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TO ALL DIPLOMATIC POSTS PRIORITY

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E.O. 12065: GDS 8/27/87 (ABRAMS, ELLIOTT)

TAGS: UNGA, PORG

SUBJECT: 36TH UN GENERAL ASSEMBLY: US STRATEGY AND OBJECTIVES

1. [REDACTED]-ENTIRE TEXT.

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2. GENERAL INSTRUCTIONS: ALL POSTS SHOULD DRAW ON THE FOLLOWING DISCUSSION OF US POSITIONS AND OBJECTIVES AT THE 36TH UNGA WHICH STARTS SEPTEMBER 15 TO CONVEY US VIEWS ON KEY ISSUES AND TO ELICIT HOST GOVERNMENT VIEWS AND SUPPORT. EMBASSY LONDON SHOULD ALSO CONVEY US VIEWS TO HMG AS EC-10 PRESIDENT. PLEASE REPORT REACTIONS, INFO USUN, BY COB SEPTEMBER 4.

3. SETTING AND OBJECTIVES: THE 36TH UNGA TAKES PLACE AT A TIME WHEN U.S. RELATIONS WITH THE G-77 COUNTRIES ARE UNSETTLED. U.S. POSITIONS ON LAW OF SEA, GLOBAL NEGOTIATIONS, INFANT FORMULA, INFORMATION FLOW, THE

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MIDDLE EAST, AND SOUTHERN AFRICA HIGHLIGHT OUR DISAGREEMENTS WITH G-77 DOGMA, AND GIVE THE SOVIETS MANY OPPORTUNITIES TO EXPLOIT WEST/SOUTH DIFFERENCES. THE SPECIAL SESSION ON NAMIBIA, WHICH WILL IMMEDIATELY PRECEDE THE GA, COUPLED WITH THE SCHEDULED VISIT TO THE US OF A SOUTH AFRICAN RUGBY TEAM, WILL OFFER FURTHER OPPORTUNITY TO CASTIGATE THE US. IN THIS POLITICAL ENVIRONMENT, WE CAN ANTICIPATE CONSIDERABLE RHETORICAL BOMBAST AND NUMEROUS "AUTOMATIC MAJORITIES" OF 100-120 COUNTRIES VOTING AGAINST US POSITIONS ON SOME GA RESOLUTIONS.

YET IT IS ALSO TRUE THAT, WITH THE SOVIET INVASION OF AFGHANISTAN STILL FRESH IN DELEGATES' MINDS, THE SUCCESS OF THE CONFERENCE ON KAMPUCHEA IN ASSEMBLING OVER 90 COUNTRIES' REPRESENTATIVES, WITH SERIOUS US EFFORTS UNDERWAY TO ACHIEVE PEACE IN THE MIDDLE EAST AND INDEPENDENCE FOR NAMIBIA,

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WITH THE POLISH SITUATION STILL IN THE NEWS, ANTI-SOVIET FEELING WIDESPREAD IN THE UN, THE US HAS MANY DIPLOMATIC CARDS TO PLAY.

OUR BASIC OBJECTIVES WILL BE TO ENUNCIATE THE ADMINISTRATION'S FOREIGN POLICY GOALS, TO MAKE CLEAR WE WILL BE FIRM ON MATTERS OF PRINCIPLE; TO SPOTLIGHT SOVIET AGGRESSIVE BEHAVIOR, TO MAXIMIZE GA SUPPORT FOR ISSUES OF IMPORTANCE TO US SUCH AS KAMPUCHEA, AFGHANISTAN AND TERRORISM, TO EMPHASIZE US SUPPORT OF THE UN, TO MAINTAIN COHESION WITH OUR ALLIES AND FRIENDS AND, WHERE NECESSARY, - TO LIMIT THE DAMAGE OF EXTREME GA RESOLUTIONS.

4. KEY ISSUES: IN THE FOLLOWING DISCUSSION WE IDENTIFY TWO CATEGORIES OF ISSUES: A) THOSE OF PARTICULAR IMPORTANCE TO US AND WHICH POSTS MUST RAISE WITH HOST GOVERNMENTS, B) THOSE ON WHICH POSTS HAVE DISCRETION IF THE ISSUE IS OF IMPORTANCE TO THE HOST GOVERNMENT OR REGION. WHERE PRE-UNGA CONSULTATIONS HAVE OCCURRED, POSTS MAY ADJUST THEIR APPROACHES ACCORDINGLY. POSTS MAY, IN THEIR DISCRETION, INCORPORATE THESE POINTS IN A NON-PAPER TO BE LEFT AT THE FOREIGN MINISTRY. THESE TALKERS WILL BE TRANSMITTED IN FRENCH AND SPANISH FOR POSTS USE AS SOON AS AVAILABLE. AS WE GET MORE

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INFORMATION, WE MAY BE ASKING POSTS TO MAKE SEPARATE DEMARCHES ON ISSUES OF GREATEST IMPORTANCE TO US.

5. ISSUES THAT MUST BE RAISED:

A. ISRAELI PARTICIPATION IN UNGA.

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

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FYI, IT IS IMPORTANT FOR POSTS TO RAISE THIS ISSUE IN ORDER TO ENSURE THAT THERE IS NO DOUBT ABOUT OUR POSITION. SOME POSTS MAY BE TOLD THAT THERE IS NO REASON TO FEAR A SERIOUS CHALLENGE AT THE GA. POSTS SHOULD RESPOND BY INDICATING THAT IN VIEW OF THE NEW DELHI COMMUNIQUE AND ARAB THREATS IN THE WHA, THERE IS NO REASON FOR COMPLACENCY. POSTS SHOULD STRESS HOW STRONGLY WE FEEL ABOUT THIS AND THE DISASTROUS IMPLICATIONS FOR THE UN AND THUS ALL COUNTRIES SHOULD THE CHALLENGE SUCCEED. END FYI.

-- THE VIABILITY OF THE POSTWAR SYSTEM OF INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS MAY WELL BE AT STAKE.

--WE WOULD HAVE A VERY DIFFICULT TIME JUSTIFYING CONTINUED US PARTICIPATION IN ANY UN BODY FROM WHICH ISRAEL WAS ILLEGALLY AND UNFAIRLY EXCLUDED. WE CANNOT STRESS TOO MUCH HOW STRONGLY WE FEEL ABOUT THIS BASIC ISSUE OF LAW AND PRINCIPLE.

