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Statement by the Press Secretary

The President met this morning with Ambassador Moynihan to discuss a range of matters involving the United Nations. They were later joined by Secretary Kissinger.

Both President Ford and Secretary Kissinger expressed their strong support for the effective job Ambassador Moynihan has been doing representing the United States at the United Nations.

The President wants it clearly understood that Ambassador Moynihan has ~~been speaking on his behalf and on behalf of the Administration.~~ *his complete confidence.*

The President and Secretary Kissinger encouraged Ambassador Moynihan to continue to speak out candidly and forcefully on major issues coming before the United Nations.



Non All
Jim

October 24, 1975

PRESIDENTIAL STATEMENT

It has been a general principle of the United States to take grave exception to any action that weakens the United Nations as an effective forum for the peaceful resolution of international disputes.

We deplore in the strongest terms the recent vote in the Social Committee characterizing Zionism as a form of racism. Such action undermines the principles upon which the United Nations is based. *A resolution connecting Zionism and racism must not pass the General Assembly.*

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.

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[One of the views on the resolution must not pass.]



Ron Nissen

#740

TO: BOYUM

FROM: SHELDON RUSSELL



UNITED STATES MISSION TO THE UNITED NATIONS

PRESS RELEASE

299 UNITED NATIONS PLAZA
New York, N. Y. 10017

FOR RELEASE ON DELIVERY: Press Release USUN-141(75)
CHECK TEXT AGAINST DELIVERY: November 10, 1975

Statement by Ambassador Daniel P. Moynihan, United States
Representative to the United Nations, in Plenary, in explanation
of vote on the resolution equating Zionism with racism and
racial discrimination, November 10, 1975.

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.

Not three weeks ago, the United States Representative in
the Social, Humanitarian, and Cultural Committee pleaded in
measured and fully considered terms for the United Nations not
to do this thing. It was, he said, "obscene." It is something
more today, for the furtiveness with which this obscenity
first appeared among us has been replaced by a shameless open-
ness.

There will be time enough to contemplate the harm this
act will have done the United Nations. Historians will do that
for us, and it is sufficient for the moment only to note one fore-
boding fact. A great evil has been loosed upon the world. The
abomination of anti-semitism -- as this year's Nobel Peace
Laureate Andrei Sakharov observed in Moscow just a few days
ago -- the abomination of anti-semitism has been given the
appearance of international sanction. The General Assembly
today grants symbolic amnesty -- and more -- to the murderers
of the six million European Jews. Evil enough in itself,
but more ominous by far is the realization that now presses
upon us -- the realization that if there were no General
Assembly, this could never have happened.



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As this day will live in infamy, it behooves those who ought 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.

Nor should any historian of the event, nor yet any who have participated in it, suppose that we have fought only as governments, as chancelleries, and on an issue well removed from the concerns of our respective peoples. Others will speak for their nations: I will speak for mine.

In all our postwar history there has not been another issue which has brought forth such unanimity of American opinion. The President of the United States has from the first been explicit: This must not happen. The Congress of the United States, in a measure unanimously adopted in the Senate and sponsored by 435 of 437 Representatives in the House, declared its utter opposition. Following only American Jews themselves, the American trade union movement was first to the fore in denouncing this infamous undertaking. Next, one after another, the great private institutions of American life pronounced anathema on this evil thing -- and most particularly, the Christian churches have done so. Reminded that the United Nations was born in the struggle against just such abominations as we are committing today -- the wartime Nations Association of the United States has for the first time in its history appealed directly to each of the 141 other delegations in New York not to do this unspeakable thing.

The proposition to be sanctioned by a resolution of the General Assembly of the United Nations is that "Zionism is a form of racism and racial discrimination." Now this is a lie. But as it is a lie which the United Nations has now declared to be a truth, the actual truth must be restated.

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The very first point to be made is that the United Nations has declared Zionism to be racism--without ever having defined racism. "Sentence first--verdict afterwards," as the Queen of Hearts said. But this is not wonderland, but a real world, where there are real consequences to folly and to venality. Just on Friday, the President of the General Assembly warned not only of the trouble which would follow from the adoption of this resolution but of its essential irresponsibility--for, he noted, members have wholly different ideas as to what they are condemning. "It seems to me," he said, and to his lasting honor he said it when there was still time, "It seems to me that before a body like this takes a decision they should agree very clearly on what they are approving or condemning, and it takes more time."

