between international economic issues and other League concerns in the area of energy, environmental quality, land use, and human resources.

"Too frequently . . . the problems of development are divorced from the people they affect."

The send-off

As the final speaker, Dr. Carol Edler Baumann urged League members to continue to educate and mobilize the public on foreign policy issues. The experiences of Watergate and Vietnam demonstrated a "deepseated official distrust of popular judgment" which has now come full circle, she said. "The previous distrust of the people by government has now become mirrored in a general distrust of government by the people." She called for a new consensus in foreign policy, not as a substitute for public debate but as the *goal* of such debate.

League members have in the past done much more than read and hear about the problems of international economic development, she said. "You have been in the forefront of the legislative battle for more effective policies to deal with these problems."

Dr. Baumann cited economic and political reasons why the United States should be concerned with U.S. relations with the developing nations and why the American public must be involved in the debate. But the most important reason—and the one which is sometimes lost in the theoretical and technical discussions of a symposium such as the League's—is the human dimension:

"Too frequently, I think, the problems of development are divorced from the people they actually affect. Complex by nature and embedded in a statistical morass of economics and politics, those problems somehow become separated in our own minds from individual human beings. Yet all of us, whether in person or through the media, have witnessed the vivid and morally-degrading illustrations of the human dimensions—the disease-ridden and starving bodies of children without medicine or food, the illiterate minds and empty hands of farmers and laborers without education or work and the broken and desperate spirits of men and women without hope. These are the human costs and values of what this symposium is all about. The problems of development are the problems of human beings—and those human beings are the very first and foremost of the reasons why.

"It is equally true that it is those human reasons which make actions necessary. The American concern in all of this must be, above all, a moral concern. And in this year, more than in any other, it is important that we do not lose sight of that moral heritage which we all share. At its base, the American body politic remains grounded in the precepts of Western liberal democracy, which at its worst may sometimes fail in practice, but at its best proclaims the equality of all men. And the conscience of that body politic has always been tied to an ethical belief based upon the brotherhood of man. That ethic embraces but extends beyond organized religion just as it embraces but extends beyond the confines of this continent. If we actually ascribe to that ethic—if we believe in it—it is then morally imperative that we also act upon it—at home and abroad."

Symposium participants

(with affiliations at the time of the Wingspread Symposium)

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Martha Aasen, United Nations Observer, LWVUS
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Kathryn Christopherson, President, Overseas Education Fund of the LWV
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Edwin Martin, Chairman, Consultative Group on Food Production Investment in Developing Countries, Washington, D. C.
Virginia Saurwein, Chief, Non-Governmental Organization Liaison Office, United Nations Development Program, New York
Mallica Vajrathon, Population Communication Officer, United Nations Fund for Population Activities, New York
Jayne Millar Wood, Director, Public Education, Overseas Development Council, Washington, D. C.

Special guests

Donald Guertin, Senior Planning Advisor, Exxon Corporation
David Meissner, Editorial Writer, *The Milwaukee Journal*
Peter Riddleberger, Public Affairs Advisor, International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, Washington, D. C.
Ruth Robbins, Chairman, National Convention Arrangements Committee, LWVUS, New York.
Glen J. Skovholt, Director, Legislative Analysis and Planning, Honeywell, Inc.
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Leslie Paffrath, President
Rita Goodman, Vice President – Area Programs
Henry Halsted, Vice President – Program
Kay Mauer, Conference Coordinator

Resources used or suggested for use at the symposium

Books, articles and periodicals

Beyond Dependency – The Developing World Speaks Out, The Overseas Development Council (ODC), 1717 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W., Washington, D. C. 20036. $3.95.

The U. S. and World Development – Agenda for Action 1975. ODC, (see address above), $4.50.

The United States and World Development – Agenda for Action 1976, ODC, (see address above), $4.25.

World Food Insecurity: Has Anything Happened Since Rome? Communique on Development Issues, #27, ODC, (see address above), 10¢/copy.

A Study and Action Pack for World Development, United Nations Development Programme Information Division, United Nations, New York, 10017. $2.

Integration of Women in Development: Why, When, How, Ester Boserup and Christina Liljencrantz, United Nations Development Programme Information Division, (see address above).

"The United States and the Third World: A Basis for Accomodation." Tom J. Farer, *Foreign Affairs* Magazine, October 1975.

"Economic Report/U. S. takes steps to meet demand of Third World nations," Richard Frank, *National Journal,* October 25, 1975.

"The New Cold War," Irving Kristol, *The Wall Street Journal,* July 17, 1975.

"Facts and Fallacies about Foreign Aid," Office of Public Affairs, Agency for International Development, Washington, D. C. 20520.

"Global Consensus and Economic Development," an address by Secretary of State Henry A. Kissinger to the Seventh Special Session of the UN General Assembly, September 1, 1975. Bureau of Public Affairs, Office of Media Service, Department of State, Washington, D. C. 20520.

"The U. S. in the World Economy," Foreign Policy Association, *Great Decisions '76,* 345 East 46th Street, New York, NY 10017.

"Poor vs. Rich: A New Global Conflict," *Time* Magazine, December 22, 1975.

The Interdependent, the monthly newspaper of the United Nations Association, 346 East 46th Street, New York, NY 10017. Regular subscription rate is $5 yearly; student rate $4; bulk rate $3/subscription for 10 or more going to the same address.

LWVEF Publications

"Food/People: The Troublesome Equation," *Update International,* #550, 35¢.

"UN: Are There Cracks in the Glass House?" *Update International,* #570, 35¢.

"Development Aid: Will It Be Caught in the Crunch?" *Update International,* #596, 25¢.

"UN: Wrapping Up The Thirtieth," International Relations Wrap-up, #604, 20¢.

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

Films:

"A New Bargain" Scenes alternate between theoretical discussions on economic development taking place at a meeting of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD) and examples of specific economic problems in a developing country. Order from National Film Board of Canada, 1251 Avenue of the Americas, 16th Floor, New York, NY 10020. Color. 28 minutes. $30 rental.

"3900 Million and One" Examines the problem of overpopulation through the eyes of an Indian family. Order from Oxfam, 302 Columbus Avenue, Boston, Massachusetts 02116. Color. 60 minutes. $25 rental.

Order from League of Women Voters of the United States—1730 M Street, N.W., Washington, D. C. 20036. Pub. No. 682, 75¢

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memorandum

September 1976
THIS IS GOING ON DPM

TO: State and Local League Presidents

FROM: Ruth Robbins, IR Chairman

I am pleased to announce that the United Nations Association of the United States (UNA-USA) has made available special materials which should provide invaluable background information for League resource committees working on the upcoming UN study consensus.

As you may know, UNA-USA is a private, non-profit organization, dedicated to broadening understanding of the United Nations and its activities. UNA is kindly providing one packet of material free of charge for each state and local League and subscribers to DPM.

Additional packets may be obtained at $3.50 each (including postage and handling) from UNA-USA, Dept. L, 345 East 46th Street, New York, New York, 10017. Materials included are listed below and may be ordered separately (minimum order $1):

"The Third World Coalition: Myth or Monolith?" 50¢ each

"Restructuring and Reform in the United Nations: Proposals, Purposes and Prospects" 50¢ each

Fact Sheets on: 25¢ each

--Southern Africa
--Middle East
--peacekeeping
--the World Bank Group
--financing the UN system
--comparative contributions to the UN
--U.S. contributions to the UN
--the UN Charter
--UN structure chart (insert in "Restructuring and Reform in the United Nations")
--UN structure sheet (membership, etc.)
--glossary of economic terms
--the UN Under Attack-The Questions and Some Answers
--publications list which includes other materials available from UNA-USA

UNA USA 345 EAST 46th STREET, NEW YORK, NEW YORK 10017 (212) OX 7-3232

The United Nations and the "UN System" at a Glance

SEPTEMBER 1976

Abbreviation	I. The UN Proper.
GA	*__General Assembly__ composed of all members (now 144). Can make recommendations on any international question. Binding power to adopt UN budget, apportion UN expenses and, with Security Council, elect Secretary-General, admit and expel members. Decisions by two-thirds (sometimes simple) majority; members have 1 vote regardless of size. Has created numerous operating agencies, mostly financed by "voluntary" (not assessed) government contributions, each with own governing body; principal ones are listed below. GA has also sponsored world conferences on environment, food, women's rights, human settlements; treaty conferences on human rights, law of the sea, outer space, arms control; and promotes world law through International Law Commission.
UNDP	__UN Development Program__ at $350 million a year is largest operating program originated by GA. It provides technical aid in over 100 LDCs; projects are executed mainly by specialized agencies of UN (see below). UNDP also administers __UN Fund for Population Activities__ (UNFPA) to aid demographic and family planning work at request of LDCs, and __UN Volunteers__ program, an "international peace corps" which recruits young volunteers for work in LDCs.
UNICEF	__UN Children's Fund__ operates health, education, other services for mothers and children.
WFP	__World Food Program__ distributes food and money to promote development. Related in purpose is larger __International Fund for Agricultural Development__ now entering operational stage.
UNEP	__UN Environment Program__ conducts environmental research and helps LDCs on environmental aspects of development.
UNFDA	__UN Fund for Drug Abuse Control__ supports international action against illegal narcotics trade.
UNHCR	__UN High Commissioner for Refugees__ coordinates refugee care, resettlement, repatriation by governments and voluntary agencies world-wide.
UNRWA	__UN Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees__ runs refugee camps and aid for over 1 million Palestinians.
UNDRO	__UN Disaster Relief Organization__ coordinates relief in earthquakes, floods, etc.
UNCTAD	__UN Conference on Trade and Development__ is research, technical aid, and negotiating body on many development problems with emphasis on trade.
UNIDO	__UN Industrial Development Organization__ runs small technical aid program for LDC industries. Slated to become a self governing Specialized Agency.
UNITAR UNU	Two research and training institutions, __UN Institute for Training and Research__ and recently founded __UN University__, conduct UN-oriented studies, train diplomats and development specialists, support development-related research.
SC	*__Security Council__ of 15 members bears a primary responsibility for maintaining international peace and security, directing common action against aggression, threats to peace, etc. Can require member states to cooperate in action against offending states, but has rarely invoked this power. Resolutions require affirmative votes of any 9 members, *provided* none of 5 permanent members casts negative vote (veto). (GA, veto-free, can adopt non-binding resolutions on peace and security issues and frequently does so.)

*Basic organ established by UN Charter.

ECOSOC *__Economic and Social Council__ under GA, coordinates economic, social, humanitarian, human rights work in UN System; drafts conventions; oversees work of 4 regional economic commissions; etc. Initiated UN Population Conference, 1974. 54 members. Annual report to GA is big part of GA agenda. Commissions report through ECOSOC on Human Rights, Social Development, Status of Women, etc. Two month-long sessions yearly.

TC *__Trusteeship Council__, at one time was overseer of self-determination of 11 Trust Territories. Now oversees only US-administered Pacific Islands and has little to do.

*__Secretariat__, headed by GA-elected __Secretary-General__ (SG), is administrative arm of all main UN organs. SG also a unique center of UN diplomacy. Some 11,000 employees, 4,200 at N.Y. headquarters.

ICJ *__International Court of Justice__ (in The Hague) decides international legal disputes when parties accept its jurisdiction. US has never done so, has had no cases before Court. Court has issued some major advisory opinions at GA and SC request.

II. The UN System. This inclusive term embraces economic and other non-political functions of the UN proper *plus* a dozen autonomous *specialized and related agencies* (headquartered in Geneva, Washington, Paris, Rome, Vienna, London), with membership similar to UN's but each with own statute, budget, assessments, governing body and secretariat. Most powerful are World Bank (IBRD), main source of multilateral loans to LDCs, and International Monetary Fund; big powers are protected in both by weighted voting. Other major specialized agencies include World Health Organization (WHO), Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO), UN Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), International Labor Organization (ILO).

III. Budgets. 1975 expenditures by category:

UN – Assessed (Regular) Budget	$264 million
Specialized Agencies (mostly assessed + some voluntary)	350 million
UN Development Program + other development-related programs (voluntary funds)	714 million
Refugees, Disaster Relief (voluntary)	139 million
Peacekeeping Operations (voluntary)	100 million
Total, assessed and voluntary (of which U.S. contributes $415 million = $26.5%)	$1,566 million

*Basic organ established by UN Charter.

THE WOMEN'S UNITED NATIONS RALLY
Board of Directors

invites you to attend the ANNUAL FALL TEA

as the guests of

Governor and Mrs. Wendell Anderson

at the Governor's Residence

1006 Summit Avenue
St. Paul

Friday, September 10, 1976

1:00 p.m.

Peggy Carlin, Vice President of the United Nations Association of the United States, from New York, will be with us at the Tea to bring us a message from the United Nations Association of the U. S.

Also

The program for the United Nations Rally on Friday, October 29, at the St. Paul Radisson Hotel, will be announced.

Table reservations will be taken for the Rally, and tickets will be distributed to organization representatives.

Reservations are necessary. Please mail yours in now!

Late reservations or cancellations, call Marge Sell at 426-3448.
If no answer, call the U.N. office (24 hours a day) at 333-2824.

- **Synchronize program and budget cycles** in the score of agencies comprising the UN system. (Each of these now does its own programming and budgeting as it pleases, under its own governing body, with the loose and largely ineffective coordination of ECOSOC's Committee on Program and Coordination [CPC] and an inter-secretariat Administrative Committee on Coordination.)
- **Increase LDC voting power** in the World Bank and International Monetary Fund, where voting is weighted by financial contributions. (Action to increase the voting shares of the oil-rich LDCs was initiated last year in the Fund and should be completed shortly, with the World Bank following suit. Under the plan, the OPEC members' combined share will rise from the present 5 percent to about 10 percent, the difference to be absorbed by the U.S. and other industrial powers.)
- Aim at transforming UNCTAD and GATT into a comprehensive **International Trade Organization** to regulate commodity trade, employment, capital flows, etc. — a favorite project of UNCTAD and many LDCs.

The Seventh Special Session took no stand on these proposals. Instead it set up a Committee on Restructuring, open to all members, to study the experts' report and other proposals and make recommendations to the 31st Assembly this September. The Committee was immersed in negotiations as these words were written.

It seems doubtful that fully agreed recommendations will emerge in 1976. However, some areas of agreement are apparent. The three main voices in the restructuring talks — the U.S., the European Nine, and the Group of 77 — all agree that by one means or another the specialized agencies' role in the development process must be better coordinated. All agree on an enhanced coordinating role for ECOSOC. All would move some way toward a more centralized command over operations.

How soon any such reforms can be translated into real improvements in the UN system will depend primarily on that intangible but vital ingredient known in UN debates as "political will". Do the UN members, North and South, realize their mutual need keenly enough to carry through on the agreements envisaged at the Seventh Special Session on such matters as commodity trade, monetary policy, private investment, resource development, transfer of technology, etc? Or are we entering still another period of mutual mistrust and jockeying for positions?

The U.S. State Department, despite political turbulence at home and abroad and continuing resistance from the Treasury, has sought to hew to the affirmative line laid down by Secretary of State Kissinger in September 1975. The current policy stance reflects the widespread hope that a search for common ground with the LDCs, if persevered in, will call forth conciliatory leadership from the opposite camp — and that the world will thereby be spared new confrontations in which development issues could become hopelessly tangled with explosive struggles over oil and Middle East and African politics. The outlook for UN restructuring is closely bound up with that hope.

SEPTEMBER, 1976

UNA-USA 345 EAST 46th STREET, NEW YORK, NEW YORK 10017 (212) OX 7-3232

RESTRUCTURING AND REFORM IN THE UNITED NATIONS: PROPOSALS, PURPOSES AND PROSPECTS

Wallace Irwin Jr.

Restructuring, reform, streamlining — words like these are again being heard at the United Nations, which has been called "the most complicated organization in the world." Such words have been spoken so often at the UN that they have lost some of their credibility. Despite occasional spasms of tidying up, most of the UN's organizational changes in the past have only piled new agencies, programs and committees on top of the old.

Will any better result emerge this time? With all the soul-searching now under way at the UN and in member governments, the answer just might be yes. In any case, it is timely to look into the matter. What kinds of changes are being proposed, and for what purposes? What are the chances of significant reforms? What is it that makes reform so difficult? These are the broad questions this paper will try to answer.

The Context: Cross-Purposes

An organization is unlikely to accept the pain of reorganization if its members lack a sense of common purpose. Why scrape the barnacles off the ship if the passengers can't agree on where they are going? For a decade this has been the UN's predicament. As it opened its doors to the historic influx of newly independent states — now about half of the 144 members — new lines of conflict formed between the heavily outnumbered non-communist industrial powers of the world's "North" and the new majority of the "South."* The majority, most of whom carry little weight in the scales of world power but who govern most of the world's people, found a collective weapon: their overwhelming voting power in the General Assembly. Most of them could unite their votes against the North on three major subjects: economic development, Arab grievances against Israel, and African grievances against the white rulers in southern Africa.

This North-South cleavage caused a major credibility crisis for the UN. Year after year, the gap between Southern voting power and Northern economic-strategic power became more obvious. Time after time, in dramatic voting confrontations, resolutions containing words like "decides" and "demands" were overwhelmingly adopted against Northern opposition but proved impossible to carry out. Whether the majority was chiefly to blame for being too extravagant and peremptory in its demands, or the powerful minority for being too inattentive, the result was to further enfeeble the UN.

However, the organization seemed to turn a corner in 1973-75 when the countries of OPEC placed a more potent weapon at the disposal of the South — the leverage of oil. Faced with this new fact of power, the U.S. and other countries of the North joined with moderates of the South at the Seventh Special Session of the General Assembly (September 1975) to negotiate Resolution 3362, a hard-fought compromise looking toward long-term North-South cooperation in crucial issues of trade, development and raw materials.

Thus the missing sense of common purpose began to reappear — at least on the basic problem of economic relations between rich nations and poor. Whether this is a false dawn or a real one, and whether similar movement toward accommodation will follow in the two other great trouble areas, the Middle East and southern Africa, remains to be seen. But enough has been achieved to raise new hopes for the UN as an instrument of its members' common aims.

Three Aims of UN Reform

A look at past and proposed changes in UN structure shows that their authors have had in mind three distinct kinds of purpose.

First: *To gain more influence on UN decisions.* This is the most political aspect of UN reform. The North, where it enjoys a weighted-voting advantage (notably in the World Bank and Fund and the International Atomic Energy Agency, where votes are proportionate to contributions), seeks to maintain these advantages. But in the General Assembly and other bodies where they are outvoted, the Northern powers argue for negotiated "consensus" decisions acceptable to all factions. The South, on the other hand, mistrusts too much stress on consensus as likely to expose its still inferior bargaining position, and jealously defends its right to exploit its massive voting advantage in the Assembly on issues it is not ready to settle.

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*The caucus in which the less developed countries (LDCs) coordinate their economic positions in the UN, called the Group of 77 ever since it formed in 1964, now numbers about 110. It includes all the ex-colonies admitted since the UN's founding, plus some original members, especially Latin American. Over 80 of this group also belong to the Nonaligned Conference which concerts policies on political issues. A dozen Soviet bloc votes, plus China, usually join the South on key North-South votes.

Second: *To perform new functions.* Both North and South have from time to time favored creating new UN institutions to serve emerging global needs. Their priorities, however, are different. The North lays stress on needs arising from advancing technology: environmental management, food supply, population control, seabed exploitation, etc. Developing countries stress industrialization, trade, and other activities in support of development. Between them, these impulses have already crowded the UN system with agencies and sectoral funds that cry out for coordination.

Third: *To promote efficiency.* Noboby is on record against efficiency, but the main emphasis on it comes from those who pay the biggest share of the bills. The South, while agreeing on its importance, suspects Northern stress on it as a veiled excuse for reducing financial contributions.

These sometimes conflicting purposes should be kept in mind in considering the three main approaches to UN reform and restructuring discussed on the following pages.

Charter Review and the Security Council Veto

From the UN's formative days, small powers have generally disliked one provision of the Charter above all: the naming of five powers (the U.S., the Soviet Union, Britain, France and China) as permanent members of the Security Council, each with power to veto a Council decision. To gain majority support for this unpopular clause, the big powers conceded to the General Assembly the power of recommendation on any international question – plus the power to convene a conference to review the Charter. The latter concession, however, was more symbolic than real, since any of the five can veto any Charter amendment. No review conference has ever been called, and the only Charter amendments yet adopted are those enlarging the Security Council and ECOSOC to reflect expanding UN membership.

However, the *idea* of basic Charter revision refuses to die. Since 1969, the subject has been raised annually in the Assembly by Colombia, the Philippines, Romania and others. In 1974 the Assembly formed a special committee on the subject, whose second (and probably far from last) report will come before the 31st General Assembly this fall. Despite the bleak outlook for basic reforms, the sponsors value this exercise as a way to remind the "big five" (only two of which are world powers) that their privileged Security Council status is widely resented and should not be abused. In a deeper sense, it also keeps alive a basic question which must one day be faced: whether the UN's loose structure and limited powers are adequate to the needs of the world community.

In the Charter committee's debates, the U.S. and others have stressed the UN's proven capacity to innovate without amending the Charter. The point is also made that many existing mechanisms, notably the International Court of Justice (ICJ, also called the World Court) and other instruments of peaceful settlement, might work very well if only the members would use them. But these instruments can be used only when all parties consent. Nations have proved especially reluctant to submit to binding judicial settlement – by the ICJ or any other international tribunal – disputes in which they see a chance to fare better by negotiation and/or political-military pressure. The United States, by the Connally reservation attached to its 1946 ratification of the ICJ statute, reserved the right to refuse the Court's jurisdiction in any case brought against it. Many nations have taken a similar stand. Thus, in 30 years, the Court has rendered judgments in only 24 contentious cases, none involving the U.S.

General Assembly: Streamlining Procedures

A chronic target of reform proposals is the 144-nation General Assembly, the supreme organ of the UN in all international matters except those being dealt with by the Security Council. Because of its expanding membership, the immense scope of its concerns, and its receptiveness to virtually any agenda item a member may propose, the Assembly in its annual 13-week session bears a staggering load.

In 1969 Canada told the Assembly it was "drowning in a sea of words," and called for yet another attempt to streamline its procedures. Like similar efforts in 1949, 1953, and 1963, this one produced only small improvements. Four years later, France's Ambassador Louis de Guiringaud could still complain about the "drawbacks of adopting so many short-lived resolutions – virtually unreadable and sometimes not read even by their sponsors." And in 1975, at the end of the 30th session, Assembly President Gaston Thorn of Luxembourg pleaded with his colleagues: "Once and for all a strong breath of fresh air should be allowed to pass through our agenda so as to rid it of all the dead leaves it contains . . . A similar operation is necessary regarding the resolutions . . . We are mistaken if we think that quantity means richness and seriousness in our work."

Reformers have long urged shortening the annual Assembly session, reducing the size of committees, and letting each annual session elect the general (steering) committee for the next – in time to winnow the agenda and be a true preparatory committee. Lacking such reforms, the proliferation of agenda items and often redundant resolutions goes on unchecked, as these figures suggest:

Year	GA Session	UN Members	Agenda Items	Resolutions Adopted
1955	X	76	66	88
1970	XXV	127	101	131
1975	XXX	144	125	179

Despite these frustrations, there is no sign of a major new effort to streamline the Assembly. Indeed, a case can be made that the Assembly's troubles do not stem from faulty procedures. This same Assembly has, after all, done notable things over the years: launched two major peackeeping operations, created important humanitarian and development programs, initiated historic negotiations on the law of the sea, launched "consciousness-raising" world conferences on the human environment and the rights of women, issued historic declarations on human rights and the ending of colonialism, and negotiated the crucial 1975 compromise on North-South economic cooperation. Its procedures seem good enough when the members want to use them for a common purpose. Its often stupefying redundancy appears chiefly on issues in sharp dispute and not ripe for settlement. Being rooted in politics, this kind of redundancy is hard to reduce by procedural reform, necessary though the effort is.

Economic and Social "Restructuring"

It is in the vast economic and social realm that the UN today displays its acutest need – and perhaps its liveliest hope – for meaningful reform. The need is by no means new. For many years the organization has wrestled with such questions as these:

- How to foster sound national development planning at the country level.
- How to integrate capital, technology, trade, and other necessary external inputs into a strategy of development for over 100 developing countries with widely different problems.
- How to assure social development, environmental protection, and other quality-of-life factors due weight along with sheer economic growth.
- How to harmonize in one process all the development aid programs of over a dozen autonomous UN and regional agencies and funds, as well as bilateral aid programs of major countries.
- How to get reliable evaluations of the performance of UN programs.
- How to enable the 54-nation Economic and Social Council to fulfill its Charter role as the central coordinating body for all UN economic and social activities.

Such questions became more urgent as the first Development Decade (1961-70) gathered momentum. Questions were raised about the capacity of the UN Development Program to coordinate and deliver effective development aid. In 1970 Sir Robert Jackson of Australia completed for the Assembly a far-reaching study of this "capacity" question. He urged major reforms, including (1) centralized command in the head of UNDP over all UN system development aid; and (2) at the country level, a parallel centralization of all UN agency programs under the UNDP resident representative. Some of the Jackson ideas were partly implemented, but much remains undone.

Unfortunately, in recent years the outlook for reform has suffered indirectly, but substantially, from reactions in U.S. public opinion against a succession of UN actions perceived by many as hostile to this country – from the expulsion of Nationalist China in 1971 to the "Zionism equals racism" resolution of 1975. As a result, Congress has been increasingly unenthusiastic about voting contributions to development programs – efficient or not – bearing the UN label. This has further decreased U.S. influence on the reorganization question.

Despite these difficulties, an important new effort to cope with the UN organization problem began in December 1973. The General Assembly, responding to OPEC's powerful espousal of the LDCs' cause, called for a special Assembly session in 1975 on economic cooperation and development. One task of this Seventh Special Session, which met in September 1975, was to examine "structural changes to make the United Nations system a more effective instrument" for economic cooperation and development. To pave the way, a 25-member Group of Experts wrote a report on "A New United Nations Structure for Global Economic Cooperation". Among its wide-ranging proposals were these:

- **Streamline ECOSOC** as the UN system's central coordinating and policy organ; simplify its organization and give it authority over all UN development-oriented funds.
- Set up "consultative groups" of key nations under ECOSOC to negotiate disputed economic issues, with up to two years to reach a workable consensus. (If such groups had been functioning within the UN framework, it might have been unnecessary to go outside the UN to set up, for example, the 27-nation Conference on International Economic Cooperation which opened in Paris last December to deal with North-South trade and raw materials issues.)
- **Consolidate all development funds**, except UNICEF, in a single UN Development Authority responsible to ECOSOC, and abolish the separate governing bodies.
- **Appoint a Director-General**, ranking next to the Secretary-General, to command all UN Secretariat economic and social work and coordinate that of the entire UN System. (At present these functions are divided among various officials, chiefly the Under-Secretary for Economic and Social Affairs, the Administrator of UNDP, and another Under-Secretary in charge of inter-agency coordination.)

UNA-USA

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UNITED NATIONS ASSOCIATION of the UNITED STATES of AMERICA

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UN STRUCTURE SHEET – 1976

Total UN Membership: 144 Nations – *Indicates New Member.

Afghanistan
Albania
Algeria
Argentina
Australia
Austria
Bahrain
Bahamas
Bangladesh
Barbados
Belgium
Benin (Dahomey)
Bhutan
Bolivia
Botswana
Brazil
Bulgaria
Burma
Burundi
Byelorussian SSR
Cambodia
Canada
*Cape Verde
Central African Republic
Chad
Chile
China
Colombia
*Comoro Islands
Congo (People's Republic of the)
Costa Rica
Cuba
Cyprus
Czechoslovakia
Denmark
Dominican Republic
Ecuador
Egypt
El Salvador
Equatorial Guinea
Ethiopia
Fiji
Finland
France
Gabon
Gambia
German Democratic Republic
Germany, Federal Republic of
Ghana
Greece
Grenada
Guatemala
Guinea
Guinea-Bissau
Guyana
Haiti
Honduras
Hungary
Iceland
India
Indonesia
Iran
Iraq
Ireland
Israel
Italy
Ivory Coast
Jamaica
Japan
Jordan
Kenya
Kuwait
Lao People's Democratic Republic
Lebanon
Lesotho
Liberia
Libya
Luxembourg
Madagascar
Malawi
Malasia
Maldive Islands
Mali
Malta
Mauritania
Mauritius
Mexico
Mongolia
Morocco
*Mozambique
Nepal
Netherlands
New Zealand
Nicaragua
Niger
Nigeria
Norway
Oman
Pakistan
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Swaziland
Sweden
Syria
Thailand
Togo
Trinidad & Tobago
Tunisia
Turkey
Uganda
Ukranian SSR
Union of Soviet Socialist Republics
United Arab Emirates
United Kingdom
United Republic of Cameroon
United Republic of Tanzania
United States
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Venezuela
Yemen
Yugoslavia
Zaire (Democratic Republic of the Congo)
Zambia

30th GENERAL ASSEMBLY

(September 1975 – September 1976)

President of the 30th General Assembly – Gaston Thorn, Luxembourg

Vice Presidents (17) – Bahrain, Bangladesh, Barbados, Bulgaria, China, Cuba, France, Mongolia, Mozambique, Norway, Peru, Senegal, Tunisia, USSR, United Kingdom, United States, Zaire

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Committees	Chairman:
First (Political and Security; regulation of armaments)	Edouard Ghorrah (Lebanon)
Special Political (shares work of First Committee)	Roberto Martinez Ordonez (Honduras)
Second (Economic and Financial)	Olof Rydbeck (Sweden)
Third (Social, Humanitarian and Cultural)	Ladislav Smid (Czechoslovakia)
Fourth (Trusteeship, non-self governing territories)	Mrs. Famah J. Joka-Bangura (Sierra Leone)
Fifth (Administrative and Budgetary)	Christopher R. Thomas (Trinidad & Tobago)
Sixth (Legal)	Frank X. Njenga (Kenya)

SECURITY COUNCIL

15 members: 5 (*) designated in the Charter as permanent, 10 elected for two-year terms by General Assembly.