-- ARTICLE 6 OF THE UN CHARTER PROVIDES THAT THE GA MAY EXPEL A STATE FROM THE UN ONLY ON THE RECOMMENDATION OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL. THE EXCLUSION OF ISRAEL FROM THE UNGA THROUGH REJECTION OF CREDENTIALS OR BY A RESOLUTION WITHOUT A RECOMMENDATION BY THE SECURITY COUNCIL WOULD BE AN ILLEGAL ACT.

--WE HOPE YOU WILL TAKE EVERY OCCASION TO

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[REDACTED]

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INDICATE THAT YOUR GOVERNMENT WOULD OPPOSE SUCH A COURSE, AND TO DISCOURAGE ACTIVELY OTHERS FROM JOINING IN SUCH A CHALLENGE.

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## B. PUERTO RICO.

FYI, ON AUGUST 20 THE UN DECOLONIZATION COMMITTEE (COMMITTEE OF 24) ADOPTED A RESOLUTION CALLING FOR PUERTO RICO TO BE PLACED ON THE AGENDA OF THE 1982 GENERAL ASSEMBLY. THIS IS HIGHLY OBJECTIONABLE TO US SINCE IT IGNORES PAST GA ACTION WHICH REMOVED PUERTO RICO FROM THE LIST OF NON-SELF-GOVERNING TERRITORIES. IT COULD OPEN THE WAY FOR A CONTENTIOUS INTERNATIONAL DEBATE ON PUERTO RICO, WHICH WE REGARD AS A PURELY DOMESTIC ISSUE. WE WILL ATTEMPT TO DEFLECT THIS PROPOSAL ON PROCEDURAL GROUNDS. END FYI.

-- PUERTO RICO'S STATUS IS A PURELY DOMESTIC MATTER AND NOT A QUESTION FOR THE UN TO CONSIDER. WE REJECT AS ILLEGAL THE RECENT ATTEMPT BY THE COMMITTEE OF 24 TO PLACE PUERTO RICO ON THE AGENDA OF THE 1982 GENERAL ASSEMBLY.

-- THE US FIRMLY SUPPORTS THE PRINCIPLE OF SELF-DETERMINATION BECAUSE THEY ARE SELF-GOVERNING IT IS UP TO THE PEOPLE OF PUERTO RICO TO DECIDE AMONG THEMSELVES WHETHER AND HOW THEY WISH TO CHANGE THEIR POLITICAL STATUS, AND IT IS WHOLLY INAPPROPRIATE FOR THE UN OR ANY OTHER BODY TO INTERFERE IN THAT DECISION.

-- WE CALL ON ALL COUNTRIES TO REJECT THIS UNWARRANTED AND ILLEGAL ATTEMPT TO INTERFERE IN THE INTERNAL AFFAIRS OF THE US AND PUERTO RICO. THE US WILL NOT UNDERSTAND THE POLICY OF ANY COUNTRY WHICH SUPPORTS THIS BLATANT AND UNFRIENDLY ACTION BY THE COMMITTEE OF 24. THE US WILL PAY PARTICULAR ATTENTION TO HOW EACH

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MEMBER VOTES WHEN THE QUESTION OF PUERTO RICO ARISES.

## C. AFGHANISTAN.

FYI, WE WILL CONTINUE TO SUPPORT A STRONG RESOLUTION A? THE UNGA CALLING FOR A SETTLEMENT IN AFGHANISTAN AND A WITHDRAWAL OF SOVIET FORCES. WE WILL URGE PAKISTAN, WHOSE LEADERSHIP WILL AGAIN BE ESSENTIAL TO MAXIMIZE ISLAMIC AND NON-ALIGNED SUPPORT, TO PRESS FOR A TEXT THAT STRONGLY REAFFIRMS THE PRINCIPLES OF LAST YEAR'S RESOLUTION, I.E. TROOP WITHDRAWAL AND SELF-DETERMINATION, AND SUPPORTS ALL INITIATIVES THAT WOULD BRING ABOUT A PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT UNDER THE TERMS OF THE RESOLUTION. WE ALSO SUPPORT THE EC PROPOSAL FOR A POLITICAL CONFERENCE OUTSIDE THE UN FRAMEWORK. WE FAVOR SEPARATE ACTION TO BRING ABOUT AN INTERNATIONAL

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CONFERENCE ON AFGHAN REFUGEES EARLY NEXT YEAR. THE SOVIETS HAVE FORMALLY REJECTED THE EC PROPOSAL, BUT THE EC APPARENTLY PLANS TO KEEP IT ON THE TABLE. IN ORDER TO ENSURE THE STRONGEST POSSIBLE NON-ALIGNED SUPPORT-FOR THE UNGA RESOLUTION, WE WILL NOT RECOMMEND LINKING THE EC PROPOSAL WITH THE RESOLUTION. END FYI

-- A STRONG RESOLUTION ON AFGHANISTAN AT THE UNGA, EMPHASIZING THE NEED FOR SOVIET TROOP WITHDRAWAL AND SELF-DETERMINATION OF THE AFGHAN PEOPLE, AND AN UNDIMINISHED VOTE, ARE ESSENTIAL.

-- A WEAKER RESOLUTION OR DECLINE IN SUPPORT WOULD BE A DEFEAT FOR ALL NATIONS WHO SUPPORT THE PRINCIPLES OF SELF-DETERMINATION, INDEPENDENCE, AND NON-INTERVENTION.

-- BROADLY SUPPORTED UNGA ACTION ON AFGHANISTAN IS

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ESPECIALLY IMPORTANT, SINCE IT DEMONSTRATES THAT THE SOVIET INVASION AND MILITARY OCCUPATION OF AFGHANISTAN IS AN INTERNATIONAL ISSUE OF CRUCIAL IMPORTANCE TO ALL NATIONS, ALIGNED AND NON-ALIGNED.

-- THE NEW RESOLUTION SHOULD REITERATE THE BASIC TERMS FOR SETTLEMENT CONTAINED IN PREVIOUS RESOLUTIONS, INCLUDING A CALL FOR SOVIET WITHDRAWAL, AND IT SHOULD SUPPORT ALL INITIATIVES DESIGNED TO BRING ABOUT A SETTLEMENT UNDER THE TERMS OF THE RESOLUTION.

-- IN THIS CONNECTION, IF THE GA BELIEVES IT WOULD BE USEFUL FOR THE GOOD OFFICES EFFORTS OF THE SYG'S PERSONAL REPRESENTATIVE TO CONTINUE, THERE SHOULD BE A CLEAR CONNECTION IN THE NEW RESOLUTION BETWEEN THE REPRESENTATIVE'S MANDATE AND THE TERMS OF THE RESOLUTION.