Least I be unclear, the United Nations has in fact on several occasions defined "racial discrimination." The definitions have been loose, but recognizable. It is "racism" -- incomparably the more serious charge -- which has never been defined. Indeed, the term has only recently appeared in United Nations General Assembly documents. The one occasion on which we know its meaning to have been discussed was the 1644th meeting of the Third Committee on December 16, 1968, in connection with the report of the Secretary-General on the status of the international convention on the elimination of all forms of racial discrimination. On that occasion-- to give some feeling for the intellectual precision with which the matter was being treated-- the question arose, as to what should be the relative positioning of the terms "racism" and "Nazism" in a number of the "preambular paragraphs." The distinguished delegate from Tunisia argued that "racism" should go first because "Nazism was merely a form of racism..." Not so, said the no less distinguished delegate from the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. For, he explained, "Nazism contained the main elements of racism within its ambit and should be mentioned first." This is to say that racism was merely a form of Nazism.

The discussion wound to its weary and inconclusive end, and we are left with nothing to guide us, for even this one discussion of "racism" confined itself to word orders in preambular paragraphs, and did not at all touch on the meaning of the words as such. Still, one cannot but ponder the situation we have made for ourselves in the context of the Soviet statement on that not so distant occasion. If, as the distinguished delegate declared, racism is a form of Nazism-- and if, as this resolution declares, Zionism is a form of racism-- then we have step by step taken ourselves to the point of proclaiming-- the United Nations is solemnly proclaiming-- that Zionism is a form of Nazism.

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What we have here is a lie -- a political lie of a variety well known to the twentieth century, and scarcely exceeded in all that annal of untruth and outrage. The lie is that Zionism is a form of racism. The overwhelmingly clear truth is that it is not.

The word "racism" is a creation of the English language, and relatively new to it. It is not, for instance, to be found in the Oxford English Dictionary. The term derives from relatively new doctrines -- all of them discredited -- concerning the human population of the world, to the effect that there are significant biological differences among clearly identifiable groups, and that these differences establish, in effect, different levels of humanity. Racism, as defined by Webster's Third New International Dictionary, is "The assumption that... traits and capacities are determined by biological race and that races differ decisively from one another." It further involves "a belief in the inherent superiority of a particular race and its right to domination over others."

This meaning is clear. It is equally clear that this assumption, this belief, has always been altogether alien to the political and religious movement known as Zionism. As a strictly political movement, Zionism was established only in 1897, although there is a clearly legitimate sense in which its origins are indeed ancient. For example many branches of Christianity have always held that from the standpoint of the biblical prophets, Israel would be reborn one day. But the modern Zionist movement arose in Europe in the context of a general upsurge of national consciousness and aspiration that overtook most other people of Central and Eastern Europe after 1848, and that in time spread to all of Africa and Asia. It was, to those persons of the Jewish religion, a Jewish form of what today is called a national liberation movement. Probably a majority of those persons who became active Zionists and sought to emigrate to Palestine were born within the confines of Czarist Russia, and it was only natural for Soviet Foreign Minister Andrei Gromyko to deplore, as he did in 1948, in the 299th meeting of the Security Council, the act by Israel's neighbors of "sending their troops into Palestine and carrying out military operations aimed" -- in Mr. Gromyko's words -- "at the suppression of the National Liberation Movement in Palestine."



Now it was the singular nature -- if I am not mistaken, it was the unique nature -- of this National Liberation Movement that in contrast with the movements that preceded it, those of that time and those that have come since, it defined its members in terms not of birth, but of belief. That is to say, it was not a movement of the Irish to free Ireland, or of the Polish to free Poland, nor a movement of Algerians to free Algeria, nor of Indians to free India. It was not a movement of persons connected by historic membership in a genetic pool of the kind that enables us to speak loosely but not meaninglessly, say, of the Chinese people, nor yet of diverse groups occupying the same territory which enables us to speak of the American people with no greater indignity to truth. To the contrary, Zionists defined themselves merely as Jews, and declared to be Jewish anyone born of a Jewish mother or -- and this is the absolutely crucial fact -- anyone who converted to Judaism. Which is to say, in the terms of the International Convention on the elimination of all forms of racial discrimination, adopted by the 20th General Assembly, anyone -- regardless of "race, colour, descent, or national or ethnic origin..."

The State of Israel, which in time was the creation of the Zionist Movement, has been extraordinary in nothing so much as the range of "racial stocks" from which it has drawn its citizenry. There are black Jews, brown Jews, white Jews, Jews from the Orient and Jews from the West. Most such persons could be said to have been "born" Jews, just as most Presbyterians and most Hindus are "born" to their faith, but there are many Jews who are converts. With a consistency in the matter which surely attests to the importance of this issue to that religious and political culture, Israeli courts have held that a Jew who converts to another religion is no longer a Jew. In the meantime the population of Israel also includes large numbers of non-Jews, among them Arabs of both the Muslim and Christian religions, and Christians of other national origins. Many of these persons are citizens of Israel, and those who are not can become citizens by legal procedures very much like those which obtain in a typical nation of Western Europe.

