



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, 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. Mrs. OGATA (Japan) said that her country had consistently opposed all forms of racial discrimination, for when it had first come into contact with the Western world some hundred years earlier, its people had suffered from discrimination of that type, involving the denial of equal rights of citizenship, education, work and ownership of property. For that reason, the Japanese Government had proposed the inclusion of the principle of racial equality in the Covenant of the League of Nations fifty years previously and, although the proposal had been rejected at that time, the principle was now firmly established. However, the implementation of that principle was no easy matter, for, apart from the obvious case of South Africa, racial discrimination was usually brought about not solely by differences in race but also by cultural, religious and political differences which led to prejudice, mistrust and even hatred.

2. Japan, having a racially homogeneous population, fortunately had no serious problems of racial discrimination. The Constitution guaranteed equal rights, regardless of race, creed or sex, for all citizens, including foreign residents. In addition, the Government, convinced that education was

the only sure way to eliminate racism and racial discrimination once and for all, was carrying out educational and information programmes with a view to the implementation of those principles in daily life.

3. Respect for human rights and racial equality was taught in schools in Japan, and in the preparation of school curricula efforts were made to ensure fair treatment of all peoples. In addition, bilateral programmes had been initiated for exchanging textbooks with many countries, an arrangement which helped to correct mistakes and avoid many injustices and prejudices. In view of the enormous impact textbooks had on the formation of young minds, it might be advisable for the United Nations or UNESCO to promote such an exchange system on a world-wide scale. Japan strongly supported the activities of UNESCO and had set up special programmes to study the cultures of other peoples by means of correspondence and by arranging exhibitions so that children learned about other peoples of the world and did not acquire harmful attitudes.

4. Consequently, her delegation was extremely pleased to find that, in his report (A/8061), the Secretary-General referred to school curricula, publications and mass media as major channels for programmes to encourage respect for human rights. She wished to emphasize that in 1971, the International Year for Action to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination, condemnation of the policies of racial discrimination in South Africa should be intensified and, at the same time, specific steps should be taken to foster tolerance and respect among all peoples.

5. Mr. HAILE SELASSIE (Ethiopia) said that racial discrimination in its various manifestations had been condemned in the strongest terms and had been declared the worst crime against humanity. Accordingly, it required no etymological or anthropological explanation. The problem was widely recognized, and, with a modicum of determination and self-discipline, it should not be difficult to solve.

6. At a time when the United Nations was celebrating its twenty-fifth anniversary, it was essential to review its activities in order to be able to evaluate its successes and failures. The Organization had achieved satisfactory results in some areas, particularly so far as decolonization was concerned. Twenty-five years ago, there had been only three independent African countries, including Ethiopia, whereas now there were more than forty independent States in the so-called "Dark Continent". Africa was "dark" no longer, except in that unfortunate part of the continent which lay under the shadow of the racist régimes in southern Africa and of Portuguese domination. Similarly, the wave of self-determination had changed the map of Asia.

7. Some advances had also been made in the sphere of disarmament, but in the social and economic field, particularly in the matter of the elimination of all forms of racial discrimination, including *apartheid*, the problem was becoming increasingly serious. The Government of Ethiopia, which had supported the adoption of the various international instruments on the elimination of all forms of racial discrimination, felt that the time had come to begin a new chapter in that struggle. The General Assembly had designated 1971 as the International Year for Action to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination. His delegation had supported General Assembly resolution 2544 (XXIV) adopting that decision and had resolved to examine the Secretary-General's proposals contained in his note (A/C.3/L.1765) with the attention they deserved. For its part, his Government had taken the necessary steps to implement those proposals effectively.

8. Unquestionably, education was useful in combating racial discrimination but it would be difficult to eliminate systems such as *apartheid* through educational campaigns alone. *Apartheid* was a chronic form of racial discrimination and the means employed to cure it must obviously go far beyond efforts in education. South Africa must be forced to abandon its false philosophy, for efforts to educate that racist régime were useless. The resolutions adopted by the General Assembly had not been translated into effective measures and, so long as that situation continued, the problem of *apartheid* would remain.

9. Although the exploitation of man by man seemed to be the rule and not the exception, the nations of the world must not debase themselves by accepting it as normal; to sell arms and ammunition which were to be used to sow the seeds of *apartheid* was to become an accomplice in the crime perpetrated against mankind by the racist régimes. The Powers which had economic, political and other ties with the racist régimes must choose between maintaining those ties and continuing to be accomplices in that crime or giving up their vested interests and helping to eradicate *apartheid* from the face of the earth. The International Year for Action to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination would produce practical results only if the Powers which directly or indirectly supported the racist régimes changed their trade and foreign policies and effectively implemented the various resolutions adopted by the General Assembly.

10. In conclusion, he praised the measures envisaged for the celebration of the International Year. The suggestions he had made were intended to strengthen the Secretary-General's proposals, since, unless the programme for the celebration of the International Year was supplemented by the implementation of the declarations, conventions and resolutions on the elimination of racism and all forms of racial discrimination, including *apartheid*, the year 1971, like the preceding years, would be only another year devoted to philosophical discussion.

