



United States Department of State

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November 21, 1984

TO : NSC - Mr. Robert Kimmitt (8431924)
CIA - [redacted]
USIA - Mr. C. William LaSalle (8431926)

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SUBJECT : IPC Meeting on UNESCO, November 21, 1984, 3:30 p.m.

The second meeting of the IPC charged to evaluate reform in UNESCO will be held in Room 7240, Main State, November 21, 1984, at 3:30 p.m. This meeting will continue the discussion begun November 9 focusing on the degree to which reform has been achieved in UNESCO and the post-withdrawal planning needs as outlined by the Chairman. The proposed agenda is attached (Tab A).

The following background materials are provided for your consideration:

- draft Executive Summary and Conclusions of UNESCO Monitoring Panel (Tab B);
- State Department analysis of 1984 UNESCO reform efforts (Tab C);
- recently expressed views of allies (Tab D);
- proposed UNESCO Alternatives Program (Tab E).

Additional materials may be provided subsequently as they become available.

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Charles Hill
Executive Secretary

Attachments:

As stated

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INTERNATIONAL POLITICAL COMMITTEE (IPC)
UNESCO

November 21, 1984, 3:30 p.m.
Main State, Room 7240

AGENDA

1. Approval of Draft November 9 Minutes
2. Review of Additional Materials:
 - Draft Monitoring Panel Executive Summary and Conclusions
 - UNESCO Reform Analysis
 - Views of Allies
 - UNESCO Alternatives Proposals
3. Post-Withdrawal Planning:
 - Public Diplomacy (International and Domestic)
 - Future U.S. Relations with UNESCO
 - Observer Mission
 - Strategy to Encourage Reform
4. Third IPC Meeting Planning

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

from the

REPORT OF THE MONITORING PANEL ON UNESCO

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

This Panel has been charged by the Secretary of State with the task of monitoring the changes, if any, by UNESCO during 1984. We were asked to do so in the light, particularly, of three fundamental concerns of the United States: that the interests of minority groups of countries be protected; that UNESCO return to its original purposes as defined in its Constitution; and that an appropriate balance between Western and statist approaches be restored.

In summation: while there was considerable discussion and some incremental movement in the direction of these three fundamental concerns of the U.S., there was no concrete change.

During 1984, as a result of the U.S. announcement of its intention to withdraw, there was more talk of reform in UNESCO than there had been for many years. Some changes of an incremental nature were also made.

Some progress can be reported regarding U.S. concerns in budgeting and management questions. Follow-up and implementation have been recommended but not yet institutionalized.

An open discussion of reform characterized UNESCO meetings all during 1984, including the Executive Board session in September-October. Nevertheless, the Monitoring Panel was struck by the diminished sense of urgency in these discussions and their tentative nature.

Many of the concerns of the U.S. were discussed, some were acted upon, and some were deferred. Some basic concerns of the U.S. were acted upon positively:

-- agreement was achieved to recommend that the next biennium budget be based on the present one (zero budget growth).

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- some U.S. concerns regarding management were discussed. Some were approved in principle and others were deferred. If such recommendations are acted on and implemented, they should result in concrete improvements in personnel recruitment, career development, and a step in the right direction toward the decentralization both of the Organization and of decision-making within the Secretariat.
- the decision to prolong the life of the Board's Temporary Committee (the chief vehicle for deliberation on reform at the intergovernmental level) provides an opportunity for changes agreed to by the Board to be monitored.
- distribution of the General Accounting Office report, together with the Director General's extensive comments on it to Board members, may lead to further review of management issues and may strengthen the process.

In response to Western insistence on reform, some difference in attitude on the part of Member States and the Secretariat became apparent during 1984. Under the UNESCO Constitution, some U.S. proposals involving long-range and far-reaching change can be acted on definitively only by the General Conference in 1985. That the Executive Board made no recommendations to the General Conference on these long-range and far-reaching proposals is disappointing.

Many U.S. concerns were not acted on in satisfactory fashion:

- returning UNESCO to its core of constitutionally mandated programs, implying a de-emphasizing of politicized program elements, was addressed and acted on only obliquely.
- efforts to make the Secretariat of UNESCO an impartial body and not an advocate for a particular point of view were unsuccessful.
- efforts to involve the private sector met with very little positive response.
- proposals for measures and mechanisms to protect minority interests on key program and budget issues were not received favorably nor acted upon.

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-- proposals to re-establish the original relationships between Member States, the intergovernmental bodies and the Secretariat were acted on to a degree. However, concrete and permanent mechanisms to perpetuate and institutionalize attitudinal changes manifest during the year were not put in place.

The Western Group exhibited considerable activity and productivity in 1984. Common positions were established on many issues. These positions emphasized primarily procedural and operational rather than fundamental reform.

The developing countries caucus (the Group of 77 and the Non-Aligned Movement) in UNESCO accepted the idea of the need for change with reservations although there were important individual member exceptions.

The gradual acceptance of the U.S. seriousness of purpose provided the basis for a thorough-going exchange on a whole range of issues involving reform put before the Board. Most developing countries resisted fundamental, structural proposals, such as those implying giving added weight to the voice of the minority group of countries contributing the major share of financial resources, or the creation of limited-membership subcommittees whose purpose would be to consider and if necessary, temporarily shelve especially contentious, complex issues not considered ripe for decision by the Board or the General Conference.

The Soviet Union actively sought to undermine the reform process calling into question the "real" motives of those states proposing reform.

The Secretariat, which openly sides with developing states on most issues, continued to do so in 1984. It displayed somewhat more inclination to heed the Western views and positions and to reflect sensitivity to them. Much remains to be done, however, to restore impartiality to the Organization's Secretariat.

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Overview of UNESCO Reform Efforts During 1984

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

During 1984, the U.S. made a concerted effort, with our allies, to bring about the kind of concrete, substantial and deep-seated reform in UNESCO that we suggested was necessary when we announced our withdrawal from the Organization last December. We indicated at the time that such reform was the sine qua non of any Presidential reconsideration of the U.S. withdrawal decision. At the direction of the President, a blue ribbon Monitoring Panel was assembled to survey UNESCO reform developments during 1984.

The United States has, then, both promoted UNESCO reform and watched for any evidence of UNESCO reform. The attached document, Overview of Reform Results for 1984, catalogues reform results this year. It does not duplicate the findings of the Monitoring Panel. It is both an assessment of results and a detailed description of our efforts to effect change.

Our efforts began early this year with the creation of a Western reform group comprising the 24-nation Western Information Group (IG), chaired by Ambassador Mourik of the Netherlands. This group fed proposals to the UNESCO Executive Board's 13-nation Temporary Committee on reform (TC). The TC's reform proposals, as well as further specific reform proposals advanced by the U.S., were considered at the fall session of the UNESCO Executive Board, which approved the TC recommendations and endorsed other changes put forward by the Director General, but did not accept the U.S. proposals. The basic thrust of our DR's was to build on recommendations that the TC had already made.

Reform efforts this year can be summarized under the five categories contained in the letter sent by Assistant Secretary Newell to the Director General on July 13, 1984:

I. Safeguarding Minority Group Interests

One of our major objectives this year has been to devise a way to protect minority group interests in UNESCO by reducing or eliminating the possibility that major decisions could be taken against the will of any geographic group, including the Western group. We proposed a permanent drafting and negotiating group (DNG) for the Executive Board to handle, and hopefully defuse,

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contentious issues, a tightened DNG for the General Conference, passage of a budget only with the support of members together contributing over half the funds, and, as an evolution of the last proposal, one calling for approval of the program and budget recommendation by the Executive Board to the General Conference by at least 85% of the Board. These were all designed to ensure that, in major matters, the West was not put in the position of having to agree to proposals with which we fundamentally disagreed, while providing the same safeguard to other geographic groups.

Our proposals were considered by the Temporary Committee, which dealt at some length with the problem we had raised by urging that all efforts be made to arrive at genuine consensus. It did not, however, recommend mechanisms for doing so. When we proposed two such mechanisms at the Executive Board, they received no support.

II. Program Concentration and Depoliticization

Our criticisms of UNESCO's program focused on politicization, a statist approach, and lack of program concentration. Some progress was made in these areas at the Executive Board, with some more constructive emphases having been suggested, some contentious language having been eliminated, and some guidelines for better concentration having been endorsed. Nonetheless, the program guidelines are generally ambiguous enough to allow for a variety of outcomes when the next biennial program is finally assembled next year; and, significantly, the Board did not recommend that any activities be eliminated, as we had hoped, and called for reductions only by inference, i.e., by recommending that certain competing activities be given priority attention. This approach having been taken, it is difficult at this point to predict the degree to which our concerns will eventually be given effect.

III. Strengthening the Authority of UNESCO's Member Bodies

A major Western effort in 1984 has been to bring about a reassertion of the authority of UNESCO's membership vis-a-vis the Secretariat via a strengthening of the General Conference and Executive Board. After making a number of minor but constructive suggestions in this regard, the Board also made recommendations for increasing the members' role in the elaborating of the program. If followed through, these represent progress. At the same time, we made several modest proposals in this area during the year and at the fall Board which were not accepted.

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IV. Management

We have long criticized UNESCO's management, and our concerns were echoed and amplified in the draft GAO report that was issued in September. The Director General made a number of suggestions for improvement in the areas of personnel, evaluation, and decentralization, which were endorsed at the fall Board. The TC also made recommendations. We felt these represented some progress but should go farther, and made proposals in this regard at the fall Board, none of which were passed. Our general complaint was that most management changes lacked implementing mechanisms. These are to be supplied by the reconstituted TC, whose work in this regard we await.

V. Budget

The Board's recommendation of a zero growth budget was perhaps UNESCO's single most encouraging step in our direction (although this advance was somewhat attenuated by a Third World amendment which could conceivably have the effect of increasing the budget later). Moreover, some non-discretionary costs were absorbed in the regular budget and the Director General appeared to indicate, by his silence, that he would absorb other such costs as well.

In conclusion, the record indicates that, looked at in light of UNESCO's own past performance, some improvement occurred. Looked at, however, in light of the concerns we expressed last December and the reform that would have been necessary to satisfy those concerns, a large gap remains.

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LIMITED OFFICIAL USEOverview of UNESCO Reform Results for 1984

An evaluation of reform in UNESCO in 1984 as it relates to U.S. interests must be seen against the backdrop of our reasons for withdrawal, the general concerns we expressed, and the reform proposals we and others advanced during the year. Although we refrained, as a matter of policy, from presenting UNESCO with a list of conditions for a reconsideration of our decision, we mounted a strong effort, starting early in the year, to gain improvements in every area we had criticized. We were instrumental, first of all, in launching the Western reform group chaired by Ambassador Mourik, which sent the Director General a strong letter in March describing areas needing improvement and which became the West's vehicle for elaborating reform proposals to be fed into the Executive Board's Temporary Committee (TC) on reform, created at the spring (119th) session. Secondly, we ourselves submitted a number of specific reform proposals, both within the Western Information group (IG) and at the Board's fall (120th) session.

Our contributions were made at several points. Secretary Shultz's letter of December 29, 1983, described our concerns in general terms. Our first specific proposals, comprising 11 items, were presented to Ambassador Mourik on March 1, and to the Western Group March 5 (Paris 08713). The Western Group's letter to the Director General of March 15, the product of a common effort, also reflected our ideas. As of early April, our proposals had been further refined by the Western Group to a list of some 12 reforms (Paris 13003), which together represented the most significant reforms which the U.S. espoused. A number of these were suited to the agenda of the spring Executive Board session, and were discussed there. (The Western statements made at the Board formed the most comprehensive body of raw material subsequently considered by the TC.) Following the Board and in preparation for the TC, 13 specific U.S. proposals were put forward. These in turn were further discussed in the more formal statement of U.S. policy which constitutes Mr. Newell's July 13 letter to the Director General. This letter divided our concerns into five areas and contained some specific suggestions -- generally reiterations of, or variations upon, proposals made earlier. During the TC sessions in July and September, we and others in our group fed in our views to the TC via the UK, France, Iceland and Japan,

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who were TC members. Finally, during the 120th Executive Board in September/October, we submitted proposals in the form of draft resolutions (DRs), formal statements, and detailed policy initiatives while representing (with Iceland) the interests of the Western Group in the drafting committee on the 1986-87 program and budget. Our draft resolutions sought to address the concerns we had already expressed, with due account taken of actions already undertaken by the TC and/or the Director General.

Concurrently with, and resulting from, the heightened consciousness of the need for fundamental reform which the U.S. action had instilled in the Western Group, a number of key Western nations addressed separate policy statements to the Director General calling for reform, normally in the form of letters from responsible ministers on behalf of their Governments. Such statements were made by the UK, the Netherlands, Canada, Japan, Switzerland, Italy, Denmark, Sweden, Norway, Finland and Iceland; similar views were expressed orally by the FRG.

The purpose of this paper is to describe what reform has occurred this year against the concerns we expressed and the proposals we put forward. Our discussion will also include mention of any progress or decline that may have occurred apart from our proposals. Although not all of our proposals are contained in Mr. Newell's July 13 letter, its five categories of major concerns are comprehensive enough to embody all our suggestions and we shall, therefore, use those categories to order the discussion that follows.

I. Minority Group Interests/Strengthening Consensus

One of our major objectives this year has been to devise a way to protect minority group interests in UNESCO by reducing or eliminating the possibility that major decisions could be taken against the will of any geographic group, including the Western Group. Our initial suggestions contained a call for the establishment of a permanent Executive Board drafting and negotiating group (DNG) to consider proposals likely to divert program activity to political purposes, and which would not report an issue back to the Board except unanimously. We also called for the passage of a budget (at the General Conference) only with the support of members who together contributed a large percentage, say 51 percent, of the funds. Mr. Newell's letter, after describing this issue and our general objectives, called for the introduction of a requirement for unanimity in the DNG of the General Conference, the establishment of such a DNG for the Executive Board, and the 51 percent requirement for the budget as described above.

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At the 120th Executive Board, we formulated two proposals in this area. The first (DR 16) called for the Board to entrust complex program items to the Special Committee at the request of five or more members, and for any such items to be postponed to the Board's next session in the absence of agreement on a recommendation on how to handle them. This DR was an attempt to build upon what the TC had recommended, i.e., that the Executive Board be able to entrust to its Special Committee certain complex issues which required in-depth consideration (TC recommendation B-14), and in response to discussions at the Board within the Western Group.

Our second proposal called for approval of the program and budget recommendation to the General Conference by at least 85 percent of the Executive Board membership. This was an evolution of our earlier 51 percent proposal, which had been criticized, among other things, for in effect giving voting power to member states based upon the size of their assessed contribution.

Outcome

The TC did not take up our suggestion of having the DNG of the General Conference work on the basis of unanimity among geographic groups, nor did it recommend establishing such a mechanism for the Executive Board. Key Western Group members considered that the de facto veto that this provision would give the West could eventually work against us since it would also be available to other groups including the Soviets -- a consideration that led us to reformulate this proposal for the fall Executive Board (see below).

Instead, the TC reaffirmed the importance of consensus and said that, in its absence, a vote would be preferable to adoption of a text based on ambiguity (TC recommendation C-6). At the same time, the TC attempted to grapple with our concerns by calling for the provision of "increased opportunities for consultation among member states" (C-8) with a view to doing everything possible to reach real agreement. Moreover, the TC said that the Executive Board could "entrust to its Special Committee certain complex issues which required in-depth consideration" (B-14). This went in the direction of what we wanted, but with the disadvantage that a referral to the Special Committee would have to be made by the entire Board, whether explicitly or tacitly, and thus would not necessarily constitute protection for minority interests.

