



Chairman: Mr. Carlos GIAMBRUNO  
(Uruguay).

**AGENDA ITEM 50**

**Elimination of all forms of racial discrimination**  
(continued) (A/8660-S/10528, A/8703, chap. XIV,  
sect. B; A/8718, A/8767, A/8768 and Add.1, A/8773,  
A/8779, A/8789, A/8805 and Add.1, A/C.3/629,  
A/C.3/630, A/C.3/L.1937, A/C.3/L.1939, E/CN.4/  
1093 and Add.1-7):

- (a) Reports of the Secretary-General under General Assembly resolutions 2784 (XXVI) and 2785 (XXVI);
- (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;
- (d) Draft convention on the suppression and punishment of the crime of *apartheid*

**GENERAL DEBATE (continued)**

1. Mr. BORCH (Denmark) said that the Government and people of Denmark were firmly opposed to all forms of racial discrimination, which was incompatible with the fundamental concept laid down in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights that all human beings were born free and equal in dignity and rights. Racial discrimination and racist ideologies had been used as a means of maintaining social injustice and often fostered aggressive attitudes which could constitute a threat to peaceful relations among nations. The illusion of racial superiority was based on prejudice and ignorance and it was therefore the duty of the United Nations to enlighten public opinion on racial problems and co-ordinate national efforts in that direction.

2. The principles laid down in the Charter of the United Nations and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights bore witness to the endeavours made by the Organization from the outset to promote and encourage respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms. However, the fact that the General Assembly in its resolution 2784 (XXVI) had invited the Economic and Social Council to request the Commission on Human Rights to submit suggestions for continued international action to combat racism on the basis of a "Decade for vigorous and continued mobilization against racism and racial discrimination in all its forms" showed that much remained to be done along those lines. That did not mean that important progress had not been made, as indicated by the Inter-

national Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination, which Denmark had ratified on 9 December 1971. The reservation made at that time with regard to the Faroe Islands had been withdrawn, since the Government of the Islands had adopted the legislation necessary for the implementation of the Convention.

3. *Apartheid* was unique in the sense that it was sanctioned by law and provided the foundation of a social system clearly based on a racial ideology. Experience had shown that *apartheid* necessitated a rigorous police system and led to the erosion of ideas and concepts of justice and systematic repression of educational opportunities and opportunities for individual progress. Denmark had always supported the right to self-determination of colonial peoples and promoted eradication of the system of *apartheid*, consistently maintaining that those goals should be reached by political means and not through the use of force. In line with that policy, it had for many years been rendering assistance to the victims of oppression in southern Africa. In the current fiscal year Denmark was contributing the equivalent of \$1 million for humanitarian and educational assistance to be provided through international organizations and national liberation movements. The aid channelled through liberation movements was rendered in kind and in cases where the Security Council had called for such assistance or had indicated that a case of oppression was involved. During the preceding year the majority of the population of Southern Rhodesia had rejected a proposal for a settlement which did not meet its expectations. Accordingly, it was essential to maintain the policy of sanctions and bear in mind that the solution to the problem of Rhodesia must be acceptable to the population of Southern Rhodesia as a whole.

4. In his view, the draft programme for a Decade for Action to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination prepared by the Sub-Commission on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities (A/8805, annex) provided a constructive basis for Member States to work out programmes of action at the national, regional and international levels. The programme was to be considered by the Commission on Human Rights and the Economic and Social Council and he hoped that those bodies would bear in mind that there were many forms of racism and that the problems which were most urgent in one country were not necessarily those that were most serious in others. The representative of UNESCO in her statement before the Committee (1916th meeting) had pointed to the importance of establishing co-ordination between the preparations made by the United Nations,

UNESCO and other specialized agencies for a concrete programme of action and had also underscored that the definition of racism and racial discrimination was not the same in all societies. Any measures to eliminate those evils should therefore in her view be adapted to the historical context of racism in each instance.