Benin (1977)
China *
France *
Guyana (1976)
Italy (1976)
Japan (1976)
Libya (1977)
Pakistan (1977)
Panama (1977)
Romania (1977)
Sweden (1976)
Tanzania (1976)
USSR *
United Kingdom *
United States *

ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL COUNCIL

54 members, elected for three-year terms by the General Assembly.

Afghanistan (1978)
Algeria (1978)
Argentina (1977)
Australia (1976)
Austria (1978)
Bangladesh (1978)
Belgium (1976)
Bolivia (1978)
Brazil (1978)
Bulgaria (1977)
Canada (1977)
China (1977)
Colombia (1976)
Congo (1976)
Cuba (1978)
Czechoslovakia (1977)
Democratic Yemen (1976)
Denmark (1977)
Ecuador (1977)
Egypt (1976)
Ethiopia (1977)
France (1978)
Gabon (1977)
German Democratic Republic (1976)
Germany (Federal Republic of) (1978)
Greece (1978)
Iran (1976)
Italy (1976)
Ivory Coast (1976)
Jamaica (1976)
Japan (1977)
Jordan (1976)
Kenya (1977)
Liberia (1976)
Malaysia (1978)
Mexico (1976)
Nigeria (1978)
Norway (1977)
Pakistan (1977)
Peru (1977)
Portugal (1978)
Romania (1976)
Thailand (1976)
Togo (1978)
Tunisia (1978)
Uganda (1978)
USSR (1977)
United Kingdom (1977)
United States (1976)
Venezuela (1978)
Yemen (1977)
Yugoslavia (1978)
Zaire (1977)
Zambia (1976)

TRUSTEESHIP COUNCIL

5 members: 1(*) is the State administering a Trust Territory, 4 are the non-administering permanent members of the Security Council.

China France USSR United Kingdom United States*

SECRETARIAT

Secretary-General Kurt Waldheim (Austria)

Under-Secretaries-General: (in alphabetical order)

William Buffum (United States) — Political and General Assembly Affairs
Gamani Corea (Sri Lanka) — UN Conference on Trade and Development
George F. Davidson (Canada) — Administration and Management
Issoufou Saidou Djermakoye (Niger) — Office of Technical Co-operation
Roberto E. Guyer (Argentina) — Special Political Affairs
Bohdan Lewandowski (Poland) — Conference Services
F. Bradford Morse (United States) — Administrator, UN Development Program
C. V. Narasimhan (India) — Office for Inter-Agency Affairs and Co-ordination
Dr. Davidson Nicol (Sierra Leone) — UN Institute for Training and Research
Arkady N. Shevchenko (USSR) — Political and Security Council Affairs
Eric Suy (Belgium) — Legal Counsel
Tang Ming-Chao (China) — Political Affairs and Decolonization
Mostafa Kamal Tolba (Egypt) — Executive Director, UN Environment Program
Gabriel Van Laethem (France) — Economic and Social Affairs
Vittorio Winspeare Guicciardi (Italy) — Director-General of the UN Office at Geneva
Bernado Zuleta (Colombia) — Special Representative of the Secretary-General at the 3rd UN Conference on the Law of the Sea

INTERNATIONAL COURT OF JUSTICE

15 members elected by the General Assembly and the Security Council for nine-year terms.

Frederico de Castro (Spain) (1979)
Hardy C. Dillard (United States) (1979)
Taslim O. Elias (Nigeria) (1985)
Isaac Forster (Senegal) (1982)
Andre Gros (France) (1982)
Louis Ignacio-Pinto (Benin) (1979)
Eduardo Jimenez de Arechaga (Uruguay) (1979)
Manfred Lachs (Poland) (1985)
Platon D. Morozov (USSR) (1979)
Hermann Mosler (Germany, Federal Rep. of) (1985)
Shigeru Oda (Japan) (1985)
Jose Maria Ruda (Argentina) (1982)
Nagendra Singh (India) (1982)
Salah El Dine Tarazi (Syria) (1985)
Sir Humphrey Waldock (United Kingdom) (1982)

SPECIALIZED AGENCIES

FAO Food and Agriculture Organization
Headquarters: Via delle Terme di Caracalla-00100, Rome, Italy
Regional Office for North America
1325 C St. S.W., Washington, D.C. 20437

IBRD International Bank for Reconstruction and Development
Headquarters: 1818 H St. N.W., Washington, D.C. 20433
New York Office: Suite 1559, 120 Broadway
15th Floor, New York, N.Y. 10005 Tele: 964-6100

ICAO International Civil Aviation Organization
Headquarters: International Aviation Building
1080 University St., Montreal 3, Quebec, Canada

IDA International Development Association
Headquarters: 1818 H St. N.W. Washington, D.C. 20433

IFC International Finance Corporation
Headquarters: 1818 H St. N.W., Washington, D.C. 20433

ILO International Labor Organization
Headquarters: 154 rue de Lausanne, Geneva, Switzerland
New York Office: 345 East 46th St., New York, New York 10017, Telephone: OX 7-0150

IMCO Inter-Governmental Maritime Consultative Organization
Headquarters: 101-104 Piccadilly, London, W.1, England

IMF International Monetary Fund
Headquarters: 19th & H Sts., N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20431

ITU International Telecommunications Union
Headquarters: Place des Nations
1211 Geneva, 20, Switzerland

UNESCO United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
Headquarters: UNESCO House
Place de Fontenoy, Paris 7e, France

UPU Universal Postal Union
Headquarters: Schosshaldenstrasse 46,
Berne 15, Switzerland

WHO World Health Organization
Headquarters: 20 Avenue Appia
1211 Geneva, Switzerland

WMO World Meteorological Organization
Headquarters: World Meteorological Org.
41 Avenue Giuseppe Motta,
Geneva, Switzerland

IAEA International Atomic Energy Agency
Headquarters: Kaerntnerring 11
A-1010 Vienna, Austria
Liaison Office at United Nations, N.Y.

WIPO World Intellectual Property Organ

THE UNITED STATES AND THE THIRD WORLD: A BASIS FOR ACCOMMODATION

By Tom J. Farer *

THE United States has passed in the last decade from the United Nation's most influential state into a position of accelerating isolation as it confronts a very large proportion of the member states over a long agenda of contemporary issues. This is a truly novel development, one which threatens to poison international relations at a time that shrieks with the need for uniquely broad essays in international cooperation.

Three issues shape what may be called the North-South confrontation. One is the question of how global income and wealth and decision-making authority with respect to international economic problems should be distributed. A second issue is the attitude of the United States toward the two white-supremacist regimes in Southern Africa. And the third is the U.S. role in the Arab-Israeli conflict. Although each issue represents a distinct axis of confrontation, they are linked by a single world view, a kind of ideology, which imparts to them an intense emotional coherence. That ideology is not, as suggested recently by Ambassador Moynihan, "socialist," unless one follows Durkheim in defining socialism not as a political program but rather as "a cry of pain." It does indeed incorporate certain themes which recur in British socialist thought, just as it patches in a number of conventionally liberal ideals such as self-determination. But socialist and liberal fragments are reshaped by a special historical experience to produce in practice a distinct amalgam which can most usefully be described as the developing states in fact describe it: "anticolonialism."

II

The paramount objective of the anticolonialist amalgam is the eradication of all the conditions and insignia of inequality and humiliation associated in the minds of the Southern elites with the epoch of European domination. This objective guides Southern positions across a broad spectrum of contemporary issues.

One vivid illustration of the adaptation of a Western liberal theme to the felt exigencies of anticolonialism is the contrasting attitude toward inequality and the deprivation of human rights in the white enclaves of Southern Africa, on the one hand, and various Third World states on the other. While the government of Burundi, for instance, was busily exterminating the entire elite of that country's

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majority tribe, its President received a message from the Council of Ministers of the Organization for African Unity stating that: "Thanks to your saving action, peace will be rapidly reestablished, national unity will be consolidated, and territorial integrity will be preserved." Uganda and Bangladesh could be added to the list of massacres ignored by all but a handful of Third World leaders.

The causes of immutable antagonism to South Africa and Rhodesia are evident: those societies are the residue of the European migrations which occurred during the colonial epoch, and they exemplify the racial subordination which added a special edge to colonial domination. Hence Africans everywhere participate vicariously in the travail of the suppressed black populations.

Sympathetic involvement naturally attenuates where the persecutors, as well as the victims, are non-white. But that in itself does not explain the resolute determination of the Southern bloc to ignore barbarous delinquencies committed by certain of its member governments. Something more positive than indifference is at work here. These delinquencies are, in the first place, an enormous embarrassment and a serious wound to the anticolonial movement because they seem to confirm the propaganda claims of the white racist regimes about the consequences of the loss of white supremacy. Although the wiser tactic might be to assume the lead in condemning the barbarity and proposing remedial measures, the evident instinct is to pretend it is not happening.

Perhaps that reaction stems in large measure from an inability to intervene to terminate the delinquency. Since developing states cannot intervene themselves, a call for remedial action must be addressed to the West, the homeland of colonialism. That alternative is intolerable, first for psychological reasons and secondly for the very practical one of avoiding any erosion of the barriers against intervention which the Third World has been busily constructing for the past fifteen years. The Southern elites have not forgotten that "humanitarian intervention" has been one of the favored legal and rhetorical justifications for Western interventions in the Southern Hemisphere in defense of political and economic interests. It was, for instance, one of the announced justifications for U.S. intervention in the Dominican Republic.

Fearing intervention in its own vulnerable polities, yet wanting it in South Africa, the Southern bloc has relentlessly deployed its legal and rhetorical ingenuity to impose a unique status on the southern African cases and thus to isolate the resulting precedents. Consistent with this effort was the refusal, prior to 1971, to expand the General Assembly's list of national liberation movements beyond those at

work in South Africa, Rhodesia, and the Portuguese Territories.

Burgeoning support in the Third World for the Arab states and the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) in their struggle with Israel also owes much to the anticolonialist world view. Yasir Arafat's address to the General Assembly a year ago culminated an accelerating shift in moral perception confirmed two years before by General Assembly Resolution 2787 (XVII) which for the first time included the "Palestinian people" in an authoritative enumeration of national liberation movements: i.e., those struggling "for . . . liberation from colonial and foreign domination and alien subjugation."

The PLO's legitimation could not have been accomplished without the support of the African caucus. To believe that its support for the PLO reflects simply a desperate need for petrodollars rather than any sense of moral solidarity is to practice self-deception. For some African leaders, need or greed would be enough. But not for all, not for men of such fierce moral commitment as Kaunda of Zambia and Nyerere of Tanzania.

Not many years ago, most African states, including Tanzania, enjoyed distinctly cordial relations with Israel. Israeli agricultural advisers surveyed the possibility of adapting the kibbutz to the necessities of Tanzania's rural development program. Its military advisers trained counterinsurgency forces in Ethiopia and elite paratroop units in Zaïre. Trade missions proliferated. Today, the missions and advisers, even the thinnest diplomatic relations, all are gone.

What, other than the pull of petrodollars, can explain this *volte face*? In part, there is here a certain guilt by association. At the same time that the gradual movement of European states, especially France, toward neutrality was leaving the United States as almost the only sure source of Israeli support, the United States was shuffling ostentatiously closer to colonialism and apartheid in South Africa. In this way, the issues became linked in the African mind. The Arab bloc helped along that linkage by offering heightened support for the struggle against the white regimes, a matter which, until 1973, had evoked its yawning indifference.

But that is only part of the explanation. The shift in African attitudes toward the Middle East conflict also arises, on the one hand, from the evolution of a coherent political-military organization able to incarnate a Palestinian identity and, on the other, the determined denial of that identity by Israeli officials, most notoriously by Golda Meir. This forged a second perceived link between the Israeli and South African cases. Much as South Africa sought to enhance its claims and fragment its indigenous opposition by describing its non-

white population as a collection of separate nationalities, Israeli rhetoric tended to impose on the Palestinians the nationalities of the various states of their Diaspora.

Before the rise of the PLO, most non-Arab governments saw the Arab-Israeli issue as a problem of interstate relations with a refugee dimension. But after 1967, when the PLO ceased to be a passive instrument of one or another Arab state, Palestinians generally began to think of themselves as a nation rather than simply the former inhabitants of Haifa or Jerusalem or some obscure village from which they or their parents had fled years ago; then they assumed the familiar characteristics of a true national independence movement.

One of those characteristics is a distinct territory to which the PLO can lay claim. Most non-Arab states were not disposed to challenge the legitimacy of the frontiers carved out by the Israelis in 1948 in defense of rights accorded to them by the United Nations. So as long as the remainder of the West Bank of Mandate Palestine was seen to be part of Jordan, the Palestinians had difficulty associating themselves with a territory widely perceived to be legitimately theirs. Israeli occupation of the West Bank and the justifications announced by some authoritative Israelis for keeping at least a part of the seized territory helped to expose the tenuous moral and legal basis for Jordanian suzerainty. The net result was to make the occupied territory seem available for appropriation by Arab Palestinians. Thus the Palestinian people, having acquired almost simultaneously both a recognizable political personality and a potential territorial base, could be integrated into the anticolonial honor roll.

Taken seriously, anticolonialism helps to explain the moral double standard, the obsessive concern with developments in the white enclaves of Southern Africa, and the crystallization of a politicized sympathy among many Southern Hemisphere elites for non-Jewish Palestinians. But as a key to understanding it is even more useful in the economic realm which is today the main battleground for the United States and the Third World. Most dramatically, it is this sentiment that has helped greatly to glue together a solid front of Third World support for the exercise of monopoly power by the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC). In comparison with its destructive impact on the majority of non-Arab developing states, the stratospheric leap of oil prices is little more than a minor inconvenience to the West. Yet when Westerners speak of military intervention to lower the price for *all* users, or even of concentrated economic pressures to that end, one listens in vain for any sign of Southern support.

The silence of some oil-poor countries may be attributable to their hope of participating in an effective producer's cartel for another Southern product. But there are at least several dozen states which have not the slightest hope of exploiting the OPEC precedent, and there are many others for whom the prospect of an effective cartel is decidedly remote. Then why the deep reservoir of sympathy for OPEC?

By describing North-South disputes concerning economic issues as a struggle over the distribution of wealth, Northern analysts assimilate them into a familiar form of social conflict. But if nothing more were at stake, one would anticipate defections from the Southern bloc particularly on an issue like oil prices. If, however, one returns to the conception of anticolonialism as an elite's deeply emotional response to a sense of humiliation, then solidarity ceases to be surprising, or at least no more surprising in its way than solidarity among classes in Western states during the two world wars. Perhaps it should be even less surprising, because while a member of the English working class could attribute particular privations to the policies of the upper classes—at a minimum, the bloody suppression of his strikes—the life-style of elites in oil-poor states is largely unaffected by the price of oil. Only the masses suffer and they do not make or seriously influence foreign policy.

It is far less surprising for yet another reason. The average Englishman had never met a Hun. His animosity was entirely vicarious. But all Southern elites have experienced immediately one or more facets of colonial behavior, if not outright domination then at least a searing patronization. They are the leaders of countries once alleged by Western scholars and diplomats to be incapable of participating in the international legal system because they were not "civilized states." They spring from peoples to whom the Laws of War did not apply according to the diktat of the West. They and their countrymen have been and remain to this day objects of study by the cultural institutions of the West. For hundreds of years they have been people to whom things happen. And that is in significant measure why all cheer when a few of their number find the strength to stand up and lash out at the source of their historical torment.

In this respect, close-to universal Southern support for OPEC is only one sign of the subordination of economic interests to ideological preoccupations. A second is the incessant campaign against the obligation, enshrined in the classical system of international law, to compensate the alien owners of expropriated property.

The very fact that most Western scholars and diplomats speak of

the obligation as if its existence were unquestioned is a sign of an earlier epoch's ethnocentrism. Latin American governments and scholars consistently urged the view that international law required nothing more than equality of treatment for indigenous and foreign investors. Yet, although they pulled all the right buttons on the international legal console and pedaled vigorously, they might as well have been silent for all the effect they had on the views expounded in Western universities and chancelleries or, for that matter, on the gunboats and marines dispatched periodically to enforce the "law."

Recent changes in both theory and behavior, centering particularly on methods for evaluating expropriated enterprises, have opened the door to compromise. So far, no one has walked in. As evidenced in the debate over the Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of States, adopted in December 1974 by the U.N. General Assembly, the Southern bloc continues to demand Western acknowledgment of the death of the international standard. One is reminded of the old Welsh proverb: "The dumb will wait a long time at the door of the deaf."

George Lichtheim was right when he wrote: "No ruling class can function without a creed." One facet of the creed of the ruling class in the West is the sanctity of property. Third World elites know that. Hence they must be fairly confident that they will not secure the acknowledgment they seek. Moreover, even if through some accelerated atrophy of will the United States made the demanded concession, so far as the North-South transfer of wealth is concerned little if anything would have been gained.

What, after all, are the main restraints on confiscation? Clearly not the threat of force. That option was interred in 1956 when the Anglo-French entente flinched at Suez. Nor, in most cases, is it the threatened loss of bilateral economic assistance, the proportions of which have shrunk to the edge of insignificance for most Southern nations. Rather it is the threatened loss of private credit and private investment. And that risk cannot be affected by a formally recognized change in the legal standard. Whatever the standard, private capital will not flow to states ruled by regimes with a penchant for confiscation.

If, as suggested, the issue of compensation is at best marginally relevant to the distribution of wealth and, in any event, the Southern bloc is waging a campaign which it cannot hope to win unequivocally, its furious persistence must reflect something more than a set of shrewdly calculated economic claims. What it does reflect, I would submit, is the claim to autonomy, to insulation from appraisal, let alone intervention, by the governments of Western capitalist states. It is, in short, a collective cry of defiance.

III

Are there positions available to the United States within the confines defined by its history, its ideology and its domestic politics which, if adopted, would moderate its acerb dialogue with the developing states and thus enhance the prospects for cooperation on the global issues which will not submit to unilateral or even regional manipulation?

If anticolonialism, as defined above, is in fact the paramount source of cohesion in the Third World, one necessary consequence is the intense links it forges among all the issues which it touches. Hence, the successful accommodation of U.S.-Third World differences on some issues would necessarily enhance the prospects for accommodation all along the line. A second corollary of the main proposition is the importance of gestures. It is not only what the United States does that matters; what it says also counts. After all, some of the most damaging humiliations of the colonial relationship were a function of Western rhetoric and the patronizing and contemptuous attitudes which it embodied and to a not inconsiderable extent continues to embody. It is, for instance, still commonplace for Anglo-American "experts" on the Arab world to refer to the "Arab mind" as if it were an unchanging and slightly bizarre object of disinterested study. Yet, as Arab intellectuals wryly note, if one were to speak of a "Jewish mind" there would be an immediate outcry from organs of respectable opinion against the sort of crude stereotyping which the term implies.

The single issue most readily susceptible to accommodation is U.S. policy toward the white-supremacist regimes of Southern Africa. By its consistent behavior, the United States has managed in two decades to transform its image from that of Black Africa's best friend in the West to its most dangerous adversary. Most of the hard work was accomplished during the national stewardship of Richard Nixon and Henry Kissinger.

Early evidence of their tilt toward increased cooperation with the triumvirate of South Africa, pre-1974 Portugal and the illegal Smith regime in Rhodesia was the failure to mobilize effective opposition to the chrome amendment, which opened the doors of the U.S. economy to the full range of Rhodesian mineral exports in clear violation of our obligations under the U.N. Charter. Another piece of hard evidence was Washington's loosening of the ban on the sale of military hardware to the Portuguese and the South Africans. Items clearly susceptible to military applications, including computers (for many years banned for security reasons from East-West trade), light planes,

and helicopters, were treated as civilian products. In addition, large commercial planes were sold to the Portuguese with no restriction on their use as troop carriers and with the expectation that they would in fact be used for that purpose.

The tilt was magnified by the strident, largely isolated position hacked out by the United States in response to a series of General Assembly resolutions on the situation in Southern Africa. For instance, in 1973, at the 28th session of the Assembly, the Afro-Asian bloc introduced a resolution calling for the formation of a commission of inquiry concerning the reported massacres in Mozambique carried out by the Portuguese army (Res. 3114). It was passed by a vote of 104 to 4 with 12 abstentions. The United States joined Portugal, South Africa, and Spain in casting the four negative votes.

During the same session, the Afro-Asian bloc introduced three resolutions on the Rhodesian situation. The United States opposed all three, including one condemning South Africa and Portugal for violating sanctions imposed by the Security Council—violations established by incontestable evidence—and calling on all states to comply strictly with the economic embargo. On one vote it was joined by Portugal, South Africa, and the United Kingdom; on another, this group was swelled by the addition of France. And on the third, the United States could muster no company other than the pariahs of prerevolutionary Portugal and South Africa.

The following year, with South Africa out of action and Portugal rehabilitated, the United States found itself utterly alone when it voted against a toughened iteration of the Assembly's earlier request for a comprehensive embargo on arms for South Africa (Res. 3324, Para. B). Even a plea for the release of political prisoners in South Africa could not summon U.S. support. The vote was 118 to 0, with two abstentions—the United States and Malawi (Res. 3324, Para. C).

Accommodation is possible here because Black African leaders ask so little of the United States. And much of that little is essentially rhetorical. So modest a gesture as endorsing the view championed by Kaunda and Nyerere that when all peaceful means have been exhausted, any oppressed people may turn legitimately to violence as a last recourse would transform the tone of our relations with the African caucus. And what is such a statement other than a reaffirmation of the Declaration of Independence? Yet the U.S. government continues to insist on a "peaceful solution" in such a way as to imply hostility to violence under any circumstances, thus distorting its own historical traditions while contributing nothing to the "peaceful solution."

Another modest gesture, one even more clearly within the bounds of domestic political realities, would be a determined effort by the Administration to secure repeal of the chrome amendment and to prosecute energetically any U.S.-related companies and individuals who conspire to evade the economic sanctions mandated by the Security Council. The failure of the U.S. government to meet its treaty commitments in this regard makes a mockery of its critique of procedural irregularities at the United Nations. Not only would this return to legality assuage African bitterness, but it would have the additional merit of fortifying respect for the sanctity of international agreements, a matter of some considerable importance to a powerful state preferring order over change.

There are an array of other low-cost measures available to an American Administration which placed significant value on the amelioration of its relations with the Third World. On the material side, it could widen the ban on the sale of military goods to South Africa; this could be accomplished by employing definitions of strategic goods used in the past to restrict sales to China and the Soviet Union. It could also follow the British lead in using the country's foreign intelligence apparatus to detect violations of Rhodesian sanctions by the nationals of other states. And it could initiate special educational programs openly designed to prepare black Rhodesians, Namibians and South Africans for the assumption of political, administrative, and highly skilled technical roles in societies purged of white-supremacist conceits.

On the symbolic side, it could agree to join the United Nations Council on Namibia, it could declare its opposition to any South African-imposed solution for the Namibian problem which would fragment the country and concentrate its natural resources in minority hands, and it could not merely support but actively sponsor resolutions in the political organs of the United Nations calling on South Africa for the release of political prisoners and the progressive elimination of racial criteria for the enjoyment of social, economic, and cultural rights.

These modest steps would not commit us to a particular political solution. Nor would they be inconsistent with frank acknowledgment that the unique historical circumstances of South Africa make it difficult to safeguard the rights of all its peoples within the context of a single centralized state. We would simply be taking a stand on behalf of a fair division of that tragic country's vast resources, a result which might be achieved by a variety of electoral mechanisms and an equitable allocation of territory. Since opposition to ethnic and racial dis-

crimination flows directly, albeit sporadically, from our central moral tradition, it should command the support of authentic conservatives as well as liberals.

Right now the question of the Palestinians stands at the other end of the spectrum of tractability. The Israeli government and almost surely a large majority of its electorate are convinced that a wholly independent Palestinian presence on the West Bank represents an intolerable threat to the security of the Israeli state.

Many Israelis cite declarations of the PLO to prove that the Palestinians categorically reject coexistence. Yet many of the same Israelis deride the PLO's claim to represent the Palestinian people. One cannot have it both ways, particularly when one has done everything in one's power to prevent the Palestinians from acquiring a political form in which they could at least speak for themselves. The Israelis some years ago dismantled an Arab nationalist party within their own state and have effectively suppressed political activities on the West Bank since the beginning of the occupation.

There is, moreover, the question of mutual recognition. While the rudimentary organs of self-expression now possessed by the Palestinians withhold recognition of Israel, their mirror image is the government of Israel which, since the failure of partition, has generally denied that the Palestinians are a distinct people with a peculiar historical attachment to the villages and towns and cities of Mandate Palestine rather than an essentially indistinguishable part of the surrounding Arab world.

In private, Palestinian intellectuals often insist that official Israeli recognition that non-Jewish Palestinians also have legitimate territorial claims on the West Bank would open the door to genuine reconciliation. Yet one cannot fault the Israelis for hesitating. They accepted the original United Nations decision to divide the land. They were compelled to fight in defense of the land ceded to them. And to this day even the ablest and most morally sensitive Arabs, after alleging their grudging acceptance of Israel as an immutable fact, in the next breath wistfully imagine the ultimate "peaceful" assimilation of Israel into a larger state system in which Judaism would lose its political form.

There is every reason to take seriously the stated determination of Israel to fight yet a fifth war rather than concede on issues deemed fundamental to its long-term security. The present Israeli government may be erroneously calculating the risks of negotiating directly with the Palestinians or of recognizing in any other way their right to self-determination in the West Bank occupied territories. But so

long as it hews to the view that such recognition threatens vital security interests, the ability of the United States to remove the issue of the Palestinians from its confrontation agenda with the Third World is powerfully circumscribed. Domestic political realities, moral commitments, international credibility, and the threat to Western interests immanent in any outbreak of conflict in the Middle East—all preclude the theoretical option of abandonment.

On the other hand, the United States need not act as if it were completely paralyzed by Israeli immobility. In the end, the Arab-Israeli conflict can be resolved peacefully only by agreement over the repartition of Palestine. Suppose the United States were openly to characterize the conflict in these terms while coincidentally announcing its resolve not to exercise leverage on behalf of partition until the Arabs demonstrate that they are at last reconciled to it. Such a gesture might simultaneously strengthen our relations with the major Arab states while bolstering those political forces within Israel willing, for moral and practical reasons, to explore the grounds for compromise with their fellow Palestinians. But its main virtue would be to soften our image as an intractable opponent of change by indicating that whatever we may think of their present set of leaders, we are not deaf to the appeals of the Palestinian people.

IV

There are few more contentious questions in American public life today than the possibility and desirability of accommodation with the Third World on so-called economic issues.

The anti-accommodationists, exemplified in the writings of Patrick Moynihan and Irving Kristol, argue along the following lines: The Third World is attempting to extort—through economic blackmail, moral bullying, and outright theft—a portion of the West's legitimately acquired wealth. The declared justification for redistributive claims, compensation for colonial and neocolonial exploitation, has no basis in fact. As Kristol, echoing Moynihan, has declared, Third World "economies do less well than they ought: . . . the difference is of their own making and no one else's, and no claim on anyone else arises in consequence." The West's failure to reject this justification simply encourages ever more arrogant, extortionate demands. Gestures of accommodation, both rhetorical and substantive, are construed by the Third World as evidence of a loss of will. Which, in fact, they are. And so the demands, by their nature insatiable for there is no practical limit to the "reparations" which can be justified under the theory of compensation, can only grow.