As far as our 51 percent budget voting proposal was concerned, the TC did not recommend it. It did, however, recognize the importance of genuine agreement in this area by saying that it would be "highly desirable to make every effort to ensure that

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the program and budget of the Organization are, as far as possible, adopted by consensus" (C-8).

At the Executive Board, we again brought up proposals in both these areas, as described above. Our proposal for an 85 percent program and budget recommendation vote, the most far-reaching at the Board, ran into entrenched opposition, both substantive and procedural, and was eventually not formally submitted. The Third World saw it as a demand for a radical change in the balance of power that could serve as a model for similar changes throughout the UN system, and suspected it was being offered in the certainty that it would be refused. Our allies also reacted strongly, saying they agreed with our aim but that more time and preparation were needed if we were to succeed.

Our proposal for strengthening consensus (DR 16) was formally submitted and extensively debated. The reaction was exclusively hostile. In the end, satisfied that our proposal had had a hearing, we acceded to a request to postpone its consideration until the next Executive Board session.

Looking at the year as a whole, we can say that our concerns were considered and some progress was made. The TC report and recommendations give increased importance to reaching genuine consensus (i.e., a "no objection" form of approval), and even provide a new procedure, albeit inadequate, for handling contentious issues via referral to the Executive Board's Special Committee. If current practice is followed, this would mean an automatic six-month delay in discussion of such issues. Moreover, we have heightened UNESCO's sensitivity to the need to grapple with the consensus problem, which will be considered again at the Board's next session. One might consider the degree of agreement on Mideast questions at the 120th Board, which observers say was the least contentious in memory in this regard, as well as the agreement on a zero growth budget (see below), as concrete recognition of the importance of genuine consensus.

At the same time, it is equally true that we did not achieve our objectives -- new procedures to safeguard minority group interests including a budget voting procedure which would prevent the large donors from having to accept a budget they considered excessive.

II. Program Concentration and Depoliticization

U.S. criticisms of UNESCO's program have focused on politicization, a statist approach, and lack of program concentration.

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Prime examples of politicization in the program are the propagation of simplistic and unbalanced views on disarmament, support for so-called national liberation movements, and selectivity in attacking discrimination.

We have also objected to UNESCO's statist philosophy and approach. While we see a role for the state in addressing social and economic problems, we object to UNESCO'S tendency to inflate the state's role in areas like free flow of information, development and international trade, and its tendency to propagate biases against the private sector. We also object to the push for equal treatment of collective or "people's" rights and individual human rights to the possible derogation of the latter.

As for program concentration, we have emphasized the need to concentrate on activities supported by all member states, to stress practical activities as opposed to studies and theorizing, to factor in review and assessment results, and to include program options so members can make their own choices.

To address these problems, we introduced at the spring Executive Board a DR calling for a return to UNESCO's core areas. Subsequently, we replied to the Director General's call for advice on the next program and budget with a detailed set of recommendations, by sub-program, that included recommendations on activities to be enhanced, maintained, reduced or eliminated. Meanwhile, within the Western Group, we urged "agreement on concentration of resources in those core areas whose central importance is universally recognized, and where the will for international action truly exists." Finally, at the 120th Executive Board, we were on the ad hoc working group, which drafted the guidelines for the 1986-87 program and budget, and we attempted to have our language on concentration included.

Meanwhile, the IG, with ourselves as a participant, was addressing the program concentration and prioritization issues through a subgroup chaired by Lennart Watz of Sweden. The IG fed into the TC a number of recommendations, the most important of which are mentioned in the "Outcome" section below.

Finally, the Director General formed a working group on the program, comprising UNESCO staff members, which made a number of suggestions, some of which were incorporated into the DG's proposals on the next program. After an initial hesitation, the DG finally released the working group's report to the Board.

Outcome

Program issues were addressed at the Executive Board's spring session, in the TC recommendations approved at the fall

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session, and in the program and budget omnibus resolution drafted and approved at the fall session.

The Executive Board's spring session dealt with, but did not accept, the Western DR calling for a return to "core areas." This proposal was rejected by a number of speakers in plenary debate, and would have been defeated in a vote. At the last moment, the Director General intervened to suggest the question not be acted upon but given to the newly-constituted TC and raised at the next Board session.

To assess the TC recommendations, it will be useful to review them in the light of the most important of the IG suggestions, which are underlined (and abbreviated for easier presentation).

-- Effective program concentration must continue to be a major aim. TC recommendation E(1)(5) "stresses the need...to pursue vigorously efforts to increase program concentration...by grouping together related activities...[and] by seeking to reduce the number of sub-programs and in particular of program actions within sub-programs...." E(1)(6) "considers furthermore that progress in this regard should be reported, for example, in the introduction to the draft program and budget."

-- Resources should shift from programs not supported by a significant number of states toward those to which all accord high priority. TC Provision E (1)(8) recommends that the General Conference use "degree of support" as one of the criteria for determining sub-programs' and projects' degree of priority.

-- The DG should rank order sub-programs in his draft presentation to the Executive Board, using as a basis his prior consultations with members and views expressed at the preceding General Conference. The TC did not make a recommendation in this regard directly involving the Director General. Provisions E(1)(7) and (8), however, without calling specifically for rank ordering, recommend that the Executive Board and General Conference both indicate the degree of priority to be attached to sub-programs and projects.

-- Using the Director General's presentation, the Executive Board should identify sub-programs to be given increased funding, to be left the same, and to be reduced or discontinued. Aside from its provisions on prioritization (above), the TC did not address this recommendation.

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-- There should be fewer studies and they should be of more relevance to the program. This is addressed, by implication, in provision E(1)(8), which lists criteria for prioritization of projects as "urgency, usefulness, degree of support, and efficacy." Provision E(2)(3) says attention should be paid to studies in the context of their content, timetable, frequency, complementary features and cost.

-- The Secretariat should present draft criteria for selecting forms of action, to be considered by the Executive Board in 1985, approved at the 1985 General Conference, and used to implement the 1986/87 program and to prepare the 1988/89 program. Provision E(1)(12) "considers that clear criteria for the selection of the most appropriate activities should be drawn up...and that these criteria should, in so far as possible, be taken into account in preparing future draft programs."

-- The Board should reaffirm the decision of the 113th Session that UNESCO standard-setting activities should concentrate on areas in which consensus appears possible and the need for universal norms is widely felt in the international community. The TC did not address this recommendation.

As for action at the Board itself, the Board's recommendation to the Director General on the 1986-87 program are set forth in a long omnibus resolution that constitutes a set of broad guidelines for the Director General to follow as he puts together the next program. These guidelines represent some progress from our point of view, although they also fail adequately to address some program orientations we find objectionable (see below for specifics). On a general level, the Board's recommendations, although not exactly comparable to previous such guidelines, differ from them in four respects.

First, they recognize the need to divert resources from contentious activities by instructing the Director General "to give particular attention to those activities which have been shown to have a high degree of urgency, usefulness, efficiency, and support" -- an echo of the TC provision noted above. Although this concern has been expressed many times in official statements, it has never been made an operational guideline.

Second, these guidelines are less political and ideological in their approach. Earlier recommendations contained repeated references to world orders (e.g., NIEO, NWICO) as the driving forces behind most of UNESCO's activities. The 120th Executive

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Board resolution makes only one such reference -- to the New World Information and Communication Order, which it defines as an evolving concept - a definition we favor. Nor, for the first time, is there any reference to national liberation movements. This does not mean these activities will necessarily fade away. It does mean that those seeking to insert such considerations into the 1986-87 program will not be able to harken back to the Executive Board's guidelines for justification.

Third, the guidelines give more emphasis to program management by stressing the need for evaluation or reassessment of certain activities, particularly intergovernmental conferences (in the fields of science/technology and education) and periodical publications (e.g., Impact). Previous resolutions have tended to be incremental in nature, i.e., to ratify, or build uncritically upon, the existing program, with little or no concern for what might or might not be working well.

Fourth, and for the first time, the recommendations in several cases include choices among various program options.

What the Board did not do was to act upon the Nordic resolution calling for the categorization of programs according to their degree of support, including eliminations. This was originally a U.S. idea, and we strongly supported the Nordic initiative. The proposal, however, was given short shrift at the Board, and the Icelander who introduced it said he reserved his right to bring it up again at the next stage in the cycle, the 121st Board Session. The Nordics, who have pushed for program prioritization and concentration since 1968, were quite bitter about the non-consideration of their DR.

What follows is a closer look at what the omnibus resolution had to say regarding the Major Programs, or aspects thereof, of which we have been particularly critical. For comparative purposes, we call attention in the discussion to the guidelines formulated at the 108th Executive Board.

A. Major Program I: Reflections on World Problems and Future Oriented Studies

Although we understand the necessity of projecting the course of future UNESCO program activities, we have criticized Major Program I as too theoretical, costly, grandiose in scope, and duplicative of existing studies. We requested in our suggestions to the Director General on the Program that future studies be focused within program sectors as integral parts of

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the planning of each sector, and that Major Program I be eliminated.

Outcome

The 120th Executive Board, to which the Director General offered three options in deciding how to proceed with Major Program I, endorsed the Program's continuation. In so doing, the Board clearly rejected the U.S. preference.

B. Major Programs II, IV and V: The Education Sector

U.S. criticism of UNESCO's education activities has not been major, with the important exception of our objection to the politicization of certain of them. This politicization has taken the form of education assistance through national liberation movements and the introduction of political bias into some education program content. UNESCO has engaged in the education of "key personnel" of national liberation movements, including the PLO. UNESCO assistance, in cooperation with UNDP, to Afghanistan regarding a teacher training program staffed exclusively by Soviets constitutes blatant political abuse of a UNESCO program. Similar criticism can be directed at programs which link directly to education such emotive political issues as disarmament, government control of the media, and collective rights which could undermine those of the individual.

In Major Program V of the education sector, the U.S. placed high priority on two programs: teaching of science and technology, and vocational and technical education. We objected to this Program's references to disarmament, the media, and the "rights of peoples," as well as to its emphasis on higher education for the needs of society as opposed to the needs of individuals.

Outcome

The 120th Executive Board's recommendations show some responsiveness to U.S. concerns. While the recommendations of the 108th Executive Board put education at the service of some external goal -- peace, disarmament, international understanding -- and involved assistance to national liberation movements, these themes are notably absent from the current recommendations. The 120th Executive Board also suggested a shift toward pragmatic programs and the amalgamation and deferral of certain activities.

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Moreover, the current guidelines reflect U.S. priorities, e.g., the training of literacy and primary school teachers; the training of educational planners and school administrators; the teaching of science and technology; and vocational and technical education. The guidelines did not recommend a ministerial level conference on physical education and sport (opposed by the U.S.), but instead deferred that decision to the General Conference.

C. Major Program III: Communication in the Service of Man

This chapter's objective has for some years been to establish an as yet not fully defined New World Information and Communication Order (NWICO). Certain aspects of the NWICO concept as elaborated in UNESCO threaten the free flow of information and promote statist approaches in the communications area that could lead to internationally approved codes and standard-setting for communicators, including the licensing of journalists and the ascription of "responsibilities" to the media. UNESCO's adoption of the Soviet-sponsored Mass Media Declaration in 1978 helped feed Western concern that the communications program was antithetical to Western interests. Although the West purged the initial draft of its most objectionable paragraphs, which would have instituted state controls on the media, and introduced new language promoting the free flow of information, the Soviets continue to press for the implementation of the kind of anti-free press measures which they claim the Declaration legitimizes. Concentration on NWICO issues, through theoretical studies and other activities, also detracts from needed action programs, such as training. Priority should be given to practical communications programs of direct benefit to the developing countries, and contentious programs should be de-emphasized and their resources re-allocated.

Outcome

The Board's recommendations indicate some progress in our areas of concern; however, several of the major recommendations are ambiguous and could be consistent with various outcomes.

Paragraph 24 of the Executive Board's program guidelines is equivocal. On the one hand it recommends that "high priority" be given to program III.3 (Development of Communication), the approach we strongly recommended. The same paragraph, however, also recommends maintaining the "present structure and balance" of major program III, of which program III.3 is a part. The latter phrase appears to contradict, and therefore confuses,

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what could have been a clearcut guideline for constructive change.

Paragraph 25 of the guidelines calls for the research done at UNESCO and elsewhere related to the democratization of communication, access to and participation in communications, and the right to communicate to be collected and its conclusions analysed. We have protested these activities as encouraging interference in the prerogatives of editors and publishers or as extending rights that go beyond Article 19 of the Universal Declaration on Human Rights. Rather than emphasizing new programs or initiatives on these themes, the Executive Board recommends UNESCO focus on collating the work already accomplished and on analyzing its conclusions. It is not clear yet whether this is a temporary cessation only, or whether it could result in re-evaluation and reordering of such activities. It is a hopeful step as far as it goes.

This same paragraph reaffirms the idea of the NWICO as "an evolving and continuous process," a concept we have long advocated.

Paragraph 26, on UNESCO's role in matters relating to the working conditions of communicators, indicates that UNESCO's involvement in these matters should be limited to supporting the initiatives of professional associations. This language supports the U.S. view that such matters as ethical codes and measures for journalists' "protection" should be left to communicators themselves. (It should be noted that UNESCO's involvement in helping to plan and finance the 1985 Mexico City conference on working conditions for journalists seems to have lessened, in part in reaction to Western protests that such activity exacerbates Western concerns that UNESCO is promoting anti-free press activities.)

Paragraph 28, which attaches special importance to Program III.3 and the International Program for the Development of Communications (IPDC), puts a welcome emphasis on training and lends needed administrative support to the IPDC.

Paragraph 27 continues the implementation of the Mass Media Declaration (although it does not put "special emphasis" on the follow-up to the media declaration as did similar guidelines at the 108th Executive Board). Such activities could lead to actions which would impose state controls on the media.

In general, the guidelines on Major Program III include some encouraging changes in emphasis raising the possibility of

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constructive changes in practice. The stress on Major Program III.3., for example, is one positive step. The most contentious components of the Program (paras. 25, 26 and 27), however, remain. It will take careful follow-up of these guidelines, leading to the reduction or elimination of these objectionable activities, to produce a communication program broadly in line with U.S. interests.

D. Major Program VIII: Principles, Methods and Strategies of Action for Development

The U.S. has recommended that this Program be substantially reduced, primarily because it has evolved into an effort to emphasize state planning in the development process and exclude the private sector. The Program challenges the role of free enterprise, and indicts transnational corporations as detrimental to development.

Outcome

The Board's resolution responds to some of our concerns. It calls for closer coordination between the Program and the work of other UN agencies, the creation of pilot projects, and priority to be given to training personnel to strengthen members states' development planning and evaluation capacities. The recommendation makes no reference to the role of private enterprise. This does not necessarily mean that the 1986-87 draft program, when it appears, will treat the private sector in a way we would wish.

E. Major Program XII: The Elimination of Prejudice, Intolerance, Racism and Apartheid

Our principal criticism of this Program has been its concentration on racism and apartheid, with only incidental attention paid to discrimination based on other grounds. We have advocated the specific inclusion of discrimination based on ethnic, religious and political grounds in all programs to combat prejudice and intolerance.

We have also advocated the diversion of resources away from unduly theoretical activities that are unlikely to have any real effect in eliminating prejudice, to action-oriented programs of direct practical benefit.

We have called for the elimination of Sub-program XII.3.4, "Cooperation with the National Liberation Movements Recognized by the Organization of African Unity," which endeavors to

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improve the means of information and communication at the disposal of national liberation movements, and provides financial contributions for the organization of scientific meetings to influence public opinion on their behalf.

