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THE UNITED NATIONS AT 40: 121 WAYS TO IMPROVE

INTRODUCTION

That the United Nations suffers from serious shortcomings is now admitted by nearly all observers of the world body as it marks its 40th anniversary. U.N. Secretary General Javier Perez de Cuellar repeatedly has pointed to failings that the U.N. must overcome. Analyzing these shortcomings and assessing the operations, programs, and policies of the U.N. have been aims of The Heritage Foundation's United Nations Assessment Project. During the past three years, the project's findings have been published in more than 60 separate studies, with several dozen more scheduled for publication.

The studies seek to address three key questions:

- 1) Has the United Nations been fulfilling the mission set by the U.N. charter?
- 2) Has the United Nations been helping those nations and communities most in need?
- 3) Has the United Nations been serving American national interests, in the broadest sense, enough to justify the energies and resources (including more than \$1 billion in taxpayer funds) that the U. S. annually contributes?

Too often the Heritage studies find these questions answered negatively. To remedy this, the studies have offered nearly 200 recommendations for changes in U.N. policies, programs, and actions or changes in U.S. policy to the U.N. A number of these recommendations, such as the U.S. withdrawal from the U.N. Educational, Scientific and

Cultural Organization (UNESCO), a more assertive posture in the U.N. promoting U.S. and Western interests, and a more thorough enforcement of legislation prohibiting U.S. funding of any U.N. program that directly or indirectly aids the Palestine Liberation Organization, already have been adopted by the U.S. Congress or the Reagan Administration. In all, the recommendations provide a possible road map for guiding the U.N. back on course.

Among the most important U.N. Assessment Project recommendations:

THE U.N. AND INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT

#1. In 1983, the U.S. contributed more than \$540 million to U.N. agencies involved in international "development activities." Congress should investigate whether these agencies, whose policies oppose free enterprise and increase state's role in economy, may actually be discouraging development. (33)*

#2. Congress should suspend U.S. participation in U.N. "economic development" programs until they are revised to take account of strategies which historically have encouraged economic development and growth. In recent decades, U.N. programs have concentrated almost solely on attacking free enterprise economies and on advocating wealth redistribution instead of wealth creation. The programs have ignored the free market strategies that have propelled economic growth (45)

#3. The U.S. can and should assist countries trying to help their people move from poverty to higher living standards. But American assistance should require the recipient country to demonstrate a genuine effort to pursue economic growth. (47)

#4. The major donors to the United Nations Development Program (UNDP) should demand expanded and improved evaluation procedures to ensure that their contributions are appropriately spent. Such evaluation also could help UNDP reassert its coordination of the work of various U.N. specialized agencies and increase UNDP's exchange of ideas and data with bilateral aid agencies, such as the U.S. Agency for International Development. (52)

#5. The U.S. should work closely with donors and recipients working to strengthen UNDP. More manpower should be devoted to examining and assessing UNDP progress in particular nations. More

*Further discussion of each recommendation can be found in the publications of The Heritage Foundation United Nations Assessment Project. The numbers following the recommendations refer to a chronological listing of these publications which appears in the Appendix to this paper.

emphasis should be placed as well on steering UNDP away from its dependence on public sector solutions to problems of development. (52)

HUMAN RIGHTS

#6. Because the U.N. has established a distressing double standard in the area of human rights, Congress should examine whether the U.S. portion (25 percent) of the \$28 million spent by the U.N. directly on human rights activities would be better spent if it were given to private institutions (such as Freedom House), which publicize and promote the cause of those suffering human rights abuses. (57)

#7. The U.S. should use financial leverage to influence the voting at the U.N. on human rights issues by recipients of U.S. aid, such as Algeria, India, Mexico, Panama, and Peru--all members of the Commission on Human Rights. These states have consistently voted to accuse Israel and other U.S. allies of human rights violations, but not the Soviet Union, Syria, or other proven violators. (3)

#8. U.S. officials, as well as nongovernmental organizations, should press U.N. officials to take action against human rights violations anywhere in the world. Such U.N. bodies as the Special Committee on the Implementation of the Declaration of Decolonization (Committee of 24) and the Commission on Human Rights routinely ignore human rights abuses in countries under Soviet domination, China, Syria, India, and many others. (3)

#9. The U.S. should use the U.N. to confront Soviet human rights abuses. (38)

#10. Congress should direct the State Department to suspend U.S. participation in United Nations human rights programs until the U.N. ends the political bias and double standard that have characterized these programs in the past decade. (45)

POLITICIZATION AT THE U.N.

