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**THIRD COMMITTEE, 1849th
MEETING**

Wednesday, 27 October 1971,
at 10.55 a.m.

NEW YORK

Chairman: Mrs. Helvi SIPILÄ (Finland).

AGENDA ITEM 54

Elimination of all forms of racial discrimination (*continued*) (A/8367 and Corr.1, A/8403, chap. XVII, sects. B and F; A/8418, A/8439):

- (a) **International Year for Action to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination: report of the Secretary-General;**
- (b) **Report of the Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination;**
- (c) **Status of the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination: report of the Secretary-General**

GENERAL DEBATE (*continued*)

1. Mr. ESCALLON-VILLA (Colombia) said that his country shared most of the concerns expressed by other countries on social matters. Colombia itself was an edifying example of racial harmony: it had successfully integrated the white, black and Indian populations and had created what an eminent Brazilian sociologist had called the "race of the future", the "universal race".

2. Unfortunately the same could not be said of other parts of the world. It was incredible that in the century of the conquest of space, racism still persisted and threatened the social equilibrium of countries and continents.

3. Nevertheless, progress had undeniably been made to achieve racial harmony. It must be stated in all fairness that while some nations practised social discrimination they gave their citizens every freedom to emigrate. A prominent example was the United States, which had covered much ground since the War of Independence. That country, which had some very violent extremist groups, had done nothing to prevent emigration or limit the exodus of citizens. Indeed, it was in immigration that the Government had had to adopt restrictive action because of the social problems confronting it. Colombia was one of the countries which deplored the brain drain towards the United States because salaries were higher and the citizens could afford luxuries as well as essentials, irrespective of their social standing. That was one of the anomalies of a society accused of discrimination. One had to acknowledge that the progress made was considerable and that understanding and harmony were gaining ground each year.

4. His delegation believed it was necessary to state those facts because the United Nations was recognized and respected as the only international organization in which every country, no matter how small in size or how

backward in development, could voice its opinion. It must be pointed out that all was not discord and injustice in the world today and that some nations were tackling the problem of racial discrimination and had advanced from theorizing to practical action in their efforts to overcome it.

5. The Governments which were now being put on trial were precisely those which had permitted journalists and United Nations officials and missions to visit their Territories. The paucity of information about racism in other countries was due to the fact that so few persons had been allowed access to study the situation freely on the spot. For that reason his delegation believed that it would be valuable to create the post of United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights, the occupant of which would be able to cross frontiers and report on the situation in every part of the world. It was especially appropriate that during the International Year for Action to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination the United Nations, the only body recognized by socialist régimes and democratic States alike, should be the champion of the elimination of all forms of racial discrimination in the world. His delegation reaffirmed that the Colombian Government would continue to promote racial equality and combat all forms of discrimination and would vote for any measure calculated to secure inalienable human rights and the principle of racial equality. Although much remained to be done in that field, the future appeared more encouraging; evidence of that was the example of racial harmony and ethnic integration in Colombia.

6. Mrs. USENKO (Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic) observed that besides being one of the chief problems in the sphere of human rights, racial discrimination was a growing threat to peace and progress in the world. The liberation of millions of persons depended on its elimination. As the Special Rapporteur of the Sub-Commission on the Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities had observed, racial discrimination continued to exist without legal or other justification in very many countries.

7. One of the hotbeds of racial hatred continued to be South Africa, where racism was exalted to a doctrine. The South African Government's *apartheid* policy was a good example of its neo-colonialist and expansionist ambitions; it had no scruples about attacking sovereign African States and was constantly strengthening its military power to that end.

8. The United Nations had instituted a comprehensive system of economic, political and moral sanctions with a view to eliminating totally racism and racial discrimination. Some States, however, persistently disregarded them and continued to give support to the South African Govern-

ment. Racism could be eliminated only if all States fulfilled their obligations under the Charter and the other United Nations instruments relating to human rights. It should be noted in that respect that neither the United States nor Israel has ratified the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination.