While rhetorical accommodation is said to sap our will while bolstering theirs, substantive accommodation is said to have still more serious consequences. A "New International Economic Order" designed to equalize rather than to produce wealth will undermine the incentives to efficiency, rationality, fiscal discipline and hard work which lie at the root of the First World's productivity and hence of its wealth. In absolute terms, the economic decline of the West is detrimental to the Third World as well. But that will not affect the views of Third World elites because they are essentially disinterested in productivity. What matters to them are relative shares. Now is the time to take a stand, it is claimed. If we consent to new structures which simultaneously shrink the economic pie and leave a smaller percentage in the hands of the West, it will be progressively more difficult to resist at a later date.

Implicit, sometimes explicit, in this line of argument is the claim that the developed states still deploy sufficient power to resist the Third World's redistributive efforts. The latter is portrayed largely as a paper tiger, faking it with éclat, to be sure, but still faking it. Precisely why we should regard the Southern bloc in this light has yet to be adequately explained. In the writings of Kristol and Moynihan and other such neo-conservatives one looks in vain for a serious effort to project the costs of the coercive measures required to assure continuing access to the resources and growing markets of the Third World. Seemingly buried in their subconscious is the idea that colonial rule was relinquished as an act of grace. In fact, as John Strachey and other students of imperialism have demonstrated, the colonial retreat was a grudging concession that once the Third World became infected with the virus of self-determination, the price of domination became intolerable.

For decades, France occupied Vietnam with an army of less than 20,000 men. But once the dormant idea of national independence came round again, the United States could not hold half of the country with 500,000 men and a million native auxiliaries. The proliferation of modern weapons in the Third World can only increase the costs of coercion. Moreover, the level of destruction required to reassert a Northern imperium would in many instances jeopardize the very economic ends for which the effort would be made.

Much anti-accommodationist rhetoric is unremarkably reminiscent of the haute bourgeoisie's response to working-class demands during the ascendancy of laissez-faire economics. The poor were deservedly so, the rich as well. The distribution of wealth was determined by the free market which in turn reflected an individual's net contribution to

productivity. The poor were profligate, incapable of postponing consumption. Any effort to tamper with the workings of the market would reduce the wealth of the nation without any corresponding benefit to the poor who would only dissipate it in reckless consumption. To compromise with these basic principles was to threaten the whole structure of legitimacy, including private property and democratic liberties. (That the men propounding these views were often hard at work substituting their hands for the invisible one of the market seems to have affected the intensity of their belief not at all.)

The profound fear that accommodation would topple the whole structure, that concessions would simply feed an insatiable appetite, helps to explain the animosity generated by that arch American accommodationist, Franklin Delano Roosevelt. Wildly vilified as a traitor to his class, F.D.R., the supreme pragmatist, contemptuous of ideology, set about saving that class. In retrospect he seems a human analogue to Irving Kristol's vision of the State Department recently set forth in the columns of *The Wall Street Journal:* a "non-ideological institution which never fully appreciates the ways in which words and ideas ultimately shape world politics and always prefers negotiation to confrontation."

What in fact happened to mitigate the class conflict which in the early decades of this century threatened to tear apart the national societies of the West and undoubtedly played a major role in the rise of fascism? What, in essence, did accommodation involve? It had, it seems to me, several elements. There was the creaming off and cooptation of the natural elite of the working class. Some members were drawn off early by opening the channels to higher education. Those who rose within the institutions of the working class, the trade unions, were welcomed into the establishment.

Their followers were pacified in very small measure by vicarious participation in the structure of power and in very large measure by receipt of slightly increased shares of a very rapidly growing pie. There is no evidence that any existing wealth was redistributed; but there was some redistribution, albeit modest, of shares in the large increments which Western economies began to produce after World War II. In addition, Western governments increased the security of the workers with measures that cushioned temporary setbacks in particular industrial sectors and in the economy as a whole.

Governmental policies effecting modest redistribution of the incremental shares and increasing security of expectation were not uniformly successful in the United States in giving the working class a vested interest in the basic institutions and ideology of the capitalist

society. A quarter or more of the lower classes were left far behind the rest. In effect, those policies succeeded in creating two classes with sharply divergent interests. Members of the lower classes who worked in the key industrial and service sectors acquired a bourgeois outlook; they came to identify more closely with the upper classes than with those who were left behind.

Is the present struggle between the classes of nation-states not susceptible to mitigation by the employment of an analogous strategy of accommodation?

Some may cite the embittering experience of colonial and racial domination as a differentiating factor. For all the residual force of that experience, there is reason to question that it has been much more searing than the experience of Western working classes before they organized effectively for the ascent to political power. It is not only a question of parallel physical privation, but of humiliation. Conor Cruise O'Brien called attention some years ago to the striking similarity between racist apologetics for colonialism and the degrading descriptions of the English working class found in nineteenth-century tracts commissioned by the paladins of industry. In both cases, the exploited object is characterized as a repulsive, lower order of humanity.

In many respects, indeed, the strategy of accommodation might in fact be easier to implement in the present case than in its predecessor. Our conflict is not with huge, anonymous masses whose demands have to be aggregated through fairly uncertain representational arrangements. For the most part, Third World elites are even less committed to human equality as a general condition of humanity than are we. They are talking about greater equality between states. And in their largely authoritarian systems, the state is they.

What contemporary Brazilian statesman deplores the fact that the wealthiest 20 percent of his country's population receives over 60 percent of the national income while the lowest scrapes together three? Is there any record of a parliamentarian in the former French territories of West Africa returning part of his monthly pay because it was the equivalent of what a peasant would earn through 35 years of incessant labor, in the unexpected event that he lived so long? The central fact is that the overall number of people who have to be given a stake in the essential structures of the existing international economic system is relatively small.

That is one factor which makes accommodation seem potentially easier or at a minimum not more difficult on balance than in the prior case of class confrontation. A second is the existence of articulate,

well organized representatives with whom to negotiate: the bureaucrats and political leaders of the 100-odd states which aggregate the demands of the Third World elite. There is, moreover, no reason to doubt whether the negotiators can deliver their constituents. For unlike nouveau-riches labor leaders separated from their followers by the sheer fact of becoming negotiators, the Third World's representatives are an animate expression of the yearnings and aspirations of the elite which for the indefinite future will dominate most of the states with whom we must negotiate.

Of course the tenure of these specific negotiators may be transient. But the stability of new agreements forged in the spirit of accommodation will rest not on personal commitments but rather on their ability to reflect the class interests of which these leaders and their successors in the game of Third World musical chairs are a continuing embodiment.

A third factor facilitating accommodation is the very small number of representatives that have to be co-opted into senior decision-making roles in the management structure of the international economy. In Africa, only Nigeria. In Latin America, Brazil and Venezuela, perhaps Mexico. In the Middle East, Saudi Arabia and Iran. And in Asia, India and Indonesia.

V

If one is persuaded by the overall analogy, what programmatic conclusions might follow? What must be defended? And what can be conceded without threatening the fundamental arrangements which an accommodationist policy, as much as the hard line, is calculated to preserve?

What must be defended in the large is an economic system which rewards the capitalist virtues of investment, innovation, hard work, and sensitivity to the shifting needs and preferences of consumers. As Lincoln Gordon recently noted, this is one of the reasons why a comprehensive system of "price indexation" should be unacceptable: "If world demand is shifting away from a given commodity, . . . what is needed is a structural shift in . . . production and exports to items in stronger demand." Preservation of the incentives to practice those virtues is essential because without them the world's product will shrink. That is bad for the North, worse for the South, and absolutely destructive of any possibility of accommodation. For if anything is clear it is that the electorates of the First World will not support revisions in the economic order which intensify the transfer of *existing* wealth. It is with respect to the distribution of new increments of

wealth that the "Haves" may be prepared to concede larger shares to the "Have-Nots." Hence, accommodationists must take a hard line against proposals which would reduce the prospects for growth in the global product.

Ironically, preservation of the principled foundations of the existing international capitalist system—an assemblage of values and institutions designed to reveal comparative advantage and reward economic efficiency—actually requires some practical concessions from the North rather than the South. A central plank of the latter's platform is removal of the various tariff and nontariff barriers to its present and potential exports. As investment in Southern infrastructure comes to fruition, comparative advantage in labor-intensive products shifts progressively away from the developed states. Volkswagens can already be produced more cheaply in Brazil than in Germany. For many textiles, the South's advantage has long been apparent. In addition, certain raw materials can now be refined with equal or great efficiency at their Southern sources.

So in this area, at least, all the South must yield is its rhetoric—the claim for reparations. It is we who must yield the tangibles: higher tariffs on refined raw materials, coerced textile agreements and the various other gimmicks—including restraints on the export of capital and related jobs from sectors of Northern industry that have lost their competitive edge—with which we cheat or might soon like to cheat on our own ideals.

This will be painful. If it were not, the North would have done it long ago simply in order to maximize its own growth. But if we cannot accommodate where we are asked only to bring practice into line with economic ideals, it is hard to foresee any option other than the barricades.

Consistent with its bedrock objective, the North also can respond affirmatively to Southern demands for tariff preferences in cases where they rest on a plausible claim to infant industry status rather than a mere appeal to equity. Nor is there any systemic objection to an affirmative response on the issue of more stable commodity prices. The North's record of economic dynamism since World War II suggests that public intervention in the market to prevent radical oscillations is perfectly compatible with and probably contributes heavily to economic growth, as well as social peace. What we cannot do, however, is guarantee a price level for any commodity in long-term opposition to powerful trends. On the other hand, following the domestic analogy, there is ample justification for accumulating funds to ease the transition out of declining economic activities.

The nub of the matter is that a considerable measure of economic security is thoroughly compatible with economic progress. That has become Holy Writ in the national societies of the North. To the extent that the South now seeks to extend the venue of this once radical notion, I see no principled grounds for resistance.

VI

Petroleum earnings have already given one bloc of Third World states a considerable material interest in preserving the basic features of the international economic system, including the prosperity of the First World. Reduced barriers to Third World exports, transitional preferences for new industries, and the unimpeded flow of capital and technology will enhance that stake and extend it to other countries that have sufficient assets and organization to grasp the resulting opportunities for accelerated growth. In theory, then, one might expect the large number of Third World countries that could benefit from such pragmatic changes to adopt in time a sort of middle-class outlook of their own and to dissociate themselves from a rhetoric of revolution and revenge. Yet even with these countries the answer will not be as easy as that, for reasons related to our earlier analysis of the attitudes that bind together all the Third World countries.

Let us look again at our recent behavior. In the first place, the transfer of wealth effected by the oil-producing OPEC states has not gone unchallenged. Official references to military action in case of "strangulation" and a drumbeat of unofficial calls for recourse to force or an economic blockade simply to roll back prices do not inspire confidence in the West's acceptance of the newly rich. Fearing an effort to reverse their gains, the oil producers naturally seek allies among the class of disadvantaged states from which they have sprung.

Secondly, given the rancorous response to this initial loss of unquestioned economic dominance, the OPEC states and others in the economic vanguard of the Third World can hardly assume that the reforms required to consolidate and expand their beachhead in the international economy will be conceded without additional struggle. The solid front and the radical rhetoric are in part designed as instruments of effective bargaining with what is seen as a tough and thoroughly unsentimental adversary. The protagonists of a hard line may convince themselves that the liberals' guilt has cost the West its will, but to the presumed beneficiaries of that loss of will it is not the "liberal" but the rigid reaction that comes across as dominant.

The radical rhetoric is not, of course, simply a bargaining ploy. It also functions to hold together the alliance of traditional "Have-

Nots." There is yet another reason for the harshness of Third World rhetoric. To return to our original theme, more, much more, than economics is at stake. There is the question of dignity and respect, the redress of profound humiliations. Those humiliations continue.

Calls for action to dam the outward flow of petrodollars are often linked with vilification and crudely bigoted stereotyping of the Arab recipients. Economic coercion, so long a powerful weapon in the foreign policy armory of the United States, is transformed into "blackmail" when employed to advance the interest of other states. The clear implication is that only we have the decency of motive, the loftiness of purpose, to be entrusted with power.

The often unconscious bias which infects so much of our own rhetoric about the Third World resonates against a background of subordination to the West. Through our language, the transparent skin of our thought, we succeed only in raising the emotional barriers to pragmatic accommodation. A change in tone, possibly foreshadowed by Secretary Kissinger's more recent comments on international economic issues, is a good way to begin the process of lowering them. The small gestures enumerated earlier in our discussion of the political axes of confrontation will help. So will a formal reception of the Third World's leading states into the management group of the international economic system. Countries such as Brazil, Venezuela, Mexico, Iran, Nigeria and at least one of the major Arab states might, for instance, be invited to join the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development and other organs of developed-country consultation.

The advocates of confrontation claim that no useful overall bargain can be struck because as soon as the Third World has devoured its benefits new demands will be made. Support for a policy of accommodation, however, does not imply support for a grand compact. Indeed, the notion of a grand compact is an illusion. The stunning diversity of problems and parties converging in this period of accelerating change simply do not admit of a single or final solution. There must be many bargains, not all of them among precisely the same parties. Some bargains will wholly resolve the issues to which they are addressed. Others will be stopgaps. Still others may prove so asymmetrical because of developments which the parties could not foresee that, just as in domestic society, the parties will have to renegotiate. No bargain is forever.

And there will remain desperately serious problems with the so-called Fourth World, for they, like the lower classes in American society, are disabled by a congeries of historical and natural forces

from exploiting the opportunities for more effective participation in the competitive system. One cannot yet visualize the combination of self-help and external effort that may in time improve the lot of these poor countries. Neither the amelioration of their present agony nor the beginnings of rehabilitation can be accomplished without joint effort, free of rancor, on the part of the West *and* the more advanced Third World countries.

VII

In the years of bitter class conflict between capital and labor, before the ameliorations and compromises of the welfare state, many advocates of a hard line against the demands of labor invoked the alleged insatiability of those demands in support of a confrontational strategy. In one sense they were right, even trite. Once the myth of divinely authored shares in the social pie is fractured, no group settles willingly for less when it can, without risk, have more. Competition and struggle over the allocation of wealth and power seem endemic. But so, too, may be cooperation, which grows both out of fear of loss and the desire for absolute as well as relative gains.

One of the potential strengths of the present international system is the reality of national interdependence which creates an objective need for cooperation and consequently for accepting sharp restraints on the competitive aspects of interstate relations. The principal danger is an irrational assessment of risks and opportunities. Nothing is better calculated to promote miscalculation than the pretense that the equilibrium of power has not shifted, that we can continue to dictate to the Third World on the terms which sufficed in the epoch of the Western imperium.

Although the confrontationists indict advocates of accommodation for discounting our still-great strength, in fact, as is so often the case with those who extoll coercion, it is they who seem infected with a debilitating insecurity. To accommodate sensibly to real changes and legitimate demands is not the sign of a weak will. It is rather the essence of statesmanship.

OPEC AND THE INDUSTRIAL COUNTRIES: THE NEXT TEN YEARS

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From 1947 to 1973 the shift of power is exponential. In 1947 the United States ceased to be a new exporter of oil; the basing point for oil prices moved from the Gulf of Mexico to the Persian Gulf, and with it the underlying leverage. Although the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) was formed in 1960, its membership was so disparate that at first it did little to exploit the shift. With prices low, U.S. dependence on imported energy grew to 14 percent of energy consumption in 1972. Europe's dependence on energy imports grew from 33 percent in 1960 to 65 percent in 1972; Japan's from 43 to 90 percent in the same period. By the late 1960s OPEC members were acting more masterfully to turn the increased dependence to advantage; prices began to move up. The 1973 October War revealed OPEC's full power.

It is important to be precise about the implications of this shift for the industrial countries. First, the cartel action continues to pose a short-term problem of economic management. The sharp jump in oil prices accounted for about a quarter of the average 14 percent inflation experienced in 1974 among the member-countries in the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD). Industrial dislocation and unemployment caused by the 1973-74 embargo, and conservative demand-management policies in Europe and Japan designed to overcome oil-caused balance-of-payments deficits helped trigger the present recession. No doubt the effects of the continued high price of oil on internal demand will make it more difficult to design policies to return the industrial economies to a high rate of growth. All of these difficulties are important and costly, but they are - or can be made - transitional.[1]

Second, there is a medium-term problem of financial management. Most recent studies suggest that the accumulation of financial assets by OPEC will peak in the late 1970s or early 1980s at levels perhaps in the range of $200 to $250 billion in 1974 dollars. This is an enormous total by present comparison - official holdings of financial assets by all the OECD countries totaled $118 billion at the end of 1974 - but it is less than was estimated a year ago. Although the political and financial implications of the expected accumulations cannot yet fully be judged, recycling of oil dollars has proceeded more smoothly than feared, and this problem appears manageable.[2]

Third, however, there is a major long-term transfer of real income, which has only begun. The exact time-path of the transfer is difficult to determine, since it depends in part on how rapidly the financial assets OPEC is accumulating are converted into imports of goods and services and how long the high price is sustained. In 1974 OPEC increased its imports of goods and services from OECD countries by about $8 billion in real terms (equivalent to somewhat more than 0.2 percent of OECD's 1974 gross national product). Into the future, OPEC imports from OECD countries, financed by its accumulated financial assets, will continue to grow for some time after its export revenues peak. It is possible that they will reach $110 billion by 1980 (in 1974 dollars), as opposed to about $30 billion in 1973 (in 1974 dollars). The $80 billion gain, equivalent to more than 1.7 percent of the expected GNP of the OECD group in 1980, can be taken as an estimate of the peak value of the real annual cost of the cartel action to the industrial world.

These costs, imposed at a time when most of the industrial countries are having increasing difficulty in meeting the social, economic and security requirements of their people, are of major significance. It is important to realize that these are not one-time costs; they accrue each year.

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[1] See Hollis B. Chenery, "Restructuring the World Economy," Foreign Affairs, January 1975.

[2] Compare Khodadad Farmanfarmaian et al., "How Can the World Afford OPEC Oil?" Foreign Affairs, January 1975.

Fourth, and perhaps most important of all, there are the political and strategic implications of vulnerability to a new interruption in supply. Existence of the cartel, and the high price for oil that it has imposed, are coordinate with that vulnerability; one presupposes the other. As long as the cartel is effective, the central element of energy in the industrial economies will be subject to manipulation, both as to prices and availability, by supplying countries which do not have, and may well not develop, an inherent interest in their prosperity. We must be ready for the exercise of the power in a new Middle East conflict; whether and how it would be used in other circumstances we do not know. But clearly the threat to the maintenace of stable economic conditions is significant.

As long as the cartel is effective, it will also impose a permanent tension among the consuming countries because of the wide disparity in their dependence on imported oil. Canada, the United States, and soon Britain have options that Japan, Spain, and Italy do not have. Competitive offers of special economic and political terms to secure petroleum supplies are widely recognized as likely to degrade the bargaining position of the consumers as a group. Such protective mechanisms as oil-sharing in an emergency and financial solidarity can provide a counterweight, and these have now been effectively agreed upon, largely through the International Energy Agency (IEA), formed a year ago.[3] But over the long term the impulse will be strong to substitute producer/consumer lines of force for those now existing among the industrial countries of Europe, American and Japan. If that occurs, the internal contradictions between the security and the economic interests of the industrial countries will grow and their political coherence will dissipate.

So far, the short-term problems of economic and financial management have received the greatest public attention in the industrial countries. Exaggerated fear of their difficulty has given way to relief that they are not intractable. But the real costs of the cartel - the longer-term transfer annually of goods and services, and the potential deterioration of the security and political position of the industrial countries - have yet to be fully faced.

The real-income losses of the consumers are the gains of the producers, but in other respects the effects of the cartel action are not reciprocal. Producers share with consumers an interest in effective management of the short-term economic and financial problems. Return of the industrial economy to a high rate of growth strengthens demand for oil and thereby strengthens the cartel, and the protection of financial assets now is essential to future real transfers and growth. It is only by de facto integration into the industrial economy, through massive increases in trade, industrial investment and technological transfer, that the producers can realize their real-wealth gains. Four-fifths of OPEC's imports now come from the OECD group; as they rise, the interpenetration of consumer and producer economies will become a central datum of the international structure.

In politics, the lines of potential development lead in different directions. When the October War revealed its power, OPEC was the loosest of coalitions, harboring at least four contenders for leadership (Iran, Saudi Arabia, Algeria, and Venezuela) and a spectrum of traditional state rivalries. But to consolidate its gains and survive this year's slump in oil demand, OPEC has had to develop more coherence. Saudi Arabia, which some believed a year ago might play the maverick and use its vast producing capacity to bid the oil price down, has swung into a supportive role. The Saudis engineered the most recent overall price increase at Abu Dhabi in November, then conditions for, or acquiesced in, production cuts deep enough to balance OPEC supply with demand. (Saudi production in April was less than 6 million barrels a day [MMBD], down from 9 MMBD at the peak last summer; meanwhile Saudi capacity has reached more than 11 MMBD.) Leadership competition among the major states was muted. An informal system emerged in which states wishing to increase exports could do so by shaving quality differentials and lengthening credit terms, while the basic government take of $10.12 per barrel remained intact.

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[3] See Henri Simonet, "Energy and the Future of Europe," Foreign Affairs, April 1975.

This growing cohesiveness of OPEC has given it an opportunity to bid for the leadership of the whole developing world. The raw materials doctrine developed by Algeria - that the market power of consumers has long kept down raw material prices and thus the economic development of producers, and that cartel action is needed to "revalorize" earnings, along with "indexation" to protect the new wealth by increasing oil prices in proportion to increases in the prices of OPEC imports - served first as a defense against the resentment of other less-developed countries whose growth prospects have been damaged or halted by high oil prices. Increasingly, the doctrine is becoming a means by which the oil producers cement their own unity and that of the LDC bloc as a whole.

At the same moment that their economic integration into the industrial world is accelerating, OPEC members are asserting their political identity with a coalition of developing states intent upon challenging the industrial world. In doing so OPEC is making negotiation of stable new institutional ties with the industrial countries far more difficult, as the failure of the producer/consumer preparatory meeting this April showed. In time, the oil producers will expose themselves to escalating demands from the LDCs. And the tension between OPEC's economic and political interests will eventually increase.

II

It is in the interest of the industrial countries - indeed, of all consuming countries - that conditions be created in which OPEC loses and cannot subsequently regain the power to set oil prices at artificially high levels. What are these conditions? Essentially, that the market for OPEC oil be compressed to, and held at, a volume at which the mechanism for allocating production cuts within OPEC can no longer function.

It is possible to imagine a number of scenarios in which individual producers break ranks and slash prices. But none of these has much plausibility in view of the great economic and political interest all OPEC members have in high prices, and because of the political pressure from their colleagues to which many are vulnerable. In order to predict with some confidence that several major members will cut prices in attempting to increase their market share, the following conditions must be present:

- Such a group of countries must have significant unused capacity, and practical possibilities for shifting production cuts onto the "low absorbers" such as Saudi Arabia must have been exhausted;
- They must be unwilling to accept a stretch-out of their development and military spending programs;
- They must be in payments deficit on current account;
- They must have reached the limits of drawing down accumulated financial reserves and of borrowing within or outside OPEC;
- Relief through increases in the real price of OPEC oil must have been exhausted.

We know that there is little chance that these conditions will occur or can be created between now and the end of 1977. As a result of the second mild winter in a row, the recession, drawing down of inventories, and price resistance, the OPEC export market will be down to an average of 27 MMBD this year from 30 MMBD in 1973. With the end of the recession, the steady decline of oil and gas production in the United States, and a return to normal winters - all of which seem overwhelmingly likely - oil export demand will return to or exceed pre-embargo levels in 1977. If real prices are maintained, OPEC exports might reach the $125 billion range (in 1974 dollars) in 1977, reflecting an export demand that might by then have rise to 31 MMBD.

As to the amount of the real income transfer, OPEC import expenditures have risen faster than expected: 27 percent by volume in 1974. They may do so again in 1975, although limitations on port facilities and resultant demurrage and delay in the Persian Gulf are already significant and growing. Thereafter constraints on internal transport and distribution are likely to take over. The current account surpluses of OPEC as a whole are likely to remain large - on average about $50 billion a year

(in 1974 dollars) in the period 1975-77 - but some individual producing countries will probably go into deficit: Algeria and Indonesia this year, Ecuador in 1976, Venezuela in 1977. These countries now have some excess capacity, but the volume is small enough (perhaps 0.5 MMBD that they would like to use) so that others in OPEC could accommodate it by reducing their production. Intra-OPEC loans (a possibility Algeria has already broached) would be another means of adjustment. Some slowdown in Algerian and Venezuelan development spending is also likely.

In the period 1978-1980 a major change is likely to occur in the OPEC export market as North Sea, Alaskan, Mexican and Chinese oil come on in quantities. As a rough guess, net OPEC exports might then fall to 25 MMBD or even less. With a constant real price of oil and continued import increases, Iran and most OPEC members other than Saudi Arabia and Kuwait would move into balance-of-payments deficit on current account. Drawdown of accumulated assets would provide some cushion; but there would be strong contradictory pressures - on OPEC countries collectively to raise the real price of oil and on some individual members to improve their market share by shaving prices. Hence this could be a period of substantial stress on OPEC, from which it might emerge either with a higher real price and renewed discipline or in disorder and with substantially lower prices.

In the period 1981-85 the swing element, insofar as can now be estimated, will be the U.S. Outer Continental Shelf (OCS) and Naval Petroleum Reserve No. 4 ($NPR-_4$) in Alaska. On the basis of geological surveys, these regions are now roughly estimated to provide 5-7MMBD in this time frame. If they do, the overall OPEC market may stabilize at about the 25 MMBD level, and the pressure on OPEC cohesion, already substantial, would increase. (This is similar to the forecast in the long-term energy assessment of the OECD, published this year.) If on the contrary these regions prove unproductive (so far only two dry wells have been sunk in $NPR-_4$), or if for economic or other reasons they are not fully exploited, pressure on OPEC would ease substantially.

What are the chances of substantial deviations from these forecasts? Economic stagnation in the OECD and large-scale new finds like the Mexican fields would compress the OPEC market below these predicted levels.[4] On the other hand, boom conditions or failure to solve the rate, financing, and siting problems of nuclear-fueled electrical utilities and thus to achieve the high rates of nuclear-power growth expected (from 20 gigawatts in 1973 to 200-240 in 1985 in the United States) could lead to a significantly larger OPEC market.

There are three conclusions to draw from this analysis:

First, there is a likelihood of strong stress on the cartel toward the end of the decade.

Second, maintenance of that pressure thereafter depends critically on the exploitation of the OCS and $NPR-_4$.

Third, the potential swings become very high in the 1980s. If the cartel loses its power to set prices in the 1978 to 1980 period, and successful exploitation of the OCS and $NPR-_4$ maintain conditions in which it cannot be reconstituted, OPEC's annual export earnings might fall from the assumed 1977 peak of $125 billion (in 1974 dollars) to half that or even less. If OPEC were able to maintain its price-setting power and thus offset the declining market by higher real prices, the income could stay at the $125 billion level, and the higher real price would have a dampening effect on economic growth in its major markets. In both cases the real transfer through actual imports would adjust with a lag. The swing between the two cases ($60 billion of more in 1974 dollars), plus the negative impact on growth, could exceed 1.5 percent of the real OECD gross national product annually. And, of course, the political leverage of OPEC hinges almost wholly on which case applies.

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[4] Such new producers as Mexico may, of course, join OPEC, and in any event conform their price policies to those of OPEC. The point is that their need for export outlets will still affect the market available to OPEC as a whole.

III

How can the consuming countries increase the possibility of an outcome in their favor? And at what cost?

First, by conservation. If President Ford's conservation proposals of January 1975 were fully adopted, and if they were matched by similar European and Japanese programs, they could be decisive. These measures were originally designed to reduce U.S. imports by 1 MMBD by the end of 1975, 2 MMBD by the end of 1977, and over 4 MMBD in 1985 (below what they would otherwise be).

Through the actions announced by the President on May 27 - increased import fees and the proposed decontrol of "old" domestic oil prices - the United States can still make progress toward his goals.[5] However, what Congress will finally do, as well as the actual impact on consumption, may not be clear for some time. Meanwhile Europe and Japan have moved faster than the United States to take effective conservation measures, but the combined bulk of their savings is not yet large.

Although the controversy has not been settled, the balance of evidence is that savings of the magnitude proposed by the President will not have growth-depressing effects. In the United States the amount of energy used per dollar of GNP fell from 107,000 BTUS to 90,000 in the years 1947-1973, a period of rapidly rising income growth. High prices will accelerate the decline in this ratio.