#11. The U.S. Congress should investigate the pattern of politicization that affects every U.N. agency and program. This continued use of technical agencies to further particular political agendas is unacceptable. (6)

U.N. PEACEKEEPING

#12. Americans should be wary of crediting the U.N. with peacekeeping "successes" that the U.N. has not achieved. (13)

#13. The U.N. cannot claim credit for peacemaking in an area such as Afghanistan when it has not made the peace nor kept the peace. Those seeking evidence of achievement to justify the U.N.'s existence and cost must look elsewhere. (19)

#14. The Executive Branch and Congress should conclude that the U.N. record for peacekeeping and peacemaking has been so dismal that the U.S. cannot look to the U.N. as a reliable or significant vehicle for achieving world peace. (45)

REFUGEES

#15. The United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) programs should be monitored more closely by the U.S., its major donor. Allegations of possible politicization should be investigated and changes should be made when such allegations prove true. (29)

#16. Unless UNHCR camps in Honduras or elsewhere truly meet the needs of refugees, the U.S. should stop funding the UNHCR and rechannel the money into alternate and more effective refugee programs. (29)

#17. The U.S. should require cooperation between the U.N. High Commissioner for Refugees and the U.N. Relief and Works Agency for Palestinian Refugees. This will help to protect the Palestinian refugees. Unlike the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, UNRWA lacks the right to offer security and to be the legal protector of refugees. (39)

#18. The U.N. should impose on UNRWA the high standards of accountability accepted by the UNHCR with respect to the use of funds. (39)

#19. Part of the U.S. contribution to UNRWA should be earmarked for improved and more permanent housing facilities to be purchased by camp residents. (39)

#20. UNRWA cooperation with the PLO must be strictly monitored to assure that no UNRWA funds or facilities are used for PLO terrorist activities. (39)

#21. The U.S. contribution to UNRWA should not exceed the Arab contribution. In 1982 the U.S. contributed \$64 million, while the Arab states gave only \$14.4 million. (39)

#22. A portion of the U.S. contribution to UNRWA should be earmarked for studies regarding potential development projects for Palestinian refugees to be conducted by the U.N. Development Program. (39)

THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY

#23. The General Assembly, in the past decade, has become infused with an anti-American, anti-Western, and anti-democratic political culture. This situation should be well publicized. (49)

#24. Washington should send U.S. representatives to only a few General Assembly sessions. A selected boycott would express well the U.S. disdain for what the General Assembly has become. The U.S. should also consider downgrading its General Assembly delegation; instead of being top-heavy with ambassadors, it should contain solely junior State Department officers. So long as the General Assembly refuses to function responsibly, the U.S. should not treat it as if it were responsible. (44)

U.S. FINANCIAL CONTRIBUTION TO THE U.N.

#25. In 1985, the U.S. will spend \$1 billion on the U.N. Since 1945, U.S. contributions to the organization have totalled over \$15 billion. Is the U.S. getting any value for the resources and energy it spends on the U.N.? This is a question that the Reagan Administration and the U.S. public must address. (15)

#26. The United States should apply pressure on the U.N. to control the expansion of its budget. (38)

#27. Congress should request the General Accounting Office to determine whether the U.S. receives any financial benefit from its United Nations membership. Though U.N. officials claim that there is benefit to the U.S., the figures commonly cited have been proved unreliable. (45)

#28. Congress should require the U.N. to submit its budgets and budgetary process to a thorough audit by the General Accounting Office. The U.N. budget is so out of control that only the respected GAO can assure the American people that their contribution to the U.N. is being spent in accordance with U.S. law. (45)

#29. The U.S. should examine the possibility of increasing its leverage in the U.N. by using its financial contribution selectively. This would involve ending funding for agencies that become ineffective and stray from their agendas, while maintaining and possibly increasing funding of those that remain true to their original goals. (41)

AMERICAN EMPLOYMENT AT THE U.N.

