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INSIDE WASHINGTON

Moderator: Gordon Peterson. **Panel:** Charles Krauthammer, Carl Rowan, Strobe Talbott, Elizabeth Drew.

On the Thomas nomination:

Talbott: [The Democrats] have made him dodge and weave in a way that didn't look that good.

Krauthammer: I don't think they laid a glove on him, but that's because he rolled over for them in the first round. He repudiated almost every original political thought he ever had. He presented himself as a blank slate, and that's how he's going to approved....

Rowan: Maybe he wasn't rolling over. Sen. Heflin raised the question about his integrity -- maybe he's lying about some things.

Drew: As predicted here, he adjusted and modified and jettisoned inconvenient views.... We don't know what he thinks.

Krauthammer: ...Those of us who are prepared to support him are rather embarrassed, because he back-tracked on just about everything he had said originally in the past....

Talbott: ...This is a process that really requires a nominee -- whether you agree with his views or not -- to dodge and weave, if not dissemble, then at least distance himself as much as possible from anything controversial that he may ever have said....

Drew: ...I understand the dodging on the abortion question.... My problem with Thomas all along has not been that he's conservative.... It's been a lurking feeling that he's an unsettled person. He's a young man who's held a lot of views and made a lot of speeches. There are a lot of inconsistencies in what he has said. And you want whoever goes on the Supreme Court to kind of have a center, and I don't know where this man is.

Krauthammer: One of the reasons that we don't know who he is...it's really a question of this ridiculous process....

Drew: ...The strategy seems to have worked. He has not said things that are going to cause great uproars against him....

Talbott: The context in which he has been able to get away with this is itself disturbing. That is, the philosophy or the notion of what kind of temperament is required...is very dubious.... He has basically said that sitting on that particular bench, he must have total, pure impartiality. In order to achieve that sublime impartiality, he has to strip away from his mind, his life experience, anything that might constitute some sort of prejudgment on the big issues of our times. I find that just absolutely ridiculous. I want people on the Supreme Court who are filled with strong convictions and have done a lot of thinking....

Germond: The politics is on both sides. President Bush didn't pick this guy because he thinks he's got an open mind on abortion. He picked him because he's against abortion.... I don't think Biden is leaning [against Thomas]. I think Biden is a genuine swing vote, and I think [Thomas] will get at least three of the four swing votes....

On the Gates nomination:

Barnes: ...I think Robert Gates is in actually very strong shape. There's no smoking gun, and he might even be confirmed before Thomas....

On Israel and loan guarantees:

Barnes: ...The biggest issue there is the \$10 billion loan guarantee for Israel. I think Bush made a tremendous mistake in raising this issue, throwing a tantrum at his press conference.... The worst thing that can happen for Israel is to beat Bush on this, because they will have a permanent enemy. I think they need to back off and so does Bush.

Germond: ...As in the civil-rights bill, Bush again has got the iron side politically, because all the polling data shows real antipathy to any kind of foreign aid....

Kondracke: The reason that Bush threw his tantrum was that he had spent the entire week on the telephone, calling up senators trying to get them to do what he wanted them to do, and he couldn't get anybody.... The way this going to be handled is a compromise, whereby the Senate will show that there are something like 70 senators who want this to be done and it will be in January....

Buchanan: They're going to give in easily because Bush did exactly the right thing. He cannot win an inside game with [the Israel lobby] on the Hill. You've got to go public and high and go to the country.... Of course he's going to win it.

PREDICTIONS

Buchanan: There'll be one more Democrat before the field is filled out: Dave McCurdy.

Barnes: Because of Bush's irrational hard line against Israel, American-Israeli relations will sink to their worst level in more than a decade.

Germond: There will be at least one other black candidate running, and not necessarily Jesse Jackson.

Kondracke: There's going to be a massive relief effort for the Soviet Union, conducted by buying the grain from Poland and shipping it to the Soviet Union, helping out both countries.

McLaughlin: The UN resolution which said Zionism is the same as racism will be repealed this year, thanks largely to the efforts of the U.S. State Department.

Essay

WILLIAM SAFIRE

Bush at the U.N.

WASHINGTON

The moment has come for the President of the United States to step up to his obligation to form and articulate American foreign policy in the wake of the death of Communism and the breakup of the Soviet Union. The forum is the U.N. session opening this week in New York.

The need for a substantive speech, now scheduled for Monday Sept. 23, is all the more pressing because his last attempt, — his dismaying "Chicken Kiev" speech in Ukraine on Aug. 1 — betrayed a misconceptual framework. That was the first address by a U.S. President that had to be followed by an op-ed article by his national security adviser to explain that what he said was not what he meant.

It came with ill grace for Mr. Bush to implicitly derogate his Presidential predecessors from Truman to Reagan, who waged and won the cold war, for having engaged Soviet leaders "in duels of eloquent bluff and bravado."

Worse was his dire warning to the peoples of Ukraine, the Baltics and other republics seeking independence from central Moscow rule that "Americans will not support those who seek independence in order to replace a far-off tyranny with a local despotism. They will not aid those who promote a suicidal nationalism based upon ethnic hatred."

That was to shore up the Gorbachev Communist centralizers against the likes of the Yeltsin separatists. Though Brent Scowcroft later insisted no pro-union purpose was intended, the plain truth was emphasized in another line: "America's first system of government — the Continental Congress — failed because the states were too suspicious of one another and the central government too weak to protect commerce and individual rights."

Came the putsch and its counter-coup, and the restive republics scrapped the centralism to create just the sort of loose articles of confederation Mr. Bush had instructed them were such a failure in our experience.

Small wonder Secretary of State Baker received such a lukewarm reception in the Baltic republics the other day. (The U.S., shamefully, was 39th to recognize their freedom, just after Mongolia.) The people knew their independence came despite the Bush Administration's historically wrong-headed support of Moscow central.

O.K., so the Bush foreign policy zigged while the world zagged, and the U.S. found itself sadly mispositioned on the central issue of our

time. That was last month. This is now; time to abandon the old New World Order based on a Gemini hegemony and to set forward the new New World Order based on a high-flying eagle and a multipolar bear.

Can President Bush come up with a conceptual framework in the short time remaining? Yes, if he stops his frenetic travel and lectern-pounding to focus on his U.N. speech.

For openers, quote President Benjamin Harrison, who said in 1888: "We have no commission from God to police the world." Propose to intervene only to protect vital interests, as when an aggressor builds or buys nuclear weaponry. Invite world par-

Moment for his big speech.

ticipation in our space shield to safeguard everyone from nuclear blackmail or accidental missile launch.

State our intent to increase the momentum for freedom around the world, helping those who root out the Communists still lying in the weeds, creating financial magnets and laws to attract free-enterprise investments. Promise to use our economic retaliatory power to break tariff barriers and crush cartels.

Show how we will provide humanitarian aid in the spirit of our past generosity, expecting our prosperous trading partners to do the same, remembering that help toward self-help is the best help — no Marshall Plans or grandiose designs, especially when assets are wasted on standing armies and legions of spies.

A week is plenty of time to create the "Bush Doctrine." No State Department Pablum; no 15-minute package claiming leadership without being leaderly; no historic mistakes that call for op-ed clarification.

Take yellow pad in hand, Mr. President, and show how America intends to participate in, rather than continue to observe, the sweep of history in the run-up to the millennium. By rising to this intellectual challenge, you will earn the world's attention at your next great forum, in Hawaii three months from now: aboard the battleship Missouri on the 50th anniversary of the attack on Pearl Harbor. □

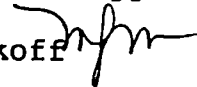
UNITED STATES ARMS CONTROL AND DISARMAMENT AGENCY

Washington, D.C. 20451

OFFICE OF
THE DIRECTOR

September 11, 1991

MEMORANDUM

TO: The White House - Joseph P. Duggan
FROM: ACDA/D/PPG - Michele Markoff 
SUBJECT: Arms Control Themes for the President's UNGA Speech

I told you just before you left Policy Planning for the Speechwriters' office that I would be calling on you. As promised, attached are the arms control themes for the President's September 23 speech to the United Nations General Assembly. The themes have been sent through Executive Secretary channels, but I wanted to give you a heads up.

Attachment:
As stated

Arms Control Themes for President's
UNGA Speech, September 23

-- Arms control in a real sense is at a crossroads. We have achieved landmark success with the START and CFE Treaties and look forward to their early entry into force. At the same time, the recent extraordinary developments in international affairs have demonstrated the urgency of limiting arms, especially weapons of mass destruction. These developments have opened up new opportunities for global arms control progress.

-- The United States calls on every nation participating in the Conference on Disarmament negotiations in Geneva to join it in accelerating the negotiating process to conclude a Chemical Weapons Convention which would institute a comprehensive, verifiable global ban on such weapons. Completing negotiation of a Chemical Weapons Convention needs to rank as one of the highest priorities today for the world community.

-- The United Nations is a proper place to talk of what can and needs to be done.

-- The prominence of non-proliferation as an issue of vital national security has grown recently as a result of the Gulf War and what we have learned about Iraq's programs to obtain nuclear, chemical and biological weapons and ballistic missiles. When aggressive and ambitious leaders such as Saddam Hussein acquire weapons of mass destruction, they threaten us all.

-- In the international environment now emerging, arms control increasingly should focus on regional tensions, including confidence-building measures that increase stability and transparency, and agreements that reduce proliferation.

-- The Non-Proliferation Treaty has served for over twenty years as a bulwark against the spread of nuclear weapons. We all must work for universal adherence to it and compliance with it and to gain its indefinite extension at the 1995 NPT conference.

-- In Geneva, a review conference for the Biological Weapons Convention is underway. We need to strengthen the Convention and make universal adherence to it a priority. We must remain vigilant that states are in compliance with its provisions, as we must for all arms control agreements.

-- The United States also calls on the world community to support its initiative for arms control in the Middle East. The U.S. proposal for voluntary cutbacks in conventional weapons sales, a freeze on nuclear weapons programs, and a ban on all ground-to-ground missiles is ambitious, but achievable.

-- Today marks the thirtieth anniversary of the legislation creating the U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency. ACDA remains the only government agency in the world specifically devoted to pursuing arms control and symbolizes the high priority that the United States has placed on developing, negotiating and implementing sound arms control and non-proliferation policies and agreements.

-- Our traditional East-West arms control agenda is not finished. Indeed, arms control between East and West continues to be highly relevant. We look forward to further achievements in this area, including agreements which further enhance strategic stability and establish an appropriate relationship between offense and defense. But as the world has become more complex, the objectives of arms control have necessarily expanded.

-- We know from our long experience in the United States that sound arms control agreements that benefit everyone are possible, but enormous effort, patience and good will on all sides are required to achieve equitable and effective agreements. Arms control will be an invaluable tool for promoting stability and building a new future. The United States has, with a number of other nations, already achieved great success. The time has come for other nations, particularly those in troubled regions, to take steps to match that success.

Drafted by:D/PPG:MHerlihy ~~MH~~
9/11/91:647-1085
PPG 316

Clearance:

VI - FEimer

NP - NWulf

SNA - SKoch

PA - BDaniel

GC - TGraham

MA - PCorden/WStaples/JPickford

MH
SV

MEMO



To: Karen Czarnecki
From: Chris Gacek
Date: 12 September 1991
Subject: President Bush's speech to the U.N. (23 September 91).
(Backgrounder 851 is attached.)

These two points should be addressed in President Bush's speech to the United Nations General Assembly:

(1) Repealing the "Zionism is Racism" Resolution: The President should take the opportunity to announce that the United States will support an effort to repeal Resolution 3379 of November 10, 1975. He should state that repeal of Resolution 3379 is in the interest of the U.N. for the following reasons:

a) The resolution disqualifies the U.N. as a mediator in the Arab-Israeli conflict. Israel is aware of the pervasive, anti-Jewish bias at the U.N. There is no chance that Israel will trust the U.N. as an active participant in the peace process unless Resolution 3379 is repealed.

b) Jewish nationalism, as expressed in Zionism, is as legitimate as any other form of nationalism.

c) The place of the U.N. in any post-Cold War international order is jeopardized by the continued support which the U.N. lends to this measure. How can the international organization pledged to protect the rights of sovereign states be taken seriously when it supports virulent anti-Semitism? Repeal of this resolution will tell us a great deal about the viability of the U.N. as the 21st Century approaches.

(2) The reality of the economic calamity that faces the Soviet Union and its former satellites must be recognized. The United Nations must understand that centrally planned economies in which men and women become the servants of the state are economically disastrous. Free market economies must developed in all nations, and U.N. policies must begin to reflect this. Only by making this realization and by pursuing economic growth as the vehicle to end poverty can the U.N. become a much-needed engine for economic development.

A United Nations Assessment Project Study

September 12, 1991

REMOVING THE STAIN OF THE UNITED NATIONS' "ZIONISM IS RACISM" RESOLUTION

INTRODUCTION

One of the worst stains on the reputation of the United Nations is the General Assembly's 1975 vote to adopt Resolution 3379 condemning Zionism as a form of racism. While championing so-called national liberation movements throughout the Third World, the U.N. not only singled out the Jewish nationalist movement for criticism, but in a perversion of history, falsely accused Israel of inflicting on others the same kind of injustice—racism—from which Jews have suffered for centuries.

Since its passage over fifteen years ago, the "Zionism is Racism" resolution has been an obstacle to every argument that attempts to portray the U.N. in a favorable light. And since its passage, no attempt has been made to repeal the resolution. It is now time to do so.

With the Cold War over and the U.N. supposedly moving into an era of greater global cooperation, the time has come for the U.N. to demonstrate its commitment to promoting better understanding among all its members, including Israel. Resolution 3379, therefore, should be repealed when the General Assembly convenes its 46th session next week in Manhattan.

There are three reasons why the U.N. should want to repeal Resolution 3379.

Reason #1: Repeal would make the U.N. more effective. Resolution 3379 disqualifies the U.N., for example, as a mediator in the Arab-Israeli conflict. Israel is well aware of the pervasive, anti-Israeli bias at the U.N. There is no chance that Israel will trust the U.N. as an active participant in the peace process unless Resolution 3379 is repealed.

Reason #2: Jewish nationalism, as expressed in Zionism, is as legitimate as any other nationalism. The U.N. long has championed so-called national liberation movements throughout the world. In fact, the U.N. in 1947 supported the birth of Israel. Why, therefore, should the Zionist brand of nationalism be singled out for criticism?

Reason #3: The U.N.'s slandering of Israel has not only hampered the prospects for a Middle East settlement, it has harmed Israel's Arab and Third World critics. The U.N.'s isolation of Israel has made the U.N. largely irrelevant for resolving the Arab-Israeli conflict. Arab countries moreover, have not profited from abusing Israel at the U.N.

The United States should take the lead in repealing the "Zionism is Racism" resolution because repeal is in the U.S. interest. Repealing Resolution 3379 would remove an obstacle to Middle East peace and would strengthen Israel, an important U.S. ally.

U.S. Permanent Representative at the U.N. Thomas R. Pickering and U.S. Assistant Secretary of State for International Organization Affairs John R. Bolton should devise a strategy and launch a campaign to repeal Resolution 3379. They should:

- ♦ ♦ **Inform the Israeli government that America will seek the repeal of Resolution 3379 in this fall's U.N. General Assembly session.** Notification of the impending U.S. decision will give the Israeli government time to plan for the repeal debate.

- ♦ ♦ **Announce that America is prepared to push for repeal in this and every successive General Assembly session until repeal succeeds.** This is critical if the resolution is to be repealed. The reason: it puts nations on notice that voting against the U.S. on this matter will expose them to political pressure, and possibly reduction of economic assistance in some cases. The announcement should be given a high profile. An appropriate forum might be George Bush's September 24 address to the General Assembly.