9. The situation in other African countries was just as disturbing. In Rhodesia, the régime was at present seeking to strengthen the powers of the white minority and establish a legal basis for oppression, while in Mozambique, Angola and Guinea (Bissau), the Portuguese Government was endeavouring to ensure the supremacy of the white race by pursuing its so-called African assimilation policy, which was really a policy of hatred and contempt. Racism was by no means retreating; in fact, it was gaining ground in many Western countries, particularly in the United States, where it had permeated every stratum of society.

10. The racist and expansionist policy of the Israeli Government towards the Arab populations in the occupied territories also deserved attention. It was interesting to note that Israel was on very friendly terms with the racists of South Africa. The Israeli leaders, acting in consonance with the ideology of international Zionism and enjoying the support of Zionists everywhere, concealed all their activities behind ostensibly humanitarian concerns. The failure to eliminate racism was due to the policies and tactics of certain States: the NATO Powers were bent on safeguarding their interests in Africa; the United States had invested considerable capital in South Africa; while the United Kingdom continued to give support to Rhodesia and was making gradual preparations to legalize the white minority régime, in contravention of United Nations resolutions, in particular General Assembly resolution 2646 (XXV).

11. Her delegation deplored the fact that the resolutions on racial discrimination adopted by the United Nations remained a dead letter. Racism was inseparable from colonialism and imperialism. It manifested itself in ever-varying shape and form, one of the most recent being the so-called peaceful dialogue. That type of dialogue had been rejected by most of the States concerned and by the countries members of the Organization of African Unity, which had seen through the manoeuvre and assessed it for what it was.

12. At a time when all nations were observing the International Year for Action to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination, the Third Committee could not remain indifferent to the survival of racism in southern Africa. As those who had taken part in the seminar at Yaoundé had advocated, the United Nations had to find effective ways of combating that evil and should denounce the activities of the Western States which were reducing all its efforts to nought.

13. Her delegation hoped that the measures adopted by the United Nations in the context of the International Year for Action to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination would give positive results; but the action taken should not be confined to a single year. Her Government supported the proposal by the USSR representative concerning the preparation of a convention to institute sanctions against States and individuals practising *apartheid*. The text of the draft

convention should be circulated soon to members of the Third Committee.

14. Her country would support any measure likely to promote the elimination of all forms of racial discrimination.

15. Miss CAO-PINNA (Italy) reaffirmed that the people and the Government of Italy condemned racial discrimination in all its forms. It was to be hoped that as a result of the efforts of the international community and of all countries, there would soon be no need to give priority to the consideration of the question of racial discrimination. Although her delegation did not deny the usefulness of measures of immediate interest, it was convinced that if long-term results were to be achieved, the emphasis should be placed on education and on the exchange of views and experience. National legislation and international conventions would not fully solve the problem of racial discrimination if they were not accompanied by a continuous educational process aimed at eradicating racial prejudices. That process should involve not only teachers but also the various categories of social scientists and, in general, all those whose behaviour demonstrated their belief in the dignity of man.

16. Since UNESCO, like other specialized agencies, did its best to combat and eradicate racial prejudice, it would be desirable if a UNESCO report on its activities in the field of racial discrimination could be made available to the Third Committee when it debated that issue.

17. Although Italy had no racial problems, it had observed the International Year for Action to Combat Racial Discrimination and would shortly ratify the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination.

18. Her delegation, which had not yet participated in the work of the Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination, had been surprised to learn that very frequently the members of the Committee had been sharply divided in their views. It had also been surprised to learn from the statement of the representative of the United Kingdom (1846th meeting) that some reports of States parties to the Convention had been categorized as satisfactory without being discussed by the Committee. Her delegation therefore associated itself with those delegations which had expressed the hope that the Committee would devise working procedures aimed at avoiding any duplication and improving its functioning.

19. Mr. OSOLNIK (Yugoslavia) pointed out that, despite the untiring efforts of the majority of the Members of the United Nations, racial discrimination persisted in many parts of the world. During the International Year for Action to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination, public opinion had rightly focused on the situation in southern Africa, where racial discrimination and *apartheid* were the official policy. It was also a matter of concern that some countries, whose policies were in principle anti-racist, were maintaining political, economic and military relations with racist and colonial régimes and by doing so were partly responsible for the failure of United Nations actions against racial discrimination. It was therefore necessary to find

ways to ensure that the statements issued by Governments were in keeping with their deeds.