#30. The U.S. should consider cutting its funding to U.N. agencies that do not raise the level of U.S. staffing to a level that more closely approximates the percentage of the U.S. contribution to U.N. funding. (11)

#31. The State Department should give higher priority to the quality of Americans it recommends for U.N. staffs. Greater attention should be given to their past service and training, as well as their ambitions and motives for "international service." (11)

#32. Congress should require the Secretary of State to report annually on the progress of a more assertive program for increasing American representation on U.N. staffs. (11)

#33. The U.S. should seek to place Americans at high levels on some of those U.N. departments which have come under Soviet control. These include Personnel, Conference Services, Office of Legal Affairs, and Department of Public Information. The U.S. should also seek to replace the Soviet head of the U.N. library with an American. (25)

CONTINUED U.S. MEMBERSHIP IN THE U.N.

#34. The United States cannot continue with business as usual at the U.N. If the U.S. is to remain a United Nations member, Washington must begin working for measures designed to blunt the threats posed by the U.N. This means substantially reducing the politicization of the U.N. system, preventing the General Assembly from globalizing local issues, and denying terrorists the legitimacy and support they obtain by association with the U.N. (18, 44)

#35. P.L. 98-164, enacted by Congress and signed into law in 1983, called for an immediate review of U.S. participation in the U.N. There also should be a study of the U.N.'s violations of its Charter and of its parliamentary structure. Investigated too should be the U.N.'s failure to promote social improvement and economic growth. (41)

#36. As a possible substitute for the U.N., the U.S. should

consider convening an international body of the industrial democracies and those states committed to building a democratic society, who are willing to cooperate on a limited number of issues. (18)

#37. Among the reforms required for continued U.S. membership in the U.N. is that the U.N.'s technical agencies must deal exclusively with technical matters. (18)

#38. The United States should consider plans to move the United Nations headquarters outside the U.S. (41)

THE U.N. AND ISRAEL

#39. Congress should ensure that PL-241, which it enacted in August 1982, is enforced. This requires that the U.S. withhold all of its contributions to the U.N. for "projects whose primary purpose is to provide political benefits to the PLO or entities associated with it." (55)

#40. If the U.N. does not cease harassing Israel, the U.S. should consider boycotting General Assembly discussions on the Middle East. (14)

#41. The U.S. should continue to protest the politicization of U.N. specialized agencies and their unfair attacks on Israel. (14)

#42. The U.S. should take action to oppose the International Conference on the Question of Palestine, including withholding funds. (14)

#43. Congress should hold hearings to determine exactly how U.S. funds are spent in support of the Palestine Liberation Organization. (14)

#44. The U.S. should oppose attacks on Israel anywhere in the U.N. system. (38)

SOVIET MANIPULATION OF THE UNITED NATIONS

#45. The U.S. should oppose in the strongest manner Soviet attempts to compromise the impartiality of the Secretariat. (21)

#46. Reports of U.N. Secretariat employees cooperating with governments, in violation of Article 100 of the U.N. Charter, should be investigated and offenders punished. (21)

#47. All cases of Secretariat employee harassment and discrimination on political grounds should be vigorously opposed by the U.S. (21)

#48. Soviet violations of U.N. procedures--including documented incidents of misuse of rules, altering documents, stalling reports, manufacturing statistics--should be condemned. (21)

#49. The U.S. should press for U.N. recognition of the independence of Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, and the Ukraine. (21)

#50. The U.S. should demand that the USSR occupy only one seat at the U.N., as the U.S. does, instead of the three seats Moscow now holds. (25)

#51. The U.S. should freeze its contribution to the U.N. until the practice of secondment, or fixed term appointments, applies to less than one-third of the total Soviet staff. This practice of temporary appointments allows the Soviets to loan their personnel to the U.N. This means they technically remain employees of the USSR, which is contrary to the intent of Article 100 of the U.N. Charter which mandated an international civil service. (25)