5. Education of children and youth in the spirit of respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms was essential in overcoming erroneous notions of racial differences. In the view of his delegation, efforts to combat racism should not result in unilateral isolation of individual countries, and in any case such measures should be adopted only by the Security Council after it had been carefully considered whether they would help to achieve the desired objectives.

6. In conclusion, he said that the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination was an essential factor in the fight against racism and that universal adherence to it would be an important element in the proposed programme for the Decade.

7. Mr. POJANI (Albania) observed that since the establishment of the United Nations, a great number of resolutions had been adopted calling for the elimination of racial discrimination and *apartheid*, prohibiting the supplying of arms to South Africa and Portugal, providing for economic sanctions against Southern Rhodesia and South Africa and recognizing the legitimacy of the liberation movements and the right of peoples to self-determination. The Security Council had reaffirmed the inalienable rights of the people of Southern Rhodesia to self-determination and national independence and had recognized the legitimacy of their struggle. Nevertheless, because of the obstructionist policy of the imperialist Powers the United Nations had been unable to take effective measures to implement its resolutions and the racist régimes in South Africa and Southern Rhodesia, ignoring the decisions of the United Nations and world public opinion, were continuing to apply their policies of colonialist and racist oppression and exploitation, of racial discrimination and *apartheid*. South Africa was still illegally occupying Namibia, and the Portuguese colonialists and the Smith and Vorster régimes, with the direct aid of the imperialist Powers, were continuing to subjugate the peoples of southern Africa. That being the case, it must be asked what value could be attached to all the resolutions and recommendations of the United Nations. The peoples of Africa and other peoples of the world had drawn their own conclusion, namely, that only through resolute armed struggle would they be able to eradicate the evils of racism, *apartheid*, racial discrimination and colonial oppression.

8. In Albania's view, the peoples who were the victims of those colonialist policies would liberate themselves from them only when they overthrew the colonial régimes and won their complete national liberation. Racial discrimination and *apartheid* were the direct result of the policies of colonialism and imperialism and the struggle against those manifestations was there-

fore part and parcel of the anti-imperialist and anti-colonialist struggle for national liberation and independence. Many countries were striving to perpetuate colonialism and its consequences. In the United States a policy of racial discrimination, segregation and exploitation of the black population was systematically pursued. The Government of that country supported the racist régimes of southern Africa and had recently adopted a number of measures to improve its contacts with them. Disregarding United Nations resolutions, the United States was supplying Portugal and South Africa with arms and military equipment and its allies in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) were providing Portugal and the Smith and Vorster régimes with large quantities of aid intended for use in repressing the liberation movement of the African peoples.

9. At the same time the Zionist aggressors, with the direct help of United States imperialism, were persisting stubbornly in their policy of aggression and, basing themselves on fascist theories of racial supremacy, were committing crimes of genocide against the people of Palestine and other Arab peoples in the occupied territories. The criminal activities of those régimes could not break the will of the peoples to win their liberation nor could they deceive public opinion. The solidarity of the African peoples and all freedom-loving peoples with the struggle of their brothers against racial discrimination and *apartheid* and for national liberation was an important factor in encouraging them; attention should be drawn in that connexion to the measures recently adopted by the Organization of African Unity to strengthen the united anti-imperialist front of the African States. The people and Government of Albania firmly supported the peoples who were fighting for their national independence and they wished to emphasize again their solidarity with the peoples of Namibia, Azania (South Africa), Zimbabwe, Angola, Mozambique and Guinea (Bissau). In accordance with that position, his delegation had voted in favour of General Assembly resolutions 2784 (XXVI) and 2785 (XXVI) and was ready to support any resolution which would serve the same aims.

10. Mrs. BARABANOVA (Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic) said that the question of the elimination of racial discrimination had long been on the agenda of the General Assembly and was becoming more urgent and timely with every passing year. Observance in 1971 of the International Year for Action to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination and the programme for the Decade for Action to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination showed that the United Nations, the specialized agencies and all persons of good will still had much to do to eradicate colonialism, racial discrimination and *apartheid*. Despite the efforts which had been made, those evils continued to exist and were even spreading to other parts of the world.