20. Since his country had been born of the struggle against oppression and racial intolerance, all its legislation classed racial discrimination and hatred as criminal acts. The political and social development of the country guaranteed the practical application of such rules of law.

21. His delegation would continue to participate in the international efforts against racism and in all United Nations activities aimed at eliminating it. An enormous amount of work had been done in the United Nations, which had resulted in a greater awareness of the dangers of racial hatred. However, it should be borne in mind that the most important thing was the policies of the States themselves, which must act in a way consistent with their words and must have the political will to take such effective measures as were needed to root out racial intolerance.

22. In resolution 2, on *apartheid* and racial discrimination, adopted at the Third Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-aligned Countries, held at Lusaka in September 1970, the non-aligned countries had condemned those countries which, by collaborating with South Africa, encouraged and incited the South African Government to persist in its racist policy. They had also condemned those States which continued to sell military equipment to the South African régime. At the twenty-fifth session, the General Assembly had declared that *apartheid* constituted a crime against humanity. The remedies called for at present would be effective only if individual and collective action was taken against all forms of oppression and exploitation. No new proclamations were needed. It was unfortunate that the efforts of the United Nations to combat the policy of *apartheid* had been of no avail, since *apartheid* had become one of the greatest dangers in the world and a threat to international peace and stability. It was clear that the policy of *apartheid* was protected and promoted only by those States interested in preserving colonialism and exploitation. It was therefore the duty of the United Nations to adopt a firm attitude towards the economic and political partners of South Africa.

23. Southern Africa was not the only place in the world where racial discrimination existed; it could be found, in one form or another, almost everywhere. Even in the most developed countries, racial prejudice was still present both in everyday life and in political practice.

24. Nazism was one of the most dangerous forms of racial discrimination, and the international community should do everything it could to prevent its resurgence.

25. His country had ratified the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination in 1967, and his delegation was pleased with the work accomplished by the Committee established under that Convention. The Third Committee should give careful consideration to the conclusions and recommendations contained in the Committee's report and use them as a basis for its work in the field of racial discrimination.

26. His delegation hoped that the co-operation of the People's Republic of China would bring new vitality to the work of the United Nations.

27. Mr. FOUNGUI (People's Republic of the Congo) said that his people, led by a revolutionary party based on moral principles, could not remain indifferent to the struggle of other peoples against all forms of racial discrimination. The revolutionary Government of his country had always recognized the legitimacy of the struggle of all oppressed peoples to attain racial equality by any means. It had always advocated increased assistance for those peoples and had itself constantly striven to provide such assistance. The Congolese Labour Party, using appropriate educational devices, had already mobilized thousands of Congolese in the struggle against racial discrimination and *apartheid*. The press had kept the Congolese people informed of racial injustice throughout the world and of the struggle carried on by progressive elements in North America, Southern Rhodesia, South Africa and the African Territories under Portuguese domination. Although the United States of America had become one of the most powerful countries in the world by viciously exploiting its non-white communities, those communities occupied a low rung on the American social ladder. In South Africa, the white minority had, with the blessing of the Western Powers, especially the United States of America, scandalously enriched themselves by inflicting a policy of forced labour on thousands of Africans. Everyone was aware of the abhorrent conditions in Rhodesia, made possible with the complicity of British imperialism and of the discriminatory practices carried on in the African Territories under Portuguese domination.

28. The time to adopt new resolutions was past and it was now necessary to seek the real reasons for the impotence of the international community. The problem of racial discrimination had arisen out of the capitalist system and the tight hold of the capitalist countries on the countries they were exploiting. His own country had chosen to follow a revolutionary course and to uphold those people who were struggling for their rights. In doing so it had laid itself open to attack by NATO, some members of which were recruiting mercenaries in Europe for the purpose of destroying the People's Republic of the Congo. It was the duty of the United Nations to assist peoples thus struggling against oppression, and to condemn the capitalist countries. It should also refrain from sowing discord among the African countries by making use of some of them to advance the idea of a so-called "dialogue" with South Africa and Portugal.

