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JD

FOR TONY SNOW FROM JOE DUGGAN SEPTEMBER 19, 1991

Here are a few thoughts on the UN. I attach materials from Assistant Secretary of State John Bolton. The first pages of Bolton's package specifically respond to your request for examples of UN resolutions and activities from the "Bad Old Days." I also send some materials on "The Invocation of Universal Values" and a taxonomy of totalitarianism from a figure from the past, J---e K-----k.

At the founding of the UN were gathered: non-utopian internationalists who believed that the rights of the individual human person apply universally and that international cooperation could promote prosperity and prevent some conflicts; nonviolent utopians; and totalitarian, violence-prone utopians.

The language of the UN Charter and Declaration on Human Rights, on its face, should have created an international covenant of civilized states (democracies, protectors of human rights). But in practice, the totalitarian and other utopian elements in the UN deformed that covenant. Language and symbols were turned on their heads in Orwellian fashion.

So we witnessed the UN become highly selective while posing as universal in choosing causes.

- \* With Resolution 3379, ("Zionism is a form of racism and racial discrimination") the UN desecrated the memory of Holocaust victims and contradicted its own action of 1947 in helping to bring a Jewish national state into being.
- \* The UN supported "national liberation movements" that were neither authentically nationalist nor committed to liberty.
- \* The UN worked against personal and social freedoms with its campaigns for a coercive New World Information Order and a coercive New World Economic Order.
- \* The UN fomented vulgar-Marxist and classic Marxist class antagonisms, notably, the "north-south" antagonisms of the 1970s.

Now, as the societies and nations long enslaved by totalitarianism are freeing themselves, the UN is showing signs of freeing itself from subservience to lies about war and peace, about politics and economics, about human nature and human action.

good! The UN response to Saddam was principled, measured, deliberate, and ultimately courageous in authorizing force to reverse aggression by an outlaw state with capabilities threatening not only Kuwait but many other states in the region.

Let this be a new beginning for the UN, and may the UN now undo all the ideological deformations it committed over the past few decades.

KEYNOTE FOR A NEW ERA OF COOPERATION -  
ADDRESS TO THE 46TH UNITED NATIONS GENERAL ASSEMBLY

Setting: The President will be standing on the world stage as the undisputed world leader, as the Cold War has clearly ended and we are on the threshold of a new era. Everyone is looking to the President for a State of the World speech with vision and his definitions of the New World Order. He need not give firm definitions but rather should set out the parameters or elements of a New World Order. He would not dictate specifics but would suggest an agenda of opportunities made possible by the new era of cooperation and invite others to join in shaping the New World Order. The statesmanlike approach of leading while including all nations in responsibility for the task should be well received by the UN audience and the world audience. And the agenda of opportunities should be an irresistible bipartisan approach here at home.

Speech objectives:

-- Demarcate clearly between Cold War and new era of cooperation that all together can shape if we shed Cold War mentality.

-- Set forth a vision of the new world as a world community of nations/New World Order to be built by all, including building blocks.

-- Counter suggestions of US hegemonic ambitions.

-- Increase understanding and support for New World Order by broadening it to include social and economic aspects.

-- Indirectly rally domestic support for an active foreign policy and counter the false choice raised by Administration critics who assert the country needs a "domestic president" in 1992.

-- Chart a general course for the UN and its specialized agencies, along with the international financial institutions (primarily IMF and World Bank) to reach the potential envisioned when they were created.

Major themes:

-- Hallmark of the new era: The role of government is to serve of the people, by the people, and for the people. The role of governments is not to test the limits of government's rights but to advance the cause of individual rights.

-- Opportunities exist for building world community of nations to the benefit of all mankind based on shared interests and shared values of democratic principles, market economics, concern for people, and the peaceful resolution of disputes --

-- On eve of electing new UNSYG, UN is on threshold of rising to the vision of its founders. In NWO, the UN must enhance collective security and address political, economic, social, and humanitarian issues that confront us. True measure of success must be improvements in the lives of the people of the UN, not strengthening of member governments.

-- Suggestions for UN on UN reform, emergency humanitarian response, preventive diplomacy, UN peacekeeping, arms control, and UN election assistance.

**Ending:** Come back to world community of cooperation and government of the people, by the people, and for the people. Invite all to work together to make the dream a reality.

within and among states. Accomplishing this is the hard work of freedom.

-- Reaching goal requires all to work together. We must overcome the Cold War mentality and divisions to be successful.

-- The New World Order is meant to be a collective aspiration (no Pax Americana) encompassing political, social, and economic elements.

-- There are major challenges known now and others unforeseen to come. We must move steadily forward based on principles.

### I. Courtesies

### II. Introduction/Historical Context

- Extraordinary world changes have given rise to genuine optimism about the future. We are at a turning point in history, as events move rapidly to overturn the old order.

- Forty years of Cold War, of confrontation over two separate views of governance. This test of wills and principles dominated the world order and policies and greatly limited the potential for international cooperation.

- Now tremendous change brought about by people around the world subscribing to the principles of democracy and freedom.

- Overarching lesson of the 20th century is the political, social, economic, and moral failure of the modern totalitarian state. Realization is sweeping the world that there must be limits to the powers of governments and people can bring this about.

- The overarching lesson for the future is that governments must be accountable to the people.

- The prospects of the 21st century are freedom and democracy, limits on the state, and advancement of the individual.

- We all -- peoples and governments and institutions -- have an opportunity and challenge to build a world community of cooperation based on shared values and interests. Will require shedding Cold War way of thinking.

### III. Defining Moments - Soviet Union

- Profound events and change is final and total death of idea that state knows better and can govern without the consent of those it governs.

- This defining event presents major opportunity for international cooperation, spread of democracy and free enterprise. Success of democracy in the Soviet Union will have great benefits to Soviet people and in making a better world.

- Now challenge of effecting a transition. As change is effected there through the will of the people, it is not up to world community or US to dictate or interfere; US is not committed to a particular set of institutions but rather principles. Five crucial principles regarding change set out by Secretary Baker at historic Moscow CSCE human rights conference: peaceful change and self-determination, non-violent resolution of conflicts, respect for human rights, and adherence to obligations under international law.

- In the near term, US will work together with others to be certain humanitarian needs are met.

- For the longer term, US strongly encourages IMF to take the lead in coordinating the international financial institutions in structuring a program and responding to opportunities presented to us by the Soviet people as they carry forward their reforms.

- US will continue to work with responsible government on problem solving such as Afghanistan, other regional conflicts, arms control, cooperation on Middle East peace.

#### IV. Defining Moments - Resisting Iraq's Aggression

- In terms of solidly entering a new era of cooperation, we have already taken the crucial step of setting a standard of principled response to aggression. We - the world collectively - did not let aggression stand. Crucible of a New World Order.

- Still work to be done - Iraq violating UN Security Council. Saddam clearly determined to rebuild arsenal. Means sanctions will remain in place as long as this regime stays in power.

- Have provided for humanitarian needs with UN mechanism.

- Look forward to day when Iraq has new leadership and can be integrated back into the world community.

#### V. New World Order

- No longer a bipolar world, but not unipolar. Moving to a community of nations because victor is set of ideals.

- Vision of building to a world community of nations based on democratic principles, market economics, peaceful resolution of conflict, and concern for individuals.

- Not a Pax Americana but a peace for the world. A universal opportunity that requires the energy and creativity of all. These energies are unlocked as shackles of government control fall away.

- New World Order can be a cooperative aspiration. Elements of a New World Order:

- o Where cooperation has replaced conflict and where peace has a better chance.
- o Where governments derive their just powers from consent of the governed (where governments govern for the people and by the people) and human rights are a priority,
- o Where people and their daily needs matter and we strive to give every child a better future.
- o Where free markets thrive, generating economic growth and development.
- o Where nations cooperate to tackle global problems such degradation of the environment, drugs, terrorism.

-- One President cannot bring about such a New World Order. Takes effort and commitment to cooperation by all. Invitation to join together in the endeavor. Even those who have until now still chosen to be outside the community of nations.

## VI. New Opportunities and Challenges Facing Us

- Unparalleled opportunities and challenges to do the hard work of freedom - nationally, regionally, and globally. These can be the building blocks of a New World Order. All require cooperation.

-- **New way of thinking** required to overcome paralysis of Cold War and divisions into spheres of influence and exaggerated emphasis on security, rather than integrated approach to world problems. Have been moving to more comprehensive problemsolving and need to continue.

- o Reform and strengthen effectiveness of the UN and its specialized agencies.

- o Examine the organization, mission, and resource base of the Bretton Woods institutions (IMF and World Bank).

-- **Promote peace and stability worldwide.** Stability allows greater energies for pursuit of democracy and market economies, thus benefiting individuals and reinforcing prospects for stability.

o Tackle problems of international peace and security by bringing to bear concerted diplomacy and peacekeeping, including preventive diplomacy, where possible and effective collective military action where necessary. Pursue arms control and insist on observance of arms control agreements. Improve international support for international efforts to curb proliferation of weapons of mass destruction.

o Some situations born of the Cold War conflict now present opportunities. Primarily regional conflict, and there is hopeful progress on these. Can dare to hope that as a result of solutions underway that half of the world's 16 million refugees can return to their countries by middle of decade.

-- Building a New World Order will not be simple, quick, or easy. World remains a dangerous place, still with tensions and conflict, ethnic rivalries, spreading weaponry, and lingering authoritarianism. Must continuously work for peace and stability worldwide.

o In dealing with these problems, some of which are resurfacing after many years, we must apply the principle of seeking diplomatic, peaceful solutions. Key role of regional organizations - UN cannot and should not do it all. World community should deal compassionately with the human dimensions of these problems (such as ethnic rivalries).

-- **Promote and consolidate democratic values**, including insisting on upholding of Universal Declaration of Human Rights. Need to assist in transitions to democracy. Devise ways to advance democracy and help build democratic institutions which accompany them, without dictating specifics.

-- **Promote market economics**, however difficult the transitions may be from centrally-controlled economies.

-- **Improve individual well being**. Free market economies, a sense of community, and a spirit of caring can begin to address problems of well-being, leading to better lives. The international community can only benefit by strengthening the well-being of the people, economies, and societies of all its members. Will require continued international assistance programs. Renew commitments undertaken at World Summit for Children.

-- **Reduce global/transnational threats**. Threats to our environment and health, social and criminal problems of drug trafficking, acts of terrorism should not be allowed to undermine the New World Order.

## VII. United Nations - Fulfilling the Original Vision

- UN at historic juncture. Cold War over for UN too. UN engaged in many peacemaking and peacekeeping activities in addition to resistance to aggression in Gulf (and the necessary followup).



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MESSAGE NO. 600 CLASSIFICATION Unclass PAGES 8

FROM Jennifer Grossman (Name) (Phone Number) (Room No.)

MESSAGE DESCRIPTION \_\_\_\_\_

TO (Agency)	DELIVER TO:	DEPT/ROOM NO.	PHONE NUMBER
<u>L.A.</u>	<u>Tony Snow</u>		

REMARKS \_\_\_\_\_

September 19, 1991

MEMORANDUM FOR TONY SNOW

FROM: JENNIFER GROSSMAN

SUBJECT: MORE UN MATERIAL

- 1) A couple of pages from Looking Forward  
--UN at its worst, baiting and berating US, betrayal, hypocrisy  
\*\*there are a couple of incidents which Bush as Ambassador witnessed events that seem to have left a pretty lasting mark on him. If we use them in an anecdotal "see how far we've come" manner, especially on a Pakistan vs. Kuwait, for instance, it will really mean something, personally, for POTUS. If he gets charged up, it's Bush as his best.
- 2) Presidential response to questions on UN personal reminiscences. You might already have this.
- 3) Below: the best in Hammarskjold and De Tocqueville

QUOTES

- 1) DAG HAMMARSKJOLD:

"It is when all play safe that we create a world of utmost insecurity."

"Only he who keeps his eye fixed on the far horizon will find his right road." (I already gave this one to Curt for the luncheon, I don't know if it survived)

"A task becomes a duty from the moment you suspect it to be an essential part of that integrity which alone entitles a man to assume responsibility."

- 2) ALEXIS DE TOCQUEVILLE

Y "When I refuse to obey an unjust law, I do not contest the right of the majority to rule; I simply appeal from the sovereignty of the people to the sovereignty of mankind."

Y "There is one universal law...That law is justice. Justice forms the cornerstone of each nation's law."

"Democracy and socialism have nothing in common but one word: equality. But notice the difference: while democracy seeks equality in liberty, socialism seeks equality in restraint and servitude."

"Men are not corrupted by the exercise of power or debased by the habit of obedience; but by the exercise of a power which they believe to be illegal and by obedience to a rule which they consider to be usurped and oppressive."

"It cannot be repeated too often that nothing is more fertile in prodigies than the art of being free; but there is nothing more arduous than the apprenticeship of liberty."

"The tyranny of the majority."

"...of all peoples those most deeply attached to peace are the democratic nations."

1972 Security Council resolution that condemned Israel for attacking Palestinian bases in Syria and Lebanon but failed to condemn the Munich atrocity that led to the attack.

It was a one-sided, irresponsible resolution, typical of what was happening to the U.N. As Third World countries attained a majority in the General Assembly, baiting the West—particularly the United States—became the order of the day. Meanwhile, this country continued to pick up nearly one third of the total U.N. budget, a fact that President Nixon never failed to note when some new incident of U.S. baiting occurred.

In the fall of 1971, the United States suffered its most serious setback in the General Assembly—up to that time—when the Third World majority voted to expel our Taiwanese allies from the United Nations. As U.S. ambassador I led the lobbying effort to permit Taiwan to keep its U.N. seat as part of what was called the “Dual Representation” plan.

The plan originated when it became clear that the United States could no longer muster the votes needed to keep the General Assembly from recognizing the Beijing (then Peking) government as the official representative of the Chinese people. Our “Dual Representation” policy was a fallback position. It accepted the inevitable—Beijing’s entry into the U.N.—while still maintaining our country’s commitment to our friends in Taiwan.

The actual vote came on a procedural question. Our lobbying was intense among U.N. delegates from Latin American, African, and Asian countries. On the other side, Communist and other anti-Western states lobbied equally hard in favor of Taiwan’s expulsion. For a while our delegate head count showed we had the votes to win; but in the event, on October 25, 1971, what we thought were committed votes turned into abstentions. Some delegates who’d promised their support didn’t show up. The final count was 59–55, with 15 countries abstaining. To this day I still remember the countries that promised to vote with us, then broke their word.

After that procedural vote, the General Assembly went on to admit the Beijing government and expel Taiwan by a

sizeable margin. It was a turning point in the history of the U.N., the first time the anti-Western bloc (including Communist countries) had defeated the U.S. when American prestige was on the line. For some delegates—who literally danced in the aisles when the vote was announced—Taiwan wasn’t really the issue. Kicking Uncle Sam was.

The mark of the professional diplomat is never to let personal feelings affect the way one looks at the job. I wasn’t a professional, however. Sitting there in the U.S. ambassador’s chair, I could feel not only bitterness but disgust at the scene taking place. One of the governments that had helped found the U.N.—the Republic of China—had been expelled from the international community, and the event was being celebrated on the floor of the General Assembly. If this was “the Parliament of man, the Federation of the world,” then the world was in deeper trouble than I thought.

A short while before, when it became apparent that Taiwan’s days at the U.N. had run out, I let personal feelings take over as I saw Liu Chiegh, the Taiwan ambassador, walk out of the hall with his delegation for the last time. Leaving my chair, I caught him before he reached the door, put an arm on his shoulder, and expressed regrets for what had happened. He felt he’d been betrayed by the organization his country had helped found and supported over the years.

From Liu’s perspective, the United States hadn’t done all it could to support the Taiwan government. America’s position regarding his country’s status was changing. The U.S. delegation had worked hard to get a “Dual Representation” policy through the General Assembly, but in the end it was a different kind of “Dual Representation” policy—Washington’s ambivalence on the question of recognizing Beijing—that had undercut the case we tried to make to save Taiwan.

In the summer of 1971, Henry Kissinger had made the secret visit to Beijing that first signaled the change in U.S. policy. Then, not long before the debate on Taiwan’s status in the General Assembly, Washington announced that President Nixon would visit China in 1972.

The news was seen in the White House and State De-

partment as a historic breakthrough. But at the operational level of U.S. policy in the U.N., we were asking neutral nations to stand firm against Beijing, while softening our own policy toward Mao's regime.

Despite my personal feelings about Taiwan's expulsion, the long-range wisdom of having the People's Republic of China in the U.N. and of opening diplomatic contacts with Beijing was obvious. I understood what the President and Henry Kissinger were trying to accomplish. What was harder to understand was Henry's telling me he was "disappointed" by the final outcome of the Taiwan vote. So was I. But given the fact that we were saying one thing in New York and doing another in Washington, that outcome was inevitable.

The delegation from the People's Republic of China arrived in New York City in their drab gray Mao jackets\* on November 11. It was my first direct exposure to the Communist Chinese. I was in for some geopolitical surprises.

It came as no surprise when the P.R.C.'s Deputy Foreign Minister, Qiao Guanhua, denounced the United States in his first formal address to the U.N. General Assembly. But while knowing that the two Communist powers had serious differences, I didn't appreciate the antagonism the Chinese felt toward the Russians, until he spent an equal amount of time denouncing the Soviet Union. A cartoon appeared in the next day's paper showing Malik and me at our desks, grimacing while Qiao dumped a bucket of rice over both our heads.

Qiao's speech was only the beginning of my education into the true state of Chinese-Soviet relations, however. The

\* Actually, "Sun" jackets, after Sun Yat-sen, the father of modern China. A few years later, when I was U.S. envoy to Beijing, I made some mention of "Mao jackets" and was corrected by a Chinese, who quickly informed me that Sun, not Mao, was the first to wear them. The fact that both the Taiwan government and Beijing government claimed Sun as the founder of their movements points up the complexity of Chinese politics and the danger of trying to jump to easy conclusions about Chinese policy and intentions at any given time.

real surprise—that they merely disliked us, but despised the Russians—came when China's U.N. ambassador, Huang Hua, attended his first informal session of the five permanent members of the Security Council.

The session took place at the apartment of the French ambassador, Jacques Kosciusko-Morizet. Huang Hua and I had already met in one of those carefully planned scenarios laid out by State Department protocol experts. Because the United States didn't formally recognize the Beijing government, my meeting with representatives of the P.R.C. would have to appear casual, not preplanned.

I seated myself in the U.N. delegate's lounge, at a place where Qiao Guanhua and Huang Hua would have to pass on their way in. Then, as they came by, I rose, extended my hand, and introduced myself—cordially but not effusively.

They each shook my hand, cordially but not effusively. The "spontaneous" introductions over, we went our ways; but it was important that the Chinese ambassador and I talk to each other occasionally, because our two countries, despite having no formal diplomatic relations, had areas of common interest.

Now Kosciusko-Morizet, having greeted Huang Hua at the door of his apartment, was ushering him into the living room, where Sir Colin Crowe, Yakov Malik, and I were waiting. Huang was introduced to Sir Colin, shook his hand, then to me, and shook my hand. Then Malik held out his hand. I saw Huang Hua put his hand forward; but on hearing the words "Soviet ambassador," he jerked it back, pivoted, and walked away.

The insult couldn't have been more calculated. Huang knew before he came that Malik would be there. He was giving the Russian a strong taste of the medicine Malik liked to dish out on meeting newcomers—except that the Chinese weren't merely probing to see how far they could push the Russians. I realized Huang's act was a deliberate, open display to the other major powers that the Chinese considered Soviet "hegemony"—even more than American "imperialism"—the greatest threat to their country's security.

Malik, his hand extended in midair, turned a livid shade of purple. It was as if Huang had struck him with the

back of his hand. At that moment—it couldn't have been more than a few seconds, though it seemed longer—the tension in the room was impossible to describe. Not a word, just heavy breathing. Then our French host, in full flap, moved rapidly toward the dining room, waving and calling out, "*Allons, allons*, let's begin the meeting."

The five of us took our places at the table—the two Communist ambassadors seated a safe distance from each other—and we went on to have a relatively civil discussion. But years later, when I was sent to Beijing as U.S. envoy, the impact of that meeting stayed with me.

The last time an ambassador had refused to shake hands with a Soviet diplomat had been when Henry Cabot Lodge turned away from Foreign Minister Andrei Vishinsky in the 1950s, at the height of American-Russian Cold War tensions. What I learned in the French ambassador's living room was that no matter what the state of détente between the United States and the Soviets, there was another Cold War taking place in the world—one between the world's two biggest Communist powers.

Dad had been on vacation in Maine when he developed a cough that he didn't seem to be able to shake. He was finally persuaded to go to Sloan-Kettering's Memorial Hospital in New York for a thorough checkup. The diagnosis was lung cancer. He didn't despair, but the disease spread rapidly.

Mother stayed with us at the ambassador's residence in the Waldorf-Astoria, spending most of her time at Dad's bedside. He died October 8, 1972. It was a real blow for me, for all his children. We had lost a best friend.

I served as U.S. ambassador to the United Nations until January 1973. On leaving to return to Washington, I was asked by a reporter whether my experience there had changed my opinion of the organization.

My answer—then and now—was yes. It made me more critical of the U.N. than I'd been before, seeing its flaws and

limitations firsthand, but also more supportive, because I'd seen what the organization can do in humanitarian, social, and other areas, where ideological differences can be held to a minimum.

Politically the U.N. is and always will be a reflection of, rather than a solution to, the tensions that exist in the world. I remember the most compelling speech made to the Security Council during the 1971 session. It was delivered by Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, then the Deputy Prime Minister of Pakistan, who'd flown to New York City to ask for U.N. action to stop the Indian invasion of East Pakistan.

Bhutto made an impassioned appeal, but it was futile. What I was watching reminded me of the dismal scene at the League of Nations in 1936, when Haile Selassie flew to Geneva to ask for help when his country had been invaded by Mussolini's Italy.

The members of the League of Nations had sat on their hands in 1936. Now, in 1971, the members of the United Nations, called on to stop a war between two member states, were sitting on their hands.

"Here you are," said Bhutto as he concluded his speech, "here you are with your three wines and your grand dinners, and your '*Oui, monsieur*' and '*Non, monsieur*,' while my country is being ripped asunder by war." And with that he dramatically picked up the yellow sheets he'd been reading from and tore them to pieces, letting the paper shreds fall onto the table—at which point Israel Byne Taylor-Kamara of Sierra Leone, the presiding officer of the Security Council, as if to underscore Bhutto's message, stirred awake to say, "We thank the distinguished gentleman from Pakistan for his most helpful remarks."

Clearly, the United Nations has much to be said for it, but it still has a long way to go before it can ever achieve its early promise as "the world's last best hope for peace."

The President wanted to see me at Camp David. When the call came in, I knew our days in New York City were drawing to a close.

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

*DM - Christ  
See below  
and [unclear]*

INFORMATION

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

THROUGH: CHRISS WINSTON *ew*

FROM: DANIEL MCGROARTY *Y.H. 9*

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." (check this with Brent)

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

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- Im 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.