- ♦ ♦ **Announce that the U.S. will veto the candidacy of any eventual replacement for Javier Perez de Cuellar as Secretary General of the U.N. unless the candidate supports repeal of Resolution 3379.** This would impose an enormous penalty on defenders of Resolution 3379 and, conversely, would reward enormously those who oppose the resolution.

- ♦ ♦ **Announce that repeal of Resolution 3379 is a condition for U.S. support for a U.N. role in a Middle East peace process.** Whatever the outcome of Secretary of State James Baker's Middle East peace efforts, the U.N. will not be able to play a key role so long as it brands Israel a racist state.

A First Step: De Facto Repeal. A head count conducted last year by the U.S. found that a General Assembly vote on repeal of Resolution 3379 would be very close. Still, a vote to repeal this fall may not carry. But even if repeal cannot be achieved this fall, Resolution 3379 could be nullified *de facto* by a resolution that rejects the conclusions of Resolution 3379 without explicitly rescinding it. This would give some nations the face-saving ability to remove the stain of Resolution 3379 without having to admit that they made a mistake in 1975.

Such a *de facto* repeal may appeal to Moscow. Thus the Soviet Union might cooperate with the U.S. at the U.N. on this issue, as it did before and during the Persian Gulf war. Soviet Foreign Ministry officials told The Heritage Foundation in Moscow in October 1990 that the Soviet Union would consider moves overturning Resolution 3379 through "indirect methods" that would avoid humiliating Moscow's Arab allies. One "indirect method" would be for the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. to sponsor a joint resolution in the General Assembly stating:

The General Assembly, recalling and recognizing the continuing validity of its Resolution 1904 (XVIII) of November 1963, proclaiming the United Nations Declaration on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination, which justifiably condemned all forms of "racial discrimination," recalling further its resolution 3379 of 10 November 1975, states categorically that Zionism is not a threat to world peace and security, and recognizes that Zionism is not a form of racism or racial discrimination.

A resolution constructed along these lines effectively would overturn the anti-Zionist passages of Resolution 3379 without actually repealing the resolution. Several years later, Resolution 3379 actually could be repealed. There is no doubt, of course, that repeal is the ultimate goal. Intermediate steps, however, may be needed to get there. The U.S. must declare that it will oppose any substitute measure that indirectly or directly criticizes Israel or Zionism.

Given the upheaval in the Soviet Union following the failed August 19 coup, a Soviet foreign policy influenced by Boris Yeltsin and other Democrats may be amenable to support efforts for direct appeal. If that is the case an attempt to obtain the *de facto* will not be needed.

THE ORIGINS OF ANTI-ZIONISM IN THE U.N.

The "Zionism is Racism" resolution was approved by a U.N. that differed greatly from the body that first met in 1945. When the U.N. Charter came into force on October 24, 1945, there were only 51 countries in the U.N. On November 10, 1975, when Resolution 3379 was passed, the U.N. was made up of 142 nations. With this increase in membership came greater influence from the Third World. Of the 51 original U.N. members, 39 were from Europe and the Western Hemisphere; only ten were from Asia and the Pacific and four from Africa. Today, there are 52 African and 41 Asian countries in the U.N.¹ Scores of new nations transformed the U.N. from a Western institution with European roots into one in which Third World nations dominated General Assembly proceedings by sheer numbers of votes and aggressively pressed grievances and claims against the very founders of the U.N., the Western states.

1 "Notes for Speakers," United Nations Department of Public Information, September 1990, p. 45.

Changed Character. These new Third World countries, growing in number and voting strength, typically were represented at the U.N. by radical intellectuals who flirted with Marxism and above all, hated the West. Their growing numbers changed the character of the U.N. Increasingly in the late 1960s and early 1970s, the U.N. stridently denounced the capitalist exploitation of the colonial world by the West, and proposed socialist policies for the economic development of the Third World.

By the mid-1970s the hostility of the U.N. General Assembly toward Western political thought, economic institutions and culture reached new heights as countries from Africa, Asia, and the Middle East joined forces with the Soviet Union to obtain a voting majority in the General Assembly.² Many Third World countries were highly critical of America. Among the most anti-American were Cuba, India, and Uganda. They accused the U.S. of being "imperialistic." American-based multinational corporations were called "exploitive." The American political system was denounced as "racist." Historian Paul Johnson, the author of *Modern Times*, observed in 1983: "...in 1974 the U.N. adopted a 'Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of States' which condemned the workings of Western economies. The 1974 U.N. World Population Conference was a prolonged attack on U.S. selfishness. The 1974 U.N. World Food Conference denounced America and other states, the only ones to actually produce food surpluses."³

It was such attitudes that prompted Daniel Patrick Moynihan, the U.S. Ambassador at the U.N. from July 1975 to March 1976, to say that now: "Most of the world believes... in philosophies that do not accept the individual as distinct from and prior to the State, in philosophies that, therefore, do not provide any justification for the idea of human rights...."⁴

Taking on Israel. Anti-American attitudes in the U.N. soon focused on America's ally, Israel. There were three reasons for this: 1) Israel could be attacked as an American ally to vent rage at America; 2) as anti-Israeli Arab states gained more prominence in the U.N. as allies of the Soviet Union and Third World nations, and because of their mounting oil wealth, they stirred up the General Assembly against Israel; and 3) anti-Semitism in Arab nations, Third World countries like Uganda, and in the Soviet Union partly motivated U.N. hostility toward Israel.

The U.N. has not always been hostile to Israel. In fact, it was U.N. General Assembly Resolution 181 passed on November 29, 1947, with pressure from Harry Truman, that recognized a new plan for the partition of Palestine. Soon thereafter Israel's existence as a state was proclaimed by David Ben-Gurion on May 14, 1948.⁵

2 Paul Johnson, *Modern Times: The World from the Twenties to the Eighties* (New York: Harper & Row, 1983), p. 536.

3 *Ibid*, p. 691.

4 Daniel Patrick Moynihan with Suzana Weaver, *A Dangerous Place* (Boston: Atlantic Monthly Press/Little, Brown, and Co., 1975), p. 199. From his statement after the United Nations General Assembly vote on Resolution 3379 on November 10, 1975.

5 Paul Johnson, *A History of the Jews* (New York: Harper and Row, 1987), pp. 525-6.

This benign attitude toward Israel began to change in the late 1960s. At that time the Palestine Liberation Organization, and Syria and other Arab states began to gain Third World support for a campaign to isolate Israel in the U.N. The U.N. General Assembly adopted on December 10, 1969, Resolution 2535B, which charged that the "Palestine Arab Refugees" in Israel were being denied the "inalienable rights" guaranteed them by the U.N. Charter and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.⁶

Soviet Involvement. The Soviet Union played an important role in forming the anti-Zionist bloc in the U.N. The first official Soviet anti-Israel move at the U.N. was in November 1965. In a move designed to curry favor with the Arab states, the Soviets attempted to amend the Declaration on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination, which had been passed in November 1963 and which observed that "any doctrine of racial differentiation or superiority is scientifically false, morally condemnable, socially unjust and dangerous." The Soviet-sponsored amendment stated:

States Parties condemn anti-Semitism, Zionism, Nazism, neo-Nazism, and all other forms of the policy and ideology of colonialism, national and race hatred and exclusiveness and shall take action as appropriate for the speedy eradication of those inhuman ideas and practices in the territories subject to their jurisdiction.

While the U.S.S.R. condemned anti-Semitism in this amendment, it also equated Zionism with "race hatred." An important point had been made: Zionism was linked with Nazism and other forms of fascist and racist ideologies condemned by communist and other left-wing governments in the Third World.

The political atmosphere in the General Assembly during the early and mid-1970s reflected the hostility toward the U.S. and the West. The twenty-ninth General Assembly, in 1974, was chaired by an Algerian radical, Abdelaziz Bouteflika whom Moynihan characterized as a "master of symbolic defiance and protracted insult."⁷ Even though he was no longer in charge of the General Assembly when Resolution 3379 passed in 1975, Bouteflika personified the politics of the General Assembly in which underdeveloped nations angrily blamed their poverty on the U.S. and the developed nations of the West. Bouteflika and his Third World allies were publicly deferential toward totalitarian states like the Soviet Union, which seemed to them to represent the wave of the future as Soviet expansionism appeared unchecked.

Increasingly Anti-Western. The U.N. bias against the Western principles of free markets and economic and political freedom deepened in 1974. The General Assembly approved on May 1, 1974, the "Declaration and Program of Action on the Establishment of a New International Economic Order." It proclaimed "the establishment of a new international economic order based on equity, sovereignty, interdependence, common interest and co-operation among states." The New International Economic Order

6 Jeane J. Kirkpatrick, "How the PLO Was Legitimized?" *Commentary*, July 1989, p. 25.

7 Moynihan and Weaver, *op. cit.* p. 174.

8 *Ibid.*, p. 134.

(NIEO) embodied the Third World claims that the rich nations of the "North" dominated the impoverished nations of the "South." The NIEO was an attempt to redirect the wealth of the world toward the South through international political bodies like the U.N. Later that year, in December, the General Assembly adopted the "Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of States."⁹ According to *Basic Facts about the United Nations*, this charter "stipulates that every state has the right to exercise full permanent sovereignty over its wealth and natural resources, to regulate foreign investments within its national jurisdiction, and to nationalize, expropriate or transfer the ownership of foreign property...." Thus the U.N. was endorsing the idea that the rights of the state were more important than those of property and the individual. Finally, also in 1974, the Centre for Transnational Corporations was established as part of the movement by radicalized developing nations to exert pressure on international markets and the business practices of multinational corporations. Essential to the Centre's agenda was the imposition of state-enforced regulations on commerce and the flow of capital.¹⁰

The U.S. exhibited little energy in combating these anti-Western actions. It was reeling from the Vietnam War, Watergate, the first OPEC oil increases, heightened tensions in the Middle East, and Soviet expansionism in the Third World. John Scali, the U.S. ambassador to the U.N. from 1973 to 1975, performed with great distinction, but he was not as verbally combative as his successors, Daniel Patrick Moynihan and Jeane Kirkpatrick.

Moscow's Embarrassment. After the 1967 War, when Israel trounced Arab countries whose military had been trained and supplied by the U.S.S.R., Moscow began to describe Zionism as "anti-Soviet and racist."¹¹ This turn against Israel was motivated by a combination of domestic and foreign policy considerations. The U.S.S.R.'s Jewish population wished to escape religious repression in the Soviet Union and immigrate to Israel and the West. This was an enormous embarrassment for a country that claimed to be a worker's paradise and a multinational state in which racism and repression had been eliminated. Further, the Soviet Union hoped to gain a strategic foothold in the Middle East by courting the Arab states. Since the time of the Czars, Moscow had wanted to expand its influence in the Middle East to gain access for its Navy to the warm waters of the Mediterranean Sea and to consolidate its hold on its own Islamic peoples.

This anti-Western and anti-Israeli atmosphere at the U.N. was in full blossom when the General Assembly, on November 13, 1974, exuberantly welcomed to its podium PLO leader Yasser Arafat. With a gun-holster at his side, he told an enthusiastically receptive audience:

9 *Basic Facts about the United Nations* (New York, June 1987), p. 71.

10 Economic and Social Council resolution 1913 (LVII) of 1974. See E/5500/Rev. 1, ST/ESA/6, 1974.

11 Moynihan and Weaver, *op. cit.*, p. 170.

Zionism is an ideology that is imperialist, colonialist, racist; it is united with anti-Semitism in its retrograde tenets and is, when all is said and done, another side of the same base coin.¹²

It was not long before other Third World leaders jumped into the fray to denounce Zionism and the U.S. In an October 1, 1975, speech before the General Assembly, Ugandan dictator Idi Amin claimed that the "United States of America had been colonized by Zionists," that American Zionists "own virtually all the banking institutions, the major manufacturing and processing industries and the major means of communication," and that the Central Intelligence Agency had become a danger to the world because of Zionist infiltration.¹³ He ended his speech by demanding "the expulsion of Israel from the United Nations and the extinction of Israel as a State, so that the territorial integrity of Palestine may be ensured and upheld."

Historian Paul Johnson records that, "The following day the U.N. Secretary-General and the President of the General Assembly gave a public dinner in Amin's honor."¹⁴

THE PASSAGE OF THE "ZIONISM IS RACISM" RESOLUTION

The road to Resolution 3379 began in December 1973 when the African nation of Burundi amended a resolution condemning South Africa. One Burundi-sponsored amendment denounced "in particular, the unholy alliance between Portuguese colonialism, South African racism, Zionism and Israeli imperialism."¹⁵ The resolution passed by 88 for, 7 against, and 28 abstaining.¹⁶ Two years later, in summer 1975 in Mexico City, the first U.N. conference on women's rights linked Zionism with colonialism and declared that the achievement of international cooperation and peace required the elimination of hostile ideologies like apartheid and Zionism.¹⁷ That summer, too, the Organization of African Unity met in Kampala, Uganda, and condemned Israel as the "racist regime in occupied Palestine" which shared "a common imperialist origin" and racist structure with Rhodesia and South Africa.

The criticism of Israel continued as the Non-Aligned Movement—more than 100 nations, ostensibly committed to neither East nor West, which typically take anti-U.S. and pro-Soviet positions—met in Lima, Peru, in August 1975. It condemned Zionism as a "danger to world peace." Two months later, Cuba, Libya, and Somalia introduced a draft resolution condemning Zionism as racism to the U.N. General Assembly's Third Committee, which oversees matters and resolutions related to social, cultural, and humanitarian issues. Despite vigorous opposition by Leonard Garment, the U.S.

12 Provisional verbatim record of the two thousand two hundred and eighty-second meeting, U.N. General Assembly, November 13, 1974, p. 21. U.N. call number: PV. 2282.

13 Harris Okun Schoenberg, *A Mandate for Terror: The United Nations and the PLO* (New York: Sapolsky Publishers, 1989), p. 313.

14 Paul Johnson, *Modern Times*, p. 536.

15 Moynihan and Weaver, *op. cit.*, pp. 92-93.

16 Schoenberg, *op. cit.*, p. 312.

17 *Ibid.*

Representative to the U.N. Commission on Human Rights, the resolution passed the U.N.'s Third Committee on October 17, 1975.¹⁸ The vote was 70 in favor, 29 against, 27 abstaining, and 16 not voting.

Outcome Determined. The draft resolution then moved to the General Assembly on November 10, 1975. Resolution 3379 was considered along with several other issues that day in a session that lasted seven hours. Because the outcome had already been determined by the vote in the Third Committee, there was little debate before the vote. Resolution 3379 was endorsed by Fayez al-Sayegh, a P.L.O. member who represented Kuwait, and Jamil Baroodi spoke for Saudi Arabia in support of the resolution. After these speeches Belgium attempted to adjourn the debate when Resolution 3379 was raised, but the motion was defeated.

At 8:30 p.m. on November 10, 1975, the "Zionism is Racism" resolution was approved by the General Assembly. The vote: 72 in favor; 35 against; 32 abstentions; and 3 not voting.¹⁹

With respect to the strength of the coalition supporting Resolution 3379, Paul Hofmann of the *New York Times* observed, "Moderate Arab countries and other third-world nations that had opposed extremist demands for the expulsion of Israel went along with the anti-Zionism campaign."²⁰

After the vote, Chaim Herzog, Israel's ambassador to the United Nations, rose and spoke. He tore the resolution in two, while concluding his address with a reference to the fact that November 10 was the anniversary of *Kristallnacht*, the night 37 years before on which Hitler's storm troopers launched a coordinated attack on the Jewish community in Germany. Herzog also claimed the resolution would have a poisonous effect on the spirit of the U.N. He said: "For the issue is not Israel or Zionism. The issue is

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 316.

