



Chairman: Miss Maria GROZA (Romania).

AGENDA ITEMS 53 AND 60

Elimination of all forms of racial discrimination (*continued*) (A/8003, chap. IX, sect. A; A/8027, A/8057, A/8061 and Add.1, A/8062 and Add.1 and 2, A/8117, A/C.3/L.1765):

- (a) International Year for Action to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination: report of the Secretary-General;
- (b) Measures for effectively combating racial discrimination and the policies of *apartheid* and segregation in southern Africa: report of the Secretary-General;
- (c) Report of the Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination, submitted under article 9 of the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination;
- (d) Status of the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination: report of the Secretary-General

The importance of the universal realization of the right of peoples to self-determination and of the speedy granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples for the effective guarantee and observance of human rights (*continued*) (A/7998)

GENERAL DEBATE (*continued*)

1. Mr. WYZNER (Poland) said that the twenty-fifth anniversary session of the United Nations was a particularly appropriate time to give high priority to the action to combat racial discrimination and the right of peoples to self-determination.

2. With regard to racial discrimination in South Africa in particular, the United Nations, instead of adopting numerous ineffective resolutions condemning *apartheid*, should find ways and means of translating the lofty ideals of the United Nations Charter into tangible results. The failure of United Nations resolutions to yield sufficient results derived from the fact that certain forces, while admitting the necessity of taking action against the Pretoria régime, were paralysing the initiatives and actions of the Organization. Numerous studies by United Nations bodies had provided evidence of the links between the South African racists and certain Western Powers and monopolies. Those studies had proved that the South African régime not only refused to conform with the basic norms of international law, but also that some of its practices were reminiscent of those of the Nazis. An end should be put to such crimes and his

delegation would support any decision taken with that aim in view.

3. The problem went far beyond South Africa. In recent years, South Africa had extended *apartheid* to Namibia, had contributed to the consolidation of another racist régime—in Southern Rhodesia—and was assisting Portugal in waging its colonial wars in Mozambique and Angola. The problem was worsened by the fact that some Powers of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization were lending direct assistance to South Africa and thus enabling that country to build up its military potential on the pretext of helping it to resist outside threats. In fact, it was the South African régime itself which was a standing threat to the majority of the country's population and to all independent States of Africa. Those NATO Powers were also expanding their economic relations with South Africa, while making a show of condemning *apartheid*.

4. His delegation condemned the acts of discrimination which, as proved by the representatives of the Arab States, were being committed by Israel in the occupied Arab territories.

5. It was prepared to support the draft resolution recommended to the General Assembly in Economic and Social Council resolution 1501 (XLVIII), which set forth specific and practical measures for combating *apartheid* and segregation. It was also ready to consider favourably other measures against racial discrimination.

6. The work of the Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination, which was the first United Nations organ responsible for implementing an international convention in the field of human rights, had thrown light on many aspects of the implementation and promotion of the human rights mentioned in the Convention. As a party to the International Convention on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination, Poland abided by its provisions both in law and in practice. A Polish expert was a member of the Committee. His delegation was deeply concerned to note that only forty-four States had declared themselves prepared to be bound by the Convention and hoped that many States would ratify it in 1971, the International Year for Action to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination. He could not understand how certain countries who were signatories of the Convention could justify the support which they gave to the South African régime.

7. His delegation fully subscribed to the programme for the observance of the International Year for Action to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination (see A/C.3/L.1765). The comments and plans submitted by United Nations organs, specialized agencies and States contained many valuable ideas. That was particularly true of the

decisions taken by the Sub-Commission on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities. On the other hand, the measures contemplated by certain specialized agencies (see A/8061) did not appear to be an adequate response to the wishes expressed by the General Assembly and the Commission on Human Rights. The programme should indicate which United Nations organs would be responsible for co-ordinating the various activities connected with the observance of the International Year.