#52. Congress should recommend that the U.S. withhold the same proportion of its U.N. contribution as does the Soviet Union. The USSR is in arrears nearly \$200 million. As such, the U.S., which pays twice as much to the U.N. in assessed contributions, should withhold \$400 million until the Soviet Union settles its account. (25)

#53. The U.S. should demand that the U.N. accept Soviet payments only in convertible currency, rather than in the nonconvertible rubles with which Moscow now pays. (25)

UNITED NATIONS-BASED ESPIONAGE

#54. The U.S. should enforce P.L. 357, enacted in 1947, to ensure that the FBI and other law enforcement agencies take steps to protect U.S. military and industrial secrets from Soviet and other spies using the U.N. as cover for their operations. This law states in section 6 that "nothing in the (U.N. Headquarters) Agreement shall be construed as in any way diminishing, abridging or weakening the right of the United States to safeguard its own security...." This section further states that the Headquarters Agreement in no way denies the U.S. the right "completely to control the entrance of aliens into any territory of the U.S. other than the headquarters district and its immediate vicinity." (60)

#55. FBI forces should be expanded to cope with the large number of Soviet-bloc diplomats at the U.N. headquarters in Manhattan. (21)

#56. The U.S. should attempt to reduce the size of the Eastern bloc and other communist missions in New York. (21)

#57. The U.S. could seek to curtail the travel privileges of U.N. personnel from countries on the State Department's "restricted" list, which includes the USSR. (25)

#58. The U.S. could seek to limit the size of the three Soviet Missions to the U.N. in New York. (25)

#59. The FBI should be given additional funds for surveillance of Soviets connected with the U.N. The FBI should coordinate its efforts with other intelligence services (including the New York Police Department's intelligence section) to pool information related to U.N. personnel and Soviet activities through the U.N. FBI performance, moreover, should be monitored through the Foreign Intelligence Advisory Board or some other appropriate administrative body. (25)

U.N. FUNDING OF MARXISTS AND TERRORISTS

#60. There should be a full investigation by the General Accounting Office and the U.S. Congress to discover how much of the U.S. contribution to the U.N. is funneled to various "national liberation movements." (2)

#61. Congress could avoid the annual argument over cutting U.S. contributions to U.N.-sponsored terrorist groups by amending the U.N. Participation Act of 1945 or the State Department Service Act to include an absolute ban on U.S. funds for such groups. (2)

#62. Congress should extend P.L. 98-164, Section 114, to cover all Soviet-backed "national liberation movements" recognized by the U.N. The law currently only bars U.S. funds for U.N. programs that help promote the South West Africa People's Organization and the Palestine Liberation Organization. (25)

THE NEW WORLD INFORMATION ORDER

#63. The U.S. should oppose the U.N.'s call for a New World Information Order and the International Programme for the Development of Communication (IPDC). In their place, the U.S. should propose a free market communications development strategy that addresses legitimate Third World needs. (12)

#64. The U.S. and the West should forge a strategy to ensure that Third World states acquire modern communications technology and a free

press, and that free and independent journalists have fair access to information and audiences. (12)

THE NEW INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC ORDER

#65. Congress should investigate the forces at the U.N. that promote the so-called New International Economic Order (NIEO), a strategy hostile to the West and to free market economic development. (8)

#66. Americans should demand that all U.S. tax dollars supporting NIEO be cut off. (8)

#67. The U.S. must provide a powerful free enterprise alternative to NIEO--a Freedom in Free Enterprise strategy for free market development in the developing world. Once devised, this plan should be raised by the U.S. at every available U.N. forum. (10)

#68. A free enterprise ideological counterattack must be formulated to oppose NIEO, explaining that it is empty rhetoric, offering no chance of economic growth to the Third World. (12)

#69. Free economic development strategies must be advanced by the U.S. as an alternative to many of the quasi-statist programs such as NIEO. While the U.S. cannot dictate the course of Third World economic transformation, it should make known its strong endorsement for the private enterprise option. (48)

U.N. EDUCATIONAL, SCIENTIFIC AND CULTURAL ORGANIZATION (UNESCO)

#70. The United States has two basic options with regard to UNESCO: to make a serious effort to improve things or get out. These two options should be combined. The United States should announce formally its intention to withdraw from UNESCO in one year unless there are substantial changes in the organization. Whether this policy approach will succeed in making UNESCO a less objectionable organization is not certain. If it does not, the U.S. should withdraw in 1984. (20, 56)

