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MEETING**

Monday, 2 October 1972,
at 3.20 p.m.

NEW YORK

Chairman: Mr. Carlos GIAMBRUNO
(Uruguay).

AGENDA ITEM 60

Programme for the observance of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (continued) (A/8820 and Corr.1)

GENERAL DEBATE (continued)

1. The CHAIRMAN announced that it was his intention to close the list of speakers on the item by 6 p.m. on 2 October 1972.

2. Mr. BARUTI (United Republic of Tanzania) observed that in its resolution 2860 (XXVI) the General Assembly had decided that the twenty-fifth anniversary of the adoption and proclamation of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights should not be marked simply as a significant date in the history of humanity but should also be used to draw attention to the world situation in the field of human rights, which was a matter of grave concern to the international community.

3. His delegation appreciated the suggestions in the report of the Secretary-General (A/8820 and Corr.1), for example, the suggestion that Member States should become parties to or ratify the International Covenants on Human Rights and those concerning the issue of stamps, statements by national leaders, and the teaching of the fundamental meaning of human rights at the university and intermediate levels. However, his delegation still felt that those measures were not enough. Member States should not indulge merely in token affirmations of support for human rights—a characteristic which increasingly marked the behaviour of some Members of the United Nations. While it was desirable for Heads of State, the United Nations and private organizations to make appropriate statements on the day in question, a campaign should also be launched to awaken the masses of all countries to the fact that aiding or abetting the perpetuation of hateful policies which negated or diminished those fundamental human rights—policies such as colonialism and racism and *apartheid*—constituted a betrayal of both the Universal Declaration and the Charter of the United Nations. The General Assembly and the Security Council had frequently adopted resolutions condemning *apartheid* but the Governments that benefited from *apartheid* had opposed or abstained from voting on the relevant resolutions and the measures proposed by the United Nations had been wilfully undermined.

4. Unfortunately, the ideals of democracy and human rights that were the proud heritage of the United States had also been betrayed by certain acts of the United States Government. The decision to import chrome ore from Southern Rhodesia in flagrant violation of the Security Council's sanctions was a shameful scandal involving one of the most powerful Members of the United Nations. On the occasion of the observance of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the adoption of the Universal Declaration the question would again arise as to whether, in violating United Nations resolutions and aiding the Southern Rhodesian régime, the United States Government was not acting against the ethics of the great American people. In that connexion, his delegation had noted with satisfaction the efforts of those Americans who had refused to unload the Southern Rhodesian chrome ore imported into the United States in 1971. It also wished to draw the attention of the manufacturers of arms destined for South Africa to the fact that their profits were made possible by the dehumanizing policies of the racist colonial régimes.

5. One of the best ways of observing the anniversary would be for all Member States with colonies to grant those colonies independence forthwith. Countries like his own which had been compelled to live under colonialist rule were only too well acquainted with the degradation and indignity of foreign domination. They demanded that Portugal should relinquish its claims over Angola, Mozambique and Guinea (Bissau). All members of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization that assisted Portugal in the subjugation of the African people must be reminded that their action was not only inhuman but also constituted a crime against Africa. Similarly, it was imperative that the atrocities committed against the Palestinian and Viet-Nameese peoples should come to an end. Every nation had the right to self-determination and dignity.

6. Furthermore, political independence must be accompanied by economic independence. The developed nations, hoping to perpetuate the subjugation of the third world had not honoured their promises and agreements. The First United Nations Development Decade had not succeeded precisely because the developed nations had failed to meet their obligations to the developing countries. Consequently, the gap between the developed and the developing countries was growing ever wider, although much of the wealth of the industrialized countries had originated in the third world. The fulfilment of promises and agreements in trade and other economic relations, together with improved terms of trade, would not only help to ensure the success of the Second Development Decade but

would also constitute a major step towards the realization of economic, social and cultural rights and, thus, towards more positive action to make the celebration of the anniversary truly meaningful.

7. Mr. ALFONSO (Cuba) said that, if the aim was indeed to celebrate the anniversary in a fitting manner, the programme should be in keeping with the seriousness of the situation which currently prevailed in the field of human rights. Rhetoric and meaningless affirmations of faith in the principles embodied in the Universal Declaration would ill serve the cause of human rights. While each country should of course organize the ceremonies it deemed most appropriate, the General Assembly should also cite the most serious violations of human rights and endeavour to focus effective international action on those areas, which were in no sense difficult to identify. For example, basic human rights were completely disregarded in armed conflicts, particularly in wars of aggression. Millions of people were deprived of their rights as a result of the existence of colonialism, neo-colonialism, racial discrimination and *apartheid*. Unfortunately, the fact that more than one third of all mankind could not assert their most basic economic, social and cultural rights was all too obvious. The only Powers refusing to recognize those truths were those which, like the United States, made the practice of the violation of human rights a corner-stone of their policies. That, however, did not prevent them from continuing to pose in international bodies as the greatest defenders of the rights which they themselves violated all the time, particularly when men turned to rebellion as a last resort, action which was recognized by the Declaration.