¹⁹ The countries voted as follows on Resolution 3379:

For (72): Afghanistan, Albania, Algeria, Bahrain, Bangladesh, Brazil, Bulgaria, Burundi, Byelorussian S.S.R., Cambodia, Cape Verde, Chad, China, Congo, Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Dahomey, Democratic Yemen, Egypt, Equatorial Guinea, Gambia, German Democratic Republic, Grenada, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Guyana, Hungary, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Jordan, Kuwait, Laos, Lebanon, Libya, Madagascar, Malaysia, Maldives, Mali, Malta, Mauritania, Mexico, Mongolia, Morocco, Mozambique, Niger, Nigeria, Oman, Pakistan, Poland, Portugal, Qatar, Rwanda, Sao Tome and Principe, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Somalia, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Syria, Tunisia, Turkey, Uganda, Ukrainian S.S.R., U.S.S.R., United Arab Emirates, United Republic of Cameroon, United Republic of Tanzania, Yemen, and Yugoslavia.

Against (35): Australia, Austria, Bahamas, Barbados, Belgium, Canada, Central African Republic, Costa Rica, Denmark, Dominican Republic, El Salvador, Federal Republic of Germany, Fiji, Finland, France, Haiti, Honduras, Iceland, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Ivory Coast, Liberia, Luxembourg, Malawi, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Norway, Panama, Swaziland, Sweden, U.K., U.S.A., and Uruguay.

Abstaining (32): Argentina, Bhutan, Bolivia, Botswana, Burma, Chile, Columbia, Ecuador, Ethiopia, Gabon, Ghana, Greece, Guatemala, Jamaica, Japan, Kenya, Lesotho, Mauritius, Nepal, Papua New Guinea, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Thailand, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Upper Volta, Venezuela, Zaire, and Zambia.

Not voting (3): Rumania, South Africa (seated in the General Assembly but unable to vote), and Spain.

²⁰ Paul Hofmann, "U.N. Votes 72-35, to Term Zionism Form of Racism," *New York Times*, November 11, 1975, p. A16.

the continued existence of this organization, which has been dragged to its lowest point of discredit by a coalition of despotisms and racists." U.S. Ambassador Moynihan then delivered a ringing denunciation of Resolution 3379 in which he proclaimed: "The United States of America declares that it does not acknowledge, it will not abide by, it will never acquiesce in this infamous act."²¹

The resolution began by "Recalling its resolution 1904 (XVIII) of November 1963, proclaiming the United Nations Declaration of the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination, and in particular its affirmation that 'any doctrine of racial differentiation or superiority is scientifically false, morally condemnable, socially unjust and dangerous' and its expression of alarm at the 'manifestations of racial discrimination still in evidence in some areas in the world, some of which are imposed by certain Governments by means of legislative, administrative, or other measures.'"

Among other things Resolution 3379 "condemned the unholy alliance between South African racism and Zionism." It quoted Resolution 77 of the Organization of African Unity, passed only three months before "that the racist regime in occupied Palestine and the racist regimes in Zimbabwe and South Africa have a common imperialist origin, forming a whole and having the same racist structure and being organically linked in their policy aimed at repression of the dignity and integrity of the human being."

Finally, Zionism was "most severely" condemned "as a threat to world peace and security." It "called upon all countries to oppose this racist and imperialist ideology." The last sentence indicated that the General Assembly had determined that "Zionism is a form of racism and racial discrimination."

Resolution 3379's branding of Zionism with the phrase "threat to world peace and security" is very significant at the U.N., for Article 42 of the U.N. Charter permits the Security Council to "take such action by air, sea, or land forces as may be necessary to maintain or restore international peace and security." The use of force is allowed only after peaceful means had been exhausted. Resolution 3379's inclusion of this language thus declares that Zionism is so dangerous that the Security Council could use force against a Zionist state. In fact, the resolution invites "all countries" to "oppose" the racist ideology.

THE U.N., THE U.S.S.R., AND THE REPEAL OF RESOLUTION 3379

Changes in world politics over the past two years make this the time to revisit Resolution 3379. First, the revolutionary movement toward democracy and free markets in the Soviet Union have lessened tensions between Moscow and Washington. The feelings of antagonism between the two nations have been reduced not only around the world, but also at the U.N.

²¹ Moynihan and Weaver, *op. cit.*, p. 199.

Second, the newly freed and democratic nations of Eastern Europe, which formerly marched in lockstep with Moscow at the U.N. (and elsewhere) surely are open to arguments favoring repeal. Third, with the collapse of Marxist ideology and of the U.S.S.R. as a model, many Third World nations want to emulate Western economic and political systems. The West should attempt to persuade Brazil, Mexico, Portugal and similar nations that voted for Resolution 3379, that the reasons that may have prompted them to side with the anti-Israel forces no longer exist.

What also argues for revisiting Resolution 3379 is the dissolution of reflexive U.S.-Soviet antagonism. In fact, U.S.-Soviet cooperation at the U.N. already has begun and with the ascendancy of Russian President Boris Yeltsin almost certainly will increase. Both nations are working effectively to bring U.N. spending under control. The U.S. and the Soviets are also interested in reducing the duplication of organizations that characterizes the U.N. bureaucracy.

U.S.-Soviet cooperation on Resolution 3379 is also possible. In a visit last October to Moscow, Heritage Foundation staffers were told at the Soviet Foreign Ministry that the U.S.S.R. might consider supporting a *de facto* overturning of the resolution, so long as it did not require a specific Soviet vote on repeal. This might be accomplished by passing a new resolution that supersedes 3379. Then in a meeting this March at the Soviet Mission to the U.N. in Manhattan with a Heritage staffer, a senior Soviet official expressed satisfaction at the progress that Israel and the Soviet Union have been making toward normalizing their relations with each other. He suggested that repeal of Resolution 3379 may be part of the process of arranging a Middle East peace conference. The greatly enhanced power of Russian Democrats after the failed August coup increases the likelihood of Russian assistance on this matter.

OVERTURNING OR NEUTRALIZING RESOLUTION 3379

Washington must take advantage of the new climate in international politics. Ridding the U.N. of Resolution 3379 will serve American interests in two ways:

First, it would be the first step in undermining the legitimacy of the U.N.'s twenty-year campaign against Israel. This prejudice has eliminated the U.N.'s capacity to serve as a mediator in the Middle East peace process. Israel is justified in viewing that U.N. as hostile to Israeli vital interests. If this resolution could be eliminated, the healing process in the U.N. could begin. This, in turn, could improve the political climate for peace in the Middle East.

Second, repeal would be an important test of improved cooperation. Moscow should be invited to work with Washington in overturning or neutralizing Resolution 3379—whether directly or indirectly.

To overturn Resolution 3379, the U.S. should:

- ◆ ◆ **Inform Israel immediately that America will seek repeal of Resolution 3379 in this fall's U.N. General Assembly session.**

America should notify the Israeli government of its intention to seek repeal. Israel then could muster its own resources and devise a strategy for action. Washington of

course, could decide not to take the official lead in the call for repeal. American sponsorship might cost the measure votes. If so, Sweden, Luxembourg or a similar nation should be recruited to introduce the resolution in the General Assembly. Yet America must remain the driving force behind the effort to repeal.

- ◆ ◆ **Announce that America is prepared to push for repeal in this and every successive General Assembly session until repeal succeeds.**

Resolution 3379 will never be repealed unless America demonstrates resolve. Only America has the influence to wage political war at the U.N. against Resolution 3379. Opponents of repeal, moreover, need to know that they will face the issue and pressure from America repeatedly. Only then will they take the issue seriously and possibly vote for repeal.

To make the U.N. member states believe that America is committed to this issue the Bush Administration must campaign publicly for repeal. George Bush should launch the offensive when he addresses the U.S. General Assembly on September 24. There he should state his categorical opposition to all forms of anti-Semitism, and he should then announce that the U.S. will press repeatedly until Resolution 3379 is rendered null and void.

Washington should warn, moreover, that economic development grants for some Third World countries may be reduced if they oppose overturning Resolution 3379. Because economic development assistance to most Third World countries usually is wasted, ending aid to Bangladesh, Mozambique and other countries that voted for Resolution 3379 in 1975 will not harm U.S. interests. Of course, supreme U.S. interests at times require that assistance, particularly military aid, be provided regardless of votes at the U.N. Example: American aid to Egypt. But such cases are exceptions.

- ◆ ◆ **Announce that the U.S. will veto the candidacy of any eventual replacement for Javier Perez de Cuellar as U.N. Secretary General unless the candidate supports repeal of Resolution 3379.**

The U.S. can impose costs on those not supporting repeal of Resolution 3379 by denying the Secretary Generalship to anyone who will not forcefully advocate wiping Resolution 3379 off the books at the U.N. The Secretary General of the United Nations is the symbolic focal point of the organization. For that reason the U.S. should use its veto power in the Security Council to ensure that the replacement for Javier Perez de Cuellar respects human rights in the way that the U.N. Charter originally intended.

Having a Secretary General committed to repeal would strengthen the effort to repeal Resolution 3379. It would give the U.S. and its supporters in this effort an important ally at the U.N. who can use the "bully pulpit" of his office to advocate repeal.

- ◆ ◆ **Announce that repeal of Resolution 3379 is a condition for U.S. support for a U.N. role in a Middle East peace process.**

The rapid pace of events involving Secretary of State James Baker's trips to the Middle East dictates that the issue of repealing Resolution 3379 be considered immediately. If not, a tremendous opportunity for repeal may pass. Israel and several Arab states may agree to attend an initial peace conference tentatively scheduled for

this October. Syria and other Arab countries hostile to Israel may find it politically difficult to participate in a Middle East peace conference while refusing to repeal Resolution 3379. If they do not support repeal, then the rejection of the Arab states will reveal their true intentions; if they go along with repeal, then this stain on the U.N.'s reputation can be removed.

♦ ♦ Work with the Soviets to overturn Resolution 3379.

Assistant Secretary Bolton and Ambassador Pickering may decide that they cannot win a vote this fall to repeal the "Zionism is Racism" resolution. A head count taken last year by the U.S. in the General Assembly revealed that a vote on repealing Resolution 3379 now would be very close. While much of the sentiment for the original resolution may have dissipated, some states may not want to admit having made a public error. If so, America should propose not a repeal of Resolution 3379 but a new resolution. This would state that Zionism is not a form of racism.

This approach may attract Russian support. Soviet officials seem to be looking for an "indirect" way to reverse Resolution 3379. The U.S. should be willing to back an indirect reversal if it unambiguously repudiates the meaning of Resolution 3379. Washington may invite Moscow to collaborate in drafting a joint resolution for the General Assembly that, in effect, would say:

The General Assembly, recalling and recognizing the continuing validity of its resolution 1904 (XVIII) of November 1963, proclaiming the United Nations Declaration on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination, which justifiably condemned all forms of "racial discrimination," recalling further its resolution 3379 of 10 November 1975, states categorically that Zionism is not a threat to world peace and security, and recognizes that Zionism is not a form of racism or racial discrimination.²²

CONCLUSION

Little has handicapped or discredited the U.N. more than its persistent anti-Israeli bias, represented most harshly by the "Zionism is Racism" resolution of 1975. Because of this, the U.N. rightly has been shoved to the sidelines in the Middle East peace process.

Yet the global atmosphere that transformed the U.N. into a reflexively anti-Israel organization is changing. Because the Soviet Union no longer automatically opposes all U.S. policies in the U.N., Moscow could work with Washington to overturn Resolution 3379. Soviet officials indicate a willingness to back a *de facto* repeal of the resolution, by passing a new resolution. The U.S. should pursue this intriguing suggestion. U.S. of-

²² The United Nations Declaration on the Elimination of all Forms of Racial Discrimination was passed as Resolution 1904 (XVIII) on November 20, 1963. The declaration proclaims in its first article that "[d]iscrimination between human beings on the ground of race, color, or ethnic origin is an offense to human dignity and shall be condemned as a denial of the principles of the U.N. Charter...."

officials should broach the topic with Soviet officials and then invite the Soviets to join in drafting such a resolution.

At the same time, the U.S. should begin a campaign for full repeal of the "Zionism is Racism" resolution. Moving publicly for a complete repeal would make it more likely that the U.N. would back a compromise that nullifies Resolution 3379 through a new resolution.

Test of U.N. Deciding whether or not to repeal Resolution 3379 will test the character of the U.N. If it fails to right its unjust action from 1975, it will not only continue to be unfit to speak legitimately on peace in the Middle East, it will have missed an opportunity to demonstrate that it has emerged from its quarter-century Dark Ages in which few responsible nations took it seriously.

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Milestones In The History Of Zionism

1881 Beginning on April 29, a long series of pogroms begin against Russian Jews -- incited by the Czarist regime in St. Petersburg.

1894 French Army Captain Alfred Dreyfus is falsely convicted of espionage; anti-Semitism plays a central role in his prosecution.

1896 In the midst of this new wave of European persecution, Theodore Herzl publishes *A State for the Jews (Der Judenstaat)*, in which he argued that Jews could only protect themselves by establishing a sovereign, Jewish state. Herzl is considered the intellectual father of Zionism.

1906 In response to a new wave of anti-Jewish terror in Russia that began with the Kishniev pogrom of 1903, the American Jewish Committee was organized.

1917 The "Balfour Declaration," issued by the British government on November 2nd, promised the Jewish people a homeland in Palestine. The British government hoped that this gesture would prompt many Jews to desert their Central Power governments then fighting in World War I.

1938 Germany's Nazi government begins its public and overwhelming attack against German Jews in the morning hours of November 10th -- referred to as *Kristallnacht* -- "the night of the broken glass." During the ensuing violence, the Berlin synagogue is burned down, 101 other German synagogues are destroyed, over 7,500 Jewish businesses are destroyed, nearly 100 Jews are killed and thousands more are beaten.

1942 In Wannsee, a Berlin suburb, an executive conference of high-ranking Nazi SS officers and other officials decides upon a "final solution" for European Jewry on January 20.

1942 The first, massive use of gas begins at Belzec on March 17 -- a death camp capable of killing 15,000 persons per day. The extermination camps become fully operational within the year. 8,861,000 Jews come under Hitler's control either directly or indirectly during WWII. Of these, some 6 million are killed by the Nazis. Ninety percent of Poland's 3,300,000 Jews are put to death.

1947 U.N. General Assembly Resolution 181 passed on November 29, proposes a plan for the partition of Palestine that would create a Jewish nation.

1948 David Ben-Gurion on May 14 declares Israel's existence as a state.

1975 The U.N. General Assembly's Resolution 3379 of November 10, condemns Zionism as "a form of racism and racial discrimination."

1991 The Forty-sixth session of the U.N. General Assembly convenes on September 17.

September 12, 1991

REMOVING THE STAIN OF THE UNITED NATIONS' "ZIONISM IS RACISM" RESOLUTION

INTRODUCTION

One of the worst stains on the reputation of the United Nations is the General Assembly's 1975 vote to adopt Resolution 3379 condemning Zionism as a form of racism. While championing so-called national liberation movements throughout the Third World, the U.N. not only singled out the Jewish nationalist movement for criticism, but in a perversion of history, falsely accused Israel of inflicting on others the same kind of injustice—racism—from which Jews have suffered for centuries.

Since its passage over fifteen years ago, the "Zionism is Racism" resolution has been an obstacle to every argument that attempts to portray the U.N. in a favorable light. And since its passage, no attempt has been made to repeal the resolution. It is now time to do so.

With the Cold War over and the U.N. supposedly moving into an era of greater global cooperation, the time has come for the U.N. to demonstrate its commitment to promoting better understanding among all its members, including Israel. Resolution 3379, therefore, should be repealed when the General Assembly convenes its 46th session next week in Manhattan.