#71. As long as Amadou-Mahtar M'Bow remains as Director-General of UNESCO, real reform is unattainable. A precondition for such reform will be to remove him and replace him with a person of proved ability and stature. (27)

#72. U.S. withdrawal from UNESCO at the end of 1984 is justified in light of the General Accounting Office's audit, which reveals a grossly mismanaged organization. (34)

#73. The U.S. should withdraw from UNESCO as planned on December 31, 1984. (61)

UNITED NATIONS DEPARTMENT OF PUBLIC INFORMATION (DPI)

#74. The Congress should demand that the U.N. obey the law by ceasing lobbying activities before Congress. Additionally, the U.S. Congress should cut off all support for nongovernmental organizations that lobby Congress. (23)

#75. Congress should stop all U.S. funding of DPI activities that promote the interests of the Palestine Liberation Organization, SWAPO, and other terrorist groups. (23)

#76. If the DPI, through its publications and broadcasts, is not willing to offer a balanced and unbiased interpretation of policies and events and to demonstrate an ability to order priorities and accurately measure program effectiveness, the U.S. Congress should withhold a portion of the U.S. contribution to the U.N. Secretariat in an amount commensurate with the U.S. portion of the DPI annual budget. (23)

INTERNATIONAL LABOR ORGANIZATION (ILO)

#77. The ILO's human rights machine should be operated evenhandedly. It should scrutinize communist labor practices with the same vigor that it displays against Argentina and Chile. (46)

#78. Political attacks in the ILO on Israel should be strongly opposed. (46)

#79. Unless the ILO Directorate prevents the Organization from advocating authoritarian solutions to social and economic problems, continued membership of the U.S. will be of dubious merit. (46)

#80. ILO technical assistance should be confined to areas in which the ILO is competent. (46)

#81. Washington should monitor ILO activities more carefully. Few in the U.S. government or in labor or management have any real knowledge of the ILO's technical assistance work. (46)

WORLD HEALTH ORGANIZATION (WHO)

#82. For humanitarian as well as for pragmatic reasons, the U.S. should keep supporting WHO. (51)

#83. The West has a political responsibility to WHO to quietly and persistently insist that the Organization adhere to its technical mandate and resist attempts to politicize it. (51)

#84. The West, and particularly the U.S., should help WHO create mechanisms whereby corporations can make their views known to the organization and work with it when possible. (51)

UNICEF

#85. UNICEF alone among U.N. agencies can muster consensus among nations to improve the state of nutrition, sanitation, and health of the world's children. UNICEF can do this only if it remains true to the specific humanitarian task for which it was established. It cannot do this if it becomes politicized by the kind of anti-Western, anti-free market rhetoric and ideology that have limited and, in some cases, destroyed other organizations within the U.N. (17)

#86. The U.S. Congress should look closely at any UNICEF expenditures for purposes other than those stated in its mandate. (17)

#87. Congress should seek a detailed account of UNICEF's financial and administrative relationships with nongovernmental organizations. (17)

#88. Congress should seek information on the use of UNICEF funds for the publication of political materials and for instruction in political agenda. (17)

U.N. CONFERENCE ON TRADE AND DEVELOPMENT (UNCTAD)

#89. The U.S. must reconsider its membership in UNCTAD, an organization that not only is anti-West, but is inimical to the economic development of poor nations. (24)

#90. At UNCTAD, the U.S. should talk more specifically about what strategies have worked and which have failed in developing countries. (47)

#91. If UNCTAD really wants to spur development, it must study those countries that have succeeded and failed economically over the past two decades. (35)

#92. The U.S. should work with its allies to exercise greater control over UNCTAD's Secretariat and the organization. (47)

#93. The U.S. should discuss with developing countries the positions they are taking in UNCTAD and attempt to convince them that UNCTAD's strategy should be changed to foster economic growth. Through these discussions, the U.S. may be able to bring pressure on what has been UNCTAD's unresponsive leadership and Secretariat. (47)

THE FOOD AND AGRICULTURE ORGANIZATION (FAO)