8. Moreover, the Universal Declaration was not the only document in which those basic rights were enshrined. For instance, the principles of the Charter itself, the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, the Declaration on Principles of International Law concerning Friendly Relations and Co-operation among States in Accordance with the Charter of the United Nations, the Hague Convention of 1907, the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide, the Geneva Protocol of 1925, the Geneva Conventions of 1949 and General Assembly resolutions 2444 (XXIII) and 2597 (XXIV), relating to respect for human rights in armed conflicts, all reflected the constant concern of many States to guarantee the protection of human rights. Accordingly, the anniversary should also provide an occasion to stress the norms laid down in those instruments.

9. It should be made clear that article 3 of the Declaration stated that everyone had the right to life, his most important possession, without which all other human rights were meaningless. It was therefore necessary to condemn the barbaric war of aggression waged by the United States in Indo-China, which in recent years had surpassed the horrors perpetrated by the Nazis and the Fascists in the Second World War in the massive bombing of civilian populations and water systems and the use of napalm and anti-personnel weapons, which sowed terror and destroyed the lives of

hundreds of thousands of people. Such action by the world's foremost imperialist Power should alert the international community to what could happen to other peoples as a result of the aggressive policy of imperialism. Since article 1 of the Declaration stated that all human beings were born free and equal, and General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) had been adopted more than 11 years earlier, how was it possible to speak of human rights in 1972 without pointing out that the peoples of Angola, Mozambique, Namibia, Guinea (Bissau), Puerto Rico, Zimbabwe and other Territories had not yet achieved independence? The United Nations should spare no effort aimed at the realization of the just aspirations of those peoples. Moreover, effective action was required against racist régimes everywhere and, in that connexion, his delegation welcomed the Egyptian proposal (1909th meeting) that the Decade for Action to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination should be launched on the date of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the Declaration.

10. In addition, it was essential to meet the needs of every individual in food, shelter, health and education and to respect the rights of peoples to sovereignty over their natural wealth and resources. Thus, the international community should emphasize the importance of social, economic and cultural rights. Without them, the other human rights were of little value to men since they would be enjoyed by those whose social, economic and cultural needs were already met.

11. Lastly, his Government could not agree with the assertion in paragraph 15 of the Secretary-General's report (A/8820 and Corr.1) that the Organization of American States was among the bodies "which regularly follow and support United Nations activities in the field of human rights". That organization was merely an instrument for executing the policies of the United States Government and it had shown complacent leniency with regard to the flagrant violations of human rights in Latin America.

12. Mr. ESCALLÓN (Colombia) said that his country had a great tradition of respect for human rights, both individual and collective. Unfortunately, 25 years after the proclamation of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights there were still some parts of the world in which those rights could not even be publicized so that people might learn what their true rights and privileges as members of the human race were. His delegation would enumerate some of those rights, which, as other speakers had observed, were being violated and trampled underfoot in certain areas. Article 13 of the Declaration stated that everyone had the right to leave any country, including his own, and to return to his country. Article 17 affirmed that everyone had the right to own property, alone as well as in association with others, while article 19 asserted that everyone had the right to freedom of opinion and expression, a right which included freedom to hold opinions without interference and to seek, receive and impart information and ideas through any media and regardless of frontiers. Furthermore, article 20 stated that everyone had the right to freedom of peaceful assembly and association, and article 21 affirmed that

the will of the people should be the basis for the authority of government—a will which should be expressed in periodic and genuine elections which would be by universal and equal suffrage and held by secret vote or by equivalent free voting procedures. Those were merely some of the fundamental human rights of individuals in a democratic society.

13. His delegation wished once again to condemn any kind of racial discrimination, a phenomenon which other speakers had already pointed to as an aberration and a violation of human rights. In his country, everyone, regardless of colour, was fully integrated into society. The votes cast by his delegation in the United Nations fully reflected his country's condemnation of racial discrimination. However, it had to be recognized that there were other violations of human rights which were being perpetrated in countries with enormous populations.