Second, by stimulus to the development of alternative sources. Here three sorts of action are required:

1. Relaxation or removal of existing policy contraints. Almost every form of energy enterprise in the industrial world is encumbered: U.S. and Canadian gas and oil by price controls, nuclear power everywhere by inadequate or outmoded utility rate structures and by siting restrictions; coal by environmental limits; new hydrocarbon exploration by legal restrictions. The relaxation of these constraints is above all a domestic political question, although it can be spurred by international review and analysis.

2. Provision of financing. Estimates of financing required over the next decade for energy development in the industrial countries center in the trillion dollar range (in 1974 dollars), equivalent to a fifth or a fourth of expected total capital formation. The question posed is whether energy investment should receive some form of priority access to capital markets, through the use of government guarantees or government-sponsored intermediaries. For such costly developments as oil from shale, tar sands, or coal liquefaction (which may come in the range of $15 a barrel), substantial government financing, including such devices as the sharing of initial "front-end" costs, must be employed. Such projects lend themselves to international cooperation, with possible deals combining funding with access to technology and, in an energency, access to product. On the other hand, many governments have so far hesitated to provide assistance to conventional energy enterprises, believing it disadvantageous to substitute political priorities for economic calculation. But some support is inevitable even in this area.

3. Protection against "downside risk" for private capital investment. To the extent that the financing of new energy sources is provided through government channels, such capital investment need not be seriously affected by changes in the overall price of oil, or of energy in general. As suggested above, government financing is likely to be the preponderant mechanism for most of the "non-conventional" energy sources such as solar and geothermal power, oil shale, or the Canadian tar sands.

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[5] With much of 1975 already gone, the White House currently estimates that the effect of the May 27 actions would be a reduction of 0.1 MMBD by the end of 1975, 0.7 MMBD by 1977, and 2.5 MMBD by 1985. The impact of the President's total legislative program, however, including measures to stimulate production as well as conservation, would be a reduction of 0.7 MMBD in 1975, 2.2 MMBD in 1977, and 7.2 MMBD in 1985. White House Fact Sheet, The New York Times, May 28, 1975, p. 20.

The real problem concerns the major expansion of "conventional" sources, for which private investment must be the principal mechanism, but for which the anticipated costs are significantly higher than the price level to which OPEC oil might conceivably fall over the next ten years. New North Sea oil (less the share taken directly by governments) comes in in many cases at $5 or even $6 a barrel. Conventional nuclear facilities, coal, and the vital OCS and NPR-4 may all be in the $6 to $8 range for their energy-equivalent output. All of these investments are price sensitive both at the outset and as they go along: they may not be undertaken, or may be delayed, if there is an actual or perceived risk that international prices will fall to or below that range in the course of development.

Such downside risk is closely linked to the future viability of the cartel. If, for example, the cartel were to lose its ability to maintain a high price in the stress period of 1978-80, the development of OCS, NPR-4 and North Sea oil could all be retarded or stopped. That in turn would result in a substantially higher OPEC export market than would otherwise occur, and conditions for renewed cartel action could be created. Put the other way around, by protecting against downside risk it is possible to be fairly certain that expected major energy investments will occur, and thus increase the odds that in the early 1980s the cartel will lose its power to set the oil price and not regain it thereafter.

IV

The problem of downside risk for investment in conventional energy sources is widely recognized. But there is much controversy over its solution. Broadly speaking, two main concepts have been put forward.

The first of these may be labeled that of "deficiency payments." Under this approach, private firms engaged in the development of energy sources would receive a subsidy from their national governments if the overall oil price falls, possibly set to cover the difference between some base price and the market price.

The advantage of this approach is that any drop in price is passed on to the consumer. The major disadvantage, however, is that under this approach it would almost surely be impossible to meet national self-sufficiency targets. In the event that overall oil prices fall, consumption is bound to be restimulated, and by substantial amounts. Thus, in contrast with the forecast that demand for OPEC oil by 1980 might be in the range of 25 MMBD at present oil prices, the demand for OPEC oil can be estimated to rise to 35 MMBD if the overall oil price were to drop to, say, $4 a barrel (in 1974 dollars). Even a remorely comparable rise in consumption would leave the industrial world still highly vulnerable to embargo and would in turn lead to new cartel action, as surely as the low prices and high dependency of the 1960s and early 1970s stimulated it in the first place.

Other drawbacks of the deficiency payment approach are the high costs to the taxpayer and the uncertain credibility of a system dependent on annual subsidy appropriations for energy companies by the American Congress or by the parliaments of OECD countries.

The second approach to the problem can be described as "border protection." The object of this approach is to prevent imported oil from being sold to the consumer within the industrial economies at disruptive price levels, i.e., at levels below the amounts required to offer the propsect of a fair return to the investors in expanded energy sources. The means required to implement this approach could be varied according to the national choice of the individual consuming countries; tariffs, import quotas, or variable levies might be used separately or in combination to produce the intended result. But the price levels maintained to assure adequate domestic investment, it may be emphasized, would be fixed only in terms of price levels to the consumer. The price actually paid to the OPEC producer would continue to be determined by the international market situation - in effect, by the relative bargaining power of consumers and producers. This is <u>not</u>, in short, a system for guaranteeing the return to the OPEC countries; indeed, its basic objective is to permit market forces to operate, eventually in favor of the consuming countries.

The major advantage of this approach is that national self-sufficiency goals can be protected. Through the stimulation of the necessary investment in expanded conventional sources, this approach provides high odds that OPEC's market will in fact be compressed to a volume inconsistent with continued cartel action.

The principal disadvantage of the approach is that the citizen as consumer does not receive the full benefit of whatever price drops may result over a period of time; on the other hand, the citizen as taxpayer in the consuming countries should have a very much lower burden under most of the possible techniques for achieving the basic goal. As for the question of continuing credibility, the "border protection" approach cannot be described as 100-percent credible, since Congress or parliaments would be under substantial pressure to remove protection and to favor the consumer when and if prices fall. However, the credibility of this approach should be greater than that of the deficiency payments approach because border protection can be legislated or decreed in advance. Once in place, and once investments have been made with reference to it, the system would develop a political constituency that would tend strongly to validate it.

Any policy of downside protection, however, will be of limited help and may disadvantage the countries that adopt it if only a few do so. Here, as in every other aspect of the energy problem, it is important to develop a new calculus of interest:

- Energy-poor countries are interested in low prices to their citizens, but also in seeing energy-rich industrial countries develop their resources. For only if they do will demand on the international market fall and oil prices come down.
- Energy-rich countries like Britain, Canada, and the United States are interested in seeing energy-poor countries like Italy and Japan adopt the same level of protection. For the main burden of investment must fall on the energy-rich, while the primary advantages of lower prices caused by the resulting compression of OPEC's market will accrue to energy-poor countries that import much of the energy they need. Without a common level of protection, this would leave the former locked in a high-cost energy economy, and at a competitive disadvantage.
- All industrial countries have an interest in putting OPEC in the position of residual supplier of oil, with a market kept small enough to prevent renewed cartel action.

Recognizing the basic common interest that underlies this calculus, the industrialized consuming countries, meeting in the International Energy Agency, have already reached a preliminary agreement in principle. On March 20 of this year, they agreed on a minimum safeguard system, under which each country would use means of its own choosing to prevent oil from being sold in its domestic economy below an agreed common price. The system is to be elaborated by July 1, 1975.

The question that remains is, of course, the level to be adopted for the agreed common price. Here the divergent interest of the energy-rich and energy-poor members of IEA must be reconciled. Broadly speaking, a high level for the agreed common price would benefit energy enterprise and thus countries with important energy resources. A low level would favor consumers, and thus countries that must import most of their oil.

The costs and benefits of a given system and price level can be analyzed as follows. If the level of protection is set unnecessarily high, the result will be that more investment would be undertaken than turned out to be required. With an annual investment bill estimated at roughly $100 billion per year, the real cost of any excess investment would be some relatively small part of this amount.

The opposite risk is less easy to measure precisely. If the level of protection is set too low, the result would be not enough investment to deprive OPEC of its ability to set prices. Boradly speaking, what would then be lost to the consumer countries would be the difference between the level of their real-income transfers to the producer countries at cartel-set prices and the level of the same transfers if the cartel fails; in addition, the growth-retarding effect of higher prices must be weighted. As analyzed above, it does not seem excessive to estimate this potential difference at as much as $60 billion or more a year (in 1974 dollars). More important, the cartel would retain its power to disrupt the industrial economies by embargo, and the risk that its economic power over the consumers will be transmuted into political power would grow.

In short, the level of protection chosen must be evaluated, in effect, like the

premium on an insurance policy. The penalty for guessing wrong and doing too little is incommensurately heavier than the costs of doing too much.

V

An exponential increase in the power of any group or countries, occurring rapidly and initially at the expense of others, is never easy for an international system to absorb. Obviously, the nations fortunate enough to have major oil resources will be able, in any event. to maintain a greatly improved power status and to advance the lot of their people immensely in the years to come. Only the degree of change is now at issue, and with it the broader question of a lasting accommodation that will make the adjustment bearable to oil consumers - poor countries even more than rich - and that will evolve toward a world economy in which all may advance together.

Because of the interdependence of their trade and investment, the industrialized countries hold vast reciprocal power over each other's well-being. But a structure of economic, political, and security institutions governs the exercise of that power and makes it possession tolerable. No such structure exists between the oil-producing and oil-consuming states. Its creation will ultimately be in the interest of both producers and consumers: for the producers, because their dependence on the industrial economies is growing inexorably as they convert oil earnings into real imports and new industries; and for the consumers, because oil imports and oil-related financial transactions will play a major role in their economies, whether or not OPEC retains its capacity to set prices.

But for three reasons it is too early seriously to address the design of that structure:

First, we still do not know how rapidly and how forcefully the consumers will act to change the underlying market balance. In 1974 the industrial countries moved fast to draw the consequences of the embargo, establish a common strategy in the International Energy Agency, and draw up domestic energy programs. But by the time their response was ready at the start of this last winter, the recession had replaced energy as the dominant economic issue. The consequence has been to delay and to dilute energy action. As the industrial economies pull out of the recession and rising demand for oil creates conditions for new oil price increases, the politics of energy within the industrial countries will again change. It will not be possible to judge the full scope of their response until next year.

Second, it is not yet clear how far the producers will press their bid for leadership of the developing world. Should this become a permanent, dominant aim of their foreign policy, chances of successful negotiation of a new economic and ultimately a political framework between producers and consumers will be low.

Third, the future internal structure of OPEC is not yet knowable, for it depends on the way in which bargaining over production cuts develops. At one extreme would be a structure in which each OPEC member insisted that cuts be proportional to base-year output or capacity. In this case, Saudi Arabia and Kuwait would accumulate much of the OPEC financial surpluses, the industrial development of other OPEC members would be slower, and the cartel would be more fragile. At the other extreme, Saudi Arabia and Kuwait might take up most of the necessary production cuts, with the result that the industrial development of the group would accelerate, while the accumulation of financial assets by all OPEC members would be less. If developments approximate the first case, the real institutional problem between consumers and producers will be the management of the huge financial assets of a small number of countries. If events fit the second case, the problem will extend to all producers and cover a fair wider range of economic and industrial problems.

The inability of the preparatory meeting called by President Giscard d'Estaing in April to agree on a concept for future discussions between producers and consumers reflected these uncertainties. But bilateral contacts to organize a new meeting are already under way, and the search for that concept will go on, for there can be no equilibrium in the world economy or in world politics until a more balanced relation of power between oil producers and industrial countries is reached, defined, institutionalized.

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FINANCING THE UN SYSTEM:
COMPARATIVE CONTRIBUTIONS OF MEMBER STATES, 1974

Rank	1974 Contribution to the United Nations In United States Dollars[1]		Per Capita contribution in US Dollars[2]		Contribution of Member State by % GNP[3,4]	
1	**United States**	**414,898,640**	United Arab Emirates	72.94	Maldive Islands	2.010
2	Sweden	114,218,541	Sweden	14.00	United Arab Emirates	1.933
3	Germany, Federal Rep.	101,259,727	Denmark	11.90	Saudi Arabia	1.522
4	Netherlands	86,400,706	Norway	10.80	Gambia	.394
5	Japan	82,145,909	Qatar	10.59	Norway	.328
6	United Kingdom	80,586,638	Saudi Arabia	8.32*	Denmark	.328
7	Canada	77,016,448	Netherlands	6.38	Sweden	.314
8	USSR	73,864,301	Canada	3.52	Qatar	.289
9	Saudi Arabia	63,337,582	Finland	3.27	Lesotho	.284
10	Denmark	60,085,508	Venezuela	3.25	Venezuela	.274
11	France	52,631,638	Kuwait	3.19	Liberia	.256
12	Norway	43,093,290	New Zealand	2.18	Netherlands	.228
13	Venezuela	37,796,516	Belgium	1.97	Algeria	.197
14	China	24,894,949	**United States**	**1.96**	Equatorial Guinea	.192
15	Iran	24,509,028	Libya	1.88	Swaziland	.177
16	Italy	20,910,029	Iceland	1.78	Iran	.161
17	Australia	19,787,296	Maldive Islands	1.68	Oman	.159
18	Belgium	19,283,793	Germany, Federal Rep.	1.63	South Yemen	.150
19	United Arab Emirates	16,046,873	United Kingdom	1.44	Mali	.148
20	Finland	15,323,935	Luxembourg	1.27	Guyana	.147
21	India	13,627,543	Ireland	1.11	Mauritania	.137
22	Algeria	12,055,367	France	1.00	Finland	.118
23	Spain	8,501,971	Israel	.85	Mauritius	.117
24	Poland	8,233,286	Australia	.79	Libya	.116
25	German Democratic Rep.	8,166,030	Barbados	.77	Austria	.109
26	Czechoslovakia	7,841,203	Iran	.77	Bahrain	.098
27	Brazil	7,597,254	Japan	.75	Barbados	.098
28	Ukranian SSR	7,594,551	Algeria	.74	New Zealand	.089
29	Argentina	7,335,740	Oman	.69	Somalia	.088
30	Austria	7,196,506	Liberia	.63	Kuwait	.086
31	New Zealand	6,612,407	Bahrain	.61	Congo	.086
32	Mexico	5,546,891	Gabon	.61	Burundi	.083
33	Yugoslavia	4,443,054	Bahamas	.60	Jordan	.082
34	Libya	4,419,968	Guyana	.57	Canada	.079
35	Philippines	3,856,422	Malta	.56	Dahomey	.078
36	Greece	3,509,838	Czechoslovakia	.53	Rwanda	.075
37	Ireland	3,415,081	Uruguay	.48	Central African Rep.	.074
38	Turkey	3,283,376	German Democratic Rep.	.48	Ireland	.072
39	Hungary	3,254,805	Swaziland	.44	Togo	.072
40	Pakistan	3,126,471	Equatorial Guinea	.44	Gabon	.072
41	Kuwait	2,967,513	Greece	.39	Iceland	.068
42	Romania	2,867,372	Gambia	.39	Iraq	.067
43	Israel	2,805,765	USSR	.39*	Uruguay	.065
44	Iraq	2,504,674	Italy	.38	Bhutan	.065
45	Egypt	2,476,785	Panama	.36	Belgium	.062
46	Chile	2,323,505	Mauritius	.34	Malta	.060
47	Byelorussian SSR	2,116,934	Hungary	.31	Fiji	.058
48	Indonesia	1,887,061	Argentina	.29	Botswana	.058
49	Thailand	1,559,459	Fiji	.28	United Kingdom	.056
50	Cuba	1,544,934	Poland	.24	Sierra Leone	.055
51	Columbia	1,526,023	Spain	.24	Ethiopia	.052
52	Uruguay	1,463,539	Byelorussian SSR	.23*	Australia	.051
53	Peru	1,328,621	Iraq	.23	Germany, Federal Rep.	.049
54	Portugal	1,272,705	Congo	.22	Yemen	.047
55	Ethiopia	1,111,862	Chile	.22	Zaire	.047
56	Liberia	1,050,145	Lesotho	.22	Niger	.046
57	Bulgaria	1,048,247	Mauritania	.22	Philippines	.045
58	Morocco	1,029,496	Lebanon	.22	Laos	.044
59	Qatar	953,114	Yugoslavia	.21	Panama	.043
60	Zaire	897,786	Jordan	.21	Malawi	.042
61	Ecuador	852,572	Jamaica	.19	Bolivia	.041
62	South Africa	786,191	Singapore	.17	Mongolia	.041
63	Nigeria	769,363	Cuba	.17	Cuba	.039
64	Malasia	754,808	Ukranian SSR	.16*	Luxembourg	.039
65	Syria	705,193	Mongolia	.15	Senegal	.038
66	Kenya	638,390	Portugal	.15	Sri Lanka (Ceylon)	.038
67	Lebanon	617,521	Costa Rica	.14	Upper Volta	.037
68	Mali	590,495	South Yemen	.14	Ecuador	.036
69	Panama	582,136	Romania	.14	**United States**	**.036**
70	Ghana	561,500	Trinidad & Tobago	.13*	Pakistan	.036
71	Jordan	548,964	Botswana	.13	Israel	.035
72	Sri Lanka (Ceylon)	534,415	Nicaragua	.13	Guinea	.034
73	Uganda	525,885	Ecuador	.12	Uganda	.034
74	Oman	508,186	Bulgaria	.12	Japan	.033
75	Sudan	500,429	Togo	.11	Syria	.033
76	Burma	448,082	Mali	.11	Bahamas	.032
77	Guyana	440,894	Sierra Leone	.11	Kenya	.031
78	Luxembourg	431,198	Syria	.10	Haiti	.030
79	Bolivia	420,266	Austria	.10	Lebanon	.030
80	Senegal	403,234	Mexico	.10	Egypt	.030
81	Zambia	392,254	Senegal	.09	Afghanistan	.029
82	Iceland	392,100	Philippines	.09	Chile	.029
83	Jamaica	389,347	Peru	.09	Cameroon	.028
84	Singapore	377,283	Turkey	.09	France	.028
85	Tunisia	376,988	Zambia	.08	Cyprus	.028
86	Tanzania	369,596	Dahomey	.08	Greece	.027
87	Afghanistan	356,323	Bolivia	.08	Nicaragua	.027
88	Cameroon	348,518	Brazil	.07	Yugoslavia	.027
89	Gabon	314,434	Honduras	.07	Nepal	.026
90	Ivory Coast	302,068	Albania	.07	Jamaica	.025
91	Guatemala	295,177	Somalia	.07	Czechoslovakia	.025
92	Congo	293,152	Egypt	.07	Sudan	.025
93	Mauritius	292,657	Tunisia	.07	Morocco	.024
94	Sierra Leone	287,440	Malasia	.06	Turkey	.024
95	Mauritania	287,268	Columbia	.06	Honduras	.024
96	Bangladesh	282,287	Ivory Coast	.06	Argentina	.024
97	Nicaragua	271,488	Morocco	.06	Tanzania	.023
98	Costa Rica	268,206	Ghana	.06	Costa Rica	.023
99	Yemen	257,711	Paraguay	.06	German Democratic Rep.	.023
100	Nepal	246,933	Cameroon	.06	Madagascar	.023
101	Togo	236,635	El Salvador	.06	Zambia	.023
102	Madagascar	234,691	Laos	.05	India	.022
103	Dahomey	232,560	Guatemala	.05*	Ghana	.021
104	Lesotho	227,497	Burundi	.05	Hungary	.021
105	South Yemen	225,026	Kenya	.05	Spain	.021
106	El Salvador	219,821	Bhutan	.05	Paraguay	.020
107	Cyprus	212,374	Uganda	.05	Italy	.020
108	Swaziland	212,339	Pakistan	.05	USSR	.020
109	Somalia	211,005	Rwanda	.05	Thailand	.019
110	Mongolia	206,487	Niger	.04	China	.019
111	Honduras	204,534	Ethiopia	.04	Peru	.018
112	Maldive Islands	201,045	Yemen	.04	Cambodia	.018
113	Gambia	196,920	Malawi	.04	El Salvador	.018
114	Malawi	193,364	Sri Lanka (Ceylon)	.04	Burma	.017
115	Central African Rep.	192,570	Thailand	.04	Indonesia	.017
116	Burundi	191,008	Haiti	.04	Romania	.017
117	Rwanda	188,036	Zaire	.04	Portugal	.017
118	Barbados	185,783	Guinea	.04	Poland	.017
119	Niger	184,303	Madagascar	.03*	Columbia	.017
120	Malta	179,735	Guinea-Bissau	.03	Ivory Coast	.016
121	Laos	175,459	South Africa	.03	Malasia	.015
122	Haiti	170,494	China	.03	Brazil	.015
123	Albania	168,598	Sudan	.03	Tunisia	.015
124	Cambodia	161,670	Upper Volta	.03	Albania	.014
125	Fiji	155,975	Tanzania	.03	Mexico	.014
126	Guinea	151,521	Cyprus	.02	Trinidad & Tobago	.014
127	Upper Volta	148,304	India	.02	Singapore	.014
128	Paraguay	147,991	Cambodia	.02	Guatemala	.013
129	Bahrain	146,696	Nepal	.02	Chad	.010
130	Trinidad & Tobago	139,587	Dominican Republic	.02*	Bulgaria	.009
131	Equatorial Guinea	134,715	Afghanistan	.02	Nigeria	.008
132	Bahamas	120,669	Burma	.02	Bangladesh	.006
133	Botswana	86,336	Indonesia	.01	Dominican Republic	.004
134	Dominican Republic	82,590	Nigeria	.01	South Africa	.004
135	Bhutan	45,188	Central African Rep.	.01	Guinea-Bissau	.004
136	Chad	31,451	Chad	.01	Grenada	.002
137	Guinea-Bissau	16,470	Grenada	.01		
138	Grenada	750	Bangladesh	.004		

[1] All data includes assessed and voluntary contributions in 1974 (UN GA Official Records Supplement #11 (A/10011), August 22, 1975).

[2] Based on mid-1974 population figures, where available. Asterisked items indicate use of 1972 or 1973 population figures.

[3] GNP figures are estimates only, due to differing methods of calculation, especially in Communist countries.

[4] Figures for Byelorussia and the Ukraine are included in the Soviet Union estimate.

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memorandum

The League of Women Voters of the United States

This is going on DPM

September 17, 1976

TO: State and Local League Presidents

FROM: Ruth Robbins, International Relations Chairman

In this mailing, you will find all you ever wanted to know (and probably more) about the United Nations. We are sending you two LWVEF Facts & Issues: "North and South at the UN: The Economic Challenge" and "The United States at the United Nations: Fight, Flight, Or Something In Between?" The consensus questions, as approved by the national board on September 15, are enclosed in this mailing to state and local presidents. (Consensus questions are not going to DPM)

Materials prepared for the League by the United Nations Association also included in this mailing are explained in a separate cover memo.

You should have already received the Committee Guide, "The U.S. at the UN: A Fresh Look." Since the Committee Guide was published, a couple of other good publications have come to our attention. I thought we would mention them here, just in case your UN study chairman might be looking for additional materials:

> The United States and the Third World A discussion paper by the U.S. Department of State. Dept. of State Publication 8863, General Foreign Policy Series 301, July 1976. For sale by the Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. 20402. $1.05. Stock Number 044-000-01617-6.
>
> "The Banana War Over 2 1/2 Cents" Reprinted from Maryknoll magazine. Can be obtained free by writing Sally Swing Shelley, Room 10371, United Nations, New York 10017.

Be sure to pass along the enclosed material along with this memo to the person in charge of your UN study.

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Macalester College, Political Science Department

Dr. James Houck – "FOOD"
University of Minnesota, Department of Agriculture and Applied Economics

Dr. Judith Martin – "HABITAT"
University of Minnesota, Urban Studies Program

Professor Edward Silberman – "WATER"
University of Minnesota, St. Anthony Falls Hydraulic Lab

10:45 – 11:45 REPEAT WORKSHOPS

12:00 LUNCHEON

"PERSPECTIVES ON THE MIDDLE EAST"

MR. JOSEPH SISCO, SPEAKER
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Dr. Henry A. Kissinger, Secretary of State

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memorandum

League of Women Voters Education Fund

December, 1976
THIS IS GOING ON DPM

TO: Local and State League Presidents and IR Chairmen

FROM: Ruth Robbins, International Relations Chairman
Martha Aasen, United Nations Observer

This notice is to alert you to our League Day at the UN scheduled for February 8, 1977. We would be most appreciative if you would include the following information in your state voters, bulletins, board reports, etc. All of our speakers are not definite but we wanted you to have these details now so you can publicize the seminar in your December/January publications. If you have any questions, please contact Martha Aasen, LWV UN Observer, 31 Ellery Lane, Westport, Connecticut 06880. (203) 227-6126.

"THE UNITED STATES AT THE UNITED NATIONS: A FRESH LOOK"

TUESDAY, FEBRUARY 8,1977

Find a 1977 calendar and save the date right now. We're planning a League Day at the United Nations. We're inviting top-level, top-notch speakers to brief us on the vital issues of today's UN study. It will be good preparation for the League's UN study. In the morning session, UN ambassadors from the developed and the developing worlds will discuss North-South relations and the Honorable William Buffum, Under-Secretary for Political and General Assembly Affairs will give us his appraisal of the 31st General Assembly. In the afternoon a member of the United States delegation will focus on US participation at the UN and Ambassador Jacob M. Myerson, United States Representative on the Economic and Social Council will give U.S. views on the North-South dialogue. The meeting will be from 10a.m. to 3p.m. (registration 9:15-9:45a.m.) in the General Assembly Building of the United Nations. The registration fee will be two dollars. League members will be on their own for lunch. However, we will make reservations in the Delegates Dining Room at the UN for those who would like to eat there. For those interested, there will be a VIP tour of the UN at 3:30p.m. Tour cost is $2.00 payable at the UN.

Contributions to the Fund are deductible for income tax purposes

THE US AT THE UN: A FRESH LOOK
FEBRUARY 8, 1977

To: Edith Segall, Woodlands Road, Harrison, N.Y. 10528

From: Name_____ Address_____

League_____

Enclosed is $____for which reserve____place(s) at the Feb. 8, 1977 UN meeting at $2.00 per person. (Registration does not include lunch)

Please make____reservations for lunch in the Delegates Dining Room.

Please make____reservations for 3:30 p.m. VIP tour of the United Nations. Tour cost is $2.00 payable at the door.

Reservation deadline: January 25, 1977. Please make checks payable to Edith Segall.

LWV WORKSHOP
MOORHEAD, MN.

WORKSHEET

SUGGESTED PROGRAM ITEMS (Choose one)

—United Nations
The Battered Wife
The Alternative School
Financing State Government
Energy
Buying a Second Car
Unicameral Legislature
???(Your idea) ????

WHAT ARE THE CENTRAL POINTS OF THE ISSUE? (List.)

Philosophy - need
Realistic expectations
Activities
Problems
Future Role
Alternative

WHAT SPECIAL DIFFICULTIES ARE PRESENTED BY THIS TOPIC? (List)

Bias
Lack of info + disinterest
Complicated structure
U.S. self interest

UNIT PRESENTATION BRAINSTORMING (List every suggestion.)

1- non-verbal Pictures attached to globe showing UN activities
3- 5 min Skit to demonstrate difficulties
2- 5 min Game or quiz on what UN means to you
4- 20 min Involve any foreign residents for alternative views
5- 20 min Roll playing to discuss solution to problems after UN dissolved
6- 45 min. General discussion
7- 10 min Summary

Assume previous info.

North and South at the UN: The Economic Challenge

The seventies may be remembered as the decade when global interdependence captured the imagination and attention of humankind. The future student of this period would do well to focus research on the only "town meeting of the world"—the United Nations—for that is where the stresses accompanying the recent waves of change are most evident.

What are those changes and how has the United Nations reflected them? Without question, the most profound and far-reaching has been the emergence of a coalition of developing nations calling in a unified voice for a reorientation of the global economy to take into account their needs. Numbering over 100 nations, the coalition is referred to variously as the "Group of 77," the "Third and Fourth Worlds" or the "South" component of the "North-South split." It includes the newly rich oil-producing nations as well as the poorest of the poor nations. It transcends language, race and religion, with members from Africa, the Middle East, Asia and South America. Although differences in economic strengths and needs have already put strains on the South's united front, a fervent nationalism, a desire for economic as well as political self-determination, and a keen sense of grievance against the rich industrialized nations provide the Group of 77 with a common bond.

Tensions between the developing and the industrialized nations now influence much of the debate in the UN General Assembly, just as East-West dissension determined the political context of much General Assembly activity during the first two decades of the organization's existence. Although the developing nation bloc does not act as an "automatic majority" on all votes, it does hold together on some issues that at first glance might appear to be outside the sphere of the North-South debate. Resolutions on the Middle East reflect the developing nations' sympathy for the Palestinian cause and solidarity with the Arab members of the coalition. Resolutions calling for majority rule in southern Africa express the strong anticolonialist, antiracist and nationalistic sentiments of Third and Fourth world nations.