-- (IF APPROPRIATE): WE RECOGNIZE AND APPRECIATE THE IMPORTANT LEADERSHIP WHICH PAKISTAN, THE ISLAMIC CONFERENCE, AND OTHER NON-ALIGNED NATIONS PROVIDE FOR UNGA ACTION ON AFGHANISTAN.

-- WE WELCOME THE EC INITIATIVE FOR AN INTERNATIONAL POLITICAL CONFERENCE ON AFGHANISTAN THAT WOULD WORK TOWARD RESTORATION OF A NON-ALIGNED, INDEPENDENT AFGHANISTAN. WE HOPE THE SOVIET UNION WILL RECONSIDER ITS REJECTION OF THIS PROPOSAL.

D. KAMPUCHEA.  
WE HOPE THAT THE GREAT MAJORITY OF UN MEMBERS,

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ALIGNED AND NON-ALIGNED, WILL JOIN AGAIN AS THEY DID LAST YEAR IN SUPPORTING A STRONG RESOLUTION, WHICH WE EXPECT ASEAN WILL SPONSOR, CALLING FOR VIETNAM'S WITHDRAWAL FROM KAMPUCHEA AND A NEGOTIATED SETTLEMENT THAT WOULD RESTORE PEACE AND KHMER SOVEREIGNTY AND

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[REDACTED]

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ENDORING THE DECLARATION AND DECISIONS OF THE INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE ON KAMPUCHEA.

-- THE CONFERENCE SHOWED STRONG INTERNATIONAL SUPPORT FOR A SETTLEMENT OF THE KAMPUCHEAN PROBLEM IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE TERMS OF PREVIOUS UNGA RESOLUTIONS AND THE DECLARATION ADOPTED BY THE CONFERENCE. THE CONFERENCE STRONGLY REPUDIATED THE OCCUPATION AND CONTROL OF AN INDEPENDENT COUNTRY BY THE MILITARY FORCES OF ANOTHER. AT THE SAME TIME, IT OFFERED AN APPROACH FOR A NEGOTIATED SETTLEMENT THAT WE HOPE VIETNAM WILL EVENTUALLY ACCEPT. RENEWED ACTION BY THE UNGA ON KAMPUCHEA WILL REINFORCE THE RESULTS AT THE CONFERENCE.

-- THERE MIGHT BE A CHALLENGE TO THE CREDENTIALS OF THE REPRESENTATIVE OF DEMOCRATIC KAMPUCHEA (DK) BY THE VIETNAMESE AS THERE WAS IN THE PREVIOUS TWO UNGAS.

-- THE US SUPPORTS THE CREDENTIALS OF THE DK ON THE NARROW TECHNICAL GROUNDS THAT THAT REGIME WAS THE LAST GOVERNMENT OF KAMPUCHEA TO BE RECOGNIZED BY THE UN AND CAN LOSE ITS CREDENTIALS ONLY IF THERE IS A SUPERIOR CLAIMANT.

-- THE HENG SAMRIN REGIME IS NOT SUCH A CLAIMANT BECAUSE IT IS THE CREATION OF AND IS MAINTAINED IN POWER BY THE VIETNAMESE OCCUPATION FORCES OF 180,000 TROOPS.

-- OUR STAND ON THIS QUESTION DOES NOT IMPLY APPROVAL OF THE HORRENDOUS MISRULE AND MASSIVE HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS OF THE POL POT REGIME NOR DOES IT MEAN THAT THE US WOULD BE WILLING TO ACCEPT THE RETURN TO

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POWER OF THE POL POT REGIME.

E. MIDDLE EAST

FYI, THE CAMP DAVID PROCESS WILL FACE A HEAVY ARAB/PLO

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DIPLOMATIC ASSAULT IN THE 36TH UNGA. THE MAIN ELEMENTS OF THE ARAB/PLO STRATEGY, APART FROM A POSSIBLE DIRECT CHALLENGE TO ISRAEL'S PARTICIPATION IN THE UNGA, WILL PROBABLY BE (A) A CALL FOR REPLACEMENT OF UNSC RESOLUTION 242 WITH A NEW UNSC RESOLUTION RECOGNIZING THE NEED FOR A PALESTINIAN STATE, (B) INTENSIFIED ATTACKS ON THE CAMP DAVID ACCORDS, AND (C) AN EFFORT TO CENSURE ISRAEL FOR THE RAIDS ON IRAQ AND LEBANON. END FYI.

-- WE ARE COMMITTED TO THE SUCCESS OF THE PROCESS BEGUN AT CAMP DAVID. WE WILL DO ALL WE CAN THROUGH THIS PROCESS TO ACHIEVE A JUST AND LASTING MIDDLE EAST SOLUTION.

-- WE ARE OPPOSED TO ONE-SIDED UNGA RESOLUTIONS OF THE TYPE ADOPTED LAST YEAR UNDER THE AGENDA ITEMS CALLED "THE QUESTION OF PALESTINE" AND "THE SITUATION IN THE MIDDLE EAST." SUCH RESOLUTIONS DO NOT HELP THE PEACE PROCESS; IN FACT, THEY WORK AGAINST THE POSSIBILITY OF REAL PROGRESS TOWARD PEACE. -- WE WERE PARTICULARLY DISAPPOINTED WITH THE RESOLUTION LAST YEAR THAT ATTEMPTED TO UNDERMINE RESOLUTION 242, WHICH REMAINS THE BASIS FOR PEACE IN THE MIDDLE EAST, AND THE RESOLUTION ATTACKING THE EGYPT-ISRAEL PEACE TREATY.

-- THE SECURITY COUNCIL HAS CONSIDERED THE RECENT ISRAELI RAIDS ON IRAQ AND LEBANON. WE MADE OUR POSITIONS KNOWN ON THESE ISSUES IN THAT FORUM. ANY UNGA ACTION ON THESE QUESTIONS SHOULD AIM AT HELPING THE CAUSE OF PEACE, AND STRENGTHENING THE PRESENT CEASEFIRE, NOT AT INFLAMING THE PASSIONS AROUSED BY THE RAIDS.