There are three reasons why the U.N. should want to repeal Resolution 3379.

Reason #1: Repeal would make the U.N. more effective. Resolution 3379 disqualifies the U.N., for example, as a mediator in the Arab-Israeli conflict. Israel is well aware of the pervasive, anti-Israeli bias at the U.N. There is no chance that Israel will trust the U.N. as an active participant in the peace process unless Resolution 3379 is repealed.

Reason #2: Jewish nationalism, as expressed in Zionism, is as legitimate as any other nationalism. The U.N. long has championed so-called national liberation movements throughout the world. In fact, the U.N. in 1947 supported the birth of Israel. Why, therefore, should the Zionist brand of nationalism be singled out for criticism?

Reason #3: The U.N.'s slandering of Israel has not only hampered the prospects for a Middle East settlement, it has harmed Israel's Arab and Third World critics. The U.N.'s isolation of Israel has made the U.N. largely irrelevant for resolving the Arab-Israeli conflict. Arab countries moreover, have not profited from abusing Israel at the U.N.

The United States should take the lead in repealing the "Zionism is Racism" resolution because repeal is in the U.S. interest. Repealing Resolution 3379 would remove an obstacle to Middle East peace and would strengthen Israel, an important U.S. ally.

U.S. Permanent Representative at the U.N. Thomas R. Pickering and U.S. Assistant Secretary of State for International Organization Affairs John R. Bolton should devise a strategy and launch a campaign to repeal Resolution 3379. They should:

- ◆ ◆ **Inform the Israeli government that America will seek the repeal of Resolution 3379 in this fall's U.N. General Assembly session.** Notification of the impending U.S. decision will give the Israeli government time to plan for the repeal debate.

- ◆ ◆ **Announce that America is prepared to push for repeal in this and every successive General Assembly session until repeal succeeds.** This is critical if the resolution is to be repealed. The reason: it puts nations on notice that voting against the U.S. on this matter will expose them to political pressure, and possibly reduction of economic assistance in some cases. The announcement should be given a high profile. An appropriate forum might be George Bush's September 24 address to the General Assembly.

- ◆ ◆ **Announce that the U.S. will veto the candidacy of any eventual replacement for Javier Perez de Cuellar as Secretary General of the U.N. unless the candidate supports repeal of Resolution 3379.** This would impose an enormous penalty on defenders of Resolution 3379 and, conversely, would reward enormously those who oppose the resolution.

- ◆ ◆ **Announce that repeal of Resolution 3379 is a condition for U.S. support for a U.N. role in a Middle East peace process.** Whatever the outcome of Secretary of State James Baker's Middle East peace efforts, the U.N. will not be able to play a key role so long as it brands Israel a racist state.

A First Step: De Facto Repeal. A head count conducted last year by the U.S. found that a General Assembly vote on repeal of Resolution 3379 would be very close. Still, a vote to repeal this fall may not carry. But even if repeal cannot be achieved this fall, Resolution 3379 could be nullified *de facto* by a resolution that rejects the conclusions of Resolution 3379 without explicitly rescinding it. This would give some nations the face-saving ability to remove the stain of Resolution 3379 without having to admit that they made a mistake in 1975.

Such a *de facto* repeal may appeal to Moscow. Thus the Soviet Union might cooperate with the U.S. at the U.N. on this issue, as it did before and during the Persian Gulf war. Soviet Foreign Ministry officials told The Heritage Foundation in Moscow in October 1990 that the Soviet Union would consider moves overturning Resolution 3379 through "indirect methods" that would avoid humiliating Moscow's Arab allies. One "indirect method" would be for the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. to sponsor a joint resolution in the General Assembly stating:

The General Assembly, recalling and recognizing the continuing validity of its Resolution 1904 (XVIII) of November 1963, proclaiming the United Nations Declaration on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination, which justifiably condemned all forms of "racial discrimination," recalling further its resolution 3379 of 10 November 1975, states categorically that Zionism is not a threat to world peace and security, and recognizes that Zionism is not a form of racism or racial discrimination.

A resolution constructed along these lines effectively would overturn the anti-Zionist passages of Resolution 3379 without actually repealing the resolution. Several years later, Resolution 3379 actually could be repealed. There is no doubt, of course, that repeal is the ultimate goal. Intermediate steps, however, may be needed to get there. The U.S. must declare that it will oppose any substitute measure that indirectly or directly criticizes Israel or Zionism.

Given the upheaval in the Soviet Union following the failed August 19 coup, a Soviet foreign policy influenced by Boris Yeltsin and other Democrats may be amenable to support efforts for direct appeal. If that is the case an attempt to obtain the *de facto* will not be needed.

THE ORIGINS OF ANTI-ZIONISM IN THE U.N.

The "Zionism is Racism" resolution was approved by a U.N. that differed greatly from the body that first met in 1945. When the U.N. Charter came into force on October 24, 1945, there were only 51 countries in the U.N. On November 10, 1975, when Resolution 3379 was passed, the U.N. was made up of 142 nations. With this increase in membership came greater influence from the Third World. Of the 51 original U.N. members, 39 were from Europe and the Western Hemisphere; only ten were from Asia and the Pacific and four from Africa. Today, there are 52 African and 41 Asian countries in the U.N.¹ Scores of new nations transformed the U.N. from a Western institution with European roots into one in which Third World nations dominated General Assembly proceedings by sheer numbers of votes and aggressively pressed grievances and claims against the very founders of the U.N., the Western states.

1 "Notes for Speakers," United Nations Department of Public Information, September 1990, p. 45.

Changed Character. These new Third World countries, growing in number and voting strength, typically were represented at the U.N. by radical intellectuals who flirted with Marxism and above all, hated the West. Their growing numbers changed the character of the U.N. Increasingly in the late 1960s and early 1970s, the U.N. stridently denounced the capitalist exploitation of the colonial world by the West, and proposed socialist policies for the economic development of the Third World.

By the mid-1970s the hostility of the U.N. General Assembly toward Western political thought, economic institutions and culture reached new heights as countries from Africa, Asia, and the Middle East joined forces with the Soviet Union to obtain a voting majority in the General Assembly.² Many Third World countries were highly critical of America. Among the most anti-American were Cuba, India, and Uganda. They accused the U.S. of being "imperialistic." American-based multinational corporations were called "exploitive." The American political system was denounced as "racist." Historian Paul Johnson, the author of *Modern Times*, observed in 1983: "...in 1974 the U.N. adopted a 'Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of States' which condemned the workings of Western economies. The 1974 U.N. World Population Conference was a prolonged attack on U.S. selfishness. The 1974 U.N. World Food Conference denounced America and other states, the only ones to actually produce food surpluses."³

It was such attitudes that prompted Daniel Patrick Moynihan, the U.S. Ambassador at the U.N. from July 1975 to March 1976, to say that now: "Most of the world believes... in philosophies that do not accept the individual as distinct from and prior to the State, in philosophies that, therefore, do not provide any justification for the idea of human rights...."⁴

Taking on Israel. Anti-American attitudes in the U.N. soon focused on America's ally, Israel. There were three reasons for this: 1) Israel could be attacked as an American ally to vent rage at America; 2) as anti-Israeli Arab states gained more prominence in the U.N. as allies of the Soviet Union and Third World nations, and because of their mounting oil wealth, they stirred up the General Assembly against Israel; and 3) anti-Semitism in Arab nations, Third World countries like Uganda, and in the Soviet Union partly motivated U.N. hostility toward Israel.

The U.N. has not always been hostile to Israel. In fact, it was U.N. General Assembly Resolution 181 passed on November 29, 1947, with pressure from Harry Truman, that recognized a new plan for the partition of Palestine. Soon thereafter Israel's existence as a state was proclaimed by David Ben-Gurion on May 14, 1948.⁵

2 Paul Johnson, *Modern Times: The World from the Twenties to the Eighties* (New York: Harper & Row, 1983), p. 536.

3 *Ibid.*, p. 691.

4 Daniel Patrick Moynihan with Suzana Weaver, *A Dangerous Place* (Boston: Atlantic Monthly Press/Little, Brown, and Co., 1975), p. 199. From his statement after the United Nations General Assembly vote on Resolution 3379 on November 10, 1975.

5 Paul Johnson, *A History of the Jews* (New York: Harper and Row, 1987), pp. 525-6.

This benign attitude toward Israel began to change in the late 1960s. At that time the Palestine Liberation Organization, and Syria and other Arab states began to gain Third World support for a campaign to isolate Israel in the U.N. The U.N. General Assembly adopted on December 10, 1969, Resolution 2535B, which charged that the "Palestine Arab Refugees" in Israel were being denied the "inalienable rights" guaranteed them by the U.N. Charter and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.⁶

Soviet Involvement. The Soviet Union played an important role in forming the anti-Zionist bloc in the U.N. The first official Soviet anti-Israel move at the U.N. was in November 1965. In a move designed to curry favor with the Arab states, the Soviets attempted to amend the Declaration on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination, which had been passed in November 1963 and which observed that "any doctrine of racial differentiation or superiority is scientifically false, morally condemnable, socially unjust and dangerous." The Soviet-sponsored amendment stated:

States Parties condemn anti-Semitism, Zionism, Nazism, neo-Nazism, and all other forms of the policy and ideology of colonialism, national and race hatred and exclusiveness and shall take action as appropriate for the speedy eradication of those inhuman ideas and practices in the territories subject to their jurisdiction.

While the U.S.S.R. condemned anti-Semitism in this amendment, it also equated Zionism with "race hatred." An important point had been made: Zionism was linked with Nazism and other forms of fascist and racist ideologies condemned by communist and other left-wing governments in the Third World.

The political atmosphere in the General Assembly during the early and mid-1970s reflected the hostility toward the U.S. and the West. The twenty-ninth General Assembly, in 1974, was chaired by an Algerian radical, Abdelaziz Bouteflika whom Moynihan characterized as a "master of symbolic defiance and protracted insult."⁸ Even though he was no longer in charge of the General Assembly when Resolution 3379 passed in 1975, Bouteflika personified the politics of the General Assembly in which underdeveloped nations angrily blamed their poverty on the U.S. and the developed nations of the West. Bouteflika and his Third World allies were publicly deferential toward totalitarian states like the Soviet Union, which seemed to them to represent the wave of the future as Soviet expansionism appeared unchecked.

Increasingly Anti-Western. The U.N. bias against the Western principles of free markets and economic and political freedom deepened in 1974. The General Assembly approved on May 1, 1974, the "Declaration and Program of Action on the Establishment of a New International Economic Order." It proclaimed "the establishment of a new international economic order based on equity, sovereignty, interdependence, common interest and co-operation among states." The New International Economic Order

6 Jeane J. Kirkpatrick, "How the PLO Was Legitimized?" *Commentary*, July 1989, p. 25.

7 Moynihan and Weaver, *op. cit.* p. 174.

8 *Ibid.*, p. 134.

(NIEO) embodied the Third World claims that the rich nations of the "North" dominated the impoverished nations of the "South." The NIEO was an attempt to redirect the wealth of the world toward the South through international political bodies like the U.N. Later that year, in December, the General Assembly adopted the "Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of States."⁹ According to *Basic Facts about the United Nations*, this charter "stipulates that every state has the right to exercise full permanent sovereignty over its wealth and natural resources, to regulate foreign investments within its national jurisdiction, and to nationalize, expropriate or transfer the ownership of foreign property...." Thus the U.N. was endorsing the idea that the rights of the state were more important than those of property and the individual. Finally, also in 1974, the Centre for Transnational Corporations was established as part of the movement by radicalized developing nations to exert pressure on international markets and the business practices of multinational corporations. Essential to the Centre's agenda was the imposition of state-enforced regulations on commerce and the flow of capital.¹⁰

The U.S. exhibited little energy in combating these anti-Western actions. It was reeling from the Vietnam War, Watergate, the first OPEC oil increases, heightened tensions in the Middle East, and Soviet expansionism in the Third World. John Scali, the U.S. ambassador to the U.N. from 1973 to 1975, performed with great distinction, but he was not as verbally combative as his successors, Daniel Patrick Moynihan and Jeane Kirkpatrick.

Moscow's Embarrassment. After the 1967 War, when Israel trounced Arab countries whose military had been trained and supplied by the U.S.S.R., Moscow began to describe Zionism as "anti-Soviet and racist."¹¹ This turn against Israel was motivated by a combination of domestic and foreign policy considerations. The U.S.S.R.'s Jewish population wished to escape religious repression in the Soviet Union and immigrate to Israel and the West. This was an enormous embarrassment for a country that claimed to be a worker's paradise and a multinational state in which racism and repression had been eliminated. Further, the Soviet Union hoped to gain a strategic foothold in the Middle East by courting the Arab states. Since the time of the Czars, Moscow had wanted to expand its influence in the Middle East to gain access for its Navy to the warm waters of the Mediterranean Sea and to consolidate its hold on its own Islamic peoples.

This anti-Western and anti-Israeli atmosphere at the U.N. was in full blossom when the General Assembly, on November 13, 1974, exuberantly welcomed to its podium PLO leader Yasser Arafat. With a gun-holster at his side, he told an enthusiastically receptive audience:

9 *Basic Facts about the United Nations* (New York, June 1987), p. 71.

10 Economic and Social Council resolution 1913 (LVII) of 1974. See E/5500/Rev. 1, ST/ESA/6, 1974.

11 Moynihan and Weaver, *op. cit.*, p. 170.

Zionism is an ideology that is imperialist, colonialist, racist; it is united with anti-Semitism in its retrograde tenets and is, when all is said and done, another side of the same base coin.¹²

It was not long before other Third World leaders jumped into the fray to denounce Zionism and the U.S. In an October 1, 1975, speech before the General Assembly, Ugandan dictator Idi Amin claimed that the "United States of America had been colonized by Zionists," that American Zionists "own virtually all the banking institutions, the major manufacturing and processing industries and the major means of communication," and that the Central Intelligence Agency had become a danger to the world because of Zionist infiltration.¹³ He ended his speech by demanding "the expulsion of Israel from the United Nations and the extinction of Israel as a State, so that the territorial integrity of Palestine may be ensured and upheld."

Historian Paul Johnson records that, "The following day the U.N. Secretary-General and the President of the General Assembly gave a public dinner in Amin's honor."¹⁴

THE PASSAGE OF THE "ZIONISM IS RACISM" RESOLUTION

The road to Resolution 3379 began in December 1973 when the African nation of Burundi amended a resolution condemning South Africa. One Burundi-sponsored amendment denounced "in particular, the unholy alliance between Portuguese colonialism, South African racism, Zionism and Israeli imperialism."¹⁵ The resolution passed by 88 for, 7 against, and 28 abstaining.¹⁶ Two years later, in summer 1975 in Mexico City, the first U.N. conference on women's rights linked Zionism with colonialism and declared that the achievement of international cooperation and peace required the elimination of hostile ideologies like apartheid and Zionism.¹⁷ That summer, too, the Organization of African Unity met in Kampala, Uganda, and condemned Israel as the "racist regime in occupied Palestine" which shared "a common imperialist origin" and racist structure with Rhodesia and South Africa.

The criticism of Israel continued as the Non-Aligned Movement—more than 100 nations, ostensibly committed to neither East nor West, which typically take anti-U.S. and pro-Soviet positions—met in Lima, Peru, in August 1975. It condemned Zionism as a "danger to world peace." Two months later, Cuba, Libya, and Somalia introduced a draft resolution condemning Zionism as racism to the U.N. General Assembly's Third Committee, which oversees matters and resolutions related to social, cultural, and humanitarian issues. Despite vigorous opposition by Leonard Garment, the U.S.