11. Mr. MOUSSA (United Arab Republic) said that racial discrimination and racism, which were the most flagrant and inhuman violations of human rights, constituted a serious obstacle to the promotion of respect for fundamental freedoms, human progress and the strengthening of international peace and security. Much of the responsibility

for those wrongs was borne by colonialism, which had evolved from an economic enterprise into a political game exploiting economic, social, cultural and religious factors in order to impose foreign domination on indigenous peoples under the pretext of a civilizing mission. In that so-called process of civilization, which, as Mr. Hernán Santa Cruz had stated in his special study of racial discrimination in the political, economic, social and cultural spheres,¹ had consisted merely of transporting the national resources of the colonies to the mother countries, the superiority of the invaders or settlers had always been taken for granted. In that way, colonialism had contributed to the creation of contemporary forms of racism and racial discrimination and had used them to facilitate the exploitation of the colonial countries and peoples. Thus armed, the foreign settlers had destroyed the economic, social, religious and cultural systems of the indigenous peoples, depriving them of their inalienable rights and imposing upon them a system of segregation, as in the case of *apartheid*. The Committee on Information from Non-Self-Governing Territories had stated that discrimination existed in its most acute form in the Territories to which foreigners had immigrated and in which they had imposed themselves.

12. Although the United Nations, in carrying out its basic task of promoting justice and equality, had time and again attacked the problem of racial discrimination, the forces of racism, far from demonstrating a spirit of conciliation, persisted in their defiance of the principles of law and justice and their disregard of the appeals, resolutions and decisions of the Organization. Faced by that failure, the United Nations had to live up to its responsibilities and act against the racist régimes and their protectors, since, as President Nyerere of the United Republic of Tanzania had said, the kind of tyranny that denied all hope to men forced upon them the alternative of renouncing their full humanity or resorting to violence.

13. No one could doubt that the peoples of the African Territories, the Palestinians and the other Arabs living under foreign domination were justified in their refusal to be humiliated and their determination to affirm their humanity. Consequently, no one who genuinely believed in the equality of all human beings could fail to approve of the struggle of those peoples against oppression. The United Nations therefore had a sacred responsibility to help those victims of racism and foreign subjugation to achieve their liberation and assert their inalienable right to self-determination.

14. In the Middle East, the indigenous people of Palestine had been subjected to the most inhuman injustices in history; they had been subjugated by a new brand of colonialism, that of racist Zionism, which did not seek temporarily to usurp sovereignty over a country to exploit its natural resources, like the colonialists of earlier centuries, but which sought to destroy the national integrity of the Palestinian people. With that end in view, Israel and the Zionist movement had uprooted the population, depriving hundreds of thousands of Palestinians of their property and their right to return to their homeland, thus making

¹ Documents 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.

refugees of them. The Palestinian minority still living in areas under Israeli control was subject to a discriminatory legislation that defied the principles of human rights enshrined in the United Nations Charter and other international instruments. Those Palestinians lived in segregated ghettos created, by a strange anomaly of history, by those who yesterday had been victims of the same system. Thus the Palestinian Arabs, members of the only society which had respected the freedoms of the Jewish community throughout the centuries, were now second-class citizens in their own homeland, as was shown by the letter B on the identity cards by means of which the Israeli authorities distinguished Christian and Moslem Arabs from persons of the Jewish faith. That was the same treatment given to the indigenous population in South Africa and other African territories dominated by racist régimes.

15. South Africa and Israel refused to abide by the lofty principles of equality and justice and to respect United Nations resolutions. Both believed in the superiority of foreign settlers, practised discrimination against the indigenous population and aimed at territorial expansion, the one in Namibia and the other in the Syrian heights, the Gaza Strip, the West Bank of the Jordan and Sinai. Faced with that situation, the United Nations had no alternative but to take action to stop that process of aggression and territorial expansion, to put an end to racial discrimination and to implement the right of peoples to self-determination.

16. The Third Committee had a major responsibility with respect to the promotion of human rights and the defence of oppressed peoples. Therefore, at the twenty-fifth session of the General Assembly it should not confine itself to reaffirming previous resolutions but should lay down a vigorous programme of action in defence of the rights of peoples as a prelude to the International Year for Action to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination. In such a programme, the following considerations must be taken into account: co-ordination with the activities of the Commission on Human Rights, especially in regard to measures and decisions taken to eliminate racial discrimination; the desirability of encouraging regional intergovernmental organizations and regional human rights commissions to undertake action to eradicate discrimination in their respective regions; the importance of the programme for the celebration in 1971 of the International Year for Action to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination; and the need to bridge the gap between those who were deprived of their fundamental freedoms and those who enjoyed them by guaranteeing the former the exercise of the right of self-determination. Regarding the last point, his delegation expressed the conviction that only the application of the principle of self-determination would make it possible to give effective assistance to those peoples who were still denied the right to be considered human beings. For that reason it called for self-determination, as enshrined in the United Nations Charter, for the indigenous people of South Africa, for the people of Palestine and for all colonial countries and peoples; unless that basic right was guaranteed them, it would be impossible to free them once and for all from racism and racial discrimination.