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## F. SOUTHERN AFRICA

FYI, US POLICY IN SOUTHERN AFRICA IS BASED ON A FIRM COMMITMENT TO INDEPENDENCE FOR NAMIBIA AND PEACEFUL EVOLUTIONARY CHANGE AWAY FROM APARTHEID IN SOUTH AFRICA. TO ACHIEVE THESE GOALS THE ADMINISTRATION HAS SOUGHT TO CREATE A FAVORABLE CLIMATE FOR DISCUSSIONS: ESTABLISHING A DIALOGUE, ENDING PUBLIC CRITICISM AS A MEANS OF GAINING PRIVATE INFLUENCE, AND REVERSING EFFORTS TO ISOLATE SOUTH AFRICA IN ORDER TO CHANGE SAG POLICY. OUR POSITIONS ON THESE ISSUES IN INTERNATIONAL FORUMS ARE DESIGNED TO MAXIMIZE US-LEVERAGE IN BOTH THE NAMIBIA AND INTERNAL SOUTH AFRICA CONTEXTS.

ON NAMIBIA, THE US, AS A MEMBER OF THE WESTERN CONTACT GROUP, HAS CONTINUED EFFORTS TO BRING ABOUT

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INDEPENDENCE OF THAT TERRITORY IN ACCORDANCE WITH SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTION 435 IN A MANNER THAT WILL COMMAND INTERNATIONAL APPROVAL. WITH THE OTHER MEMBERS OF THE CONTACT GROUP, THE US IS PRESENTLY CONSIDERING MEANS TO GET THE STALLED NEGOTIATIONS BACK ON TRACK, WHICH MAY INCLUDE ADDITIONAL MEASURES TO STRENGTHEN THE EXISTING UN PLAN AND PROVIDE THE CONFIDENCE NECESSARY FOR ALL PARTIES TO PROCEED. END FYI.

-- THE US HAS PUBLICLY REITERATED ITS ABHORRENCE OF APARTHEID AND THE NECESSITY FOR EVOLUTIONARY CHANGE IN SOUTH AFRICA.

-- THE US WILL SUPPORT THOSE WITHIN SOUTH AFRICA WHO ARE

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WORKING FOR CONSTRUCTIVE CHANGE THROUGH PEACEFUL MEANS. WE DO NOT SUPPORT THOSE WHO ADVOCATE VIOLENT CHANGE, OR WHO UNDERTAKE TERRORIST ACTIONS TO ACHIEVE THEIR GOALS.

-- DIALOGUE WITH SOUTH AFRICA, RATHER THAN ISOLATION, REPRESENTS THE BEST MEANS FOR THE US TO HAVE SOME INFLUENCE OVER THE DIRECTION OF SAG POLICY ON APARTHEID AND NAMIBIA.

-- ON NAMIBIA, WE CONTINUE TO WORK TOWARD AN INTERNATIONALLY ACCEPTABLE SETTLEMENT BASED ON THE UN PLAN. OUR RECENT INITIATIVES HAVE FOCUSED ON MEASURES TO ASSURE ALL PARTIES THAT AN INDEPENDENT NAMIBIA WILL BE A STABLE, DEMOCRATIC REGIME FOLLOWING THE TRANSITION PROCESS.

-- WE DO NOT BELIEVE THE EMERGENCY SPECIAL GA SESSION ON NAMIBIA CALLED FOR BY THE AFRICAN GROUP FOR SEPTEMBER 3-11 WILL BE HELPFUL. WE WOULD HOPE THAT NEITHER SUCH A SESSION NOR THE REGULAR SESSION WILL INTRODUCE ADDITIONAL HARSH RHETORIC INTO THE ISSUE WHICH MIGHT HAMPER NEGOTIATING EFFORTS.  
G. TERRORISM

FYI, TERRORISM WILL BE CONSIDERED UNDER TWO AGENDA ITEMS AT THE 36TH UNGA; A GENERAL ITEM, FOLLOWING UP ON THE RESOLUTION ADOPTED BY THE 34TH UNGA IN-1979, AND AN ITEM ON THE PROTECTION OF DIPLOMATS FROM THE NORDIC-SPONSORED RESOLUTION ADOPTED BY THE 35TH UNGA. END FYI.

-- THERE IS A NEED TO FOLLOW UP ON THE 1980 NORDIC INITIATIVE ON THE PROTECTION OF DIPLOMATS TO ENSURE ITS MAXIMUM EFFECTIVENESS AND TO ENLARGE THE INTERNATIONAL CONSENSUS THAT CRIMES AGAINST INTERNATIONALLY PROTECTED

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PERSONS ARE ABHORRENT TO ALL NATIONS OF THE WORLD.

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-- ALL NATIONS OF THE WORLD ARE FACED WITH THE GROWING THREAT OF TERRORISM. INTERNATIONAL-COOPERATION IS A VITAL ELEMENT IN THE FIGHT AGAINST TERRORISM. THE UN CONVENTIONS OUTLAWING TERRORIST ACTS SUCH AS HIJACKING (HAGUE) AIRCRAFT SABOTAGE, (MONTREAL) ATTACKS ON DIPLOMATS (NEW YORK) AND HOSTAGE-TAKING (HOSTAGES) REPRESENT A CRUCIAL STEP IN THE ELIMINATION OF TERRORISM. WE URGE ALL STATES TO BECOME PARTIES TO THESE CONVENTIONS.

-- THERE IS ALSO A PRESSING NEED TO DEVELOP APPROPRIATE ENFORCEMENT MECHANISMS FOR THESE CONVENTIONS. WE WOULD WELCOME SUGGESTIONS FROM STATES ON WAYS IN WHICH THE UN SYSTEM CAN ENSURE THAT THE PRINCIPLES OF INTERNATIONAL LAW ARE UPHELD.

-- THE UN SHOULD ALSO CONSIDER DRAFTING ADDITIONAL INSTRUMENTS TO COVER THOSE ACTS OF TERRORISM SUCH AS BOMBINGS AND ASSASSINATIONS WHICH ARE NOT INCLUDED IN EXISTING CONVENTIONS.

H. REFUGEES: FRG INITIATIVE

FYI, THE FRG WILL SEEK TO GAIN APPROVAL OF A RESOLUTION ESTABLISHING AN AD HOC COMMITTEE OF THE UNGA TO STUDY THE CAUSES OF REFUGEE FLOWS AND THE OBLIGATIONS OF STATES UNDER INTERNATIONAL LAW TO AVERT NEW FLOWS OF REFUGEES AS WELL AS TO CONSIDER THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A PERMANENT MECHANISM TO DEAL WITH SITUATIONS THREATENING TO RESULT IN REFUGEE FLOWS. END FYI.

-- THE US STRONGLY SUPPORTS THE FRG PROPOSAL ON REFUGEE FLOWS.