Now I should wish to be understood that I am here making one point, and one point only, which is that whatever else Zionism may be, it is not and cannot be "a form of racism." 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.



MOYNIHAN

Indeed, the idea that Jews are a "race" was invented not by Jews but by those who hated Jews. The idea of Jews as a race was invented by nineteenth century anti-semites such as Houston Stewart Chamberlain and Edouard Drumont, who saw that in an increasingly secular age, which is to say an age which made for fewer distinctions between people, the old religious grounds for anti-semitism were losing force. New justifications were needed for excluding and persecuting Jews, and so the new idea of Jews as a race -- rather than as a religion -- was born. It was a contemptible idea at the beginning, and no civilized person would be associated with it. To think that it is an idea now endorsed by the United Nations is to reflect on what civilization has come to.

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, which is the integrity of that whole body of moral and legal precepts which we know as human rights.

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 preposterously 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 irreparable. The idea of human rights as we know it today is not an idea which has 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 international 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.

The United States of America declares that it does not acknowledge, it will not abide by, it will never acquiesce in this infamous act.





THE REPRESENTATIVE
OF THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA
TO THE
UNITED NATIONS

January 31, 1976

Dear Mr. President:

Today is the last of my leave from the University. I must return now, or must give up for good my professorship there and, in effect, give up my profession as well. The effort to persuade myself that this is a kind of personal fate that must be accepted has not succeeded. I have spent almost five of the past eight years in government, nine of the past fifteen, thirteen of the past nineteen. It is time to return to teaching and such are the conditions of my tenure that I return now or not at all.

It has been, for me, a high honor to serve as your Ambassador to India during the latter part of my stay there, and more recently as your representative at the United Nations. Indeed I was scarcely back from the former post before you asked me to take up the new one. You have been unfailing in your encouragement and support and I have with the fullest commitment sought to carry out your general policies and your specific instructions. For that opportunity I am permanently in your debt, even if I must with a heavy and still divided heart, now depart your service.

Most respectfully,


Daniel P. Moynihan

The President,
The White House.



FEBRUARY 2, 1976

Office of the White House Press Secretary

THE WHITE HOUSEEXCHANGE OF LETTERS
BETWEEN THE PRESIDENT
AND DANIEL P. MOYNIHAN, UNITED STATES
AMBASSADOR TO THE UNITED NATIONS

February 2, 1976

Dear Pat:

Your letter of January 31, expressing your desire to return to the teaching profession, reached me today. I will, of course, accede to your wishes with the deepest regret and reluctance.

In your letter you mentioned the years you have devoted to public service in the last two decades. You did not mention the enormous impact that those years have had.

In every task you have undertaken you have consistently elevated public discourse by puncturing pretense and by eloquently advocating the cause of reason. Nowhere has this been more evident than in your service at the United Nations, where you have asserted our position forcefully, cogently and honestly. In doing so you have not only reminded Americans that we take that institution seriously but also that we take ourselves and the principles for which we stand seriously.

For this service, which most appropriately you have rendered on the occasion of our 200th year, your fellow citizens owe you a debt that can never adequately be repaid. On their behalf Betty and I offer our profound thanks to you and Elizabeth for your service to the Nation.

With warmest personal regards,

Sincerely,

GERALD R. FORD

January 31, 1976

Dear Mr. President:

Today is the last of my leave from the University. I must return now, or must give up for good my professorship there and, in effect, give up my profession as well. The effort to persuade myself that this is a kind of personal fate that must be accepted has not succeeded. I have spent almost five of the past eight years in government, nine of the past fifteen, thirteen of the past nineteen. It is time to return to teaching and such are the conditions of my tenure that I return now or not at all.

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Most Respectfully,

DANIEL P. MOYNIHAN

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

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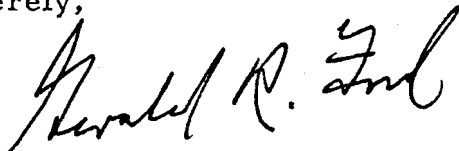
In your letter you mentioned the years you have devoted to public service in the last two decades. You did not mention the enormous positive impact that those years have had.

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With warmest personal regards,

Sincerely,



The Honorable Daniel P. Moynihan
U. S. Representative to the United Nations
New York, New York 10017