

MASSACHUSETTS INSTITUTE OF TECHNOLOGY

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CAMBRIDGE, MASS. 02139

October 2, 1973

PERSONAL

Hon. Henry A. Kissinger  
Secretary of State  
Washington, D.C.

Dear Henry:

I suppose there is even less chance now that you will read your mail, and I really cannot blame you. Just in case, however, I do want you to know that I am proud to be a Kissinger supporter out in the great academic wasteland, and I congratulate you on your exalted position. You may not be able to do more there; but you surely deserve it.

Your speech before the UN General Assembly disappointed me, and before you say, "But you were always the one who wanted more attention paid to the UN", which is true, let me tell you why.

First of all, I was delighted that you offered to have us move a bit on the peacekeeping position. I don't know if you were even shown the letter I wrote you on behalf of Charlie Yost, Marshall Shulman and myself when we returned from Moscow last April, urging that the peacekeeping question be elevated to summit-level consideration simply to get it off the dime, where it had rested in both middle-level bureaucracies for three years. Whether we were ultimately helpful or not, your new move was just right.

My disappointment arises because, of all the audiences and institutions in the world, it is most of all the UN that needs precisely the incisive, candid analysis which in my view represents the essential HAK. Nothing could be more conducive to the improved world order you have occasionally spoken of than the infusion, in that depressed, mystique-ridden milieu, of the kind of penetrating realism you do best, but realism in the service of community-building. The UN desperately needs to be told that power, after all, remains the coin of the international realm, in the same breath as it is also told that reform of the institution and its premises is long overdue. It needs to be told what the superpowers are prepared to transfer from the high table to the communal table and what they are not. It needs to be told what the price will be for accepting majoritarian policy actions by others. Instead, American leaders invariably succumb to the temptation to treat the UN as they treat the VFW, the AFL-CIO, or the Farm Bureau -- i.e., telling them what it is believed they want to hear. Forgive my bluntness, but I feel there is finally a chance to combine realism with community-building, if you will accept the linkage.

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Page two

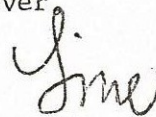
It is my strong conviction that if we ever become serious about moving from the rhetorical to the action plane in a genuine quest for improved multilateral action mechanisms, those home truths no longer be evaded, and on them one might at last begin to rebuild the needed platform for meaningful - as opposed to verbal - progress.

My own ideas are not necessarily the best ones. I do however have at least two thoughts that seek to apply distilled historical experience to the disaster area that is today's world organization: One proposal is a new version of weighted voting - agreed to be essential, but hitherto disabled by the unrealistic requirement for surrender by the numerical majority, a requirement that has doomed previous plans. As you will see, my idea is to act unilaterally. The second idea is a decisive step forward in specific sectors by various and shifting "Coalitions of the Willing", formed ad hoc within the UN rather than outside (which has been the favored postwar solution).

The "Unilateral Weighted Voting" proposal and the "Coalitions" scheme were first summarized in the attached Op Ed article in the New York Times. I elaborated on both in the published hearings of the House Foreign Affairs Subcommittee on International Organizations and Movements in 1971, and if anyone got serious about pursuing them or other infusions of Constructive Realism into the Never-Never-land of the political UN, not only I but others would, I am sure, be honored to help flesh them out.

Good luck.

As ever



Lincoln P. Bloomfield

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Enclosure