39 SEP 18 P12:18

# DRAFT

## UNGA SPEECH OUTLINE

Setting: Forty sixth UN General Assembly. End of Cold War, threshold of new era. Everyone is looking to the President for a State of the World speech and his definitions of the New World Order. He can claim victory about advancement of the individual. It need not be a gloating victory speech, as the "losers" are winning by joining in the opportunities generated for individuals and societies by democracy and a more cooperative world community. It is the right time internationally and domestically for the president to set out an agenda for the future to the multiple audiences, to demonstrate his (unquestioned) leadership. It can be a world agenda and an irresistible bipartisan agenda.

Audience: World leaders, citizens everywhere, international media, the UN

### Speech objectives:

- o Set forth a vision of a world community based on democratic values.
- o Advance U.S. claim to lead a world community increasingly committed to democracy, market economics and the peaceful resolution of disputes--within and among states.
- o Set out building blocks of the New World Order as the agenda for the future.
- o Counter any suggestion of U.S. hegemonic ambitions or inordinate concern with Eastern Europe and developments in the Soviet Union by emphasizing and illustrating the universality of democratic values, market principles, and our commitment to cooperate with all who share them.
- o Increase understanding and support for New World Order by broadening it to social and economic aspects, including advancement of the individual.
- o reaffirm the legitimacy of international involvement in the internal affairs of countries to promote and protect basic human rights.
- o Rally U.S. domestic support for an active foreign policy, greater international cooperation, and rejection of the false choice raised by Administration critics who assert the country needs a "domestic president" in 1991.
- o Promote further reform and enhanced effectiveness of the UN and its specialized agencies, along with the complementary efforts by the international financial institutions, regional organizations and other less formal efforts to solve problems collectively.

# DRAFT

## I. Courtesies

- Greet very good friend and distinguished Secretary General, Javier Perez de Cuellar. Pay special tribute to him in his tenth and final year as UNSYG.
- Greet UNGA President.
- Welcome new members to this rejuvenated world body. Several have waited a long time for this recognition (refers especially to Baltics and Republic of Korea). You have joined the UN on the brink of a new age.
- Greet countries large and small, who are members. All have an important role in the future of the organization

## II. Introduction/Historical Context

- Extraordinary world changes have given rise to genuine optimism about the future. We are at a turning point in history.
  - o Melting of Cold War and walls and divisions, allowing greater individual freedoms and international cooperation.
  - o Also have accomplished critically important task of setting a standard of behavior in the world community (Iraq).
- Highlight recent events/achievements involving varied and reinforcing forms of international cooperation that point in the direction of the New World Order, to wit: **promoting peace and security** with the victory in the Gulf through the UN, the progress in resolving regional conflicts (e.g. Angola, ECOWAS/Liberia, Western Sahara, Cambodia), new commitments (by China and South Africa) to abide by the Non-Proliferation Treaty; **spreading democracy** (not only in EE and the Soviet Union but across much of Africa, Mongolia, and, now in all of Latin America except Cuba), early September CSCE human rights conference in Moscow; **economic and other forms of cooperation** (including the environment, health, etc.)
- These winds of change allow the focus of our energies to change because we are in a new world of cooperation, not the old world of conflict. We are building a New World Order that will bring us into the 21st Century, based on lessons of 1991:
  - o Aggression will not be tolerated
  - o Freedom and democracy are irresistible
  - o International cooperation works.
- The **principles** that underlie these changes are liberty, democracy, peaceful settlement of disputes, human rights, rule of law, caring, cooperation.
  - o Shared values - domestic bridge.
- Lessons of the 20th Century - A brief section should provide historical context. The overarching political, social, economic and moral lesson of the 20th Century is the cruelty and failure of the modern totalitarian state and the success of democracy. Dictators are on the run and have no where to hide. We are on the brink of a new age of enlightenment.
- Prospects for the 21st Century - If the 20th Century tested the limits of the state, the lodestar of the 21st Century will be

**advancement of the individual.** (Many of the themes that the President has raised domestically, about self-help, improvement of individuals equal opportunity, the boundless potential of the human spirit --regardless of race, religion, or culture now have unmatched resonance internationally.) Powerful forces to devolve or evolve the role of states are accelerating -- often simultaneously -- around the world. Increasingly, judgments regarding the merits of such changes will be made in terms of their likely impact on all individuals directly concerned.

- o Individual becoming more important
- o Governments giving more power to the people -- or the people taking it to themselves
- o Cautionary note about orderliness

### III. Soviet Union

- The birth of freedom and democracy in the Soviet Union marks the end of a great civil conflict that has divided the world community for generations. Most remarkably, this struggle was primarily in the minds of ordinary people. The idea that the state knows better and can govern without the consent of those it purports to serve is dead at last. Never before has there been a turning point in history so profound, far-reaching, peacefully effected, and focused fundamentally on advancing the rights and obligations of individual citizens.

- People have spoken - want less government. Want democracy, having tasted it and because of modern communications the power of information helped give power to the people.

- US is not committed to set of particular institutions but to the basic values and principles of democracy. Put peoples of Soviet Union on notice that we will be holding them to CSCE standards.

- US role: Continue to work with responsible government on problem solving, such as Afghanistan, arms control and control of arms. Note importance of continued cooperation on Middle East peace.

- o Humanitarian
- o International financial institutions
- o National initiative like extending Democracy Corps to Soviet Union?
- o Anything else to announce?

### IV. New World Order

- From bi-polar to **world community of nations** - The bi-polar order that has existed since World war II will not be replaced by a uni-polar one. Today's victor is not one country or one leader but an ideal. The coalition of democratic nations whose values have prevailed have no hegemonic presumptions. We do, however, seek a world that is increasingly receptive to democracy, market economics, and cooperation against aggression. Recent history shows that such a community can only be forged and successfully sustained through voluntary cooperation, with members acting in accordance with the expressed will of their peoples.

- In the New World Order, the Soviet Union is a member of the community of nations. Benefits to Soviet peoples and to the world will be enormous with new opportunities for their own society and economic development and for international cooperation.
- Some nations are still outside community of nations; leadership has not thrown off old ways. Iraq, Cuba, Vietnam, Burma, others. A New World Order seeks to bring them in, not by imposing it from the outside but by letting the idea of freedom work.
- Say to the others: Come and join us in freedom and cooperation toward a better life for all. This is not a "Pax Americana" as some have said. It is a peace of the world. It is universal.
- NWO is fundamentally a more democratic world based on rule of law
  - o Where cooperation has replaced conflict and where peace has a better chance.
  - o Where force is condoned only when used after other means have failed, for the principle of protecting and defending peace
  - o Where governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed (where governments govern for the people and by the people)
  - o Where people and their daily needs matter
  - o Where we strive to give every child a better future
  - o Where human rights are a priority
  - o Where the rights of the individual are respected
  - o Where free markets thrive, generating economic growth and development.
  - o Where nations cooperate to tackle global problems much degradation of the environment, drugs, terrorism.
- In the emerging NWO, we see a major opportunity that solutions to regional conflict will allow millions of refugees, some of whom have been refugees for a decade or more, to return home to rebuild their lives and their countries.
  - o Have already seen this in Namibia and Nicaragua. Now there is concrete progress in Cambodia, Western Sahara, South Africa, and the Horn of Africa -- where famine adds to the misery of refugees and displaced. In Afghanistan, we believe with international cooperation an end to the protracted conflict and tragedy of 5 million refugees can be found.
  - o Will require major repatriation programs and assistance to successfully return the people, which the international community should generously support.
  - o Believe we can dare to hope that by the middle of the decade the 16 million refugees now in camps can be reduced by half.
- Yes, it is a new world of hope, but building the New World Order is not simple, quick, or easy. It will take time for the New World Order to evolve and we must expect some progress, some

difficulties. The world remains a dangerous place with ethnic antagonisms, national rivalries, spreading weaponry, personal ambitions and lingering authoritarianism. End of Cold War and central repression can unmask old rivalries among peoples. In some cases will generate -- has generated -- bloodshed, refugees. We need a new code of decency to deal with problems rather than open warfare.

- International community through the UN and regional organizations must be ready to work compassionately toward solutions without imposing solutions to internal problems as long as peace and security are not threatened. UN's diplomatic, peacekeeping, and humanitarian efforts are well known. Also recognize the historic initiative by the Economic Community of West Africa (ECOWAS) in deploying regional peacekeeping forces to Liberia, and we salute the EC's ongoing efforts to bring peace in Yugoslavia.

#### V. Iraq

- Irresponsible aggressive international behavior put Iraq outside standards of behavior of the international community. The international community through the United Nations took the necessary steps based on principle and the UN Charter to counter the behavior. We - the world collectively - did not let aggression stand. Crucible of the New World Order.

- o Recount briefly UN role - all done by votes: counter aggression, control weapons of mass destruction, care for refugees and displaced.
- o There is still work to be done in the Persian Gulf; the UN is still engaged in following through on all aspects to ensure peace and stability and meet humanitarian concerns.
- o Six months after the passage of UNSCR 687 and 688 we are confronted with a pattern of serious violations of the cease fire by Saddam and his regime. Saddam clearly is determined to rebuild his weapons of mass destruction arsenal in flagrant violation of 687 while subjecting his people to brutal repression despite 688.
- o Iraq's contempt for U.N. resolutions -- first demonstrated in August 1990 and now illustrated virtually every day -- means we must keep UN sanctions in place as long as this regime stays in power.
- o UNSCR 706 created a responsible mechanism for providing humanitarian relief to the people of Iraq has been created and it should now be implemented.
- o The United States looks forward to the day when Iraq has new leadership and can be integrated back into the world community. A new Iraqi leadership that indicates its willingness to live at peace with its neighbors, respects U.N. resolutions, and provides its own people with basic civil rights and an opportunity for political participation will be met with warmth by the U.S. and its neighbors in the region.

- o The Iraqi people have suffered more than anyone else from their dictator's actions and we look forward to the day when their agony ends.

## VI. United Nations

- The experience of dealing with Iraq's aggression has clearly strengthened the UN and given it new vitality. The UN's collective security role has been carried out through the principled use of force to protect and defend the peace. This is a useful model, not a new status quo.

- The UN is at a historic juncture, as it reflects the world. After 45 years of underachievement, largely due to the Cold War, the UN is reinvigorated as it takes on difficult problem-solving worldwide. The UN and particularly the Secretary General has been engaged in a broad array of activity in addition to the Persian Gulf situation, including seeking a solution on Cyprus and addressing the Middle East hostage issue, looking for peace in El Salvador, and closing conflict in the Western Sahara and Cambodia. On the eve of electing a new UNSYG the UN is on the threshold of rising to the vision of its founders. In the New World Order, the UN must enhance collective security by measures to keep the peace and must address the political, economic, social, and humanitarian issues that confront us. The true measure of success must be improvements in the lives of the people of the United Nations, not the strengthening of member governments. Some specifics:

- Preventive Diplomacy - In the past, UN diplomacy has focused chiefly on ending conflicts once started. Now it is reasonable to aspire to equal success in conflict prevention. The US will pursue the following objectives on preventive diplomacy with the new Secretary General and the Security Council:

- o that the Secretary General, by informal information sharing or by such other means as states may decide, be kept fully informed of the status of existing or potential situations which may lead to international friction;
- o that the Secretary General shall take all necessary steps to reinforce his capacity to communicate with the parties to a dispute and to seek solutions, including enhanced use of special representatives in good offices and quiet diplomacy missions to help resolve issues which may lead to conflict;
- o that consideration be given to the use of peacekeeping troops as a means of forestalling conflict before the outbreak of hostilities, such as by deployment to the border of a threatened state;
- o We call on member states to assist in every way possible to support efforts of the Secretary General and his special representatives to settle disputes that threaten the peace.

- UN Peacekeeping - Demands for UN peacekeepers -- the blue helmets -- is growing, as durable solutions are being shaped for

some of the most protracted conflicts in nearly every region. This year alone, at least five new peacekeeping missions are in the field or on the drawing board. The US is fully committed to support peacekeeping and strengthen it institutionally in the UN.

- Arms Control - We warmly endorse the efforts of the EC and Japan to establish a UN arms transfer registry.

We will work closely with them to ensure the passage of a resolution designed to bring needed transparency to the global arms trade.

- UN Election Assistance - (Bush initiative announced at UNG last year) We believe that the UN can play an important role in furthering democratization around the globe by providing electoral assistance to those countries that specifically requests it. We look forward to the Secretary General's report on UN electoral assistance and hope to work with other member states in sponsoring an appropriate resolution on the topic.

- UN Emergency Humanitarian Response -

- o Note need for faster startup and coordinated response. UN and world community have a responsibility.
- o Urge action now, not waiting for more comprehensive reforms.
- o Strongly urge creation of humanitarian czar working in closest conjunction with the UN Secretary General to direct and coordinate the international response to disasters and to arrange better coordination of financial appeals and faster mobilization of resources.
- o Recommend that the GA set up a humanitarian response start up fund by authorizing use of the Working Capital Fund to finance expenses incurred at the outset of a humanitarian mission, as is done with peacekeeping. Expenditures would be controlled by the humanitarian czar.
- o US would like to see part of its arrearage payments used for these humanitarian purposes, to reach suffering people faster.
- o Hope General Assembly would task humanitarian czar to work with member states to identify military and civilian assets that could be called upon when natural or manmade humanitarian disaster strikes.

- UN Reform - We must reform and strengthen the United Nations system, to make it more effective and responsive to the goals of its members and the world agenda. The convergence of world events and the forthcoming election of a new Secretary General -- to replace our distinguished and revered incumbent -- offers an opportunity for progress and furtherance of these goals. We should not miss this narrow windows of opportunity to press ahead in:

- o strengthening the system, particularly through restructuring the Secretariat
- o reviewing and tightening coordination among the various elements of the UN system playing to prevent

overlapping programs to ensure efficient use of resources.

- o adapting of existing institutions to the future requirements of peacekeeping, peacemaking and the economic and social welfare of all UN members.

VII. **Agenda for the Future** - to act on now and into the future. Unparalleled opportunities and challenges to do the **hard work of freedom**--nationally, regionally and globally. These are the **building blocks of the New World Order**.

- **Assure peace and stability worldwide** - We must tackle problems of international peace and security by bringing rapidly to bear concerted diplomacy and peacekeeping where possible and effective collective military action where necessary and through arms control. Through cooperative efforts, we must:

- o Promote diplomatic solutions to regional conflicts, including preventive diplomacy. Regional organizations and the UN have key roles.
- o Strongly support UN peacekeeping
- o Follow through with international support and assistance to rebuild countries and repatriate refugees following conflict, to build foundations of stability.
- o Arms Control:
  - Reduce size of military arsenals while still maintaining the legitimate rights of self defense to deter and defend against military aggression.
  - Stop the global proliferation of nuclear, chemical and biological weapons through bilateral and multilateral agreements.
  - US/Soviet agreement to cut deeply their nuclear arsenals
  - We support ban on chemical weapons.
  - We are working in UNSC to negotiate guidelines for restraining destabilizing transfers of conventional arms.
  - Stress importance of adherence to arms control agreements. The international community must demonstrate the seriousness with which it views violations of arms control agreements, as is being done in holding Iraq to UN Resolutions 687 and 706.
- o Reduce military spending -- Too many countries spend too much on weapons of war. The United States is setting an example that other nations should follow. In response to the reduced threat from the Warsaw Pact, the United States is making significant defense cuts. By 1995 we will:
  - devote a smaller share of our economy to defense than at any time in more than half a century;
  - reduce our military forces by 25 percent;
  - significantly cutting the size of our strategic nuclear forces.

- o If other nations would follow this trend, the world could become a more peaceful place with greater resources available for economic development.
- Promote and consolidate democratic values - History shows democracies to be less aggressive, more prosperous, more humane, and more cooperative with other nations than conceivable alternatives.
  - o Assist transitions to democracy.
  - o Devise ways to advance democracy and help build democratic institutions which accompany them.
  - o Advance human rights. With the developments of the past year, there can no longer be any justification-- ideological, political or necessity--for any government to violate the basic human rights of its citizens.
    - Note that in UN action regarding massive humanitarian abuse of Iraqi Kurds by the Iraqi government, world community recognized acts of genocide or other massive humanitarian abuses as threats to international peace and security. Such acts are of direct and immediate concern to the world community, which can act to deal with them through the Security Council.
    - President has asked US Congress to speed the process toward ratification of the UN Covenant on Civil and Political Rights which embodies the essential freedom of opinion and expression.
    - Note that US action on Torture Treaty is nearly complete and we strongly oppose torture anywhere it occurs.
- Promote market economics - Free market economies are the engine of growth. An open and expanding international economy, (based on market principles, stable currencies, and broadly respected rules for managing and resolving economic disputes) is essential.
  - o Encourage the growth of capitalism and limitation of central government control.
  - o Support aid, trade, and investment policies that promote economic development.
  - o encourage free trade and development of a community of free-trading nations.
  - o Foster individual enterprise.
  - o Utilize fully international financial institutions in facilitating reform and cooperation.
- Improve individuals lives. Free market economies, a sense of community, and a spirit of caring can begin to address problems of well-being, leading to better lives. The international community can only benefit by strengthening the well-being of the people, economies, and societies of all its members.
  - o Continue bilateral and multilateral international aid programs, with greater coordination to insure effective use of resources

- o Devise ways to more effectively institutionalize the international capacity to help peoples and countries in need.
  - o Renew our solemn commitments undertaken one year ago at the historic World Summit for Children. The goals must be met --reduce the terrible toll and tragedy of child mortality, increase education, and ensure a better future for all children because they are our future.
  - o Emphasize education
  - o Emphasize democracy and market principles to increase productivity and economic activity, leading to greater self sufficiency and lessening need for international aid.
- Respond to urgent humanitarian needs - This is a responsibility. The international community has repeatedly demonstrated its readiness and capacity to meet critical humanitarian needs caused by natural or man-made disasters. This capability and compassion will continue to be needed.
- o Strengthen international ability to respond to massive humanitarian needs where natural or man-made disaster strikes.
  - o Do not flag in providing assistance
  - o Enlarge donor community
- Reduce global/transnational threats. These are longer-term threats that transcend borders and require international cooperation to be conquered.
- o Systematically and aggressively address:
    - degradation of the environment,
    - health issues such as AIDs and a children's vaccine
    - drug trafficking and the social and criminal problems involved in narcotics
    - terrorism

Ending: Winds of change, winds of hope on every continent. Move forward with vigilance to a **world community of cooperation based on democratic values and universal principles.** Truly a defining moment in history on brink of third millennium. Can build the bridges necessary for a lasting peace and a better world for all. Let us work together -- large nations and small -- to make the dream a reality.

September 16, 1991

MEMORANDUM FOR TONY SNOW

FROM: JENNIFER GROSSMAN  
SUBJECT: THOUGHTS ON UN ADDRESS

As you relayed in this morning's meeting, these remarks should kick a kudos in the UN's direction, while reflecting on a changing world. You also touched on the hesitation in delivering specific proposals and decisive judgements -- presumably given the fluidity of the ongoing Soviet crack-up.

I believe these parameters should invite us to give a more thematic, philosophical, and, yes, visionary speech than might be encouraged under ordinary circumstances. Circumstances have been anything but; and this year's UN has been far from business as usual. In the formulation/reconciliation of this speech, I could foresee a struggle arising, similar to the annual battle for the soul of the State of the Union. The list vs. the leitmotif, the trees vs. the forest -- the tasks vs. the vision. Attached for your attention is a memo addressing this tension sent to POTUS and the powers during last year's SOU.

I realize that in trying to unify a broad philosophical approach to the new world dawning, we tread close to wording NWO or Pax Americana. Still, given the almost chiliastic events of the past year, a failure to address the shifting fundamentals of our world would be disappointingly conspicuous. Our audience might not be looking to us to patrol the world beat, but I'm sure some of them wouldn't mind asking us for directions.

If you leaf through the excerpts of relevant past UN addresses, you will remark a willingness to talk about America -- its people and its ideals. I think this should be embraced. And while I will restrain the brat in me (na na na na na, we won the cold war) I believe it imperative that we state for the record not who, but what won -- the universal, inextinguishable desire for freedom, national self-determination, and individual liberty. America has championed these ideals, and that's at least worth a foot note. In an attached article, Feulner goes a little bit farther and harsher as he is wont to do, but I think it's worth your attention.

Oh yeah: the member count is 159 today, 166 tomorrow -- no kidding.

MORE QUOTES

- 1) "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."  
--Charles Augustus Lindbergh
- 2) "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."

--Archibald MacLeish

- 3) "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 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."

--Herman Melville, Redburn

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

January 14, 1991

MEMORANDUM FOR

FROM:

SUBJECT: STATE OF THE UNION ADDRESS

**"The common misfortune of the Presidential Annual Message is that they tend to become a catch-all. Being that they often catch nothing."  
New York Times, December 5, 1928**

To list, or not to list, that is the question. Given the historical tension between the impulse to deliver a laundry list annual message and the desire to give a shorter, more thematic State of the Union address, we've assembled and assessed research that might clarify the choice. The material we've reviewed seems to endorse the brief, thematic approach as the most effective, the most memorable, and the oratorical weapon of choice of some of our greatest presidents.

The other obvious argument that weighs in favor of a more thematic, inspirational speech is the context of the current Gulf crisis. Historian Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., in describing Lincoln's Second State of the Union address, notes that "the war itself inspired Lincoln to the highest eloquence of all Annual Messages." We must ask ourselves whether at this decisive moment in history, the American people are waiting for a long list projects and proposals or whether they need to hear words of leadership, comfort, and vision.

Abraham Lincoln, Woodrow Wilson and Franklin Roosevelt are recognized as having delivered the most effective State of the Union addresses. All three served in times of national crisis; all three impressed the nation as leaders, inspired and inspiring. It is telling that these men chose not only to deliver more thematic annual messages, but shorter ones as well.

# Conservatism in a New Age

Edwin J. Feulner, Jr.

Mark -  
re: Age of Empowerment  
- MK

Chronicling the  
collapse of  
the old world  
order

Let the record show that 1989 was the most significant year in the most important decade since World War II.

But before the revisionists rewrite history and credit the global triumph of freedom to Carter-Mondale-Weicker-McGovernism, or to Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev, let the record also show that the victory belongs to American conservatives.

Sure, liberals as well as conservatives "believe" in freedom and democracy. And they have every bit as much reason to celebrate the events in Eastern Europe as do Ronald Reagan, George Bush, Barry Goldwater, Ed Meese, and Ed Feulner.

But it wasn't the weak policies of the Seventies—the public retreat from world leadership, the humiliating self-doubt, the lonely walks in the Rose Garden, the "incurable" stagflation, the block-long gas lines, the malaise of the Misery Index—that prompted the Soviets to loosen their grip. Nor did they come around as a result of lectures on income redistribution by John Kenneth Galbraith or friendship visits by Armand Hammer.