14. His delegation agreed that the observance of the anniversary should be organized as each country saw fit but would like to suggest that, as a reaffirmation of the Universal Declaration, its principles should be publicized by all media in all States so that people could be made fully aware of the meaning of the anniversary. Also, Governments should insert the text of the Universal Declaration in passports, so that travellers might use it in asserting their rights before the authorities, where necessary. Such action would be an eloquent reaffirmation by each Member of the United Nations of the incontrovertible principles of the dignity and freedom of man.

15. Mrs. LAFONTANT (United States of America) said that the Universal Declaration of Human Rights stood as one of the most remarkable achievements of the United Nations, for it provided an important common standard for all peoples and all nations. It had greatly strengthened the commitments of States Members of the United Nations by making those commitments more precise, and, together with subsequent documents, it defined more fully the ideals of the international community in the field of human rights. It not only bore witness to the wisdom and vision of its authors but was also a dramatic reaffirmation of Article 55 c of the Charter, which called for "universal respect for, and observance of, human rights and fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language or religion". While it was not legally binding, the Declaration had in many respects become an accepted part of international law and her Government was proud that one of the most distinguished citizens of the United States, Eleanor Roosevelt, had participated in drafting the text. Her country had continually striven to make the Declaration meaningful for all Americans, something which it believed could best be done under a democratic form of government such as that enjoyed in the United States.

16. The twenty-fifth anniversary would afford the opportunity for an appraisal of both progress and failures in the field of human rights and for rededication to the arduous task ahead. Everyone could feel grateful for the attention devoted by the United Nations to

the question of human rights and fundamental freedoms, for the international instruments, notably with respect to slavery and racial discrimination, prepared by the Commission on Human Rights for the invaluable contributions of the Sub-Commission on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities and for the dedicated work of the Division of Human Rights. One of the most hopeful developments had been the adoption and implementation of procedures in United Nations bodies whereby greater attention would be paid to the question of redressing legitimate grievances of individuals which reflected a consistent pattern of gross violations of human rights.

17. However, the very real denial of human rights which was continuing throughout the world was all too obvious and it far outweighed the progress that had been made. Racial discrimination in its most extreme manifestation, *apartheid*, unfortunately showed few signs of abatement. Millions still remained under colonial domination and were denied the inherent right of self-determination. Freedom of movement and freedom of expression were severely restricted or denied to individuals living under totalitarian régimes, in direct contravention of articles 13 and 19 of the Declaration.

18. Her delegation was particularly interested in the suggestion made in the Secretary-General's report (A/8820 and Corr.1) that seminars should be held in various regions or subregions at which eminent personalities with special experience and qualifications in the field of human rights would discuss their mutual concerns.

19. She believed that it would not be wise to convene another international conference on human rights in 1973, since 26 resolutions of the International Conference on Human Rights, held at Teheran in 1968, were still in the process of implementation. For example, work had not been completed on the Conference's initiatives in connexion with human rights in armed conflicts, human rights and scientific and technological developments, legal aid, and model rules of procedure for bodies dealing with violations of human rights. Accordingly, she was convinced that action to strengthen the protection of human rights, rather than meetings or ceremonies, would constitute the most fitting way of celebrating the proclamation of the Declaration.

20. Mr. PARDOS (Spain) said that his country could not fail to endorse the important report of the Secretary-General, first, because Spain had always placed the interests of the individual above all other values and, second, because Spanish law embodied the rights enunciated in the Universal Declaration. The term "universal" in that title was particularly significant in the context of the twenty-fifth anniversary, for the aim was to celebrate it, in a manner which would be truly universal. Since the proclamation in 1789 of the Declaration of the Rights of Man, the world had been moving from national towards international protection of human rights. The concept of human rights had been evolving over the preceding 25 years and

it could now be regarded, in a certain sense, as including the concept of the rights of peoples, involving three essential elements: decolonization, development and disarmament. Accordingly, the proclamation of those rights should be celebrated not only in the spirit of 1948 but also in the spirit of the present day. The matter was one of great importance and his delegation was fully prepared to support any proposal that was in keeping with suggestions contained in the Secretary-General's report.

21. Mrs. DE BROMLEY (Honduras) said that it was difficult to think of appropriate celebrations for the twenty-fifth anniversary of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights in view of the current situation in respect of human rights throughout the world. Although concern for those rights had been stimulated by such efforts as the International Conference on Human Rights on the occasion of the twentieth anniversary of the adoption of the Universal Declaration and by the many resolutions adopted by the General Assembly, colonialism was the only field in which real progress had been made; very few results had been achieved by efforts to eliminate racial discrimination and *apartheid*, and still fewer in the effort to eliminate war, which had been the main objective of the establishment of the United Nations.