But the central issue inspiring unity among the developing nations is an economic one. Though increasing numbers of their spokesmen concede that long-term prospects for development depend as much on developing nations' *internal* policies as on the trade and aid policies of the industrialized nations, when the forum is international, such as the General Assembly, the Group of 77 speaks as one in focusing on *external* economic obstacles. Under the general title of a "new international economic order," these nations are demanding a greater share in producing and consuming the world's goods and an increased part in setting the rules by which nations conduct their economic affairs; they want *political* changes to bring about a new *economic* order.

Many of the "new" proposals are hardly new at all. Increased opportunity to sell manufactured goods to the industrialized nations, commodity agreements to stabilize or increase income from sales of raw materials, increased aid, debt relief and transfer of technology have all been on the agenda for some time. What is new is the forcefulness of the call for change.

Why now?

The nuclear stalemate and the easing of tensions between the Soviet Union and the United States have contributed to an atmosphere in which North-South issues can come to the fore. And the growing number of independent nations has increased the developing nations' voting strength in such visible forums as the UN General Assembly. But the most important change is in perceptions among the developing nations themselves.

The 1973 embargo by the Arab oil-producing nations gave other developing nations producing raw materials new insight into their own potential power. It was seen as a kind of economic coup: raw materials producers, so long at the mercy of the industrialized nations and their multinational corporations, had finally organized and struck back. The Arabs' initiative in championing the cause of the poorer developing nations further reinforced their "underdog makes good" image. Even if other developing nations could not duplicate the success of the oil producers, the vulnerability of the industrialized economies to disruptions in raw materials supply and the effectiveness of solidarity in action had been dramatically illustrated to both worlds.

The mix of recession and inflation experienced by industrialized nations from 1973 had ironic overtones for the developing nations. It had in part been brought on, after all, by these very events that inspired a sense of strength among the "Third World" nations. But the industrialized world's sneeze is still the developing nations' pneumonia. Most developing nations are net importers of oil, food and manufactured goods, and many rely on only one or two raw materials, subject to volatile price swings, to generate export earnings. Sharp increases in the price of oil hit non-oil-producing developing nations even harder than industrialized nations; and inflationary price hikes in food and manufactured products increased their import costs at the same time that a drop in the industrialized nations' demand for raw materials lowered their export earnings.

As an example of the two-way crunch, an editorial in Tanzania's *Daily News* of May 5, 1976, says: "We are now reaching a situation whereby the price of a copper wire, manufactured in a developed country using copper imports from the Third World, costs more than a Third World copper ingot from which hundreds of similar wires can be manufactured."

Per capita incomes of the middle-income non-oil-producing developing nations increased in the last decade, but the disparity in incomes between them and the industrlized nations has substantially widened. Per capita incomes of the poorest nations have stagnated and, without outside help, will continue to stagnate or actually decline, according to World Bank statistics. The conditions faced by one billion people living in the poorest nations are stark: their infant mortality rate is six times as high as in the developed world; their life expectancy at birth about half; the nutritional intake for about half their populations is below the minimum acceptable standards. These problems are compounded by a skyrocketing increase in population. All in all, events of the seventies have produced a long-time goal of many developing nations: solidarity.

Reactions so far

Reactions in the United States to the developing nations' new-found unity and strength run from those who would "stonewall" what they see as unwarranted attacks on the United States to those who sympathize more with the developing nations' positions than with those of their own government. Some observers agree with Irving Kristol, a New York University professor, who maintains that the developing nations are waging a "new cold war." Professor Kristol believes that they are demanding a transfer of world wealth from the industrialized nations that would undermine the means of creating wealth and tear asunder the basic institutions and way of life of the West.

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facts & issues

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Many others who would not put the case in quite such terms do feel that the United States should give priority to eliminating poverty at home before trying to decrease it overseas. They also argue that interdependence is something to be avoided and that our goal should be economic self-sufficiency, to insulate the U.S. economy from disruptions caused by events overseas. Still others react against concepts of redistribution of wealth whether they are to be applied at home or abroad.

Toward the other end of the spectrum, some Americans believe that adjustments in the world economy can be made to benefit both the rich and the poor and that the United States has an obligation, as an advocate of equality of opportunity and global justice, to meet the legitimate demands of the South. Still others believe that the gap between the world's rich and poor nations must be narrowed as soon as possible because the smoldering resentment of unattainable wealth could eventually inflame the world, if not in wars of redistribution, in increased terrorism and guerrilla warfare in industrialized nations.

The official view from Washington

The Administration's initial reactions to the developing nations' proposals were unenthusiastic. The first comprehensive statement of demands for a new international economic order was made at the Sixth Special Session of the UN General Assembly in May 1974, but a positive and constructive response did not come from the United States until September of 1975, when then-Ambassador Daniel P. Moynihan delivered Secretary of State Kissinger's address to the Seventh Special Session of the General Assembly on Development and International Economic Cooperation.

The speech followed an intense government review of U.S. policy toward the developing world. Those arguing for accommodation and compromise had pointed to trends indicating that continued economic confrontation could harm the United States: a growing reliance in the United States on raw materials from overseas (often from developing nations); the even greater dependence of our European and Japanese allies; the rising proportion (currently about 7 percent) of the U.S. gross national product that trade represents; and the substantial role of developing nations as markets for U.S. exports and as locations for foreign investment. Moreover, it was argued, political cooperation from the developing nations would be increasingly necessary to resolve issues of a global nature, such as oceans policy, the environment, and nuclear proliferation.

U.S. officials hoped that the speech, which included proposals to further international economic cooperation, would strengthen the leadership role of the more moderate developing nations and focus the debate on specific proposals rather than on inflammatory charges and countercharges. The speech was enthusiastically received by most developing nations, which viewed the U.S. proposals as indications that the United States was willing to start talking seriously about development problems. The new spirit of conciliation evident throughout the Seventh Special Session culminated in a comprehensive consensus resolution unanimously adopted. The significance of Resolution 3362 rested not in its contents but in the willingness to negotiate and compromise that made it possible.

It is still too early to tell whether this spirit portended a new partnership between rich and poor or was only an aberration in a continuously deteriorating relationship. The negotiations on issues raised during the session, slated for the next few years, in which U.S. policies will be hammered out through the usual machinations of interagency, executive/congressional and public debate will tell the story.

Where it's all happening

Outsiders trying to keep track of progress in North-South economic negotiations need a bureaucratic compass to guide them through the maze of international organizations and conferences tackling various aspects of the problem. A review of some important forums and their recent activities might help.

- **The UN General Assembly** in the past two years debated and passed three major resolutions: the Declaration and Action Program on the Establishment of a New International Economic Order (May 1974); the Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of States (December 1974); and Resolution 3362 on Development and International Economic Cooperation (September 1975). These resolutions have broadly outlined the proposals for economic change espoused by the developing nations.
- **The United Nations Conference on Trade and Development** (UNCTAD), which includes all members of the United Nations, held its most recent meeting in Nairobi, Kenya, in May 1976. UNCTAD has long addressed the issues developing nations consider most pressing, including trade liberalization for developing nation products, commodities policies, aid and debt. In May, after intense debate and considerable polarization, the conference passed a consensus resolution calling for intergovernmental meetings in the fall of 1976 under UNCTAD auspices to consider the commodities problem.
- Meanwhile, in Paris, the **Conference on International Economic Cooperation** (CIEC) has been meeting since December 1975 and is scheduled to adjourn at the end of 1976. Twenty-seven nations, including representatives from the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC), the industrialized world, and non-oil-producing developing nations, are divided into four commissions to discuss energy, raw materials, development and finance. The CIEC meeting is intended to narrow the focus of some tough substantive issues such as debt relief. The United States has placed great emphasis on the CIEC talks as a place where a limited number of nations can negotiate on specifics without the publicity and rhetoric generated at larger meetings.
- **The General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade** (GATT) talks currently talking place in Geneva are another forum for negotiations on specifics. The GATT talks now include delegations from about 100 nations, since nonmembers have been allowed to participate. The Tokyo Declaration of 1973, which launched the current GATT trade talks, pledged to take developing nations' trade needs into special consideration.
- **The International Monetary Fund** (IMF) has been recently occupied with proposals from the United States and elsewhere that the IMF expand its ability to give special treatment to the balance-of-payments problems of the developing nations.
- **The World Food Council,** an outgrowth of the UN World Food Conference in 1974, is meeting in Rome to further the slow progress toward developing a world food security system. Good harvests, expanded food aid and increased bilateral assistance to the developing world have taken the food crisis out of the headlines. Moreover, the International Fund for Agricultural Development (IFAD), proposed by the conference, may soon become a reality. In the short term, the urgency of the food issue may have lost some momentum, but the long-term crisis needs only an accident of weather to again command international headlines.

The agenda of negotiations in the coming year is obviously staggering. In many cases, the same issues will be addressed in different places. But to know what is happening where is not as important as knowing what the basic issues are. Wherever they are discussed, the United States will have to develop effective and consistent policies to deal with the issues raised by the developing nations. No issue can be singled out without looking at its effect on the whole.

Wanted: wealth sharing

The developing nations want to shed their supplicant image by building into the economic system ways in which wealth can be shared automatically. They hope to do this through getting higher prices for their raw materials exports, securing some portion of profits made from ocean mining, and tying the creation of Special Drawing Rights (the "paper gold" issued by the IMF) to development needs. In addition, they have called on the industrialized nations to increase development assistance to equal 7/10 of 1 percent of gross national product (GNP) by 1980. U.S. aid to developing nations has fallen far short of this goal. In fact, official development assistance measured in terms of GNP has over the years been on a constant decline—down from .49 percent during 1964-66 to a current .23 percent of GNP. So far, the United States has refused as a matter of principle the 7/10 of 1 percent target. Norway, Sweden and the Netherlands have already reached it. (See *Development Aid: Will It Be Caught in the Crunch?* LWVEF pub. #596, 25¢, for a discussion of U.S. aid levels and shifts of U.S. aid programs to meet human needs.)

Long-term development projects affecting food production, population control and industrial development need a steady flow of financial support whether from outside aid, the sale of exports, or international investments. U.S. policies in the areas of trade, commodities, and international debt can in the long run matter as much as, or more than, aid in determining whether the resources for development will be available.

The United States has already officially accepted the development goal of the developing nations. As Secretary Kissinger said in his message to the Seventh Special Session, "For some time the technical capacity has existed to provide a tolerable standard of life for the world's 4 billion people. But we—the world community—must shape the political will to do so." Whether that will exists is likely to be determined in the next few years.

Evaluating "new economic order" proposals

North-South negotiations are not just a matter for economic technicians. They represent an historical process—a sweep of events that may eventually reorder the destiny of dozens of nations and billions of people. In order to evaluate appropriate U.S. responses, it is useful to go beyond generalizations and ask: What are some of the developing nations' specific economic proposals?* What has been done so far? What might be done in the future?

Trade in raw materials

Trade is undoubtedly the biggest item in economic relations between the rich and poor nations. Net inflow of capital and aid from developed to non-oil-producing developing nations amounted to $36.3 billion and exports from these countries totaled $83.4 billion in 1975. Earnings from trade thus accounted for 61 percent of the total resource flow to the developing nations.

Raw materials make up some two-thirds of the exports of non-oil-producing developing nations, and prices of raw materials in the international marketplace have a long history of instability. Some economic analysts believe that the increasing integration of the world economy is causing even greater fluctuation in the prices of raw materials today than in the past. Recent events illustrate the case: when recessionary forces in one industrialized nation decreased the demand for raw materials, the slack could not be taken up by any other country in an expansionary phase. All industrialized nation economies slumped at the same time. Moreover, as industrialized nations pull out of the current slump simultaneously, a reverse process could send prices for raw materials skyrocketing once again.

Widely fluctuating prices for raw materials play havoc with any nation's economy. But developing nations that rely on only one or two commodities for virtually all export earnings are particularly exposed. When raw materials prices fall, either development plans in affected countries have to be postponed or abandoned, or a nation must borrow and increase its debt burden so that imports of the bare essentials, food and oil, can be continued.

Stabilizing prices

The developing nations have called for a comprehensive approach to international commodity trade, with agreements to stabilize the prices of 18 raw materials of particular importance to their economies—bananas, bauxite, cocoa, coffee, copper, cotton and cotton yarn, hard fibers and products, iron ore, jute and jute products, manganese, meats, phosphates, rubber, sugar, tea, tropical timber, tin and vegetable oils. (Oil is excluded from this list because its price and supply are unilaterally determined by the OPEC cartel.) Prices would be negotiated in consumer/producer forums and would be supported either through export quotas to reduce supplies reaching the international market or, where appropriate, by establishing buffer stocks.

Buffer stocks work on the basic principle of saving during the proverbial seven fat years to provide for the subsequent seven lean years. Raw materials, bought during a time of surplus to prevent prices from falling below a set floor, would be stored as buffer stocks and then sold during a time of scarcity to prevent prices from rising beyond a set ceiling. The developing nations would like to establish a $3 billion international common fund, financed by both producers and consumers of raw materials, to pay for storage and administration.

Indexation is another proposal from the developing nations. In addition to *stable* prices for their commodities, the developing nations would like *higher* prices, as well as some kind of "cost of living increase" mechanism. They have proposed a system linking increased prices in the manufactured goods they import to the prices of the products, chiefly raw materials, that they export. Such an "indexation" scheme would in their view prevent a repeat of their present economic squeeze.

The United States has long been reluctant to support commodity agreements, because it is generally believed they entail undue government interference in the market and are not always successful in achieving their goals. Although the United States participated in commodity negotiations in the past, in 1974 a "reversal" of previous U.S. policy was announced, whereby the United States would be willing to look at commodity agreements on a case-by-case basis as opposed to the comprehensive approach. Since that time, the executive branch has initialed two agreements—on tin and coffee—and sent them to the Senate for ratification.

The commodities issue has revealed a significant difference among agencies of the executive branch, particularly between the Treasury Department and the State Department. Treasury takes a somewhat ideological stand against commodity agreements, arguing that anything interfering with the free market system is inherently inefficient. State appears to take a broader view of U.S. interests in cooperating with the South and argues in favor of judging each commodity agreement on its merits.

Critics of commodity agreements argue that the costs of maintaining buffer stocks, the bureaucratic machinations involved in administering an agreement, and the difficulty of negotiating price floors and ceilings far outweigh any favorable results of commodity agreements. Opponents of a common fund to finance buffer stocks argue that a common fund will establish a bias in favor of commodity agreements to solve commodity problems that might be better handled in some other way (for example, compensatory financing, greater access to markets, etc.).

Proponents of commodity agreements argue that excessive price fluctuations of raw materials harm both producers and consumers. When prices gyrate from month to month and year to year, producers cannot rely on a stable flow of income, and industrial economies suffer from the resultant inflationary pressures. Moreover, they argue, widely fluctuating prices inhibit adequate production so that, at times when demand is high, availability of raw materials supplies could be adversely affected. Proponents argue that the precedent for trying to stabilize prices already exists in the domestic policies of many industrialized nations. Economic support policies for the agricultural sector, particularly vulnerable to the vagaries of weather, have long been an accepted governmental practice. Some nations, such as the members of the European Community, have relied primarily on price supports. Others, such as the United States, have relied primarily on direct payments or income support. In either case, the principle of government help for the sector of the economy that produces goods subject to wide price fluctuations has been established domestically. The question is: to what extent can and should the principle be applied internationally?

The United States has so far opposed an integrated approach or an overall international agreement to encompass a number of commodities. The list of 18 commodities has been termed a "dream list" by U.S. officials; even some of the developing nations have reservations about the inclusion of all the raw materials on the list of 18. For example, Brazil and Chile fear that a comprehensive approach would weaken their dominant positions in the world's coffee and copper markets. The United States has agreed to take a new look at its policy and at least discuss a common fund with the developing nations under the auspices of UNCTAD during the coming year.

The United States has come down hard on the developing nations' proposals for "indexation," saying that such a scheme is inherently inflationary and would worsen the prospects of the world economy to the detriment of all nations. The reasoning, over-simplified, goes like this: if in year #1 inflationary forces in the industrialized nations raised the price of manufactured goods by 10 percent, indexation would ensure that raw materials prices would increase a comparable percent. Prices of manufactured goods produced in year #2 would go up at least 10 percent, taking into account the 10-percent increase in the cost of raw materials from year #1, and the prices of raw materials would go up again automatically. These mutually reinforcing price increases would continue *ad infinitum*, with disastrous effects for the world economy.

Stabilizing income

Another approach to stabilizing the developing nations' income focuses on balance of payments. The International Monetary Fund, the world's watchdog of foreign exchange rates and balance of payments, improved and enlarged its compensatory financing facility in December 1975. Through the facility, the IMF can provide loans to nations experiencing severe shortfalls in export earnings. A total of some $1.5 billion per year is currently available, and there is a possibility that drawings could be allowed to reach another $1 billion per year. The United States has pushed for the expansion of the facility as one way, considered less painful than commodity agreements, to deal with the harmful effects of drastically fluctuating prices of commodities.

The IMF has also established a Trust Fund to make loans to the poorest nations (defined as nations with per capita incomes under $300) in balance-of-payments trouble. The fund will be financed from some of the proceeds of a sale of IMF gold and is expected to make approximately $400 million available to the poorest nations over the next four years.

The developing nations have denigrated U.S. attempts to expand the IMF compensatory facility and the new IMF Trust Fund as only marginal sources of relief. First, they argue, the amounts that can be borrowed do not begin to cover earnings shortfalls; second, the assistance is in the form of loans, which add to what is becoming for some an overwhelming debt burden.

Trade in manufactured goods

The push is on for a change in the treatment of raw materials trade. No less important to developing nations, however, is the treatment that their manufactured goods receive in industrialized nations' markets. Developing nations want to reduce their current dependence on raw materials exports through a massive expansion of their industrial capacity and increased access to the markets of the West. Their goal: to increase their share of world trade in manufactured goods from the current 7 percent to 25 percent by the year 2000.

The developing nations argue that trade negotiations since World War II have dealt mainly with the problems of trade among industrialized nations. In their view, the richer nations have bargained among themselves to reduce tariffs and import restrictions on the manufactured goods they export, but they have not worked very hard to reduce tariff barriers that limit the manufactured exports of developing nations. Specifically, while allowing virtually duty-free entry of many raw materials, the industrialized nations apply a duty on goods processed from that raw material. For example, unprocessed cocoa from Ghana can enter West Germany with a 4 percent import duty, but cocoa manufactured into chocolate bars faces an import duty of more than 12 percent. The system is rigged so that duties escalate as amount of processing increases. The result: near-insuperable barriers to a developing nation wishing to develop its industrial capacity.

The developing nations are pushing hard in GATT for special attention to their trade problems. They want:

- Lower duties on their manufactured products than on products from the developed nations.
- Minimal demands for reciprocity, whereby they would have to match concessions from the developed nations with their own concessions. Some of the "middle-class" developing nations such as Brazil, Taiwan and South Korea have industries competitive in the international marketplace, but many others argue that protection of infant industries still too fragile to meet international competition is essential if they are to develop a strong industrial base.
- Expansion of the generalized system of preferences (GSP) on tariffs to include more products and to have the products already covered treated more liberally. Under the GSP, a major reform first proposed at UNCTAD I in 1964, no tariffs are levied on many manufactured and semimanufactured goods imported from developing nations and no reciprocal concessions are required by the European Community, Japan and the United States. The U.S., last to set up a GSP, in January 1976, listed some 2700 products from 98 nations as eligible for duty-free treatment up to a certain ceiling, determined by share of market and value. However, the U.S. GSP covers only about 2.6 percent of total U.S. imports. Moreover, some products of special interest to the developing nations because of their labor-intensive nature, such as shoes, textiles, and electronics, are not included on any GSP list.

In general, the developing nations believe that unless the industrialized world, where purchasing power is concentrated, opens its markets to their processed and manufactured goods, their economies will be doomed to the old colonial role of raw material suppliers, with many of them subject to the drastic price fluctuations of a one- or two-commodity economy.

The United States has not turned a deaf ear to these requests, but, under intense domestic pressure, neither has it been as responsive as its free-market tradition would warrant. The United States did agree in the Tokyo Declaration opening the trade talks that the developing nations' products were to receive special consideration. In the talks, the United States is not demanding full reciprocity from the developing nations but is taking what the developing nations see as an increasingly hard-nosed line in demanding *some* reciprocity for any trade concession to the developing nations. U.S. negotiators maintain that import restraints and export subsidies practiced by the developing nations constitute unfair trade competition. They argue that the elimination of these practices could represent reciprocal concessions that would not conflict with the economic needs of the developing nations.

One response to the fears and problems of U.S. industries, workers and communities damaged by increased competition from abroad is not dependent on international negotiations: a federal adjustment assistance program to ease the burden of transition provides unemployment compensation and training and relocation allowances for workers, as well as loans and guarantees to firms and communities. When the chips are down, however, the best adjustment assistance is undoubtedly a strong and dynamic economy. The general resistance in the United States to freer trade is high at a time when a low growth rate and high unemployment characterize the domestic economy. If opportunities for new business and new jobs are dim, injured parties argue that no amount of adjustment assistance can ease the burden and that the only real protection for U.S. jobs and industries is restricting imports through quotas and high tariffs.

Not all Americans see freer trade with the developing nations as a concession to the South. Increased imports from the developing nations is just good business for the United States, some argue. Exporters point out that the United States consistently sells more to than it buys from developing nations (amounting in 1975 to a $6 billion surplus in trade with the non-oil-producing developing nations) and argue that new market potential in strengthened developing nation economies means growth, more business and more jobs in U.S. export industries. Increasingly organized and vocal, consumers welcome the lower prices of goods produced in the developing nations. And some economists see liberalized policy on imports to be one of the best inflation-fighting tools open to governments.

The debt burden

Borrowing today and repaying tomorrow with income generated from the initial loan is nothing new to families, businesses or nations. Developing nations have long used private and public loans to obtain the capital necessary to spur economic development.

Developing nations borrow mainly from governments, from international development institutions such as the World Bank, and from commercial banks in the private sector. Private lenders set much stiffer terms, both in interest rates and in time allowed for repayment, than do governments or international institutions.

During the past three years, the debt of developing nations has

*This paper is limited to "new economic order" issues. Because of time and space limitations, such issues as global food distribution, overpopulation, disarmament, and international law to govern the use of the oceans—all crucial to North-South relations—could not be covered.

increased dramatically to cover balance of payments deficits brought on by the combination of worldwide inflation and recession. Deficits of the non-oil-producing developing nations, which ran an unusually narrow $9 billion in 1973, increased to a record $37 billion during 1975. Worldwide economic recovery in 1976 should reduce the collective trade deficit of the developing nations, but only to about $34 billion, according to U.S. statistics.

Long-term government and government-guaranteed debt owed by the non-oil-producing developing nations rose from a total of $60 billion in 1973 to $95 billion in 1975; if short-term public and nonguaranteed debt is included, the total is about $130 billion. Recently, developing nations have increasingly had to resort to private capital markets because other sources have been insufficient to cover their dramatically burgeoning deficits. Half of the developing nations' collective 1975 deficit was financed by private rather than government loans and investments. The rapid escalation of debt in 1974 and 1975, especially because so much of it is owed to commercial sources, will lead to a "bunching" of debt servicing payments—that is, principal and interest payments—which in 1976 will be double the amount paid in 1973.

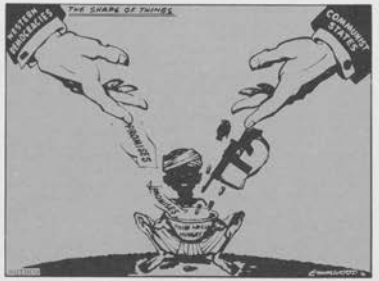
Despite some of the scare talk about western banks being overextended in the developing nations, the really serious payments problems are not in the nations lucky enough to qualify for commercial loans. Many of these nations are able to take domestic policy measures that will reduce their trade deficits over the next few years by accepting reductions in their growth rates. The real debt crises belong to the dismally poor countries, such as India and Pakistan, which rely on bilateral and multilateral government loans rather than commercial credit.

Noncommercial loan terms vary from the relatively "hard" loans of the World Bank, which lends at commercial rates, to the "soft" terms of the International Development Association (IDA), established as an affiliate of the Bank in 1960. IDA's funds, reserved for the poorest nations, are loaned at a rate of ¾ of 1 percent, with 50 years to repay. In such loans, the grant element is about 84 percent—that is, a $1 million loan is equivalent to a grant of $840,000.

Escalating debt servicing payments on debts acquired over the years are an increasing drain on foreign exchange earnings. Developing nations are currently spending about 15 percent of all the money they earn from exports on debt servicing—and that amount is expected to climb. This constitutes an alarming proportion of resources unavailable for consumption or investment at home, the keys to economic growth. What can be done about the debt burden? Several answers have been proposed: an international moratorium on noncommercial debt, whereby repayments would be postponed indefinitely; rescheduling of the most burdensome debts with consideration to writing off some noncommercial debts completely; increasing the grant element of future bilateral and multilateral loans; and increasing the total amount of bilateral and multilateral aid.

At the Nairobi UNCTAD meeting, the Group of 77 proposed an international moratorium on noncommercial debt and the consolidation of commercial debts with payments to be rescheduled over a period of 25 years. But it soon became obvious that support among developing nations was far from unanimous. Brazil, South Korea and other "middle class" developing nations quietly opposed such a generalized approach to the problem, fearing it would erode the creditworthiness of developing nations currently able to borrow in international capital markets.

The proposal for an across-the-board international debt moratorium seems dead for the time being. There are still other less drastic measures, however, that the South would like to see taken. They want to institutionalize procedures for negotiations aimed at rescheduling debt—that is, negotiations ending either in stretching out debt servicing over a longer period of time or in granting new loans with different terms. Now, rescheduling of debt is handled on a case-by-case basis. Since 1956, eight developing countries have undertaken multilateral debt renegotiations, some several times, which involves a meeting of all major commercial and public creditors of the nation sitting down with the debtor nation and figuring out ways to handle the debt. The Group of 77 has called for a conference of major developed creditor and interested debtor countries, to be held under UNCTAD auspices, to determine what international guidelines or institutions should be established to deal with this problem.



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Replacing loans with grants

Bilateral and multilateral aid is still the keystone of development for countries at the very bottom of the economic ladder, for whom freer trade, commodity agreements and new flexibility on debt repayment will make only a marginal impact. An increase in the grant element of bilateral and multilateral loans has been proposed by the developing nations, especially in loans to the poorest nations. (U.S. development assistance consists of about 60 percent grants and 40 percent loans; however, because the loans are made on easy credit terms, total U.S. development assistance in 1975 had a grant element of 85 percent.)

Government officials in many industrialized nations who oppose this proposal have argued that lending is more "businesslike" than granting, that loans are more likely to evoke sound economic and financial policies in the borrowing country than other forms of aid, and that the discovery of oil or an "economic miracle" could make repayment relatively painless. Many development experts, however, argue that the character-building virtues alleged to be inherent in development via loans can be as effectively built into 100-percent grant programs through requirements for self-help and mobilization of local resources. Moreover, as debt payments mount, more aid must be provided each year to maintain the same net flow of resources to a developing nation.

The mounting debt burden of the poorest nations, where no economic miracle is yet in sight, may mean that in some cases even rescheduling may not suffice. A complete write-off of some portion of the noncommercial loans (which probably should have been grants in the first place) may ultimately become necessary—and no more costly or painful than providing new grants to pay off old loans.

Technology transfer

Because developing nations increasingly see access to technology as a major key to wealth creation, they want to break down the monopoly on existing and future technology now held by the industrialized nations' multinational corporations. They argue that the "know-how" they now receive from industrialized nations has been insufficient, too expensive or not really suitable to their particular needs.

An example of the problem, cited in a *New York Times* article of June 24, 1976, is the drug industry, which has built manufacturing facilities around the world that are not under host nations' control, and, it is said, offer little benefit to them. The developing nations cite numerous practices to which they object: the use of patent and trademark rights to prevent the manufacture or importation of competing products in the host nation; curbs on the export of products manufactured under their licenses to prevent competition in other markets; and requirements that raw materials essential to their manufacturing processes be purchased from the parent company, often at exorbitant prices.

The developing nations have called for a legally binding international code of conduct establishing guidelines for "fair" terms and prices for technological transfers, including:

- more disclosure of company finances and procedures;
- guarantees that the technology supplied is "complete;"
- limits on royalty payments to the parent company;
- time limits on licensing agreements.