Mikhail Gorbachev saw the handwriting on the wall. And what he saw was this: eight years (and still counting) of sustained U.S. economic expansion; determined U.S. efforts to rebuild its military arsenal after years of neglect; U.S.-built Stinger anti-aircraft missiles being effectively used by the Afghan freedom-fighters to shoot down Soviet aircraft; the Strategic Defense Initiative; NATO's strategic modernization program; unrelenting U.S. efforts through Voice of America, Radio Free Europe, and Radio Liberty to explain to people living behind the Iron Curtain not only what was happening in the West, but in their own countries as well; President Reagan's oft-criticized war of words; and last but not least, the embarrassing failure of state socialism, an economic system hailed as

what we have done to lay the groundwork for the wave of the future by many of America's leading leftist intellectuals. These are the realities, brought about by the conservative policies of the Reagan-Bush era, that cut gaping holes in the barbed wire of the Iron Curtain and turned the Berlin Wall into another capitalist triumph: historical souvenirs at Macy's and other fine stores. Indeed, the very policies that brought renewal to the West and forced Soviet rulers to confront reality are the ones that liberals have fought and belittled every step of the way. Those of us on the receiving end of their endless barbs have every reason to gloat.

But even these developments are already history. Perhaps the ultimate tribute to conservative ideas and policies is what lies ahead. Because it is to us—to the free-market ideas of F.A. Hayek, Adam Smith, and Milton Friedman and to people like Richard Rahn of the U.S. Chamber of Commerce, William Dennis of the National Federation of Independent Business, and Stuart Butler of The Heritage Foundation—that the governments of Eastern Europe are now turning for advice. They have seen the future and it's not the vaunted Soviet model, which has brought them nothing but poverty. Only on U.S. college campuses does the socialist dream linger on. In Warsaw, Tallinn, Prague, and Budapest, they don't want lectures on income redistribution and capitalist exploitation, they want income and capitalism.

To appreciate just how far we've come in the 1980s we need to recall where we were just a decade ago. As my colleague Burt Pines, who chronicled many of America's most troubled days for Time magazine, reminds us, America was "in retreat on almost every front" when the '70s came to a close. At home, we had surrendered to high taxes, bracket creep, hyper-inflation, failing educational standards, crime in the streets, and "listened with respect as one leader after

another told us that less is more, small is a beautiful, and yesterday was better than tomorrow ever will be."

Internationally, it was much of the same. America retreated from Vietnam, Iran, Angola, Ethiopia, Afghanistan, Nicaragua, and in the face of OPEC. We surrendered the Panama Canal, closed our eyes to Soviet treaty violations, and at the United Nations apologized obsessively for daring to have national interests. As Sen. Daniel Moynihan D-N.Y., confidently, but incor-

rectly, observed: American democracy had begun "to look like monarchy in the 19th century . . . the place where the world was, not where it is going."

It was, in short, a dreadful decade. And one president after another—Richard Nixon, Gerald Ford, Jimmy Carter—was overwhelmed by the problems he faced and turned haggard by the burdens of office.

The 1980s repealed all that. We cut taxes, began deregulating the economy, and returned to a typically American strategy for economic growth, creating hundreds of thousands of new businesses and millions of new jobs. By recognizing again that government is not the universal solution, we reversed nearly half-a-century of conviction that Washington knows best.

In dealing with Moscow, the 1980s also reversed a decade and a half of skittish self-doubt. We rebuilt our military arsenal, dared the Kremlin to keep technological pace, and kept our promise to our allies—doggedly ignoring massive protests—to deploy medium-range nuclear

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1989 was the most significant year in the most important decade since World War II.

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DEMOS WANT TO EMPOWER  
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EMPOWER PEOPLE

missiles in Western Europe. We allowed talks with the Soviets to collapse, and refused to make new concessions simply to keep them at the bargaining table. We even dared brand the Soviet Union "the Evil Empire," established the National Endowment for Democracy to wage a global battle for public opinion, and dared challenge "containment," the very centerpiece of our own foreign policy, with a new vision: rolling back the Soviet Empire. The Reagan Doctrine.

Now the Iron Curtain is history.

Even many conservatives laughed when President Reagan and Britain's Margaret Thatcher said Mikhail Gorbachev was truly a new kind of Soviet leader. Then last year, as the people of Hungary, Poland, East Germany, Romania, and Czechoslovakia were giving communism the boot, not only did the Kremlin do nothing to stop them, it was itself inching toward democratic reform.

By the time Reagan left office, communism, if not quite a corpse, was tottering toward the grave. By late 1989, Berliners were dancing on a crumbling wall, Vietnam was pursuing free-market reform, Heritage Foundation analysts were in Estonia helping the Estonians plan their transition to a market economy, Paul Weyrich and fellow conservative activists were giving seminars in Moscow on grassroots political organizing, and the president of the Soviet Union was meeting with the Pope.

All of this was a great triumph for American conservatism. President Reagan not only strengthened U.S. defenses, but he made clear that the United States was

Perhaps the ultimate tribute to conservative ideas and policies is what lies ahead.

through winking at Soviet adventurism. While the Soviet economy was disintegrating (as it continues to do), the U.S. economy boomed. Even Reagan's deregulation of oil prices helped turn the tide against the Soviets, triggering a worldwide price drop that cut sharply into the Soviets' hard currency earnings from oil exports.

This is how we helped make a new world. The Kremlin's leaders didn't suddenly mutate into Jeffersonian democrats. They were pushed there by the same changed "correlation of forces" that caused Soviet General Secretary Leonid Brezhnev to gloat a decade earlier about the "seriously weakened" state of world capitalism.

More than anything else, all of these momentous changes mean one thing for conservatives: We have to recognize that the world is dramatically different than the one we inherited from the Carter-era doomsayers a decade ago. And we have to act accordingly.

This does not mean compromising in any way the principles in which conservatives believe—limited government, individual liberty, free enterprise, and peace through strength.

But we have to recognize that we have a chance like none other since the New Deal to reshape the political landscape, and take advantage of it. The future is still up for grabs.

In the '80s conservatives successfully popularized conservative principles as *principles*. In the '90s our goal must be to translate these principles into policy, and in that respect the fight has just begun.

To plan the future, we must remember how we and our adversaries got where we are. The roots of modern conservatism are chiefly philosophical, while the roots of modern liberalism are chiefly practical and political. This difference is crucial. Unless conservatives come to grips with it, we will lose the momentum we generated in

the '80s.

The driving vision behind much of modern liberalism is, of course, Franklin Roosevelt's New Deal. The Great Society programs launched by Lyndon Johnson in the '60s merely applied a more-the-merrier rationale to the New Deal.

By their own admission, New Dealers were flying by the seats of their pants in creating all the agencies that empowered government to do what before would have been considered radical and mostly unconstitutional. To be sure, there were socialists who saw the New Deal as the first shot in an anti-capitalist fusillade, but on the whole it was a series of ad hoc political responses to demands to do something—anything—about an economic crisis that makes the recession of the early '80s seem like a boom.

We must define New Deal Order & New America Order

The 1980s Reagan Revolution, by contrast, was rooted in philosophical principles, rather than politics. Conservatives knew what we wanted and why we wanted it, even if we didn't know fully how to get it. Today, I'm convinced we know what it takes; but the jury is still out on whether a movement whose roots are primarily intellectual and philosophical can displace one whose roots primarily are political.

I wouldn't be in this game if I weren't an optimist, but facts must be faced: Except for the 1980 election, the only real change in Congress has been the replacement of tax-and-spend liberals with the spend-and-spend kind.

Today, there is far less consensus than a few years ago on the conservative future. In itself, this is neither surprising nor unhealthy. True intellectuals must make careful distinctions, and conservatives have never been slack in distinguishing various strands of conservatism: economic libertarians, cultural conservatives, paleo-

Modern conservatism vs. modern liberalism

**Conservatives must show they can succeed where liberalism has failed.**

conservatives, neo-conservatives, old right and new right—so many strands that it's easy to lose track! But in the '80s the unifying force was opposition to Soviet expansion and to the escalating cost and obtrusiveness of the federal bureaucracy, and

points of disagreement seemed trifling in comparison. Today, this can no longer be taken for granted.

First, because of our success in rolling back communism, there is no longer much consensus on what constitutes a "conservative foreign policy," and in the public's mind foreign policy has receded in importance. Moscow still sends mixed signals, blessing East European freedom but continuing to modernize its nuclear arsenal and fund communist insurgency and dictatorship in the Third World. What is the proper conservative response?

It's easy to forget that until the Vietnam War provoked the anti-war movement of the '60s, culminating in George McGovern's winning the 1972 Democratic presidential nomination, an activist foreign policy was a hallmark of liberalism, while conservatism had a strong isolationist strain. Despite images to the contrary, conservatives don't enjoy spending \$300 billion a year on the Pentagon. Today, we are debating how much defense is necessary, where the United States is most threatened, and how much of the burden U.S. allies should carry.

This isn't the place to set forth a new conservative foreign-policy agenda. But it is the place to acknowledge that in an era when even many communists have turned anti-communist, anti-communism is no

longer enough to unify and energize conservatives. But if, as a few observers have predicted, this means that conservatism will become a spent rocket in the '90s, we'll have ourselves to blame, not our ideas.

The decline of communism and the longest economic expansion in American history are, after all, *vindications* of our ideas. Our chief failures in the '80s—our failures to restrain federal spending and to bring the fruits of the economic recovery to the poor in the inner cities—were caused not by a lack of vision, but by our inability, after so many years in opposition, to capitalize on the opportunity to govern.

Conservatives must stop merely adjusting to liberal initiatives and start pushing their own more aggressively. Otherwise, what Ed Meese calls the "tin-cup syndrome" will continue, turning America from a nation of entrepreneurs into a nation of lobbyists stampeding to Washington to beg Congress for money. Such competition is not over who can best create wealth through greater productivity and innovation, but over who can get the biggest slice of existing wealth through adroit use of political pressure, not quite a road that leads to preeminence in the world economy.

In 1977, the late Sen. Edward Zorinsky, D-Neb., explained his decision to run for the Senate as follows: "As Mayor [of Omaha] I was on the receiving end of bureaucracy from Washington, D.C., telling me how to run the city, when to run it, why to run it, where to run it. The federal revenue-sharing dollars that we received didn't have strings attached to them, they had ropes attached to them. And then they act like all that money is *born* in Washington; they don't give you credit for paying taxes."

Reagan came to Washington to change that. He is one of the few leaders in history who sought power to give it away—to

states, localities, private enterprise, and institutions that build community values and make Americans actively involved citizens instead of resentful taxpayers. In view of the obstacles he confronted, it's amazing he got as far as he did. But it wasn't far beyond the starting blocks.

*nice image, can we use it in self improvement*  
**T**he conservative agenda can never be brought to full flower simply by rearranging the deck chairs on the Titanic called the federal bureaucracy.

For the conservative revolution to take root firmly, we must empower Americans to run their own lives. This means, for example, giving parents the freedom to choose the schools their children attend, empowering tenants to manage the public-housing projects where they live, and providing businesses incentives to invest in poor inner-city neighborhoods. As President Bush has said, the best anti-poverty program is a job—a real job in the private sector, with a real future.

**Conservatives don't enjoy spending \$300 billion a year on the Pentagon.**

"By supporting empowerment," Heritage Director of Domestic Policy Studies Stuart Butler wrote in *National Review*, "conservative poverty-warriors can trigger confrontations between the poor and the welfare state that serves them so badly. These confrontations will help conservatives to build the coalitions needed to tip the political balance in favor of their proposals."

It's not enough anymore simply to discredit liberalism; in the new age, conservatives must show we can succeed where liberalism has failed. That failure is every-

*Lib agenda in terms of east*

where. Yet in such areas as environmental policy, health care, and day-care, liberal members of Congress are promoting more of the same: policies that, by the end of the '90s, could make the deficits of the '80s seem piddling.

The good news is that conservatism appears fully up to the task. The left, though unsure of what to make of Eastern Europe's passion for free minds and free markets, is right about one thing: the collapse of the Soviet Empire means conservatives don't have to spend as much time worrying about the threat of communist aggression. But instead of spreading despair among conservative troops, this should help liberate us, and free us to tackle many of those other problems that despite their importance and even urgency, have seemed less important, less urgent when compared to the task of national survival.

  
**We must empower Americans to run their own lives.**

Intellectually, conservatism has never been healthier. Four of our own—Milton Friedman, F. A. Hayek, George Stigler, and James Buchanan—have been recognized in recent years with Nobel Prizes in economics, at one time the exclusive preserve of the left. In other fields as well, conservative academics and intellectuals have helped reshape the way America thinks. In the 1970s, for example, who had heard of Charles Murray, Stuart Butler, George Gilder, Daniel Pipes, Kim Holmes, or Richard McKenzie? You can bet they will all be heard from time and time again in the decade ahead.

While conservatives have sometimes fumbled the political ball in Washington, we now are better prepared than ever to

help shape policy at the local and state level. Effective conservative research and advocacy organizations now exist in more than half the states, from Washington, California, and Arizona in the West to Pennsylvania, Massachusetts and Connecticut in the East, and more will appear as their successes grow. Already some of these organizations have left their marks, offering alternative solutions to such problems as educational decline, prison overcrowding, and public transit financing.

There is now a conservative public-interest law movement, where a decade ago there was nothing. Conservative journals, modeled after the Dartmouth Review, established several years ago by Heritage alumnae Benjamin Hart and Dinesh D'Souza and several of their classmates, now flourish on dozens of college campuses, from Harvard to Stanford and Berkeley. And even the publishing industry—including Macmillan's Free Press, Rutgers University's Transaction Books, Universe Books, Madison Books, University Press of America, Stein and Day, and Basil Blackwell—has discovered, as the traditional conservative publishers Lexington Books, Green Hill and Regnery Gateway learned years ago, that Americans who buy books want both sides of the story. In other words, conservative books sell.

Conservatives have spent the last 45 years preventing the left from dismantling the barricades against Soviet communism. Today all the world can appreciate the wisdom of our struggle, derided for so many years, and in so many ways, by those who

opposed us.

Now conservatives are ready to do battle on other fronts. Stuart Butler, Jack Kemp and Anna Kondratas propose a conservative war on poverty. Warren Brookes sees the environment as the great battle ground of the 1990s. The fight against drugs demands our attention—as does the war against public schools that are a public disgrace.

**NEW WORLD:**

**T**he world, too, is still a dangerous place. The Soviets, who possess enough nuclear fire-power to incinerate most of the globe, face troubled times; and instability in the Soviet Union poses great challenges and grave threats to the West. Iraq is building long-distance missiles, and may again be developing nuclear arms. Much of Latin America is still in turmoil. And Africa: the legacy of socialism can be seen everywhere as the malnourished and starving and near-corpses compete for less and less bounty.

By not deviating from bedrock principles, conservatives have helped change the world for the better. But there are many battles still to fight. Nineteen-eighty-nine was a remarkable year in the annals of freedom. We intend to see that the 1990s are remembered as the decade of freedom—and of unprecedented opportunity for each and every American.

*Edwin J. Feulner Jr., is President of The Heritage Foundation.*

*It might be worthwhile to remember*



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For many years, the United Nations failed to hold all nations to a single standard of human rights. While member states found it easy to single out for criticism small countries without powerful patrons among the bloc of countries here that can control a majority of votes, others with much poorer human rights records escaped censure, and sometimes even led the attack.

This has changed. We find that there is a willingness to confront the records of countries such as Cuba which have institutionalized abuse of human rights as a mainstay of their form of government. But much still needs to be done.

The Universal Declaration of Human Rights is one of this body's oldest documents. It is a testament to the founders' vision of the UN in which human rights play a vital role in securing mankind from the scourge of war. The Universal Declaration today provides us with a single international standard by which all governments can be measured, and to which they should all be held accountable. It is this document, more than any other adopted by this body which reaches out to the individual to succor him against the depredations of tyrannical government. It is up to every member here to protect and promote the fundamental rights and liberties it contains.

**SUBJECT: Prez UNGA Speech: Talking Points on NWICO**

-- For many years this Assembly provided the forum for a great ideological debate waged on the one hand by certain governments suspicious of a free press at home which could subject them to scrutiny and make them more accountable to their own people, and the activities of international media which was perceived as a threat because they were unable to control it, and on the other hand by those who believed that a free press was one of the backbones of a free people and a free society. Proposals under the rubric of a so-called New World International Communications Order were floated which would have led to drastic and sweeping controls on the dissemination of information and on the activities of journalists everywhere.

After seven years of drawn out polemical wrangling, last year the General Assembly was able to put ideology aside and reach consensus on information issues. Last year's consensus served us well:

-- The Committee on Information is now focusing on its central role of providing guidance and direction to the Department of Public Information, while at the same time recognizing the need for the DPI to have the flexibility to provide information support for the United Nations as it confronts events that call for immediate and urgent action.

-- More importantly, rather than seeking to restrict information, last year's resolution unequivocally called for "a free flow of information at all levels." As the changes now sweeping much of the globe have shown, the free flow of information and ideas is a direct spur to democratic development.

Cleared: IO:JWolcott  
IO/SR:Susan Jacobs  
1506:GESR

FROM BOLTON

UNGA ACCOMPLISHMENTS IN THE ECONOMIC DIALOGUE

- o The United Nations has provided a useful and important forum for a global dialogue on issues of economic cooperation and development.
- o It has come a long way since the 1970s, when sterile confrontation between developed and developing countries generated unrealistic initiatives under the rubric of the "New International Economic Order".
- o In the past several years, we have seen a sea change in the way the world looks at problems of economic development. Today, for the first time, there is almost universal agreement on the fundamental building blocks of economic success: democratic, accountable government and market-based economic policies. No society can succeed without the twin pillars of free citizens and free markets.
- o By providing a forum for the expression of this new consensus on economic issues, the United Nations has played -- and should continue to play -- an important role.

2773

Snow/Grossman  
UN.TS  
September 20, 1991  
Draft One

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS: THE UNITED NATIONS GENERAL ASSEMBLY  
UNITED NATIONS GENERAL ASSEMBLY HALL  
MONDAY, SEPTEMBER 23, 1991  
11 A.M.

[INTRODUCTORY ACKNOWLEDGMENTS; PERSONAL REMINISCENCES]

Today I plan to deliver a different kind of address than you have heard from a President of the United States. I do not plan to dwell on a superpower rivalry that led to this organization's founding and defined international politics for a half century, although I will discuss it for a moment, because it provides a foundation for my main topic: The new world that faces us all.

For nearly 50 years, world affairs revolved around a conflict between the United States and the communist world -- principally, the Soviet Union. Many wars, many debates, many events reflected the competition between two ideologies: communism, which asserted the primacy of governments over individuals; and free-market democracy, which declared that governments derive their just rights from the people they serve.

Cut through the rhetoric, peer into the military and economic competition, and the conflict between the superpowers in ~~many ways~~ hinged on a crucial question: Do people have inalienable rights?

Well, I look around this room and I see the answers. Today, a single delegation represents the people of Germany; two delegations represent Korea; the republics of Estonia, Latvia and

Lithuania all send their own delegations. Just one week ago, 159 nations enjoyed membership in the U.N. Today, the number stands at 166. Seven nations in one week -- in fact, all joined in one day: That's extraordinary.

In their own ways, each of these changes -- changes that have occurred within the past year -- illustrate the new ascendancy of individual rights. They hail a new age of liberty.

I look back upon the past year, and I also see the makings of a new era of peace. ~~You see, the old order began yielding to the new in this very chamber.~~ Less than a year ago, the Soviet Union joined the United States and a host of other nations in defending liberty -- and opposing the treacherous barbarity of Saddam Hussein. For the very first time, superpower competition took a back seat to international cooperation ~~and~~.

<sup>Now</sup> And, for the very first time, we ~~began to~~ <sup>can glimpse</sup> glimpse -- like mountains emerging at dawn's first light -- a world in which we can ~~fulfilling~~ the challenge of the United Nations Charter -- and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

Think about it: In the long history of the United Nations, superpower competition rendered hopeless the charter's determination "to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war...to reaffirm faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person, in the equal rights of men and women and nations large and small ... to promote social progress and better standards of life in larger freedom."

*No more. Now we may focus on*

~~The~~ three key words ~~there~~ are: "in larger freedom." For many in this room, and for many of the nations that belong to this body, "larger freedom" did not exist. Governments cared less about observing individual rights than about forcing the masses to conform to a planner's vision of a perfect society. Individuals were tossed about, murdered and tortured, sent to labor camps or resettled in distant provinces -- all for the sake of theories that never made sense.

The communist ideal fell when people grasped the emptiness of its promises, and saw that freedom -- true freedom -- works. When they no longer could ignore the failures of their governments and their economies, they rose up and shouted defiantly: We are people! Treat us with dignity! Understand that your power flows from us -- not the other way around! So-called Peoples' republics fell victim to the people.

Many of us watched in amazement as the Berlin Wall came tumbling down; as the old Warsaw Pact nations emerged from their long dark confinement into the bright light and bracing air of freedom. Some of us ~~also~~ wept with joy as kinsmen threw off their chains, unfurled their flags, celebrated the cultures that they had struggled so long -- and at such great personal peril - - to keep alive, ~~and~~ <sup>with</sup> preserved the common bonds that gave them strength, courage, and hope that the forces of freedom eventually would prevail over the minions of tyranny. The whole world celebrated as these men and women enjoyed the startling liberation of real freedom -- and real responsibility.

But communism froze history. It suspended ancient disputes; it subordinated ethnic rivalries and nationalist aspirations. ~~In short, communism blotted out the identities of individuals and of nationalities.~~

As totalitarian masters relaxed their grip on their victims, and as individuals began again to taste their rightful freedom, old animosities raced to the surface; old hatreds reasserted themselves; and in the tumultuous aftermath of communism's collapse, people who for years had been denied their past and future began searching for their own identities. The struggle over ideology gave way to ~~the far older~~ <sup>a</sup> struggle for identity.

That struggle has unleashed warfare between Croatians and Serbians; Armenians and Azerbaijanis; Kurds and Iraqis -- each battle merely picking up hatreds that have festered for more than 50 years.

*So see signs of this new trend everywhere:*  
The United Nations has organized only 13 peacekeeping missions in its history. It organized four such mission during its first 43 years, and nine since 1988. In three years, our world has changed so much that no sane person can now envision a World War III. Nevertheless, most sober observers fear the constant eruption of smaller, deadly wars.

All of us must face this challenge squarely: First, by suing for the peaceful resolutions of disputes now in progress; second, and more importantly, by trying to prevent others from erupting.

No one here can promise that today's borders will remain fixed for all time: They won't. We must do our best to ensure

that people resolve border disputes peacefully, and that any new nations that might join our community will arrive peacefully, and not after years of bloody savagery.