29. The International Year for Action to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination should be a time of soul-searching for all countries and especially for the imperialist Governments of the West. All peoples struggling against oppression and all the progressive countries in the world should unite in an effective struggle against international imperialism.

30. Mrs. CHAPMAN (Ivory Coast) said that the problem of racial discrimination deserved the attention and careful consideration of all and that all should work together to solve it. In supporting the fundamental principle that all human beings were free and equal before the law, her delegation condemned racial discrimination, which undermined human dignity, constituted a threat to peace and hampered progress and development. Those who practised racism used the argument of different behaviours for different races, the same pretext as had been used to justify

colonialism and slavery. Even in countries which profited by it, racial discrimination created an atmosphere of hatred and tension.

31. Every available means must be used to ensure that the problem of racial discrimination was not perpetrated in the future. The first step was to awaken human awareness and enlist everyone in the struggle, individually and collectively. The press, television, films and the theatre were all useful tools. It was especially important to make children and young people aware of the struggle. Educational establishments at all levels should organize special programmes dedicated to the equality of all peoples and to the struggle against racial discrimination. Parents should also be made aware of the problem so that the efforts undertaken by the schools would continue at home. Non-governmental and charitable organizations and other organs also had a special role to play in combating racial discrimination.

32. Mrs. DAES (Greece) said that her country had always supported the efforts of the United Nations to abolish colonialism, to safeguard the right of all peoples to self-determination and to eliminate racial discrimination.

33. It was the duty of the United Nations to express its grave concern about manifestations of racial discrimination wherever they might occur; in particular, it should wage a continuous information campaign to make all peoples of the world, and young people in particular, more fully aware that the policy of *apartheid* was the most systematic manifestation of racial discrimination in the modern world.

34. Greece was supporting the struggle against racism and *apartheid* and in June 1970 had ratified the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination. It was also contributing to the programme for granting studying facilities to inhabitants of Non-Self-Governing Territories and to the Education and Training Programme for Namibians by granting financial assistance and study scholarships every year.

35. From the beginning, Greece had supported the idea of the International Year for Action to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination and, although racism was unknown in Greece, the Greek Government, in view of the interest shown by young people and as a token of solidarity with victims of racism and *apartheid*, had decided to observe the International Year by undertaking a number of activities set out in detail in the report of the Secretary-General (see A/8367 and Corr.1, chap. II).

36. As for the report of the Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination (A/8418), having studied the document and listened attentively to the comments made on it, her delegation found itself in agreement with the representatives of New Zealand and the United Kingdom. It had applauded the coming into force of the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination which, for the first time, had created supervisory machinery in the shape of the Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination. That feeling of satisfaction, however, had disappeared on reading the Committee's report. Some members had touched on subjects which were not covered by the Convention and the

Committee had discussed items outside its competence. In view of the qualifications that the Committee members were supposed to possess, her delegation expected them to know where racial problems existed, what the dimensions of those problems were and whether the reports submitted by Governments provided sufficient information about the adoption of specific legislative and administrative measures to combat racial discrimination. The Committee had, however, failed to take those elements into consideration and to examine substantially some of the reports submitted. A number of reports submitted by countries in which racial problems did not exist or whose Governments had already taken the necessary steps had been considered "insufficient" or "incomplete" by the Committee.

37. She quoted the case of Greece as a specific example. Since there had never been any racial problems in Greece, it had never been necessary to enact legislation on that subject. On the contrary, equality of all Greeks in the eyes of the law was ensured by fundamental provisions contained in all the Constitutions of modern Greece. The Greek Penal Code also provided sanctions against violators of those provisions. Greece had ratified the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination and had conformed with its obligations arising therefrom. It had submitted its initial report in time, as required by article 9 of the Convention. That report had been considered "incomplete" and some members of the Committee had expressed their wish to receive more information. Greece would transmit any relevant information through the official channels. But the Committee, which was a sort of judicial body, would have to comply strictly with the provisions of the Convention and should not request Governments for further information unless that was absolutely necessary and in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Convention. The guidelines¹ sent to States parties were very useful for countries where racial problems existed, since the reports would reflect any progress achieved, but where there was no racial problem several of the communications were superfluous.