22. Nevertheless, the Committee should seize the historic opportunity before it to reaffirm that promotion of the enjoyment of human rights and fundamental freedoms was the first duty of the United Nations, of each Government and of each individual. She therefore suggested that the celebrations to mark the twenty-fifth anniversary should be austere and should aim mainly at making known the work and efforts of Governments and of the specialized agencies in the promotion of human rights. The information media should be used to the fullest possible extent and emphasis should be placed on the urgent need for new methods to deal with increasing violations of human rights and fundamental freedoms.

23. Above all, it should be realized that mankind was one and indivisible and that all human beings had the same needs and aspirations. Everyone, whatever his own grievances, should strive to overcome his prejudices and hatreds, for in doing so he would be making a contribution to the cause of peace and brotherhood.

24. Lady ELLES (United Kingdom) said that she regretted that a number of previous speakers had made no constructive contribution to the cause of human rights. Pious platitudes and even vindictive vituperation had been substituted for serious consideration of the ways in which human rights and fundamental freedoms could be promoted and violations could be ended. The United Kingdom, a so-called capitalist country which nevertheless believed in respect for the individual freedom of its citizens, had dealt positively with many problems of human rights. One example was the Race Relations Act, which guaranteed equal rights to all citizens regardless of race, colour or creed, and which was being effectively implemented. A second instance was legislation for the promotion of the

dignity of women, including a law on equal pay, matrimonial property and improvement of financial provisions for widows and their children. The Committee should aim for concrete improvements of that kind.

25. The countries which had adhered to the Universal Declaration of Human Rights had celebrated three previous anniversaries and the United Nations had produced many declarations, conventions and resolutions aimed at defining the standards for human rights. However, less time had apparently been spent on developing effective techniques to ensure that those standards were applied in practice. Only the Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination was specifically charged with supervising the implementation of human rights, while a working group had recently been established to examine communications on human rights received by the Secretary-General. Neither of those bodies had been in existence long enough for the Committee to judge whether their action had led to specific improvements in practice. Similarly, the International Covenants on Human Rights contained implementation machinery, but until they entered into force it would be impossible to estimate the contribution which that machinery would make.

26. Historically, international concern about human rights had probably first been demonstrated by the foundation of the Anti-Slavery Society in 1787. That society had made an enormous contribution to the eradication of slavery and the acceptance by Governments of the fundamental right to freedom from servitude. Remnants of the problem still existed, but on a very different scale from that which had prevailed when the Society was founded. Indeed non-governmental organizations as a whole had made a tremendous practical and theoretical contribution to the enjoyment of human rights by individuals and groups and it was partly due to their efforts that the Charter of the United Nations itself contained specific references to human rights. However, there were still widespread violations or denials of human rights throughout the world and events in the preceding year had shown that massive new violations could still take place. The question therefore arose of the action to be taken by the United Nations for the observance of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the Universal Declaration. Her delegation did not object to the suggestion that the proposed Decade for Action to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination should be launched on Human Rights Day in 1973. It had read with interest the draft programme for the Decade (A/8805, annex) submitted to the Committee, under agenda item 50, for its information by the Sub-Commission on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities but thought that it would be inappropriate for the Committee to examine that programme at the current session. The draft programme, as had been pointed out by the representative of France (1909th meeting), should be considered first by the Commission on Human Rights and then by the Economic and Social Council, which would forward it for consideration by the Committee at the twenty-eighth session of the General Assembly.

27. She welcomed the suggestion first put forward by the representative of Ghana (*ibid.*) for constructive action, rather than mere celebrations, to mark the twenty-fifth anniversary. Attention should be paid to possible ways in which the United Nations could help further the application by Governments and peoples of the universally accepted standards of human rights and fundamental freedoms. There was a gap in the United Nations capacity to deal with human rights. During the twenty-fifth session of the Sub-Commission on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities one member had commented that it would be unfair for the Sub-Commission to take action in regard to alleged violations of human rights by a particular State at a particular moment because if the Sub-Commission had not been in session no action could have been taken. That illustrated the serious limitations on the international community's ability to discharge its responsibilities under the Charter.

28. Mr. KUSSBACH (Austria) said that in his report on the programme for the observance of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights the Secretary-General made a great number of suggestions for action on the national level but left the choice between the different kinds of proposals to the Member States. He agreed that it should be for each community, national, regional or local, to decide what initiatives it wanted to take in regard to the celebration of the anniversary. Although the activities planned for the United Nations itself and international governmental or non-governmental organizations might all be valuable, his delegation preferred those activities which would contribute most effectively to the universal promotion of, and respect for, human rights and fundamental freedoms, such as the invitation to the Governments of those Member States which had not yet ratified the International Covenants on Human Rights to accelerate the necessary legislative procedures with a view to ratification in 1973. A similar suggestion could be made concerning the work of the Committee. Because the agenda had been overburdened for many years, some items, such as the elimination of religious intolerance and freedom of information, had had to be postponed year after year. It would be a considerable contribution to the observance of the anniversary if the Committee made an effort to have a substantive discussion of such questions as early as possible.