12 Provisional verbatim record of the two thousand two hundred and eighty-second meeting, U.N. General Assembly, November 13, 1974, p. 21. U.N. call number: PV. 2282.

13 Harris Okun Schoenberg, *A Mandate for Terror: The United Nations and the PLO* (New York: Sapolsky Publishers, 1989), p. 313.

14 Paul Johnson, *Modern Times*, p. 536.

15 Moynihan and Weaver, *op. cit.*, pp. 92-93.

16 Schoenberg, *op. cit.*, p. 312.

17 *Ibid.*

Representative to the U.N. Commission on Human Rights, the resolution passed the U.N.'s Third Committee on October 17, 1975.¹⁸ The vote was 70 in favor, 29 against, 27 abstaining, and 16 not voting.

Outcome Determined. The draft resolution then moved to the General Assembly on November 10, 1975. Resolution 3379 was considered along with several other issues that day in a session that lasted seven hours. Because the outcome had already been determined by the vote in the Third Committee, there was little debate before the vote. Resolution 3379 was endorsed by Fayez al-Sayegh, a P.L.O. member who represented Kuwait, and Jamil Baroodi spoke for Saudi Arabia in support of the resolution. After these speeches Belgium attempted to adjourn the debate when Resolution 3379 was raised, but the motion was defeated.

At 8:30 p.m. on November 10, 1975, the "Zionism is Racism" resolution was approved by the General Assembly. The vote: 72 in favor, 35 against; 32 abstentions; and 3 not voting.¹⁹

With respect to the strength of the coalition supporting Resolution 3379, Paul Hofmann of the *New York Times* observed, "Moderate Arab countries and other third-world nations that had opposed extremist demands for the expulsion of Israel went along with the anti-Zionism campaign."²⁰

After the vote, Chaim Herzog, Israel's ambassador to the United Nations, rose and spoke. He tore the resolution in two, while concluding his address with a reference to the fact that November 10 was the anniversary of *Kristallnacht*, the night 37 years before on which Hitler's storm troopers launched a coordinated attack on the Jewish community in Germany. Herzog also claimed the resolution would have a poisonous effect on the spirit of the U.N. He said: "For the issue is not Israel or Zionism. The issue is

18 *Ibid.*, p. 316.

19 The countries voted as follows on Resolution 3379:

For (72): Afghanistan, Albania, Algeria, Bahrain, Bangladesh, Brazil, Bulgaria, Burundi, Byelorussian S.S.R., Cambodia, Cape Verde, Chad, China, Congo, Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Dahomey, Democratic Yemen, Egypt, Equatorial Guinea, Gambia, German Democratic Republic, Grenada, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Guyana, Hungary, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Jordan, Kuwait, Laos, Lebanon, Libya, Madagascar, Malaysia, Maldives, Mali, Malta, Mauritania, Mexico, Mongolia, Morocco, Mozambique, Niger, Nigeria, Oman, Pakistan, Poland, Portugal, Qatar, Rwanda, Sao Tome and Principe, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Somalia, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Syria, Tunisia, Turkey, Uganda, Ukrainian S.S.R., U.S.S.R., United Arab Emirates, United Republic of Cameroon, United Republic of Tanzania, Yemen, and Yugoslavia.

Against (35): Australia, Austria, Bahamas, Barbados, Belgium, Canada, Central African Republic, Costa Rica, Denmark, Dominican Republic, El Salvador, Federal Republic of Germany, Fiji, Finland, France, Haiti, Honduras, Iceland, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Ivory Coast, Liberia, Luxembourg, Malawi, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Norway, Panama, Swaziland, Sweden, U.K., U.S.A., and Uruguay.

Abstaining (32): Argentina, Bhutan, Bolivia, Botswana, Burma, Chile, Columbia, Ecuador, Ethiopia, Gabon, Ghana, Greece, Guatemala, Jamaica, Japan, Kenya, Lesotho, Mauritius, Nepal, Papua New Guinea, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Thailand, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Upper Volta, Venezuela, Zaire, and Zambia.

Not voting (3): Rumania, South Africa (seated in the General Assembly but unable to vote), and Spain.

20 Paul Hofmann, "U.N. Votes 72-35, to Term Zionism Form of Racism," *New York Times*, November 11, 1975, p. A16.

the continued existence of this organization, which has been dragged to its lowest point of discredit by a coalition of despotisms and racists." U.S. Ambassador Moynihan then delivered a ringing denunciation of Resolution 3379 in which he proclaimed: "The United States of America declares that it does not acknowledge, it will not abide by, it will never acquiesce in this infamous act."²¹

The resolution began by "Recalling its resolution 1904 (XVIII) of November 1963, proclaiming the United Nations Declaration of the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination, and in particular its affirmation that 'any doctrine of racial differentiation or superiority is scientifically false, morally condemnable, socially unjust and dangerous' and its expression of alarm at the 'manifestations of racial discrimination still in evidence in some areas in the world, some of which are imposed by certain Governments by means of legislative, administrative, or other measures.'"

Among other things Resolution 3379 "condemned the unholy alliance between South African racism and Zionism." It quoted Resolution 77 of the Organization of African Unity, passed only three months before "that the racist regime in occupied Palestine and the racist regimes in Zimbabwe and South Africa have a common imperialist origin, forming a whole and having the same racist structure and being organically linked in their policy aimed at repression of the dignity and integrity of the human being."

Finally, Zionism was "most severely" condemned "as a threat to world peace and security." It "called upon all countries to oppose this racist and imperialist ideology." The last sentence indicated that the General Assembly had determined that "Zionism is a form of racism and racial discrimination."

Resolution 3379's branding of Zionism with the phrase "threat to world peace and security" is very significant at the U.N., for Article 42 of the U.N. Charter permits the Security Council to "take such action by air, sea, or land forces as may be necessary to maintain or restore international peace and security." The use of force is allowed only after peaceful means had been exhausted. Resolution 3379's inclusion of this language thus declares that Zionism is so dangerous that the Security Council could use force against a Zionist state. In fact, the resolution invites "all countries" to "oppose" the racist ideology.

THE U.N., THE U.S.S.R., AND THE REPEAL OF RESOLUTION 3379

Changes in world politics over the past two years make this the time to revisit Resolution 3379. First, the revolutionary movement toward democracy and free markets in the Soviet Union have lessened tensions between Moscow and Washington. The feelings of antagonism between the two nations have been reduced not only around the world, but also at the U.N.

21 Moynihan and Weaver, *op. cit.*, p. 199.

Second, the newly freed and democratic nations of Eastern Europe, which formerly marched in lockstep with Moscow at the U.N. (and elsewhere) surely are open to arguments favoring repeal. Third, with the collapse of Marxist ideology and of the U.S.S.R. as a model, many Third World nations want to emulate Western economic and political systems. The West should attempt to persuade Brazil, Mexico, Portugal and similar nations that voted for Resolution 3379, that the reasons that may have prompted them to side with the anti-Israel forces no longer exist.

What also argues for revisiting Resolution 3379 is the dissolution of reflexive U.S.-Soviet antagonism. In fact, U.S.-Soviet cooperation at the U.N. already has begun and with the ascendancy of Russian President Boris Yeltsin almost certainly will increase. Both nations are working effectively to bring U.N. spending under control. The U.S. and the Soviets are also interested in reducing the duplication of organizations that characterizes the U.N. bureaucracy.

U.S.-Soviet cooperation on Resolution 3379 is also possible. In a visit last October to Moscow, Heritage Foundation staffers were told at the Soviet Foreign Ministry that the U.S.S.R. might consider supporting a *de facto* overturning of the resolution, so long as it did not require a specific Soviet vote on repeal. This might be accomplished by passing a new resolution that supersedes 3379. Then in a meeting this March at the Soviet Mission to the U.N. in Manhattan with a Heritage staffer, a senior Soviet official expressed satisfaction at the progress that Israel and the Soviet Union have been making toward normalizing their relations with each other. He suggested that repeal of Resolution 3379 may be part of the process of arranging a Middle East peace conference. The greatly enhanced power of Russian Democrats after the failed August coup increases the likelihood of Russian assistance on this matter.

OVERTURNING OR NEUTRALIZING RESOLUTION 3379

Washington must take advantage of the new climate in international politics. Ridding the U.N. of Resolution 3379 will serve American interests in two ways:

First, it would be the first step in undermining the legitimacy of the U.N.'s twenty-year campaign against Israel. This prejudice has eliminated the U.N.'s capacity to serve as a mediator in the Middle East peace process. Israel is justified in viewing that U.N. as hostile to Israeli vital interests. If this resolution could be eliminated, the healing process in the U.N. could begin. This, in turn, could improve the political climate for peace in the Middle East.

Second, repeal would be an important test of improved cooperation. Moscow should be invited to work with Washington in overturning or neutralizing Resolution 3379—whether directly or indirectly.

To overturn Resolution 3379, the U.S. should:

- ◆ ◆ **Inform Israel immediately that America will seek repeal of Resolution 3379 in this fall's U.N. General Assembly session.**

America should notify the Israeli government of its intention to seek repeal. Israel then could muster its own resources and devise a strategy for action. Washington of

course, could decide not to take the official lead in the call for repeal. American sponsorship might cost the measure votes. If so, Sweden, Luxembourg or a similar nation should be recruited to introduce the resolution in the General Assembly. Yet America must remain the driving force behind the effort to repeal.

- ♦ ♦ **Announce that America is prepared to push for repeal in this and every successive General Assembly session until repeal succeeds.**

Resolution 3379 will never be repealed unless America demonstrates resolve. Only America has the influence to wage political war at the U.N. against Resolution 3379. Opponents of repeal, moreover, need to know that they will face the issue and pressure from America repeatedly. Only then will they take the issue seriously and possibly vote for repeal.

To make the U.N. member states believe that America is committed to this issue the Bush Administration must campaign publicly for repeal. George Bush should launch the offensive when he addresses the U.S. General Assembly on September 24. There he should state his categorical opposition to all forms of anti-Semitism, and he should then announce that the U.S. will press repeatedly until Resolution 3379 is rendered null and void.

Washington should warn, moreover, that economic development grants for some Third World countries may be reduced if they oppose overturning Resolution 3379. Because economic development assistance to most Third World countries usually is wasted, ending aid to Bangladesh, Mozambique and other countries that voted for Resolution 3379 in 1975 will not harm U.S. interests. Of course, supreme U.S. interests at times require that assistance, particularly military aid, be provided regardless of votes at the U.N. Example: American aid to Egypt. But such cases are exceptions.

- ♦ ♦ **Announce that the U.S. will veto the candidacy of any eventual replacement for Javier Perez de Cuellar as U.N. Secretary General unless the candidate supports repeal of Resolution 3379.**

The U.S. can impose costs on those not supporting repeal of Resolution 3379 by denying the Secretary Generalship to anyone who will not forcefully advocate wiping Resolution 3379 off the books at the U.N. The Secretary General of the United Nations is the symbolic focal point of the organization. For that reason the U.S. should use its veto power in the Security Council to ensure that the replacement for Javier Perez de Cuellar respects human rights in the way that the U.N. Charter originally intended.

Having a Secretary General committed to repeal would strengthen the effort to repeal Resolution 3379. It would give the U.S. and its supporters in this effort an important ally at the U.N. who can use the "bully pulpit" of his office to advocate repeal.

- ♦ ♦ **Announce that repeal of Resolution 3379 is a condition for U.S. support for a U.N. role in a Middle East peace process.**

The rapid pace of events involving Secretary of State James Baker's trips to the Middle East dictates that the issue of repealing Resolution 3379 be considered immediately. If not, a tremendous opportunity for repeal may pass. Israel and several Arab states may agree to attend an initial peace conference tentatively scheduled for

this October. Syria and other Arab countries hostile to Israel may find it politically difficult to participate in a Middle East peace conference while refusing to repeal Resolution 3379. If they do not support repeal, then the rejection of the Arab states will reveal their true intentions; if they go along with repeal, then this stain on the U.N.'s reputation can be removed.

♦ ♦ **Work with the Soviets to overturn Resolution 3379.**

Assistant Secretary Bolton and Ambassador Pickering may decide that they cannot win a vote this fall to repeal the "Zionism is Racism" resolution. A head count taken last year by the U.S. in the General Assembly revealed that a vote on repealing Resolution 3379 now would be very close. While much of the sentiment for the original resolution may have dissipated, some states may not want to admit having made a public error. If so, America should propose not a repeal of Resolution 3379 but a new resolution. This would state that Zionism is not a form of racism.

This approach may attract Russian support. Soviet officials seem to be looking for an "indirect" way to reverse Resolution 3379. The U.S. should be willing to back an indirect reversal if it unambiguously repudiates the meaning of Resolution 3379. Washington may invite Moscow to collaborate in drafting a joint resolution for the General Assembly that, in effect, would say:

The General Assembly, recalling and recognizing the continuing validity of its resolution 1904 (XVIII) of November 1963, proclaiming the United Nations Declaration on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination, which justifiably condemned all forms of "racial discrimination," recalling further its resolution 3379 of 10 November 1975, states categorically that Zionism is not a threat to world peace and security, and recognizes that Zionism is not a form of racism or racial discrimination.²²

CONCLUSION

Little has handicapped or discredited the U.N. more than its persistent anti-Israeli bias, represented most harshly by the "Zionism is Racism" resolution of 1975. Because of this, the U.N. rightly has been shoved to the sidelines in the Middle East peace process.

Yet the global atmosphere that transformed the U.N. into a reflexively anti-Israel organization is changing. Because the Soviet Union no longer automatically opposes all U.S. policies in the U.N., Moscow could work with Washington to overturn Resolution 3379. Soviet officials indicate a willingness to back a *de facto* repeal of the resolution, by passing a new resolution. The U.S. should pursue this intriguing suggestion. U.S. of-

²² The United Nations Declaration on the Elimination of all Forms of Racial Discrimination was passed as Resolution 1904 (XVIII) on November 20, 1963. The declaration proclaims in its first article that "[d]iscrimination between human beings on the ground of race, color, or ethnic origin is an offense to human dignity and shall be condemned as a denial of the principles of the U.N. Charter...."

3
ficials should broach the topic with Soviet officials and then invite the Soviets to join in drafting such a resolution.

At the same time, the U.S. should begin a campaign for full repeal of the "Zionism is Racism" resolution. Moving publicly for a complete repeal would make it more likely that the U.N. would back a compromise that nullifies Resolution 3379 through a new resolution.

Test of U.N. Deciding whether or not to repeal Resolution 3379 will test the character of the U.N. If it fails to right its unjust action from 1975, it will not only continue to be unfit to speak legitimately on peace in the Middle East, it will have missed an opportunity to demonstrate that it has emerged from its quarter-century Dark Ages in which few responsible nations took it seriously.

Christopher M. Gacek, Ph.D.
Jay Kingham Fellow in International
Regulatory Affairs

Heritage Foundation Research Intern Jeffrey Stier assisted in the preparation of this study.

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Milestones In The History Of Zionism

1881 Beginning on April 29, a long series of pogroms begin against Russian Jews -- incited by the Czarist regime in St. Petersburg.

1894 French Army Captain Alfred Dreyfus is falsely convicted of espionage; anti-Semitism plays a central role in his prosecution.

1896 In the midst of this new wave of European persecution, Theodore Herzl publishes *A State for the Jews (Der Judenstaat)*, in which he argued that Jews could only protect themselves by establishing a sovereign, Jewish state. Herzl is considered the intellectual father of Zionism.

1906 In response to a new wave of anti-Jewish terror in Russia that began with the Kishniev pogrom of 1903, the American Jewish Committee was organized.

1917 The "Balfour Declaration," issued by the British government on November 2nd, promised the Jewish people a homeland in Palestine. The British government hoped that this gesture would prompt many Jews to desert their Central Power governments then fighting in World War I.