8. His Government, in co-operation with appropriate non-governmental organizations, was preparing a comprehensive programme of activities in connexion with the International Year. The main part of the programme would centre around the activities of the Committee for Solidarity with African and Asian Countries; his Government would further inform the Secretary-General regarding the steps which it intended to take in connexion with the programme.

9. The Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, adopted ten years before by the General Assembly, had put an end to the distinction between "civilized" and "uncivilized" nations, together with the alleged need for "protecting" colonial peoples. That Declaration prohibited discrimination based on race, sex, language or religion, against both individuals and nations, and recognized the universal and permanent right of peoples to decide their own destinies. Despite the Declaration, however, the United Nations had so far been powerless when confronted with the Portuguese colonial régime and the racist policies of the Republic of South Africa and Southern Rhodesia. The General Assembly had decided to put an end to that situation once and for all by adopting, on 12 October 1970, the programme of action for the full implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples (resolution 2621 (XXV)). His delegation was convinced that there was an urgent need to find practical ways of ensuring respect for the human rights of people still under colonial domination and for protecting members of national liberation movements.

10. As the Heads of State and Government of the non-aligned countries had stated in the Lusaka Declaration, it was to be hoped that the whole world would rise in a concerted effort to resist the aggression of the reactionary forces of racism, ignorance, economic exploitation and political and social oppression. Poland was prepared to do its part towards achieving that worthy goal.

11. Mrs. DAES (Greece) said that one of the most important aims of the United Nations Charter was the development among nations of friendly relations based on respect for the principle of the equal rights of peoples and their right to self-determination. For that reason, since the founding of the United Nations, Greece had supported its efforts to abolish the colonial system, to achieve recognition of the right to self-determination of all peoples and to eliminate all forms of racial discrimination. Her delegation welcomed the coming into force of the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination, and had appreciated the report of the Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination (A/8027). The Greek Government had ratified the Conven-

tion on the occasion of the International Day for the Elimination of Racial Discrimination.

12. The Ministry of Education and other competent Greek authorities had decided to mark the International Year for Action to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination by organizing lectures, encouraging students to prepare studies on the topic and granting scholarships to students from Africa and Asia. The information media must play a part in enlightening the public on the evils resulting from racial discrimination and hatred; in particular, young people should be trained from a very early age to respect human rights.

13. Only a determined attitude towards the problems of racial discrimination, a reassertion of the higher human values and recognition of the sacred right to self-determination could remedy the situation still existing in some countries and finally eradicate the resentment caused by the policies of racial discrimination.

14. Mr. KARAMAGI (Uganda) said that his Government's policy with regard to the two items under consideration had been made clear by the President of Uganda at the Third Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held at Lusaka in September 1970: Uganda was giving, and would continue to give, moral and material assistance to the freedom fighters who, for too long, had been suffering under the yoke of colonialism and racism and had been denied their fundamental rights. The fascist and neo-nazi régime in South Africa and Namibia, the Portuguese authorities and the illegal rebel racist régime in Rhodesia refused to acknowledge the freedom fighters' inalienable right to self-determination. Having tried all peaceful means to achieve their freedom, they were left with no alternative but armed struggle against imperialism, colonialism and exploitation. The President of the United Republic of Tanzania had told the General Assembly at the 1867th plenary meeting, on 15 October 1970, that the forces of oppression had perhaps been allowed too much time, and had thus been able to achieve an even stronger position.

15. In the introduction (A/8001/Add.1) to his report on the work of the Organization the Secretary-General had deplored the fact that the efforts of the United Nations had not yet resulted in the elimination of *apartheid* in South Africa. Nor had the United Nations achieved more positive results in Namibia or in the Territories under Portuguese rule. The attitude of South Africa, Portugal and Southern Rhodesia, which all defied the authority of the United Nations, had made it the laughing-stock of the world.