11. The Byelorussian SSR had always participated in the activities of the United Nations and other bodies aimed at combating all forms of racism and racial discrimination, for those manifestations were contrary to

the nature of the Soviet State, which had put an end to social oppression and swept away forever all manifestations of bourgeois nationalism, chauvinism, anti-semitism and zionism. In the Byelorussian SSR there was no class oppression; instead, there was unity among all the workers. The Byelorussian people had endured terrible sufferings under fascism and were well acquainted with such horrors as the racism and racial discrimination which prevailed in southern Africa. There could be no question that the slavery and oppression of the peoples of that area were the consequence of capitalism, which sought to justify itself there with racist theories in order to maintain its privileges.

12. In South Africa the white minority was oppressing and denying the most fundamental rights of four fifths of the population and it had extended the infamous system of *apartheid* to Namibia; in Southern Rhodesia the Ian Smith régime was oppressing 5 million Africans; as for the Portuguese colonialists, they were continuing to defy world public opinion in the Territories which they ruled. It was obvious that without the aid of the imperialist Powers, particularly the members of NATO, the so-called "white bastion" in Africa could not have held out against the national liberation movements. Yet the military arsenal of South Africa was growing despite the sanctions imposed by the Security Council. It need scarcely be said that the United Kingdom, the United States, the Federal Republic of Germany and Japan continued to be the main trading partners of the racists.

13. The cause of that situation was the class solidarity which linked imperialists of whatever colour: it was a question of imperialism trying to safeguard its interests. In that connexion it should be recalled that in 1971 a book had been published in London concerning racial discrimination in the United Kingdom which showed that the measures taken by the United Kingdom Government to remedy the situation of the million coloured persons living in that country had been purely formal and had not helped to eliminate racial discrimination. In the United States racism was flourishing and although a century had passed since slavery had been prohibited the 25 million blacks in the United States were still being discriminated against. The public authorities were pursuing a policy of support of racism and repression of progressive forces. Thus the attitude of the United Kingdom in deciding to export arms to Rhodesia and that of the United States in resuming imports of chrome from that Territory constituted a challenge to the world community.

14. The Zionists in Tel Aviv were also contributing to the maintenance of racism. The political, economic and military alliance between Israel and the South African racists was a matter of common knowledge. Israel, which was isolated by the condemnation of world public opinion, could aptly be compared with Pretoria. There was a moral and physical similarity between the two régimes which derived from the racist character of their policies. Nevertheless, the Israeli representative dared to slander the Soviet Union. In so doing, he was merely attempting to divert the attention of

world public opinion from the crimes being committed by Israel. He would do better to state when Israel intended to accede to the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination, or to explain whether the Israeli Government intended to support the draft convention on the suppression and punishment of the crime of *apartheid*. The representative of Israel had also neglected to mention the racial discrimination practised in that country, which was nurtured by notions of racial superiority. The prisons and concentration camps in Israel were full of Arab prisoners. However, it was not only the Arabs that were discriminated against: Israelis were divided into categories according to the criterion of racial purity. The Sephardic Jews, who constituted 70 per cent of the population, held only 15 per cent of the seats in Parliament, and even *The New York Times* had felt bound to acknowledge that there was nothing democratic in a régime based on laws which discriminated against certain persons merely because they were not Jewish. It was therefore surprising to note the Pharisaism displayed by the representative of Israel in setting himself up as a defender of the Soviet Jews. Soviet citizens of the Jewish faith rejected that so-called defence and demanded an end to all such slanders. In that connexion, she fully agreed with the representative of Egypt that the Third Committee was not the appropriate forum in which to wage propaganda campaigns.