#94. For FAO to be effective, the U.S. must press the FAO to encourage, much more than it has, the role of the private sector. (50)

#95. The U.S. should consider making its contributions to FAO dependent upon the agency's willingness to undertake serious evaluations, establish specific project goals and milestones, and create a role for the private sector in the agricultural development activities of the U.N. (50)

UNITED NATIONS CONFERENCE ON WOMEN

#96. President Reagan should state that the U.S. will not participate in the Nairobi U.N. Conference on Women if the Conference becomes unacceptably politicized. (37)

#97. The U.S. should support Kenya's determination to keep the Conference nonpolitical. (37)

#98. On the eve of the Nairobi Conference, President Reagan should renew his warning that, if nations insist on politicizing the agenda, the U.S. will withdraw. (62)

LAW OF THE SEA TREATY

#99. The U.S. should refuse to sign the Draft Convention of the Sea Law Treaty as it now stands, and should actively seek an alternative regime that would allow, in cooperation with other nations, true freedom of access to the sea and its many valuable resources. (5)

#100. With the U.S. rejecting the Law of the Sea Treaty and further participation in any of its bodies, the time is right for the President to assert U.S. leadership and to proclaim a National Exclusive Economic Zone (EEZ), extending 200 miles into the coastal waters of the U.S. and its territories and claiming jurisdiction over resources that are rightfully the United States' to own and economic activities that are properly the United States' to control. (54)

U.N. CONVENTION ON THE INTERNATIONAL SALE OF GOODS

#101. The Senate should proceed with extreme caution in the ratification process for the U.N. Convention on Contracts for the International Sale of Goods, and should not ratify this Convention until significant questions have been answered. These include concern over the propriety of preempting through U.N. treaty the role of states in regulating international contracts, as well as the increased complication of businessmen's lives which results from the Convention's approach of creating separate legal rules for domestic and international transactions. (26)

#102. Greater participation by the American private sector should be encouraged for future negotiations of treaties such as this. (26)

INTELLECTUAL PROPERTY

#103. The United States should continue to oppose changes in the Paris Convention for the Protection of Industrial (sic) Property. One sure way to discourage investment in developing countries, transfer of technology, and economic development is to remove the kind of major incentive provided by patent guarantees. (7)

THE U.N. AND OUTER SPACE

#104. The U.S. should quit the U.N. Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space (COPUOS) until substantial reforms are made so that the Committee functions in accord with its charter. (36)

#105. The U.S. should refuse to sign the Moon Treaty and oppose all encroachments of "New International Economic Order" language in U.N. resolutions. By contrast, Washington should continue cooperating bilaterally with Third World nations on space-related technical and scientific matters. (36)

U.N.'S ROLE IN DISARMAMENT

#106. The U.S. should participate only at the lowest level in United Nations disarmament conferences and activities until U.N. agencies demonstrate that their purpose is to seek global arms reduction, conventional as well as nuclear, and not simply to serve as forums for denouncing U.S. and NATO security policies. (45)

MULTINATIONAL CORPORATIONS

#107. The U.S. Mission to the U.N. must be prepared better to deal with issues affecting the overseas activities of U.S. multinational corporations. In particular, the U.S. mission should have increased contact with industry experts familiar with allegedly consumer issues raised at the U.N. (9)

#108. The U.S. should try to coordinate with its allies a unified position on negotiations for the various codes proposed by the U.N. to regulate the multinationals. (9)

#109. The U.S. should stop participating in negotiations for a U.N. Code of Conduct for Transnational Corporations. The aim of the code clearly is to perpetuate an anti-free enterprise view of the multinational corporation in the developing world. (33)

#110. The Congress should consider withholding the U.S. share of U.N. funding for the Center on Transnational Corporations so long as this organization remains hostile to the free enterprise system. (33)

#111. Congress should consider requiring publication in the Federal Register of all U.N. actions inflicting burdens on U.S. business. (33)

U.N PENSIONS

#112. Congress should investigate the extravagances of the U.N. pension system. The U.S. taxpayer should not be underwriting U.N. civil servant pensions far more generous than those paid to retired U.S. government civil servants. (32)