Finally, we opposed a suggestion that Major Program XII should be merged with Major Program XIII, which addresses the wider field of Peace, International Understanding, Human Rights and the Rights of Peoples.

Outcome

The Board's guidelines say that Major Program XII's activities should be expanded to cover all forms of discrimination. This is particularly gratifying in view of the Director General's 1983 refusal to recommend this course of action on the reasoning that prejudice and intolerance on grounds other than racism are implicit in the Program and need not be addressed specifically. It is important that this decision now be followed up to ensure that it results in concrete program activities.

The recommendation to regroup Sub-program XII.1.1 ("Study of the theoretical and ideological bases of prejudice, intolerance and racism") and Sub-program XII.1.3 ("Research on policies, institutions and practices conducive to intolerance and racism") with a view to ensuring the unity of theoretical studies and applied research appears to indicate that our criticism of vague and impractical programs is being addressed. A further recommendation to regroup the four sub-programs of Program XII.2 is also a positive step. (We recommended that two of these programs be eliminated and two be curtailed.) It remains to be seen how closely the final re-grouping resembles our recommendation.

We are pleased that Major Program XII will retain its integrity and present structure. We have no objection to the recommendation that its activities be coordinated with those of Major Program XIII.

Major Program XII.3 includes programs to combat racism and apartheid which we favor, as well as Sub-program XII.3.4, "Cooperation with the National Liberation Movements." Initially, the Executive Board's guidelines in this area read: "[the Executive Board] considers it particularly necessary that in the light of the vocal attention given to this item the activities forming part of the struggle against apartheid (Program XII.3) should be continued in view of UNESCO's

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specific role in that field." The final draft reads only: "Considers that the need to combat apartheid be given vocal attention (Program XII.3)." This appears to be an attempt to soften a failure to accommodate our objection to Sub-program XII.3.4.

F. Major Program XIII: Peace, International Understanding, Human Rights and the Rights of Peoples

We have opposed studies and discussions of disarmament, the arms race, and the danger of nuclear war, as well as their alleged effect on development, which have been inserted into Major Program XIII projects dealing with other issues. While the pursuit of peace is a concern of UNESCO, we have insisted that UNESCO should contribute to peace through its activities in education, science, culture, and communication. Our IG colleagues were virtually unanimous in their opposition to the same projects we oppose, particularly to Sub-program XIII.1.2.

Our principal aims for Major Program XIII have included emphasizing the importance of fundamental human rights that are universally recognized and opposing the elevation to equal status of undefined and vague ideas such as the right to development and other "rights of peoples."

While we have advocated effective programs for the teaching of human rights and for the development of international understanding, we have opposed the use of education and the media for purposes of political indoctrination.

We have supported the continuance of the Committee on Conventions and Recommendations procedures for receiving and examining complaints of human rights violations within UNESCO's sphere of competence.

We have been strong supporters of the program for the elimination of discrimination based on sex.

Outcome

The Executive Board guidelines state that, in the activities of two of the four programs which comprise Major Program XIII, prominence should be given to exchanges of information and the preparation of synoptic studies concerning work done by various outside groups on research concerning peace, conflicts, disarmament, threats of war, especially nuclear war, human rights and the rights of peoples, and to the promotion of research capacities in these areas (para. 86). This could be

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seen as a refusal to drop activities we consider extraneous and disruptive. At the same time, it appears to constitute an effort to confine UNESCO's activity in those areas to a review of work done by others, a step in the right direction.

In paragraph 87, the resolution urges continued close cooperation and coordination with the UN, particularly with its Department of Disarmament Affairs and the UN Institute for Disarmament Research. We have insisted that disarmament as such is outside the scope of UNESCO, and within the proper domain of the UN. While this paragraph could be a reassertion of UNESCO's determination to deal with disarmament, it could also represent an effort to set the stage for sending disarmament matters to an agency that is expressly set up to deal with them.

In recognizing the role that the social and human sciences can play in the elucidation of the relations between human rights and the rights of peoples (para. 88), the resolution appears to accept our insistence that a distinction should be made between them, and that the rights of peoples should be defined. This paragraph also draws attention to Sub-program XIII.2.2, the Effective Exercise of Human Rights in Specific Social and Economic Conditions, which we support strongly. However, its wording is sufficiently general to allow for a broad range of consequences, to the extent that the endeavor should be watched closely in the future.

Provision is made for the continued implementation of the Committee on Conventions and Recommendations procedure for examining communications concerning alleged human rights violations within UNESCO fields of competence, on the understanding that further recommendations will be made at the next session of the Executive Board, if necessary (para. 89). We are pleased that the procedures will be continued.

The resolution calls for intensification of the implementation of the Plan for the Development of Human Rights Teaching and for greater support for the Associated Schools Project, which we support. Impractical projects which we recommended for elimination in this Sub-program are not mentioned.

We are not enthusiastic supporters of the World Congress on Youth and International Youth Year (para. 95). Plans to provide for follow-up activities are among the projects we recommended for elimination.

We are very pleased that priority is recommended for the

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participation of women in political, economic, social and cultural life (paras. 95-97), and we are glad to see the recommendation that special attention should be directed to activities concerning offenses against women.

This section's last item (para. 98) is the most significant, calling for a panel of counselors to assist in the preparation of Major Program XIII for 1986-87 while seeking the broadest possible support from member states. This appears to open this contentious program to possible revamping, a welcome step in our view. The DG is to select these counselors, and past experience in similar situations shows a tendency to select persons whose points of view are similar to his own. At the same time, we ourselves are being given an opportunity to suggest an American participant, as we did with the DG's working groups on management during the summer.

Most of these recommendations can be taken as an offer of accommodation to representations we have made concerning Major Program XIII. However, they are tentative in nature, and only their development and implementation will disclose whether or not the Program emerges in conformance with our position.

III. Strengthening of Authority of UNESCO's Governing Bodies

A major Western effort in 1984 has been to bring about a reassertion of the authority of UNESCO's membership vis-a-vis the Secretariat via a strengthening of the General Conference and Executive Board. This issue is described at length in the U.S./UNESCO Policy Review of February 1984. A number of our specific proposals aim in this direction, as does an entire section of Mr. Newell's July 13 letter.

Our reform proposals in this area can be categorized as follows:

A. Those which would enable the membership to call the Secretariat to account on its functioning and decision-making. Our specific proposals in this regard were:

-- a broadened mandate for the External Auditor;

-- question and answer sessions with Assistant Directors General (ADGs) before the Executive Board;

-- clearer definition, by the Board, of the responsibilities of the DDG and the ADGs in their contracts;

--more frequent and longer private sessions of the Executive

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Board and an extension of the subjects covered.

B. Proposals which would enhance the independence of the Executive Board:

-- increased use of the secret ballot;

-- a policy forbidding revolving-door employment for former Executive Board members in the Secretariat.

C. The proposal that the Executive Board and General Conference have a stronger voice in the biennial Program and Budget, including the real ability to change or eliminate programs in the draft C/5.

Outcome

The TC dealt extensively with the governing bodies, making 19 recommendations on improving the General Conference and 17 on improving the Executive Board. A number of these are exhortations to make meetings more effective. They concern, for example, improving preparations of the General Conference, lightening its agenda, and reducing documentation submitted to it.

More important were recommendations bearing on the role of the Executive Board and the General Conference in their oversight of the program. Recommendations B-12 and 13, for example, suggest that the program document (the so-called C/5) be "examined in depth" by the Executive Board's Program and External Relations Commission and, where appropriate, by its Finance and Administrative Commission, and that "the Executive Board should consider means of ensuring that the Board's recommendations on the draft C/5 are utilized more effectively by the General Conference."

As concerns the General Conference, recommendation A-12 invites the Director General to consider including a choice of proposals for the General Conference in the draft C/5, a welcome innovation which the Director General in fact commenced, on a limited basis, in the Draft C/5 submitted to the 120th Board. Also for the General Conference, the TC recommended ways of strengthening the acceptability of draft resolutions before their submission to the plenary (A-15-18). These efforts to develop real consensus show a recognition of our concerns. At the same time, they do not afford the kind of assurances we have requested that minority views will be respected.

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The proposed question and answer sessions with ADGs before the Executive Board were accepted by the Director General at the 119th Executive Board and implemented at the 120th session, although not without resistance. The DG first said questions should be put to him in plenary and finally agreed to the submission of written questions, three days in advance, to the ADG's before the Program commission with the possibility of follow-up questions. The fact that the Board persisted nonetheless appears to indicate it is taking its responsibility seriously. In the end, these sessions were useful, and the beginning of a process which, if pursued, could over time increase the real impact of the Board on the program.

At the 120th Executive Board, the U.S., the UK, France, and the FRG co-sponsored two draft resolutions that dealt with particular proposals not treated by the TC. The first (DR 17, also co-sponsored by Iceland) requested the General Conference to amend the financial regulations so as to allow the Executive Board to request the External Auditor to carry out specific examinations. It was challenged on the technical point that it sought to pre-empt the constitutional role of the General Conference and to amend the financial regulations. It was ruled inadmissible. The second draft resolution (DR 19), concerning a mandatory interval that must elapse between membership on the Executive Board and employment by the Secretariat, was deferred, without debate, until the next Executive Board session. The DG stated he could not implement it, even had it passed, as it impinged on the prerogation of sovereign states to propose candidates for posts in the secretariat.

Proposals for the clearer definition of the responsibilities of the DDG and the ADGs, and changes in the nature of the Executive Board's private sessions were not the subject of TC recommendations, nor were they pursued by the U.S. at the Executive Board. The U.S. of its own accord decided not to pursue increased use of the secret ballot, the reaction to which had not been favorable.

IV. Management

Deficiencies in the areas of personnel management and recruitment, evaluation, and decentralization have long been targets of U.S. criticism. Such deficiencies were described in detail in our U.S./UNESCO Policy Review of February 1984 as well as in the letters of other countries to the Director General.

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Mr. Newell's July 13 letter identified several management practices in need of reform. In the personnel area, we urged the speeding up of the recruitment process and a reduction in the use of consultants for work that could be done by UNESCO's own employees. The July 13 letter also called for an improved evaluation function -- first efforts toward which would include fully implementing existing guidelines and effectively using existing resources. Finally, the letter stated that decentralization of UNESCO was necessary, and that the UNESCO 1986-87 program should "promote more initiative and adaptation at the regional and local levels."

At the 120th Executive Board, the U.S. was a sponsor of three draft resolutions concerning management reform. The first (DR 18) requested the Director General to ask the JIU to undertake a study of the possibility that decentralization might improve the effectiveness of the Organization, and to submit a plan of action on the implementation of the study's recommendations to the 121st Executive Board. The second (DR 20) noted the Director General's announced intention to strengthen the central evaluation unit and proposed specific procedures under which the unit should operate. The third draft resolution (DR 21) requested that the Director General, having announced his intention to perform a study on types and duration of personnel appointments, focus on a solution to the problem of the repeated renewal of fixed-term contracts.

Outcome

Our management concerns were addressed by the Director General, the TC, and the Executive Board. At the 119th Executive Board, the Director General announced his intention to establish five consultative working groups, four of which concerned management: on recruitment procedures and staff management, on budgeting techniques and budget presentation, on evaluation methods and techniques, and on public information. On the basis of these working groups' reports, the Director General prepared his own report on "initiatives" to improve the functioning of the Organization. His initiatives included measures he had taken or intended to take on his own authority, recommendations submitted for the opinion of the Executive Board, and recommendations which required the assent of the Executive Board or a decision of the General Conference. The results of the working groups and the report of the Director General's initiatives were available to the TC during its consideration of personnel and evaluation questions (i.e., the TC's second session). The TC then reported independently to the Executive Board on its recommendations on measures to

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improve the Organization's functioning. The Board, in separate resolutions, endorsed both the Director General's initiatives and the TC's recommendations. The U.S. welcomed these measures and joined the consensus on their adoption. At the same time, we believed they did not go far enough in certain areas. Accordingly, we proposed draft resolutions of our own in those areas.

The following are the results of these efforts in the main management areas.

With regard to personnel, the Director General took several steps:

-- he introduced a number of measures to speed up the recruitment process;

-- although acknowledging the problem of fixed-term contracts, the Director General merely proposed a study concerning the types and duration of assignments;

-- the Director General defended the Organization's use of consultants as efficient for the Organization's needs but indicated he would try to reduce the practice nonetheless.

The TC noted with satisfaction the Director General's decisions on an expedited recruitment procedure and endorsed his initiative for a study of the types and duration of assignments. The TC made no specific recommendation on the use of consultants.

At the Board, the U.S.-sponsored draft resolution (DR 21) concerning fixed term appointments was deferred, without debate, until the next Executive Board session.

On evaluation, the Director General proposed strengthening of the Central Evaluation Unit, appointing an evaluation officer in each program sector, and extending the Project Management Information System. All these measures were welcomed by the TC, which stressed the importance of clearly defined functions for the Central Evaluation Unit (without providing that definition). While meeting some U.S. concerns, the actions proposed by the Director General and the TC seemed to fall short of the commitment the U.S. believed necessary for implementation of a strong evaluation program, and we introduced a DR in this regard, co-sponsored by the UK, France, and the FRG. This draft resolution (DR 20) was deferred, without debate, until the next Executive Board session.

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Decentralization was treated by the Director General in his initiatives report, which identified eight major areas in which he had taken or envisaged making changes. Among his proposals were steps to further previously-begun efforts to decentralize regular program and operational activities. He made specific recommendations to increase staff mobility between headquarters and field offices and to broaden the role of regional offices in staff recruitment and management. He also announced the establishment of an Intersectoral Decentralization Committee, comprising the Assistant Directors General, to coordinate the implementation of decentralization measures and to submit recommendations to the Director General. The TC recommended that decentralization be pursued in accordance with relevant decisions of the 103rd Executive Board and guidelines set forth at the 21st and 22nd General Conferences. The TC invited the Director General to formulate an action plan indicating the type of activities to be decentralized during the period of the Medium-Term Plan for 1984-89. The TC also called for a study of results already achieved in enabling Regional Offices to share fully in the design and execution of the Organization's activities. The TC also stated that "the Regional Offices should gradually be given responsibility for operational activities carried out by the Organization at national, subregional and regional levels; this entails an increased transfer of responsibilities, resources and posts from headquarters to field units."

These proposals are in keeping with the U.S. view, but because of the complexity of the relationship of headquarters' staff to field staff, and the potential for damage to the Organization if decentralization is approached incorrectly, the U.S. believed that the JIU should undertake a study and present to the 121st Executive Board a plan of action for the most efficient distribution of responsibilities within the Organization. The U.S. position was reflected in a draft resolution, co-sponsored by the UK, that was deferred without debate to the 121st Executive Board.

V. Budget

A major U.S. objective this year has been an Executive Board recommendation to the General Conference of zero real growth and significant absorption of non-discretionary cost increases for UNESCO's 1986-87 program and budget -- an objective on which the major Western contributors (the Geneva Group) have remained united.

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Another objective, endorsed by the Geneva Group, has been to induce UNESCO to clarify and improve its budgeting techniques and format. (Specific proposals advanced in this regard are detailed below.)

Finally, although this is not strictly speaking a reform issue, we have tried to ensure the prompt return of monies owed member states from the Part VIII currency fluctuation account accumulation -- both now and as a precedent for similar returns in the future. This is a step UNESCO has been unwilling to take this year. We had good, although not unanimous, support on this issue from the Geneva Group.