They also want revision of the international patent system to include preferential treatment for developing nations.

The western industrialized nations have agreed that a code may be necessary but want any regulations to be purely voluntary. They argue that although government measures can be effective in such cases as the establishing of internationally supported institutes of technology, the actual technology is in the hands of private companies, not government bureaucrats; mandatory requirements, they argue, would actually inhibit investment and therefore technology transfer.

The United States is one of the major proponents of this view, and hence has tried to steer the discussion of technology transfer toward an emphasis on improving the investment climate for multinationals and toward the development of more appropriate technology and managerial skills within the poor countries themselves.

To this end, Secretary of State Kissinger proposed at the May 1976 UNCTAD meeting such initiatives as regional management training centers and new international institutes to encourage research and development in appropriate technology and energy, proposals that were endorsed in UNCTAD's final resolution. The new institutes and training centers would focus on developing technologies appropriate to the labor-rich, capital-poor South as alternatives to technologies used in the North. For example, the developing nation whose farmers work an average of 4 acres might find mechanized hand tools more useful than the large tractors used by a farmer working 800 acres in an industrialized nation.

Kissinger also proposed that an International Resource Bank (IRB) be established to lend private capital for investment in raw material production, especially minerals and energy, in the developing nations. The Administration asserts that the IRB would improve the political climate for foreign investment, serve as an intermediary to shift resources and technology from the developed to the developing nations, increase export earnings of developing nations and assure supplies of raw materials.

The resolution to study Kissinger's proposal was rejected on the final day of the conference by a vote of 33 to 31 with 44 official abstentions and 46 delegations absent from the vote. Many developing nations felt the proposal was biased toward the concerns of multinational corporations for safe avenues of investment and of the U.S. government for secure sources of supply. It was extensively criticized for inadequately addressing the problems of developing nations—stable sources of income from raw materials exports, access to industrialized nations' markets, transfer of technology, etc. The United States, however, is not taking UNCTAD's "no" for an answer and plans to submit the plan for the IRB, possibly reworked, to the ongoing CIEC talks in Paris.

On one issue in the investment area, the United States has taken an apparently intractable stand. It has recognized the sovereign right of any nation to expropriate property owned by foreign companies or governments. What U.S. policy does not recognize is the developing nations' position on settlement disputes. The Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of States adopted by the Sixth Special Session of the UN General Assembly states that any controversy arising over compensation for expropriated property shall be settled under the domestic laws of the nationalizing state and by its tribunals. The United States voted against the charter, primarily because of this provision, maintaining that such disputes must be settled through international arbitration.

Sorting out the answers

Foreign policy has long seemed far removed from the daily concerns of the average American citizen. It has appeared to be the logical purview of experts skilled in high diplomacy and in touch with the latest secret information. Environmental quality, unemployment and inflation, energy sources, or local land use decisions much more readily capture the attention of the active and involved citizen. But as the stuff of American foreign policy increasingly gravitates toward economic issues, decisions made in the area of foreign policy do affect individual lives—and in a very direct way. Moreover, the argument for secrecy in foreign policy making does not apply as readily to economics. Economic negotiations are most often conducted openly in international forums, where government positions and disagreements can and do come under public scrutiny.

Government decisions on trade affect consumer prices and the kinds of jobs Americans have. A land use or an energy specialist looks at the "interdependence versus self-sufficiency" argument from an environmental viewpoint. What does a policy of raw materials self-sufficiency mean in terms of air, water, and noise pollution, or conservation of natural resources and wildlife? Today an interest in international relations can no longer be seen as an intellectual hobby; it is an integral part of a citizen's look at the nation and its future.

The basic question in regard to U.S. relations with the developing nations is a political one: How should the United States work toward improving the economic health of the developing nations where two-thirds of the world's people live? The answer to the question provides the framework for U.S. responses to proposals in the areas of trade, commodity agreements, debt, aid and so on. Some proposals may be accepted, others not. Balances will have to be struck, trade-offs made. But the basic questions and some of the specific proposals can and should be addressed by citizens who want to have input into governmental decisions determining U.S. policy.

Nothing the United States does will close the gap between the rich and poor nations tomorrow, next month, or even in the next decade—just as in the late forties and early fifties U.S. policies did not "solve" the problems of wartorn Europe. The developing nations' own internal efforts are as essential to the development process as the external environment. The North-South split at the United Nations and in other international forums will be evident for quite some time. But constructive U.S. approaches toward the problems of the poorer nations, and sincere efforts to define common goals that all nations can share will go a long way toward creating an atmosphere where progress is possible and where the United States can continue to play a viable role in an evolving world of nations.

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The U.S. at the UN: A Fresh Look

"The League will be thinking global this year in its examination of the world's largest mirror--the United Nations. Global food distribution, overpopulation, disarmament, international law to govern the use of the oceans, Middle East politics, the distribution of world resources, and many other issues--all converge at the United Nations. The League cannot begin to approach all these various issues. What the League can do, however, is to take a look at how some of the major, overriding issues have changed alignments at the UN and how the United States is responding to the issues and participating in the UN system." (National Board Report, May 1976)

This COMMITTEE GUIDE is to help you get started on the LWV's new International Relations study. In the official wording adopted by Convention '76, the League will conduct the study to "reexamine the UN system with emphasis on relations between developed and developing countries and their implications for U.S. policy." The COMMITTEE GUIDE outlines the scope of the study and the reasons for undertaking it; gives hints on organizing a resource committee; provides ideas and sample discussion questions for consensus meetings; lists a bibliography to use now and resource materials that will be sent to you later. It suggests a timetable Leagues can follow to prepare for the April 15, 1977 CONSENSUS DEADLINE.

To be most useful, this guide should be used in conjunction with other recent League publications relevant to the study. Look in your League tool chest for these publications:

- U.S. Relations with the Developing Nations: The New International Economic Countdown, LWVEF #682, 75¢.
- National VOTER, "UN: What Is and What Can Be," Summer 1976; "The Tides at Turtle Bay," Fall 1975; "Global Energy and Global Power," Fall 1974.
- UN: Wrapping Up the Thirtieth, LWVEF #604, 20¢.
- UPDATE International, Development Aid: Will It Be Caught in the Crunch? LWVEF #596, 25¢; UN: Are There Cracks in the Glass House?" LWVEF #570, 35¢.
- COMMITTEE GUIDE, What to Do About the UN Updating, LWVEF #559, 35¢.
- Documents: Background on National League Program 1974-76," LWVUS #521, 40¢.

These publications, which should already be in your files, provide good background material on the issues to be studied. You will also be receiving a kit of background materials prepared by the United Nations Association of the USA (UNA-USA) for League resource committees boning up on their UN facts.

And for every-member use there will be two FACTS & ISSUES available--one outlining the economic aspects of the North-South split at the UN and one on proposals for restructuring and on U.S. participation in the UN.

In addition two other "how to" publications are essential:

- Be sure to review the chapter entitled Program/Action of In League: Guidelines for League Boards (LWVUS #275, $2.00) which describes the League member agreement/consensus process in detail;
- Meaningful Meetings: The Role of the Resource Committee (LWVUS #319, 40¢) is a good resource for ideas on planning and implementing successful meetings.

So now, with your League files in order in the proper bulging condition, you are ready to begin.

Why a New Study

League support for the UN goes back 30 years. We have favored U.S. policies to strengthen the UN system, examining the organization with a friendly but critical eye. Out last hard look at the UN was in 1962-64 when world events were overshadowed by East-West tensions. Since then, North-South tensions have emerged as a dominant factor in multilateral organizations--serving as a backdrop to many of the global political and economic issues of the day. Because the UN mirrors world happenings, it is important for us to gain a new understanding of what is beneath the surface of the activities taking place in the glass house on the East River in New York City.

Over the past two decades, the close of the era of colonialism has given birth to many newly independent nations now struggling to develop their economies to survive in a world that has the technical know-how but lacks the political will to eradicate world poverty. These newly independent nations have swelled UN membership from the original 51 to today's 144 member states.

The cold war of the fifties and early sixties molded world events and had its impact on UN happenings. As tensions between the two super powers have lessened, so have East-West confrontation scenes at the UN diminished. Meanwhile, the developing nations have found political clout in numbers and organization, and are in their turn using such international forums as the UN to put forth their economic and political agendas. Top billing at the UN now goes to the conflicts between the rich, industrialized nations and the poor, developing nations, sometimes referred to as the North-South split.

The developing nations have been demanding for many years a voice in world economic policies affecting them, but it was not until the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) demonstrated its ability

committee guide

League of Women Voters
of the United States
1730 M Street, N.W.,
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to affect in a significant way the western world's economy that the North began to take these demands seriously. The catchword of the seventies is undoubtedly "interdependence."

What should be the U.S. stance vis-a-vis the developing nations? What U.S. policies should League members support to ensure the implementation of the League's belief 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?" (Documents, p. 14). How should the United States react to opposition within the UN system from Third World nations on political issues considered vital to our national interest?

At the 1975 League national council meeting, League delegates, worried about the above questions, overwhelmingly passed a motion calling for a member update on the League's UN position before the 1976 national convention. The update was not a new study of the UN nor a reevaluation of the League's existing UN position. It was a review of our 1964 position and our action on U.S. participation in the UN system since the adoption of that position, plus an overview of "the state of the UN" today. Members were told they could opt for a new study or reevaluation of our position at convention. While the update confirmed members' belief that the United States is more effective inside the United Nations than outside, it also convinced them we needed a new study of the UN system and its implications for U.S. policy.

National programmaking during early 1976 showed that League members are satisfied and comfortable with our trade and aid positions. They agree that:

- special trade concessions should be made for the developing countries;
- U.S. contributions for development aid should be increased;
- the interests of citizens in both host and parent countries engaged in international investment and technology should be guarded by international standards and agreements;
- commodity agreements to help moderate sharp fluctuations in primary products should be supported.

In a world in which the "haves" are no longer doing all the proposing (and disposing) the UN study we are now beginning affords us an ideal opportunity to look at the interrelatedness of all our IR positions. All of the positions--trade, aid and the UN--are parts of a whole. And events in the UN arena confirm that this fact is equally true in the real world. An isolated look at the United Nations divorced from the underlying political pushes for economic change in the world and the particular terms in which proposed reforms are being couched would be distorted and unsatisfactory. In fact, the economic issues splitting the North and South contribute substantially to U.S. isolation at the UN and the defeat of U.S. positions on political issues in the General Assembly. The current study should not be seen as including a reevaluation of the League's trade and aid positions. Rather, it should be seen as encompassing a broad look at the changes in the world political and economic setting, during which certain suggestions for refinements in the trade and aid positions may emerge. A look at changes in the world scene including the economic component of the North-South split should set the intellectual stage for examining the real guts of the study--U.S. participation in the UN system.

The Scope of the Study

The study divides naturally into two areas: first, the major economic issues that have fostered the North-South split at the United Nations; and U.S. participation in the UN, including a look at various proposals for UN restructuring.

In order for the League to take part in the ongoing economic debates and to influence U.S. decisions about participation in the UN and in other world forums, we need answers to difficult and complex questions.

One of these questions will address the economic component of the North-South split at the UN. For example, in light of changes in the world political and economic setting, do you think the U.S. should increase its efforts to act positively on the economic proposals of the developing nations? If so, would your League wish to expand or refine League positions in the trade or aid area? (Some areas on which you might want to comment are commodity agreements, debt relief, technology transfer, market access, aid, etc.)

Other questions address in a very direct way U.S. participation in the UN: To what extent if any should the United States condition its participation in the various bodies of the UN system? Explain. Among the proposals for changing the UN system, are there any that the United States should support as being both desirable and achievable?

And finally, the League needs to know whether members feel that in light of the changed world situation, they would recommend any further changes, deletions, or shifts in emphasis in our present UN positions?

The specific language of consensus questions in all these areas will have to be approved by the national board meeting in September. They will be sent to Leagues as soon after the board meeting as possible. But there is no need to wait. With the aid of this COMMITTEE GUIDE, materials already in League files, and those listed in the bibliography at the end of this guide, Leagues can and should begin now to plan their time and to organize the study. It is best to work backward from the consensus deadline of April 15, 1977. All reports on member agreement will have to be in the national office by that time. Be sure to organize your schedule so that your local board has sufficient time to draw up its consensus statement and send it in to meet the deadline.

During the study, the League will continue to act in support of our present UN, trade and aid positions.

Some Ways to Approach the Study

There are a number of approaches to the study available to Leagues. For a discussion of different techniques for reaching member agreement and consensus, see In League: Guidelines for League Boards. Your League will want to decide how many and what kinds of meetings to schedule and what materials to cover in those meetings. One determining factor will be whether a League did last year's UN update and what areas that update covered. Remember, even if your League update covered areas of this study, it was not a substitute for consensus. What the update did provide is a base from which to proceed--an indication of where your local League members are in their understanding of the UN, in what areas they need more background, and what issues they would most like to address.

The national board recommends that, to cover the subject in sufficient depth, Leagues plan if possible two meetings, sometime between December 1976 and March

1977, to parallel the two-part focus:
1. The economic issues dividing the industrialized and developing world; (this first session may at first seem peripheral or a lot of work but without it your members' understanding of what is happening at the UN might be difficult. If you are able to plan only one meeting, be sure to cover this issue in your bulletins and other preparatory material, so that you can go directly to the second part).
2. The future U.S. role in the UN including proposals and prospects for restructuring the UN system.

The discussion outline for the two meetings (see page 4) should help you focus your ideas. The outline is, of course, only a suggestion--to be reworked, added to or subtracted from, and adapted to fit your needs. Or it can be completely ignored--you know best.

Ideas to consider in your planning:
1. Two unit meetings for member discussion/consensus.
2. A speaker at a general or community meeting and one unit meeting for member discussion/consensus.
3. One all-day meeting: workshop in morning; consensus in afternoon.
4. An exchange or pooling of resource committees with neighboring Leagues. Plan to cooperate and work with neighboring Leagues to share resources, combine talents, have joint consensus meetings, and lighten the load for everyone involved.
5. If only one relatively short meeting is possible you will have to rely even more heavily on written material in advance so use fact sheets and local bulletin articles to stimulate interest and prepare members for discussion.
6. Programs on UN Day (October 24) to stimulate member interest in the consensus.
7. Supplemental ways to get member views (e.g. telephone surveys, bulletin tear-offs, etc. See In League).

If you have trouble getting started and nearby Leagues cannot help, contact your state IR Chairman, the national chairman Ruth Robbins, or the IR committee: Martha Aasen, UN Observer; Joan Rich, California; and Karen Pickett, Iowa. (Send correspondence to 1730 M Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036.)

Setting Up the Resource Committee

Many Leagues already have a chairman to head the study, many of whom are continuing from last year's UN update. If your League is not one of the lucky ones, you need to recruit a chairman and committee members immediately. Do not attempt to have a one-person resource committee. It's no fun, it's too difficult, and depending on an indispensable person is too risky for good League management.

THE VERY FIRST ASSIGNMENT FOR THE RESOURCE COMMITTEE IS TO READ MEANINGFUL MEETINGS: THE ROLE OF THE RESOURCE COMMITTEE. It will make the job easier, the results more successful. It contains invaluable suggestions for carrying out a program item from adoption through consensus. This guide will not repeat what is in Meaningful Meetings, but will apply some of its suggestions to this particular study.

Some tasks to be done:

- The chairman should be thoroughly familiar with present IR positions and actions taken under them. (See Documents, recent issues of Report from the Hill and IR update, p.6). In addition, the chairman is the administrative officer of the committee. She/he sets meeting dates--both resource and workshop; draws up agendas for meetings; helps prepare discussion outlines for membership meetings; deals with all phases of managing the issue. The chairman is the liaison with the board, to which progress reports are made and problem areas discussed. The chairman should also follow media sources for new developments that might need some fast research in order to prepare for that inevitable question starting out "I read in the paper yesterday..."
- Four kinds of information-gathering need to be done:
--information on the economic problems of the developing countries, their demands for solving them, and how the gap between the rich and poor nations has contributed to the North-South split at the UN.
--analyses of U.S. responses: what does the U.S. perceive to be its needs? How can the United States help meet developing country economic demands? What would this mean in terms of U.S. national interest? U.S. values?
--current controversy in the United Nations; the influence of anti-colonialist feelings; the political effect of the Middle East and South Africa; the General Assembly vote on Zionism; UNESCO actions, etc.
--viable suggestions for changing the present UN structure to make it more effective.
- It is a good idea to have one person in addition to the chairman to attend all meetings and workshops of the resource committee as an objective recorder and note which issues are most provocative; to make certain that all issues are presented impartially; to sort out which issues are still unclear after discussion; to see which discussions lead to conclusions; to critique the material as it is being developed and digested; to help develop good discussion questions for the membership meetings; to help with administrative details such as meeting reminders, places to meet in, baby-sitting arrangements, etc.

Six is probably an optimum size for a committee. If you have more than six volunteers be certain to divide the assignments so everyone shares in the workload and fun. Additional persons can also be used to do spot jobs--make charts, write single fact sheets or bulletin articles, clip newspapers and magazines, set up a library reserve shelf.

What if yours is one of the many Leagues that won't have six or more committee members? Don't fret, be innovative! You may have to dispense with a recorder. Or will someone double in brass? The chairman may have to double up, too, researching as well as managing. But try some other routes. Splitting up tasks and making it easy for time-short members to take

TIMETABLE

Consensus questions will be mailed out to Leagues after the national board meets in September.

A special UN Information Kit prepared by UNA-USA for League members to be mailed in September. It will contain the following:
- A Backgrounder on the Third World
- Various Proposals for Restructuring the UN
- Fact Sheets on Africa; Middle East; peacekeeping, the World Bank Group; financing the UN system; comparative contributions to the UN; U.S. contributions to the UN; the UN Charter; UN structure chart (brief explanations of agencies and programs); UN structure sheet (membership, etc.); glossary of economic terms; The UN Under Attack--Questions and Answers.

FACTS & ISSUES, North and South at the UN: The Economic Challenge, and FACTS AND ISSUES, U.S. at the UN: Fight, Flight, or Something in Between, both LWVEF, will be mailed to Leagues in October.

SUGGESTED DISCUSSION OUTLINE

Meeting #1

I. Introduction

A. STATE PURPOSE OF STUDY as defined by convention action--to "reexamine the UN system with emphasis on relations between developed and developing countries and their implications for U.S. policy."

B. STATE GOAL OF THIS MEETING--consensus on question dealing with North-South economic relations. The consensus question will be designed to enable members to see how well League positions already address the North-South economic split and to see whether they would like to expand or refine current League positions in areas where the developing nations are demanding change.

C. STATE GOAL OF NEXT MEETING--consensus on questions dealing with U.S. participation in the UN.

D. REVIEW THE LEAGUE'S POSITIONS on international economic issues affecting North-South relations.

1. Brief summary of relevant sections from Documents (p. 12-15) with explanation that the League already has some very solid positions developed with almost uncanny foresight in many of the economic areas causing much of the North-South turbulence at the United Nations. Example summary:
--The principle of reciprocity in trade agreements should be waived to make special trade concessions to the developing nations.
--The trend of reduced development aid should be reversed and U.S. contributions for development should be increased.
--U.S. development assistance policies should enhance human dignity and fulfill basic human needs.
--The interests of citizens in both host and parent countries should be guarded by international standards and agreements to regulate overseas corporate investment policies and practices.
--The U.S. should support commodity arrangements that help moderate sharp fluctuations in the prices of primary products and help stabilize the export incomes of developing countries.
--Compensatory financing arrangements, such as those initiated under the International Monetary Fund, should be supported as a means to stabilize the export income of developing nations.

2. Review action taken by the LWVUS on trade and development aid in the past few years (see p 6).
Note: Use the suggestions in Meaningful Meetings--visual aids, recap sheets--to give variety to this and the next section of the meeting and to preserve time for discussion.

II. Economic Issues Contributing to North-South Split, Spelled Out in First F & I.

A. RESOURCE PRESENTATION

1. A discussion of the changing world context in which North-South issues have come to the fore.

2. The forums in which developing nations' proposals have been presented and are being negotiated (i.e. UN General Assembly and Special Sessions, UN Conference on Trade and Development, General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade and the Conference on International Economic Cooperation (CIEC), etc.).

3. Developing nations' proposals in the areas of trade, commodity agreements, debt relief, technology transfer, aid. These issues should be looked at as a whole; as interrelated steps toward a single overall goal. Some of the proposals will make sense to members and they may wish to strengthen or expand League positions in these areas. Other proposals may seem unacceptable but members may wish to direct the United States to take a more constructive attitude in addressing the problems generating the proposals. Looking at the various proposals as a group will help members focus on the general thrust of U.S. policies and those of the developing nations and will help prevent the discussion from becoming bogged down in technical details.

4. U.S. current positions on various developing nations' proposals.

B. DISCUSSION--the discussion is likely to get off to a lively start if you begin with a question or comment on which everyone is likely to have an opinion. For example, you might stimulate a healthy free-for-all if you ask such a provocative question as "do you think it is worthwhile for the U.S. to do anything to cooperate with the developing nations?" To focus the subsequent discussion, alternatives for specific action could then be posed. Below are listed some options taken from developing nations' proposals for change:

1. As a further means of stabilizing the export earnings of developing nations, in addition to compensatory financing and preferential treatment for exports, the United States should agree to:
a. help finance buffer stocks of raw materials, where appropriate, to be bought and sold on the international market place to keep prices within agreed limits.
b. enter into an integrated commodity agreement whereby the prices of 10 or more commodities are determined through international negotiations and kept within specified limits by a special international agency created for this purpose.
c. establish a system of indexation (prices of the exports of developing nations should be set in accordance with the prices of their imports from developed nations).

2. The United States currently spends about .23% of its GNP on official development assistance. Should this amount:
a. be increased?
b. be decreased?
c. remain the same?

3. How should disputes over compensation for expropriation be settled:
a. by domestic courts of host nations?
b. by international arbitration?

4. How should the United States share its technical know-how with the developing nations:
a. by easing international patent restrictions?
b. by participating in the establishment of international or regional institutes of technology?
c. by encouraging private investment in the developing nations?
d. by all or some combination of the above?
e. other

5. How should the United States ease the debt burden of the developing nations:
a. by negotiating on a case-by-case basis the rescheduling of the most burdensome debts?
b. by agreeing to an international moratorium on non-commercial debt?
c. by gradually increasing the grant element of U.S. development assistance until it consists totally of grants rather than loans?
d. by all or some combination of the above?
e. other?

C. CONSENSUS on question dealing with North-South economic relations.
D. BRIEF PREVIEW of Meeting #2.

Meeting #2

I. Introduction

A. STATE PURPOSE OF STUDY (same as Meeting #1).

B. REVIEW CONSENSUS reached at Meeting #1 on Question #1.

C. STATE GOAL of this meeting--consensus on questions relating directly to the UN. These questions on the United Nations are expected to be fairly general. One will be designed to elicit member opinion on whether and/or how the United States should condition the extent of its participation in the various bodies of the UN system. There will also be a consensus question on restructuring the UN--whether the United States should support any of the proposals for changing the UN system as both desirable and achievable. Another question will ask League members whether they recommend further changes, deletions, or shifts in emphasis in the League's current UN position.

D. REVIEW LEAGUE'S POSITION on the UN.

1. Brief summary of relevant sections from Documents. The United States should:
--work to strengthen the UN system and its ability to keep the peace.
--work to improve UN peacekeeping procedures.
--participate in and support UN efforts to continue international negotiations to reduce the risk of war.
--support the principle of one vote for each member nation.
--support greater use of the World Court to settle international disputes.
--costs of the organization should be shared among member states, commensurate with their ability to pay.

2. Quick recap of recent League action on U.S. policy towards the United Nations.

II. U.S. Participation in the UN System

A. RESOURCE PRESENTATION

1. Current U.S. policy in the UN. Delineate some of the issues that have generated the necessity for asking a question on the extent of U.S. participation, e.g. General Assembly vote on Zionism, UNESCO decisions, and U.S. notice of intent to withdraw from the International Labor Organization. Lead the discussion to the formulation of principles or circumstances which can be used to guide League action regarding U.S. participation. Remember that the League cannot work directly for change in the UN. All League action is directed to U.S. government activities in the UN. Members should be assured that this is an issue where the League can effect change, and this is a very important question that will guide the national board in determining League actions.

2. Suggested alternatives for U.S. policy.

B. DISCUSSION--Alternatives to provoke discussion

1. In order to be most effective in its foreign policy, what should be the general posture of the United States at the United Nations:
a. active participation in all UN organs even when the U.S. is defeated in General Assembly voting or when theoretically nonpolitical agencies are "politicized?"
b. active participation in the Security Council, minimal participation in the General Assembly, participation only in "nonpoliticized" special agencies?
c. complete withdrawal from the UN and its specialized agencies?
d. other?

2. Should the United States tie bilateral assistance levels to the votes of nations in the General Assembly to force nations to vote more responsibly?

3. The U.S. currently pays 25 percent of the regular UN budget. Is this amount:
a. too much?
b. too little?
c. about right?

C. CONSENSUS on U.S. participation in the United Nations

III. Proposals for Changes in the UN System

A. RESOURCE PRESENTATION

1. Charter changes--Point out necessary steps to Charter revision and difficulties involved. What would changes mean to developing nations? the U.S.?

2. Reorganization of agencies that deal with economic issues. In addition to listing various alternatives to the current UN system, League members should discuss what qualities of a plan make it desirable and achievable. What are their goals for the UN, and then which plan or parts of a plan best address these goals?

B. DISCUSSION--alternatives to provoke discussion. Should the United States support reforms to restructure the UN system through:
1. Charter revision?
2. better coordination of economic agencies and commissions?
3. greater emphasis on consensus rather than voting?

C. CONSENSUS on question regarding appropriate U.S. policy toward restructuring the UN system.

IV. Review of LWV Position on UN and Discussion of Possible Changes

Consensus on question asking for changes, deletions, or shifts in emphasis in the current UN position.

NOTE: If you are scheduling only one unit meeting, consider which parts of these discussion outlines you will handle in other ways--through fact sheets, questionnaires, etc. at the meeting or through some of the other devices suggested in In League, page 37. As noted earlier, your decision about which topics to abridge will depend very much on your total plan, and especially on what you covered in the 1975-76 update.

part may produce a whole new batch of help--short of full-time committee participation. Tap local faculty and students for research help. And, since all Leagues have the same basic assignment,make a neighborly call on a nearby League. Sharing the task lightens it for everybody. In a pinch, even a small two-person resource committee could do the job; with one covering the North-South split, the other the United Nations.

Functioning of the Resource Committee

The first meeting is very important. It is at this time that subjects and appropriate bibliographies are assigned to committee members. A convenient schedule for future meetings of the committee should be agreed upon. Each person should know when and what to report on as his/her assignment. Design these meetings so they are open to the membership, functioning as mini-workshops for interested members who do not wish to take on assignments.

Other committee meetings should be devoted to learning, analyzing, questioning and absorbing substance as well as working on a discussion outline for the membership meetings (see suggested outline, page 4) and having a mock meeting or dry-run.

The Membership Meeting

As the consensus deadline approaches, a resource committee has to decide what to present to members and how to present it. Remember, you don't have to tell them everything you know--just what you sift out, select, and decide is essential for stimulating discussion, thoughtful evaluation and, with luck, agreement on some answers. Be imaginative in making meetings interesting as well as informative. You might have a debate or a dialog with one person representing the developing countries and another the developed countries. You could stage a mock hearing on U.S. participation in the United Nations, or a General Assembly debate on economic issues with speakers from both worlds. You could start a meeting with a quiz or opinion poll on UN and economic issues and have members check their answers both before and after the meeting. Films can provoke reactions which set the stage for your discussion. Remember, your primary aim is a citizen discussion/decision.

Involve the Community

Your decisions on how to structure a resource committee, cover the material and reach consensus will depend on the time, interests and resources of your League. Take stock of those resources not only in your League but also in your community. Use the increased public interest in the UN to involve people in and out of the League in your study.* Remember citizen information is an integral part of all League activities. Hold open meetings and invite interested members of the public. Contact experts and informed members of the community to speak to your resource committee or to membership meetings. Look to colleges and universities for speakers on the developing world, to labor, farm, and business leaders on economic issues. Members of several other nongovernmental organizations have a special interest in the UN.Contact such groups as UNA-USA, AAUW, and Church Women United to involve their members in your study.

*Put out the welcome mat for prospective members who may be attracted to the League through this issue. Invite them to join the League and see that they get to participate in the study.