1938 Germany's Nazi government begins its public and overwhelming attack against German Jews in the morning hours of November 10th -- referred to as *Kristallnacht* -- "the night of the broken glass." During the ensuing violence, the Berlin synagogue is burned down, 101 other German synagogues are destroyed, over 7,500 Jewish businesses are destroyed, nearly 100 Jews are killed and thousands more are beaten.

1942 In Wannsee, a Berlin suburb, an executive conference of high-ranking Nazi SS officers and other officials decides upon a "final solution" for European Jewry on January 20.

1942 The first, massive use of gas begins at Belzec on March 17 -- a death camp capable of killing 15,000 persons per day. The extermination camps become fully operational within the year. 8,861,000 Jews come under Hitler's control either directly or indirectly during WWII. Of these, some 6 million are killed by the Nazis. Ninety percent of Poland's 3,300,000 Jews are put to death.

1947 U.N. General Assembly Resolution 181 passed on November 29, proposes a plan for the partition of Palestine that would create a Jewish nation.

1948 David Ben-Gurion on May 14 declares Israel's existence as a state.

1975 The U.N. General Assembly's Resolution 3379 of November 10, condemns Zionism as "a form of racism and racial discrimination."

1991 The Forty-sixth session of the U.N. General Assembly convenes on September 17.

**THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON**

DATE: 9/18

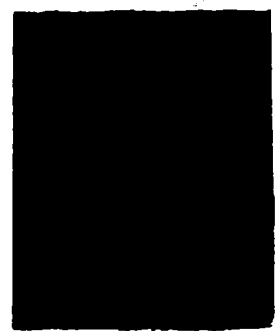
NOTE FOR: CHRISS WINSTON
DAN MCGROARTY

**The President has reviewed the attached, and it is forwarded to
you for your:**

information

☐

action

☒

Thank you.

**James W. Cicconi
Assistant to the President
and Deputy to the Chief of Staff
(x-2702)**

cc:

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

September 15, 1989

INFORMATION

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

THROUGH: CHRISS WINSTON CW

FROM: DANIEL MCGROARTY *DM*

SUBJECT: UN SPEECH -- PERSONAL REMINISCENCES

As the first former UN Ambassador to address the General Assembly as President, your reminiscences of your days in the UN offer a unique opportunity in your upcoming UN speech.

Brief mention of your recollections at the beginning of your speech would lend a personal tone -- and at the same time establish that you speak as one who knows the UN from the inside. We would appreciate whatever recollections you could provide regarding your thoughts as you sat in the General Assembly at the opening of the 26th Session 18 years ago, your impressions as a new Ambassador on the responsibilities of your assignment, on the opportunities or potential of the UN, etc.

You may be interested to know that eight of the current UN ambassadors served in the same capacity during your ambassadorship in 1971-1973.

1. Be sure we get the proper formal salutation in the very beginning. Joseph Reed can help on UN protocol... But we must properly salute the Sec. general and the Pres. of the General Assembly.

Might mention the names of the perm reps who were there when I was.

also the fact that so many perm reps go on to lead their countries.

Excuse the personal reminiscing but this in a sense is like coming home." As in one's school days one makes fast friends here- friendships that cut across political boundaries:"

"Under our able Sec General the UN is widely recognized as having a renewed role in the important area of Peacekeeping. I salute the efforts of our able Sec General." 9check this with Brent)

Find a subtle way to tease, not ridicule, the length of the speeches....

*DM - Chriss
See below
and over*

Possible:.....

I'll never forget one meeting of the Security Council. I was US Perm Rep. I was 45 minutes late getting to the meeting. One speaker had been going on and on for the full 45 minutes. He saw me walk in and take the US seat at the table. He stopped his remarks and said "Oh I am so glad that the US Perm Rep. could join us. And now for his benefit I will start over. The groan that went up from the room transcended ideological lines, historic alliances, regional differences.... The whole place groaned in unison and the laughter broke out....

I will try not to compete with his record breaking oratory." etc etc

Possible- I'm not hooked on it.

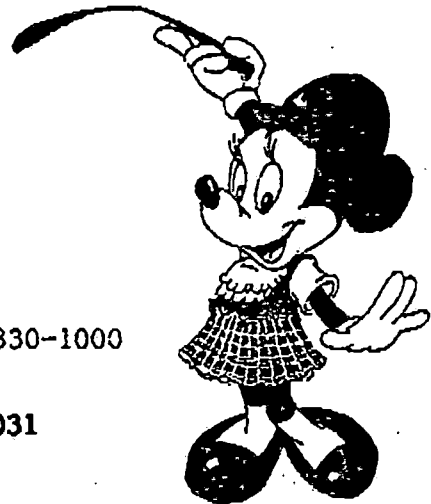
Friendships are formed here; Genuine Understanding is Enhanced Here; a Genuine sense of service prevails here- from the security people, the people who work in the Delegates Lounge, those who work in the dining room, run the elevators, there is a UN spirit a spirit of fraternity and that is good.

09 SEP 18 P12:18

31 SEP 13 All: 27

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TO:

Jennifer A. Grossman

OFFICE/EXT:

202-456-6218

FROM:

Judi Daley

OFFICE/EXT:

407-560-6690

MESSAGE:

Hope this information on the
American Adventure is helpful!

8

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THE AMERICAN ADVENTURE LOBBY QUOTES

Main Hall

1. North Wall:

Painting #1 Focuses on teamwork in some sporting activity, e.g.: baton being passed in a relay race.

OUR WAY OF LIVING TOGETHER IN AMERICA IS A STRONG BUT DELICATE FABRIC. IT IS MADE UP OF MANY THREADS. IT HAS BEEN WOVEN OVER MANY CENTURIES BY THE PATIENCE AND SACRIFICE OF COUNTLESS LIBERTY-LOVING MEN AND WOMEN.

Wendell Lewis Willkie

Painting #2 Massive airplane manufacturing efforts (1942) with men and women (focus on women).

2. East Wall:

Painting #3 Teacher and children under tree with construction of schoolhouse in background.

OUR GREATEST NATURAL RESOURCE IS THE MINDS OF OUR CHILDREN.

from WISDOM MAGAZINE, Vol. 32, 1959,
article--Walter Elias Disney

Painting #4 Political campaign in rural Minnesota: 1910.

3. South Wall:

Painting #5 Deck of clipper ship during storm with view of sister ship on starboard.

WHAT KIND OF MAN WOULD LIVE WHERE THERE IS NO DARING?
I DON'T BELIEVE IN TAKING FOOLISH CHANCES, BUT NOTHING
CAN BE ACCOMPLISHED WITHOUT TAKING ANY CHANCE AT ALL.

first sentence from THE WARTIME
JOURNALS OF CHARLES A. LINDBERGH;
second sentence from THE SPIRIT OF
ST. LOUIS by
Charles Augustus Lindbergh

Painting #6 Modern space explorations, focus on all types involved in development and machinery (e.g.: shuttle, astronauts, technicians, and designers.)

THROUGHOUT THE CENTURIES THERE WERE MEN WHO TOOK
FIRST STEPS DOWN NEW ROADS ARMED WITH NOTHING BUT
THEIR OWN VISION.

from THE FOUNTAINHEAD by
Ayn Rand

Painting #7 Wagon train heading west.

BRING ME MEN TO MATCH MY MOUNTAINS.
BRING ME MEN TO MATCH MY PLAINS.
MEN WITH EMPIRES IN THEIR PURPOSE,
AND NEW ERAS IN THEIR BRAINS.

from THE COMING AMERICAN by
Samuel Walter Foss

Painting #8 Building of skyscrapers (1930's) focus on Indian
steelworkers.

4. West Wall: THERE ARE THOSE, I KNOW, WHO WILL REPLY THAT THE
LIBERATION OF HUMANITY, THE FREEDOM OF MAN AND MIND,
IS NOTHING BUT A DREAM . . . THEY ARE RIGHT. IT IS
THE AMERICAN DREAM.

from THE NATIONAL PURPOSE (a debate in
the NEW YORK TIMES, May 30, 1980) by
Archibald MacLeish

NO MATTER WHAT ACCOMPLISHMENTS YOU MAKE, SOMEBODY
HELPS YOU.

Althea Gibson

West Hall

1. East Wall: YOU WHO HAVE BEEN BORN IN AMERICA, I WISH I COULD
MAKE YOU UNDERSTAND WHAT IT IS LIKE NOT TO BE AN
AMERICAN--NOT TO HAVE BEEN AN AMERICAN ALL YOUR
LIFE--AND THEN SUDDENLY WITH THE WORDS OF A MAN IN
FLOWING ROBES TO BE ONE, FOR THAT MOMENT AND FOREVER
AFTER. ONE MOMENT YOU BELONG WITH YOUR FATHERS TO
A MILLION DEAD YESTERDAYS THE NEXT YOU BELONG WITH
AMERICA TO A MILLION UNBORN TOMORROWS.

from SONG OF AMERICA by
George Magar Mardikian

2. West Wall: AMERICA HAS BEEN SETTLED BY PEOPLE OF ALL NATIONS.
ALL NATIONS MAY CLAIM HER FOR THEIR OWN. WE ARE
NOT A NARROW TRIBE OF MEN . . . NO, OUR BLOOD IS
AS THE FLOOD OF THE AMAZON, MADE UP OF A THOUSAND
NOBLE CURRENTS ALL POURING INTO ONE . . . WE ARE
NOT A NATION SO MUCH AS A WORLD.

from REDBURN by
Herman Melville

- Painting #9 Indians & Pilgrims in fields at harvest time.
- Painting #10 Ellis Island, immigrants (1890-1900) silhouetted against the Statue of Liberty.
- Painting #11 Thanksgiving Dinner--Modern family hosting Asian/Oriental immigrant family.

Upper Lobby

1. West Wall: I THINK THE TRUE DISCOVERY OF AMERICA IS BEFORE US.
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0291

WILLIS

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WILLIAM J. HARRIS, 1958-1959, 1959-1961, 1961-1962, 1962-1963, 1963-1964, 1964-1965, 1965-1966, 1966-1967, 1967-1968, 1968-1969, 1969-1970, 1970-1971, 1971-1972, 1972-1973, 1973-1974, 1974-1975, 1975-1976, 1976-1977, 1977-1978, 1978-1979, 1979-1980, 1980-1981, 1981-1982, 1982-1983, 1983-1984, 1984-1985, 1985-1986, 1986-1987, 1987-1988, 1988-1989, 1989-1990, 1990-1991, 1991-1992, 1992-1993, 1993-1994, 1994-1995, 1995-1996, 1996-1997, 1997-1998, 1998-1999, 1999-2000, 2000-2001, 2001-2002, 2002-2003, 2003-2004, 2004-2005, 2005-2006, 2006-2007, 2007-2008, 2008-2009, 2009-2010, 2010-2011, 2011-2012, 2012-2013, 2013-2014, 2014-2015, 2015-2016, 2016-2017, 2017-2018, 2018-2019, 2019-2020, 2020-2021, 2021-2022, 2022-2023, 2023-2024, 2024-2025, 2025-2026, 2026-2027, 2027-2028, 2028-2029, 2029-2030, 2030-2031, 2031-2032, 2032-2033, 2033-2034, 2034-2035, 2035-2036, 2036-2037, 2037-2038, 2038-2039, 2039-2040, 2040-2041, 2041-2042, 2042-2043, 2043-2044, 2044-2045, 2045-2046, 2046-2047, 2047-2048, 2048-2049, 2049-2050, 2050-2051, 2051-2052, 2052-2053, 2053-2054, 2054-2055, 2055-2056, 2056-2057, 2057-2058, 2058-2059, 2059-2060, 2060-2061, 2061-2062, 2062-2063, 2063-2064, 2064-2065, 2065-2066, 2066-2067, 2067-2068, 2068-2069, 2069-2070, 2070-2071, 2071-2072, 2072-2073, 2073-2074, 2074-2075, 2075-2076, 2076-2077, 2077-2078, 2078-2079, 2079-2080, 2080-2081, 2081-2082, 2082-2083, 2083-2084, 2084-2085, 2085-2086, 2086-2087, 2087-2088, 2088-2089, 2089-2090, 2090-2091, 2091-2092, 2092-2093, 2093-2094, 2094-2095, 2095-2096, 2096-2097, 2097-2098, 2098-2099, 2099-2100, 2100-2101, 2101-2102, 2102-2103, 2103-2104, 2104-2105, 2105-2106, 2106-2107, 2107-2108, 2108-2109, 2109-2110, 2110-2111, 2111-2112, 2112-2113, 2113-2114, 2114-2115, 2115-2116, 2116-2117, 2117-2118, 2118-2119, 2119-2120, 2120-2121, 2121-2122, 2122-2123, 2123-2124, 2124-2125, 2125-2126, 2126-2127, 2127-2128, 2128-2129, 2129-2130, 2130-2131, 2131-2132, 2132-2133, 2133-2134, 2134-2135, 2135-2136, 2136-2137, 2137-2138, 2138-2139, 2139-2140, 2140-2141, 2141-2142, 2142-2143, 2143-2144, 2144-2145, 2145-2146, 2146-2147, 2147-2148, 2148-2149, 2149-2150, 2150-2151, 2151-2152, 2152-2153, 2153-2154, 2154-2155, 2155-2156, 2156-2157, 2157-2158, 2158-2159, 2159-2160, 2160-2161, 2161-2162, 2162-2163, 2163-2164, 2164-2165, 2165-2166, 2166-2167, 2167-2168, 2168-2169, 2169-2170, 2170-2171, 2171-2172, 2172-2173, 2173-2174, 2174-2175, 2175-2176, 2176-2177, 2177-2178, 2178-2179, 2179-2180, 2180-2181, 2181-2182, 2182-2183, 2183-2184, 2184-2185, 2185-2186, 2186-2187, 2187-2188, 2188-2189, 2189-2190, 2190-2191, 2191-2192, 2192-2193, 2193-2194, 2194-2195, 2195-2196, 2196-2197, 2197-2198, 2198-2199, 2199-2200, 2200-2201, 2201-2202, 2202-2203, 2203-2204, 2204-2205, 2205-2206, 2206-2207, 2207-2208, 2208-2209, 2209-2210, 2210-2211, 2211-2212, 2212-2213, 2213-2214, 2214-2215, 2215-2216, 2216-2217, 2217-2218, 2218-2219, 2219-2220, 2220-2221, 2221-2222, 2222-2223, 2223-2224, 2224-2225, 2225-2226, 2226-2227, 2227-2228, 2228-2229, 2229-2230, 2230-2231, 2231-2232, 2232-2233, 2233-2234, 2234-2235, 2235-2236, 2236-2237, 2237-2238, 2238-2239, 2239-2240, 2240-2241, 2241-2242, 2242-2243, 2243-2244, 2244-2245, 2245-2246, 2246-2247, 2247-2248, 2248-2249, 2249-2250, 2250-2251, 2251-2252, 2252-2253, 2253-2254, 2254-2255, 2255-2256, 2256-2257, 2257-2258, 2258-2259, 2259-2260, 2260-2261, 2261-2262, 2262-2263, 2263-2264, 2264-2265, 2265-2266, 2266-2267, 2267-2268, 2268-2269, 2269-2270, 2270-2271, 2271-2272, 2272-2273, 2273-2274, 2274-2275, 2275-2276, 2276-2277, 2277-2278, 2278-2279, 2279-2280, 2280-2281, 2281-2282, 2282-2283, 2283-2284, 2284-2285, 2285-2286, 2286-2287, 2287-2288, 2288-2289, 2289-2290, 2290-2291, 2291-2292, 2292-2293, 2293-2294, 2294-2295, 2295-2296, 2296-2297, 2297-2298, 2298-2299, 2299-2300, 2300-2301, 2301-2302, 2302-2303, 2303-2304, 2304-2305, 2305-2306, 2306-2307, 2307-2308, 2308-2309, 2309-2310, 2310-2311, 2311-2312, 2312-2313, 2313-2314, 2314-2315, 2315-2316, 2316-2317, 2317-2318, 2318-2319, 2319-2320, 2320-2321, 2321-2322, 2322-2323, 2323-2324, 2324-2325, 2325-2326, 2326-2327, 2327-2328, 2328-2329, 2329-2330, 233