Outcome

Budget Growth. An Executive Board resolution called on the Director General to prepare the 1986-87 program and budget on the basis of the 1984-85 budget ceiling. Adhered to, this directive will result in zero net growth budget for 1986-87. The resolution also requested the Director General to present to the next session of the Board a separate list of possible projects for the least developed countries, to a maximum level of two percent of the 1984-85 budget base, without specifying whether such projects would be funded, or, if so, how. (Third World representatives, in negotiations with us, privately called this a face-saving device.) By arrangement with G-77 representatives, the U.S. said in plenary that we (the Geneva Group) in accepting this paragraph also stood by our previously stated positions with respect to zero growth. In the case of the U.S., the previously stated position was unequivocally in favor of zero growth and thus opposed to any interpretation of the paragraph favorable to financing such additional proposals by any means other than existing resources or extrabudgetary funds. In reply, the G-77 representative (India) said his group took note of our statement. The Director General did not intervene. Following the conclusion of the Board, the US member wrote to the Chairman of the Board reiterating our position.

With respect to mandatory increases, the Geneva Group felt that "significant absorption" had been achieved. The \$1 million reserve for draft resolutions, for example, was absorbed within the budget base. And even though the Board chose not to require absorption of other costs amounting to some \$400,000, the Third World representative (Pakistan) asked the Director General to absorb these costs to the maximum extent possible -- to which the Director General, by his silence, appeared to agree. (Privately, the Director General had told several

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delegates that, if asked from the floor, he would agree to absorb these costs.)

Budget Presentation. The Director General, in his "initiatives," accepted the following recommendations of his Consultative Level Working Group on Budgeting Techniques and Budget Presentation. They respond to U.S. concerns for improved budgeting techniques and presentation.

-- application of the principle of the constant dollar, the value of which will remain at 6.45 French francs or 2.01 Swiss francs per dollar;

-- adjustment of inflation costs occurring in the current biennium on the basis of the cost level at the end of 1985;

-- retention of Part VII (Appropriation Reserve) to cover full 1986/87 anticipated inflation costs;

-- computation of Part VIII of the budget (Currency Fluctuation Reserve) on the basis of the UN operational rate of exchange prevailing in the month preceding the month when the 23 C/5 document is finalized;

-- establishment of \$391,168,000 as the 1984-85 constant dollar total in order to facilitate comparison with the corresponding parts of the proposed 1986-87 budget;

-- recommendation that the Director General prepare the 23 C/5 (program and budget) document along the lines of the specimen contained in Part IV of document 120 EX/5, i.e., using two volumes -- one relating primarily to program matters and the other to budgetary, financial, and related statistical matters. Volume II will also contain statistical data showing the effects of budget recosting and showing sectoral distribution of inflation and currency fluctuation costs. This should improve the budget presentation and increase member states' understanding of the breakdown of budgetary allocations for the activities funded.

Return of Currency Fluctuation Account Monies. The U.S. and the majority of the Geneva Group hoped that the Board would request the Director General to return to member states the \$80 million remaining Part VIII Currency Fluctuation Gains promptly, i.e., in 1984. The UK, supported by ourselves, tried to provide for a change in the next appropriation resolution. Instead, the Board settled for requesting a study by the

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Director General. The Board's action, however, will not prevent the U.S. from deducting our share of the (1981-83) currency fluctuation surplus from our 1984 assessment.

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Doc. 0280C/Archive 0025C
Revised 11/20/84

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Following are documents conveying recent opinions of our allies on U.S. withdrawal from UNESCO:

Sweden	State reporting cable
Spain	Memcon
Denmark	State 342646
United Kingdom	State 343461
Western Information Group meeting 11/9	Paris 43063
Canada	Ottawa 07265
Singapore	Singapore 12127
Netherlands/ Switzerland	Paris 42448
Netherlands (Mourik paper)	Paris 35879



Embajada de España

MEMORANDUM

The Embassy of Spain has the honor to refer to the possible decision of the United States Government to withdraw from UNESCO by the end of this year, a subject it has had the occasion to address on previous occasions.

In this regard, and following instructions of its Government, the Embassy of Spain takes the liberty of expressing the concern felt by the Spanish Government over the possibility that such an action will be carried out.

The Spanish Government is of the opinion that the possible withdrawal of the United States from the abovementioned international organization could be apt to cause confusion among international public opinion, especially among the Third World countries, considering the governing role the United States plays in today's world.

The Spanish Government fears that the solidarity among the different countries forming the Western world could be affected as a consequence of a measure which, furthermore, could lead UNESCO to a shifting toward radical positions.

As a result, the Spanish Government takes the liberty of expressing the opinion that it would be very advantageous to seriously achieve the necessary reforms so that UNESCO might continue to perform the role that corresponds to it. Such reforms would, of course, be supported by Spain from within that international organization.

For those reasons, and to avoid that any possible U.S. withdrawal from UNESCO bring an end to the reform efforts currently in progress, the Spanish Government would look with satisfaction upon the United States' considering the possibility of continuing as a member of an international organization for which the United States' collaboration may be of paramount importance.

Washington, D.C., November 20, 1984



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PRIORITY COPENHAGEN, LONDON PRIORITY

PARIS FOR NESCO

E.O. 12356: N/A

TAGS: AORC, UN, UNESCO

SUBJECT: DANISH DEMARCHE ON UNESCO, NOVEMBER 19, 1984

GJN
MFGH
AM
JCB
LAW

1. DEPUTY ASSISTANT SECRETARY BERGAUST MET THIS MORNING, AT THEIR REQUEST, WITH DANISH EMBASSY OFFICIALS ULRIK FEDERSPIEL (DCM) AND JORGEN LARSEN (PRESS COUNSELOR). SAYING THEY HAD NO DIRECT INSTRUCTION, THEY REQUESTED OUR VIEWS ON UNESCO FOR POSSIBLE USE DURING THE EC-10 FOREIGN MINISTERS MEETING SCHEDULED NOVEMBER 20. WE EXPLAINED THE U.S. POSITION AND THE DANES MADE SEVERAL INTERESTING POINTS.

2. ON THE QUESTION OF A POSSIBLE DELAY OF U.S. WITHDRAWAL FOR A YEAR, THE DANES NOTED THAT THERE WAS INTEREST, AMONG SOME OF THE EC-10, IN A COLLECTIVE DEMARCHE TO URGE SUCH A DELAY. IN THEIR OPINION, THIS WOULD BE A MISTAKE SINCE IT WOULD RELEASE PRESSURE ON UNESCO FOR REFORM AND RESULT IN LESS POSITIVE REFORM ACTION IN 1985. ON THIS POINT, THEY NOTED THEIR AGREEMENT WITH THE UK WHILE RESTATING THEIR INTENTION NOT TO WITHDRAW REGARDLESS OF UK DECISION.

3. CONCERNING THE IDEA (EXPRESSED TODAY -- NOVEMBER 19 -- IN THE WALL STREET JOURNAL) THAT THE EUROPEANS MIGHT

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ENCOURAGE A DELAY FOR A YEAR BY OFFERING TO SUBMIT COORDINATED LETTERS OF WITHDRAWAL, THE DANES SAID THEY HAD NOT CONSIDERED THIS OPTION. SHOULD ATTEMPTS BE MADE TO DEVELOP SUCH A "PACKAGE," THEY SPECULATED IT WOULD BE EXTREMELY DIFFICULT TO ACHIEVE COORDINATED ACTION WITHIN THE LIMITED TIME AVAILABLE. DENMARK ITSELF, THEY SAID, WOULD FIND IT VERY DIFFICULT TO MOBILIZE THE PUBLIC AND PARLIAMENTARY SUPPORT NECESSARY TO GENERATE A LETTER OF WITHDRAWAL.

4. IN CLOSING, THE DANES EXPRESSED INTEREST IN OUR PLANS FOR UNESCO ALTERNATIVES AND ANY INFORMATION WE HAD ON UNESCO'S PLANS FOR THE PERIOD FOLLOWING THE U.S. WITHDRAWAL. FEDERSPIEL STATED CATEGORICALLY THAT DENMARK HAD DECIDED TO GIVE NO REPEAT NO INCREASED RESOURCES TO UNESCO AFTER A U.S. WITHDRAWAL. WY

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Department of State

TELEGRAM

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UNESCO

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
 TAGS: UN, UNESCO, AORC
 SUBJECT: UK DEMARCHE ON UNESCO

1. UK HEAD OF CHANCERY JOHN KERR CALLED NOVEMBER 15 ON 10/CU OFFICE DIRECTOR WRIGHT TO CONVEY STATUS OF UK DELIBERATIONS ON UNESCO AND TO ASK ABOUT OUR OWN DELIBERATIONS.
2. SPEAKING ON INSTRUCTIONS, KERR SAID THAT UK MINISTERS IN LONDON HAD NOW HAD PRELIMINARY DISCUSSIONS ON UNESCO AND THEIR PRELIMINARY CONCLUSION WAS TO SUBMIT A WITHDRAWAL NOTICE BEFORE YEAR'S END. A WEEK AGO, SAID KERR, CERTAIN UK EMBASSIES WERE INSTRUCTED TO ASK HOST GOVERNMENTS WHETHER, IF THE UK SUBMITTED A LETTER, OTHERS WOULD JOIN. REACTION WAS UNANIMOUSLY NEGATIVE. THIS WAS NOT, HOWEVER, SEEN AS A STRONG REASON FOR NOT PROCEEDING WITH A UK LETTER. ON PERSONAL BASIS, KERR SAID HE DOUBTED THAT MINISTERS' CONCLUSION WOULD BE CHANGED; SPECIFICALLY, HE FELT THAT AN APPEAL BY COMMONWEALTH COMMISSIONERS, AS FORESEEN IN ARTICLE OF "THE GUARDIAN" OF NOVEMBER 15, WOULD LEAVE THATCHER AND HOWE UNMOVED.)
3. STILL SPEAKING ON INSTRUCTIONS, KERR SAID UK FELT REFORM IN 1984 HAD GONE QUITE WELL -- NOT AS WELL AS HOPED, BUT BETTER THAN FEARED. HE CHARACTERIZED REFORM AS HAVING GONE 50 PERCENT OF WAY. LONDON NOW THOUGHT THAT BRITISH LETTER WOULD BE BEST WAY TO KEEP PRESSURE ON UNESCO FOR REFORM WHILE SAFEGUARDING BRITISH POSITION IF SUFFICIENT REFORM FAILED TO MATERIALIZE.
4. SPEAKING NOW ON PERSONAL BASIS, KERR SAID HE THOUGHT FOREIGN SECRETARY HOWE BELIEVED GENUINELY THAT THERE HAD BEEN PROGRESS IN UNESCO, BUT GENUINELY WANTED LOTS MORE. HE THOUGHT HOWE ASSUMED THE U.S. WOULD NOT SIMPLY DECLARE VICTORY AND RETURN TO UNESCO, BUT THAT WE MIGHT BE PRONE TO CONSIDER OPTION OF STAYING ANOTHER YEAR. HE THOUGHT HOWE FELT THAT, IF WE DID DELAY A YEAR, PRESSURE FOR REFORM IN UNESCO MIGHT ACTUALLY SLACKEN AS UNESCO BREATHED A SIGH OF RELIEF AND THINGS MIGHT RETURN TO NORMAL. KERR CONTINUED THAT THE SINGLE BEST ENGINE FOR REFORM WOULD BE THE 25 PERCENT BUDGETARY LOSS WHICH UNESCO WOULD FACE AFTER A U.S. WITHDRAWAL. THIS WOULD FORCE UNESCO TO GET DOWN TO SERIOUS SPECIFICS.
5. STILL SPEAKING PERSONALLY, KERR SAID HE THOUGHT UK WOULD PUT IN A WITHDRAWAL LETTER AND GO ON WORKING FOR REFORM IN UNESCO. HE FURTHER THOUGHT THAT HIS GOVERNMENT WOULD NOT TRY TO PERSUADE THE U.S. TO

POSTPONE ITS DECISION. AT THE SAME TIME, UK WOULD HOPE THAT WE WOULD GO ON WORKING FOR REFORM IN UNESCO EVEN FROM OUTSIDE, AND THAT A U.S. ANNOUNCEMENT OF FINAL WITHDRAWAL WOULD MAKE SOME MENTION OF OUR CONTINUING INTEREST IN THE ORGANIZATION'S REFORM.

6. KERR NOTED THAT CERTAIN OF OUR ALLIES WERE GEARING UP TO TRY TO PERSUADE U.S. TO STAY IN UNESCO ANOTHER YEAR. BONN, HE SAID, HAD TOLD UK IT WANTED TO SPEAK WITH SECRETARY SHULTZ, AND THERE WAS TALK OF A COMMON EC DEMARCHE. HE NOTED THAT EC AMBASSADORS, AT THEIR REGULAR MEETING HERE NOVEMBER 19, HAVE UNESCO ON THEIR AGENDA, AND ARE PROBABLY GEARING UP TO APPROACH US IN THIS REGARD.

7. HAVING SAID HIS PIECE, KERR ASKED TWO QUESTIONS. FIRST, WHAT WAS TIMING OF U.S. DECISION? SECONDLY, WOULD OUR DECISION BE INFLUENCED BY A UK LETTER OF WITHDRAWAL? KERR ADDED THAT ANSWER TO LATTER QUESTION WOULD NOT CHANGE UK'S MIND. LONDON WAS SIMPLY INTERESTED IN OUR REPLY.

8. ON TIMING, WRIGHT REPLIED THAT WE HAD ALWAYS FORESEEN AN ANNOUNCEMENT IN FIRST TWO WEEKS OF DECEMBER, AND HE SAW NO REASON TO ALTER THAT FORECAST DESPITE FACT THAT WE MIGHT NOW BE RECEIVING UNESCO MONITORING PANEL'S REPORT A WEEK OR SO EARLIER THAN EXPECTED. WITHOUT FURTHER CHARACTERIZING ITS CONCLUSIONS, WRIGHT SAID HE UNDERTOOK PANEL'S REPORT WAS STRINGENT BUT FAIR.

9. REGARDING QUESTION OF WHETHER OUR EVENTUAL DECISION WOULD BE INFLUENCED BY A BRITISH LETTER OF WITHDRAWAL, WRIGHT SAID HE COULD NOT GIVE AN OFFICIAL RESPONSE TO THAT QUESTION BECAUSE MATTER WAS BEING CONSIDERED AT LEVELS MUCH HIGHER THAN HIS OWN. SPEAKING ON PERSONAL BASIS, WRIGHT SAID THAT, IF OUR DECISION WERE TO WITHDRAW FROM UNESCO, AS SEEMED LIKELY, IT WAS UNLIKELY THAT BRITISH LETTER OF WITHDRAWAL WOULD CHANGE THAT DECISION.

10. COMMENT. KERR'S "PERSONAL" COMMENTS WERE ANYTHING BUT HAPHAZARD OR OFF THE CUFF, BUT APPEARED WELL REHEARSED. WE SUSPECT THEY WERE QUITE AUTHORITATIVE. SHULTZ

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C O N F I D E N T I A L PARIS 43063

NESCO

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: UNESCO
SUBJECT: UNESCO: WESTERN INFORMATION GROUP MEETING,
NOVEMBER 14
REF: STATE 333990

1. THIS IS AN ACTION MESSAGE; SEE LAST PARAGRAPH.
2. REFTEL RECEIVED ONLY AFTER NOVEMBER 9 WESTERN
INFORMATION GROUP MEETING HAD TAKEN PLACE. U.S.
PRESENTATION AT MEETING WAS, HOWEVER, CONSISTENT
WITH GUIDANCE IN PARAS. 2-3 OF REFTEL. MAJOR POINTS IN
PARAS. ONE AND FOUR (NAMELY, THAT WE WILL CONSULT
WITH EUROPEAN ALLIES PRIOR TO PUBLIC ACTION; AND THAT
U.S. WITHDRAWAL, SHOULD IT TAKE PLACE, WILL BE FOR
PURPOSE OF FURTHERING REFORM AND WITH EXPLICIT
INTENTION TO REJOIN UNDER IMPROVED CIRCUMSTANCES) ARE
SIGNIFICANT, AND WE SHALL MAKE THEM AT NEXT
INFORMATION GROUP MEETING, CURRENTLY SCHEDULED FOR
10:00 A.M., WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER 14.