AFGHANISTAN

#113. The U.S. should continue supporting U.N. peace efforts in Afghanistan only if they provide full protection and guarantees to the

Afghan freedom fighters who have resisted, and the refugees who have fled, Soviet aggression. (59)

THE WAR OF IDEAS

#114. The U.S. should use the U.N. podium to remind the world's nations of the excellent record of free enterprise. (6)

#115. Evidence that U.N. staff or officials tamper with data and statistics of U.N. reports should be exposed by the U.S. Washington should cut off funds to organizations engaged in such practices. (6)

#116. The U.S. must resist the "semantic infiltration" to which it often succumbs, adopting the language of its adversaries in describing political reality. Example: the U.S. should stop referring to terrorist groups such as the PLO and SWAPO as "national liberation movements." (6)

#117. Nations receiving U.S. foreign aid should be held accountable for their behavior in the United Nations. A nation's voting record at the U.N. can and should be made a factor in determining whether it will receive U.S. assistance. (43)

#118. The U.S. must emphasize in U.N. forums the superiority of pluralistic politics over alternative authoritarian and totalitarian models. (48)

#119. The U.S. at the U.N. should promote economic opportunity and free enterprise for Third World development. (38)

#120. The U.S. should work to disrupt U.N. voting bloc patterns. (38)

#121. The U.S. must convey to U.N. members that, just as they fear that their relations with Moscow would suffer if they attacked the Soviet Union in the General Assembly, so their bilateral relations with Washington would be penalized by anti-American actions in the General Assembly. (49)

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APPENDIX
UNITED NATIONS ASSESSMENT PROJECT PUBLICATIONS

Backgrounders

- 1 The U.S. and the U.N.: A Balance Sheet (Juliana G. Pilon 1/21/82)
- 2 How the U.N. Aids Marxist Guerrilla Groups (Thomas G. Gulick 4/8/82)
- 3 The U.N. and Human Rights: The Double Standard
(Juliana G. Pilon 5/11/82)
- 4 The U.N. and Disarmament: The Second Special Session
(John Buckman 5/26/82)
- 5 The Law of the Sea Treaty: Can the U.S. Afford to Sign?
(Roger A. Brooks 6/7/82)
- 6 Through the Looking Glass: The Political Culture of the U.N.
(Juliana G. Pilon 8/30/82)
- 7 At the U.N., A Mounting War on Patents (Roger A. Brooks 10/4/82)
- 8 For UNESCO a Failing Grade in Education (Thomas G. Gulick 10/21/82)
- 9 Multinationals: First Victim of the U.N. War on Free Enterprise
(Roger A. Brooks 11/16/82)
- 10 UNESCO, Where Culture Becomes Propaganda (Thomas G. Gulick 10/21/82)
- 11 Americans at the U.N.: An Endangered Species (Juliana G.
Pilon 2/14/83)
- 12 The IPDC: UNESCO v. the Free Press (Thomas G. Gulick 3/10/83)
- 13 U.N. Peacekeeping: An Empty Mandate (Roger A. Brooks 4/20/83)
- 14 The U.N.'s Campaign Against Israel (Juliana G. Pilon 6/16/83)
- 15 The Wayward U.N.: A Digest of Heritage Studies
(Melanie L. Merkle 7/20/83)
- 16 The Model U.N. Program: Teaching Unreality (Thomas G. Gulick
and Melanie L. Merkle 8/11/83)
- 17 UNICEF, Beware -- Dangerous Shoals Ahead (Roger A. Brooks 8/30/83)
- 18 The U.S. and the U.N.: Time for Reappraisal
(Burton Yale Pines 9/29/83)
- 19 The U.N. and Afghanistan: Stalemated Peacekeeping
(Roger A. Brooks 10/11/83)
- 20 The U.N. and UNESCO at the Crossroads (Owen Harries 10/19/83)
- 21 Moscow's U.N. Outpost (Juliana G. Pilon 11/22/83)
- 22 How the U.N. Spends Its \$1 Billion From U.S. Taxpayers
(Melanie L. Merkle 1/20/84)
- 23 The UNDPI: A House of Mirrors (Roger A. Brooks 2/23/84)
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