IR Action Update

League action on international relations positions is published in Report from the Hill.Telegrams, letters, and phone calls from League members across the nation combined with direct lobbying by members of the national board,the UN observer and members of the Legislative Action Division's lobby corps relay our positions to national leaders. Some of the more recent actions:

UNITED NATIONS

March 12, 1976. Letter of congratulations sent to William Scranton on his appointment as U.S. Ambassador to the United Nations. The letter stated the League's belief that "The United States needs a representative who combines a sensitivity to the need for mutual accommodation at the UN with an ability to speak out in defense of American interests in a way which will regain the respect, if not the agreement, of our fellow member nations."

April 1976. Letter to the Senate Foreign Relations Committee and House International Relations Subcommittee on International Organizations regarding the Committee's hearings on U.S. participation in the UN. The letters reported on the League's UN updating which reaffirmed "support for U.S. policies designed to strengthen the UN system and its peacebuilding activities."

The UN observer and the chairman of the national IR committee during recent years have expressed League views in formal and informal discussions on U.S. policies with high-ranking officials of the UN Secretariat, U.S. Mission to the UN, U.S. Department of State and with key members of Congress.

November 10, 1975. Letter of protest sent to the President, Secretary of State, Ambassador Moynihan and other UN delegation members, and congressional leaders in response to the UN resolution equating Zionism with racism. In the letter, the League went on record as vigorously opposing the UN vote on Zionism, but warned against "a hasty U.S. reaction which would act against U.S. interests." The League urged the United States to continue participation "within the Security Council, the General Assembly, and in other UN specialized agencies and committees."

Ruth Clusen, LWVUS President, contributed to U.S. positions through her participation in the UN Environment, IWY, and Habitat Conferences.

May 8, 1975. Telegram from the LWVUS national council to Senator John Sparkman, chairman, Senate Foreign Relations Committee. The telegram commended the committee for holding hearings on the UN "at this crucial point in the UN's history." The message continued: "We deplore recent UN General Assembly and UNESCO General Conference actions which violate the spirit of the UN Charter. We do not feel, however, that withdrawal of U.S. participation from these organizations is an appropriate response. We strongly urge that the United States provide firm, constructive leadership to support UN policies and programs which promote the spirit of the Charter."

The League has consistently supported repeal of the Byrd Amendment to the Military Procurement Act of 1971, which allows the U.S. to import certain "strategic materials" from Rhodesia in violation of the UN Security Council's comprehensive embargo on trade with Rhodesia.

TRADE

Ruth Hinerfeld, LWV Vice President, sits on the President's Advisory Committee for Trade Negotiations a-

long with representatives from organized labor, business, agriculture, and consumer groups, to advise the President on appropriate U.S. policy stands at the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade talks.

July 30, 1976. Letter to Senator John Sparkman, Chairman, Senate Foreign Relations Committee, urging U.S. participation in the international tin and coffee agreements. The letter expressed League support of these international commodity agreements "as the next step which must be taken toward the fulfillment of our national commitment to positive North-South relations and to the solution of worldwide economic problems."

March 16, 1976. Memo to state and local LWV presidents regarding the ITC finding of injury to the U.S. shoe industry from increased imports. Letters from state and local League presidents across the country urged the President to support adjustment assistance rather than tariffs or quotas as the appropriate remedy. The President decided to grant adjustment assistance on April 16.

July 29, 1975. Testimony delivered by Ruth Hinerfeld, LWV Vice President, before the Trade Policy Staff Committee urging the Administration to take the League's view into account in the formulation of U.S. positions at the GATT talks.

March and April, 1975. Local and state Leagues across the country testified before the regional ITC hearings conducted to elicit public views on the economic impact of future tariff reductions.

AID

March 1, 1976. Memo to House of Representatives regarding the combined FY '76 foreign aid appropriations bill. The League supported the bill as "the only means at this time for continuing U.S. aid programs to the Third World."

December 9, 1975. The League through the LWV lobby corps and communications from the national office supported a bill to increase U.S. participation in the Inter-American Development Bank and to provide for U.S. participation in the African Development Fund.

August 28, 1975. ACTION ALERT on development assistance sent to state and local Leagues. As a result of the alert, Leagues contacted members of Congress and expressed strong support for the International Development Food Assistance Act (HR 9005). The League spearheaded Washington lobby efforts to separate authorization for foreign aid devoted exclusively to development assistance from authorizations for military and supporting assistance.

July 1975. Testimony delivered by Ruth Clusen, LWV president, before the Senate Foreign Relations and the House International Relations Committees regarding policies the League considers essential to a sound development assistance program.

November 13, 1974. Telegram from Ruth Clusen, LWV president, to President Ford regarding food assistance. The telegram urged the President to respond to appeals from the World Food Conference "to pledge immediately a million additional tons of food assistance for the world's people in greatest need" and to support "an internationally coordinated system of national food reserves."

Suggested Resources

ORDER NOW

■ The Inter Dependent. Monthly newspaper of the UNA-USA. Excellent up-to-date reporting of global issues. Special introductory price for League members, $3.50/year.

■ Issues before the UN General Assembly 31st Session. Comprehensive background on major questions expected to come before the GA this year. Included will be: Middle East, Southern Africa, "North-South" economic cooperation, human rights, law of the sea, disarmament, UN organization and finance. Single copy, $3.00. Both can be ordered from UNA-USA, 345 East 46th St., Department L, New York, New York, 10017.

THE WINGSPREAD SYMPOSIUM--A SPECIAL RESOURCE

A February 1976 League symposium at Wingspread, the Conference Center of the Johnson Foundation, in Racine,Wisconsin, provides valuable resources for the League UN study:

■ Symposium participants, to speak, provide planning help, act as resource people. Ask your state League who attended from your state.

■ Conversations from Wingspread, 28 minute radio cassettes. Each participant has a set. Particularly relevant are: A Report on the Developing Countries--His Excellency, Neville Kanakaratne, Ambassador of Sri Lanka to the U.S. and The U.S. and the Poor Countries of the World--Peter Riddleberger, Public Affairs Advisor, World Bank and Virginia Saurwein, Chief, Nongovernmental Organization Liaison Office, United Nations Development Program.

■ U.S. Relations with the Developing Nations: The New International Economic Countdown. A comprehensive report of the symposium with an excellent bibliography. A copy has been sent to each League. Order additional copies from LWVUS,1730 M St., N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036. #682, 75¢.

Important addresses for publications:
Department of State, Bureau of Public Affairs, Office of Media Services, Washington, D.C. 20520.
Overseas Development Council (ODC), 1717 Massachusetts Ave., N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036.
UNA-USA, 345 East 46th St., Dept. L, New York, N.Y. 10017.
United Nations Development Program (UNDP), Division of Information, One United Nations Plaza, New York, N.Y. 10017.
United Nations, Sales and Publications, Rm. LX 2300, New York, N.Y. 10017.

GENERAL

■ Brzezinski, Zbigniew,"America in a Hostile World,"Foreign Policy, Summer 1976. Argues that the U.S. is increasingly seen in the world as resistant to global change, posing the spector of an isolated America in a hostile world.

■ Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Scanning the Future 1976. Report of the NGO Forum held in conjunction with the 7th Special Session of the UN GA. Contributions of 50 outside panelists. ($3.50: Carnegie Endowment, 345 East 46th St., N.Y., N.Y. 10017.

■ Farer, Tom J., "The United States and the Third World: A Basis for Accomodation," Foreign Affairs, October 1975. Discusses issues, particularly anti-colonialism, shaping the North-South confrontation and positions available to the U.S. to enhance cooperation, including the repeal of the Byrd Amendment and removal of tariff and nontariff trade barriers.

NORTH-SOUTH ECONOMIC ISSUES

■ Agency for International Development,"Facts and Fallacies about Foreign Aid." Responds to several criticisms of the U.S. aid program including allegations of a negative effect on the U.S. economy, support of unpopular elitist regimes and poorly planned and managed programs. (Free: AID, Dept. of State, Washington, D.C. 20520.)

■ Chamber of Commerce of the United States,"World Trade in Commodities:Analysis and Policy Recommendations." Includes arguments against U.S. participation in international commodity agreements. (Free: Chamber of Commerce of the U.S.,

Washington, D.C. 20062.)

■ Erb, Guy and Kalleb, Valeriana, Beyond Dependency--The Developing World Speaks Out. Collection of essays by developing-country experts on subjects of long-term North-South contention with complete texts of the major nongovernmental and official declarations on new international economic order during 1974-75. ($3.95: ODC.)

■ Feulner, Edwin J.,Jr., Congress and the New International Economic Order, 1976. Argues against proposals by developing nations for a new international economic order which the author believes would damage the U.S. economy. ($3.00: Heritage Foundation, 513 C Street, N.E., Wash., D.C. 20002.)

■ Frank, Isaiah,"Toward a New Framework for International Commodity Policy." Finance and Development, June 1976. Outlines the principal problems involved in commodity trade from the perspective of developing countries and presents solutions. (Free: International Monetary Fund, Publications, Washington, D.C. 20431.)

■ Hansen, Roger, Agenda for Action 1976. Essays and charts on U.S. policy toward Third World development. ($4.50: ODC.)

■ Howe, James, The U.S. and World Development--Agenda for Action 1975. Collection of essays and statistical charts on world development. ($4.50: ODC.)

■ Kissinger, Henry, "Global Consensus and Economic Development,"Sept. 1, 1975 address by Secretary of State delivered by Daniel Moynihan at the Seventh Special Session. Contains U.S. proposals on commodities, GSP, development finance,etc. (Free: Dept. of State.)

■ Kissinger, Henry, "UNCTAD IV: Expanding Cooperation for Global Economic Development." May 6, 1976 address by Secretary of State before the UNCTAD IV. Contains U.S. proposals on commodities,an International Resource Bank, technology transfer, and debt problems of developing countries. (Free: Dept. of State.)

■ Kristol, Irving,"The New Cold War," The Wall Street Journal, July 17, 1975. Discusses the political overtones of the poor nations demands for a new international economic order and the effect such demands will have on the western industrialized nations.

■ Lewis, Paul, "The Have-Nots are Gaining Ground in their Drive to Gain Concessions," National Journal, June 5, 1976. Summary of decisions made at UNCTAD IV. (Free while the supply lasts: Joan Willingham, National Journal,1730 M St.,N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036.)

■ Malmgren, Harald B., The Raw Material and Commodity Controversy. 1975. Analysis of the resources and commodity controversy including suggestions for U.S.policy. ($3.00: International Economic Institute, 1625 Eye St., NW, Wash., D.C. 20006.)

■ United Nations, Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of States, UN Document OPI/542. Recommendations for a new world economic order, as adopted by the UN in 1974. (Free: UN.)

■ UNDP, "Global-1: Developmental Issue Papers." Series of articles dealing with the "Programme of Action for a New International Economic Order." (Free: UNDP.)

UNITED NATIONS

■ Ad Hoc Group on U.S. Policy Toward the UN, A New United States Policy Toward the United Nations, April 1976. Recommendations from a group of scholars and public leaders on U.S. participation in the UN. (50¢: Ad Hoc Group on U.S. Policy Toward the UN, 165 East 56th St., N.Y., N.Y., 10022.)

■ Astrachan, Anthony,"The UN Against Itself," The New Republic, November 29, 1975. An analysis of events prior to and during the 30th General Assembly.

■ Cleveland, Harlan, "The U.S. vs. the UN?" New York Times Magazine, May 4, 1975. Recommends procedural changes to bypass voting systems in the UN.

■ Cousins, Norman, editorial, Saturday Review, March 6, 1976. Advocates a strengthened U.S. position in the UN as a means to regenerate the organization.

■ Gardner, Richard, "New Structures for Economic Interdependence," May 1975 proceedings of an international conference. Includes statements of developing and developed nation officials on the UN and the new international economic order. ($2.00: Institute on Man and Science, Rensselaerville, New York, N.Y. 12147.)

■ Goodrich, Leland M.,The United Nations in a Changing World. 1974. An overall review of the changes within the UN since its founding and a look at the future of the organization. ($6.00: Columbia University Press.)

■ Lewis, Samuel W.,"American Diplomacy at the United Nations: What Are the Real Stakes?" May 12, 1976 address by the Assistant Secretary of State for International Organization Affairs. Discusses changes within the UN system, the need for the U.S. to review and strengthen its role in the UN, and consequences for the U.S. if its support for the organization is diminished. (Free: Dept. of State.)

■ Maynes, Charles William, "A UN Policy for the Next Administration," Foreign Affairs, July 1976. Article proposes a U.S. strategy of combining tough diplomacy with practical accommodation in the UN including temporary boycotts of politicized UN bodies, directing foreign aid through new channels, and devoting increased diplomatic attention to key Third World nations.

■ Partan, David. The Documentary Study of the Politicization of UNESCO, Nov. 1975. Extensive study of UNESCO actions focusing on Israel. ($15: American Academy of Arts and Sciences, 165 Allandale Street, Boston, Mass. 02130.)

■ Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, Hearings, May 1975. Excellent resource for committees with little time for further research. Contains testimony of approximately fifty public and private leaders on the UN past, present and future. Includes articles, documents and reports both pro and con on the UN. (Free: Committee on Foreign Relations, U.S. Senate, Washington, D.C. 20510.)

■ Stanford University, Ed. International Organization, Spring 1976. Contains three articles dealing with background on negotiations for the Seventh Special Session and policy recommendations for the United States.

■ United Nations, Anniversary Basic Facts about the UN, 1975. A general introduction to the role and functions of the UN and its related agencies with charts, history, and chronology. ($1.00:UN.)

■ United Nations, A New United Nations Structure for Global Economic Cooperation, May 1975. UN Doc. E.75.II.A.7. The official report of the Group of Eminent Experts which includes proposals for a number of major changes in the economic activities of the UN, including the need for stronger central structures and a new negotiating process. ($7.00: UN.)

■ Yeselson, Abraham and Gaglinone, Anthony, A Dangerous Place: The UN as a Weapon in World Politics, 1975. Argues that the UN is used by member states to further their national interests rather than for peacemaking and is a weapon in international relations. ($8.95: Grossman.)

FILMS

■ A New Bargain.Scenes alternate between theoretical discussions on economic development taking place at a meeting of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD) and examples of specific economic problems in a developing country. Order from National Film Board of Canada, 1251 Avenue of the Americas, 16th Floor, New York, N.Y. 10020. 28 minutes, $30 rental.

■ Turning Point. An analysis of the Sixth Special Session of the UN General Assembly in 1974 and the changes that took place in the economic relations between "third world" and developed countries in its wake.

■ To Be Thirty. Made for the 30th Anniversary of the UN,this film is narrated by a fictional UN employee also 30. He questions what it means to be 30, gives his impressions of the UN's role in the world.

The two above films are available from AV Media Inc., 324 N. Fairfax, Alexandria, Virginia 22314 (703/836-0303). Both 28 minutes, approximately $30 rental.

■ The Hungry Planet. Surveys the tragedy of world hunger and suggests solutions to the food crisis. Order from Planet Earth, Limited, 5204 37th St. NE, Seattle, Wash. 98105 (206/524-2474). 28 minutes, $35 rental.

Order from League of Women Voters of the United States 1730 M Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036 Pub No. 307, 50¢

The U.S. at the UN: Fight, Flight or Something In Between?

During its thirty-year history, the United Nations has been alternately viewed as humankind's greatest hope for peace and justice and as an ineffective instrument for achieving these lofty goals. The UN's worthy principles as laid out in its charter have inspired both individuals and governments. Nearly every nation on earth has acclaimed the UN's goals of maintaining peace and security, promoting equal rights and self-determination of peoples, and furthering cooperation in solving international problems of an economic, social, cultural or humanitarian character. The UN's failure over its 30-year history to force its member nations to live up to its ideals, however, has disillusioned some of its most ardent supporters. Wars are still waged, human rights are violated, and narrow self-interest determines nations' actions both outside and inside the United Nations. The stark imperfections of the world we live in have led Americans to question: Has the UN failed us or have we failed the UN?

Today, the United Nations is seen by many in the western world to be in a state of crisis. The United States maintains its veto in the Security Council, the only UN organ where legally binding action is taken, but other UN bodies including the General Assembly (GA) and some specialized agencies have passed resolutions and taken action strongly opposed by the United States.

A coalition of the developing nations, ranging from the oil-rich to the poorest of the poor, has commanded large majorities on such issues as the workings of the international economic system, southern Africa and the Middle East. In their calls for a "new international economic order," the developing nations are demanding an economic independence equal to their recently acquired political independence. (See FACTS AND ISSUES *"North and South at the UN: The Economic Challenge,"* LWVEF #642, 40¢.) In 1974, Third World votes denied South Africa participation in the UN General Assembly—an action that the coalition justified because of South Africa's persistent violation of the human rights provisions of the UN Charter. In Middle East questions, the developing nations have openly sympathized with the Palestinians, by voting to allow the Palestine Liberation Organization to participate as an observer in the General Assembly and other UN bodies, and by passing a GA resolution in 1975 equating Zionism with racism.

To be sure, the developing nations do not represent an "automatic majority" on every vote, nor is the United States isolated on the majority of issues—in fact, the United States voted "no" on only 20 of the 256 resolutions and decisions passed by the 1975 UN GA session. But the abuse the developing nations feel they have suffered from past colonialism and racism has solidified them on any matter related to decolonization or racial discrimination.

Future actions could keep controversy at the UN in the headlines. For example, some members of the coalition, also referred to as "the Group of 77," would like the General Assembly to pass a resolution returning control of the Panama Canal to Panama, an issue currently being addressed in negotiations between the United States and Panama. Cuba is pushing for action calling for the independence of Puerto Rico, currently a U.S.commonwealth. Although radical Arab nations such as Libya and Algeria have so far failed to oust Israel from the General Assembly, they will undoubtedly keep trying.

All of these issues have made Americans wonder where the United Nations is headed and whether it can serve the purposes for which it was established. Some have called for U.S. withdrawal from the UN and its specialized agencies, arguing that continued U.S. support has legitimized some of the organization's most reprehensible deeds. Others would like the U.S. government to meet these challenges head on, using all its diplomatic wit and resources to reverse the unacceptable actions, and working toward solutions to the underlying problems causing the controversy at the UN. What kinds of episodes have triggered so much anxiety about the UN? Four critical cases follow.

G A ousts South Africa

In November, 1974, several General Assembly delegates asked the GA president for a ruling on the status of the South African delegation. The president ruled that the assembly had, in its earlier rejection of the credentials of South Africa, explicitly refused "to allow the delegation of South Africa to participate in its works." Despite objections from the United States and several Western European and South American countries, the General Assembly upheld the president's ruling by a vote of 91 to 22, thereby suspending South Africa from the 29th Assembly session, though not otherwise affecting its UN membership. It was the first time in UN history that a member state had been denied the right to participate and vote in an assembly. Since 1974, South Africa has not submitted its credentials and has not participated in GA sessions.

Legal opinion is divided on the GA action. Some scholars who see a legal basis argue that the GA president has unlimited power through the assembly's Rules of Procedure to interpret GA action. Moreover, they argue, the General Assembly can take "remedial" action with regard to a member determined to threaten international peace; since the Security Council declared in 1960 that apartheid (South Africa's policy of racial separation) is a potential threat to international peace, the GA's actions are justified.

Others argue that the General Assembly's action violated Article V of the UN Charter which stipulates that a member "may be suspended from the exercise of the rights and privileges of membership" only upon recommendation of the Security Council, which has consistently defeated such a suspension.

The United States cited its abhorrence of the practice of apartheid but opposed the GA action nonetheless. The United States argued that the suspension could set a dangerous precedent for the future, adding that the world could more easily bring about change in South Africa if communications were kept open through the United Nations.

The GA action on South Africa was hardly a tempest of the moment. The problem of South African apartheid and occupation of Namibia has been facing the General Assembly for 25 years. (Namibia, also called Southwest Africa, is a former German colony administered since World War I by South Africa under a League of Nations mandate. The UN has declared South Africa's rule illegal.) African countries and other nations have repeatedly tried to influence South African policies through conciliation and persuasion.

As attempts have escalated to isolate South Africa and rally world opinion against its repressive policies and continued intransigence, persuasion has given way to confrontation. No nation's record is spotless in the area of human rights, but the South African system of insti-

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tutionalized racial discrimination has particularly incensed the developing world. Moreover, South Africa has in the past defied both the General Assembly and the Security Council by refusing to grant independence to Namibia despite the International Court of Justice's affirmation of UN authority in the matter. South Africa recently announced that Namibia would be granted independence by December 31, 1978, but the UN Council for Namibia rejected South Africa's plan as "unjustified prolongation of the South African occupation." In August 1976 the council called on the Security Council to consider appropriate measures against South Africa.

Black African nations have become increasingly frustrated with the UN's inability to affect the entire southern Africa question. Rhodesia has become a particularly blatant example of UN ineffectiveness because of member-nation noncompliance. The United States was part of the 1966 unanimous Security Council vote imposing sanctions against trade with Rhodesia, which had just declared its independence from Britain and excluded the black majority from government participation. But since 1971, the United States has failed to abide by the Security Council resolution. That year, the U.S. Congress passed the Byrd Amendment to the Military Procurement Act, calling for continued imports from Rhodesia of strategic materials, namely chrome. Efforts to repeal the amendment, despite the Administration's support, have failed. The Security Council's ineffectiveness in putting pressure on Rhodesia undoubtedly influenced the developing nations' decision to take action against South Africa in the General Assembly, the only place where they felt they could make it stick.

Zionism declared racism

In November 1975, the General Assembly passed by a vote of 72-35 with 32 abstentions a resolution declaring that "Zionism is a form of racism and racial discrimination." The controversial resolution was one of the Arab nations' many efforts to isolate Israel from the international community and thereby weaken its position at the Middle East bargaining table.

Despite jubilation in the Arab camp, some UN observers saw the Zionism resolution as a limited victory for the Arab nations. Earlier in the year, several radical Arab nations had tried to use their influence in the Third World to have Israel ousted from the General Assembly just as South Africa had been the year before. Just a few weeks before the General Assembly meeting, a resolution calling for the expulsion of Israel had failed to gain the support of the Organization of African Unity (OAU). The Arabs then tried the next best thing—the anti-Zionist resolution.

The GA debate on the resolution drew heated argument. Many of those favoring the resolution said it was not aimed at Judaism or the Jewish people but at Zionism as manifested in Israeli policies toward Palestinians in the occupied Arab lands. The Dahomey delegate stated that the essence of Zionism is not related to apartheid but that "in its ramifications it can easily be compared to racism." The Kuwait delegate said that Zionism is manifested in practices which exclude some people on the basis of their being non-Jews and include others on the basis of their being Jews. Under the Law of Return, the Kuwaiti charged, a Jew who had never been to Palestine was permitted to "return" while a Palestinian was prohibited from returning to his home. A Yugoslav delegate also spoke in favor of the anti-Zionist resolution, arguing that world opinion toward Israel would change when Israel vacates the Arab territories occupied since 1967, when it recognizes the legitimate national rights of the Arab people in Palestine, and when it recognizes the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO).

The Israeli delegate countered that the attack on Zionism constituted not only an anti-Semitic attack of the foulest type,but also an attack on Judaism, one of the oldest established religions. Zionism was nothing more—and nothing less—than the Jewish people's sense of origin and destiny in a land linked eternally with its name. The Israeli delegate said he could point with pride to the Arab ministers who had served in his government, to the Arab Deputy Speaker of Parliament, to Arab officers and men serving of their own volition in defense, border and police forces. He said it was as natural for an Arab to serve in public office in Israel as it was incongruous to think of a Jew serving in any public office in an Arab country or indeed being admitted to many of them.

In defense of Israel, the Costa Rican delegate asserted that as long as anti-Semitism existed, the Zionist movement had a legitimate goal to pursue. It was ironic, the Costa Rican said, that member states of the so-called nonaligned group, who claim to be champions of anti-colonialism and whose existence is due to the efforts of young liberation movements, should now attack Zionism, the oldest of all liberation movements.

After the resolution passed, then-U.S. Ambassador Daniel Patrick Moynihan said that a great evil had been loosed upon the world: "The General Assembly today grants symbolic amnesty—and more—to the murderers of the six million European Jews." At stake is not merely the honor and legitimacy of the State of Israel, he said, but the integrity of that whole body of moral and legal precepts known as human rights. The United States "does not acknowledge, will not abide by, and will never acquiesce in this infamous act."

Since the 1975 session, several radical Arab nations have renewed attempts to suspend Israel from the General Assembly. Their standing within the Third World coalition does not appear to have been strengthened since their last failure. Many developing nations, particularly the Africans, have increasingly criticized the newly rich oil-producing nations for falling short of their promises of bilateral aid and other development assistance—a disenchantment which could dampen solidarity on the Middle East issue. The anti-Zionist language, however, keeps reemerging in documents coming out of UN conferences such as the International Women's Year Conference in Mexico City in July 1975 and the Habitat Conference in Vancouver in May/June 1976.

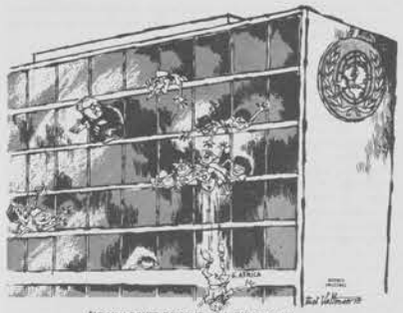
The United States and other western nations have consistently opposed UN documents containing the anti-Zionist language and have declined to participate in the UN Decade to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination and the proposed world conference on the issue. Privately, U.S. officials say that anti-Zionist and pro-Palestinian sentiment will continue to surface in the Assembly and other UN forums until there is a Middle East settlement that includes an answer to the Palestine question. The United States has continued to work with both sides toward a settlement in line with UN Security Council resolutions 242 and 338. These call on Israel to withdraw its armed forces from territories occupied since the 1967 war, in return for the Arabs' acknowledgement of Israel's sovereignty, territorial integrity and political independence as well as its right to live in peace within secure and recognized boundaries.

Controversy in UNESCO

Middle East politics have also surfaced in the UN specialized agency, the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO). In November 1974, the UNESCO General Conference passed a series of resolutions affecting Israel that provoked the U.S. Congress to cut off U.S. contributions to UNESCO. Cries of "politicization" and "perversion of UNESCO's objectives" filled U.S. newspaper headlines, and several scientists and educators organized a boycott of UNESCO activities.

UNESCO's constitution charges it with three overriding responsibilities: "to help in the advancement and spread of knowledge; to give a vigorous impulse to the development of education and the spread of science; to work for knowledge and mutual understanding among nations." Many believe that UNESCO should be "above" politics. But through the many years of quiet good work in the areas of education, science and culture, UNESCO has rarely been able to screen out politics entirely. South Africa withdrew from the organization in 1956 after rejecting UNESCO criticisms of its apartheid policy. Portugal was expelled from a UNESCO conference in 1963 and, under severe criticism for its colonial policies, finally withdrew and did not rejoin until its government changed in 1974. Nor did UNESCO avoid the China representation question. In 1973, UNESCO went further than the GA in seating the People's Republic of China by passing a resolution stating that certain nongovernmental organizations should be urged to break off relations with affiliates that were "linked to Chiang Kai-shek." None of these events, however, caused the American people to question UNESCO's worth as many are now doing in reaction to its treatment of Israel.

Two major actions illustrate the intrusion of Middle East politics into



"IF YOU DON'T BEHAVE, I'LL JUMP OUT!"

UNESCO affairs.

In recent years, UNESCO has emphasized regional activities and conferences. Prior to the 1974 UNESCO General Conference, Israel—along with the United States and Canada—was among 15 states which did not belong to one of the five regional groups: Asia and Oceana; Latin American and Caribbean; Africa; Europe; and the Arab states. At the meeting, however, the conference placed in regional groups all member nations but one—Israel. However, in October 1975, UNESCO's executive board voted to recommend to the 1976 General Conference a new procedure by which each regional grouping could admit its own members, thereby guaranteeing Israel a place in the European group—in keeping with Israel's original request. U.S. officials say they are lobbying hard to have this procedure adopted by the 1976 Conference meeting in late fall, but their success is not assured. UNESCO Director-General Amadou-Mahtar M'Bow, the first African to head the organization, has urged member nations to take up "patient and clear discussion within UNESCO" to overcome the difficulties. He has said he deplores a situation in which "any member state whatever should not be fully able to exercise its rights" within UNESCO.

The second major UNESCO issue involving Israel concerns a dispute about Israeli archeological excavations and urban planning conducted in that part of Jerusalem taken over by Israel in the 1967 Middle East war. In 1974, the UNESCO General Conference passed a resolution condemning Israel "for persisting in altering the historic features of the City of Jerusalem and undertaking excavations which constitute danger to its monuments." The resolution also "invited" the director general to withhold assistance from Israel, a sanction that was primarily symbolic since Israel receives relatively little cultural assistance from UNESCO. In fact, in 1973-74, Israel contributed eight times the $24,000 it received in UNESCO aid.