16. In view of those failures, attention should be paid to the methods the Organization should apply in future. It was no longer enough to adopt resolutions and declarations. Henceforth, moral and material assistance must be given to the freedom fighters. It was on that condition that the Ugandan delegation welcomed the programme for the observance in 1971 of the International Year for Action to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination (see A/C.3/L.1765). According to the programme, the purpose of the Year was to achieve substantial progress in eliminating all forms of manifestations of racism and racial discrimination, including the policies of *apartheid*, and to ensure the equal

enjoyment by all of all human rights and the exercise by peoples of their right to self-determination. He regretted the fact that the aid supplied by some Western Powers to the racist and colonialist régimes of southern Africa was an obstacle to the achievement of that purpose.

17. He paid a tribute to Guyana, which, at the Third Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, had announced that it would make annual contributions to the Liberation Committee of the Organization of African Unity in order to assist the armed struggle for the liberation of all territories in Africa still oppressed by racist régimes. He solemnly appealed to Member States to follow Guyana's example and provide moral and material assistance. That would be consistent with the aims of the programme for 1971. However, any country which supplied arms to South Africa, or considered resuming arms sales, would be hindering the aims of that programme, to which all Member States were parties. Similarly, the capitalist trading partners of the Fascist régimes in southern Africa were also, by their exploitation of the material and human resources of the area, prejudicing the achievement of those aims. Failure to achieve those goals would only bear out the predictions of the Afro-American author W. E. B. Du Bois, who, at the very beginning of the century, had stated that the major problem of the twentieth century would be the racial issue.

18. Mr. KUSSBACH (Austria) recalled the statement made by the Austrian Federal Minister for Foreign Affairs to the General Assembly at its 1855th plenary meeting on 30 September 1970, fully explained Austria's position with regard to the two items under consideration. He would confine his comments to the International Year for Action to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination and to the status of the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination. It had not been possible to submit the report prepared by his Government in accordance with paragraph 6 of General Assembly resolution 2544 (XXIV) in time for it to appear in the report of the Secretary-General (A/8061), but Austria's report could probably be issued shortly as an addendum.¹

19. With regard to the observance in Austria of the International Year for Action to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination, the Minister for Foreign Affairs had set up a National Committee to prepare, direct and co-ordinate activities. The essential aim of those activities would be to call attention to the significance of the International Year and to the principles which had led to its being proclaimed. Among the measures contemplated were the publication of articles written by official institutions and private organizations, the broadcasting of special programmes on radio and television, and the arrangement of seminars, panel discussions and lectures. The observance of the International Year and the ideas underlying it would also be taken into account in the preparation of school curricula, in order to arouse the interest of youth; in particular, the United Nations Association had chosen as the theme for its yearly rhetoric competition, in which thousands of young people participated, "The Arrogance of Prejudice: Discrimination in Our Country and Abroad", and the UNICEF Committee would be organizing a competition on a similar subject in teacher-training establishments.

20. The Austrian Parliament and Federal Government would mark the International Year by ratifying the International Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Racial Discrimination, and by revising some provisions of the Criminal Code. Moreover, the significance of the International Year would be emphasized in the traditional New Year address of the most eminent officials. Most of the activities planned would be concentrated in March and April 1971 in order to produce greater impact, but other measures were planned for the rest of the Year.

21. Mr. EL SHEIKH (Sudan) said that twenty-five years after the unanimous adoption of resolution 103 (I), in which the General Assembly had declared that an immediate end should be put to religious and so-called racial persecution and discrimination, the United Nations and the different committees and expert groups it had created and the special rapporteurs it had designated to try to eliminate those evils were still engaged in reiterating fruitless condemnations. His delegation therefore felt that to persist in uttering declarations condemning the policies of South Africa or messages of sympathy towards the oppressed amounted to a betrayal of the people suffering from *apartheid* and the virtual acceptance of the fate that had befallen them. It was becoming increasingly evident that severance of diplomatic relations with South Africa and the imposition on it of sanctions that were notoriously ineffective—since its economy continued to prosper—were no longer sufficient. The United Nations should therefore recognize that the true problem was the refusal of the international monopolies and the capitalist régimes to apply the embargo decided on in 1963.