3. WE BELIEVE IT WOULD ALSO BE USEFUL TO GIVE
EUROPEANS AN OUTLINE OF MONITORING PANEL ACTIONS, AND
REPORT, AT THE NOVEMBER 14 MEETING.

4. THE NOVEMBER 9 INFORMATION GROUP MEETING DID NOT
PRODUCE ANY SURPRISES: EXECUTIVE BOARD MEMBER STATES
GENERALLY GAVE CAUTIOUS ASSESSMENTS OF RECENT BOARD
SESSION, STRESSING THAT A BEGINNING HAD BEEN MADE ON
REFORMS, PARTICULARLY VIA THE TEMPORARY COMMITTEE
RECOMMENDATIONS, PLUS CONTINUATION OF THE COMMITTEE
ITSELF. NONETHELESS, THE NORWEGIANS, IN PARTICULAR
DENMARK, WERE DISAPPOINTED THAT CONSIDERATION OF
THEIR DR ON CONCENTRATION AND PRIORITIZATION HAD BEEN
PUT OFF DUE TO THE NECESSARY PUSH FOR CONSENSUS ON THE
BUDGET AT THE END OF THE SESSION. ZERO GROWTH BUDGET
INSTRUCTION WAS WELCOMED, WITH MOST SHARING OUR VIEW
THAT PARAGRAPH CALLING FOR DG TO PRESENT A LIST OF
PROJECTS FOR NEEDIEST COUNTRIES UP TO 2 PERCENT OF
BUDGET TOTAL (WITH FINANCING UNSPECIFIED), WOULD
BECOME FOCUS FOR MAJOR POLITICAL EFFORT BY DG AND HIS
ALLIES TO CIRCUMVENT ZERO GROWTH CEILING. AMB
MENTIONED THE DOUDOU DIENE PRESS CONFERENCE, WITH
ATTENDANT HANDOUTS STATING, INTER ALIA, THAT THE 2
PERCENT WOULD BE ON TOP OF THE U.S. DOLS 391 MILLION.

5. SEVERAL MEMBERS, INCLUDING DUTCH AND SWISS
(SEPTEL) REITERATED VIEW THAT U.S. SHOULD STAY WITH THE
PROCESS THROUGH NEXT YEAR'S GENERAL CONFERENCE. WHEN
AMB. QUERIED, HOWEVER, HOW PRESSURE COULD BE
MAINTAINED AND/OR INCREASED IF THE U.S. STAYED IN
AND, PERHAPS, NO OTHER GAVE NOTICE, AMB. HUMMEL
RESPONDED HE WAS NOT CERTAIN WHETHER, IN THESE
CIRCUMSTANCES, STAYING ONE MORE YEAR OR LEAVING WOULD
BE MOST EFFECTIVE. HE FELT THAT WESTERN COORDINATION
AND, THUS, PRESSURE HAD NOT BEEN STRONG ENOUGH.

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FRG, SWEDEN, AND -- IN LESS SPECIFIC TERMS --
OTHERS JOINED DUTCH AND SWISS; ALL VOICED STRONG THEM
THAT WESTERN GROUP HAD PROVEN SOMETHING TO ITSELF BY
THE EFFECTIVENESS AND IMPACT OF ITS JOINT EFFORT DURING
1984. MANY SEEMED TO BE SAYING, RHETORICALLY,
THAT, IF THE RELATIVELY LOOSE WESTERN UNITY OF 1984
COULD PRODUCE WHAT IT HAD, HOW MUCH MORE COULD THE
GROUP DO IF IT REALLY GOT DOWN TO CASES AND WORKED
TOGETHER IN THE MONTHS AHEAD? SUGGESTIONS ABOUT U.S.
ACTIONS TENDED THUS TO BE COOPERATIVE, RATHER THAN
CONFRONTATIONAL, AND TO GO BEYOND SIMPLE CALCULATION
OF SIZE AND WORTH OF REFORMS THUS FAR; INSTEAD,
EUROPEANS SEEM TO FEEL THAT 1984 HAS OPENED AN
OPPORTUNITY FOR MUCH WIDER COOPERATION AND INFLUENCE
THAN WE HAD FORESEEN, AND THAT TACTICAL AGILITY TO
ADAPT TO THAT REALITY IS NOW NEEDED. WE WOULD EXPECT
THIS THEME TO BE THE MAJOR UNDERPINNING OF FURTHER
EUROPEAN REPRESENTATIONS TO US, BOTH HERE AND
ELSEWHERE."

6. ACTION REQUESTED: ANY FURTHER GUIDANCE DEPT MAY
WISH TO OFFER FOR WESTERN INFORMATION GROUP MEETING
NOVEMBER 14, INCLUDING RUNDOWN ON MONITORING PANEL
MEETINGS, VIA NIACT IMMEDIATE CABLE TO ARRIVE PRIOR
TO OPENING OF BUSINESS THAT DAY.

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C O N F I D E N T I A L OTTAWA 07265

PARIS ALSO FOR NESCO

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: UNESCO, CA
SUBJECT: 120TH UNESCO EXECUTIVE BOARD: DEMARCHE ON
- CANADA TO URGE REFORM

REFS: (A) STATE 294315, (B) FOULGER/HANDLEY TELCON
- 10/04/84, (C) OTTAWA 7133

1. (C - ENTIRE TEXT).

2. SUMMARY: THE RECENT STRONGLY WORDED LETTER FROM CANADA'S EXTERNAL AFFAIRS MINISTER JOE CLARK TO UNESCO DIRECTOR GENERAL M'BOU INCREASES FURTHER THE PRESSURE FOR REFORM WITHIN THE ORGANIZATION. WE HAVE URGED THAT CANADA USE THIS OPPORTUNITY TO INTERVENE ACTIVELY AND USE ITS INFLUENCE TO ADD TO THE MOMENTUM FOR REFORM AT THIS CRUCIAL EXECUTIVE BOARD SESSION. U.S. UNESCO DELEGATION MAY WISH TO FOLLOW-UP WITH GOC AMBASSADOR IAN CLARK. BEFORE THE U.S. TAKES THE FINAL STEP OF WITHDRAWAL, THE GOC REQUESTS AN OPPORTUNITY TO MEET WITH THE U.S. BILATERALLY AND REVIEW THE SITUATION IN UNESCO. THIS IS AN ACTION MESSAGE: SEE PARAGRAPH 11. END SUMMARY.

3. ON OCTOBER 5, WE PRESENTED U.S. VIEWS ON UNESCO REFORM (REF A), TO EXTERNAL AFFAIRS DIRECTOR GENERAL RICHARD TAIT (CULTURAL/PUBLIC INFORMATION BUREAU) AND UN AFFAIRS POLITICAL SECTION HEAD JIM PUDDINGTON. AS DISCUSSED WITH THE DEPARTMENT (REF B), WE INCLUDED THE FOLLOWING AS THE FIRST TALKING POINT IN OUR NON-PAPER TO REFLECT EXTAFF MINISTER JOE CLARK'S RECENT LETTER TO M'BOU.

- BEGIN TEXT:

- THE UNITED STATES WHOLEHEARTEDLY WELCOMES MINISTER CLARK'S OCTOBER 1 LETTER TO DIRECTOR GENERAL M'BOU WHICH IN A FORTHCOMING FASHION DETAILED THE NEED FOR REFORM AND CANADA'S COMMITMENT TO IMPROVING UNESCO'S OPERATIONS, MANAGEMENT AND PROGRAMS. THAT LETTER REPRESENTS AN IMPORTANT AND TIMELY CONTRIBUTION TO THE REFORM EFFORT NOW UNDERWAY AND REINFORCES OUR SHARED DESIRE TO SEE SIGNIFICANT IMPROVEMENTS IN THE ORGANIZATION. THE U.S. LOOKS FORWARD TO CONTINUING CLOSE CONSULTATIONS WITH CANADA BOTH IN PARIS AND OTTAWA TO ENCOURAGE THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE LASTING REFORM MEASURES WE BOTH RECOGNIZE AS FUNDAMENTAL TO IMPROVE UNESCO'S EFFECTIVENESS. END TEXT.

4. WE EMPHASIZED THE TIMELINESS OF CLARK'S LETTER IN VIEW OF THE CURRENT CRUCIAL UNESCO EXECUTIVE BOARD SESSION CONSIDERING THE REFORM OF THE ORGANIZATION. WE NOTED THAT OTHER EB MEMBERS, MINDFUL OF CANADA'S THOUGHTFUL APPROACH TO THE ISSUE, WOULD GIVE GREAT WEIGHT TO THE FORTHRIGHT VIEWS EXPRESSED IN THE LETTER. AS SUGGESTED BY THE DEPARTMENT, WE ACCORDINGLY

URGED THAT THE GOC ACTIVELY ELABORATE ITS VIEWS WITH DEVELOPING ON THE EB NATIONS, SPECIFICALLY THOSE FROM THE CARIBBEAN AND AFRICA, WITH WHICH IT MIGHT WIELD INFLUENCE. ALSO, WE OBSERVED THAT FRANCE, WHICH HAS A SPECIAL ROLE AS UNESCO HOST COUNTRY, APPROPRIATELY MIGHT BE APPROACHED WITH A DETAILED EXPOSITION OF GOC THINKING. GIVEN THE KEY ROLE OF DG M'BOU, A STRONG CANADIAN STATEMENT TO HIM ON THE NEED FOR MEANINGFUL REFORM WOULD BE PARTICULARLY USEFUL AS WELL, WE NOTED.

5. TAIT EXPRESSED APPRECIATION FOR THE U.S. VIEWS AND COMMENTS ON THE MINISTER'S LETTER TO M'BOU. HE REMARKED THAT THE LETTER WAS A DELIBERATE STEPPING UP OF PRESSURE BY THE GOC BASED ON THE EVALUATION THAT THE SITUATION IN UNESCO IS SUFFICIENTLY GRAVE TO IMPERIL THE ORGANIZATION'S SURVIVAL. UNLESS THERE WAS A REALIZATION OF THE NEED FOR CHANGE, HE SAID, CANADA WOULD NEED TO ASK ITSELF WHETHER UNESCO IS THE INSTITUTION SUITED TO ACHIEVE THE GOC'S PURPOSES. HE NOTED, HOWEVER, THAT THE LETTER WAS OPEN-ENDED AND DELIBERATELY DID NOT SET A DEADLINE.

6. WITHOUT RESPONDING SPECIFICALLY, TAIT TOOK NOTE OF OUR SUGGESTIONS FOR POSSIBLE FURTHER GOC ACTION AT UNESCO. UNFORTUNATELY, MANY OF THE DEVELOPING NATION REPRESENTATIVES AT THE PARIS HEADQUARTERS APPEARED TO FOLLOW THEIR OWN AGENDA, HE OBSERVED, WITHOUT MUCH COMMUNICATION WITH CAPITALS. PERSUASION IN MANY INSTANCES THUS WAS DIFFICULT AT BEST. ON THE OTHER POINT, IAN CLARK, GOC AMBASSADOR TO UNESCO, WAS TO HAVE DELIVERED THE MINISTER'S LETTER TO M'BOU ON OCTOBER 4. TAIT WAS UNABLE TO CONFIRM WHETHER AMBASSADOR CLARK MADE A SUPPORTING ORAL PRESENTATION TO THE DG. HOWEVER, HIS OPENING STATEMENT AT THE EXECUTIVE BOARD HAD BEEN EXPLICIT ON THE QUESTION OF REFORM, TAIT SAID. IN ADDITION TO THE MINISTER'S LETTER, AMBASSADOR CLARK'S INSTRUCTIONS AT UNESCO DERIVED FROM THE GOC'S JULY 27 LETTER COMMENTING ON UNESCO'S 1986/7 BUDGET WHICH, TAIT INFORMED US, ARE FAIRLY SPECIFIC. (SINCE AMBASSADOR CLARK APPARENTLY HAS SOME TACTICAL LEEWAY, U.S. UNESCO MAY WISH TO REINFORCE OUR DESIRE THAT HE USE THE MINISTER'S LETTER TO MAINTAIN AN ACTIVE CANADIAN ROLE IN THE REFORM DISCUSSIONS.)

7. IN SOME RESPECTS, TAIT OBSERVED, THE WEST ITSELF BORE SOME RESPONSIBILITY FOR UNESCO'S SORRY STATE. FOR ONE THING, THE PROCESS OF WESTERN CONSULTATION AT UNESCO WAS NOT WHAT IT SHOULD BE. THE LARGE INFORMATION GROUP DID NOT LEND ITSELF TO COORDINATING OVERALL STRATEGY OR SPECIFIC TACTICS. SOME THOUGHT THE U.S. MIGHT BE GIVEN TO FORMING IN PARIS SOMETHING SIMILAR TO THE GENEVA GROUP TO GIVE FOCUS TO THE WEST'S EFFORTS, HE SUGGESTED. THIS WOULD BE MOST EFFECTIVE IF DONE AT A SENIOR LEVEL, PREFERABLY IN PARIS, AN APPROACH WHICH HOPEFULLY WOULD ENGAGE THE FRENCH. TAIT RECALLED THAT AT A SEPTEMBER MEETING ON UNESCO HELD IN WASHINGTON, APPARENTLY THE FRENCH HAD NOT ATTENDED AND IT WAS ESSENTIAL TO DRAW THEM INTO SERIOUS DISCUSSION.

8. TAIT REMARKED THAT THE U.S. DECISION TO WITHDRAW GAVE ALARMING POTENTIAL TO SOVIET PROPAGANDA EFFORTS, AN OPPORTUNITY THE USSR SEEM PREPARED TO EXPLOIT. THE SOVIET'S HAVE PRESENTED AT UNESCO A LONG DOCUMENT WHICH REFUTES WESTERN ARGUMENTS FOR REFORM POINT BY POINT. THE PAPER ACCUSES THE WEST OF ATTEMPTING TO TURN BACK THE CLOCK AND REWRITE THE UNESCO MANDATE IN LINE WITH THE WESTERN VISION, HE SAID. PRESENTATIONAL ASPECTS OF WESTERN VIEWS WERE

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IMPORTANT, AND THERE WAS THE THREAT OF A BACKLASH WHICH THE SOVIET COULD AGGRAVATE FURTHER IF THE WEST APPEARED TO BE LAYING DOWN AN ULTIMATUM. HE CONCLUDED THAT THE U.S. DECISION THUS HAD FAR-REACHING IMPLICATIONS IN THE LONG TERM FOR OTHER WESTERN NATIONS WHO WILL BEAR THE BRUNT OF REACTION IN UNESCO WITHOUT THE SUPPORT OF THEIR MAJOR ALLY.