During the debate, the Arab nations claimed that the area of Jerusalem under question was occupied territory and, therefore, archeological work and urban renewal in the area were forbidden by the 1954 Hague Convention (the UNESCO Convention on the Protection of Cultural Property in the Event of Armed Conflict). They also argued that the work was forbidden by a series of UNESCO resolutions and by international law; since Israel had agreed to the Hague Convention and various other relevant resolutions, it had an obligation to stop the work.

Israel argued that the area had become part of Israel, that UNESCO's constitution forbade resolutions intervening in the domestic affairs of its members, and that the Hague Convention did not prohibit archeological excavations. Israel and the Arab nations completely disagreed on whether there had been damage to historic monuments, to archeological sites, or to the character of the city of Jerusalem. An independent investigator appointed by the UNESCO Director General found that in general the Israeli work was being conducted with utmost care and minimal damage.

Nonetheless, Arab nations succeeded in obtaining UNESCO's condemnation of Israel for "its persistence in altering the historical features of the City of Jerusalem and . . . undertaking excavations which constitute a danger to its monuments, subsequent to its illegal occupation of this city." Israel has not followed the precedent of South Africa and Portugal in withdrawing from UNESCO after being severely criticized. In fact, Israel has continued paying its dues to UNESCO.

The United States,however, has withdrawn its financial support from the organization. The U.S. Congress authorized a payment of dues through fall 1974 so that it would not lose its vote in the upcoming General Conference (there is a two year grace period on dues in arrears). But is has withheld the $42.4 million owed since fall 1974, until the U.S. President certifies that the organization "has taken concrete steps to correct its recent actions of a primarily political character." A General Conference vote at the October/November 1976 meeting allowing Israel to participate in the European regional grouping might provide those "concrete steps." However, it is doubtful that the conference will rescind or revise its criticisms of Israeli archeological excavations in Jerusalem.

U.S. may withdraw from ILO

U.S. relations with the International Labor Organization (ILO) reflect East-West tensions more than Middle East politics or the North-South split. On November 7, 1975, the United States served its formal two-year notice of intent to withdraw from the ILO, if reforms are not made within that time.

The ILO's tripartite structure is unique—ILO delegations from each nation are made up of representatives from government, labor and business, and each sector has a vote independent of the others. In recent years, U.S. representatives have become concerned about trends they feel dilute the organization's ability to improve workers' conditions throughout the world—work for which the organization won the Nobel Peace Prize in 1969. Secretary of State Henry Kissinger's notice to the ILO Director General addressed four U.S. concerns: the erosion of tripartite representation, selective concern for human rights, disregard of due process, and the increasing politicization of the organization.

Some observers consider AFL-CIO president George Meany the primary force behind the threatened U.S. withdrawal. The AFL-CIO, labor's representative on the U.S. delegation, considers Soviet and Eastern European government domination of unions and business incompatible with genuine tripartism. Since all workers in communist states are employed by the government, the reasoning goes, the business and labor sectors of the communist delegations are not truly independent. Those in favor of U.S. withdrawal claim the Soviets want to destroy the tripartite structure, which presupposes a free enterprise and market economy.

The United States also objects to the way the ILO applies human rights standards. Unlike other UN agencies, the ILO has institutionalized ongoing procedures to monitor member compliance with its conventions and can send ad hoc missions to investigate alleged violation. While Chile and Portugal have been investigated, the Soviet Union has been virtually immune. The AFL-CIO condemns what it views as a double standard, and Secretary of State Kissinger has stated that this type of practice "seriously undermines the credibility of the ILO's support of freedom of association."

Another complaint centers on the politicization of the ILO. In the withdrawal notice, Secretary Kissinger cited the recent increase of resolutions condemning member states, including Israel and Chile, for violations of ILO conventions, even though the ILO's institutionalized methods of investigation had not been used. Another sore point has been the inclusion of the PLO as a observer in 1975 and 1976. The U.S. and Israeli representatives from government, business and labor left the session in 1975; in 1976 they chose to boycott only those sessions in which the PLO participated. "The PLO is neither a government nor an employer nor a union," said one U.S. government official.

The United States, according to the Kissinger letter, intends to "make every possible effort to promote conditions which will facilitate our continued participation" in the ILO. Policy coordination with other industrialized countries has been cited as crucial to that participation. In fact, according to one ILO official, the letter of intent to withdraw was really a notice directed to U.S. allies, warning that unless solidarity among the industrial democracies can be achieved on major issues the United States considers continued participation meaningless.

Just such coordination was evident in the June 1976 World Employment Conference held in Geneva. The United States and Western Europe stood together on two key decisions: opposition to granting observer status to the PLO, and approval of the final conference resolution. The concerted action produced a loss on the first and a win on the second.

In the final hours of the conference, the Group of 77 attempted to introduce three minor amendments to the final resolution, but many delegates feared that any changes in the document would initiate an avalanche of changes and ultimately destroy the resolution. Through the combined efforts of the delegations from the United States and Western Europe, labor and business representatives from many developing nations, and governments of several moderate developing nations, no amendments were allowed and the full draft was ratified, with the Group of 77 endorsing it. The independent status of business and labor members apparently served to temper the ideological splits between governments and thus demonstrated the value of an international agency in which representatives of workers and employers participate on an equal footing with governments. Despite ups and downs, the conference was considered a success by U.S. participants and improved the chances of continued U.S. participation in the ILO.

Is UN reform the answer?

Criticism of the UN is directed at more than its actions—GA resolutions considered illegal, morally reprehensible, or economically unsound,and the politicizing of the UN's specialized agencies. Its burgeoning bureaucracy—the proliferation of special commissions, agencies, and other bodies with overlapping functions and little apparent coordination of effort—is also under attack. Ideas for institutional reform of the UN have been around since the ink dried on the UN Charter. Recent events have given new impetus to reform efforts, but vast differences in goals among the different reform constituencies could make it as illusive as ever.*

Charter review

Charter review, regarded as essential by some, may be the least-likely-to-succeed method of reform. Any charter change must command the support of two-thirds of the General Assembly and get Security Council endorsement, including the approval of each of the five permanent members.

Increasingly, GA resolutions are adopted by a relatively powerless majority and opposed by those few nations with the real economic and political clout to implement them. Some who do not see this trend as necessarily dangerous point out that the original purpose of the General Assembly was to permit expressions of various viewpoints, not to act as a legislative body. Reforms to make the body a better reflection of power in the world could substantially alter its function of giving guidance which can be accepted or rejected by member nations.

Nonetheless, the gap between what the General Assembly says and what it can do has led some reformers to espouse various ways to make it more "responsible." One proposal surfaced repeatedly over the years is to abolish the one nation, one vote rule in the General Assembly and replace it with a voting system weighted according to each nation's population, gross national product, financial contribution to the UN or some combination of the three. Some say it is unfair that a nation of 200,000 persons has the same vote in the General Assembly as the United States with more than 200 million. But what are the alternatives? It goes without saying that the developing nations are less than enthusiastic about basing voting rights on wealth. And even if they did agree to a system based on population—something most Americans would probably consider fair—the western industrialized nations would still represent a distinct minority. For example, of the six most populous nations in the world, five (China, India, USSR, Indonesia and Pakistan) have voted against the United States on many Middle East issues.

It has also been suggested that the charter be revised to require the affirmative votes of two-thirds of all GA members instead of two-thirds of those present and voting. This would have prevented the assembly from adopting some of the resolutions—such as the anti-Zionist resolution—considered most odious by the United States. But it also could have prevented some action considered crucial. For example, the resolution providing funding for the extension of the Middle East peacekeeping forces would have been defeated under such a rule.

Some observers would rather reduce the number of issues that come to the General Assembly for a vote instead of changing its voting structure. They argue that to make resolutions meaningful the GA agenda should be considerably shortened, fewer resolutions should be passed, and decisions should be made only when there is a true consensus. The call for consensus rather than votes, however, strikes a sensitive chord among developing nations, as expressed by Hamilton Shirley Amerasinghe, a UN delegate from Sri Lanka, "Consensus is a euphemism for a concealed veto that suits the convenience of a minority. . . . This organization was not established in order to enthrone and consecrate wealth and industrial and military power. . . . Driven to desperation and overcome by disillusionment and frustration, like-minded nations, which are the victims of prevailing injustices and inequalities, are forced to adopt resolutions which they know have only declaratory effect—but they do express the convictions of an overwhelming mass of humanity."

Many of the developing nations have their own view of charter revision. They have disliked one provision above all: the naming of five powers (the United States, the Soviet Union, Britain, France and China) as permanent members of the Security Council, each with power to veto a council decision. Since the Security Council has the power to pass binding resolutions on peace and security questions, the developing nations argue that the limited membership of the council combined with the veto power of five nations is undemocratic. Some western observers, when their far reaching goals for the organization have been frustrated by one of the major powers, have also called for a new look at revisions of the veto power. No matter what arguments are used against it, however, the veto power is undoubtedly here to stay. Neither the United States nor the Soviet Union is likely to remain within the UN without it and any proposal to weaken the veto through a change in the charter will itself be vetoed.

Restructuring

When it comes to UN reform, economic and social "restructuring" is where any action is likely to be. In December 1973, the General Assembly slated a special session for September 1975 on economic cooperation and development. One task of this Seventh Special Session was to examine "structural changes to make the United Nations system a more effective instrument" for economic cooperation and development. To pave the way, a 25-member Group of Experts wrote a report titled "A New United Nations Structure for Global Economic Cooperation." Its two key themes were the need for stronger central structures to coordinate UN economic and social activities (which account for 90 percent of the budget) and the need for a new negotiating process on economic and social issues. The Group of Experts proposed reorganization of UN economic development agencies, whereby the current alphabet soup of UN development agencies would be reduced to manageable size. The proposals for change do not require revision of the charter; they will however, require general consensus among UN members. Among the Group's wide-ranging recommendations are proposals to:

- Make the Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC) the UN system's central coordinating and policy organ, simplify its organization, and give it authority over all UN development-oriented funds. Currently, ECOSOC is a weak and ineffectual organ of the GA unable to exercise its charter mandate of providing central policy guidance on economic and social affairs.
- Consolidate all development funds, except the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF), under a single UN Development Authority responsible to ECOSOC. The separate identity of the funds, such as the UN Fund for Population Activities (UNFPA), Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO), and UN Environment Program (UNEP) would be maintained to allow donors to continue earmarking for special purposes but the separate governing bodies would be abolished.

*Readers particularly interested in UN reform should see "Restructuring and Reform in the United Nations: Proposals, Purposes, and Prospects," by Wallace Irwin, Jr. 50¢, UNA-USA, Dept. L, 345 East 46th Street, New York, NY 10017.

- Appoint a director general, ranking directly under the secretary general, to command and coordinate all UN economic and social work.
- Synchronize program and budget cycles in all UN agencies.
- Increase the voting power of developing nations in the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (IMF).
- Work toward eventually transforming the UN Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD) and the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) into a comprehensive International Trade Organization to regulate commodity trade, employment, capital flows, etc.

Another proposal deals with the need for a new process of negotiating complex and often controversial economic issues. The developing nations' call for a "new international economic order" has been discussed in various international forums from the UN GA to UNCTAD. The United States has argued that such highly visible forums may be effective in outlining the issues but that the real bargaining has to take place in a more secluded, less politicized atmosphere. During the past year, such negotiations have been going on in the Paris Conference on International Economic Cooperation (CIEC), where nations have divided into small working groups to consider energy, raw materials, development and finance.

The Group of Experts would institutionalize the CIEC concept under the UN umbrella. Under the proposed procedures, ECOSOC would establish small negotiating groups on particular issues to work for one or two years under a full-time chairman who would be responsible for defining issues for consideration, structuring the discussion and working with the parties in search of a solution. The negotiating groups, consisting of countries principally interested in the subject and broadly representative of UN membership, would operate on the basis of unanimity. Upon completion of their work, the agreed solutions could then be debated and voted by ECOSOC and the General Assembly.

The Seventh Special Session took no stand on the proposals from the Group of Experts but referred them to a newly established Committee on Restructuring, open to all UN members, to study the Experts' report and other proposals and make recommendations to the 31st GA in September. So far, the reviews of the report are mixed. Institutional resistance would have to be overcome, since vested interests and bureaucratic turfs are threatened by the consolidation proposal. Some developing nations also suspect the industrialized nations' stress on efficiency is a veiled attempt to reduce their financial contributions to UN programs. Moreover, developing nations' desire to limit the Security Council's permanent members' special powers and privileges is sure to enter the debate. And any attempt to limit the GA's powers to debate and adopt resolutions on specific economic issues will be resisted by the developing nations.

Nonetheless, some basis for agreement seems to exist. The three main voices in the restructuring talks—the United States, Western Europe, and the Group of 77—all agree that somehow the specialized agencies' role in the development process must be better coordinated. All agree on an enhanced role for ECOSOC and all would move toward a more centralized approach to UN development efforts. Restructuring is probably a long way off—and its ultimate achievement depends on that elusive ingredient, "political will"—but its consideration at least ensures a continued search for ways to improve the UN system and make it better fulfill its goals and purposes.

U.S. participation in the UN

Although it may improve efficiency, restructuring is not going to solve U.S. troubles at the United Nations. Even if economic negotiations can be steered into smaller, less visible working groups, the unresolved issues and the economic frustrations of the Third World are sure to find expression in the General Assembly. Moreover, UN specialized agencies like UNESCO will continue to reflect the tug and pull of international politics.

So how should the United States participate in the UN? Should we condition our participation on "good behavior" and simply cease participating in those UN bodies that have taken actions considered illegal, unfair, politicized, or generally distasteful to the United States? That criterion could certainly apply to the UN General Assembly, UNESCO and the ILO at the very least, and perhaps to the entire UN system.

One of the most articulate critics of the United Nations is Rutgers University professor Abraham Yeselson, who argues that the United Nations is not only ineffective but also a danger to international peace. Yeselson maintains that the United Nations is a weapon in international politics and that its availability and use contribute to rigidity, hostility and tension. Nations act in their self-interest at the United Nations rather than in the interest of peace. The UN's political functions should be abolished, according to Yeselson. Others who favor U.S. withdrawal see the United States as the world's beleaguered and falsely maligned scapegoat. U.S. participation in the United Nations, they believe, somehow legitimizes what the United Nations often seems to be saying—that the United States and its allies are the root of all evil. The attack on the United States should not be met on the UN battleground where all weapons—the votes of the majority—are turned against it. The United States could easily disarm the "enemy" by simply withdrawing from the battlefield.

Most observers argue, however, that the United States should remain in the UN. Richard Gardner, professor at Columbia University, points out that the UN is really two systems—a *rhetorical* system, in which delegates come to the General Assembly and other forums to debate and make nonbinding recommendations, and an *action* system, in which peacekeeping and economic development programs provide essential services to member countries. As one example of UN action crucial to U.S. interests, Gardner cites peacekeeping in the Middle East. In the wake of the October 1973 war, the United States discovered, according to Gardner, that there was literally no way of getting a military disengagement without the interposition of the UN forces. Moreover, he points out, a final Middle East peace settlement will undoubtedly involve demilitarized zones and UN forces to provide security.

In the area of economic and social progress, the United Nations Development Program and related UN funds for population, environment, children, etc., have made an enormous difference in developing the world's human and material resources. The IMF and the World Bank, both UN-related agencies, are two obvious examples of vitally needed negotiating forums and financial resources to cope with development problems. In addition, the great UN global conferences on environment, population, food, women's rights and human settlements have marshalled scientific evidence, mobilized public opinion, focused the attention of political leaders on previously neglected problems and have thus significantly influenced national policies.

"It is a useful exercise to ask where we would be today had we had no United Nations economic system—no institutions for trade and monetary cooperation, for economic development aid, for agriculture, population and environment, for the establishment of safety standards in air and ocean transport, for exchanging weather information, allocating radio frequencies. Bad as our situation now is, it would have been immeasurably worse—quite possibly beyond repair," Richard Gardner argues.

Listing the good works of the United Nations, however, does not really get at what is bothering Americans—namely that the UN seems to be doing some "bad" things as well. A balanced perspective requires a look at past U.S. performance in the United Nations. Using influence and voting majorities in the General Assembly to make a political point is hardly a recent invention of the Arabs or the Third World. The United States was the first to romanticize the role of the General Assembly and majority rule as the "conscience of mankind" when it was still able to muster an "automatic majority" to its side during the Cold War years. Up through the Korean War, even until the early sixties, the United States could, if not actually command support for any position, prevent an adverse GA decision. Only U.S. opposition to the representation of the People's Republic of China (PRC) in the UN kept that issue unresolved for more than 20 years after effective political power had obviously changed in Peking. More recently, the United States was able to prevent the General Assembly from taking adverse action on U.S. involvement in Vietnam—a policy widely and vigorously opposed by most UN member nations.

But past U.S. follies do not justify the sins of today's UN, others argue. Despite its own spotty record, they say, the United States must take some action to ensure that UN member nations act "responsibly" in their conduct of multilateral diplomacy. What are some of the options open to the United States, short of outright withdrawal?

- Withholding funds from those bodies that take action objectionable to the United States is one obvious choice. The United States has already cut off funds to UNESCO and threatened withdrawal from the ILO. Some UN critics are arguing that the United States should cease paying its current share of GA operating expenses. They argue that some nations may think twice before crossing the United States if it means that the UN loses a major source of funding for programs from which they benefit.
- Reducing financial contributions without totally cutting off funds is another option. In 1973, the United States negotiated a ceiling of 25 percent on U.S. contributions to the regular UN budget (down from about 31 percent), but it pays a higher percentage of the budgets of such programs as the International Atomic Energy Agency, peacekeeping forces in Cyprus and the Middle East, and the UN Environment Program. Annual U.S. payments to all UN agencies total about $400 million—approximately $2 per capita for U.S. citizens and .036 percent of gross national product. Moves to reduce this amount to below 25 percent surface regularly in Congress.

In early 1976, Representative Philip Crane (Rep. Ill.), introduced an amendment to an authorization bill instructing the U.S. Ambassador to seek further reduction of U.S. payments to reflect the percentage of the world's population that lives in the United States. The assessments are currently based on per capita income with a .02 percent floor for poor nations and a 25 percent ceiling for the rich nations. Through his population formula, which does not take into account wealth, Rep. Crane estimated that the United States would be obligated to pay only 5.59 percent of the UN regular budget. The Crane Amendment lost in the House by an unrecorded vote.

Americans opposed to funding cuts argue that the U.S. already pays less per capita than most European countries and less than it should on a straight ability-to-pay basis. If unilateral cuts are made, the United States will lose its vote over a period of time (the grace period is usually about two years) in those bodies to which it does not pay its dues. The United States thus would relinquish the one weapon left in its arsenal—the ability to explain publicly and lobby privately for positions the United States supports. Moreover, the financial void could be filled by the oil-rich Arab and communist states, thereby increasing their influence and power.

Others oppose withholding or cutting funds on a more philosophical basis. If the United States means what it says about democracy, they claim, it should not stop paying its dues or reduce its payments simply because it finds itself in a minority in an organization founded on democratic principles. They stress that the United States should expect to lose a few—while keeping its defeats in perspective.

- No votes, no aid is another approach which has been advocated to make developing nations take U.S. positions into account when voting in the UN. It is argued that those nations that vote against the United States should be cut off from U.S. bilateral assistance. Something short of this draconian measure has been adopted by the State Department, which announced about a year ago that voting patterns would be taken into greater account in U.S. bilateral relations with member nations. And aid was pointedly mentioned as one factor in bilateral relations.

Those who oppose such a policy or even the threat of retaliation for unfavorable UN votes argue that it is ineffective, perhaps even counter-productive. U.S. aid levels are so low and of such marginal importance to many nations that they could be willing to sacrifice aid to vote as they please, especially on issues where they believe a matter of principle to be involved. Even worse, a public posture of threats to cut off aid could force nations to vote against the United States simply to display their independence before the international community. Moreover, such a "punishment" policy would probably be applied toward only those very poor nations where U.S. short-term political interests are not directly involved, while richer, more powerful nations' voting patterns would be overlooked.

- Selective participation is another way to show U.S. displeasure with certain UN actions. The United States has walked out of various UN bodies when they have taken action opposed by the United States. For example, the U.S. delegation did not stay to hear Yasir Arafat of the PLO address the General Assembly. The United States had consistently opposed the PLO's desire to address the assembly and its admission to various organizations as an observer. The U.S. refusal to participate in the UN's Decade to Combat Racism, because of the resolution equating Zionism with racism is another example. In that case, the U.S. decision disappointed many African nations, which had hoped to use the Decade to bring pressure against the white regimes in Rhodesia and South Africa. Those in favor of selective participation argue that such temporary actions do not affect long-run U.S. participation in the UN and can be timed and pointed enough to represent a precise reaction to a specific action rather than general displeasure with the entire UN system.
- An activist U.S. policy is urged by those who think that U.S. leadership within the United Nations can still make a difference. This is contrary to those who favor a policy based solely on "damage limitation," where U.S. efforts would concentrate on preventing adverse action and the organization would be generally downgraded as a major focus of U.S. foreign policy. Those in favor of an activist policy believe that the United States should jump into the fray, tempering its criticism of the organization with proposals for positive change.

One advocate of activism, Charles W. Maynes, Secretary of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, called in a recent issue of *Foreign Affairs* for a U.S. strategy of tough diplomacy on the one hand and practical accommodation on the other. He argues that even though the United States can no longer expect blind allegiance from UN member nations, that does not mean the United States is powerless in the UN. "America's goal must be to place the United States at the cutting edge of international reform," he writes. The United States should accommodate legitimate policy interests of the Third World and constructively address the developing nations' desire for a recognized and larger voice in the management of the international system.

At the same time, the United States should be tough in clearly defining those limits beyond which it will not go because of fundamental principles or vital national interests. Maynes cites the Zionism resolution and Cuban-inspired actions concerning Puerto Rico as examples of issues where the United States must take a consistently strong stand. The United States must press its views on such subjects earlier, more vigorously, and at a much higher level than in the past, he argues. An issue which also needs urgent attention is the largely UN-created linkage between the issues of southern Africa and those of the Middle East. One way for an activist United States to decouple these two issues, according to Maynes, is to move to the forefront of western powers pressing for racial justice in southern Africa.

Whatever option or combination of options the United States chooses, the United Nations will not be free of controversy until the world is. As a former British Ambassador to the UN, Lord Caradon, once said "There is nothing fundamentally wrong with the United Nations except its members." The future of the United Nations—its role in the international system, its structure, the effectiveness of its action—will in the end be determined by member nations policies and actions. The United States, as one of the UN's founders and a major world power, could in its approach to participation in the UN greatly determine the organization's future.

Order from League of Women Voters of the United States, 1730 M Street N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036 8 cents Pub. No. 647, 40¢

1920 First Lg Conv. – resolution passed supporting Lg of Nations
1933 – nat'l conv. – resol. urging U.S. entrance into World Court
1931 – Japan invaded Manchuria, LWV outspoken supporter of US membership in Lg of Nations
1930s – US isolationist – some historians think, if LWV position had prevailed WW II could have been prevented
One of 42 non-governmental organizations & consultants at 1945 San Francisco Conf. which drew up UN charter

supported UN when it was just an idea
After plans for UN were drawn up at Dumbarton Oaks in 1944, LWV undertook most intensive nationwide public support campaign in its history
In 6 mos. trained 5000 women to promote public understanding of proposed Charter. – over a million pieces of literature were distributed.
Have always had an observer at the UN.
Unswerving support, but critical – aware of strengths + weaknesses

1962 Conv. – Lg. decided to re-examine + re-evaluate UN
Had been for some of our present position but it was broadened improving peacekeeping procedures, collective financial responsibility. See Documents

Trade + Aid (bwdl) positions interacted & UN positions – worked in many directions & common goal – cooperation among nations in interdependent world

1975 – did update 1 on UN – also telegram to Sec. of State Relations Comm reaffirming LWV UN support
1976 – re-study to look at existing positions
– update indicated so many changes in U.N. Satisfied trade + aid positions. (Some against UN)
MN Conv. in 1975 – passed resolution on UN

Consensus Questions - UN

1- Should the U.S. increase its efforts to accommodate the economic proposals of the developing nations? If so, would your League wish to expand or refine League positions in the trade or aid area? (Some issues on which you might want to comment are commodity agreements, debt relief, technology transfer, market access, aid, etc.) NY

2- Should the United States place conditions on its participation in various bodies of the UN system?

3- Among the proposals for changing the UN system, are there any that the United States should support as being both desirable and achievable?

4- Would you recommend any changes, deletions, or shifts in emphasis in the present UN position of the League?

Brown's Road - past Orono City Hall
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brown salt box on l - 2015 Weber Hills Rd.

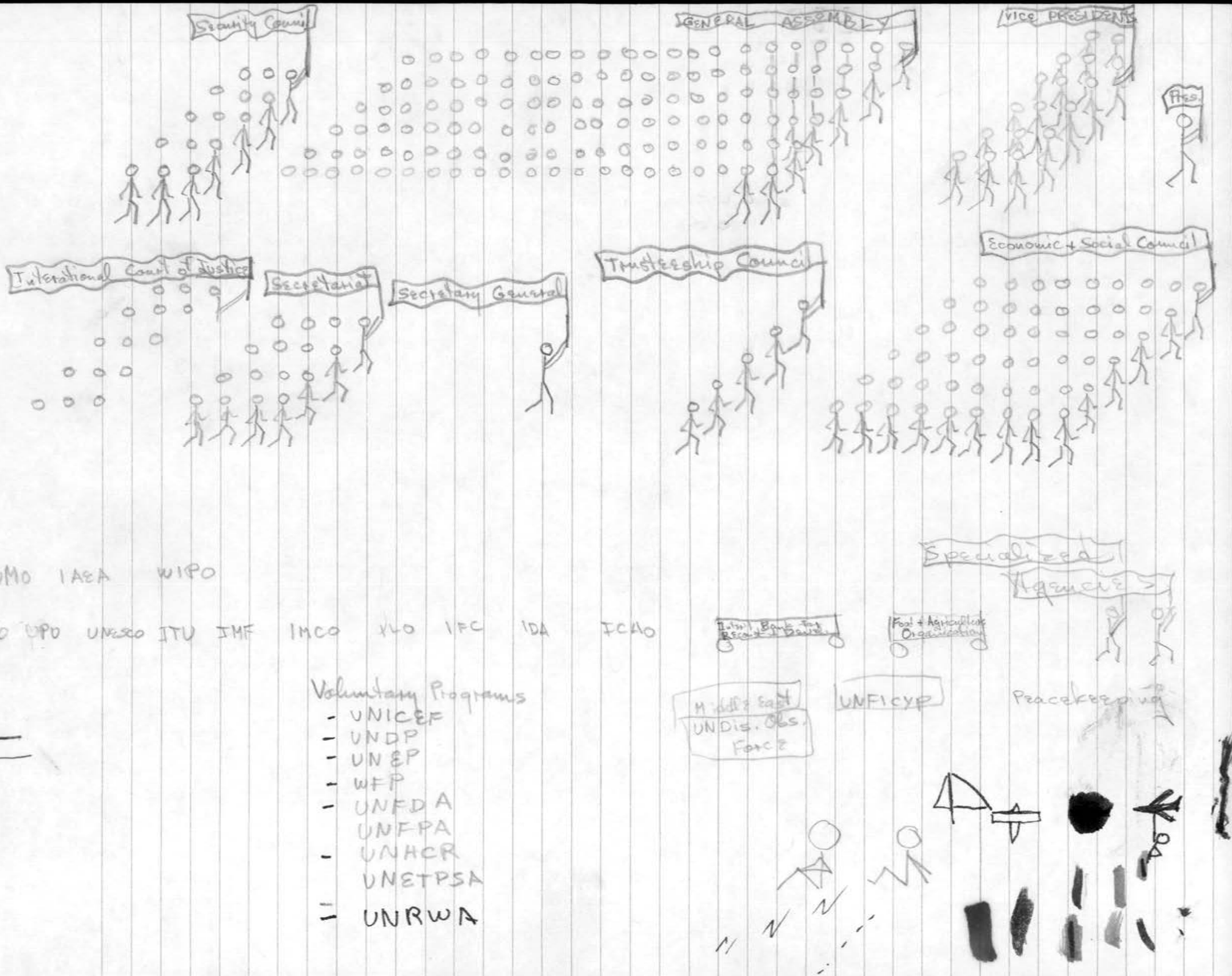
Visual Aid on structure

Lg. position

Quiz
Visual Aid
Skit
LWV position
other
Discussion

(do bulletin)

bring bulletin to mtg.
read Nat'l + St. Voters
incl. questions
proposals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- WFP
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