22. To support his argument he quoted figures published by a high United States official concerning trade relations between the United States and South Africa. The big international monopolies and the capitalist régimes were standing in the way of action by national liberation movements in South Africa. The same applied in the Middle East, where those monopolies supported the racist authorities of Tel Aviv. As Mr. John Davis, former Commissioner-General of UNRWA, had said, it was a racist myth that had led the Zionists to found the State of Israel. As the representative of Lebanon had shown clearly at the 1763rd meeting, Israel's policies with regard to the Palestinians were no better than those of South Africa with regard to the Africans, and it was ironical that the Israel representative had had the audacity to invite visitors from other countries to go and judge those policies for themselves, when the United Nations representatives had not so far been permitted to do so.

23. His delegation welcomed the designation of the year 1971 as the International Year for Action to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination and supported the suggestions made by the Secretary-General in the programme for the observance of the Year (see A/C.3/L.1765); but it felt that the time had also come to consider seriously the expulsion of South Africa from the United Nations under Article 6 of the Charter. Expulsion might not bring about any change in South Africa's policies, but it would certainly be a well-deserved punishment and would serve as a reminder to other States pursuing similar policies that the United Nations which had at one time created a State could also expel Members that persisted in violating the principles

¹ Subsequently incorporated in document A/8061/Add.2.

of the Charter. Ten years had now passed since the proclamation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, and the United Nations should reassert its support of peoples struggling for their right to self-determination by assisting national liberation movements materially and morally, as it was pledged to do.

24. Mr. AL-SHAWI (Iraq) said that when reference was made to the principle of self-determination that meant the self-determination of nations. President Wilson had defined a nation as a group of men nurtured for generations in the traditions of a common ideal, who had developed a common thought and common institutions that made them a distinct national unit. Such was the case of the Palestinian Arabs, who were therefore entitled to achieve their self-determination and should have been able to build their country according to their wishes. But in complete disregard of what Theodore Herzl had written in *The Jewish State*, namely that a people with no land should seek a land with no people, the Zionist movement had allied itself with colonial imperialism in order to deprive the Palestinians of their right and to settle their lands by force. Thus the Palestinian Arabs, who had never coveted the land of other peoples, saw invaders settle in their homeland and became a minority themselves. In the 9 February 1959 issue of the *Jewish Newsletter* of New York, one of the original Jewish pioneers in Palestine had told how the Jews had forced the Arabs to leave cities and villages, sometimes by force and sometimes by false promises.

25. In 1947 Mr. David Ben Gurion had stated before the Anglo-American Committee of Enquiry on Palestine that the Jews would treat the Arabs and their other non-Jewish neighbours as if they were Jews and make every effort to ensure that they were able to preserve their own culture and gradually raise their standard of living. In fact, even before the aggression of June 1967 the Arabs living in Israel-occupied Palestine were victims of incredible discrimination and oppression, contrary to the basic principles of the United Nations Charter, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and resolution 181 (II) on partition adopted by the General Assembly on 29 November 1947.

26. Israel had expelled thousands of Arabs from their homeland and refused to allow them to return, had restricted the movement, political rights and education and health facilities of the members of the Arab minority, had confiscated and continued to confiscate Arab lands, and had granted Israel citizenship to all Zionists who arrived in Palestine while withholding such rights from the indigenous Arabs. Moreover, Israel atrocities during and after the June aggression were well known. He was therefore astonished to hear the Israel representative speak of equality, justice and humanity and lament the fate of Jews living in some Arab countries.

27. Israel claimed extra-territorial jurisdiction over Jews throughout the world, regardless of their nationality, and sovereign States had no alternative but to repudiate that extension of jurisdiction based on religious identification, as the Government of the United States had done in April 1964 in a letter to the American Council for Judaism. Iraq's position was the same: there was only one nationality in Iraq, Iraqi nationality, which belonged irrevocably to members of families living in Iraq before 6 August 1924.