17. Mr. BEAUGUITTE (France) said it was an appropriate time to take stock of the activities undertaken by the United Nations and such specialized agencies as UNESCO

and the ILO, and of the many debates held in the Commission on Human Rights, the Economic and Social Council and the General Assembly, in connexion with the struggle against racial discrimination. Although consideration of those factors undoubtedly led to a pessimistic assessment, it was to be hoped that the day would come when, thanks to the perseverance and faith of all men of good will, racial discrimination in all its forms would disappear, as slavery had disappeared in the past.

18. In order to combat an enemy more effectively, one needed to know him well. But many pertinent analyses of the racist phenomenon had already been made, and the studies undertaken under the auspices of UNESCO by various biologists, sociologists, historians, anthropologists and geneticists were particularly deserving of note. Such analyses of racism provided the foundations for an edifice that was being gradually built up with the guidance of the United Nations. Governments must ensure that the celebration in 1971 of the International Year to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination formed an important part of that edifice.

19. The French delegation had noted with interest the replies that had been sent by various Governments to the Secretary-General (see A/8061), as well as the information provided on the subject by the Director of the Division of Human Rights at the 1760th meeting. It particularly commended the decision by the Government of Cameroon to hold an international seminar at Yaoundé on racial discrimination, which would help to improve the lot of the African peoples, some of whom were still having to endure racial segregation and constant violations of their most fundamental human rights and dignity. His delegation similarly welcomed the other constructive initiatives that showed the importance many countries attached to the campaign against racial discrimination.

20. His country, which was proud of having solemnly proclaimed the rights of man and the citizen in 1789, intended to make a contribution to the celebration of the International Year for Action to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination. His Government was preparing a programme of activities in that connexion, which would include an international seminar, to be held at Nice from 24 August to 6 September 1971, on the dangers of a recrudescence of intolerance in all its forms and possible means of preventing and combating them. The work programme for the seminar would be prepared in such a way as to avoid duplication of the topics to be discussed at the Yaoundé seminar and to ensure the broadest possible treatment of the subject of the International Year and the different forms of racial, religious and social intolerance. Consideration would be given to the problems faced by industrialized countries receiving a large number of foreign immigrants and to the role that could be played by authorities and private organizations, such as factory committees and trade unions, in eliminating the risk of friction between aliens and local inhabitants.

21. In his introductory statement on the item in the Third Committee at the 1760th meeting, the Director of the Division of Human Rights had referred to the work of the Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination established to ensure the application of the International

Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination. The information he had provided confirmed the French delegation's opinion concerning the Committee's objectivity and the seriousness of its approach. France was following the Committee's work with considerable interest and welcomed the publication of its report (A/8027).

22. There was one problem, however, that that Committee would not be able to discuss, because its terms of reference did not entitle it to consider the situation in countries that were not parties to the Convention. That problem was *apartheid* in southern Africa. The French Government had repeatedly censured the policy of discrimination applied by the Government of South Africa in violation of the principles of the United Nations Charter. There was a far from negligible school of thought in South Africa which acted as a pressure group on the authorities. That development merited special attention and there was reason to believe that the growth of information media capable of reaching the population of South Africa could help to expand that liberal trend. The French Government was prepared to join with the other States Members of the United Nations in exploring further ways and means of combating *apartheid* in accordance with the Charter and the precepts of the Organization. It considered that the creation of the post of United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights would be most timely.

23. His Government, which had contributed to the United Nations Trust Fund for South Africa and approved of its programme, had just presented Parliament with some supplementary proposals regarding the Fund, under the Finance (Amendment) Act now in preparation. It noted with satisfaction the work done by voluntary organizations in supporting and supplementing the fruitful activities of the United Nations in that sphere.

24. The celebration of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the United Nations was a new milestone on the road to

attainment of the purposes of the Charter. Before that goal could be reached, however, all forms of racial discrimination must be completely eliminated. The scant progress that had been made, compared with what remained to be done, should prompt the United Nations to redouble its efforts to promote recognition of the worth and dignity of man and the fulfilment of his basic aspirations throughout the world. In the next few months, France would honour its tradition as a champion of freedom by adding its name to the list of States that had ratified the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination.

Organization of work

25. Mrs. GUNAWARDANA (Belgium), Rapporteur, drew attention to General Assembly resolution 2292 (XXII), on publications and documentation of the United Nations, and particularly to paragraph (f) of the annex, in which the Assembly approved the Secretary-General's recommendation that summaries of views that had already been set forth in the records should be allowed only in exceptional cases, with the approval of the organ concerned, the financial implications having been brought to its attention. In order to comply with that provision, she proposed, in drafting the reports of the Committee, to follow the same practice that had been applied during the two previous sessions. The reports of the current session would therefore follow the same pattern as the preceding ones and would be as concise as possible; the summaries of views would be drafted in general terms and individual delegations would not be mentioned by name. If it was found that the number of pages devoted to such summaries exceeded an approximate total of twenty, which would cost some \$3,000, she would bring the matter to the attention of the Committee.

The meeting rose at 4.30 p.m.