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-- WE BELIEVE IT AND THE CANADIAN INITIATIVE ON THE VIOLATIONS OF HUMAN RIGHTS RESULTING FROM LARGE EXODUSES, WHICH IS BEING ADDRESSED IN THE UN HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION, ARE COMPLEMENTARY.

-- WE CONSIDER IT ESSENTIAL IN THE EFFORT TO REACH AGREEMENT ON GUIDELINES FOR STATE BEHAVIOR TO PREVENT MASSIVE REFUGEE FLOWS THAT THREATEN INTERNATIONAL

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STABILITY AND RESULT IN THE VIOLATION OF INTERNATIONAL LAW. EXISTING INTERNATIONAL LAW ON THE HANDLING AND PROTECTION OF REFUGEES SHOULD NOT BE WEAKENED.

-- WE WOULD PREFER THAT ANY MECHANISM THAT MIGHT EVENTUALLY RESULT FROM THE FRG INITIATIVE CONSIST OF AN EXISTING ENTITY OF THE UN SYSTEM RATHER THAN HAVING A NEW BODY CREATED.

#### I. UN BUDGET AND ADMINISTRATION

-- WE STRONGLY BELIEVE THAT THE UN BUDGET IS GROWING TOO FAST AND STRONGLY FAVOR ZERO PROGRAM GROWTH AND BETTER USE OF PRESENT FINANCIAL RESOURCES. IF NEW PROGRAMS NEED TO BE ESTABLISHED OTHER SPECIFIC PROGRAMS WHICH ARE NO LONGER ESSENTIAL SHOULD BE REDUCED BY A LIKE AMOUNT. THE SYG HAS TAKEN THIS POSITION IN PREPARING THE 1982-1983 BUDGET; HOWEVER, THERE IS A REAL DANGER THAT THE BUDGET WILL BE SIGNIFICANTLY AND UNACCEPTABLY AUGUMENTED BY ADD-ONS SPONSORED OR ENCOURAGED BY MEMBER STATES. WE WOULD APPRECIATE ASSISTANCE IN RESISTING THIS PROCESS.

-- THE UN SCALE OF ASSESSMENTS FOR 1983-85 WILL BE VOTED ON NEXT YEAR. ACCORDINGLY, IT IS NOT ANTICIPATED THAT THE US CEILING ASSESSMENT RATE WILL BE CHALLENGED. HOWEVER, WE WISH TO EMPHASIZE THAT IT IS IMPORTANT TO RETAIN THE CEILING RATE OF 25 PERCENT SET BY THE UNGA FOR THE UN SCALE OF ASSESSMENTS. A CHALLENGE TO

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[REDACTED]

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THIS POLITICAL PRINCIPLE WOULD BE VERY DISTURBING TO US CONGRESSIONAL AND PUBLIC OPINION AND COULD WEAKEN US SUPPORT FOR THE UNITED NATIONS.

#### 6. ISSUES POSTS MAY RAISE

##### A. SECRETARY GENERAL ELECTIONS

FYI, WALDHEIM'S TERM AS SYG RUNS OUT ON DECEMBER 31, AND ALTHOUGH HE HAS NOT OFFICIALLY DECLARED HIS CANDIDACY. IT IS CLEAR HE WOULD LIKE A THIRD TERM. A STRONG AND DECLARED CONTENDER FOR THE POST IS - FOREIGN MINISTER SALIM A. SALIM OF TANZANIA WHO HAS BEEN ENDORSED BY THE OAU. HE WILL BE WORKING TO GAIN SUPPORT FROM OTHER REGIONAL GROUPS. THE LATIN AMERICANS MAY TRY TO OFFER THEIR OWN CANDIDATE, ALTHOUGH PROSPECTS FOR AGREEMENT AMONG THEM ON ONE CANDIDATE ARE NOT GOOD. THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY ELECTS THE SECRETARY GENERAL "ON THE RECOMMENDATION OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL", WHICH MEANS THAT THE VETO APPLIES AND THAT THE ELECTION WILL HINGE

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ULTIMATELY ON AGREEMENT AMONG THE PERMANENT -  
MEMBERS. WE WOULD BE INTERESTED IN INFORMATION  
YOU MAY PICK UP ON THIS TOPIC. END FYI.

-- WE HAVE NOT YET TAKEN A POSITION ON ANY OF THE  
KNOWN OR POTENTIAL CANDIDATES FOR UNSYG. THE -  
ELECTION WILL NOT TAKE PLACE UNTIL LATER IN THE  
SESSION, AND WE WANT TO DEFER ANY COMMITMENT ON THE  
SYG ELECTION UNTIL IT IS CLEAR WHO ALL THE -  
CANDIDATES ARE.

B. SECURITY COUNCIL AND GENERAL ASSEMBLY PRESIDENCY  
ELECTIONS

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FYI, FOUR OF THE FIVE SEATS BEING CONTESTED TO  
THE SECURITY COUNCIL HAVE BEEN SETTLED;  
ZAIRE, TOGO, POLAND AND JORDAN HAVE RECEIVED THE  
ENDORSEMENT OF THEIR REGIONAL GROUPS. THE-LATIN  
AMERICAN GROUP HAS YET TO DECIDE BETWEEN THE  
DOMINICAN REPUBLIC AND GUYANA. GIVEN THE CHOICE  
BETWEEN THE TWO CONTENDERS, WE WOULD FAVOR THE  
DOMINICAN REPUBLIC, (AMREPS WILL RECEIVE MORE  
ON THIS BY SEPTTEL). THE GA PRESIDENCY FALLS TO AN,  
ASIAN THIS YEAR. HOWEVER, THE ASIAN GROUP HAS NOT  
DECLARED ITS PREFERENCE AMONG THE FOUR ANNOUNCED  
CANDIDATES: IRAQ'S KITTANI, SYRIA'S KHADDAM--  
BANGLADESH'S KAISER AND SINGAPORE'S KOH. THERE IS  
THE POSSIBILITY OF A COMPROMISE ARAB CANDIDATE-IF  
THE ARABS CANNOT REACH A CONSENSUS. KOH WOULD BE  
BETTER FOR US, BUT KAISER WOULD BE ENTIRELY - -  
ACCEPTABLE. END FYI. --

-- WE WILL WAIT FOR THE REGIONAL GROUPS TO EXPRESS  
THEIR PREFERENCES FOR THE LA SECURITY COUNCIL SEAT  
AND FOR THE GA PRESIDENCY, BEFORE WE TAKE A - -  
POSITION.