*We can start by defending the inalienable rights ~~stated~~ described in the UN's founding documents. In nationalities disputes, none stands out more clearly than the need to defend minority rights.*

~~Most nations already give lip service to the one step necessary for peace. Most nations already argue that they defend individual rights. But~~ If minorities cannot enjoy the full fruits of liberty; conflicts will erupt. If people cannot ~~exercise their own inalienable rights~~ if they cannot speak their minds; if they cannot form political parties freely and elect governments without coercion; if they cannot practice their religion freely; if they cannot raise their families in peace; if they cannot enjoy a just return from their labor; if they cannot live fruitful lives and, at the end of their days, look upon their achievements and their society's progress with pride -- ~~if these simple conditions for the good life do not exist, people do not enjoy true freedom, and their governments have failed in their primary duty, which is to protect the freedoms that enable people to live good lives.~~

In the years to come, we will face the challenge of reconciling people's yearnings for freedom and identity with the need to live in a peaceful world, ~~a world in which people and peoples build ties of common interest.~~ We must nurture ~~feelings of nationalism~~ *people's sense of identity* without shredding the fabric of international society, ~~and hurling our nations into~~ *without initiating* the kind of bloody factionalism that led to our first world war -- and ultimately, perhaps, to the Cold War.

But now, we must begin to build the basis for a new world of peace and prosperity, one that honors the individual's thirst for freedom; nations' desire for identity; and the world's desire for a vibrant, prosperous peace.

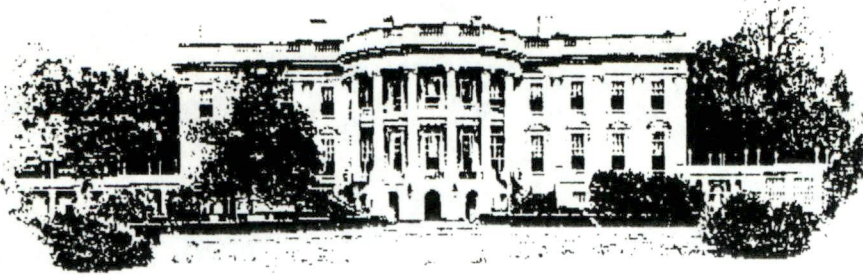
For the people in this room, the challenge is simple: Honor the commitments we have made by signing the United Nations Charter and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

This chamber in past years has made a mockery of its founding document by distorting the meaning of such simple terms as "liberty" and "democracy." [anecdotes]

Not too long ago, this chamber debated a New World Information and Communication Order that sought to constrain free speech, not to defend it. This shameful interlude has drawn to an end, and the Committee on Information has embraced a more traditional interpretation of free speech. It has begun trying to provide accurate information to the U.N., and this chamber has called for "a free flow of information at all levels." That's a far cry from the clumsy censorship embodied in the NWICO.

For years, the U.N. approved of the export of tyranny -- it supported so-called liberation movements, from which freedom-loving people now must liberate themselves. Still, with free elections in Nicaragua, prospects for free elections in Angola, Afghanistan, Mozambique -- and what once was called the USSR, the tide has turned.

And, during that unfortunate age, the United Nations promoted a coercive New World Economic Order that, if enacted,



THE SITUATION ROOM

PRECEDENCE: IMMEDIATE PRIORITY ROUTINE ASAP

RELEASER: [Signature]

DTG: 200420Z SEP 91

MESSAGE NO. 61 CLASSIFICATION Unclass PAGES 45

FROM Jennifer Grossman (Name) (Phone Number) (Room No.)

MESSAGE DESCRIPTION

Table with 4 columns: TO (Agency), DELIVER TO:, DEPT/ROOM NO., PHONE NUMBER. Row 1: L.A., Tony Snow.

REMARKS

5  
September 19, 1991

MEMORANDUM FOR TONY SNOW


FROM: JENNIFER GROSSMAN

SUBJECT: STILL MORE UN MATERIAL (FAX THREE)

Tony, I think I just got in trouble. I was just unceremoniously booted from the library by a very large secret service woman. She called me "unauthorized." Would you please tell them that such epithets can be potentially emotionally scarring to young minds? Anyway, attached:

- 1) Reportage from '46 formation of the United Nations
- 2) Excerpts from Representing America. Chapter by Bush on UN experience.
- 3) more re. founders' vision, a chapter from The United Nations at Forty: A Foundation to Build On, entitled "Shaping World Order."
- 4) Moynihan on "Zionism is Racism."

QUOTES

 1) "The only dependable foundation of personal liberty is the personal economic security of private property."  
--Walter Lippmann

2) JAVIER PEREZ DE CUELLAR (On the eve of the 40th anniversary of the United Nations):

"We face today a world of almost infinite promise which is also a world of potentially terminal danger."

"The United Nations cannot -- and was not intended to -- solve all the problems of the international community, but it is the best place to avoid the worst and to strive for improvement."1

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# United Nations formed



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*Sec. of State Stettinius, head of the U.S. delegation, signs the U.N. declaration.*

June 26. Hailing the creation today of a charter to establish a United Nations, President Truman told a cheering throng: "Oh, what a great day this can be in history!" Approval of the historic charter came as a climax to a 63-day conference of delegates from 50 nations, meeting in San Francisco. The new charter provides the framework for what its signers hope will be a new start on the way to a lasting peace in the world. President Truman, who will ask the Senate next week to ratify the charter, spoke at the concluding session of the conference, telling the assembled delegates that the world must now use the new "instrument

of peace." In failing to use it, he said, "we shall betray all those who have died in order that we might meet here in freedom to create it. If we seek to use it selfishly—for the advantage of any one nation or small group of nations—we shall be equally guilty of that betrayal." The speech was loudly applauded by the 3,500 persons in the War Memorial Opera House, a pillared structure dedicated to the memory of San Franciscans who died in the Great War. Truman was accompanied to the rostrum by Secretary of State; Alger Hiss, conference secretary; and presidential military Col. Harry Vaughn (→ 7/28)



*The Queen Elizabeth hits N.Y., full of eligible soldiers from Europe.*

## Germany is divided into zones

Allied supreme command issued a declaration today which divides Germany into zones and imposes terms of surrender. Formalization, which required representation like that of the Treaty of Versailles, Allied Commanders-in-Chief Eisenhower of the United States, Bernard Montgomery of the British, and Georgi Zhukov of the Soviet Union, and Jean de Lattre of the French will comprise the Allied Control Council. The four nations will occupy the German state as a punishment for the Nazi expansion with the annexation of Austria in 1937. The division is as follows: a northeastern sector for the Soviet Union; a northwestern sector for the United States; a southwestern sector for the United Kingdom; and a western sector for France. The United Nations declared the action as "there is no government in Germany maintaining order." The provisions of the Allied declaration include complete disarmament, the release of prisoners of war, the evacuation of occupied territories outside of Germany, the arrest of all Nazis, the prosecution of war crimes and stern measures against the destruction of German cities (→ 7/1).

## Poland forms new government

Joseph Stalin has succeeded in establishing a new, Communist-controlled government in Poland. The final arrangements, made in Moscow, were the result of the search for moderate elements who had gone into hiding during the war. They were all found in the Lublin region. A "national unity government" headed by Stanislaw Mikołajczyk was named. Mikołajczyk, who had headed the government in exile in London, was superseded with

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FROM A BOOK CALLED REPRESENTING AMERICA.  
DIFFERENT CHAPTERS FROM DIFFERENT US UN  
AMBASSADORS

**GEORGE BUSH** Permanent Representative and Chief of the U.S.  
Mission to the United Nations, 1971-72.

*During my early days in politics, I was highly critical of the UN. I felt it was falling short of its promise from the late '40s. I saw it become increasingly unable to be useful in its peacekeeping roles. After I served there, my view changed. I felt that the UN was particularly helpful in the economic and social areas [ECOSOC]. I favored certain of the multilateral efforts in the health field, food field, population field, etc. Sometimes it is much better to use multilateral diplomacy and I saw that clearly after being at the UN.*

A former oil-industry executive and Texas Republican congressman, George Herbert Walker Bush was named U.S. representative to the United Nations by President Nixon in 1971. Bush cofounded and developed the Zapata Offshore Company (1956-64), and later advanced to chairman (1964-66). Convinced that businessmen "ought to take an interest in politics," Bush was active in Republican politics in the Houston area. From 1967 to 1970 he served in the U.S. House of Representatives. After losing a Senate race in 1970, Bush was appointed to the UN post. His informal, energetic style, amiable personality, and access to President Nixon won him the respect of fellow delegates. In 1971 Bush advocated the Nixon administration's two-China policy—a compromise under which the United States would support the admission of Communist China while calling for the continued membership of Taiwan. Although Bush tried to win sufficient support for the compromise, the assembly voted to expel Taiwan.

In 1972 he left the United Nations to become chairman of the Republican National Committee; in 1974 President Ford named him head of the U.S. Liaison Office in China. Two years later, he became director of the Central Intelligence Agency, where he instituted structural and procedural reforms. Considered a potential running mate for Nixon and later for Ford, Bush decided to wage his own presidential campaign for 1980. He then became Ronald Reagan's vice-presidential nominee on the Republicans' successful ticket against Carter and Mondale. **AND THEN...**

I felt [after serving there] that the UN was an extremely useful place at which to conduct bilateral diplomacy. It's a fantastic place for meeting future world leaders—getting to know them on a friendship basis. As vice president, I continually run into people from all over the world with whom I served at the United Nations.

It also found the UN to be frustrating in some ways—the attacks on the United States, and so on. The UN passed a lot of irrelevant

You can say that again!

resolutions, and I think that diminished its effectiveness. There's an awful lot of rhetorical overkill at the UN. In the General Assembly, the debates were often not real debates, [with] no real give and take, as in giving a speech and [having] someone exercising a right to reply, for example. But it still was a worthwhile forum in which to vent one's frustrations or one's desires or one's goals.

In securing support of U.S. policies, our home mission worked the diplomatic circuit very, very hard. We had excellent political officers, we contacted everyone—no mission was too small. I, as ambassador, would not hesitate to go to a small African country's representative. The UN job is much more than making speeches and posturing. To be really effective in terms of securing votes, you have to get out and work at it. I liked that part of the job; I liked the politics of the UN.

In terms of cooperation or disagreement with the Western allies, generally speaking, we had very close relations and stayed together on most of the important questions. There were of course exceptions. As for the Soviet Union, we had many differences, and they're on the record. I got along with Ambassador Malik of the Soviet Union and made it a point to work with him. But our differences were pronounced on most political issues.

As to the Group of 77, I became frustrated at group positions that I knew individual members did not support. But again, we had to work on various questions to get the support of different members in the group.

As to the tenor of the times, the biggest questions in the political field were the India/Pakistan War, the Taiwan question—entry of China into the United Nations—and certain events in the Middle East. The principal challenge did relate to the Chinese-representation question. Ours was not a two-China proposal in the technicalities of the proposal. There was a dual-representation proposal which was termed "two Chinas" by some. There is a distinction, given the fact that both Taiwan and Peking consider that there is one China. Given the new U.S. opening to China at the time of the UN debate, it was extraordinarily difficult to keep out votes—votes that had been committed to the dual-representation position. The issue was extraordinarily emotional, but when it was over, the United States properly shifted gears and, in the UN context, dealt with the realities at hand.

In terms of tilting toward Pakistan, the U.S. position is on the record there at the UN. We used our best efforts to try to help stop

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the war between India and Pakistan. But most of the bilateral diplomacy on that one was conducted by Dr. Kissinger in Washington.

I believe strongly in personal relationships in bilateral diplomacy or multilateral diplomacy. I think the United States should not be above going to the smaller embassies, meeting with the ambassadors from smaller countries, working with the regional groups, etc. Some countries' representatives at the UN have considerable flexibility in their positions, and if you have a personal relationship, you find you can get the benefit of the doubt on certain issues. It's not always true, of course, and it's certainly not true with the big powers. But it does work, and in addition it is important that the human side of the United States is seen through the eyes of diplomats from other countries. I am not naive enough, however, to believe that people would change their fundamental convictions based on personal relationships.

For the permanent rep, access to the White House is important. It's the perception more than the reality, in my view. The relationship between the U.S. perm rep and the secretary general of the UN is an important component. I had many meetings with Secretary General U Thant and Secretary General Waldheim. These relationships do matter a great deal. Word spreads through the UN if there is friction or if there is indeed compatibility. The relations with the secretary of state are of course important. The UN ambassador gets his instructions through the secretary of state, or as the president shall decree. And thus both the access to the White House and relations with the secretary of state are important. It's not always easy—sometimes conflicting signals come forth, and it is then that the perm rep to the UN does a balancing act.

The UN's greatest strength lies in the economic and social objectives, and its greatest weakness lies in its inability to bring instant peace to troubled situations—particularly when the larger powers are involved.

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**W. TAPLEY BENNETT, JR.:** Deputy Permanent Representative on the Security Council, 1971-72; and Deputy Permanent Representative to the United Nations, 1973-76.

*We should treat nations fairly and even generously, but, at the same time, defend our own rights. I think we have to stand up for what we believe, and should expect other people to understand our concerns even as we try to understand theirs. I believe in a perfectly honest approach.*

Dubbed the "dean of U.S. diplomats" by the *New York Times* when he retired from the Foreign Service in 1983, W. Tapley Bennett, Jr., has had a long and active career as a diplomat, with assignments in Latin America, Europe, and the United Nations. In 1945, only four years after entering the Foreign Service, Bennett served as an adviser to the U.S. delegation at the UN conference in San Francisco. He served again as an adviser to the U.S. delegation at the United Nations in 1950.

He is perhaps best remembered for his part in the American intervention in the Dominican Republic in 1965. President Johnson, fearing that political instability would turn the Dominican Republic into "another Cuba," ordered American troops in to restore order. Bennett, then U.S. ambassador to the Dominican Republic, worked with special envoy Ellsworth Bunker to arrange free elections and the restoration of normal political life.

After serving as ambassador to Portugal (1966-69), Bennett was appointed deputy U.S. representative on the Security Council (1971-72) and deputy permanent representative to the United Nations (1973-76). He became U.S. permanent representative to NATO in 1977, his final diplomatic assignment. During his tenure at the United Nations, Bennett gave special attention to economic and social issues affecting Latin America and the Third World. He chaired a UN visiting committee to the remote trusteeship of Papua in New Guinea in 1972; the U.S. delegation to the UN Development Conference in Geneva (1973); and the UN Conference on Industrial Development in Lima, Peru (1975).

I was at the UN during the Third World's rise in importance, and they were quite unified in the beginning. Now, of course, they've got their own internal differences. But I was there during the period when they were at their maximum of unity, and the Algerians were running it [Group of 77]; Abdelaziz Bouteflika was their foreign minister. They ran it with a whip hand. They'd have these meetings, and if they had trouble, they'd just stay until after midnight, after

some of the more comfortable. Then the Algerians would tyrannize some of the one year—and I don't think when in many ways the situation was Algeria: more than our the British, just because they and used it. And they were elementary rulings—not hearing

In 1976 we had the [continental shelf] between Greece of my major accomplishments for weeks. We finally got a Council that both countries negotiating again and have between the foreign ministers at least they did not go to war

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George Bush was, I think UN. [Soviet Ambassador] favorite capitalist." He [Bush] were in a debate; it was on old Baroodi [Saudi Arab] know he could go on for his paper no bigger than a quarter was berating the Israelis, and I don't know why a Saudi Arab he was. And just at that time out pausing in his oratory, Bush. Come in and sit down oil companies. I want you in oil himself.

some of the more comfortable nonaligned [delegates] had gone home. Then the Algerians would ram their measures through; they would tyrannize some of the milder Africans. I would say there was one year—and I don't think this is too much of an exaggeration—when in many ways the single most influential country at the UN was Algeria: more than ourselves, more than the Russians, more than the British, just because they had this vehicle at their beck and call, and used it. And they were absolutely unscrupulous [as to] parliamentary rulings—not hearing a “no,” and that kind of thing.

In 1976 we had the Aegean dispute [over rights on the continental shelf] between Greece and Turkey. That was certainly one of my major accomplishments and satisfactions; we worked on that for weeks. We finally got a reasonable resolution out of the Security Council that both countries lived with, and it started them [off] to negotiating again and having exchanges and visits and meetings between the foreign ministers. Nothing really had been resolved, but at least they did not go to war, which they had been close to doing.

I had managed all through the debate, because Bill Scranton had been away. I believe he was at the Republican national convention at one point. And when he came back [to the council], it was the final day [of the debate] and we were going to have the solution. And he said, “No, indeed, I will not take the chance if you've worked this all out. You've worked on it for a month, so you must have the credit—you know, cast the vote.” Which was nice. And that was where Bill Scranton was so marvelous. He's really one of the finest men in America's public life.

George Bush was, I think, one of the most popular people at the UN. [Soviet Ambassador] Malik used to say, “Bush, you're my favorite capitalist.” He [Bush] just could get along. . . . One day we were in a debate; it was on the Middle East, as they are so often, and old Baroody [Saudi Arabian Ambassador] was orating, and you know he could go on for hours. He'd do it all from a little piece of paper no bigger than a quarter, and talk for an hour and a half. He was berating the Israelis, and berating the oil industry, and so forth—I don't know why a Saudi Arabian should berate the oil industry, but he was. And just at that time Bush came in to take his seat, and without pausing in his oratory, Baroody said: “I'm glad to see you, Mr. Bush. Come in and sit down. I'm having a few things to say about the oil companies. I want you to hear this.” Of course, George had been in oil himself.

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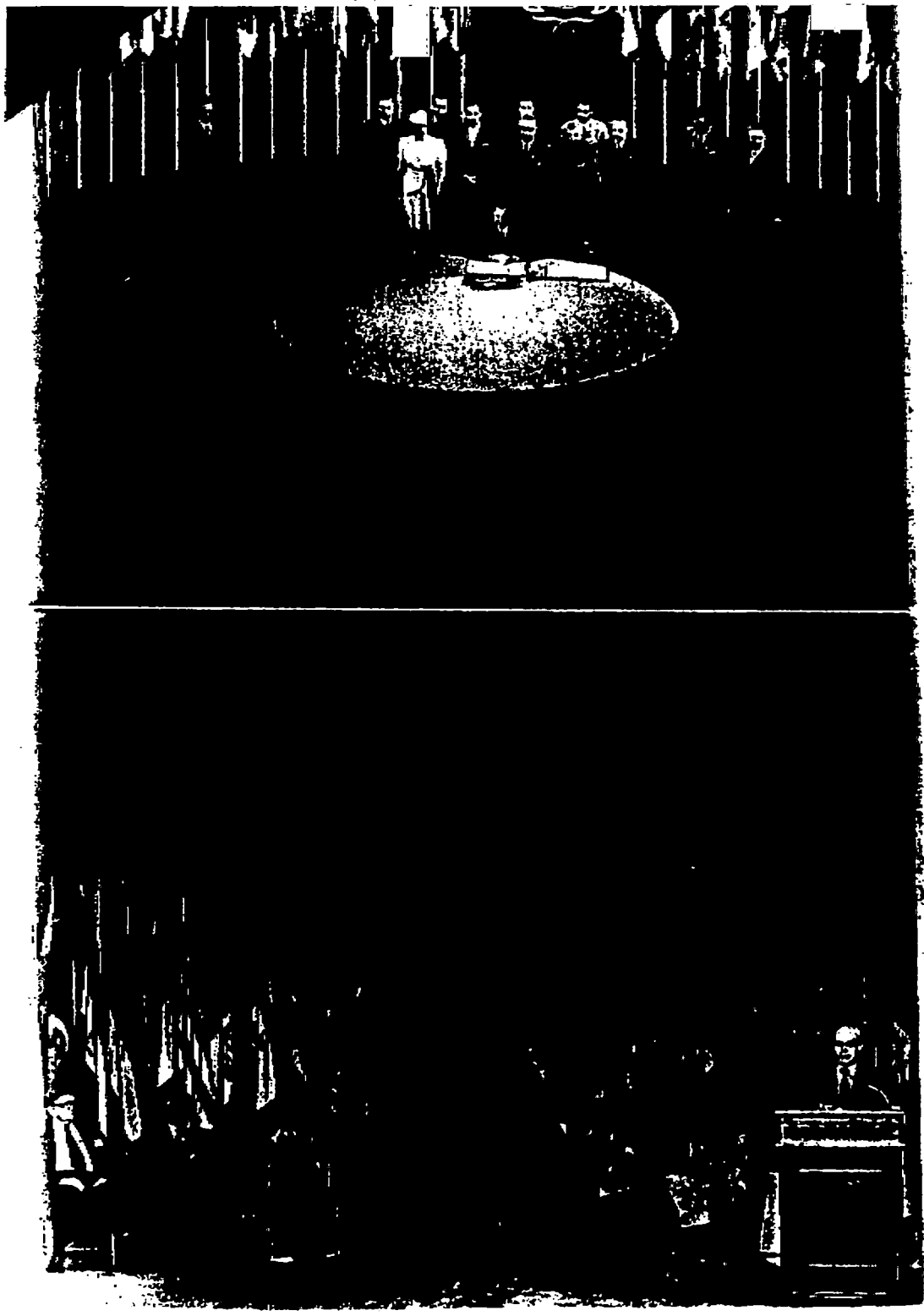
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by, regional security agreements, providing for the use of force to prevent or halt aggression in specific areas—the Organization of American States and the League of Arab States, for example. It was ultimately agreed that regional agreements should be given a part in the world Organization both with regard to peaceful settlement and, under certain conditions, for the enforcement of peace, provided that the acts and aims of the regional group were consistent with the principles and purposes of the United Nations. While the Security Council was to encourage the development of peaceful settlement of local disputes through regional arrangements and, where appropriate, was to use such arrangements or agreements for enforcement action under its authority, no enforcement action was to be taken under regional arrangements without specific authorization of the Security Council.

Provision for registration of international treaties was included in the Charter (as it was in the League's Covenant), but opinions differed at San Francisco with regard to the provision of machinery for treaty revision. On the one hand, many felt that relations between nations should be flexible and subject to adjustment as circumstances changed; on the other hand, the provision for reconsideration in the League Covenant had led to wholesale demands for revision of treaties resulting from the First World War. It was felt that repetition of such occurrences after the Second World War could only lead to instability and might endanger peace. It was finally agreed that no specific mention should be made in the Charter of arrangements for revision of treaties, although such revision might be recommended by the General Assembly in the course of its investigation of any situation requiring peaceful adjustment.

A major revision of the Dumbarton Oaks proposals resulted in the Charter chapter on trusteeship. The original plan had not included provision for a system by which certain dependent areas could be administered until they achieved independence or self-government. Careful consideration was given at the Conference to the aims and objectives for the development of self-governing areas, and on these matters there was, in general, agreement. As a result, a Declaration Regarding Non-Self-Governing Territories was included in the Charter—the first international instrument in which nations adhered to a declaration of obligations towards the peoples of dependent territories.

A controversy centered, however, on the question whether, in the international trusteeship system set up under the Charter, the aim should be to help those territories to become "independent" or "self-governing". Some felt that complete independence should be the aim in all cases; others felt this might not always be desired or desirable, especially regarding very small territories. The phrase "self-government" was finally chosen to define the objective, with the understanding that the term was all-inclusive and covered the idea of independence, if the people of a trust area so decided. It was

# THE UN AT FORTY

## CHAPTER THREE

### Shaping a World Order

The Covenant of the League of Nations began with a reference to "The High Contracting Parties"; the Preamble to the United Nations Charter begins with the words "We the peoples of the United Nations". The difference is significant, reflecting the shift from an age of imperialism to one in which Governments professed broadly democratic concerns. Nazism and fascism, with their militaristic dictatorships and belief in the theory of racial superiority and dominance, offered a contrast to the ideals of the Allied countries.