15. It was clear, then, that those responsible for the racism practised in southern Africa were the imperialists who were assisting the racists in their struggle to suppress the national liberation movements, and that more effective measures were necessary in that field. Her delegation had studied the draft programme for a Decade for Action to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination (A/8805, annex) and fully agreed with what was stated in paragraph 2 of that text. Furthermore, it supported the entire set of proposals relating to international and national actions designed to overcome the problem of racial discrimination. In addition, it would be appropriate to strengthen the whole range of United Nations actions, particularly those aimed at bringing about the complete isolation of the racist régimes. For all those reasons, she supported draft resolution A/C.3/L.1939. In conclusion, she observed that the adoption of the draft convention on the suppression and punishment of the crime of *apartheid* submitted by Guinea and the Soviet Union (A/8768, annex I) would make an important contribution to the cause of eliminating racial discrimination and, in particular, *apartheid*.

16. Mrs. GEORGE (Trinidad and Tobago) said that, in her opinion, the Decade for Action to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination was an urgent socio-political task for Governments; she therefore supported the objectives of the draft programme. The General Assembly and other United Nations organs had asserted on various occasions that racial discrimination was a continuing threat to international peace and security, and she felt that the Decade would provide an excellent opportunity to attack racial discrimination at its roots. In that connexion, she noted that paragraph

(b) of the section of the draft programme devoted to national action suggested the inclusion in school curricula of the subject of human rights. However, before including such a course, education authorities should establish the readiness of teachers to participate in the necessary re-education of their pupils. When a society was faced with a problem of human behaviour or social relations, there was too often a tendency to believe that the solution to it lay in the schools. The important function which schools could perform depended on the adoption of much broader measures to be applied by the society as a whole. The proposed Decade would only have the desired impact if it was accompanied by the effective implementation of practical measures, such as those outlined in the programme, designed to eliminate discrimination in immigration, housing, social services and other areas. It might be appropriate for each year of the Decade to be devoted to a specific area, such as housing, employment and education, among others.

17. With regard to the programmes of activity of UNESCO and the ILO, her delegation hoped that those programmes would be fully co-ordinated with the necessary actions at the national and international level. Clearly, those actions would require a considerable amount of time, effort and money. For that reason, it was to be hoped that, once the programme was elaborated, non-governmental organizations such as co-operative societies, women's guilds, youth organizations, and the information media would be made fully aware of the contribution which they could make. It was therefore vitally important to give the widest possible publicity to the programme, and she was pleased to note that the Office of Public Information had re-oriented its work programme (see A/8805/Add.1) so as to make possible a more effective approach to the major themes of United Nations concern. For all those reasons, it was to be hoped that the Decade would help to bring about a radical change in the social, economic and political attitudes from which racial discrimination derived.

18. Lady ELLES (United Kingdom) observed that no lasting solution could be found to the problem of racism until there was a fundamental change in the minds of men. However, for pragmatic solutions to be found to some of the issues raised by racial discrimination, it was necessary for each Government to examine the situation in its own country, since, as the representative of the Congo had stated (1921st meeting), self-criticism should be the starting point. In that connexion, the United Kingdom did not attempt to conceal its own difficulties, as was proved by the book to which the representative of the Byelorussian SSR had referred. In Great Britain, public opinion was well informed and there was freedom of self-expression.

19. The United Kingdom was a society composed of many races which over the centuries had been welded together into one nation. During the preceding two decades, the immigration of peoples of diverse ethnic and religious origins had created new problems. Some of those peoples had retained their distinctive

identity to a greater degree, but all had helped to enrich the nation. In that connexion, it was appropriate to recall an observation by Alexander Solzhenitsyn, who had said that the disappearance of nationalities would impoverish the world no less than if all people were to become identical, with the same personality and the same face. At the same time, when there were distinctions, care should be taken to ensure that all were equal before the law, and for that reason the United Kingdom Government had taken specific action to put an end to and prevent discrimination. The Race Relations Act affected every aspect of the lives of the residents of Great Britain, particularly housing, employment, education and health. Nevertheless, Governments should not assume that once they had taken some kind of action they had discharged their responsibilities, since invariably new problems arose which required new solutions. For example, because certain forms of marriage, legal in the country in which they had been contracted, were not legal in Great Britain, situations could arise in which women were suffering grave financial hardship and yet were ineligible for social security. For that reason, the United Kingdom Government had in 1972 introduced the Matrimonial Proceedings (Polygamous Marriages) Act, enabling such marriages to be recognized within defined limits and financial assistance to be given in cases of need.