9. FOR THESE REASONS, TAIT CONTINUED, CANADA STRONGLY HOPES THAT THE U.S. WILL TAKE A HARD LOOK AT ITS PARTICIPATION IN UNESCO BEFORE TAKING THE IRREVOKABLE FINAL STEP. HE COMMENTED THAT CANADA AND THE U.S. AGREE FUNDAMENTALLY ON THE NEED FOR DEEP REFORM BUT HAVE DIFFERING VIEWS ON THE PACE AT WHICH IT MIGHT BE ACHIEVED. HE EXPRESSED THE OPINION THAT WE CAN BEST HOPE FOR SOME DEGREE OF REALISM ON THE BUDGET AND CONSENSUS ON MANAGEMENT IMPROVEMENT TO COME OUT OF THE CURRENT EB SESSION. HOWEVER, PROOF OF COMMITMENT TO LASTING REFORM WILL NOT BE APPARENT UNTIL THE 1985 SOFIA GENERAL CONFERENCE. IN THE GOC VIEW, TAIT SAID, THE BEST SOLUTION WOULD BE FOR THE U.S. TO EXTEND ITS PARTICIPATION FOR AN ADDITIONAL YEAR, TIED TO RIGID CONDITIONS OF DEMONSTRABLE REFORM IMPLEMENTATION. SUCH AN APPROACH WOULD KEEP THE PRESSURE ON AND ALLOW SUFFICIENT TIME FOR THE REFORM EFFORT TO PRODUCE TANGIBLE RESULTS.

10. FROM CANADA'S PERSPECTIVE, IT IS ESSENTIAL TO GIVE CAREFUL THOUGHT TO THESE CONSIDERATIONS, TAIT SAID. AFTER THE EB IS OVER AND BOTH COUNTRIES HAVE EVALUATED THE RESULTS, THE GOC HOPES THAT THE U.S. BEFORE MAKING A FINAL JUDGMENT WILL CONSIDER SERIOUSLY HOLDING BILATERAL DISCUSSIONS WITH CANADA TO DISCUSS THE UNESCO SITUATION, TAIT CONCLUDED.

11. ACTION REQUESTED: GUIDANCE ON WHETHER DEPARTMENT IS PREPARED IN PRINCIPLE TO HAVE A BILATERAL ON UNESCO AT A MUTUALLY AGREEABLE TIME AND VENUE AFTER THE CONCLUSION OF THE EB.
ROBINSON

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SINGAPORE 12127

IO FOR ASSISTANT SECRETARY NEWELL ONLY FROM JAMES MICHENER

E. O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: AORC, SN
SUBJECT: UNESCO

1. TELEPHONE TO COLUMBIA, SOUTH CAROLINA, IF NEWELL IS IN THE DRAFTING MEETING THERE.
2. BY SHEER ACCIDENT, I HAD CONVERSATION WITH A MAJOR SINGAPORE OFFICIAL WHO SAID:
3. "THREE YEARS AGO WE IN SINGAPORE WANTED TO LEAVE UNESCO, BELIEVING THAT IT HAD STRAYED TOO FAR FROM ITS BASIC COMMISSION. OUR JUDGMENT WAS OPPOSED BY OUR REPRESENTATIVE IN PARIS WHO ARGUED THAT THE INTERNATIONAL AGENCIES SERVE AS THE FRONT LINE OF DEFENSE FOR SMALL NATIONS. WE ACCEPTED HIS COUNSEL AND DID NOT RESIGN. THAT WAS A MISTAKE, FOR IN THE INTERVENING THREE YEARS WE HAVE SEEN UNESCO STRAY EVEN FARTHER FROM ITS ASSIGNED RESPONSIBILITIES. IT IS WASTEFULLY ADMINISTERED, CAPRICIOUSLY PROGRAMMED AND ARBITRARILY OPERATED IN ITS DAY-TO-DAY WORK. WE NOW WISH THAT WE HAD PROCEEDED WITH OUR RESIGNATION THREE YEARS AGO. OBVIOUSLY, WE APPLAUD THE AMERICAN ANNOUNCEMENT THAT YOU ARE WITHDRAWING AND HOPE THAT YOU WILL ABIDE BY YOUR DECISION. TO DO SO WILL HELP US ALL RESTRUCTURE THIS VALUABLE ORGANIZATION. TO REVERSE DECISION NOW WOULD MAKE YOU A LAUGHINGSTOCK AND WOULD DAMAGE THE EFFORTS OF THE REST OF US TO MAKE UNESCO A MORE USEFUL ORGANIZATION. IF YOU WITHDRAW AS STATED YOU WILL START THE REFORMS WE NEED."
4. AT THIS POINT I SAID THAT IF WE DID WITHDRAW, I WOULD BE AMONG THE FIRST TO START PLANNING AS TO HOW WE COULD REJOIN A REFORMED UNESCO. MY CORRESPONDENT REPLIED FORCEFULLY: "DO NOT BE HASTY. I FEAR THAT YOU CAN ACCOMPLISH NOTHING WHILE DIRECTOR-GENERAL M' BOW IS STILL IN COMMAND. HE IS DICTATORIAL, VAIN, ARBITRARY AND A POOR ADMINISTRATOR. I HAVE NO HOPE FOR UNESCO WHILE HE REMAINS IN POWER." WHEN I POINTED OUT THAT THE UNITED STATES HAS STUDIOUSLY REFRAINED FROM CRITICIZING THE DIRECTOR-GENERAL PERSONALLY, BECAUSE OUR FIGHT IS NOT WITH HIM BUT WITH THE OPERATIONS OF UNESCO, MY CORRESPONDENT SAID: "MAYBE SO. THE ROT LIES WITHIN THE SYSTEM. GROSSLY INFLATED SALARIES, PREPOSTEROUS PERQUISITES, A STAFF MANY OF WHOSE MEMBERS HAVE NOT ENOUGH TO DO, AND A LACK OF PRINCIPLED DIRECTION. THE WAY EMPLOYEES LUXURIATE IN PARIS, DOING NOTHING, IS AN INTERNATIONAL SCANDAL. IN THE INTERESTS OF EVERYONE YOU SHOULD GET OUT AND STAY OUT UNTIL REAL REFORMS HAVE BEEN ACCOMPLISHED."

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C O N F I D E N T I A L PARIS 42448

NESCO

E. O. 12356: DECL: OADR TAGS: UNESCO SUBJECT: WESTERN VIEWS OF UNESCO REFORMS, AND NEXT STEPS

1. DUTCH AND SWISS AMBASSADORS (MOURIK AND HUMMEL), BOTH VALUED AND LONG-TIME OBSERVERS, RETURNED FROM CONSULTATIONS IN CAPITALS THIS WEEK WITH FOLLOWING THOUGHTS.

2. HUMMEL, WHO HAS THIS YEAR GENERALLY TAKEN THE HARDEST LINE VIS-A-VIS THE ORGANIZATION (AND ESPECIALLY VIS-A-VIS DIRECTOR GENERAL H'BOU) FOUND THE EXECUTIVE BOARD'S STATEMENT OF 1986-87 PROGRAM GUIDELINES, AND ITS NO-GROWTH BUDGET DECISION, "SURPRISINGLY" POSITIVE. THE PROGRAM GUIDANCE IS FAR FROM IDEAL, CONTAINING STILL THE KINDS OF DIFFUSE AND POLITICIZED ELEMENTS WHICH WE HAVE CRITICIZED, BUT IN COMPARISON WITH ANALOGOUS DECISIONS HE RECALLS FROM HIS TWELVE YEARS HERE, IT PROVIDED A BASIS ON WHICH TO BUILD FURTHER PROGRESS. ITS VERGES OF OPTIMISM ARE PARTICULARLY STRIKING, IN HIS VIEW: MUCH OF THE SLOGANEERING ABOUT NEW WORLD ORDERS, DISARMAMENT, COLLECTIVE RIGHTS, AND SO ON, HAS BEEN DROPPED, AND IN ITS PLACE IS STRONG LANGUAGE ABOUT PROGRAM CONCENTRATION, SETTING OF PRIORITIES, AND EVALUATION -- ALL LONG-STANDING WESTERN GOALS. HUMMEL FOR THE FIRST TIME SUGGESTED THAT THE US OUGHT TO STAY THE COURSE THROUGH NEXT YEAR'S GENERAL CONFERENCE, IN ORDER TO CAPITALIZE ON WHAT HAS BEEN ACHIEVED SO FAR.

3. HUMMEL SAID THE CHINESE AMBASSADOR HAD SOUGHT HIM OUT RECENTLY TO MAKE IT CLEAR THAT CHINA'S ACTION DURING THE BOARD MEETING IN FAVOR OF PROGRAM CONCENTRATION AND LESS ATTENTION TO POLITICALLY CONTENTIOUS ITEMS HAD BEEN EXPRESSLY DIRECTED AT CONVINCING THE WEST, AND ESPECIALLY THE US, THAT UNESCO COULD BE REFORMED. HUMMEL FEELS THE CHINESE ARE VERY APPREHENSIVE ABOUT A POSSIBLE WINDFALL FOR SOVIET POLICY IF WE DEPART, AND THUS HAD DECIDED TO MAKE A MAJOR EFFORT TO BRING ABOUT CHANGE.

4. FINALLY, HUMMEL QUOTED MARGAN OF YUGOSLAVIA (CHAIRMAN OF THE EXECUTIVE BOARD'S TEMPORARY, OR REFORM, COMMITTEE) AS SAYING THAT THE SOVIETS ARE STRONGLY PESSIMISTIC ABOUT THE VIEW, AMONG THEIR RULERS AND OTHERS, THAT IT IS LESS IMPORTANT THAT THE DG BE REFORMED THAN THAT THE US DECIDE SOMETHING -- THAT IT EITHER STAY OR GO, BUT THAT IN NO CIRCUMSTANCES SHOULD IT REMAIN FOR ANOTHER YEAR, WITHDRAWING AT THE END OF 1985. HE NOTES THAT THE DG HAS BEEN HITTING THE SAME POINT ACOROSS IN MEETINGS WITH SOME OF HIS SUPPORTERS. HUMMEL FINDS THIS COMMON ENTHUSIASM ON THE PART OF THE SOVIETS AND THE DG FOR AN UP-OR-DOWN UNESCO IN DE SPITE OF CAUTION, WHAT BOTH SEEK EXPLICITLY TO AVOID, HE BELIEVES, IS ANY OUTCOME

WHICH WILL GIVE THE US A FURTHER PERIOD OF DOMINATION OF THE ORGANIZATION'S PROCEEDINGS, AS WE HAVE HAD THIS YEAR.

5. DUTCH AMBASSADOR MOURIK REPORTS THAT HIS ANALYSIS OF THE SITUATION, AND RECOMMENDATIONS, (PARIS 35879 NOTAL), HAVE BECOME THE BASIS OF DUTCH GOVERNMENT POLICY. ARGUING AS HE DOES FOR AN EXTENSION OF US PARTICIPATION THROUGH THE GENERAL CONFERENCE AT THE END OF 1985, HE RECOGNIZES THAT A COMMON WESTERN POSITION TO THIS EFFECT WILL BE LIKELY TO CARRY MORE WEIGHT WITH THE US THAN INDIVIDUAL NATIONAL STATEMENTS OF POLICY. HE SAYS A SERIES OF CONSULTATIONS ARE UNDERWAY AMONG GOVERNMENTS WHICH SHARE THE DUTCH VIEW, CITING FRANCE, ITALY, THE FRG, THE NORDIC FIVE, AND BELGIUM. THE UK HAS BEEN RELUCTANT TO JOIN THE OTHERS THUS FAR, WHICH MOURIK ATTRIBUTES AT LEAST IN PART TO A BRITISH VISH TO REMAIN "INDEPENDENT", AND TO FOLLOW THEIR OWN POLICY LINE, AS THEY HAVE DONE SINCE THEIR APRIL LETTER EXPRESSING WILLINGNESS TO CONSIDER WITHDRAWAL. NO CONVENIENT AND COMPREHENSIVE FRAMEWORK EXISTS FOR THE CONCERNED GOVERNMENTS TO HAMMER OUT A COMMON POSITION; FOR WANT OF ANYTHING BETTER, CONSULTATIONS THUS FAR HAVE PROCEEDED IN THE EC-10 CONTEXT, WITH SIDE DISCUSSIONS WITH NON-COMMUNITY MEMBERS. BUT MOURIK HOPES THAT FURTHER PROGRESS WILL BE MADE IN THE LATTER PART OF THIS WEEK, WITH A FURTHER MEETING OF THE TEN, AND FINALLY A MEETING OF THE ENTIRE WESTERN GROUP ON NOVEMBER 9. ONE PROPOSAL WHICH HE SAYS HAS A GREAT DEAL OF CURRENCY AT THE MOMENT IS THAT OF CONVENING A HIGH-LEVEL MEETING OF CONCERNED GOVERNMENTS (INCLUDING THE US) BEFORE THE FINAL US DETERMINATION OF ITS POLICY; HE BELIEVES THAT WE ARE LIKELY TO BE PRESENTED WITH A SPECIFIC WESTERN PROPOSAL FOR SUCH A MEETING SHORTLY.

6. MOURIK ACKNOWLEDGES THAT MUCH OF THE FOREGOING IS VAGUE, AND POINTS THAT OUR CONVERSATION TOOK PLACE IN MIDSTREAM. HE WILL STAY IN CLOSE TOUCH, BUT PARTICULARLY WANTED US TO KNOW THAT SOMETHING IS AFOOT AMONG OUR WESTERN PARTNERS, AND THAT THERE IS A GOOD DEAL OF DETERMINATION TO GET TO US PROMPTLY WITH A RESPONSIBLE, CONSTRUCTIVE AND COMMON WESTERN VIEWS.

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UNESCO
FOR IO/ASST SFC NEWELL ONLY
F.O. 12356 DECL-0ADR
TAGS: UNESCO

SUBJECT: DUTCH AMBASSADOR'S VIEWS ON US WITHDRAWAL
1. DUTCH AMBASSADOR MOURIK PROVIDED US SEPTEMBER 17
WITH BRIEF PAPER (TEXT BELOW) GIVING HIS VIEWS ON WHERE
THINGS STAND, AFTER ALMOST NINE MONTHS OF DEVOTED WORK
ON HIS PART IN FAVOR OF REFORM AND CHANGE WITHIN UNESCO.
AFTER SOME APPARENT INITIAL APPREHENSION, HE AGREED THAT
I SHOULD PASS THIS TO YOU. HE CLEARLY DOES NOT WANT TO
READ HIMSELF QUOTED IN THE PAPER; HE EXPECTS THAT THESE
PERSONAL THOUGHTS WILL BE PROTECTED ABSOLUTELY.
2. YOU WILL NOTE THAT MOURIK TAKES AS "WORST-POSSIBLE",
THE CASE IN WHICH THE UK FINDS ADEQUATE REASON IN THIS
YEAR'S CHANGES TO REMAIN, WHILE THE US LEAVES. IT
WOULD BE DIFFICULT TO OVERSTATE THE DAMAGE HE SEES,
IN THIS SCENARIO, TO: (A) BROAD WESTERN COHESION VIS-A-
VIS THE SOVIETS; (B) THE POSSIBILITY FOR REAL REFORM
HERE -- AND POSSIBLY ELSEWHERE IN THE UN SYSTEM --
WHICH OUR INITIAL DECISION CREATED; AND (C) ALL OTHER
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UNESCO MEMBER STATES, THROUGH THE GLOIFICATION WHICH
WOULD BE HEAPED UPON M'BOU FOR HAVING FOUGHT, DIVIDED,
AND CONQUERED THE WEST. I AGREE WITH THE FIRST TWO
POINTS, MORE OR LESS; I AM NOT CERTAIN ABOUT THE THIRD.
M'BOU, EVEN IN THIS SCENARIO, WOULD STILL BE THE ONE
UN AGENCY HEAD TO "LOSE THE US". AND I AM NOT SURE HE
WOULD EVER LIVE THAT DOWN SUCCESSFULLY, EITHER IN
HIS OWN MIND OR IN THE PERCEPTIONS OF OTHER NATIONS.
INCLUDING THOSE WHO MOST STEADFASTLY SUPPORT HIM. IN
ANY EVENT, MOURIK'S CONCERNS ARE VERY REAL; COULD BE
ACCURATE; AND DESERVE OUR ATTENTION.