A second fundamental divergence from the League was a new concept which had gained strength between the two world wars. This concept was that, to be effective, any organization created to preserve peace must have force at its command. Those nations, therefore, which had powerful forces available must, in the future, accept major responsibility in enforcement of peace. While the post-war trends in international affairs were to belie the hopes behind the concept, the largely unused Charter provisions in this area remain the core of the Charter's collective security provisions.

On the first day of 1942, while war raged on, the Declaration by United Nations, signed in Washington, pledged 26 countries to continue fighting against the Axis Powers and to co-operate to build a better world after the war. The question of establishing a definite organization for future world peace took more precise form in October 1943, when the representatives of China, the Soviet Union, the United Kingdom and the United States met in Moscow. These four countries agreed to co-operate with each other, as well as with other nations, to establish "at the earliest practicable date a general international organization, based on the principle of sovereign equality of all peace-loving States, and open to membership by all such States, large and small, for the maintenance of international peace and security". In the summer and autumn of 1944, the representatives of the United Kingdom and the United States met first with those of the Soviet Union and then of China at Dumbarton Oaks in Washington. These "sponsoring Powers" agreed broadly, though not entirely, on a set of proposals for a

world organization. After further talks at Yalta between British, Soviet and United States leaders, the proposals became the basic text for the 1945 San Francisco Conference on International Organization.

### San Francisco Conference

At the invitation of the United States, delegates from 50 nations met in San Francisco between 25 April and 26 June 1945. (Argentina, the Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic and the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic were admitted to the Conference on 30 April, and Denmark was invited to attend on 5 June, after its liberation. Poland, recognized as one of the organization's founding members, was unrepresented because its post-war government had not been formed, but space was reserved for its signature on the Charter.) Meeting in the San Francisco Opera House, the delegates worked in four main commissions and 12 technical committees, considering 547 amendments to the Dumbarton Oaks proposals which were incorporated into some 400 pages of text. In tribute to the memory of President Roosevelt, who had died just before the Conference convened, his proposal that the new world body be called the "United Nations" was accepted with acclamation. It was also decided that the first nation to affix its signature to the Charter would be China, the first country to be attacked in the Second World War.

(On 31 October 1947, the General Assembly decided that 24 October, the anniversary of the entry into force of the Charter, should henceforth be officially called "United Nations Day" and be devoted to making known to the peoples of the world the aims and achievements of the Organization and to gaining their support for its work.)

As the discussion developed at the San Francisco Conference, it became clear, on the one hand, that there were broad areas of agreement, and, on the other, that there were certain issues on which there was strong divergence of views. Questions around which there was considerable debate were regionalism versus universalism, arrangements for revision of treaties, independence or self-government as the aim of trusteeship for dependent areas, the "veto" power of the permanent members of the Security Council, compulsory jurisdiction of the International Court of Justice, future amendments to the Charter, expansion of objectives in the economic and social areas, powers of the Secretary-General and the matter of withdrawal from the Organization.

One of the earliest controversies of the Conference involved the question of whether the principal means of maintenance of peace and security should be the concern of regional groups or of the world as a whole. Many countries, prior to the Conference, had already entered into, and were bound

stood that the term included choice of some other status, if they so desired.

Another difference of opinion concerned the Statute of the International Court of Justice. Should it include provision for compulsory jurisdiction of disputes? If such a provision were accepted, any State joining the United Nations would automatically subject itself to the jurisdiction of the International Court on all questions which international law recognized as appropriate. The chief argument against compulsory jurisdiction was that a number of countries might not accept the Charter if it contained that provision.

The Statute of the International Court of Justice, which is annexed to and forms an integral part of the Charter, does not provide for compulsory jurisdiction. It does, however, include an optional clause under which States that are Members of the United Nations may agree in advance to submit disputes to the Court for settlement. The hope was expressed that voluntary acceptance of that clause would gradually result in universal adherence to the compulsory principle. To some extent, that hope was being fulfilled prior to the Charter, since, in the case of the Permanent Court of International Justice associated with the League of Nations, 45 States had accepted compulsory jurisdiction. The Statute of the new International Court provided that United Nations Members that had previously made a declaration accepting compulsory jurisdiction of the League Court would be deemed also to have accepted the same principle regarding the new Court.

The most debated single issue of the Conference was the question as to how decisions should be reached in the various organs of the United Nations, especially in the Security Council. In particular, opposition to the "veto" power of the five permanent members of the Security Council—China, France, the Soviet Union, the United Kingdom and the United States—was widespread among the medium and small Powers, many of which had contributed substantially to the war effort and thought that their role in keeping the peace of the world was not being adequately reflected. They sought to limit the power of veto and to increase the role of the non-permanent members of the Council, and they raised so many questions about how the veto would be used that the sponsoring Powers—which met throughout the Conference in closed sessions at San Francisco's Fairmont Hotel—issued a statement of explanation. They denied that the veto was a new privilege they had arrogated to themselves. The Council of the League of Nations had operated unanimously, they recalled, which meant that every Member State had possessed the power of veto. The proposed voting formula for the United Nations Security Council, based on qualified majority voting, would make it less subject to obstruction. The veto was necessary for the permanent members of the Council because they had special responsibilities in maintaining world peace and security and could not be expected to act in support of decisions with which they did not concur. If world

peace were to be maintained, those responsible for its enforcement must work in harmony, and the Powers which have the major responsibility of using armed forces to safeguard world peace should have the right of veto over any step which might lead up to the use of such forces. But it was not to be assumed, the statement said, that they would use their veto power "wilfully to obstruct the operation of the Council".

The statement did not satisfy the opposition. Unsuccessful attempts were made to get the sponsoring Powers to agree to a later revision of the voting procedure of the Council and change its "permanent" membership. Among the arguments used to support the "veto" provision was that in the event however theoretical, of attempted enforcement action against the most powerful members, any resistance would be tantamount to a new world war. Whatever the merits of the arguments, it became evident that the position of the permanent members was such that there would be no United Nations without the power of veto for the big Powers, and opposition to the veto subsided.

The clauses requiring unanimity of voting by the Security Council's permanent members have added importance, since the Council is also responsible for recommendations for the post of Secretary-General and for the admission to the United Nations of new Member States.

Another major attempt at changing the Dumbarton Oaks proposals—this one successful—was the expansion of objectives in the economic and social areas. International co-operation in those areas was considered vital to the success of the United Nations, and the original proposals were amended to make the Economic and Social Council one of the principal organs of the United Nations. The Organization was mandated to promote higher living standards, full employment and conditions of economic and social progress and development. Provisions were made for it to enter into consultative relationship with non-governmental organizations concerned with matters within the competence of the Economic and Social Council. The status given to the non-governmental organizations represented an important advance in international affairs, for it provided the means for people outside the structures of government to work with the United Nations.

The Conference also decided that the intergovernmental organs of the United Nations would be serviced by an impartial international civil service. The League of Nations had pioneered the evolution of such a service but its independence and status had not been formally acknowledged in the Covenant. In contrast, the San Francisco Conference gave the secretariat the status of a "principal organ" of the United Nations. It provided for the appointment of the Secretary-General by the General Assembly upon the recommendation of the Security Council and, after considerable debate, empowered him to bring to the attention of the Security Council any matter which in his opinion endangered international peace and security. The

substantially more independent power than had been given to the top official of the League.

Considerable discussion developed over the question of how the Charter would be amended in the future. Many delegations that had been dissatisfied with decisions on the veto power hoped that a subsequent conference would be possible to modify the rulings. The sponsoring Powers ultimately accepted, at San Francisco, a proposal by which a two-thirds majority of the General Assembly and a vote of any seven (now nine) members of the Security Council would be able to call a general conference for consideration of amendments to the Charter. They further agreed that if such a conference had not been held by the tenth General Assembly, the proposal to call such a conference should automatically be placed on the agenda of that session and a conference should be held, if desired by a simple majority of members present and voting and with the concurrence of any seven (now nine) members of the Security Council.

It is both testimony to the viability of the Charter and a reflection of the realities of international relations within which the United Nations now, as at San Francisco, must operate and exist, that the envisaged conference has not been held.

The Charter that emerged from San Francisco provides a constitution for an organization to preserve peace and promote social progress and better standards of life in larger freedom. All nations signing the Charter are obligated to settle international disputes by peaceful means and to refrain from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any other State. They must also refrain from giving assistance to any State against which the United Nations is taking preventive or enforcement action. Nothing in the Charter, however, authorizes the United Nations to intervene in matters which are essentially within the domestic jurisdiction of any State.

The decision not to include in the Charter a clause on the withdrawal of States from the Organization was influenced by the unhappy experience of the League, which had been seriously weakened by the departure of important States when they found it inconvenient to listen to international criticism of their actions. The delegates at San Francisco agreed, however, that if "a Member because of exceptional circumstances feels constrained to withdraw and leave the burden of maintaining international peace and security on the other Members, it is not the purpose of the Organization to compel that Member to continue its co-operation in the Organization". They also provided for the suspension and expulsion of States when their international conduct warranted it, with action in both cases to be taken by the General Assembly upon the recommendation of the Security Council.

One country, Indonesia, did announce its withdrawal from the United Nations, on 20 January 1965, "at this stage and under the present circum-

stances", in an act stemming from a dispute with Malaysia. A year and a half later, in September 1966, Indonesia, with a changed government, announced its decision "to resume full co-operation with the United Nations and to resume participation in its activities". The wisdom of not providing for a withdrawal clause in the Charter, with consequent procedures for readmission, became clear: all that happened was that the General Assembly took note of Indonesia's decision and the President invited the delegation of Indonesia to resume its seat in the General Assembly.

While the primary aim is the maintenance of world peace, the Charter sought also "to establish conditions under which justice and respect for the obligations arising from treaties and other sources of international law can be maintained, and to promote social progress and better standards of life in larger freedom". It set forth, in its first two Articles, a set of purposes and principles which laid down the basic rules of international ethics. To a large extent, they were rules already accepted and enforced within States, and their projection into the international level represented an effort at international order more significant than a concord among States: it was the first step towards a global community. Unlike the League of Nations, which sought essentially to maintain the status quo embodied in the Treaty of Versailles, those who created the United Nations acknowledged the inevitability of broad and historic change. To pursue its mission in that large context, the Organization was given, in the 19 Chapters and 111 Articles of its Charter, the capacity to deal with a very wide range of problems. It was not, however, given the global powers of a super-State. The United Nations is not a supra-national body with powers of government but an international organization dependent on the willing co-operation of its membership. Its six "principal organs", named in the Charter, provide the means to build agreement and facilitate peaceful change, but unless Governments are willing to work together the machinery cannot operate.

With the exception of the International Court of Justice, which has its seat at The Hague in the Netherlands, all the principal organs are based in New York. The six principal organs are:

- the General Assembly, in which all Member States are represented (159 in 1985);
- the 15-member Security Council, with five permanent members (China, France, the Soviet Union, the United Kingdom and the United States) and 10 other members elected by the General Assembly for two-year terms;
- the 54-member Economic and Social Council, which is elected by and reports to the General Assembly;
- the five-member Trusteeship Council, which reports to the Security Council;

- the 15-member International Court of Justice, with the judges elected for nine-year terms by the General Assembly and Security Council jointly;
- an internationally staffed Secretariat headed by a Secretary-General who is appointed by the General Assembly on the recommendation of the Security Council for a renewable term, usually five years.

Over the last 40 years, with the swift growth in United Nations membership, the Charter has been amended to increase the size of the Security Council and the Economic and Social Council. In 1963 the membership of the Security Council was increased from 11 to 15. In 1965 the membership of the Economic and Social Council went from 18 to 27, and in 1973 it was further increased to 54. The Trusteeship Council, meanwhile, has dwindled in size as the Trust Territories under its supervision achieved independence and one by one the Administering Powers ceased to be members. At present only the five permanent members of the Security Council remain in the Trusteeship body and there is only one territory left on its agenda, the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands (Micronesia), under the administration of the United States.

## Specialized Agencies

An essential part of the move to create the United Nations were parallel initiatives to set up several other international organizations of a more specialized character and to bring together some already in existence into a loosely linked system. The United Nations would be at the centre, with the General Assembly receiving annual reports through the Economic and Social Council and both bodies empowered to make recommendations to the agencies; but each specialized agency would have its own separate constitution, membership, budget and legislative body. The founders of this system were guided by the fact that, over the preceding century, specialized organizations had ensured international co-operation even during times of conflict among member States. Thus, they planned a decentralized system of agencies linked to but not organically part of the central political structure.

As noted in the preceding chapter, a number of intergovernmental organizations in existence since the nineteenth century—the International Telecommunication Union, the Universal Postal Union, the World Meteorological Organization and the World Intellectual Property Organization—became part of the system. So did the International Labour Organisation. A few new agencies were created to meet the urgent needs of a war-torn world. The shortage of food grains during the war years had been acute

## United Nations Member States

Membership in the United Nations has more than tripled in 40 years, from the original 51 Member States in 1945 to 159 Member States in 1985.

- 1945 Argentina, Australia, Belgium, Bolivia, Brazil, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Canada, Chile, China, Colombia, Costa Rica, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Egypt, El Salvador, Ethiopia, France, Greece, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, India, Iran (Islamic Republic of), Iraq, Lebanon, Liberia, Luxembourg, Mexico, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Norway, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Saudi Arabia, South Africa, Syrian Arab Republic, Turkey, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Uruguay, Venezuela, Yugoslavia
- 1946 Afghanistan, Iceland, Sweden, Thailand
- 1947 Pakistan, Yemen
- 1948 Burma
- 1949 Israel
- 1950 Indonesia
- 1955 Albania, Austria, Bulgaria, Democratic Kampuchea, Finland, Hungary, Ireland, Italy, Jordan, Lao People's Democratic Republic, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Nepal, Portugal, Romania, Spain, Sri Lanka
- 1956 Japan, Morocco, Sudan, Tunisia
- 1957 Ghana, Malaysia
- 1958 Guinea
- 1960 Benin, Burkina Faso, Cameroon, Central African Republic, Chad, Congo, Cyprus, Gabon, Ivory Coast, Madagascar, Mali, Niger, Nigeria, Senegal, Somalia, Togo, Zaire
- 1961 Mauritania, Mongolia, Sierra Leone, United Republic of Tanzania
- 1962 Algeria, Burundi, Jamaica, Rwanda, Trinidad and Tobago, Uganda
- 1963 Kenya, Kuwait
- 1964 Malawi, Malta, Zambia
- 1965 Gambia, Maldives, Singapore
- 1966 Barbados, Botswana, Guyana, Lesotho
- 1967 Democratic Yemen
- 1968 Equatorial Guinea, Mauritius, Swaziland
- 1970 Fiji
- 1971 Bahrain, Bhutan, Oman, Qatar, United Arab Emirates
- 1973 Bahamas, German Democratic Republic, Germany, Federal Republic of
- 1974 Bangladesh, Grenada, Guinea-Bissau
- 1975 Cape Verde, Comoros, Mozambique, Papua New Guinea, Sao Tome and Principe, Suriname
- 1976 Angola, Samoa, Seychelles
- 1977 Djibouti, Viet Nam
- 1978 Dominica, Solomon Islands
- 1979 Saint Lucia
- 1980 Saint Vincent and the Grenadines, Zimbabwe
- 1981 Antigua and Barbuda, Belize, Vanuatu
- 1983 Saint Christopher and Nevis
- 1984 Brunei Darussalam

in many parts of the world, and in May-June 1943 a conference on food and agriculture met in Hot Springs, Virginia. It led to the creation, at a conference in Quebec in October 1945, of the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations (FAO). The aim of the FAO was to secure "improvements in the efficiency of the production and distribution of all food and agricultural products", better "the conditions of rural populations" and thus contribute to an "expanding world economy". The same forward-looking spirit inspired the creation of the International Civil Aviation Organization (ICAO) at a conference held in Chicago in 1944. At a time when international passenger traffic was still almost entirely by train and ship, the founders of ICAO planned the co-ordinating mechanism that would facilitate the booming growth of the infant airlines industry into the jet age. If pilots today can circle the globe without concern about differences in language and national aviation standards, it is because ICAO has been at the centre of a vast co-operative network setting the rules of the sky. The aims were even more visionary for the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), established in 1946 following a preparatory conference in London. "Since wars begin in the minds of men, it is in the minds of men that the defences of peace must be constructed", said the opening words of its constitution. UNESCO embodied the perception that true peace was more than absence of war; it must be a rich and creative sharing of culture.

The international economic institutions that emerged from the United Nations Monetary and Financial Conference held at Bretton Woods, New Hampshire, in 1944 also envisaged unprecedented co-operation and growth. Those who planned the Bretton Woods Conference had seen the national chauvinism of the 1920s and 1930s wreck the world economy. Caught up in the belief that national power depended on having a surplus of exports over imports, Governments had resorted to a variety of policies ranging from tariff and non-tariff barriers to gross manipulation of the international exchange values of their currencies. Under the unstable conditions created by these tactics, international traders found it difficult to predict either their income from exports or the cost of imports. As more and more of them were forced to withdraw from international trade, world markets shrank steadily and finally collapsed in the Great Depression.

To prevent a repetition of that scenario was one of the primary aims of those who planned the post-war system of economic co-operation. They created the International Monetary Fund (IMF) to stabilize the system of payments among nations. Under its articles of agreement, all currency values were expressed in terms of the United States dollar (pegged to gold at \$35 an ounce), helping to create a firm basis for the revival of post-war trade. To participate in that revival, the war-shattered economies of Europe had to be rebuilt, and for that the Bretton Woods Conference created the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD), more commonly known as the

World Bank. Membership in the IMF and the World Bank went together, so that a country that wanted reconstruction aid had to participate in the Fund.

Efforts to create an International Trade Organization which would have brought a measure of order to world commerce did not, however, get beyond the 1948 adoption of a charter for the organization at a conference in Havana, Cuba. The major trading nations signed a more limited instrument, the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) and the planned International Trade Organization was never established.

Over the last 40 years, the United Nations system of specialized agencies has grown as the international community extended co-operation into new areas. At the first meeting of the Economic and Social Council in February 1946, a technical preparatory committee was created to draft the constitution of a World Health Organization (WHO). An international conference adopted the constitution later the same year in New York and WHO came into existence in 1948 after the requisite number of ratifications had been deposited. Also in 1948, at a United Nations maritime conference in Geneva, a convention establishing the Inter-Governmental Maritime Consultative Organization—now the International Maritime Organization (IMO)—was adopted. It came into force in 1958 and since then has extended co-operation and regulatory law to protect the marine environment from pollution and improve working conditions and safety on ships around the world.

In 1956 two new agencies were created. One, the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA), resulted from an initiative of the General Assembly which called in 1954 for a world organization devoted exclusively to the peaceful uses of atomic energy. The statute of the organization was unanimously approved at a conference at United Nations Headquarters in 1956, and the IAEA came into existence in 1957. (Though a part of the United Nations system, the IAEA, like GATT, is not, strictly speaking, a specialized agency; established "under the aegis of the United Nations", it reports annually to the General Assembly.) Since its creation, the IAEA has played a vital role in ensuring that nuclear energy is used for peaceful purposes only.

The other agency created in 1956 was the International Finance Corporation (IFC), an organization operating essentially as part of the World Bank but separate from it legally and in its funding. The IFC assists private enterprises that contribute to development. In 1960 another agency was created to work with the World Bank, this time to meet the needs of many developing countries for low-cost credit. Unlike loans from the IBRD and IFC, which levy interest, the credits of the International Development Association (IDA) are extended with only a small service charge. A similar need for easy credit to help poor countries increase food production led to the creation in 1977 of the International Fund for Agricultural Development (IFAD). It lends money with an eye to the impact projects will have on the lives of the poorest sections of rural populations in developing countries.

The United Nations Industrial Development Organization (UNIDO), established by the General Assembly in 1967 to promote and accelerate the industrialization of the developing countries, became a specialized agency in 1985.

## Other Major Units

In addition to the specialized agencies, a number of less autonomous organizations have been created by the General Assembly over the years. Their executive heads are appointed by the Secretary-General and several are subject to confirmation by the Assembly. Most of their funding comes from voluntary contributions by Governments, though some are paid for from the Organization's regular budget.

The first such body to be created, reflecting the urgent need to deal with the hundreds of thousands of people displaced by the war, was the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Agency (UNRRA), agreed to in November 1943 at a meeting of 44 States in Washington. It was replaced by the International Refugee Organization in the first years of the United Nations and that in turn gave way in 1951 to the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR). In 1946 the United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund (UNICEF) was created to meet the needs of children in post-war Europe and China for food, medicine and clothing. (Unlike other units in the United Nations system, UNICEF obtains a substantial portion of its budget from donations by private organizations and individuals.) In 1950 the scope of UNICEF was broadened to include needy children in developing countries and its name was changed to the United Nations Children's Fund.

Among other major units set up by the General Assembly are: the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East (UNRWA), 1949; the World Food Programme (WFP), established in cooperation with FAO in 1961; the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD), 1964; the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), 1965; the United Nations Institute for Training and Research (UNITAR), 1965; the United Nations Fund for Population Activities (UNFPA), 1969; the Office of the United Nations Disaster Relief Co-ordinator (UNDRO), 1972; the United Nations Environment Programme (UNEP), 1972; the United Nations University (UNU), 1973; the World Food Council (WFC), 1974; the United Nations Centre for Transnational Corporations (UNCTC), 1974; the United Nations Centre for Human Settlements (Habitat), 1978; and the International Research and Training Institute for the Advancement of Women (INSTRAW), 1979. The evolution of this system has been in response to the specific needs of the international community, and it has played an increasingly effective role over the years.

## Section Two

# HOW THE UNITED NATIONS WORKS

The Commission that worked to establish the United Nations after the 1945 San Francisco Conference said in its final report that the Organization, to be fully effective, would have to "capture the imagination of the world". Over the last four decades, fulfilment of that aim has been difficult. As early as June 1946, in his first report on the work of the Organization, Secretary-General Trygve Lie was already expressing dissatisfaction. World opinion had not been touched "in the degree that might be hoped for", in part because there was an "inevitable slowness" in the work of intergovernmental relations at the United Nations. There were "certain widespread misunderstandings of the Charter and the functions and limitations of the Organization as laid down in that document". In words echoed by every Secretary-General since then, he pointed to the need "to educate public opinion to appreciate more fully the significance of the often undramatic but fundamental work that is being performed".

In 1985 the United Nations is not only a far larger and more complex Organization than in 1945, but the aura of new hope that came with the end of the Second World War has faded. Indeed, today, it might seem, for those concerned with its creation, to be mankind's bruised hope; for those born since—some 60 per cent of the world's population—it might appear to be an establishment façade, not an exciting experiment in building a better world. While much can be said in healthy criticism of the United Nations, far too often what is said against it these days reflects a basic lack of information or a consistently anti-internationalist, isolationist approach. This section looks at how four of the six "principal organs" of the Organization have worked over the last four decades. They are the General Assembly, the Security Council, the International Court of Justice and the Secretariat. The Economic and Social Council and the Trusteeship Council are described in the chapters on development and decolonization, respectively.