29. His delegation was strongly in favour of the idea of holding seminars at the regional level to study new ways and means of promoting human rights in the light of the problems and the needs of the peoples in the respective regions and throughout the world.

30. Mrs. KRACHT (Chile) said that her country's views with respect to the question of human rights had already been stated by the Chilean representative during the Committee's debate on the priority to be given to agenda items (1908th meeting). During the celebration of the twenty-fifth anniversary public opinion should be informed of the progress which had been made by the United Nations in the field of human rights. Such a positive approach was necessary because public

opinion was always being given detailed information by the media concerning those cases in which the United Nations had not been able or had not endeavoured to promote the application of human rights, whereas the same thing did not occur when the United Nations was successful. Her delegation was aware that grave violations of human rights were occurring in many places and felt that support—even if only moral support—should be given to efforts aimed at helping the peoples of the world to achieve their legitimate aspirations.

31. The programme for the observance of the twenty-fifth anniversary should mention those instruments which gave effect to the Declaration, such as General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV), the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, and the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights. All types of human rights were interrelated and it was not possible to respect one type while disregarding the others. It was only when peoples freed themselves from exploitation and gained control over their natural wealth and resources that they could fully enjoy their human rights and fundamental freedoms. The International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination was another instrument which should be noted during the celebration, since protection against racial discrimination was one of the most important elements of the protection of human rights. She approved of the idea of seminars where the appropriate regional organizations could make studies of the progress achieved in human rights and could indicate new sectors and priorities which the United Nations could profitably take into consideration in its future work in the field of human rights. She also supported the suggestion that the Decade for Action to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination should be launched on the date of the anniversary of the Universal Declaration as well as the suggestion that an international voluntary fund should be set up to aid peoples struggling against racial discrimination and *apartheid*.

32. Mr. GOLOVKO (Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic) said that the Universal Declaration of Human Rights had been the first attempt to codify and formally enunciate the rights of the individual, the implementation of which should be the objective of all Governments. Since its adoption, the strengthening of the socialist countries, the break-up of the colonial system and the emergence of certain progressive tendencies in the capitalist countries, had made possible a continuing campaign to ensure respect for human rights. However, those rights were still being violated in the course of aggressive wars against independent States and peoples struggling against colonial oppression. Nor could one speak of human rights being upheld so long as racist régimes continued to exist. The forthcoming anniversary should be used to draw attention yet again to the colonialist activities of imperialist Powers; the occasion might best be celebrated by making definite progress towards the elimination of racial discrimination.

33. He agreed with the Polish and Ghanaian representatives (1909th meeting) that due attention should also

be given to the many other human rights instruments which had come into existence during the preceding 24 years.

34. While the Secretary-General's report (A/8820 and Corr.1) noted various interesting measures which could be taken by the United Nations and the specialized agencies to mark the anniversary, that task could be accomplished most effectively at the national level.

35. The fiftieth anniversary of the founding of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics virtually coincided with the twenty-fourth anniversary of the Declaration. During the preceding 50 years, the Ukrainian SSR had achieved tremendous success in ensuring the implementation of human rights and freedoms and had taken a leading part in United Nations activities in that field.

36. In resolution 2860 (XXVI), the General Assembly expressed the desire that the anniversary should be marked in a manner which would fit the occasion and serve the cause of human rights. Thus, the occasion should not be marked merely by celebrations but should provide an opportunity to review achievements and take sober account of everything that was impeding the implementation of the Declaration.

37. Mrs. NIGAM (India) noted that her country had been a founding Member of the United Nations and had thus been associated from the very beginning with the formulation of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. India had also hosted a seminar on the elimination of all forms of racial discrimination at New Delhi in 1968. The concepts and principles underlying the Universal Declaration and the various international covenants and conventions derived from it had inspired her country's struggle for independence from colonial rule, while the Indian experience and example had accelerated the attainment of independence by numerous countries in Asia, Africa and the Caribbean.