20. In analysing the various existing forms of discrimination, one became aware of their complexity and variety, as the representative of Ghana had rightly indicated (1915th meeting) at the beginning of the debate on the item. In some countries, discrimination was institutionalized, forming part of the legislative structure, while in others it found expression in the behaviour and attitudes of groups and individuals. While the former type of discrimination was abhorrent and intolerable, the latter, too, should be unmasked in all its magnitude in order that it might not continue to be protected by the conspiracy of silence in which it was often cloaked. Not only was it sometimes difficult to identify discrimination, but the same situation could raise different issues affecting human rights. Thus, in conjunction with cases of racial discrimination, problems affecting the rights of non-nationals could arise, and that in itself was a subject which required urgent consideration by the Economic and Social Council and the Commission on Human Rights.

21. In that connexion, she drew the Committee's attention to the expulsion of Asians from Uganda, a problem to which Sir Alec Douglas-Home, the United Kingdom Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs, had referred at the 2042nd plenary meeting of the General Assembly. Her Government had no wish to interfere in the internal affairs of Uganda, but all States Members of the United Nations had an obligation to guarantee respect for the human rights and fundamental freedoms of all in accordance with the Charter, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination. Her Government welcomed the initiatives recently taken by a number of African leaders, particularly President



Mobutu of Zaire and President Tolbert of Liberia. Thanks to their efforts, President Amin had given an assurance that the Asians still in Uganda after 8 November would be properly treated. Unfortunately, the situation with respect to the property of the expelled people was less satisfactory. They needed money to start a new life, yet on leaving the country, they were permitted to take with them only about \$122 per family and some personal possessions. The rest of their possessions would be sold and the proceeds credited to their bank accounts in Uganda. Her delegation was grateful to African leaders and to the Secretary-General for their efforts to ensure humanitarian treatment for the Uganda Asians and was also grateful to those countries which had generously offered to assist in the resettlement of some of the Asians expelled. Her Government would continue to keep the problem under close scrutiny and would raise it again if necessary.

22. Two of the causes of discrimination were prejudice and poverty. Prejudice had to be eradicated by a continual process of education aimed at removing two of its principal elements: ignorance and fear. The representative of UNESCO was to be congratulated on the constructive suggestions which she had made to the Committee in that regard (1916th meeting). Poverty was often one of the causes of hatred between peoples of different ethnic origins and different religious beliefs, and any action taken to raise standards of living constituted a positive contribution to better racial harmony. But prejudice and poverty were not the only causes of discrimination, nor were the solutions to which she had referred the only solutions. There had been a tendency to assume that discrimination would be eliminated by the universal application of certain measures and that violations occurred only because United Nations resolutions were not adhered to. That was not true. General solutions often produced no results, unless they were tailored to meet specific needs. Without national action, even the best of international declarations would remain ineffective. Nevertheless, international agreements did set standards by which Governments should be guided. In that connexion, her Government attached great importance to the work of the Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination and hoped that those Governments which had not already done so would ratify the International Convention.

23. In order to attain positive results in the struggle to eliminate racial discrimination, it would be necessary to recognize and analyse the nature and dimensions of the existing problems and then to devise programmes and measures for solving specific problems. Those programmes must be backed by the political will to succeed and should be informed by a spirit of tolerance and conciliation.