FROM  
DANIEL PATRICK HOYNIHAN'S  
BOOK: A DANGEROUS PLACE

9

## "Zionism Is a Form of Racism and Racial Discrimination"

AS WITH MANY THINGS instantly known, the proposition that the Soviets were behind the Zionism resolution turned out to be difficult to prove. (It would, to be sure, have been equally difficult to *disprove*.) At the rudimentary level, the Soviets sponsored the resolution; the only developed country to do so. Of the other twenty-five sponsors, twenty-one were Moslem countries, all Arab save Afghanistan and Somalia. Two, Cuba and Guinea, were client states of the Soviets, while Mali, another sponsor, has a large Moslem population. Of all the sponsors, only Dahomey fit none of these patterns.

More fundamental, Soviet propaganda had for some years, by this point, been asserting that Zionism was indeed racist, and more especially that Zionism was virtually indistinguishable from Nazism. For a congeries of reasons, neither the United States government nor the American Jewish community had paid much attention to this, with some prescient exceptions. But the fact was known, and in particular was known to us — Garment, Weaver, myself — at the Mission. Bernard Lewis of Princeton seemed to know most about the history of the subject, which he later recounted in *Foreign Affairs*. Following the Second World War, Soviet propaganda began to link internal pan-Turkish and pan-Iranian movements to Nazism (there may indeed have been Ger-

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man links there) and to apply the term *racist* to nationalist movements that tried to connect non-Slavic peoples of the Soviet Union with their kin elsewhere. Other nationalisms within the USSR could be dismissed as feudal, bourgeois, reactionary, or clericalist, but the term *racist* was reserved for these particularly threatening nationalist tendencies. Condemnation of these movements, and of pan-Islamism as well, was, in Lewis's words, "fierce and unremitting." Then, following the 1967 war, there was a great stirring among Soviet Jews, a people so labeled on their identity cards and even, technically, endowed with a Soviet homeland in Birobidjan. (Malik was fond of the tale of the Soviet Minister of Commerce who, visiting the Jewish Soviet Republic, remarked on the poverty of the people. It was explained to him that, since the place had been reserved for Jews, there were no Russians to cheat.) Outside of the USSR, efforts on behalf of Soviet Jewry increased after 1967. In response, Soviet propaganda began to describe Zionism as anti-Soviet and as racist.

In February, 1971, *Pravda* carried a two-part series called "Anti-Sovietism Is the Profession of Zionists." It was charged in the aftermath of the 1967 war, when all Communist countries but Rumania broke relations with Israel, that Zionist subversive activity had increased. "The first practical test of this theory and policy were the events in Czechoslovakia in 1968," stated Vladimir Bolshakov, the author. A number of the Czech "liberals" having been Jews, it followed that Dubček was part of a Zionist plot. Shortly after the *Pravda* article appeared, Bernard Gwertzman described these events in *The Times*:

Zionist leaders are accused of having collaborated with the Nazis during the war and are charged with practicing a racism of their own.

Soviet television recently showed a 50-minute documentary film largely devoted to the history of Zionism. The Nazi-Zionist theme was emphasized. On several occasions, David Ben-Gurion's face was superimposed on that of Hitler.

Newsreel footage of Israeli forces on parade was followed by similar footage of Nazi storm troopers parading past Hitler. Pictures of inmates of Nazi concentration camps were shown immediately before victims of Israeli air raids in Egypt.\*

\* It appears that the publication of anti-Semitic literature in the Soviet Union considerably increased after 1975. Professor John Armstrong of the University of Wisconsin reports that books belonging to the genre, published in editions of 100,000 and 200,000, do not distinguish between Zionist and Jew, and blend "the main features of traditional anti-Semitic propaganda, as developed from the Middle Ages through the Nazi press, and including Soviet Cold War clichés in which Jews, Zionists, and Israel replace the Western powers as archvillains." A preferred theme is that Jews collaborated with Nazis during World War II.

#### "ZIONISM IS A FORM OF RACISM"

Now all this was familiar as a enormous lie, the mind-numbing of the Zionism resolution. Yet it involved, and probably independent.

Evidently the Arabs — the other — had shown but little interest. When Arabs attacked Zionism for being pro-Bolshevik or so example, of the Saudis and of things at length began to change. From the 1960s onward, Bernard

... Arab attacks on the Zion to make extensive use of such between Israel and South A Zionists and Nazis.

Thus in the Palestine National list of pejorative adjectives applied which Lewis notes was, "significant Zionism as a form of racism.

There the matter must rest. claim to the 1975 Zionism resolution the Soviet connection that preo question seemingly never occurred it matter whose idea it was?) It were using the Zionism resolution attack Israel — and to intimidate out of the movement to expel the time was that Israel and E moving toward something like ing been expelled from Egypt, w.

On July 14, in his Milwaukee United States would do many were even so much as *suspended* July 16, a conference of foreign even so for the *expulsion* of Is national bodies. On July 17, the tion to "defend and promote re member states and for the exist Israel's rights were not to be into adopted a resolution saying that the United States would consider

Now all this was familiar as a pattern, and unmistakably Soviet: the enormous lie, the mind-numbing accusation. Enough to settle the origins of the Zionism resolution. Yet it is to be insisted that others were also involved, and probably independently involved.

Evidently the Arabs — the other natural source of anti-Israel propaganda — had shown but little interest in the Zionist movement as such. When Arabs attacked Zionism on ideological grounds, it was mainly for being pro-Bolshevik or socialistic. Such was the position, for example, of the Saudis and of King Faisal. Still, even for the Arabs things at length began to change, as the uses of ideology were perceived. From the 1960s onward, Bernard Lewis writes,

... Arab attacks on the Zionist enterprise and on Zionist theory began to make extensive use of such terms as *racist*, and to seek resemblances between Israel and South Africa, and, even more remarkably, between Zionists and Nazis.

Thus in the Palestine National Covenant of 1964, *racist* is added to the list of pejorative adjectives applied to Zionism, while a 1965 Arab tract, which Lewis notes was, "significantly," published in English, classifies Zionism as a form of racism.

There the matter must rest. Arab propagandists can lay as good a claim to the 1975 Zionism resolution as can the Soviets, though it was the Soviet connection that preoccupied me at the time. (As usual, the question seemingly never occurred to anyone in Washington. What did it *matter* whose idea it was?) It was in any event clear that the Soviets were using the Zionism resolution as a fallback position from which to attack Israel — and to intimidate Egypt — after the momentum went out of the movement to expel Israel from the U.N. The plain fact of the time was that Israel and Egypt, with American sponsorship, were moving toward something like peace. The Soviets, especially after having been expelled from Egypt, would not have it.

On July 14, in his Milwaukee address, Kissinger made clear that the United States would do many things, possibly drastic things, if Israel were even so much as *suspended* from the coming General Assembly. On July 16, a conference of foreign ministers of forty Islamic countries called even so for the *expulsion* of Israel from the U.N. and from all international bodies. On July 17, the European Nine expressed their intention to "defend and promote respect for the Charter, for the rights of member states and for the existing rules of procedure," meaning that Israel's rights were not to be interfered with. On July 18, the U.S. Senate adopted a resolution saying that if Israel were expelled from the U.N. the United States would consider seriously the implication of continued

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American membership in that body. On July 23, Israeli Foreign Minister Yigal Allon appealed to "enlightened" members of the U.N. to try to head off any move to suspend Israel from the Thirtieth Session by serving notice that they themselves would walk out if Israel was suspended. Nothing daunted, on July 25, the foreign ministers of the Organization of African Unity directed that their drafting committee prepare a resolution seeking the suspension of Israel. Then, on the same day, July 25, Anwar Sadat, President of Egypt, stated that "Israel must be present at the United Nations if it is expected to comply with its resolutions." He continued that if Israel did not comply, then it should be expelled. But the essential Egyptian statement was that for the moment Israel must remain if the movement toward peace between the two countries was to continue. On July 29, Allon stated that if Israel were ousted from the U.N., the U.N. would be ousted from Israel, and there would be no Geneva peace conference. Events turned. On August 1, the O.A.U. assembly of heads of state approved a resolution which spoke merely of "the possibility of eventually depriving Israel . . . of its membership." On August 30, the ministerial conference of Non-Aligned in Lima adopted a thirty-two-page declaration, which omitted a call for Israel's suspension or expulsion, calling merely for Israel to abide by the Charter and implement all United Nations resolutions concerning the Palestinian and Middle East questions.

The United States had won. Kissinger had won. The Egyptians, having broken with the Russians, succeeded in upholding their new relationship with the United States, and the step-by-step movement toward peace with Israel that rested fundamentally on U.N. resolutions.

The object of the Zionism resolution that followed was to spoil these relations and disrupt such progress, to force Egypt, as Lewis later wrote, "to join in this exercise and to sabotage independent Egyptian moves toward peace." The irony is that this second-best, fallback alternative for the Soviets was potentially far more devastating than expulsion. Instead of merely challenging the right of Israel to participate in the General Assembly, the Zionism resolution challenged the right of Israel to exist. The legitimacy of the Israeli state was denied. The official doctrine of the state, the ideology of the movement to create a Jewish homeland, was declared to be suffused with racism, the one doctrine that the existing world political community had outlawed. The United Nations system, in thirty years, had granted legitimacy to all manner of economic, social, and political arrangements: democratic and totalitarian; capitalist and socialist; pluralist and centralist. All were equally accepted as equally legitimate. *Only regimes based on racism and racial discrimination were held to be unacceptable.* This is not to say that anything that might be accorded the standing of international law held that

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There were now but three . . . dominated by European white: To Israelis, and no doubt to gre: it will seem absurd to put them homeland of the Jews. But Afri: that Israel is the homeland on there. The rest are Russian . . . Colonizers have no rights. Non: was the devastating aspect of ti to be a regime of the past.

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A careful history may one issue. What I recount is what and November of 1975, where Reis, we at least knew the U.N course, were cultural and poli: that, in Bernard Lewis's word: our day is the racist, just as : But the United Nations was a ing this transition and for gi attitude.

a state determined to be racist had no right to exist, but this *was* very close to political reality, especially at the United Nations.

There were now but three states left in all of Africa or Asia still dominated by European whites: South Africa, Rhodesia — and Israel. To Israelis, and no doubt to great numbers of Americans and Europeans, it will seem absurd to put them in such company. Israel is, after all, the homeland of the Jews. But Africans and Asians so disposed reply to this that Israel is the homeland only of those Jews who have always lived there. The rest are Russian and Polish and Hungarian colonizers. Colonizers have no rights. None, certainly, at the United Nations. This was the devastating aspect of the Zionism resolution: it declared Israel to be a regime of the past.

If I knew little of Israel, I knew a fair amount about the Versailles Peace Conference, and was not impressed by the historical case the Arabs would make. The treaty of Sèvres clearly anticipated that there would be an Arab state in Syria and a Jewish state in Palestine. The Mandate granted at San Remo in 1920 only strengthened this presumption, while already, in 1919, the Emir Feisal and Chaim Weizmann had agreed to a Jewish settlement in Palestine. If the Jews at the time were in some sense stateless, so also were the Arabs. None had states. All would have. This was the age of Wilson.

This is what I knew. I think I also knew that it was quite possible for Asians, and others, to see things quite differently, to see the Israelis as a remaining remnant of white, European colonialists. I also knew that American Jews, and I assumed Israelis, had very great difficulty imagining that anyone could see Israel in such a perspective. Hence this attack was deadly dangerous. The Israelis and their supporters thought of themselves as the very model of the modern anti-imperialist, collectivist society. And of all the things they could never be accused of was racism: certainly not after the Holocaust. And so the jets came screaming in under their radar screen; undetected, utterly unexpected.

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A careful history may one day be written of the emergence of this issue. What I recount is what we knew at the U.S. Mission in October and November of 1975, where, thanks to a superb legal officer, Herbert Reis, we at least knew the U.N. background. The large causal events, of course, were cultural and political: the process by which it came to pass that, in Bernard Lewis's words, "the fashionable enemy in the West in our day is the racist, just as a few years back he was the communist." But the United Nations was an ideal institutional structure for facilitating this transition and for giving an institutional structure to the new attitude.

The transition was rapid. In 1965, on the basis of a draft prepared by the Human Rights Commission, the General Assembly took up and adopted the International Convention on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination. Article I defined the term:

In this Convention, the term "racial discrimination" shall mean any distinction, exclusion, restriction or preference based on race, colour, descent or national or ethnic origin which has the purpose or effect of nullifying or impairing the recognition, employment or exercise, on an equal footing, of human rights and fundamental freedoms in the political, economic, social, cultural or any other field of public life.

In the expansive spirit of the proceedings (there was virtually no debate) the United States, with Brazil, proposed adding an additional article:

States Parties condemn anti-Semitism and shall take action as appropriate for its speedy eradication in the territories subject to their jurisdiction.

The United States delegate, William P. Rogers, former Attorney General and future Secretary of State, explained:

Article I makes it quite clear that this Convention is intended to protect ethnic as well as racial groups. Although all members of this Committee who have spoken have argued that the present language of the Convention is broad enough to cover anti-Semitism . . . [the] article proposed by Brazil and the United States would appropriately highlight the application of the Convention to anti-Semitism.

It was understandable that Rogers, with an American sensitivity to the racial language in which the Nazis had expressed their anti-Semitism, should want the U.N. to proclaim its abhorrence of the latter. But in the end the association proved to be a weapon accessible to enemies as well as friends, for it held within it support for the idea of Jews as a race, a complicated idea to begin with, but by 1975 especially dangerous, as enemies of Israel were beginning to claim that Jews justified their nationhood on racial grounds, and accordingly, somehow, did not deserve to have a nation. In 1965 the Soviets proposed an amendment to the Convention on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination, which suggests they were onto the idea:

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

"ZIONISM IS A FORM OF RACISM

for the speedy eradication of the territories subject to their jurisdiction

Brilliant: to oppose *both* anti-Semitism with racial discrimination by a decision not to give priority discrimination," but the idea remained

This decision also put aside colonialism that referred not only to "racial discrimination" but to "racism" as such. Just as it was to invoke the term *racism* was not of the word in the U.N. system that in 1965 in a Security Council resolution of independence by Rhodesia. But for the longest while, the vocabulary; speeches, resolutions, "racial discrimination." A very *Fortune* was later to point out: racism a doctrine. The implication.

As a term, *racism* came into the International Convention on Human Rights to observe the twentieth anniversary of the Universal Declaration. Just weeks after the Kerner Commission report had been issued, the term *racism*, especially *white racism*, idea dominated the years that followed, with variants as *sexism* and *ageism*. It was but now too fashionable for an ex-delegation to the Tehran conference. Commission, Roy Wilkins, and Jewish and racial affairs. For what the delegation brought little also initiative on human rights to the United Nations. "I recognized," the Afghan *rapporteur* tragic situation in southern Afghanistan a flagrant violation of human rights more than the age of Hitler, presumably American asked for precision. The occupation of Arab territories, now continuously associated with the initiative on specific human rights by the Soviets. There had recent

for the speedy eradication of those inhuman ideas and practices in the territories subject to their jurisdiction.

Brilliant: to oppose both anti-Semitism and Zionism! To link "exclusiveness" with racial discrimination! The amendment was put off by a decision not to give priority to "any . . . specific forms of racial discrimination," but the idea remained.

This decision also put aside consideration of a Bolivian amendment that referred not only to "racial discrimination," the going term of the day, but to "racism" as such. Just what prompted the Bolivian delegation to invoke the term *racism* was not clear, but this was the first appearance of the word in the U.N. system that we could discover. It appeared also in 1965 in a Security Council resolution that asserted that the declaration of independence by Rhodesian white settlers had no legal validity. But for the longest while, the term scarcely existed in the U.N. vocabulary; speeches, resolutions, and conventions were directed against "racial discrimination." A very different matter, as Paul Weaver of *Fortune* was later to point out: racial discrimination is a practice, racism a doctrine. The implications differ considerably.

As a term, *racism* came into its own at the U.N. with the Tehran International Convention on Human Rights, convened in April, 1968, to observe the twentieth anniversary of the proclamation of the Universal Declaration. Just weeks before the Tehran conference, the Kerner Commission report had been released in the United States, and the term *racism*, especially *white racism*, achieved a huge vogue. The idea dominated the years that followed, and produced by analogy such variants as *sexism* and *ageism*. It was a clear enough idea to begin with, but now too fashionable for an exact meaning to survive. The American delegation to the Tehran conference included a member of the Kerner Commission, Roy Wilkins, and Morris Abram, a man active in both Jewish and racial affairs. For whatever reason, apart from this new word, the delegation brought little along with it, conceding almost the whole initiative on human rights to the dictatorships, avowing American failings at every opportunity. Language depreciated rapidly. "All recognized," the Afghan *rapporteur* of the conference noted, "that the tragic situation in southern Africa constitutes the vilest and most flagrant violation of human rights ever recorded in history." Worse than the age of Hitler, presumably, or of Stalin, or of Idi Amin. No American asked for precision. No American took exception as Israeli occupation of Arab territories, now a huge fact of Middle East life, was continuously associated with the situation of southern Africa. The initiative on specific human rights issues was almost wholly taken over by the Soviets. There had recently taken place in West Germany (where

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a thoroughly democratic government permitted such opposition) an outbreak of small neo-Nazi demonstrations. The governments of the USSR, Poland, and Czechoslovakia obtained from the conference the sternest condemnation of this "Nazism" and "neo-Nazism." Nigeria proposed adding the words *and racism* after "neo-Nazism," and the sponsors agreed. The resolution was thereafter modified only in that the conference rejected the Soviet contention that these outbreaks "constitute a threat to the peace and security of peoples." The Soviets similarly introduced the resolution calling on the General Assembly to declare 1969 "the International Year for Action to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination." In time, the General Assembly expanded the period from a year into a decade, which technically began in 1978. It will be recalled that the resolution to declare Zionism a form of racism and racial discrimination was one of several amendments to the basic charter of the "Decade," and as such had now come before the Thirtieth General Assembly.

In the interval, a more specific attack on Israel had also proceeded. The first direct move against Israel's part in the U.N. system had come in the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization, which will seem appropriate to those who believe that the largest political phenomena appear first in the culture. On November 20, 1974, by a vote of 64 in favor to 27 (including the United States) against, with 26 abstentions, the UNESCO General Conference condemned Israel for altering the historical features of Jerusalem and undertaking excavations that constituted a danger to its monuments. (The vote, in percentage terms, was almost precisely that on the Zionism resolution a year later. Fifty-five percent for, 23 percent against, 22 percent abstaining in UNESCO. Fifty-two percent for, 25 percent against, 23 percent abstaining in the General Assembly.) The UNESCO General Conference next rejected a motion to include Israel in UNESCO's European regional group, leaving it the only member state not included in any such grouping. Finally the conference called on the Director-General to supervise the educational and cultural institutions in the occupied Arab territories, in cooperation with the Arab States and the Palestine Liberation Organization, so that these populations might have access to education and culture to preserve their national identity. Much work had been done by the time the Third Committee of the Thirtieth General Assembly convened.

Chaim Herzog, the Israeli Ambassador to the U.N., later recalled that the issue took the Israelis by complete surprise. This suggests the extra-

ordinary vulnerability of that of attack now being made upon struggle and surviving by virtue highest intellectual as well as aircraft carrier in a hostile sea notice. Off would go the sirens in seconds, minutes later (akin was such a matter of minutes to Yet now there was taking place as such -- indeed, the first attack Nations. Before six weeks had agency, would state that surely surely everyone saw it coming. those who had the greatest need

The State of Israel was sure its destruction. Huge majorities in the United Nations. The w Union, was openly anti-Semitic generally, and Japan particularly economic difficulty consequent which were also Israel's enemies could be predicted that the EU the Israelis for this, while for aloof. Our support had been e had available to us the air base plex world.) Whatever would f In the meantime, with the out oil prices, the West had entered riod of inflation and unemploymentary governments cons responsible, Israel surely would most. Israel would be *regretted*.

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ordinary vulnerability of that nation, and of Jews generally, to the kind of attack now being made upon them. Here was Israel, born in bloody struggle and surviving by virtue of intense, unceasing vigilance of the highest intellectual as well as spiritual order. The nation lived like an aircraft carrier in a hostile sea, ready to fight on six or seven minutes' notice. Off would go the sirens, the fighter bombers would be in the air in seconds, minutes later taking out air bases on another continent. It was such a matter of minutes that saved the nation in the Six Day War. Yet now there was taking place an attack on Israel's national movement as such — indeed, the first attack of this kind in the history of the United Nations. Before six weeks had passed, dimwitted Tass, the Soviet news agency, would state that surely the event came as no surprise to anyone, surely everyone saw it coming. But no, it came as a complete surprise to those who had the greatest need to see it coming.

The State of Israel was surrounded by nations formally committed to its destruction. Huge majorities for this proposition could be summoned in the United Nations. The world's second greatest power, the Soviet Union, was openly anti-Semitic. The world's greatest power, the West generally, and Japan particularly, had entered a time of prolonged economic difficulty consequent upon the decision of the Arab nations, which were also Israel's enemies, to quintuple the price of energy. It could be predicted that the Europeans would somehow begin to blame the Israelis for this, while for certain the Japanese would want to stay aloof. Our support had been effective in the 1967 war because we still had available to us the air bases of prerevolutionary Portugal. (A complex world.) Whatever would follow, that regime in Portugal had gone. In the meantime, with the outcome of that war and the quintupling of oil prices, the West had entered what was likely to be a protracted period of inflation and unemployment, with the normal difficulties of parliamentary governments considerably worsened. Whether Israel was responsible, Israel surely would be blamed: openly by some, privately by most. Israel would be *regretted*.

Somehow this reality was not making its way through, perhaps especially to American Jews. Here a long history was proving no guide. Jewish history seemed to deny the possibility that the enemies of Jews could be on the left. Jewish history seemed especially to deny that Jews could be thought guilty of crimes committed by *governments*. The State of Israel was so new. It was hard to think that *Jewish* thought and behavior might display the same characteristics found in other nations. Jews imprisoning others? Jews occupying the territory of others? Jews desecrating the culture of others? Surely there was some mistake.

But of course there was no mistake at all, as far as what was being said and believed. By 1965 the State of Israel had been in existence



outcome of this or that negotiation never showed any face to the world save defiance. Thus it was that Herzog and I had no special relationship when, on October 1 — two days before I was to go to San Francisco for the A.F.L.-C.I.O. convention — he telephoned about the Zionism resolution, which had been sprung out of the blue. He asked, "Do you realize the import of this resolution?" I said that I did; that we would back Israel; that I was afraid, however, that we would remain isolated with Israel on the issue. Ours had been the only two votes against the proposition when it had been included in the final declaration of the International Women's Year Conference just three months before.