38. She regretted that the Secretary-General's report on the observance of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the Declaration had not been issued in time for her Government to study it and submit constructive comments. She therefore could not yet provide any particulars on India's national programme, which, in any case, would have to be obtained from the various Indian States. However, the Government and people of India would take the necessary steps to celebrate the twenty-fifth anniversary of the Universal Declaration in a manner befitting the occasion. The essential question was whether the anniversary should be celebrated in an elaborate fashion or whether the celebration should be confined to a simple but effective re-enunciation of the Declaration. Because of the short time which had elapsed since the twentieth anniversary of the adoption of the Universal Declaration and the celebration of the International Year for Human Rights, it was important to see to it that the observance of the twenty-fifth anniversary did not become a stereotyped affair which would lead to a lessening of enthusiasm. Paragraph 4 of the report mentioned that on the occasion of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the

United Nations the General Assembly, in its resolution 2627 (XXV), had adopted a declaration in which one paragraph was devoted to the role of the United Nations in relation to human rights and which contained a pledge to promote universal respect for the dignity of all people. That was a timely reminder to all Member States of their obligations in the matter, especially when violations of human rights and fundamental freedoms were occurring in many places.

39. Her delegation was in general agreement with the various suggestions made by the Secretary-General and urged that particular emphasis should be given to the role of the specialized agencies, such as the ILO, UNESCO, WHO and FAO, and perhaps the International Law Commission. Although such bodies could hold celebrations, it was more important to emphasize their activities in the field of human rights and the measures they were taking to see that those rights were observed in all fields of human activities.

40. She particularly welcomed the Secretary-General's suggestion for a marked extension in the teaching of the international system of protection of human rights not only at the university level, but also at the intermediary and specialized levels of education. Perhaps when the new International University was established, a chair or faculty for human rights might be set up to study the promotion and observance of human rights in all parts of the world and to disseminate the knowledge gained from that study.

41. However, while the Secretary-General's report considered the various political, social and economic aspects of the preservation of human rights, it gave insufficient attention to the effect on human rights of developments in science and technology. That was an area of activity which, by virtue of its rapid progress, deeply influenced human life not only in the developed countries but, gradually, in the developing countries as well.

42. Noting with satisfaction that the representative of Japan (1908th meeting) had made a pointed reference to the high priority being given to the item on human rights and scientific and technological developments, she observed that human rights were affected in a special way in the developing countries, where the right to live and the right to a certain standard of living preceded all other rights; that contrasted with the situation in the developed countries, where the individual was assured of a reasonable standard of living. The seminar on special problems relating to human rights in developing countries, held at Nicosia in 1969, had unanimously endorsed the view that the mere proclamation, recognition or inclusion of human rights in national constitutions or laws was insufficient and even meaningless if the means and the apparatus for the enforcement of those rights were lacking. Most constitutions contained provisions aimed at entrenching human rights, but without a national system of institutions and procedures of implementation such provisions usually remained empty promises.

43. In 1973, the year of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the

General Assembly should once again proclaim that the Universal Declaration was "a common standard of achievement for all peoples and all nations", placing stress on the words "for all peoples". She supported the suggestion that the anniversary year should be marked by numerous ratifications of the two International Covenants on Human Rights and the use of the mass media to give the widest possible publicity to human rights. The Secretary-General had proposed that a suitable poster in the five official languages and in Arabic should be issued, and she would suggest that, if the available funds permitted, such posters should also be published in Hindi, Urdu, Malay, Swahili and other important languages spoken by millions of people so as to avoid charges of discrimination in that regard. She supported the suggestion that the Decade for Action to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination should be launched on the anniversary of the Declaration.

44. She recalled that the Prime Minister of India had recently stated that countries should bear in mind their community of interest and take positive initiatives for working together among themselves and with other countries in order to make a richer contribution towards the evolution of a world more livable for all and of a social order more in consonance with the yearnings of modern man. That aim would be furthered by the observance of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the Universal Declaration.

45. Mrs. YAO MALANG (Khmer Republic) said that effectiveness and cost were factors which should be borne in mind in planning United Nations celebrations of the anniversary. National observances should, with due regard to the varying geographical, economic and social characteristics of individual countries, follow the general lines laid down in the Secretary-General's report and the statement by the Director of the Division of Human Rights.

46. Member States should be realistic and admit that the adoption of principles was not the same thing as their implementation. In practice, many States still failed, knowingly or unknowingly, to implement the principles of human rights which were annually restated in the United Nations.

47. She regretted that a previous speaker had accused her country of using bacteriological weapons against North Viet-Nam. In fact, the Khmer Republic was defending itself with conventional weapons against the North Viet-Nameese imperialists, who were openly using poison-gas shells prohibited by international conventions.