38. The Committee should strictly observe the provisions of the Convention and should take into consideration the dimensions of the racial problems and the specific conditions existing in each individual country. Furthermore, not only the principles of objectivity and impartiality, but also the principle of equity, should constantly guide the Committee in its judgements of the reports. The Committee should elaborate further its rules of procedure and should examine the possibility of granting permission to every country to be heard during the examination of its report or any report referring to it. Her delegation would study the suggestion of the representative of Kuwait at the 1847th meeting concerning the presence of members of the Committee during discussion of its report by the Third Committee.

39. Mrs. ESHEL-SHOHAM (Israel), exercising her right of reply, said that in making totally unjustified accusations against the Jewish National Liberation Movement, the representative of the Ukraine had failed to explain the position of Jews in the Ukraine and the USSR. Jews were

¹ Document CERD/C/R.12 (see *Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-fifth Session, Supplement No. 27, annex III A*).

prosecuted in the Soviet Union simply because they wished to live as Jews. There were many examples of such prosecutions in the Ukraine. About 800,000 Jews lived in that country and she asked the Ukrainian delegate whether he could point out a single school where Jews could study their language or culture, or a single Jewish theatre. She submitted that they could not live as Jews in the Ukraine.

40. Mrs. USENKO (Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic), exercising her right of reply, said that by her constant slanders the Israeli representative was attempting to distract the attention of the world community from the real problems and was failing to reply to criticisms of the criminal policy of the Israeli Government. The Israeli Government was piling up myths and lies in order to denounce a situation which did not exist. Was it possible to believe the Israeli delegation when its Government was carrying out a policy of hatred, demonstrated recently in the General Assembly?

41. There was a clear relationship between the Zionism underlying the Israeli leader's policy of aggression and usurpation, on the one hand, and nazism and fascism, on the other; Israel's shameless anti-Arab propaganda was reminiscent of the methods used in the past by the Hitlerites.

42. Mrs. ESHEL-SHOHAM (Israel), exercising her right of reply, noted that questions she had addressed to the Soviet delegation, in particular in her initial detailed statement, had remained unanswered.

43. Mr. EL-FATTAL (Syrian Arab Republic) stated that Israel's description of the Zionist movement as one of national liberation was a grave insult to all national liberation movements. Zionism was a movement which aimed to rid Palestine of its original inhabitants. Both its principles and its practices derived from the colonial period. In 1917, Weizmann, later President of Israel, had sent a

memorandum to London demanding the establishment of a Jewish company for the colonization of Palestine, on the model of companies which, in the past, had colonized India and South Africa.

44. How was it possible to speak of a liberation movement when the Israeli Minister of Defence trained with the Green Berets and fought in Viet-Nam against the people of that country? Israel was the only Middle East country to have an Embassy in South Africa and to co-operate with that country in the economic and military fields. In addition, it was obvious that the two countries had common principles and interests.

45. How could the Zionist movement claim to liberate the Jews of the world when, during the Zionist Congress in June 1969, it was declared that the Jews of the entire world were children of Israel, irrespective of their wishes, and that they were duty bound to emigrate to Israel in order to colonize Palestine?

46. Mr. MOUSSA (Egypt) also wished to comment on the statement of the Israeli delegation. A liberation movement struggled against colonialism and foreign domination or occupation. The Zionist movement, in contrast, aimed at subjugating a people and occupying its lands, and threatened peace and security. That was a new view of the concept of liberation. Perhaps *apartheid* held a similar position.

47. Israel sought to cause trouble in all countries. Today, the Israeli delegation attacked the USSR, accusing that country of persecuting Jews; but tomorrow it would seek to quarrel with all those opposed to its policy of aggression. Israel had arrogated to itself the right to speak on behalf of Jews throughout the world—that too was a new concept in international law.

The meeting rose at 1.5 p.m.