24. Mrs. MOHAMMED (Nigeria) said that anyone looking at the world situation saw the need to remember that the peoples of the United Nations were determined to reaffirm their faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person and in the equal rights of men and women and of nations large and small. She cited the principles contained in

articles 1 and 2 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and said that all the States Members of the United Nations had pledged themselves to support those principles without reservation.

25. Despite that pledge, however, 25 years had passed and the Organization still found it necessary to condemn *apartheid* and racial discrimination. It was not enough to condemn those evils; something had to be done. The Organization, in accordance with the Charter, needed to take effective measures to ensure the implementation of the relevant General Assembly and Security Council resolutions. The solution to the problem of racial discrimination lay largely in the full implementation of General Assembly resolution 2784 (XXVI) by all Member States. But the problem went much deeper and should be faced by re-educating human beings in a new respect for their fellow man. The task was essentially one of preparing a new generation of young people. In her statement to the Committee, the representative of UNESCO had made numerous practical proposals in that direction. Her reference to educational kits on racism designed to prepare future generations was especially interesting. The Nigerian delegation supported the idea of inviting the youth of the world to put forward solutions to the long-standing evil of racial discrimination. Non-governmental organizations and Member States should initiate active, mass dissemination of information on the findings of experts in fields related to racial discrimination. Racist myths must be refuted, and that meant starting in the school rooms of the world—even at the kindergarten stage—and continuing right through the secondary and higher levels of education.

26. In his report on continued international action to combat racism and racial discrimination (E/CN.4/1093), the Secretary-General had referred to the recommendation of the General Assembly as contained in section III of the annex to resolution 2784 (XXVI) for “the inculcation through education of children and youth in the spirit of human rights by the inclusion in the curricula of special and yearly programmes on the evils of racism and racial discrimination”. The various reports prepared by the Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination were also commendable, and in that connexion her delegation urged all Member States to join the 67 States already parties to the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination. Her delegation was one of the sponsors of a draft resolution relating to a convention on the suppression and punishment of the crime of *apartheid* (A/8768, annex III,B), and she commended that draft to the Members of the Committee in the hope that it would be unanimously adopted.

27. Mr. MOLAPO (Lesotho) reiterated his Government's position with regard to the problem of the elimination of racial discrimination, as defined by its Prime Minister, Chief Leabus Jonathan. On 21 March, the day dedicated by the General Assembly to the elimination of all forms of racial discrimination, the Prime Minister of Lesotho had stated that in southern Africa, which was the wealthiest and most technologically

advanced area in Africa, the evil results of the prevailing socio-political system continued to erode basic human rights and fundamental freedoms. Lesotho, which was a party to the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination, condemned that system, which was based on the assumption that one race was superior to another and stifled the natural abilities of the oppressed part of the population. Those who opposed the policy followed in southern Africa were branded as communists. However, the fact was that no one would be happy to be treated as a second-class citizen in his country of birth. People were prepared to embrace any system—including communism—which would help them to achieve equality with other human beings, regardless of the colour of their skin. Lesotho's opposition to racism dated back to long before 1910. It had been the reason why the people of Lesotho had opposed the incorporation of their territory into the Union of South Africa in 1910. Since 1966, when it had attained its independence, Lesotho had followed a policy of peaceful coexistence. However, that was by no means an indication that it had abandoned its opposition to racism and racial discrimination.

28. The people of southern Africa were thirsty for freedom, and nothing could quench that thirst except the complete attainment of freedom. The quasi-reforms instituted by Portugal in its African colonies would not divert the attention of the world from the fundamental task of striving towards the total elimination of racial discrimination in those territories. His delegation realized that the United Nations alone could not eradicate racial discrimination from its remaining bastions. It was, however, convinced that it was the duty of the Organization to set moral and legal standards for the protection of human rights and fundamental freedoms and to encourage those who were attempting to eradicate racial discrimination in all parts of the world and especially in southern Africa.