28. History showed that when the Arabs had ruled a large part of the civilized world, Jews could live in peace, enjoy freedom of religion and thought and make a rich contribution to mediaeval culture. The Arabs were proud of their tradition of racial and religious tolerance inspired by the Koran.

29. Several eminent Iraqis of the Jewish faith had made statements regarding the feelings of members of their community: the Grand Rabbi of Iraq had expressed the loyalty of Iraqi Jews to Iraq, which they considered their only homeland, where they enjoyed full religious freedom and which they could leave and return to at will. A well-known physician of Baghdad had stated that there was no truth in the allegations made by certain imperialistic newspapers that Iraqi Jews were the victims of persecution or extermination, and that the only purpose of such allegations was to defame Iraq internationally. He said he was convinced that Iraqi Jews could continue, as they had done for centuries, to live in freedom and equality with their compatriots. Another notable Iraqi Jew had recalled that the presence of Jews in Iraq dated back more than 2,000 years and that they were Arabs like other Iraqis. They had lived side by side with them for centuries in an atmosphere of serenity, co-operation, freedom, prosperity and equality, and the Jews were victims of world Zionism: Israel had become a calamity for them before becoming a calamity for the Arabs.

30. No one believed the Israelis and Zionists when they exaggerated the slightest anti-Semitic incident. Everyone knew that anti-Semitism was an essential condition for Israel's survival. One of the most difficult problems that Zionism had had to face was the enjoyment of freedom and equality by Jews in various countries of the world and the integration of Jewish communities. It was a fundamental principle of Zionist ideology that anti-Semitism would induce Jews to settle in Israel. It was Israel, not the Arab countries, that benefited from anti-Semitism.

31. Mrs. WARZAZI (Morocco) said that her delegation had unrelentingly condemned racial discrimination and those who practised it in defiance of the principles of the United Nations Charter and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. As the representative of Morocco had already stated in 1968, practically all international demonstrations now denounced with the bitterness of impotence South Africa's defiance of human values, without any resulting improvement in the situation. Yet racial discrimination was still deep-rooted, particularly in southern Africa, where the policy of *apartheid* was not only becoming more intense in South Africa but was even expanding to an alarming extent to the neighbouring countries. Her delegation therefore felt that the United Nations should go beyond the information and education stage and take steps to ensure that its decisions were respected. Peoples subjected to racism, *apartheid* and colonialism could not endure that yoke forever, and a racial war with unforeseeable consequences might break out sooner or later, since violence begot violence, as could be seen in Angola, Mozambique and Guinea (Bissau). Her delegation was pleased that the General Committee had rated colonialism a violation of human rights and had referred the item to the Third Committee.

32. In the Lusaka Declaration, issued by the Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, the representatives of those countries had asserted that if the present was a time of great hope, it also gave rise to the most difficult problems: wars of aggression, colonialism, racism and *apartheid* were scourges which threatened international peace and security. Not only must public opinion be informed of that threat, but means must be devised to transform into action the political will that alone could completely eliminate those ills.

33. Morocco approved the programme proposed for the International Year for Action to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination; it should help to eliminate the feeling of superiority which led some peoples deliberately to violate the ethics set forth in the various international instruments and to put their own interests ahead of those of mankind. It was particularly gratifying that the programme included three measures, outlined in paragraphs (h), (i) and (j) of suggestion F (see A/C.3/L.1765), concerning the role that trade unions, religious organizations and educational institutions could play in making people aware of their responsibilities towards the international community as a whole, and if necessary inducing them to put pressure on their leaders in the interests of justice and equality. The United Nations might obtain from the consortia which controlled the satellites the necessary facilities to enable it to broadcast short slogans which would make people aware of the aberrations of colonialism and discriminatory policies. The activities of the United Nations Office of Public Information were inadequate in that respect, and among other things the final version of the special study of racial discrimination in the political, economic, social and cultural spheres by Mr Hernán Santa Cruz² should be issued as soon as possible. Morocco was convinced that any blow to human dignity affected mankind as a whole, and it was about to ratify the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination.