48. Mrs. GUEYE (Senegal) said that the almost daily violation of the principles embodied in the Universal Declaration was a matter for great regret. There was a fundamental contradiction between the brilliant achievements of science and the failure to achieve basic human rights for all people.

49. Her country was proud to have fought against racism and *apartheid*. United Nations pressure could

do much to eliminate racial discrimination, but ultimately that objective would be achieved only when all countries gave legal recognition to the basic rights of those citizens. The United Nations should make more vigorous efforts to awaken the moral conscience of the world and combat the prejudices and taboos which obstructed progress. Attention should be drawn to the importance of social rights such as education, welfare, employment and family planning. More support was needed for the various United Nations Trust Funds which provided assistance to the victims of *apartheid* and racial discrimination.

50. Programmes for the observance of the twenty-fifth anniversary should be carried out at both the international and the national level and should concentrate on disseminating information about violations of human rights. Senegal had always made great efforts to improve the welfare of its people and remained optimistic that, despite the world situation, a more just international society could be achieved.

51. Mrs. DIARRA (Guinea) said that the twenty-fifth anniversary should be celebrated internationally by either a day or a week of special events. The proposed regional seminars would provide useful information for evaluating what remained to be done in the field of human rights. During the celebrations, all information media should publicize the Declaration and United Nations activities deriving from it.

52. In many parts of the world, human rights remained a dream; there were many children suffering from hunger and disease and many peoples still living under the yoke of imperialism. The tenth anniversary of the Organization of African Unity coincided with the twenty-fifth anniversary of the Declaration. It would be a good thing if South Africa, Southern Rhodesia and Portugal marked the occasion by deciding to implement the provisions of the Declaration.

53. Mr. SOLOMON (Ethiopia) said that his delegation endorsed the recommendations contained in the Secretary-General's report; he confirmed that his Government would celebrate 10 December 1973 as Human Rights Day.

54. Since the signing of the Declaration, it had become generally accepted that basic human rights and freedoms were essential to the full development of the human personality. The majority of civilized men would no doubt fight and die for those rights. Nevertheless, it could not be said that the principles of the Declaration were adequately observed. Some peoples still believed that they could keep others in subjugation, and several United Nations Members merely paid lip-service to the Declaration. The situation in Southern Rhodesia, South Africa and the Portuguese colonial territories provided ample evidence of that fact. It was sad that the countries which practised racial discrimination, openly or otherwise, still claimed to subscribe to the Charter and the Declaration.

55. Those States which were capable of influencing the course of events were far too complacent about

flagrant violations of human rights. They were unwilling to take any action that might reduce their trade or jeopardize their investments.

56. At the very time when the Committee was considering the programme of celebrations for the twenty-fifth anniversary of the Declaration, millions of people were suffering under the yoke of colonialism and racial discrimination. The international community should mark the anniversary by declaring war against those evils and rededicating itself to the cause of freedom and the dignity of man.

57. Mrs. CABALLERO (Mexico) said that for many centuries man had fought and shed blood in the cause of human rights—rights which were now embodied in many national legal systems as well as in the Declaration. Human rights, although still often disregarded, remained of supreme importance; they must be protected and sanctions imposed against those who violated them.

58. In celebrating the twenty-fifth anniversary of the Declaration, States should concentrate on two activities: firstly, they should disseminate information about human rights and try to educate peoples in the underlying principles of the rule of law; secondly, they should ensure the efficiency of their own legal systems so that all individuals might have easy access to legal procedures in the defence of their human rights.

59. Mr. EHSASI (Iran) said that the Universal Declaration of Human Rights was undoubtedly one of the outstanding documents of the era, but its lofty goals implied respect for human equality and could not, therefore, be achieved while some countries continued to practise racial discrimination.

60. He drew attention to his country's long tradition of respect for human rights and its close involvement in United Nations activities in that field. He confirmed its support of the celebrations of the twenty-fifth anniversary which was a fitting time to analyse the situation, assess progress and fix goals for the coming decade. He supported the proposal that the adoption of other human rights instruments, in addition to the Universal Declaration, should be celebrated. Attention should be drawn to all human rights, social and economic as well as civil.

61. The full implementation of the Declaration was impossible unless all countries accepted the principle of international economic co-operation. The President of the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development had recently drawn attention to the growing gap between rich and poor countries and had predicted an even wider economic disparity by the end of the century. Clearly, rich countries should not be asked to reduce their standard of living but merely to share their increasing wealth with the poor.

62. The twenty-fifth anniversary should be an occasion not only for celebration but also for the adoption of specific measures to achieve universal implementation of the Declaration. It might be useful to create

an advisory working group to assist the Secretary-General in his co-ordination activities. While States were free to celebrate the anniversary as they saw fit, they should follow the general lines of the Secretary-General's suggestions. His country would give active consideration to the proposal for joint regional activities.