C. SECURITY COUNCIL EXPANSION

FYI, AN INDIAN PROPOSAL TO EXPAND THE MEMBERSHIP OF THE  
SECURITY COUNCIL FROM 15 TO 21 WAS NOT PUT TO THE  
VOTE LAST YEAR BECAUSE OF LACK OF SUPPORT. OUR  
OBJECTIVE IS TO ENSURE THAT THIS PROPOSAL IS NOT  
RAISED THIS YEAR. POSTS SHOULD USE THE FOLLOWING  
TALKING POINTS ON AN IF ASKED BASIS ONLY. END FYI.

-- WE BELIEVE THE UNSC AS CURRENTLY CONSTITUTED  
PROTECTS AND ADEQUATELY REPRESENTS THE INTERESTS OF  
ALL REGIONS AND GROUPS OF STATES.

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-- WE ARE CONCERNED THAT PROPOSALS TO ENLARGE THE SIZE OF THE COUNCIL AND OF THE UN TO FUNCTION ON ISSUES OF THE HIGHEST URGENCY.

-- THEREFORE, WE STRONGLY URGE THAT THE CURRENT 15 MEMBER SIZE OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL BE MAINTAINED.

D. GLOBAL NEGOTIATIONS.

D. GLOBAL NEGOTIATIONS.

FYI. THE US POSITION ON GLOBAL NEGOTIATIONS (GNS) WAS NOT AFFECTED BY THE OTTAWA SUMMIT (JULY 19-21) OR THE CANCUN PREPARATORY MEETING (JULY 31 -- AUGUST 2) AND CONTINUES TO BE AS STATED ON MAY 5 IN NEWYORK WHERE WE PROPOSED THAT THE ISSUE BE DEFERRED AT LEAST UNTIL THE 36TH UNGA REGULAR SESSION AND AFTER THE CANCUN SUMMIT (OCTOBER 21-23). ALTHOUGH THE OTTAWA DECLARATION AND THE PRESS RELEASE FOLLOWING THE CANCUN PREPARATORY MEETING APPEAR TO SUGGEST A QUALIFIED US ENDORSEMENT OF GNS, THIS IS NOT OUR POSITION. WE HAVE NOT CLOSED THE DOOR ON GNS, BUT WE DOUBT THAT IT WOULD SERVE ANY REAL ECONOMIC PURPOSE THAT COULD NOT BETTER - BE ACHIEVED THROUGH EXISTING INSTITUTIONS OR BY OTHER MEANS. THE USG OBJECTIVE IS TO; REASSERT LEADERSHIP IN RELATION TO THE DEVELOPMENT OF LDCS. OUR CARIBBEAN BASIN POLICY IS INDICATIVE OF THE WORKING OUT OF THAT OBJECTIVE.

WE EXPECT CONSIDERABLE PRESSURE FROM MANY OF OUR OECD PARTNERS AS WELL AS FROM THE G-77 FOR A RESOLUTION OF THE GN ISSUE DURING THE UNGA REGULAR SESSION OR AS CANCUN. IT SHOULD BE EMPHASIZED - THAT OUR PROPOSAL TO DEFER THE ISSUE UNTIL AFTER CANCUN DOES NOT ESTABLISH A TIME FRAME FOR A US

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DECISION ON GNS. NOR DOES IT RULE OUT EVENTUAL AGREEMENT TO RETURN TO DISCUSSION -OF PROCEDURES AND AGENDA FOR GNS SHOULD THIS APPEAR TO BE IN OUR BEST INTEREST IN THE LIGHT OF OUR POST-CANCUN REAPPRAISAL. POSTS SHOULD USE THE FOLLOWING - TALKING POINTS ON AN IF ASKED BASIS ONLY. END FYI. " # POSITION ON GNS WAS NOT AFFECTED BY OTTAWA OR THE CANCUN PREPARATORY MEETING. WE CONTINUE TO BELIEVE THAT THE ISSUE SHOULD BE DEFERRED UNTIL AFTER THE CANCUN SUMMIT. THE HEADS OF STATE WILL

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BENEFIT FROM EACH OTHER'S WEAPONS AND PER-  
SPECTIVES AND BE IN A BETTER POSITION TO DECIDE  
LATER ABOUT GNS.

-- THE US STATEMENT, GIVEN IN DECEMBER 1979 WHEN THE  
UNGA RESOLUTION ON GNS WAS ADOPTED, MADE IT CLEAR  
THAT WE WOULD PARTICIPATE IN GNS ONLY IF MUTUALLY  
ACCEPTABLE PROCEDURES AND AGENDA COULD BE AGREED.  
NEGOTIATIONS IN NEW YORK THROUGHOUT 1980 SUGGEST  
THAT SUCH AN AGREEMENT MAY NOT BE POSSIBLE. IN  
ANY CASE, WHILE WE HAVE NOT CLOSED THE DOOR ON  
GNS, WE ARE NOT CONVINCED AT THIS TIME THAT IT WOULD  
SERVE ANY REAL ECONOMIC PURPOSE THAT COULD NOT  
BETTER BE ACHIEVED BY OTHER MEANS.

#### E. ARMS CONTROL

FYI, THE USG IS PRESENTLY REVIEWING ARMS CONTROL AND  
OTHER DEFENSE-RELATED ISSUES. THESE REVIEWS WHICH  
ARE NOT YET COMPLETED, MAY WELL PREVENT US FROM  
TAKING DEFINITE POSITIONS ON A GREAT MANY OF THE  
ISSUES UNDER REVIEW IN NEW YORK AND WILL REQUIRE A  
CAUTIOUS US APPROACH. PREPARATIONS FOR, AND THE  
DISCUSSION OF THE SECOND SPECIAL SESSION ON  
DISARMAMENT, SCHEDULED FOR LATE SPRING 1982,  
WILL ALSO INFLUENCE FIRST COMMITTEE DEBATE. FOR

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THE US THE MOST CONTENTIOUS SUBJECTS LIKELY TO  
COME UP AT THE GA INCLUDE: THE COMPREHENSIVE  
TEST BAN (CTB), THE NEW SOVIET INITIATIVE TO  
BAN ALL WEAPONS FROM OUTER SPACE, A UN-CONDUCTED  
INVESTIGATION OF ALLEGATIONS OF USE OF CHEMICAL  
WEAPONS IN AREAS SUCH AS AFGHANISTAN, LAOS AND  
KAMPUCHEA, AND BECAUSE OF THE ISRAELI RAID ON  
IRAQ, THE QUESTION OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS IN THE  
MIDDLE EAST. BECAUSE OF THE EXTREMELY LARGE  
NUMBER OF LIKELY RESOLUTIONS (CERTAINLY MORE THAN  
40); AND THE FACT THAT SMALL NUANCES OF WORDING  
IN THE TEXT OF A DRAFT RESOLUTION MAY REQUIRE  
(OR ALLOW) A CHANGE IN US VOTE, WE WILL BE  
ISSUING SEPARATE INSTRUCTIONS ON MANY OF THE  
INDIVIDUAL RESOLUTIONS REQUESTING EMBASSIES TO MAKE  
DEMARCHES ON THEM. END FYI.