Later, in the aftermath of the final vote, we were asked, in effect, on what grounds we had chosen to enhance the importance of an encounter we would surely lose. I can only tell what I thought at the time. First, I had been asked to do so by the representative of the government of Israel, which had a claim on any democratic nation and especially our own. Second, my own government had already opposed the measure at the Mexico City conference. Third, the United States had at the Special Session given full evidence of its bona fides. All we had asked was an end to the assaults represented by this resolution. Instead, the Non-Aligned were now allowing themselves to be made party to a moral outrage. Fourth, the American people would absolutely support the position I proposed to take. Anyone even partially familiar with survey data would have known this. Fifth, to attack Zionists was to attack Americans no less than Israelis, and I had said at the outset we would defend ourselves.

As we were certain to lose the vote, it was essential that we win the argument. Herzog and I agreed we would fight on three grounds. First, that the resolution was a lie. This we could prove. Second, that the small and weak nations that voted for it would be voting for a principle — that the United Nations could lie and would lie — which would one day be turned against *them*. This was a proposition no one could disprove. Third, that if the Zionism resolution passed, the Decade for Action Against Racism and Racial Discrimination would be dead.

We agreed that the critical move would be to obtain the support of the European Nine, who had not been on our side at Mexico City. This turned out not to be difficult. On October 3, the day Garment spoke in the Third Committee, Italy's Piero Vinci, speaking for the Community, stated that they would not go along with the resolution, and that if it were to pass, the Nine would not participate in the Decade. This was more than we had hoped, and suggests that one shouldn't exaggerate the Israeli or American role in the days that followed. We were not alone.

Our next object was to dissuade a respectable portion of Africans, whose own Decade was in some respects at stake, to oppose the resolution

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on grounds of principle or prudence, however they liked. Then, to stir opinion in the United States, to which, after all, both Europeans and Africans looked for support in more than a few matters.

To this end Herzog called Rabbi Israel Miller, the President of the Conference of Presidents of Major American Jewish Organizations, an umbrella group that had been set up at the request of Secretary of State John Foster Dulles. In the classic mode of reorganizations, the result of drawing a big box around all the other boxes had been merely to create yet another box. Still, Miller was the appropriate person for the Israelis to look to. Unfortunately, as far as we could tell, instead of in turn calling the organizations he was supposed to represent, Miller commenced to call *me*, a development I reported to Herzog with some testiness. Herzog then saw Miller and asked why we weren't hearing anything from the American Jewish community. There had not been a word. No statements. No advertisements. No petitions. (By contrast, the American Jewish Committee had at least sent a telegram to the President supporting the statements Mitchell and I had made about Amin.) Miller replied, sorrowfully as Herzog judged, that he had raised the matter with the Israeli Embassy in Washington and had been told: "Ignore it, it's nonsense."

This only aroused Herzog further. The Israeli Foreign Minister, Yigal Allon, came through New York on the weekend following my speech to the A.F.L.-C.I.O. and Garment's statement in the Third Committee. Herzog gave him dinner in a kosher Chinese restaurant in the garment district, pitch black and deserted on a Sunday evening, adding rather to the drama of the occasion. We both spoke of the urgency of the matter as we saw it. Allon took the point. His next stop was London, where he spoke to Harold Wilson. The British thereupon became much more active.

As October progressed we were still surrounded by silence, but making some impression within the U.N. itself. Our one bit of leverage — whatever the elegance of our arguments — was the Decade Against Racism, and this began to show effect. The technical situation was as follows: Somalia, acting on behalf of thirteen sponsoring countries, had submitted *seven* amendments. These identified "Zionism as a form of racial discrimination to be included in the Programme of the Decade," proposed to provide "moral and material support to the national liberation movements and victims of apartheid, Zionism, and racial discrimination," and requested a study of the "colonial roots" of Zionism. Faced with the sudden show of Western opposition, Somalia requested that the vote be postponed, which was agreed. Two weeks of lobbying and negotiation followed, with the Africans under pressure from many sides. On October 15, Somalia withdrew the seven amendments and

presented as a substitute, a single resolution that de discrimination." Zionism with the operational pro tended as a conciliatory n their Decade. But we put acting for the Soviet Un Decade were, as Garment lose the other. We had no but it was at least possibi it aside.

The final debate in the Friday, October 16 and r ton on the Thursday. He table the resolution rather

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presented as a substitute, this time on behalf of twenty-six cosponsors, a single resolution that declared, "Zionism is a form of racism and racial discrimination." Zionism was no longer cited in the resolution dealing with the operational programs of the Decade. Evidently this was intended as a conciliatory move toward African nations concerned about their Decade. But we put it about that in our view Somalia was merely acting for the Soviet Union and that the Zionism resolution and the Decade were, as Garment later said, "inseparably linked." Adopt one, lose the other. We had no thought of defeating the resolution outright, but it was at least possible that a majority might be persuaded to put it aside.

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The final debate in the Third Committee took place Thursday and Friday, October 16 and 17. I met with Kissinger for lunch in Washington on the Thursday. He supported us completely in a plan to try to table the resolution rather than to defeat it.

Who is to say whether and how debate ever affects the outcome of a vote? This one did, I think, at least somewhat. It was intense and at times vituperative. The Arabs were at their worst, or best, as they might think. Replete with charters and pacts and proclamations of long ago, leering with proofs of Jewish wickedness snipped from the editorials of Israeli newspapers or the pronouncements of anti-Zionist Jews. Bitter with near to thirty years of defeat on the battlefield. Quick to belittle, incapable of praise. They would invoke Saladin, but these descendants had quite lost his largeness, his munificence. If the representative of Haiti said that "no one until today thought to name [Zionism] a crime against humanity," Iraq would then recall that "Haiti was one of the few countries prevailed upon by U.S. pressure to change its vote in 1947 when the General Assembly voted for the partition of Palestine."

The nearest to a tactical success we had was using the leverage of the Decade with southern Africans. As one went southward on the continent, the number of countries with Moslem majorities or sizable Moslem populations decreased. Blyden of Sierra Leone understood our position completely and shared it completely. In the end he voted with us, and led an African effort to table. Yet as I pressed for this or that, he had continually to remind me that the majority of his cabinet was Moslem. Our principal tactical mistake was not to understand the willingness of the Arabs simply to buy themselves a majority. There had been an anti-Israel majority in the General Assembly for at least a decade. But with the West now for the first time pressing the marginal members of that coalition, the Arabs responded with what the Barbados

representative, Waldo E. Waldron Ramsey, in his speech to the Committee, deftly termed "blandishments." A second error, disastrous and definitive, was to suppose that the Latin American countries, with significant Jewish populations almost everywhere and no direct stake in the issue, would be with us. When the vote came, Brazil and Mexico were against us, and there were many more Latin American abstentions than votes with us. Japan also abstained.

On the morning of October 17, still in committee, Sierra Leone and Zambia moved to postpone consideration for a year. The motion lost with 68 against and only 45 in favor, with 16 abstentions. The Dutch and others were doing their best to find a way to put the whole thing off, but Smid of Czechoslovakia was in the chair. Smid the liberal had become Smid the *apparatchik*; every ruling went against us.

At length Garment spoke. It was clear we would lose; but we wished the majority to be clear what it was about to do.

My delegation has read the new proposal before us. It is unusually straightforward. It asks us to determine "that Zionism is a form of racism and racial discrimination."

As simple as this language is, we are concerned that what may not be fully understood is that this resolution asks us to commit one of the most grievous errors in the thirty-year life of this organization.

This committee is preparing itself, with deliberation and foreknowledge, to perform a supreme act of deceit, to make a massive attack on the moral realities of the world. Under the guise of a program to eliminate racism the United Nations is at the point of officially endorsing anti-Semitism, one of the oldest and most virulent forms of racism known to human history. This draft explicitly encourages the racism known as anti-Semitism even as it would have us believe that its words will lead to the elimination of racism.

I choose my words carefully when I say that this is an obscene act. The United States protests this act. But protest alone is not enough. In fairness to ourselves we must also issue a warning. This resolution places the work of the United Nations in jeopardy. The language of this resolution distorts and perverts. It changes words with precise meanings into purveyors of confusion. It destroys the moral force of the concept of racism, making it nothing more than an epithet to be flung arbitrarily at one's adversary. It blinds us to areas of agreement and disagreement, and deprives us of the clarity of vision we desperately need to understand and resolve the differences among us. And we are here to overcome our differences, not to deepen them.

Zionism is a movement which has as its contemporary thrust the preservation of the small remnant of the Jewish people that survived the horrors of a racial holocaust. By equating Zionism with racism, this resolution discredits the good faith of our joint efforts to fight actual

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We then moved to adjourn against, 40 in favor, and e crowded, hot, and excited. S

Garment sat in our chair taking our presence. I had the British critic Coronw farewell to Lionel Trilling. her husband would have c called to ask if I would no show him around. He had gested he come back for th he described the moment:

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racism. It discredits these efforts morally and it cripples them politically.

The United Nations, throughout its thirty-year history, has not lived by the force of majorities; it has not lived by the force of arms. It has lived only — I repeat, only — because it has been thought that the nations of the world, assembled together, would give voice to the most decent and humane instincts of mankind. From this thought has come the moral authority of the United Nations, and from this thought its influence upon human affairs.

Actions like this do not go unnoticed. They do not succeed without consequences, many of which while only imperfectly perceived at the time soon become part of an ineradicable and regrettable reality. Let us make no mistake: at risk today is the moral authority which is the United Nations' only ultimate claim for the support of our peoples. This risk is as reckless as it is unnecessary. But it is still avoidable. . . .

Accordingly, the United States will support [the first two resolutions applying only to the Decade. . . .] We support, without reservation, the work of the United Nations to combat racism and racial discrimination. We have taken part in these vitally important activities in the past and want to be able to do so without obstruction in the future. We will vote against the third resolution. We call upon other delegations to do likewise. On its adoption the third resolution becomes inseparably linked to the first two. Therefore, if all three are sent to Plenary the United States will vote against all three at that time. . . . My government appreciates the fact that there were so many in this Committee who have shown that they wanted to consider this matter more carefully before committing the United Nations to so serious a step.

We then moved to adjourn without a vote; but this failed, 65 votes against, 40 in favor, and 21 abstentions. The Committee room grew crowded, hot, and excited. Something obscene was about to happen.

Garment sat in our chair. I sat behind him. There was to be no mistaking our presence. I had asked Podhoretz to be there; with him was the British critic Goronwy Rees, who had come to New York to say farewell to Lionel Trilling, but arrived just too late. Diana Trilling, as her husband would have expected, thought of their visitor first and called to ask if I would not find a moment to see him and perhaps to show him around. He had come for coffee that morning and I had suggested he come back for the vote that afternoon. Later, in *Encounter*, he described the moment:

There were ghosts haunting the Third Committee that day; the ghosts of Hitler and Goebbels and Julius Streicher, grinning with delight to hear, not only Israel, but Jews as such denounced in language which would have provoked hysterical applause at any Nuremberg

rally. . . . And there were other ghosts also at the debate: the ghosts of the 6,000,000 dead in Dachau and Sachsenhausen and other extermination camps, listening to the same voices which had cheered and jeered and abused them as they made their way to the gas chambers. For the fundamental thesis advanced by the supporters of the resolution, and approved by the majority of the Third Committee, was that to be a Jew, and to be proud of it, and to be determined to preserve the right to be a Jew, is to be an enemy of the human race.

Finally, all moves to postpone having failed, Herzog spoke:

Mr. Chairman, we have listened to the most unbelievable nonsense on the subject of Zionism from countries who are the archetypes of racists. I ask you, does it not beg the question? Here is one small country, 3,000,000 in population—a free democratic country which can be visited by anybody in which all citizens, Jews and Arabs, are free and equal—being castigated hour in, hour out by countries whose regimes practice racism, incorporate racism in their laws and their daily practice. Does it not beg the question? Why not examine the racism practiced in so many countries who have been speaking so profusely? Why pick on a small Jewish state? I suspect because it is Jewish and small.

It doesn't surprise me, Sir, because we are a people who have lived with this form of discrimination—anti-Semitism—for centuries. How dare these people talk of racism to us—we, who have suffered more than any other nation in the world from racist theories and practices, a nation which has suffered the most terrifying holocaust in the history of mankind. For centuries we have suffered from racism. We suffer today from racism in a number of countries, including Arab racism as practiced in so many of the sponsor countries. The sponsors have the effrontery to talk of racism. It lies not in your mouths. You have degraded this world organization by introducing this anti-Semitic element into the world body and in so doing you may well destroy it ultimately. . . .

This . . . is a sad day for the United Nations. The Jewish people will not forget this scene nor this vote. We are a small people with a long and proud history. We have lived through much in our history. We have survived all our oppressors and enemies over the centuries. We shall survive this shameless exhibition. But we, the Jewish people, will not forget. We shall not forget those who spoke up for decency and civilization; and I thank the delegations who expressed themselves against this pernicious resolution. We shall not forget those who voted to attack our religion and our faith. We shall never forget.

These last words were shouted, and the room for a moment fell silent. Then, as if the others were rallying their ranks, the stirring commenced

again, rising up a screen 70 in favor. The two votes over the long mocking instructions, I rose and walked to the said.

As it happened, Zbigniew Brzezinski, Jimmy Carter, Waldorf Astor, remarked the politics. Under the U.N. the political.

This was supported by the Department of State.

- The Third Committee
- In Favor of:
- Algeria
- Algeria
- Cyprus
- Bissau
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- Mongolia
- Qatar, Saudi
- Tanzania
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- Opposed to:
- Australia
- Dominican
- Ivory Coast
- Sweden
- Abstaining:
- Bosnia
- Japan
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- Absent:
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again, rising to a frenzy. The vote came, racing across the computer screen. 70 in favor, 29 against, with 27 abstentions.\* They had picked up two votes over the Sierra Leone motion to postpone, five over ours. A long mocking applause broke out. The Israeli delegation, clearly on instructions, showed not the least emotion.

I rose and walked over to Herzog and embraced him. "Fuck 'em!" I said.

As it happened, on the day of the vote I had accepted an invitation by Zbigniew Brzezinski to speak to a luncheon of the Trilateral Commission, the foreign policy study group of which, we were to learn, Jimmy Carter was a member. I arrived at the Louis XVI Room at the Waldorf full of news from the Third Committee. During lunch I remarked that I feared the pending vote would affect not only world politics, but American domestic politics as well. George W. Ball, former Under Secretary of State and former U.S. Permanent Representative to the U.N., replied, "Nonsense. The campaign finance act has broken the political power of the American Jews."

This was endemic at the Department of State: to suppose that we supported Israel because of Harry Truman's partner in that haberdashery. Because Abraham Feinberg stayed at the White House when Lyndon

\* The Third Committee vote was:

*In Favor: 70*

Afghanistan, Albania, Algeria, Bahrain, Bangladesh, Brazil, Bulgaria, Burma, Byelorussia, Cameroon, Cambodia, Cape Verde, Chad, Chile, China, Congo, Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Dahomey, East Germany, Egypt, Gabon, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Guyana, Hungary, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Jordan, Kuwait, Laos, Lebanon, Libya, Madagascar, Malaysia, Mali, Malta, Mauritania, Mauritius, Mexico, Mongolia, Morocco, Mozambique, Niger, Nigeria, Oman, Pakistan, Poland, Portugal, Qatar, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Somalia, Soviet Union, Spain, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Syria, Tanzania, Tunisia, Turkey, Uganda, Ukraine, United Arab Emirates, Yemen, Southern Yemen, and Yugoslavia.

*Opposed: 29*

Australia, Austria, Bahamas, Barbados, Belgium, Canada, Costa Rica, Denmark, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Finland, France, Haiti, Iceland, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Ivory Coast, Liberia, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Norway, Sweden, United Kingdom, United States, Uruguay, and West Germany.

*Abstaining: 27*

Botswana, Colombia, Ethiopia, Fiji, Gambia, Ghana, Grenada, Honduras, Jamaica, Japan, Kenya, Lesotho, Malawi, Nepal, Papua-New Guinea, Peru, Philippines, Rumania, Rwanda, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Swaziland, Togo, Upper Volta, Venezuela, Zaire, and Zambia.

*Absent: 16*

Argentina, Bhutan, Bolivia, Burundi, Central African Republic, El Salvador, Equatorial Guinea, Greece, Guatemala, Maldives, Panama, Paraguay, São Tomé and Príncipe, South Africa, Thailand, and Trinidad-Tobago.

Johnson was there. Because Max Fisher was there under Nixon and Ford, and God knows who would be there if Jackson got in. In a word, that the Jews bought their influence in American foreign policy; that we did not support Israel primarily because it was in the United States' interest to do so.

Podhoretz, while I was in India, had written to tell me that the object of the movement for campaign finance reform then under way was to break the political power of the Jews. I had written back to tell him that he knew nothing of politics.

The Zionism resolution was voted at about 6:30 in the evening. Most delegates went straight home to change for the United Nations Ball sponsored by the United Nations Association at the Waldorf. The Secretary-General waltzed with imperial *éclat*.

I saw Kissinger a week later, at the annual United Nations Concert at the Kennedy Center in Washington. I told him what Ball had said, and he agreed. He added that one of the country's better known politicians had recently told him that his advice to any young man starting out in politics would be to "Be an anti-Semite."

The story goes that at the Congress of Vienna Metternich was awakened one night to be told the Russian ambassador had just dropped dead. He rubbed his eyes and asked, "What can have been his motive?" It was ever thus with Kissinger. What did he mean by that? To arouse me to greater effort?

That was not likely. To account for our failure to head off the Zionism resolution, a failure which would have to be in part his own for he was Secretary of State? Yes, surely, a little bit that. To be spiteful about Ball, who conceivably wanted his job? Probably. But then there was the other Kissinger, who truly thought that the lights were going out again. That somehow he might find a way to postpone the inevitable, to put it off a bit, even for a bit to confound it. But in the end the inevitable would come; and what a waste it would be.

There was no hope now of defeating the resolution in the General Assembly. Technically there had not been a majority against either the Sierra Leone-Zambia motion to table, nor ours; but given the number of abstentions the actual vote was nearly two-to-one against us. I decided

instead to try to shame the wished in particular to make one side and the dictators' rating, 76 percent of those Not Free. Only 7 percent of as Free. Just the reverse 61 percent were Not Free; 61 p

The Chileans gave me a group had reported on the being a matter of special denounced the existence of political repression. The committee, and the Chileans be not get it put off, much as tion. On October 17, the C tion. The next morning I told him for "background" story made as much or more Aide Charges Chile Sold U "United States official" was some like-minded military. Many other Latins, the office I said that "the decent court to pick your company in again off the record, I poi states that had voted against up for their own interests."

This appeared on the Tuesday evening I was sch Foundation dinner in New Arthur Schncier, was sup Greek Orthodox, as well as America had, months earlier a theme. That the issue was Third Committee had awa

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instead to try to shame the countries that voted for the resolution. I wished in particular to make the case that the democracies had been on one side and the dictatorships on the other. (By the Freedom House rating, 76 percent of those who voted for the Zionism resolution were Not Free. Only 7 percent of the favorable vote came from nations listed as Free. Just the reverse was true of those who voted against: only 7 percent were Not Free; 61 percent were Free.)

The Chileans gave me an opening. The previous week a U.N. working group had reported on the human rights situation in that country, this being a matter of special concern to the Soviets. The working group denounced the existence of torture centers in Chile, and reported much political repression. The matter would soon be before the Third Committee, and the Chileans began canvassing delegates, to see if they could not get it put off, much as we were trying to put off the Zionism resolution. On October 17, the Chileans voted in favor of the Zionism resolution. The next morning I called in Paul Hofmann of *The Times* and told him for "background" that the Chileans had been bought. The story made as much or more news than the Committee vote itself. "U.S. Aide Charges Chile Sold U.N. Vote to Arabs" ran on the front page. A "United States official" was quoted saying "The fascists in Chile and some like-minded military regimes are lining up with the anti-Semites." Many other Latins, the official was quoted, "deserted us." On the record I said that "the decent countries" had been with us, adding, "If you had to pick your company in the world, you couldn't pick better." Once again off the record, I pointed to the large number of black African states that had voted against the resolution: "The Africans are standing up for their own interests," I concluded.

This appeared on the *Times* front page Monday, October 20. On Tuesday evening I was scheduled to address the Appeal of Conscience Foundation dinner in New York. This group, while headed by Rabbi Arthur Schneier, was supported by Roman Catholic, Protestant, and Greek Orthodox, as well as by Jewish, religious leaders. (The Jesuits at *America* had, months earlier, asked me to give the speech.) I now found a theme. That the issue was not Israel but democracy. The action of the Third Committee had awakened us, none too soon:

Joyce hit upon the term epiphany for such moments of showing through. "Its soul," he wrote, "its whatness leaps to us from the vestment of its appearance . . . the object achieves its epiphany." This happened Friday last in the Third Committee of the General Assembly of the United Nations.

Self-destruction is what first showed through. For some time now the United Nations has been showing a seemingly compulsive urge so to

outrage those very principles on which it was founded as to suggest that a sinister transmutation has occurred in an organism that yet enough remembers its own beginnings as to be revulsed by what it has become and somehow to seek expiation in bringing on its own doom. Things like that happen. How else to explain the incessant quest for yet new devices for scandalizing the good opinion on which the survival of the institution depends? I do not refer to the occasional onset of role reversal in which some of the newer nations in the world display a certain disrespect for some of the older ones. Some of the older ones, our own nation included, have a certain amount of disrespect coming, and occasional irreverence will do no one harm. Nor do I refer to the debates over the distribution of wealth among the nations of the world which have much occupied the United Nations in recent years. Sufficiently long ago to suggest that it comes naturally, Aristotle noted that the founding of any truly political forum is the signal for a struggle between rich and poor to commence. It is one of the redeeming qualities of the institution that it has indeed begun at the United Nations.

The real problem is very different, and vastly ominous. It is that the United Nations has become a locus of a general assault by the majority of the nations in the world on the principles of liberal democracy which are now found only in a minority of nations, and for that matter a dwindling minority. It was not Zionism that was condemned at the United Nations on Friday, it was Israel; and not the State of Israel nearly so much as the significance of Israel as one of the very few places, outside of Western Europe and North America and a few offshore islands, where western democratic principles survive, and of all such places, currently the most exposed.

This may not be the view of others, but it is and was the view of the United States Mission to the United Nations, and that view was stated with as much clarity as we could command in the Third Committee debate. . . .

The Committee thereupon voted, and this obscene act, this reckless act was adopted by 70 votes to 29, with 27 abstentions. The epiphany occurred, and nothing more epiphanic than the wholesale decision of the despotisms of the right in the world to side with the despotisms of the left, in common concert against the liberal democracies of the center. It was an awful occasion, but it had about it, most of all, the awfulness of truth. . . .

The question now arises: What are we to do? About this resolution, which has now passed the Third Committee of the United Nations.

The answer is unavoidable. It must not pass the General Assembly. It must not receive that final — and admittedly in most instances automatic — sanction as the judgment of the world community. There can be no community of belief about such a judgment.