63. Mr. DAMMERT (Peru) said that his delegation had made a careful study of the Secretary-General's report and endorsed it as a basis for the celebrations of the twenty-fifth anniversary. It would be very useful if the United Nations Office of Public Information would issue more material and documentation in Spanish; there was a particular lack of publications in Spanish concerning *apartheid*.

64. His delegation attached great importance to questions of racial discrimination. At the twenty-sixth session of the General Assembly, it had advocated a world campaign, through the mass media, to eliminate all forms of racial discrimination. It was deplorable that, almost 25 years after the signing of the Declaration and despite almost universal condemnation, racial discrimination still existed in many parts of the world.

65. Miss DAKHIL (Libyan Arab Republic) said that despite the progress which had been achieved during the preceding 25 years, some imperialist States continued to disregard fundamental human rights. In particular, South Africa, Southern Rhodesia and Portugal had failed to implement the Charter of the United Nations, the Geneva Conventions of 1949 and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. Israeli activities in the Middle East and the situation in Viet-Nam were examples of aggression by States in violation of the principles of human rights. The anniversary celebrations would not have fruitful results unless all States agreed to observe the Charter and other relevant documents.

66. Her delegation endorsed the recommendations contained in the Secretary-General's report and confirmed that her country would take an active part in the celebrations.

67. Mr. AL-ZAIBAK (Iraq) said that in view of the world situation the twenty-fifth anniversary of the Declaration could not be considered an occasion for genuine rejoicing but should rather serve as a reminder of the widespread disregard of human rights in violation of the Charter and in defiance of world public opinion.

68. He did not intend to initiate a campaign of charges and counter-charges, for the Committee's work would be more fruitful if conducted in a calm atmosphere. Nevertheless, fruitful results depended on objectivity and truthfulness; attention must be drawn to the cynicism, double standards and distortion of truth which permeated international and national politics. There was no gainsaying the importance of the balance of power and "realism" in contemporary diplomacy, but, in the long run, policies based on those considerations would inevitably fail unless they took into account

the legitimate rights and just grievances of peoples. It would be well for the Third Committee, which was primarily concerned with social, cultural and humanitarian matters, to aspire to a higher ethical standard in its deliberations.

69. He stressed that the generally pessimistic tone of his remarks did not indicate lack of interest in the celebration of the twenty-fifth anniversary or lack of appreciation of the considerable achievements of the United Nations in the field of human rights. His delegation would give careful consideration to the recommendations contained in the Secretary-General's report and to statements made in the Committee. The fact remained, however, that certain Members of the United Nations continued to violate, grossly and with impunity, the provisions of the Declaration.

70. Mrs. QUIJANO (Panama) noted that the item under discussion was of particular interest to her delegation because a prominent Panamanian, Dr. Ricardo Alfaro, had helped to draft the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. Throughout history there had been a continuing struggle for human rights against oppression and domination, but only in modern times had an irresistible trend arisen which constantly strengthened the practice and observance of human rights. The beginning of that trend could be marked by the establishment of the United Nations, whose Charter proclaimed the basic principle of equal rights for men and women throughout the world. An effort had been made, on the basis of Article 1, paragraph 3, of the Charter, to assemble in an international instrument all those principles which could further the happiness of mankind. That endeavour had reached fruition with the adoption of the Universal Declaration of

Human Rights, a reading of which made it possible to see how much had been done and how much remained to be done if mankind was to live in peace without persecution, prejudice and discrimination.

71. The twenty-fifth anniversary of the Declaration should certainly be celebrated and would have an international impact if the recommendations contained in the Secretary-General's report were put into practice. The celebrations would be aided if all Member States undertook to carry out a series of activities to promote human rights and if each of them appointed a commission to plan activities at the national level. Such activities could include, for example, conferences on the content and scope of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the International Covenants on Human Rights and widespread dissemination of information concerning those instruments in the schools through films and articles. An important step would be for all Member States to accede to and ratify the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination and the International Covenants on Human Rights. An official proclamation should be made naming 10 December of each year as the universal day for human rights, and an international campaign should be launched against colonialism, neo-colonialism and racial discrimination, which still existed in such places as Southern Rhodesia, South Africa, Namibia and the Panama Canal Zone. It would also be very useful if, as part of the celebration activities, a compilation was made of the various human rights instruments adopted by the United Nations along the lines of the compilation made for the International Conference on Human Rights in 1968.

The meeting rose at 6 p.m.