-- WE WILL ATTEMPT, IN GENERAL, TO KEEP DEBATE ON  
ARMS CONTROL AT THE GA AS CONSTRUCTIVE AND NON-  
CONTENTIOUS AS POSSIBLE. WE WILL VOTE AGAINST  
THOSE RESOLUTIONS THAT ARE CLEARLY UNACCEPTABLE,  
E.G. (DEPENDING ON THE EXACT WORDING) ON CTB, THE  
NON-STATIONING OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS, AND THE NON-INCREASE

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OF ARMAMENT BY THE UNSC PERMANENT MEMBERS; WE WILL ABSTAIN ON OTHERS, E.G. THE AFRICAN AND LATIN AMERICAN NUCLEAR FREE ZONES, A BAN ON NEW WEAPONS OF MASS DESTRUCTION; AND FAVOR STILL OTHERS, E.G. THE INVESTIGATION OF USE OF CHEMICAL WEAPONS, REDUCTIONS OF MILITARY BUDGETS, THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A MIDDLE EAST NUCLEAR FREE ZONE, AND A STUDY ON CONVENTIONAL ARMAMENTS.

F. HUMAN RIGHTS.

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-- THE UNGA'S CONSIDERATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS HAS BECOME BOGGED DOWN WITH LENGTHY AND REPETITIOUS ATTENTION- YEAR AFTER YEAR TO SUCH ISSUES AS PALESTINE, SOUTHERN AFRICA, AND THE SO-CALLED RIGHT TO DEVELOPMENT. WHILE WE RECOGNIZE THAT MANY DEVELOPING COUNTRIES MAY DIFFER WITH US, IT IS UNPRODUCTIVE TO SPEND TIME REHEARSING WIDELY KNOWN POSITIONS ON THESE PERENNIALS.

-- THE U.S. REMAINS OPPOSED TO HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS ANYWHERE IN THE WORLD, BUT WISHES TO SHIFT THE DISPROPORTIONATE EMPHASIS THAT LATIN AMERICA HAS RECEIVED TO MORE BALANCED CONCERN WITH HUMAN RIGHTS SITUATIONS THROUGHOUT THE WORLD. ABUSES IN CLOSED SOCIETIES (FOR EXAMPLE, PSYCHIATRIC ABUSE), THOUGH HARDER TO DOCUMENT PRECISELY BECAUSE THEY ARE CLOSED, MUST BE ADDRESSED.

-- THE UNGA WILL HAVE BEFORE IT A LONG-AWAITED DRAFT DECLARATION AGAINST RELIGIOUS INTOLERANCE, WHOSE ADOPTION WILL BE A SIGNAL ACHIEVEMENT. WE STRONGLY URGE YOU TO JOIN IN SUPPORTING THIS DECLARATION. (FYI: THE SOVIETS ARE OPPOSED AND MAY SUGGEST FURTHER STUDY IN ORDER TO AVOID FINAL ADOPTION).

G. INFORMATION FLOW.

FYI, UNGA AGENDA ITEM 67 "QUESTIONS RELATING TO INFORMATION" WILL BE CONCERNED PRIMARILY WITH CONSIDERATION OF A DRAFT RESOLUTION BASED ON THE REPORT OF THE 57 MEMBER UNGA COMMITTEE ON INFORMATION. A COMMITTEE WORKING GROUP IS CURRENTLY INVOLVED WITH THE FORMULATION OF THE DRAFT RESOLUTION WHICH IS NOT EXPECTED TO BE COMPLETED UNTIL SEPTEMBER. THE DRAFT RESOLUTION

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KENYA, SIERRA LEONE, MALI, AND TANZANIA CONVENED IN NAIROBI TO DISCUSS THE ISSUE. AT PRESENT, THE OAU EXPECTS THAT THE UN WILL ASSUME RESPONSIBILITY FOR MONITORING A REFERENDUM. THE MOROCCANS, THE ALGERIANS, AND THE POLISARIO DISAGREE ON A NUMBER OF MAJOR POINTS, INCLUDING THE POPULATION TO BE INCLUDED IN THE REFERENDUM (POLISARIO CLAIMS THAT MOST REFUGEES IN ALGERIA ARE ACTUALLY SAHAROUIS), AND THE PRESENCE OF MOROCCAN TROOPS IN THE TERRITORY DURING A REFERENDUM. LAST YEAR IN THE UNGA FOURTH COMMITTEE, A RESOLUTION FAVORABLE TO THE POLISARIO CALLING FOR THE WITHDRAWAL OF MOROCCAN TROOPS FROM THE TERRITORY WAS ADOPTED AND APPROVED BY THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY. THE MOROCCAN RESOLUTION WAS NARROWLY DEFEATED IN THE FOURTH COMMITTEE. END FYI.

-- THE UNITED STATES IS FULLY SUPPORTIVE OF A PEACEFUL RESOLUTION OF THE WESTERN SAHARA QUESTION.

-- BUILDING ON KING HASSAN'S AGREEMENT TO A REFERENDUM IN THE TERRITORY AS THE BASIS FOR AN ACT OF SELF-DETERMINATION, THE US HOPES THAT THIS YEAR THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY WILL ACCEPT A RESOLUTION HIGHLIGHTING THE POSITIVE STEPS TAKEN BY PARTIES TO THE

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DISPUTE, AND THE IMPORTANT WORK OF THE OAU IMPLEMENTATION COMMITTEE.