One could hope, however, for some common understanding about the

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kinds of encounter we are having with one another. The United Nations is now much preoccupied with economic issues of a distributive nature, having to do with the relative condition of various classes of nations, much as the internal politics of many societies are preoccupied with similar issues having to do with classes of citizens. This ought not surprise us, for by all the doctrinal lights of the 20th century, this is what we are *supposed* to be preoccupied with. And yet, as a number of academicians have been arguing with perhaps increasing force, this is not in fact what the Twentieth Century is turning out to be about. To the contrary, it is the ancient and supposedly recessive bonds of race and creed which increasingly occupy the political forums of the world.

Given this, is it not possible for nations caught up in the latest aftermath of the latest world movement to see at very least that the condition is not peculiar to one region or another, or one era or another, but rather is very much the stuff of history, and the experience of almost the whole of mankind? Is it not at very least possible for some of us to see that no matter who prevails in the disputes that so very much absorb us in the world, the ultimate victor in every instance seems to be the state, and the state system, and the increasing forced identity of the individual with the state and the fortunes of the state?

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By now Congress was reacting. In the Senate, Javits of New York and Richard Stone of Florida, along with a number of colleagues, introduced a resolution condemning the Third Committee vote. Javits spoke with force: "It is time to speak out and call a halt to this vicious brand of name-calling, which brings echoes of the propaganda machine of Goebbels and his Nazi party colleagues in the nineteen-thirties." In the House of Representatives the Majority Leader, Thomas P. O'Neill, Jr., introduced a similar resolution with nearly a hundred cosponsors. On Friday, October 24, the President issued a statement deploring the Committee vote "in the strongest terms," adding: "The spokesmen for the United States in the United Nations have expressed well and forcefully the views of this Administration and the American people on this issue." On Sunday I appeared on television on *Face the Nation*. I tried to be confident with respect to issues that votes as such could not decide. Whatever the outcome, the vote would tell us who we were and who they were:

The President, the Secretary of State, the Congress made it very clear. . . . We will stand with the rights of a liberal democracy. We will stand with racial tolerance, with ethnic tolerance. We will stand against that hideous thing.

That evening J. H. Plumb arrived from England. I knew no one whose judgment of Europe was better. He had been in his own way a man of the left, but absolutely a democrat and as fearless of Communists as, during the war, he had been fearless of the Nazis. Plumb, who had advised caution more than once in the past, now urged audacity. He felt that the European governments were terrified of the combination of the Soviets and the Persian Gulf Arabs, and would abandon the Jews as they had done in 1938 and 1939. But the European *public*, he said, would not have it; already they were beginning to hear what we were saying in New York and they approved.

Next came support from the least expected British source. *The New Statesman* of that week carried a long article, "The Resources of Civilization," by its former editor, Paul Johnson. He began with Gladstone's speech on terrorism, given in 1881: "If it shall appear that there is still to be fought a final conflict in Ireland between law on the one side and sheer lawlessness on the other, if the law purged from defect and any taint of injustice is still to be repelled and refused, and the first conditions of political society to remain unfulfilled then I say, gentlemen, without hesitation, the resources of civilisation against its enemies are not yet exhausted." What an age! thought Johnson. He then went on to events in the Third Committee:

A fortnight ago the U.N. Social, Humanitarian and Cultural Committee—a nomenclature so rich in savage irony as to eclipse even a Swift—passed by 70 votes to 29 a resolution condemning Israel as a "threat to world peace" and Zionism as a "racialist and imperialist ideology." In fact, as all educated people know, Israel, far from being a threat to anyone, stands in perpetual danger of extermination from its bloodthirsty neighbours; and Zionism is neither a racial nor an imperial but a cultural phenomenon. Of course, at the U.N. facts and realities do not matter. What matters is force, money and physical power.

Indeed, the U.N. is rapidly becoming one of the most corrupt and corrupting creations in the whole history of human institutions. How many of the delegates were actually bribed by Arab governments to vote against Israel on this occasion is a matter of speculation; but almost without exception those in the majority came from states notable for racist oppression of every conceivable hue. . . .

The melancholy truth, I fear, is that the candles of civilisation are burning low. The world is increasingly governed not so much by capitalism, or communism, or social democracy, or even tribal barbarism, as by a false lexicon of political clichés, accumulated over half

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In some ways what is said and voted at the U.N. does not matter. There may be a case — not yet, I would say, an overwhelming one — for the United States government to cut off the U.N.'s money, and send the whole squalid circus packing. The slab of steel and glass on the East River might be then put to some useful purpose. But breaking up the U.N. would not end the problem, which springs not from paper votes but from the physical supplies of arms and money which certain states are prepared to pour into the terrorist cauldron. Russia, while ferociously executing dissidents in her own midst (those who hijack Soviet aircraft unsuccessfully know they will never emerge from the KGB interrogation cellars), equips a wide variety of terrorist gangs beyond her sphere of control.

And he ended by speaking of what was to be done:

Has not the time come to change our strategy? What I think the rest of the world is waiting for — indeed hoping for — is some positive sign that the civilised powers are going to uphold the standards of international behaviour set by their forebears; that they are going to do so in the most systematic, relentless and comprehensive manner, and if necessary — while they still possess it — with overwhelming force. All over our tormented planet, there are millions of decent, peaceable and intelligent men and women of all religions, complexions and races, who are praying that the resources of civilisation are not, indeed, exhausted — and that the Brezhnevs and the Amins, the Ghadaffis and the Maos, the Arafats and the O'Sadists will not be allowed to take over the earth.

I had first appeared in print in England in 1958, in a letter to *The New Statesman* protesting an article by G. D. H. Cole describing the American plans for world conquest, which had begun with the "invasion" of North Korea. The letter created a brief stir in London at the time. To have the former editor of *that* journal speak precisely to my purpose a quarter-century later was an event.

In Moscow Andrei D. Sakharov declared, "If this resolution is adopted, it can only contribute to anti-semitic tendencies in many countries, by giving them the appearance of international legality."

But where were the Jews? In Moscow, certainly, they were heard from. On October 26, Soviet Jews from fifteen cities issued a public protest against the resolution, calling it "essentially anti-Semitic." But in New York there was — silence. So also in Israel, where the press paid

little attention to the event. The first editorial on the resolution — so far as we in New York were aware — appeared only on October 16. I commenced to deplore this to Herzog, who assured me I was not alone. Ivor Richard had told him he was surprised by the lack of Jewish reaction. Von Wechmar of West Germany had told him it would have been helpful if the Jewish community had reacted somewhat more. I telephoned and harangued, but to no visible effect.

Finally Herzog had to take the matter head-on. On October 24 he made his first appearance before the Conference of Presidents of Major American Jewish Organizations. He made a formal speech. He asked, could Jewry be proud of its silence? It was the first major attack on world Jewry since the days of Hitler, and how had they reacted? In the greatest metropolis in the entire world, the greatest concentration of Jews in the entire world, there had been hardly a word of protest in the newspapers. Only on Friday the twenty-fourth, a week after the resolution passed in the Third Committee, did a weak editorial appear in *The New York Times*. In Israel the press was concentrated on the issue of the stevedore strikers at Ashdod Port, not having regard to the fact that there in the U.N. the world community was planning to eliminate Ashdod Port. El Al airline workers were striking against their own government, not realizing that in the United Nations Herzog was fighting for the right of a government in Israel even to exist. The essentials of Herzog's speech were reported in the next day's *Times*: "Herzog Says Jews Let Israelis Down during U.N. Debate." He was quoted at the end saying, "The lead on this issue was taken, to its eternal credit, by the United States delegation." This certainly was how he felt.

All hell broke loose for Herzog. He had insulted the American leadership; by implication affronted the Israeli Embassy in Washington. The matter was raised in the Israeli Cabinet, and the question of recalling him for an explanation was discussed. But he also suddenly found himself a hero with the rank and file of American Jewry and soon with the public in Israel. Sacks of mail arrived, overwhelmingly supportive, strikingly disapproving of the American leadership he had taken to task.

I went on telephoning, but still to little consequence. When I asked the United Nations Association to protest, and it produced a draft that began by deploring racial inequality in the United States, I more or less stopped telephoning.

The Western nations caucused and agreed that when the resolution

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There is little trace either in Jewish doctrine or in Zionism of the idea that Jews are a race. The very idea was itself an invention of nineteenth-century anti-Semites such as Houston Stewart Chamberlain and Edouard Drumont, who saw the need for a new justification for excluding and persecuting Jews in a secularized age when the old religious grounds of anti-Semitism were losing force. One cannot choose the race to which one belongs. But in both the Jewish and the Zionist conceptions, any person of any racial stock can be or become a Jew by converting to the Jewish religion. Conversely, as the Israeli courts have said, any person born of a Jewish mother who converts to another religion is no longer a Jew. If one can join or resign from the Chosen People, it is scarcely a racially determined category.

It was equally striking to learn how recent the terms *racist* and *racism* were, not only new to U.N. vocabulary but to the language altogether. Chamberlain and Drumont may have been racists, or have preached racism, but there were no words in the French or English dictionaries of their time to describe who they were or what they were up to. As near as one could learn, the term first appeared in French, having both biological and nationalistic connotations, and made its way into English by way of a 1932 translation of Trotsky's *History of the Russian Revolution*. By 1936, according to the files kept by the *Oxford English Dictionary*, the word as used in English had acquired a definite biological meaning, which it has retained. I began to try to interest various Arab delegations in the problem of language entailed here, but with no success. In fairness, neither English nor French was *their* language; and with respect to the Israelis, the Arabs were pretty much determined that words would mean whatever they chose them to mean.

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Word of our linguistic explorations got around. The Kuwaiti ambassador asked me to lunch October 29 to talk about it. I arrived to find Dr. Abdallah al-Sayegh, a Palestinian Arab born in Tiberias, now a Kuwaiti citizen, also present. His life study had been Zionism, and his rage was clear at the people who had overmastered his own, and sent so many into exile. I nonetheless pressed my point that the General Assembly was about to brand the national liberation movement of a member country with a term that the U.N. had never defined. How could we know if Zionism was a form of racism if we had never defined racism?

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Al-Sayegh fairly leapt. To the contrary! he exclaimed, the term "racism" is precisely defined in Article I of the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination, adopted by the General Assembly in 1965. This was a blow. I allowed that I had better learn my texts, and with that, luncheon in a nice town house overlooking the East River came to a close.

I returned to the Mission and told Reis of my humiliation. He replied that the Kuwaiti was quite wrong. Article I of the Convention refers only to "racial discrimination" and does not contain the other term, "racism," much less does it define it. Nor does any other article of the Convention.

I came to see that all this mattered not at all to the Arabs. What mattered was that the Israelis looked down upon them. They were prepared to hit back with any charge that came to hand. That an American might say that this charge was not just any charge, but the most awful accusation that could be hurled at Jews, and a matter for the gravest concern in other parts of the world, especially the Soviet Union, where Sakharov's fears would surely be realized — such argument made no impress whatever.

When the debate came in the General Assembly, al-Sayegh spoke for Kuwait, and picked up exactly where our luncheon conversation had left off:

The United Nations definition of racism and racial discrimination is contained in the United Nations Declaration on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination, Article 1 of which states that "discrimination between human beings on the ground of race, color, or ethnic origin is an offense to human dignity and shall be condemned"; and in the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination, which goes even further, in Article 1, by stating that "in this convention, the term 'racial discrimination' shall mean any distinction, exclusion, restriction or preference based on race, color, descent or national or ethnic origin. We accept no abridgement of this definition."

That the excerpt he quoted defined "racial discrimination" and did not contain the word *racism* would probably not have mattered, but in any event, almost certainly he did not notice.

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Charles H. Fairbanks, a young political scientist at Yale, a Straussian, prepared a long memorandum to the effect that words and their meanings do matter:

We have seen that that it involves a discrimination, how bad this is from the point of view of human rights. We now have a committee of meaning will benefit from the committee. The hope is that the sentiments about racism one has to wonder who give rise in many instances worse than Zionism, just as it is.

This kind of outcome must step back, and so the future of human rights is at stake.

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We have seen that the equation of Zionism with racism is absurd, that it involves a distortion of the meaning of words. We have seen how bad this is from the point of view of those who do care about human rights. We now need to raise the question whether this reversal of meaning will benefit the nations that voted for it in the [Third] committee. The hope behind this resolution is evidently to transfer our sentiments about racism to Zionism by linking the words. . . . In fact, one has to wonder whether the equation of Zionism with racism will not give rise in many minds to the following reflection: if racism is no worse than Zionism, just how bad is it?

This kind of outcome is a real possibility. To see how likely it is, we must step back and survey for a moment the history and the probable future of human rights language. Let us begin with the future.

The members of [the U.N.] cannot lull themselves into thinking that the official equation of Zionism and racism is an isolated act. It sets a precedent for future speech about racism and human rights issues in general. . . .

Even those who now care about human rights will become ever more cynical about the terms they now use to express this concern. The words will at length cease to stand for anything authentic or to evoke any feeling in those who hear them. . . .

The charge of racism will eventually become something that people laugh at. To call Zionism a form of racism makes a mockery of the struggle against racism as the emperor Caligula made a mockery of the Roman Senate when he appointed to it his horse.

Again, those who are utterly indifferent to human rights may wonder why this matters. It matters for three very important reasons. First, when the terms of human rights speech have lost their specific meaning it will be possible to use them in unforeseen and disturbing ways. . . .

Second, the language of human rights is being used to achieve many nations' foreign policy goals, such as change in international economic relationships and change in Southern Africa. If the Committee's path is taken, the words will soon be made useless for such purposes. When racism can mean anything at all, it will no longer make men indignant that the new government of South Africa is racist. . . .

The third important consideration is this . . . many of the members of the United Nations owe their independence in part to the influence of notions of rights, spreading from the domestic sphere to the international sphere, on colonial powers. Looking at the whole of earlier history, a disinterested observer would be compelled to predict that unless human nature has changed many weak nations will lose their independence in the next century. It is certainly hard to believe that this can be avoided without the help of ideas of rights. . . . To ignore this danger shows an optimism about human nature falsified by the last century's events in many of the very countries supporting the resolution. . . .

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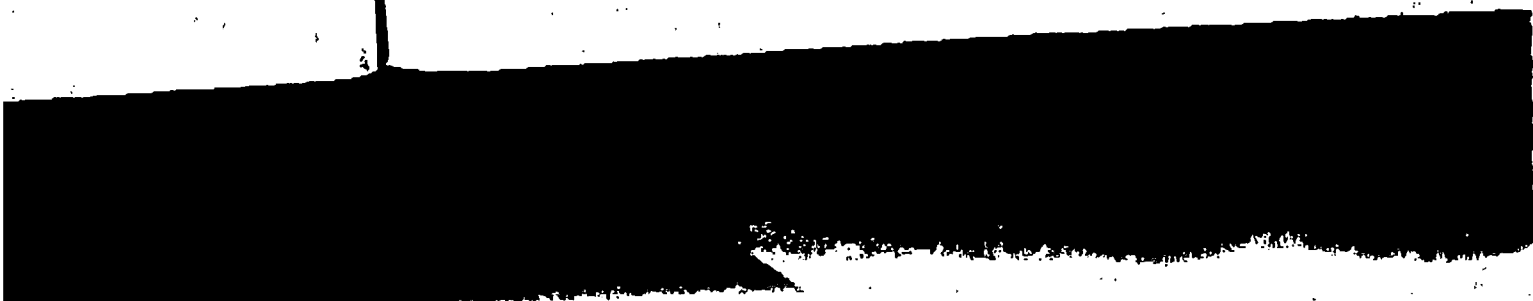
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## A DANGEROUS PLACE

It might, finally, be said that when the old language of human rights has become meaningless through abuse there will appear new words expressing the same thing, as in other areas of language. *This is precisely what will not happen.* . . . Human rights is a concern of an unusual kind. Never in human history did the term or the idea of human rights appear before the seventeenth century. When the idea of human rights did appear, it was the product of a specific philosophic doctrine, the social contract school. . . . The question is whether any other philosophic school could produce a doctrine of human rights anew; certainly it is not an indigenous term in the vocabulary of the deepest forms of modern thought, such as existentialism and Marxism. . . . When the old language is worn out and destroyed, no new Jefferson or Woodrow Wilson will arise to renew it. The presuppositions of such renovators have been undermined. . . .

Our specific principles of human rights will not fall and rise again. Any damage done to them is *irreversible*.

To the nations that do not care about human rights I would therefore say: you are giving away real and enduring props of national security in idle skirmishes soon to be forgotten. For the rest of us, we should know what we see before us. What we are witnessing is not merely one of the routine degradations of the United Nations and its ideals. It is, unless we can stand in its way, the most crippling blow yet dealt in the irreversible decline of the concern with human rights as we know it.

The vote came on November 10. The General Assembly was tense, not with uncertainty of the outcome, but rather with the knowledge of it. A succession of resolutions were adopted amending the Decade for Action to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination. Most of the resolutions were aimed at Israel. By a vote of 93 to 18, with 27 abstentions, the General Assembly established a Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People to insure that there would be resolutions to vote on next year. When the Zionism resolution was reached, Belgium moved to adjourn debate. We got a fair-size vote, including a good many African countries: Ethiopia, Ghana, the Ivory Coast, Kenya, Liberia, Malawi, Sierra Leone, Swaziland, Togo, Upper Volta, Zaire, and Zambia. But the Soviet-Arab coalition held, and we lost 67 to 55, with 15 abstentions. Herzog would later contend that this was the highest pro-Israeli vote in a decade, but it wasn't enough. The other side never dropped below 65.

The outcome was so predetermined that only two nations spoke in the formal debate prior to the voting. Afterwards Herzog rose. Like

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Tiresias in *Oedipus Rex*, he began at a peak of intensity and sustained it throughout a superb text:

It is symbolic that this debate, which may well prove to be a turning point in the fortunes of the United Nations and a decisive factor as to the possible continued existence of this Organization, should take place on November 10th. Tonight thirty-seven years ago has gone down in history as Kristallnacht or The Night of the Crystals. This was the night on 10 November 1938, when Hitler's Nazi storm troopers launched a coordinated attack on the Jewish community in Germany, burnt the synagogues in all its cities and made bonfires in the street of the Holy Books and Scrolls of the Holy Law and Bible. It was the night when Jewish homes were attacked and heads of families taken away, many of them never to return. It was the night when the windows of all Jewish businesses and stores were smashed, covering the streets in the cities of Germany with a film of broken glass which dissolved into millions of crystals giving that night the name, Kristallnacht, The Night of the Crystals. It was the night which led eventually to the crematoria and gas chambers, Auschwitz, Birkenau, Dachau, Buchenwald, Theresienstadt and others. It was the night which led to the most terrifying holocaust in the history of man.

As he concluded, he tore the resolution in two. In 1935, in the Yeshurun Synagogue in Jerusalem, his father had torn in two the British White Paper announcing the limitation of Jewish immigration to Palestine.

I spoke toward the end. It was our speech wholly, Washington having had the sense to leave us be. I began with words Podhoretz had written: "The United States rises to declare before the General Assembly of the United Nations, and before the world, that it does not acknowledge, it will not abide by, it will never acquiesce in this infamous act." I let it be understood how seriously we took this matter:

As this day will live in infamy, it behooves those who sought to avert it to declare their thoughts so that historians will know that we fought here, that we were not small in number — not this time — and that while we lost, we fought with full knowledge of what indeed would be lost.

I recounted in detail the argument we presented against the resolution itself: "In logic, the State of Israel could be, or could become, many things, theoretically including many things undesirable, but it could not be and could not become racist unless it ceased to be Zionist." I then turned to the yet larger point we wished to make:

It is precisely a concern for civilization, for civilized values that are or should be precious to all mankind, that arouses us at this moment to

such special passion. What we have at stake here is not merely the honor and the legitimacy of the State of Israel — although a challenge to the legitimacy of any member nation ought always to arouse the vigilance of all members of the United Nations. For a yet more important matter is at issue. . . .

The terrible lie that has been told here today will have terrible consequences. Not only will people begin to say, indeed they have already begun to say, that the United Nations is a place where lies are told. Far more serious, grave and perhaps irreparable harm will be done to the cause of human rights. The harm will arise first because it will strip from racism the precise and abhorrent meaning that it still precariously holds today. How will the peoples of the world feel about racism, and about the need to struggle against it, when they are told that it is an idea so broad as to include the Jewish national liberation movement?

As this lie spreads, it will do harm in a second way. Many of the members of the United Nations owe their independence in no small part to the notion of human rights, as it has spread from the domestic sphere to the international sphere and exercised its influence over the old colonial powers. We are now coming into a time when that independence is likely to be threatened again. There will be new forces, some of them arising now, new prophets and new despots, who will justify their actions with the help of just such distortions of words as we have sanctioned here today. Today we have drained the word "racism" of its meaning. Tomorrow, terms like "national self-determination" and "national honor" will be perverted in the same way to serve the purposes of conquest and exploitation. And when these claims begin to be made — as they already have begun to be made — it is the small nations of the world whose integrity will suffer. And how will the small nations of the world defend themselves, on what grounds will others be moved to defend and protect them, when the language of human rights, the only language by which the small can be defended, is no longer believed and no longer has a power of its own?

There is this danger, and then a final danger that is the most serious of all. Which is that the damage we now do to the idea of human rights and the language of human rights could well be irreversible. The idea has not always existed in human affairs. It is an idea which appeared at a specific time in the world, and under very special circumstances. It appeared when European philosophers of the seventeenth century began to argue that man was a being whose existence was independent from that of the State, that he need join a political community only if he did not lose by that association more than he gained. From this very specific political philosophy stemmed the idea of political rights, of claims that the individual could justly make against the State; it was because the individual was seen as so separate from the State that he could make legitimate demands upon it.

That was the philosophy from which the idea of domestic and inter-

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national rights sprang philosophy now. Most thought, in philosophy from and prior to the wide any justification that have no words but words that were given to replace them, for pl

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national rights sprang. But most of the world does not hold with that philosophy now. Most of the world believes in newer modes of political thought, 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 and philosophies that have no words by which to explain their value. If we destroy the words that were given to us by past centuries, we will not have words to replace them, for philosophy today has no such words.

But there are those of us who have not forsaken these older words, still so new to much of the world. Not forsaken them now, not here, not anywhere, not ever.

I closed as I had begun: "The United States of America declares that it does not acknowledge, it will not abide by, it will never acquiesce in this infamous act."

Garment and I then went off to be interviewed on television. For the first time now we were tired, even depressed. All that was left was not to appear so. We made our way back to the Assembly chamber. There, sitting in our row, unannounced, unabashed, outraged, bearing witness, was Hubert H. Humphrey. *Ha-mavin yavin*; those who understand will understand.

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ough a challenge to the  
to arouse the vigilance  
more important matter

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deed they have already  
where lies are told. Far  
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rat because it will strip  
that it still precariously  
d feel about racism, and  
cy are told that it is an  
ial liberation movement?  
econd way. Many of the  
dependence in no small  
spread from the domestic  
sed its influence over the  
o a time when that inde-  
There will be new forces,  
id new despots, who will  
ch distortions of words as  
ive drained the word "rac-

"national self-determina-  
l in the same way to serve  
And when these claims be-  
un to be made - it is the  
ill suffer. And how will the  
ves, on what grounds will  
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ver of its own?

iger that is the most serious  
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ll be irreversible. The idea  
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