29. Mr. KANGWA (Zambia) observed that racial discrimination had been condemned as an inhuman act and that its practice implied not only the acceptance of inequality among peoples of different races but also the assumption that some races were superior and others inferior. His Government had always supported United Nations efforts to eliminate all forms of racial discrimination and had accordingly adhered to the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination and to other international instruments with the same objectives. It also supported the draft programme for a Decade for Action to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination. Discrimination between human beings undoubtedly violated the principles of the Charter of the United Nations and of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, and the General Assembly should therefore condemn it in all its forms and take effective measures to put an end to it.

30. It should be borne in mind that there existed in southern Africa minority racist régimes which subjected the black population to gross humiliations and to the most inhuman conditions of life the world had

ever known. The South African policy of *apartheid* meant the racial oppression of the 18 million members of the black, coloured and Asian communities by 3 million white settlers. The non-whites were regarded as aliens in their own country and, under the South African Group Areas Act, could be evicted from their homes and compelled to inhabit barren reserves known as "homelands". Because Africans were barred from the best jobs, they lived in conditions of such poverty that they could not send their children to school or provide them with medical attention, with the result that the children often suffered from, and even died of, malnutrition. The whites in South Africa saw *apartheid* as their only bulwark against the Africans, who would certainly out-vote the whites if they were accorded the fundamental freedoms currently denied them. But white fear of democracy, justice and racial equality could not be allowed to stand forever in the way of African political, economic and social advancement. South Africa had also exported its inhuman policy of *apartheid* to Namibia, and the United Nations should condemn that step in the strongest terms and oblige South Africa to withdraw from the Territory.

31. In Southern Rhodesia, the Land Tenure Act empowered the rebel régime to expel the black masses from the land they had occupied since time immemorial and move them to overgrazed, hopeless areas. The rebels were also introducing abominable measures of racial discrimination reminiscent of the *apartheid* system. Rhodesia's African population had responded with an overwhelming "No" to the so-called "proposals for a settlement", and there was no doubt that Great Britain had an obligation to intervene in Rhodesia to put an end to the wave of violence, intimidation and psychological warfare that had been unleashed against the African people. There was no other way to ensure observance of the International Convention. The acts of genocide being perpetrated by Portugal against the Africans of Angola, Mozambique and Guinea (Bissau) were a further violation of human rights and a blatant manifestation of the most brutal racism. The General Assembly should condemn that brutality in the most forceful terms.

32. The racial situation in southern Africa was undoubtedly grave. The Africans had already suffered too much and had resolved to fight for their land, their rights and their liberties. The United Nations had an inescapable duty to assist them in their struggle. Zambia was convinced that if all Members of the United Nations were to adopt effective measures against racism in southern Africa, the minority régimes would be forced to bow to the dictates of reason and justice and to change their racist policies. None of that could be achieved so long as the NATO countries continued to sell arms to the racist régimes. The oppressed African peoples had resolved to intensify their armed struggle against racial oppression since that was the only course that remained open to them. His delegation appealed to Member States—particularly the developed countries—which had established political, diplomatic, economic or cultural ties with the racist régimes in southern Africa to review their position within the context of the relevant United Nations

resolutions and sanctions. It was the duty of every Member State to co-operate with the United Nations in supporting and assisting the African peoples in their struggle against racism. All States should enforce the United Nations arms embargo, since the arms in question were used by the racists to terrorize not only the black race in southern Africa but also the independent African States. If those and other measures were collectively adopted by Member States, the eradication of racialism and racial discrimination in southern Africa would be in sight.

33. Mr. ALLAGANY (Saudi Arabia) began by reviewing the work of the United Nations in connexion with the elimination of racial discrimination. It had started at the time of the first session of the General Assembly, with the adoption of resolution 103 (I) of 19 November 1946, on persecution and discrimination; subsequent milestones had been the adoption of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and of the United Nations Declaration on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination and the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination, and the proclamation of 1971 as the International Year for Action to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination. The results of the International Year had been promising but much remained to be done at both the domestic and the international level if people were to become fully aware of the problem and cease to be passive bystanders. His Government, which was firmly opposed to discrimination, therefore looked forward with keen anticipation to the commencement of the Decade for Action to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination.