3. BEGIN TEXT MOURIK PAPER:
"SOME PRIVATE THOUGHTS ON THE STATE OF AFFAIRS IN
UNESCO"
(A DISCUSSION "NON-PAPER")

1. WHERE DO WE STAND?
-1) IT IS NOT VERY LIKELY THAT THE RESULTS OF THE
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TEMPORARY COMMITTEE AND THE DG'S PROPOSALS WILL SATISFY US DEMANDS FOR REFORMS. THEY FALL SHORT OF FUNDAMENTAL CHANGES OF A STRUCTURAL AND INSTITUTIONAL CHARACTER AND DO NOT OFFER SUFFICIENT SAFEGUARDS IN RESPECT OF POLITICISATION. IT HAS TO BE RECOGNIZED THAT SUCH FUNDAMENTAL CHANGES COULD NOT BE FORMALLY BROUGHT ABOUT IN A YEAR WHEN THERE IS NO SESSION OF THE GENERAL CONFERENCE.

ONE ALSO HAS TO BEAR IN MIND THAT MOST CHANGES PROPOSED BY THE TC AND THE DG ARE OF AN INTENTIONAL OR DECLARA-

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TORY CHARACTER. THEIR IMPLEMENTATION IS TO BE HOPED FOR, BUT IS NOT ALTOGETHER CERTAIN. A FURTHER ESTABLISHMENT OF RESPONSIBILITIES AND SUPERVISING MECHANISM SEEMS TO BE NECESSARY.

ASKING THE US TO RESCIND ITS DECISION TO WITHDRAW FROM UNESCO ON THE BASIS OF THE AFOREMENTIONED CHANGES WOULD THEREFORE, RATHER MEAN ASKING THEM TO BUY A PIG IN A POUF.

-2) IT IS, ON THE OTHER HAND, NOT ALTOGETHER UNLIKELY THAT THE UK MIGHT FIND THE NEGOTIATING RESULTS, THOUGH FAR FROM IDEAL, SUFFICIENTLY SUBSTANTIVE TO GIVE UNESCO THE BENEFIT OF THE DOUBT. THE UK NEGOTIATING LEVEL HAS FROM THE BEGINNING BEEN LOWER THAN THE AMERICAN ONE: NO DEMANDS IN THE CONSTITUTIONAL FIELD AND LESS STRESS ON POLITICISATION AND THE SAFEGUARDING OF THE RIGHTS OF THE PAYING MINORITY.

"B. WHERE WOULD THIS LEAD US TO?

-3) IF BOTH HYPOTHESES WERE RIGHT - AND I MUST ADMIT THAT I FEEL TO BE ON FIRMER GROUND WITH THE FIRST ONE THAN WITH THE LATTER - THEN WE WOULD AT THE END OF THIS YEAR BE IN A SITUATION WHERE THE US WOULD LEAVE THE ORGANISATION AND THE UK (AND OTHER "PROFESSORS") WOULD STAY IN.

-4) THE SITUATION WHERE THE US WOULD BE THE ONLY MEMBER STATE TO LEAVE UNESCO WOULD, QUITE APART FROM THE DIRECT
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STATIS////////////////////////////////////

NESCO

FOR IO/ASST SEC NEWELL ONLY

F.O. 12355: DFCL:OADR

TAGS: UNESCO

SUBJECT: DUTCH AMBASSADOR'S VIEWS ON US WITHDRAWAL
AND INDIRECT MATERIAL AND FINANCIAL CONSEQUENCES. BE
THE WORST POSSIBLE OF ALL, BECAUSE:

---A) THE REFORM MOVEMENT WOULD LOOSE PRACTICALLY ALL
MOMENTUM, THE ONLY PARTY DEMANDING FUNDAMENTAL CHANGES
HAVING LEFT THE FIELD, AND THE OTHERS HAVING OBTAINED
MOST OF THEIR (LOWER LEVEL) DESIDERATA.

---B) THE POSITION OF THE DG WILL BE CONSIDERABLY
STRENGTHENED. HE WILL BE ABLE TO MAKE PEOPLE BELIEVE
THAT IT WAS HE WHO SAW TO IT THAT THE JF STAYED IN, AND
THAT IT WAS ONLY THE INTRANSIGENT ATTITUDE OF THE US
WHICH PREVENTED HIM FROM MAINTAINING THE INTEGRITY OF
THE ORGANISATION. HIS PRESTIGE IN THE THIRD WORLD
WOULD BE STRENGTHENED, WHICH COULD HAVE FAR REACHING
CONSEQUENCES IN 1987.

FACTOR A) WILL, OF COURSE, BE INTENSIFIED BY FACTOR B).

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"C. HOW TO PREVENT THIS SITUATION FROM DEVELOPING.

-5) GIVEN THE DANGERS DESCRIBED IN PARAGRAPH 4) IT
SEEMS IMPERATIVE TO PREVENT THIS EXTREMELY NEGATIVE
DEVELOPMENT, NEGATIVE FOR THE ORGANISATION, FOR ALL ITS
REMAINING MEMBERS AND FOR THE US, BECAUSE THE FIRST
WOULD BECOME IMPRISONED IN A QUASI-REFORM AND THE
LATTER MIGHT FIND IT IMPOSSIBLE TO REENTER THE ORGANI-
SATION ON THEIR OWN TERMS FOR MANY YEARS TO COME.

-6) THE ONLY WAY TO AVOID THAT SITUATION WOULD, AS
I SEE IT, BE A PARTIAL WITHDRAWAL BY THE US FROM
ITS PRESENT POSITION, I.E. A DEFERRAL OF THE DECISION
TO END ITS MEMBERSHIP BY ONE YEAR. THIS SHOULD ENABLE
THE US AND OTHERS TO ACTIVELY PUSH FOR REALLY FUNDAMEN-
TAL CHANGES IN THE ORGANISATION, TO BE APPROVED BY THE
23RD GENERAL CONFERENCE, A POSSIBILITY WHICH WOULD BE
CUT SHORT BY ITS DEPARTURE. IT WOULD KEEP PRESSURE
ON THE DG AND WOULD PREVENT HIM FROM POSING AS THE DE-
FENDER OF UNESCO'S INTEGRITY.

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-7) OBVIOUSLY ONE COULD HARDLY EXPECT THE US TO TAKE THIS STEP WITHOUT RECEIVING SOMETHING IN RETURN. ONE MIGHT THINK IN THIS CONTEXT OF A GESTURE FROM THE PART OF THE OTHER MEMBERS BY ACCEPTING THE IDEA OF A STAND-STILL ON THOSE ISSUES WHICH ENTAIL MOST OF EXISTING POLITICISATION, A SORT OF GENTLEMEN'S AGREEMENT BETWEEN (MAJORITIES OF) GEOGRAPHICAL GROUPS.

-8) ANOTHER SUPPORT FOR A CHANGE IN THE US ATTITUDE WOULD OF COURSE OCCUR IF THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT WOULD COME TO THE CONCLUSION THAT REFORMS OBTAINED DURING THIS YEAR WERE ON THE ONE HAND PROMISING, BUT ON THE

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OTHER HAND NOT SUFFICIENTLY SUBSTANTIAL IN ORDER TO ENABLE IT TO COMPLETELY WITHDRAW ITS NOTICE. WITH OTHER WORDS, IF THE UK TOO WOULD DEFER ITS DECISION BY ONE YEAR.

PARIS, MID-SEPTEMBER 1984." END TEXT

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SUMMARY TABLES

I. PROPOSED UNESCO ALTERNATIVES SECTOR DIVISIONS AND RECOMMENDED FUNDING RANGES (MILLIONS)

<u>Natural Science</u>	<u>Social Science</u>	<u>Education</u>	<u>Culture</u>	<u>Communications</u>	<u>Other</u>	<u>Info./Copyright</u>
13.01-13.61	.25 - 1	15.6-24.6	2.68-3.43	6.2 - 9.35	0.5	4.25 - 5

II. RECOMMENDED SECTOR FUNDING LEVELS TO TOTAL \$47 MILLION

<u>Natural Science</u>	<u>Social Science</u>	<u>Education</u>	<u>Culture</u>	<u>Communications</u>	<u>Other</u>	<u>Info./Copyright</u>
13.61	.25	15.79 (+5.15)*	3.00	9.35 (+2.95)**	--	5

III. APPROXIMATE SECTOR FUNDING LEVELS AT UNESCO RATIO USED IN 1984-85 BUDGET (revised)

<u>Natural Science</u>	<u>Social Science</u>	<u>Education</u>	<u>Culture</u>	<u>Communications</u>	<u>Info./Copyright/Other</u>
11.5	4.56	17.86	5.36	3.3	5

IV. CHANGES BASED ON RECOMMENDED SECTOR FUNDING LEVELS VS. APPROXIMATE UNESCO RATIOS

<u>Natural Science</u>	<u>Social Science</u>	<u>Education</u>	<u>Culture</u>	<u>Communications</u>	<u>Info./Copyright/Other</u>	<u>Funding level change</u>	<u>Percentage change</u>
+2.11	-4.31	-2.07 (+3.08)*	-2.36	+6.01 (+8.96)**		+2.51 -	
+18.35%	-94%	-11.6% (+17%)*	-44%	+180% (375%)**		+50%	-

* reflects education programs included in communication sector
 ** reflects communications programs included in education sector

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Proposed Alternative Funding Mechanisms

TOTALS

Chart I
(By International Scope)

<u>Multilateral</u>	\$12.76 (27.1%)
<u>Bilateral</u>	\$31.24 (66.5%)
<u>Regional</u>	\$3.0 (6.4%)

Proposed Alternative Funding Mechanisms

TOTALS

Chart II
(By Category of Implementor)

<u>U.S. Government Agencies</u>	\$31.69 (54.9%)*
<u>IO Organizations</u>	\$16.362 (28.3%)*
<u>Private Sector</u>	\$9.675 (16.8%)*

(*Based on total of Chart II only)

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Proposed Alternative Funding Mechanisms

Chart I
(By International Scope)

<u>(Education Sector)</u> \$15.79		
<u>Multilateral</u>		<u>Regional</u>
1. (voc + tech ed/ ILO/UNDP)	2.79 (illiteracy)	1. (voc + tech ed/OAS)
1. (Intl information networks)	1.8 (higher education)	.7 (higher education/OAS)
.65 (Education Fellows/ UNRWA)	1.75 (leadership training)	.8 (education/info network/OAS)
	1. (voc + tech ed)	
	.6 (teaching of science/math)	
	<u>2.7</u> (bilateral education)	
	10.64	2.5
2.65		

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Proposed Alternative Funding Mechanisms

Chart II
(By Category of Implementor)

<u>(Education Sector)</u>	<u>U.S. Government Agencies</u>	<u>IO Organizations</u>	<u>Private Sector</u>
AID 2.79 (illiteracy)	1. (voc + tech ed no ILO/UNDP)	CICHE	2.5 (higher education)
1.8 (higher education)	1. (voc + tech ed/ OAS)	CHIEF STATE SCHOOL OFFICERS	.5 (leadership training)
1.7 (bilateral education)		IIE	1. (leadership training)
DOE 2. (higher education)	1. (Intl info networks IBE/UNESCO)	INTL SPORTS COUNCIL	.25 (leadership training)
.5 (leadership training)	.65 (Education Fellows/ UNWRA)	OHIO STATE UNIV	1. (voc + tech ed)
1. (voc + tech ed)	.8 (Ed/info network/OAS)	UNIV OF MARYLAND	science and math)
.6 (teaching of science and math)	.7 (higher ed/OAS)		
USIA 1.25 (leadership training)			
1. (bilateral education)			
12.64	5.15		5.85

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Proposed Alternative Funding Mechanisms

Chart I
(By International Scope)

<u>(Natural Science Sector)</u>	<u>\$13.61</u>	<u>Bilateral</u>	<u>Regional</u>
<u>Multilateral</u>			
.85 (earth sciences)		1.15 (earth sciences)	.5 (marine resources)
.75 (water resources)		.25 (water resources)	
2.3 (ocean resources)		.4 (marine sciences)	
.9 (MAB)		1.1 (MAB)	
1.5 (natural sciences as disciplines)		.3 (natural sciences as disciplines)	
.1 (renewable energy)		.3 (informatics)	
.4 (Trieste Laboratory)		.1 (microbiology)	
		.7 (engineering sciences)	
		.75 (national science policies)	
		<u>1.25 (national capabilities)</u>	<u> </u>
6.8		6.3	.5

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Proposed Alternative Funding MechanismsChart II
(By Category of Implementor)

<u>(Natural Science Sector)</u>	<u>U.S. Government Agencies</u>	<u>IO Organizations</u>	<u>Private Sector</u>
	US GEOLOGICAL SURVEY 1.15 (earth sciences)	.85 (earth sciences IGCP/UNESCO)	
	.25 (water resources)	.75 (earth sciences IHD/UNESCO)	
NATIONAL SCIENCE FOUNDATION	.4 (marine sciences)	.5 (marine resources, OAS)	
	.3 (natural sciences as disciplines)	.9 (IOC/MAB)	
	.3 (informatics)	1.5 (natural sciences as disciplines/ICSU UNESCO)	
	.7 (engineering sciences)	.1 (microbiology MIRCENS/UNESCO)	
	.75 (national science policies)	.1 (renewable energy UN/UNDP)	
	1.25 (national capabilities)	.4 (Trieste lab IAEA)	
STATE DEPT	<u>1.1</u> (US MAB)	<u>2.312</u> (IOC/UNESCO)	
	6.2	7.412	

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Proposed Alternative Funding Mechanisms

Chart I
(By International Scope)

(Social Sciences Sector) \$.25

<u>Multilateral</u>	<u>Bilateral</u>	<u>Regional</u>
None	.25 (promotion of social sciences)	None

Proposed Alternative Funding Mechanisms

Chart II
(By Category of Implementor)

(Social Sciences Sector)

<u>U.S. Government Agencies</u>	<u>IO Organizations</u>	<u>Private Sector</u>
NSF .25 (promotion of social sciences)	None	None

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Proposed Alternative Funding Mechanisms

Chart I
(By International Scope)

<u>(Cultural Sector)</u> \$3.0		
<u>Multilateral</u>	<u>Bilateral</u>	<u>Regional</u>
1.35 (World Heritage Trust Fund)	.175 (private sector involvement)	None
.75 (Intl Center for Conservation in Rome)	.5 (arts, literature, crafts)	
_____	<u>.225 (training of cultural development)</u>	
2.1	0.9	

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Proposed Alternative Funding Mechanisms

Chart II
(By Category of Implementor)

<u>(Cultural Sector)</u>		<u>IO Organizations</u>		<u>Private Sector</u>	
<u>U.S. Government Agencies</u>					
STATE DEPT	.175 (private sector involvement)	1.35 (WHIT/UNESCO)	ADV CMTE ON HISTORIC PRESERVATION	.175 (private sector involvement)	
		.75 (ICCR)			
	.5 (arts, literature crafts)	.5 (ITI/WCC/IMC/IIA/UNESCO)			
NATL ENDOWMENT FOR THE ARTS	.225 (training of cultural development)				
	<hr/> 0.9	<hr/> 2.6		<hr/> .175	

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Proposed Alternative Funding Mechanisms

Chart I
(By International Scope)