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WILLMSCHEN, ROBERT WAYNE, JR., service company, Quincy, Ill., Oct. 10, 1947. **Robert Wayne Sr.** and Helen **W.** m. Betty Louise Korn. BS in Bus., Org. State U., 1969. **Elgin**, 1970. Audit mgr. Arthur Andersen & Co., Chicago. **Chrysler** Safety-Kleen Corp., Elgin, Ill., 1979-82, v.p. fin. adm. 1982-. Mem. Am. Inst. CPAs, Ill. CPA Soc. Home: Green Oak Brook IL 60021. Office: Safety-Kleen Corp 777 Elgin IL 60123

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WILLNER, DOROTHY. anthropologist, educator; b. 1927; d. Norton and Beza (Richman) W.; Ph.B., U. 1953, Ph.D. 1961; postgrad. Ecole Pratique des Hautes Etudes, 1953-54. Anthropologist Jewish Ag. Israel, 1953-54. adminstr. expert in community devel. UN, Mexico, 1954-55. sociology and anthrop. U. Iowa, Iowa City, 1959-60. Chgo., 1961-62; asst. prof. dept. sociology and anthropology, U. Kansas, Lawrence, 1962-63, N.Y.C., 1964-65; asst. prof. U. Kansas, Lawrence, 1967-70; prof. U. Kansas Community Leadership, 1968-70; editing and ed. 1969. Contrb. numerous articles to prof. publs. Fel' Assn. Soc. Applied Anthropology, Royal Anthropol. Soc. Anthropology, Soc. (1978). Am. Ethnological Soc. Anthropology, Soc. Psychol. Anthropology, Assn. Polit. Anthropology, (1979). Democr. Jewish. Home: 2112 1/2 K.S. 664 Office: Dept Anthropology Univ Kansas Lawre:

WILLOCK, MARCELLE MONICA, medical education, Guyana, Mar. 30, 1938, came to U.S. 1954; d. George Norr, W. A. Coll. near Rochelle, 1958; MD, Howard College, 1962; D.D., 1982; Diplomat Am. Bd. Anesthesiology and Anesth. 1968-72; assoc. clin. prof. med. chir., 1971; anesthesiology Columbia U., N.Y.C. 1978-82; prof. chiology Boston U., 1982-... Coauth. articles to prof. chi Marthe Deveaux Found. Panama. 1965-; trustee Coll.: 1976-82. Mem. Am. Soc. Anesthesiologists (ed. 1986- thebiologists (pres. edict 1987-); Alpha Omega Alpha Office: Boston U Med Chir 75 E Newton St Boston M

WILLOCKS, ROBERT MAX, librarian; b. Maryville, a. Willis Lemuel and Hannah (Emert) W.; m. Neysa N. 23, 1947; children—Margaret Sharon, Samuel David, M. Daniel, Kent Max, B.A., Maryville Coll., 1949; B.D., Theol. Sem., 1951, Th.M., 1962; M.A. in Library Science, 1964; pastor, First Baptist Church, Maryville, Cal. Ordained to ministry Bap. Ch., 1950; pastor in B.D. to Korea So. Bapt. Fm. Mission, 1955-67; del. library C. Heidelberg Coll., Triffin, Ohio, 1960-67; act. library C. 1967-70; asst. dir. of library, Univ. of Hawaii, 1970-72; Univ. of Cincinnati, 1972-83; Syracuse (N.Y.) U., 1970-72; U. Fla., 1972-84; Univ. of Hawaii, 1984-85; act. library C. 1962-65; del. Korea Bapt. Pres. 1959-61; prof. ch. hist. 1957-65, acting pres. 1958-59, librarian, 1959-65; Vic Mission, 1962-64; del. Fla. Gov.'s Conf. on Libraries, 1964-65; act. library C. 1965-66; act. library C. 1966-67; translations Thos. a T. Whitten, 1963; The Progress of the Church, 1965; Chmn. trustees Wallace Memorial Hosp., 1965-66; Chmn. trustees Phoebe Hospital, 1965-66; pres. bd. dirs. Phoebe Hospital, 1965-66; act. library C. 1963-64; Mem. ALA Council, telefacsimile com. 1976-77; chmn. standards com. 1985-86; Fla. Library Assn., Assn. ALA UP, Peabody Coll. Alumni Assn. (pres. 5, 1980, NW 17th Rd. Gainesville FL 32605

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Jo Michael (dec.). Cert. in aero. engng. Balt. Voc.
Johns Hopkins U. 1939-42. Asst. Booz Allen & H.
gen. mgr. Lawrence L. Frank Enterprises, 1958-60.
Fidger Constrn. Co. 1960-66; asst. to ch. bd. K.
1966-70; sr. group v. Ranada & Co., Inc., Phoenix.
Inns, Inc. 1970-71. Elder, Presbyterian Ch. Served to
1960-70. Ranada Valley Symphony Assn. (pres.
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WILLOUGHBY, HOWARD WILLIAM, aviation N.Y., Nov. 29, 1923; ch. s. Howard John W. and S. Willoughby; m. Edith Mae Lang, Nov. 29, 1947; ch Scott John, Sally Cornell. B.S., Syracuse U., 1952. E Air N.C., Syracuse, N.Y., 1952-61; dep. commr. avt. Airport, Syracuse, 1961-64; dep. dir. aviation Kansas (Mo.), 1964-80; dir. aviation Phila. International Airport, 1980-87; dep. dir. Metro Vision, Syracuse, N.Y., 1987-88; dep. dir. Metro Vision, Syracuse, N.Y., 1988-89. Partnership Institute Steering Com., 1980-87; mem. Transp. Policy Bd., 1987-88; dep. com. dev. coalition devel., infrastructure and pub. services Wharton Sec. Served to marriage and pub. services Wharton Sec. Served to marriage and pub. services Wharton Sec. Served to marriage and pub. services Wharton Sec.

WILLOUGHBY, JOHN WALLACE, college dear Lebanon, July 30, 1932; s. James Wallace and Id. Joseph Arnold de Witt, Sept. 2, 1959; children: Frost, B.A., Yale U., 1952; B.A., M.A., Oxford U., 1956; s. John, Jr., 1960; s. Robert, 1961; s. Rochester, 1959, Instr. English U.N.Mex.; Albus Chgo., 1960-63; from asst. prof. to prof., dean La Long Island, N.Y., 1963-73; v.p. for acad. affairs Marshall, 1973-74; Sr. Francis Coll., Loretto, Pa., faculty Southwestern Coll., Winfield, Kans., 19 Selected Readings, 1963; contrib. articles to prof. Somerset Council for Health Edn., Johnstown, Pa.

(past v.p.), Executives, Sedgefield Country (Greensboro); Twin City (Winston-Salem, N.C.); Corbey Court (Yale); Yale (N.Y.C.). Contrb. to newspapers, mags., radio, TV. Inventor MacLamroc phonetic alphabet. Home: 110 Pembroke Rd Greensboro NC 27408 Office: 212 W Friendly Ave Greensboro NC 27401

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MACLEAN, ALISTAIR, author; b. Scotland, 1922; ed. Glasgow U. Former tchr. jr. secondary sch., Rutherglen, Glasgow, Scotland; author, screenwriter, 1955—; books include: *HMS Ulysses*, 1955, *The Guns of Navarone*, 1957, *South by Java Head*, 1958, *The Last Frontier*, 1959, *Night Without End*, 1960, *The Dark Crusader*, 1961, *Fear is the Key*, 1961, *The Golden Rendezvous*, 1962, *The Satan Bug*, 1962, *All About Lawrence of Arabia*, 1962, *Ice Station Zebra*, 1963, *When Eight Bells Toll*, 1966, *Where Eagles Dare*, 1967, *Force 10 from Navarone*, 1968, *Puppet on a Chain*, 1969, *Caravan to Vaccares*, 1970, *Bear Island*, 1971, *Captain Cook*, 1972, *The Way to Dusty Death*, 1973, *Breakheart Pass*, 1974, *Circus*, 1975, *The Golden Gate*, 1976, *Seawitch*, 1977, *Goodbye California*, 1978, *Athabasca*, 1980; screenplays include: *Where Eagles Dare*, *Caravan to Vaccares*, *When Eight Bells Toll*, *Breakheart Pass*. Served with Royal Navy, World War II. Office: care William Collins Sons & Co Ltd 14 St James Pl London SW 1 England

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MACLEOD, KENNETH AUTHIER, editor; b. Sault Ste. M.
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GIBBS, WILLIAM EUGENE, chem. co. exec.; b. Akron, Ohio, Sept. 23, 1930; s. Marvin Hill and Mary (Frame) G.; B.S., U. Akron, 1954, M.S., 1954, Ph.D., 1959; m. Carol Ulrich, Oct. 3, 1948 (div. June 1968); children—Sheryl Gibbs McClary, Shelley Gibbs Infantino, Susan Gibbs Witt, Sharon Gibbs Gudorf, Scott; m. 2d, S. Janet Cottigim Sullender, Aug. 28, 1970; stepchildren—David Sullender, Leslie Sullender, Eric Sullender. Staff research chemist U. Akron Inst. Polymer Sci., 1953-55; research chemist Goodyear Tire & Rubber Co., Akron, 1955-58; research chemist Air Force Materials Lab. Wright Patterson AFB, Ohio, 1960-61; group leader, 1961-62, acting br. chief, 1962-64, br. chief, 1964-66, dir. polymer br., 1966-70; v.p. dir. research and devel. Foster Grant Co., Leominster, Mass., 1970-77; v.p. dir. research and devel., plastics div. Am. Hoechst Corp., Leominster, 1978—. Served to lit. USAF, 1958-60. Mem. Am. Chem. Soc. (chmn. div. polymer chemistry 1971), Nat. Acad. Sci. (com. macromolecules 1967—, com. fire toxicology 1976—), AAAS, Soc. Plastics Engrs., Faraday Soc., Soc. Chem. Industry, Ohio Acad. Sci., Alpha Chi Sigma. Home: 21 Pearl Brook Rd Lunenburg MA 01463 Office: 289 N Main St Leominster MA 01453

GIBIAN, GEORGE, educator; b. Prague, Czechoslovakia, Jan. 29, 1924; s. Richard and Vera (Sindelarova) G.; came to U.S., 1940, naturalized, 1944; A.B., U. Pitts., 1943; M.A., Johns Hopkins U., 1947; Ph.D., Harvard U., 1951; m. J. Catherine Anstine, Sept. 2, 1950 (div. Aug. 1967); children—Peter, Mark, Stephen, Gregory, Lauren. Instr. to asso. prof. Smith Coll., 1951-59; asst. prof. Amherst Coll., 1952-54; asso. prof. Russian lit. U. Calif., Berkeley, 1959-61; Goldwin Smith prof. Russian lit. Cornell U., Ithaca, N.Y., 1961—, chmn. dept. Russian lit., 1962-73; s. asso. Columbia U. Russian Inst., 1969. Exec. sec. Masaryk Publs. Trust, 1978—, chmn. bd. overseers com. to visit Ukrainian Research Inst., Harvard U. Served with inf. AUS, 1943-46. Decorated Bronze Star medal with V. Combat inf. badge. Guggenheim fellow, 1959-60, Fulbright research fellow U. Paris, 1960, Nat. Endowment for Humanities res. fellow, 1974. Internat. Research Exchanges Bd. grantee to visit USSR and Czechoslovakia, 1965-66. Mem. Am. Assn. Tchrs. Slavic and East European Langs., MLA, Comparative Lit. Assn. Am., Am. Assn. for Advancement Slavic Studies. Clubs: Adirondack, 46ers; Adirondack Mountain. Author: Tolstoy and Shakespeare, 1957; Journal of Freedom: Soviet Literature During the Thaw, 1960; Russia's Lost Literature of the Absurd, 1971. Editor: Critical Editions of Crime and Punishment: War and Peace, Anna Karenina, 1964, 66, 69; co-editor, Russian Modernism: Culture and the Avant-Garde, 1976. Contrb. articles to prof. journals. Home: 320 The Parkway Ithaca NY 14850 Office: Dept Russian Lit Cornell U Ithaca NY 14853

GIBIAN, THOMAS GEORGE, chem. co. exec.; b. Prague, Czechoslovakia, Mar. 20, 1922; s. Richard and Vera (Sindelar) G.; B.S., U. N.C., 1942; Ph.D., Carnegie Inst. Tech., 1948; m. Laura Cynthia Sutherland, Feb. 19, 1949; children—Barbara Mary, Janet Cynthia, Thomas Richard, David George. Came to U.S., 1941, naturalized, 1951. Research chemist Atlantic Refining Co., 1948-51; with W.R. Grace & Co., 1951-74, devel. engr. Dewey & Almy Chem. div., plant mgr., gen. mgr. battery separators, v.p. gen. mgr. organic chems. div., group v.p.; pres. Chem. Constr. Corp., N.Y.C., 1974-76, TGI Corp., Inc., 1976—; dir. DeBell-Richardson Inc. Bd. dirs. Sandy Spring Friends Sch., Montgomery Gen. Hosp.; mem. vis. com. chemistry dept. Carnegie-Mellon U. Served with RAF, 1942-46. Recipient Merit award Carnegie-Mellon U., 1975. Mem. Am. Chem. Soc., Am. Inst. Chem. Engrs., Indsl. Research Inst., Am. Inst. Chemists. Clubs: Cosmos (Washington), Union League (N.Y.C.); University (Pitts.). Home: Box 218 Sandy Spring MD 20860 Office: 475 Showboat Rd Greenwich CT 06830

GIBLET, ELOISE ROSALIE, educator; b. Tacoma, Wash., Jan. 17, 1921; d. William Richard and Rose (Godfrey) G.; B.S., U. Wash., 1942, M.S., 1947, M.D. with honors, 1951. Mem. faculty U. Wash. Sch. Medicine, 1957—, research prof., 1967—; asso. dir., head immunogenetics Puget Sound Blood Center, 1955—; mem. research rev. com. Nat. Heart, Lung and Blood Inst. Recipient fellowships, grants, Emily Cooley, Karl Landsteiner and Philip Levine immunohematology awards. Mem. Am. Soc. Human Genetics (pres. 1973), Am. Soc. Hematology, Am. Assn. Immunologists, Brit. Soc. Immunology, Internat. Soc. Hematologists, Am. Fedn. Clin. Research, Western Assn. Physicians, Assn. Am. Physicians, N.Y. Acad. Scis., Sigma Xi, Alpha Omega Alpha. Author: Genetic Markers in Human Blood, 1969. Asso. editor: Blood, Am. Jour. Human Genetics, Transfusion. Contrb. numerous articles to prof. journals. Home: 6533 53d St NE Seattle WA 98115 Office: Puget Sound Blood Center Terry and Madison Sts Seattle WA 98104

GIBLIN, EDWARD J., corp. exec.; b. 1917; B.S., Fordham U.; M.B.A., N.Y. U.; married, With Peat, Marwick, Mitchell & Co., C.P.A.'s, prior to 1953; with Ex-Cell-O Corp., 1953—, v.p., treas., 1968-69, exec. v.p., 1969, pres., chief exec. officer, 1970-78, chmn. bd., chief exec. officer, 1978—, also dir.; dir. Detroit Bank and Trust Co., Tecumseh Products Co., Detroit Edison Co. Address: Ex-Cell-O Corp 2855 Coolidge Troy MI 48064