#### I. INDIAN OCEAN ZONE OF PEACE

FYI, FOLLOWING UNGA ADOPTION IN 1971 OF A RESOLUTION WHICH, IN ESSENCE, CALLED FOR THE GREAT POWERS TO REMOVE THEIR NAVAL FORCES AND FACILITIES FROM THE INDIAN OCEAN, THE UNITED STATES INDICATED THAT THE IOZP CONCEPT AS FORMULATED CONFLICTED NOT ONLY WITH THE RECOGNIZED RIGHTS OF TRANSIT AND OVERFLIGHT OF INTERNATIONAL WATERS BUT WITH THE INHERENT RIGHT OF SELF-DEFENSE OF STATES AS RECOGNIZED BY THE UN AD HOC COMMITTEE. WHEN THE US FINALLY JOINED AN EXPANDED AD HOC COMMITTEE IN 1980, WE MADE CLEAR THAT WE WOULD PRESS FOR CHANGE IN THE COMMITTEE'S MANDATE. WE HAVE CONSISTENTLY OPPOSED THE CONVENING OF AN IOZP CONFERENCE, GIVEN THE SOVIET OCCUPATION OF AFGHANISTAN (BY DEFINITION A "HINTERLAND", STATE OF THE IOZP) AND THE LACK OF AGREEMENT ON THE BASIC PRINCIPLES THAT SHOULD GOVERN AN IOZP. HOWEVER, THE NON-ALIGNED HAVE TABLED A DRAFT CALLING FOR AN IOZP CONFERENCE "NOT LATER THAN 1983" AND A "HIGH-LEVEL POLITICAL MEETING" TO COMPLETE ARRANGEMENTS FOR THE CONFERENCE. END FYI

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-- WE ARE COMMITTED TO THE GOALS OF SECURITY AND STABILITY IN THE INDIAN OCEAN AREA AND WILL CONTINUE TO ADDRESS THESE ISSUES SERIOUSLY - HOWEVER, WE FIRMLY OPPOSE THE 1971 IOZP CONCEPT. WE HAVE MADE OUR RESERVATIONS CLEAR FROM THE BEGINNING OF THE IOZP PROCESS AND HAVE REEMPHASIZED THEM SINCE JOINING THE AD HOC COMMITTEE. A REDUCTION OF US AND

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WESTERN NAVAL FORCES IN THE INDIAN OCEAN, EVEN IF BALANCED BY RECIPROCAL SOVIET REDUCTIONS, WOULD LEAVE THE USSR WITH THE PREPONDERANCE OF MILITARY POWER IN THE REGION, BASED ON ITS LAND AND AIR FORCES IN SOVIET CENTRAL ASIA AND AFGHANISTAN.

-- WE CONTINUE TO OPPOSE THE SETTING OF A DATE FOR AN IOZP CONFERENCE OR A HIGH-LEVEL PREPCOM UNTIL THERE IS A CONSENSUS OR A MORE REALISTIC IOZP CONCEPT AND A SOVIET WITHDRAWAL FROM AFGHANISTAN. WE ARE PREPARED, NEVERTHELESS, TO LOOK AT OTHER SUGGESTED APPROACHES TO THE AD HOC COMMITTEE'S WORK IN THE FUTURE.

J. CYPRUS

FYI, ALTHOUGH IT IS BY NO MEANS CLEAR THAT THE TURKISH CYPRIOT OFFER, MADE AUGUST 5, TO RETURN, AS PART OF AN OVERALL SETTLEMENT, A PORTION OF THE TERRITORY THEY NOW OCCUPY WILL CAUSE THE INTERCOMMUNAL TALKS TO TAKE OFF, IT DOES SUBSTANTIALLY INCREASE THE CHANCES FOR SERIOUS NEGOTIATIONS TO BEGIN AT LAST. IT WOULD, THEREFORE, BE PREFERABLE THAT THE TALKS NOT BE DISTURBED BY EXTRANEOUS INFLUENCES SUCH AS A UNGA DEBATE AND VOTE ON A RESOLUTION WHICH COULD ONLY CAUSE A BITTER EXCHANGE BETWEEN THE CONTENDING PARTIES. WE HOPE TO CONVINCING THE GREEK CYPRIOTS THAT THE EXISTENCE OF THE TURKISH CYPRIOT PROPOSAL SHOULD CAUSE THEM TO PUT OFF UNGA DEBATE FOR ANOTHER YEAR. SHOULD THE GREEK CYPRIOTS, DESPITE OUR EFFORTS, INSIST ON DEBATE, WE WILL TRY TO SECURE AN ANODYNE RESOLUTION. END FYI.

-- WE CONTINUE TO BELIEVE THAT THE BEST APPROACH TO UNGA TREATMENT OF CYPRUS THIS YEAR IS TO DEFER DEBATE AS HAPPENED LAST YEAR.

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K. VOLUNTARY FUND FOR THE UN DECADE OF WOMEN.

FYI: THE 36TH UNGA WILL VOTE TO RELOCATE THE VOLUNTARY FUND FOR THE UN DECADE FOR WOMEN FROM NEW YORK TO VIENNA. THE FUND'S UMBRELLA ORGANIZATION, THE CENTER FOR SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT AND HUMANITARIAN AFFAIRS (CSDHA) WAS MOVED TO VIENNA IN 1979 BUT THE 34TH UNGA VOTED TO RETAIN THE FUND IN NEW YORK AND RECONSIDER THE ISSUE AT THIS SESSION. END FYI.

-- ALTHOUGH IN MOST CIRCUMSTANCES IT IS DESIRABLE TO HAVE ALL COMPONENTS OF A UN ORGANIZATION LOCATED IN THE SAME PLACE, IN THIS CASE WE BELIEVE THE ARGUMENTS FOR KEEPING THE FUND IN NEW YORK OUTWEIGH OTHER CONSIDERATIONS.

-- THE ASSISTANCE PROVIDED BY THE 'NDP IN COORDINATING PROJECT PROPOSALS, DISBURSING FUNDS, AND MONITORING PROGRESS AT THE COUNTRY LEVEL IS A CENTRAL ELEMENT OF THE FUND'S SUCCESS. WE DO NOT BELIEVE THIS EFFECTIVE ARRANGEMENT, WHICH PERMITS A CONSIDERABLE SAVINGS OF ADMINISTRATIVE COSTS, COULD BE MAINTAINED BY CORRESPONDENCE.

-- A MOVE TO VIENNA WOULD SERIOUSLY DISRUPT THE FUND'S ACTIVITIES, JUST AS INITIALLY A CONSIDERABLE TIME ELAPSED BEFORE IT BECAME FULLY EFFECTIVE IN NEW YORK.

-- SINCE THE FUND WAS ESTABLISHED TO OPERATE FOR A LIMITED PERIOD, WE DO NOT BELIEVE THE ADDITIONAL

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COSTS WHICH WOULD BE INCURRED, BOTH IN TIME AND MONEY, ARE JUSTIFIED. HAIG

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