<u>(Communications/Information Sector)</u>		\$9.35
<u>Multilateral</u>	<u>Bilateral</u>	<u>Regional</u>
.7 (IPDC bilateral projects)	2. (low-cost earth stations)	None
	.65 (telecommunications training)	
	.5 (LDC clearinghouse)	
	1. (private sector)	
	1.5 (journalist training)	
	3. (bilateral communications activities)	

	8.65	
_____	0.7	

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Proposed Alternative Funding MechanismsChart II
(By Category of Implementor)

<u>(Communications/Information Sector)</u>		<u>IO Organizations</u>	<u>Private Sector</u>
<u>U.S. Government Agencies</u>			
<u>STATE DEPT.</u>	2. (low-cost earth stations)	.7 (IPDC bilateral projects)	.65 (telecommunications training)
	1. (private sector cooperation)		1.5 (journalist training)
<u>AID</u>	.5 (LDC clearinghouse)		
	2. (bilateral communications activities)		
	.35 (IPDC)		
<u>USIA</u>	1.5 (journalist training)		
	1. (bilateral communications activities)		
	<u>.35 (IPDC)</u>		
	<u>8.7</u>	<u>0.7</u>	<u>2.15</u>

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Proposed Alternative Funding Mechanisms

Chart I
(By International Scope)

<u>(Other Programs)</u>	<u>\$5.0</u>	<u>Multilateral</u>	<u>Bilateral</u>	<u>Regional</u>
		.5 (international copyright)	1.3 (training of librarians/ info specialists)	None
			1. (national capabilities)	
			1. (international standards)	
			<u>1.2</u> (Third World infrastructures)	
			4.5	
		—		
		0.5		

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Proposed Alternative Funding Mechanisms

Chart II
(By Category of Implementor)

<u>(Other Programs)</u>	<u>U.S. Government Agencies</u>	<u>IO Organizations</u>	<u>Private Sector</u>
	US CMTE ON LIBRARIES	.5 (training of librarians) .1 (national capabilities)	INST INTL INFO PROGRAMS .5 (natl capabilities)
	NATL ARCHIVES	.3 (training of librarians) .1 (national capabilities)	NATL INFO STANDARDS ORG. 1.0 (intl standards)
	USIA	.5 (training of librarians) .1 (national capabilities) .6 (Third World infrastructures)	
	AID	.1 (national capabilities) .4 (Third World infrastructures)	
	NSF	.1 (national capabilities)	
	PEACE CORPS	.2 (Third World infrastructures)	
		<hr/> 3.0	<hr/> 1.5

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NATURAL SCIENCES SECTOR

<u>ACTIVITY</u>	<u>MAGNITUDE</u>	<u>MECHANISM</u>
1. Earth sciences and resources; natural hazards (Includes 80-nation International Geological Coordination Program, projects related to interdisciplinary studies of the earth's crust, data/mapping work, activities related to hazard assessment and risk mitigation)	\$2 million	Funds-in-trust to IGCP (\$850,000) Transfer of funds to US Geological Survey (\$1.15 million)
2. Water Resources (Implementation of 100-member International Hydrological Program which is concerned with water resource management in arid, semi-arid, and humid tropical regions)	\$1 million	Funds-in-trust to UNESCO to cover US share of costs (\$750,000) Transfer of funds to US Geological Survey (\$250,000)
3. Ocean and its resources (Support for the World Climate Research Program, Integrated Global Ocean Services System, International Ocean Data Exchange Program, studies of marine environment and continental margin, and research on coastal island systems under the Man and the Biosphere Program)	\$0.4 million	Transfer of funds to NSF PIPICO/USMAB (\$400,000) Marine Science Program

NATURAL SCIENCES SECTOR (Continued)

Page 2

<u>ACTIVITY</u>	<u>MAGNITUDE</u>	<u>MECHANISM</u>
<p>4. Strengthened US participation in the Intergovernmental Oceanographic Commission</p> <p>(Support for: the World Climate Research Program; Ocean Science and Living Resources Program which focuses on effects of ocean environment on the propagation, survival, and growth of living resources; International Oceanographic Data and Information Exchange Program; Integrated Global Ocean Services System Program which undertakes systematic measurements of ocean conditions; Global Investigation of Pollution in the Marine Environment Program which addresses problems of marine environmental quality; development and expansion of regional oceanographic program activities; international scientific advisory bodies; the General Bathymetric Chart of the Oceans Program which provides the basic framework for oceanographic data overlays)</p>	<p>\$2,312,000</p>	<p>Funds-in-trust to IOC</p> <p>Secondment of US personnel to specific IOC programs</p> <p>Grants to US institutions, organizations, and industry for scientific instrumentation and training for IDC scientists and technicians</p>

NATURAL SCIENCES SECTOR (Continued)

<u>ACTIVITY</u>	<u>MAGNITUDE</u>	<u>MECHANISM</u>
5. Marine resources development (To make the exploitation of marine resources into a major source of food, employment, and activity for undernourished people in the Caribbean and Latin America)	\$500,000	OAS
6. Man and the Biosphere Program (Support of the 105-nation MAB program which is concerned with integrated approaches to natural resource management in four areas: humid tropics, arid and semi-arid zones, urban systems, and conservation)	\$2 million	Funds-in-trust to MAB (\$900,000) Transfer of funds to OES/USMAB (1.1 million)
7. Global promotion of the natural sciences as disciplines (Support for research, training, and int'l cooperation in the physical and life sciences; NGOs working at the frontiers of science; and development of national infrastructures)	\$1.8 million	Grant to Int'l Council of Scientific Unions (\$1.5 million) Transfer of funds to NSF for additional related activities (\$300,000)

NATURAL SCIENCES SECTOR (Continued)

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<u>ACTIVITY</u>	<u>MAGNITUDE</u>	<u>MECHANISM</u>
8. Informatics, Applied Microbiology, and Renewable Energy (To contribute to the choice and formulation of strategies for the development of informatics and its applications and to promote access to the technology of micro-informatics; to encourage regional cooperation and training in the renewable sources of energy; and to contribute to the strengthening of the research and training activities of the microbiological resources center)	\$500,000	NSF for Informatics (\$300,000) MIRCENS and NSF for Applied Microbiology (\$100,000 each) UNDP for Renewable Energy (\$100,000)
9. Promotion of the engineering sciences (To focus on training and development of engineering curricula)	\$700,000	NSF to US engineering societies and universities for work with int'l and regional organizations

NATURAL SCIENCES SECTOR (Continued)

<u>ACTIVITY</u>	<u>MAGNITUDE</u>	<u>MECHANISM</u>
10. Promotion of the framing of national science and technology policies	\$750,000	Transfer of funds to NSF
11. Strengthening of national capabilities to manage and participate in multilateral scientific activities	\$1.25 million	Transfer of funds to NSF
12. Supports IAEA Laboratory Program in Trieste, Italy (replaces UNESCO funds -- U.S. portion)	\$400,000	IAEA

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SOCIAL SCIENCES SECTOR

MECHANISM

NSF

MAGNITUDE

\$ 250,000

ACTIVITY

1. Promotion of the social sciences as disciplines
(Preparation of inventories of national potential in research, training, and documentation in the social and human sciences, development of social science infrastructures, curriculum development, International Social Science Journal)

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EDUCATION SECTOR

MECHANISM

MAGNITUDE

ACTIVITY

<p>1. Support of efforts to eradicate illiteracy at the int'l level</p> <p>(To train trainers in literacy demonstration programs/ to establish an International Institute of Adult Education Methods to function as a clearinghouse and publish materials on programs for the development of adult functional literacy)</p>	<p>\$2.79 million</p>	<p>AID or others</p>
<p>2. Higher Education and Trainee Support</p> <p>Promotion of the development of higher education systems</p> <p>(To develop cooperative sisterhood relationships with selected foreign universities and colleges to improve training of potential leaders in government, int'l education, business and trade)</p> <p>Promotion of the development of higher education institutions and advanced scholarship</p> <p>(To sustain scholarship and institutional capacities beyond the initial project funding or graduate training fellowships to ensure that key departments and leading scholars stay current and maintain their professional relationships outside their countries, including linkages with U.S. institutions)</p> <p>Promotion of educational administrators in Latin America and the Caribbean</p> <p>(To support fellowships and technical assistance to increase the efficiency and effectiveness of educational services and to meet the requirements of a decentralized, regionalized administration)</p>	<p>\$2.5 million</p>	<p>Consortium for Int'l Cooperation in Higher Education thru AID</p> <p>AID</p> <p>OAS (\$700,000)</p>

EDUCATION SECTOR (Continued)

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<u>ACTIVITY</u>	<u>MAGNITUDE</u>	<u>MECHANISM</u>
3. Leadership Administration Training	\$1.75 million	
Planning for improved school administration and instruction		Council of Chief State School Officers thru DOE or AID (\$500,000)
(To provide technical assistance and training for national planning for decentralized control and financing of education and improvement of instruction thru establishment of sisterhood programs with LDCs)		
Training for educational leadership		Int'l Institute of Education (\$1 million)/ American Council on Int'l Sports (\$250,000) thru USIA
(To expand training and fellowship opportunities for educational leadership development to assist LDCs to develop physical education and sport by training coaches and trainers of trainers)		

EDUCATION SECTOR (Continued)

Page 3

<u>ACTIVITY</u>	<u>MAGNITUDE</u>	<u>MECHANISM</u>
4. Vocational and Technical Training	\$3 million	
Strengthening vocational and technical education to increase employment literacy)	(1 million)	Ohio State University through DOE or AID
(Contracts with appropriate universities and businesses to provide for cooperative planning, training, and development of infrastructures for school-business linkages in LDCs and relationships with business and education institutions in the US)		
Promotion of management development, vocational training, and vocational rehabilitation	(1 million)	ILO via UNDP
(Agricultural education, industrial manpower development, status of teachers in LDCs)		
Education for work	(0.5 million)	OAS
(To set up 50 basic workshops re sheet metal, mechanics, electricity, combustion engines in marginal rural areas)		
Specialization of artisanal skills	(0.5 million)	OAS
(To increase the marketability of the skills and products of marginalized populations in the Andean countries which have been largely omitted from national development planning)		

<u>ACTIVITY</u>	<u>MAGNITUDE</u>	<u>MECHANISM</u>
5. Clearinghouse/Network		
Teaching of science, mathematics, and technology	\$0.6 million	Int'l Clearinghouse on Science and Mathematics/ Univ. of Maryland thru DOE or AID
(To establish a computerized international network on science and mathematics education to conduct regional training seminars for science and mathematics trainers of trainers)		
Improvement and expansion of int'l information networks	\$1 million	Funds-in-trust to International Bureau of Education
(Funds-in-trust grant to the Int'l Bureau of Education in Geneva to develop an automated, electronic network for the exchange of information and a program of training personnel to administer and utilize the system)		
Latin American/Caribbean educational innovations Information systems network	\$0.8 million	OAS
(Coordination of existing subregional networks to classify, analyze and disseminate educational information on appropriate technology)		
6. Regional and Bilateral Education Activities		
Improvement in the efficiency of education To include: student exchanges, language programs, and professional linkages	\$2.7 million	AID/USIA
(Assistance to a consortium of leading American universities and education research institutions to provide planning, research, assessment, and technical assistance services to countries attempting major education expansion in the face of constrained budgets)		

EDUCATION SECTOR (Continued)

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MAGNITUDE

ACTIVITY

MAGNITUDE

MECHANISM

7. Educational programs for refugees
(replaces UNESCO funds in ongoing
high-priority programs - U.S. portion)

\$650,000

UNRWA

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CULTURAL SECTOR

<u>ACTIVITY</u>	<u>MAGNITUDE</u>	<u>MECHANISM</u>
1. Protection of internationally significant natural and historic properties (\$250,000 dues/\$1.1 million for endangered properties)	\$1.35 million	World Heritage Trust Fund
2. Preservation training programs and technical assistance (\$400,000 dues/\$350,000 research, training, technical assistance, regional activities, US coordination)	\$750,000	International Center for Conservation in Rome
3. Stimulation of private sector involvement engaged in int'l preservation (Support for increased activities of such int'l NGOs as ICOMOS, ICOM, and their US committees)	\$175,000	Department of State thru Advisory Committee on Historic Preservation
4. Promotion of arts, literature, and crafts (Training courses, research of documentary sources, organization of performances and meetings)	\$500,000	Int'l Theater Institute/ World Craft Council/Int'l Music Council/American Institute of Architects
5. Training of cultural development personnel (Evaluation of training methods, case studies, advisory services, development of information centers)	\$225,000	National Endowment for the Arts, Library of Congress, Smithsonian

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COMMUNICATIONS/INFORMATION MANAGEMENT SECTOR

<u>ACTIVITY</u>	<u>MAGNITUDE</u>	<u>MECHANISM</u>
1. Int'l Program for the Development of Communications bilateral projects for LDCs	\$700,000 (AID - \$350,000 USIA- \$350,000)	AID, USIA, UNESCO funds-in-trust
2. Low-cost earth stations capable of using present Intelsat satellites	\$2 million	T/CIP
3. Private Sector Joint Activities	\$3.65 million	
Telecommunications training - travel for professional training of Third World	(0.65 million)	U.S. Telecommunications Training Institute
Clearinghouse to provide LDCs with a central source of technical materials and guidance on communications, including a central information service and library	(0.5 million)	AID
Expansion of private sector cooperation in communications development, particularly re the establishment of a USG/private sector committee	(1 million)	IO
Journalist training - short-term courses and internships in existing university programs	(1.5 million)	USIA to American Academy for Educational Development

COMMUNICATIONS/INFORMATION MANAGEMENT SECTOR (Continued)

Page 2

<u>ACTIVITY</u>	<u>MAGNITUDE</u>	<u>MECHANISM</u>
4. Bilateral communications activities	\$3 million	
Technical language training - 52 segment TV/radio program teaching technical English		USIA
Comprehensive bilateral communications/cultural/education in selected LDCs built around strengthening communications to support educational, cultural, economic, and health goals		USIA/AID
Expansion of radio/TV broadcasting for rural education, building on AID's successful pilot projects in health, agriculture, and education using broadcasting as a basic tool for development information and training		AID

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OTHER UNESCO PROGRAMS OF PRIORITY INTEREST TO THE US

<u>ACTIVITY</u>	<u>MAGNITUDE</u>	<u>MECHANISM</u>
I. <u>General Information Program</u>		
1. Support for training of librarians, information specialists, and information managers from Third World countries	\$1.3 million	Transfer of funds to: US Cmte on Libraries and Library Sciences (\$500,000) National Archives and Record Service (\$300,000) USIA (\$500,000)
2. Strengthening of national capabilities to coordinate and manage US participation in international programs re library and information science, archives, documentation, and scientific and technological information	\$1 million	Grant to: Institute for International Information Programs (\$500,000) Transfer of funds to: USIA, AID, Nat'l Archives and Record Service, NSF, and US Nat'l Cmte on Libraries and Library Services (\$100,000 each)
3. Promotion of international standards and agreements compatible with US computers, telecommunications systems, and information products and service	\$1 million	Grant to: National Information Standards Organization

OTHER UNESCO PROGRAMS OF PRIORITY INTEREST TO THE US

Page 2

<u>ACTIVITY</u>	<u>MAGNITUDE</u>	<u>MECHANISM</u>
4. Development of Third World national and regional library/information/archives infrastructures	\$1.2 million	Transfer of funds to: USIA (\$600,000) AID (\$400,000) Peace Corps (\$200,000)
<u>II. International Copyright Program</u>		
5. Promotion of international instruments on copyright and neighboring rights; training; development of infrastructures; and promotion of access to protected works relating to copyright	\$500,000	Funds-in-trust to the Intergovernmental Cmte of the Universal Copyright Convention

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