GIBLIN, PATRICK DAVID, banking exec.; b. St. Louis, July 24, 1932; s. Patrick Joseph and Ann Jane (Gill) G.; B.B.A., Manhattan Coll., 1954; M.B.A., St. John's U., Jamaica, N.Y., 1965; m. Sonya G. Allen, July 3, 1965; children—Mary Clare, Christopher, Gregory. Staff auditor Peat, Marwick, Mitchell & Co., N.Y.C., 1956-59; chief plant acct. div. Am. Machine & Foundry, Bklyn., 1959-63; with CBS, N.Y.C., 1963-73, controller electronic video rec. div., 1968-73, dir. corp. acctg., 1967-68; exec. v.p. fin. United Va. Bankshares, Inc., Richmond, 1973—. Served with U.S. Army, 1954-56. Mem. Delta Mu Delta. Roman Catholic. Home: 13 Dahlgren Rd Richmond VA 23233 Office: 900 E Main St Richmond VA 23219

GIBOR, AHARON, cell biologist; b. Jaffa, Israel, Sept. 15, 1925; s. Gedaliah and Hasida (Rosenberg) G.; came to U.S., 1948, naturalized, 1954; B.A., U. Calif., Berkeley, 1950, M.A., 1952; Ph.D., Stanford U., 1955; m. Lynn Stadiner, Jan. 29, 1950; children—Abigail, Sarah. Research scientist Alaska Dept. Fish and Game, 1957-59; asst. prof. biology Rockefeller U., 1960-66; prof. U. Calif., Santa Barbara, 1966—, Guggenheim fellow, 1978-79; NSF grantee, 1977-79; NASA grantee, 1978. Mem. Am. Soc. Cell Biology, Internat. Physiological Soc., Sigma Xi, Jewish. Research in cell physiology, eukaryotic flagella and algal propagation. Office: Biology Dept U Calif Santa Barbara CA 93106

English, July 1, 1977; children—Timothy (by previous marriage), Nicole. Exhibited widely as painter, 1949-52; life sized steel sculpture, 1953—; one-man show bronzes Cambridge Art Assn., 1977; comm. bronze plaque of Khalil Gibran, Copley Sq., Boston, 1977; rep. permanent collections Pa. Acad., Tenn. Fine Arts Center, Norfolk (Va.) Mus., Chrysler Mus., William Rockhill Gallery, Swope Gallery, Brockton Fine Arts Center. Recipient George Widener award Pa. Acad., 1958; Guggenheim fellow, 1959-61; award Nat. Inst. Arts and Letters, 1961; Grand prize Boston Arts Festival, 1964; John Gregory award sculpture, 1965; Gold medal Internat. Sacred Art Show, Trieste, Italy, 1966. Author: Sculpture—Khalil Gibran, 1970; (with wife Jean Gibran) Introduction to Lazarus and his Beloved, 1973. Khalil Gibran His Life and World, 1974. Address: 160 W Canton St Boston MA 02118

GIBSON, ALTHEA, tennis player, golfer, state ofc.; b. Silver, S.C., Aug. 25, 1927; d. Daniel and Annie B. (Washington) Gibson; B.S., Fla. A. & M. Coll., 1953; m. William A. Darben, Oct. 17, 1965. Amateur tennis player in U.S., Europe and S. Am., 1941-58; asst. instr. dept. health and phys. edn. Lincoln U., Jefferson City, Mo., 1953-55; appeared in movie The Horse Soldiers, 1958; made prof. tennis tour with Harlem Globetrotters, 1959; community relations rep. Ward Baking Co., 1959; won world prof. tennis championship, 1960; joined Ladies Prof. Golf Assn. as prof. golfer, 1963; apptd. to N.Y. State Recreation Council, 1964; staff mem. Essex County Park Comm., Newark, 1970, recreation sup., 1970-71; dir. tennis programs, prof. Valley View Racquet Club, Northvale, N.J., 1972; tennis pro Morven, 1973—; athletic comm. State of N.J., 1975—. Named Woman Athlete of Year, AP Poll, 1957-58; named to Lawn Tennis Hall of Fame and Tennis Mus., 1971. Mem. Alpha Kappa Alpha. Author: I Always Wanted to Be Somebody, 1958. Home: PO Box 768 East Orange NJ 07019

GIBSON, ARRELL MORGAN, educator; b. Pleasanton, Kans., Dec. 1, 1921; s. Arrell Morgan and Vina Lorene (Davis) G.; B.A., U. Okla., 1947, M.A., 1948, Ph.D., 1954; m. Dorothy Deitz, Dec. 24, 1942 (div. Apr. 1971); children—Patricia Gibson, Michael Morgan, Kathleen Camille. Prof. history Phillips U., Enid, 1949-57; prof. history U. Okla., Norman, 1957—, chmn. dept. 1964, 70—, Guggenheim fellow, 1959-60; curator history Stovall Mus., U. Okla., 1959—; v.p. prof. Ariz. State U., Tempe, 1973, U. N.Mex., Albuquerque, 1975; Montgomery lectr. U. Nebr., Lincoln, 1978. Mem. adv. bd. Mus. Gt. Plains, Lawton, Okla., 1962—, Served with USNR, 1942-45. Recipient Rockefeller Found. U. Okla. Pres award, 1961; Am. Philos. Soc. Research grantee, 1963, 69; Duke Found. Research grantee, 1968, 69; U. Okla. Faculty Research grantee, 1957-71; named Okla. Writer of Yr., 1972; Outstanding Alumnus Mo. So. State Coll., 1972. Mem. Am. Hist. Assn., Southern, Western history assns., Org. Am. Historians, Southwestern Social Sci. Assn., Okla. Hist. Soc. (bd. dirs.), Phi Beta Kappa, Phi Alpha Theta. Author: The Kickapoo, 1963; Life and Death of Colonel Abner Jennings Fountain, 1965; Oklahoma: A History of Five Centuries, 1965; Fort Smith: Little Gibraltar on the Arkansas, 1969; The Chickasaw, 1971; Wilderness Bonanza, 1972; Edward Everett Dale: Frontier Historian, 1975; The West in the Life of the Nation, 1976; The Oklahoma Story, 1978; The American Indian: Prehistory to the Present, 1979. Home: 909 Birch Dr Norman OK 73069 Office: Faculty Exchange U Okla Norman OK 73069

GIBSON, CHARLES, educator; b. Buffalo, Aug. 12, 1920; s. William Walker and Helen (Jones) G.; B.A., Yale, 1941, Ph.D., 1950; M.A., U. Tex., 1947. Mem. faculty history U. Iowa, 1949-65, asso. prof., 1952-59, prof., 1959-65; prof. history U. Mich., Ann Arbor, 1965—, Henry Russell lectr., 1977, Irving A. Leonard disting. univ. prof., 1978—; v.p. lectr. Harvard U., 1955-56. Served with AUS, 1942-45. Social Sci. Research Council fellow, 1948; Guggenheim fellow, 1952-53; Rockefeller Found. fellow, 1961; sr. fellow Soc. for Humanities, Cornell U., 1979-80. Mem. Am. Hist. Assn. (pres. 1977), Conf. Latin Am. History, Hispanic Soc. Am., Acad. Am. Franciscan History, Mich. Acad. Sci., Arts and Letters, Am. Acad. Arts and Scis. Author: Tlaxcala in the Sixteenth Century, 1952; The Aztecs under Spanish Rule, 1964; Spain in America, 1966. Editor: (with George Kubler) The Tovar Calendar, 1951; (with E.V. Niemeier, Jr.) Guide to the Hispanic Historical Review, 1958; Cartas de Relacion de la Conquista de la Nueva Espana, 1960; The Spanish Tradition in America, 1968; The Black Legend, 1971. Mem. bd. editors Hispanic Am. Hist. Rev., 1955-61, 66-72, Comparative Studies in Soc. and History, 1968—, Am. Hist. Rev., 1973-76; contrb. editor Handbook Latin Am. Studies, 1950-70, chmn. adv. bd., 1968—; adv. editor Hispanic Am. Hist. Rev., 1973—. Home: 2872 Glacier Way Ann Arbor MI 48105

GIBSON, CHARLES COLMERY, rubber mfg. exec.; b. Edwards, Miss., Sept. 12, 1914; s. William Bayne and Anna (Colmery) G.; A.B., Harvard, 1937, grad. Advanced Mgmt. Program, 1953; m. Margaret Easton, Nov. 4, 1939; children—William Bayne II, John Clark. With Goodyear Tire & Rubber Co., Akron, Ohio, 1937-73, v.p., 1956-73; mng. partner C.C. Gibson Co., Akron, 1970—, Trustee, pres. Knight Found., 1975—. Served from ensign to lt. comdr. USNR, World War II. Home: 3386 S Smith Rd Akron OH 44313 Office: Knight Found One Cascade Plaza Akron OH 44308

GIBSON, CHARLES MERRITT, JR., real estate investment exec.; b. Kingsport, Tenn., Aug. 25, 1927; s. Charles Merritt and Helen Leftwich (Black) G.; B.S., E. Tenn. State U., 1950; M.Ed., U. N.C., 1952; m. Margaret Ann McCoy, Dec. 15, 1956; children—Leigh Ann, Charles Merritt, III. Tchr. elementary and high schs., N.C., Va., 1950-54; rep. Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, Inc., Richmond, Va., 1955-65, field mgr., 1965-68; dir. advt. Instructor Pubs. Inc. subs. Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, Inc., N.Y.C., 1968-76, pres. Danville, N.Y., 1976-78, also dir.; pres. Tenney Assocs., Chapel Hill, N.C., 1978—; dir. Danville Press Inc. Served with USN, 1945-46. Mem. Phi Delta Kappa. Republican. Presbyterian. Clubs: Rotary, Am. Legion. Home: 1118 Burning Tree Dr Chapel Hill NC 27514 Office: PO Drawer 1050 Chapel Hill NC 27514

GIBSON, COUNT DILLON, JR., physician, educator; b. Covington, Ga., July 10, 1921; s. Count Dillon and Julia (Thompson) G.; B.S., Emory U., 1942, M.D., 1944; m. Katherine Vislosky, June 10, 1950; children—Gabriella, Thomas, Alexis, George. Intern. Columbia-Presbyrn. Med. Center, 1944-45, asst. resident medicine, 1947-50, med. resident, 1950-51; asst. prof., asso. prof. medicine Med. Coll. Va., 1951-57; prof. preventive medicine, chmn. dept. Tufts U. Sch. Medicine, Boston, 1958-69; physician-in-chief Home Med. Service; attending physician New Eng. Med. Center Hosps.; gen. dir. Tufts-Columbia Point Health Center; vis. physician Boston City Hosp., to 1969; prof. chmn. dept. family, community and preventive medicine Stanford (Calif.) U., 1969—; mem. Calif. Health Manpower Policy Comm., 1977—. Served from 1st lt. to capt., M.C., AUS, 1945-47. Diplomate Am. Bd. Internal Medicine. Mem. A.C.P. Roman Catholic. Contrb. articles to prof. journals. Home: 669 Cabrillo Ave Stanford CA 94305 Office: Stanford U Med Center Stanford CA 94305

RESEARCH FROM 1989 ADDRESS

QUOTES -- UNITED NATIONS

"If we all can persevere, if we can in every land and office look beyond our own shores and ambitions, then surely the age will dawn in which the strong are just and the weak secure and the peace preserved."

John F. Kennedy, Address to the United Nations, September 25, 1961

"The tough-minded . . . respect difference. Their goal is a world made safe for differences, where the United States may be AMerican to the hilt without threatening the peace of the world, and France may be France, and Japan may be Japan on the same conditions."

Ruth Fulton Benedict, The Chrysanthemum and the Sword, chapter 1, 1946

All your strength is in your union.
All your danger is in discord;
Therefore be at peace henceforward,
And as brothers live together.

Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, The Song of Hiawatha, pt. I, 1855

"First keep the peace within yourself, then you can also bring peace to others."

Thomas à Kempis, Imitation of Christ, bk. I, ch. 3, circa 142

"A crust eaten in peace is better than a banquet partaken in anxiety."

Aesop, The Town Mouse and the Country Mouse

"Let us therefore follow after the things which make for peace."

Romans 14:19

"Peace is not an absence of war, it is a virtue, a state of mind, a disposition for benevolence, confidence, justice."

Benedict (Baruch) Spinoza, Theological-Political Treatise, 1670

"We, the peoples of the United Nations, determined to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war, which twice in

our lifetime has brought untold sorrow to mankind, and to reaffirm faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person, in the equal right of men and women and of nations large and small . . .

And for these ends to practice tolerance and live together in peace with one another as good neighbors . . .

Have resolved to combine these efforts to accomplish our aims."

Charter of the United Nations, preamble,
June, 1945

"The social progress, order, security and peace of each country are necessarily connected with the social progress, order, security and peace of all other countries."

Pope John XXIII (Angelo Giuseppe Roncalli),
Pacem in Terris, Encyclical letter, April 11,
1963

Courage is the price that life exacts for granting peace,
The soul that knows it not, knows no release
From little things;
Knows not the livid loneliness of fear,
Nor mountain heights where bitter joy can hear
The sound of wings.

Amelia Earhart Putnam, Courage

Blessed are the poor in spirit: for theirs is the kingdom of heaven.

Blessed are they that mourn: for they shall be comforted.

Blessed are the meek: for they shall inherit the earth.

Blessed are they which do hunger and thirst after righteousness: for they shall be filled.

Blessed are the merciful: for they shall obtain mercy.

Blessed are the pure in heart: for they shall see God.

Blessed are the peacemakers: for they shall be called the children of God.

Blessed are they which are persecuted for righteousness' sake: for theirs is the kingdom of heaven.

Blessed are ye, when men shall revile you, and persecute you, and shall say all manner of evil against you falsely, for my sake.

Matthew 5:3-11

"No man is good enough to govern another man without that other's consent."

Abraham Lincoln, Speech at Peoria, Illinois,
October 16, 1854

"Man must evolve for all human conflict a method which rejects revenge, aggression and retaliation. The foundation of such a method is love."

Martin Luther King, Jr., Speech accepting the
Nobel Peace Prize, December 11, 1964

THE PEACEMAKERS

The Peacemakers by George Peter Alexander Healy (1813-1894).

Oil on canvas, 1868. This scene depicts a meeting late in the Civil War between President Abraham Lincoln and (left-to-right) Major-General William T. Sherman, Lieutenant-General Ulysses S. Grant, and Rear-Admiral David D. Porter. On March 27 and 28, 1865, these leaders met aboard the River Queen, the steamer which had brought the Lincolns to Grant's headquarters on the James River during the siege of Richmond, Virginia. They discussed the favorable prospects for a speedy peace, which engendered Healy's title and inclusion of an optimistic rainbow in the cabin window. The likeness of Lincoln in this group portrait, painted in Rome, closely resembles Healy's 1869 portrait of the president which currently hangs in the State Dining Room. Healy is also represented in the White House collection by six other presidential portraits.

U.S. Government Purchase.

947.2558.1

On last night's Prime Time Live White House tour, the President pointed out this painting to Diane Sawyer. It hangs in his office in the residence. He is the first president to use this room as an office -- until this time it has been known as the "Treaty Room." The painting has been hanging there since the Kennedy Administration (1961).

President Bush described the horror of the Civil War, and pointed to the rainbow peeking through the window -- "a symbol of hope" or the "light at the end of the tunnel" for these "peacemakers."

The Curator's Office told me that the city of Richmond fell while Lincoln was on the River Queen, and he went on to visit the city, symbolizing the end of the war.