34. Her country welcomed the steps that United Nations bodies, governmental or non-governmental organizations and some Governments had already taken to aid the victims of discrimination, and felt that the General Assembly should support the proposal submitted by the Secretary-General and by the Committee of Trustees of the United Nations Trust Fund for South Africa with a view to obtaining increased contributions (see A/8117).

35. In connexion with item 60, her delegation felt that the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples concerned not only the countries and peoples still under the colonial yoke in Africa, but also the populations of Palestine. Zionism was a colonialist and essentially fascist and racist political phenomenon, since territories belonging to other peoples from time immemorial had been usurped and the frontiers of Member States of the United Nations had been violated in three instances by virtue of that doctrine based on the notion of the "chosen people". The discriminatory laws against the indigenous Palestinian peoples were comparable to the *apartheid* policy practised by the Pretoria Government. Her delegation noted with surprise that the Israel representative had begun the discussion on that question by accusing the Arab and

Moslem countries of discrimination against their Jewish nationals. She challenged the Israel representative to cite a single law in any of those countries that was comparable to the provisions which authorized collective punishment, torture and arbitrary imprisonment in Israel and had led a Jewish journalist to state that the Zionists appeared to be blind to the similarities between nazism and their policy towards the Palestinians—an attitude all the more inexcusable since they had themselves been the victims of racism.

36. Her delegation expressed the hope that 1971 would see the emergence of the international political will which alone could make it possible to eliminate racial discrimination, *apartheid* and colonialism.

37. Mrs. ASIYO (Kenya) said that her Government fully supported all the measures taken by the United Nations and its specialized agencies to eliminate all forms of racial discrimination; it had enacted a law guaranteeing all citizens equality before the law, and in accordance with General Assembly resolution 2544 (XXIV) it was preparing together with the non-governmental organizations in Kenya a programme for the observance of the International Year for Action to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination. Her delegation urged the specialized agencies, and UNESCO in particular, to continue disseminating information against racism.

38. It was regrettable that the Pretoria régime continued to violate the 1949 Geneva Conventions and the General Assembly resolutions through its inhuman treatment of the freedom fighters and other political prisoners, whose only crime had been their struggle against racism. It was also regrettable that it had intensified its *apartheid* policy by issuing the Bantu Amendment Act (No. 19) of 1970 empowering it to prohibit any African from working, in defiance of trade union rights, and the Bantu Homelands Citizenship Act (No. 26) of 1970, by virtue of which the Africans, who comprised more than 75 per cent of the population, had been confined to 13 per cent of the country's territory and deprived of their means of livelihood. According to *The New York Times* of 7 August 1970 and *The Times* of London of 8 August 1970, which cited the number of Africans imprisoned and executed in South Africa, a wicked marriage united the South African Executive and Judiciary.

39. With regard to agenda item 60, despite the measures taken by various United Nations bodies, the Organization of African Unity, the Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries and several Governments, and despite official condemnation by the specialized agencies, religious organizations and numerous individuals, the peoples of South Africa, Rhodesia, Mozambique, Angola and Guinea (Bissau) were still being denied their right to self-determination and were slaughtered when they tried to gain recognition for a principle acknowledged by international law. Her delegation expressed the hope that the great Powers would not allow private interests to triumph over justice and human dignity and that at the current session, which commemorated the twenty-fifth anniversary of the United Nations, the Third Committee might finally draw up a draft resolution which would have the widest possible support among its members.

² E/CN.4/Sub.2/307 and Corr.1 and 2, Add.1 and Corr.1, Add.2 and Corr.1, Add.3, Add.4 and Corr.1 and 2, Add.5 and Corr.1, 3 and 4 and Add.6.