34. When racial discrimination—and particularly *apartheid*—was mentioned, there was an automatic tendency to think of South Africa. However, South Africa was not the only country to practise racial discrimination. In the Middle East, the policy followed by Israel was an instance of discrimination in its most insidious form. A person could automatically become a citizen of Israel if he was of the Jewish faith, no matter what part of the world he came from, while at the same time persons professing a different faith were not even allowed to return to their homes and land in Palestine. A State which, having initially made use of the United Nations to bring about its illegitimate birth, now flouted Security Council and General Assembly resolutions and prevented official missions of the United Nations from entering areas under its occupation had no right to be participating in the Organization's deliberations. The Israeli delegation made use of famous personalities in order to slander other States. Among them was Mr. René Cassin, a Zionist of the Jewish faith who had lately become an agent of Israel in France and who, when representing the latter country in the Third Committee, had consistently opposed the granting of self-determination to the former French colonies in Africa and Asia. It was easy for Zionism to organize slander campaigns, since it controlled the information media in the majority of Western countries, as was evidenced by an appeal published recently in *The New York Times*.

35. The Israeli delegation had also had a letter (A/C.3/629) circulated containing allegations regarding Soviet citizens of the Jewish faith. If the alleged telephone call from Moscow had really taken place, it was to the credit of the USSR, for had Palestinians living under Israeli occupation attempted to make such a call they would have been murdered on the pretext that they were terrorists. It was entirely the fault of the Israeli delegation that the debate on racial discrimination had assumed an acrimonious tone; his own delegation had tried to prevent that from happening, notwithstanding the fact that Israel had occupied Arab territories and adopted such measures as the blowing up of Arab homes and the deportation of Arab citizens.

36. He also felt bound to mention the campaign of racial discrimination that had been launched in the Federal Republic of Germany and in other parts of Europe against North African and other Arabs who had been living there for many years. Finally, it must not be forgotten that if life in the independent countries was to have any meaning, those countries must never lose sight of the misfortunes suffered by the victims of racial discrimination, *apartheid* and foreign occupation.

37. Mr. VARGA (Hungary) said that, notwithstanding the constant struggle waged by progressive and peace-loving forces throughout the world and the measures adopted by the United Nations, there was no end to the manifestations of racial policies which caused suffering to millions of human beings and constituted a threat to international peace and security. The responsibility for that situation rested, firstly, on the racist colonialist régimes which were defying the resolutions of the United Nations and, secondly, on those who supported the racists. It was notorious that one of the most abominable forms of racism, *apartheid*, survived only because certain Western Powers, above all the members of NATO, continued to give economic, political and military aid to the racist Governments of South Africa and Rhodesia, thus enabling them to build up their economic and military power, which was based on the oppression and economic exploitation of the African populations. In the same way, Portugal, which had the doubtful distinction of possessing the world's last colonial empire, was engaged in a full-scale war in its three African colonies against the patriots who were struggling to shake off the yoke of colonialist oppression.

38. His Government's attitude on the subject was perfectly clear. Racial discrimination was alien to the socialist system of Hungary and that principle was fully reflected in his country's Constitution and laws. His Government furnished, and would continue to furnish, material and moral support to peoples and liberation movements struggling against colonialism. In that connexion he would mention the Hungarian contribution to the United Nations Trust Fund for South Africa, and the fact that Hungary had been one of the first States to ratify the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination.

39. *Apartheid* was an extreme manifestation of racial discrimination and constituted a crime against

humanity. Really effective measures were needed to eliminate that inhuman policy. His Government therefore fully supported the draft convention on the suppression and punishment of the crime of *apartheid* submitted by Guinea and the Soviet Union (A/8768, annex I). Adoption of such a convention would represent an important advance in the struggle against racism. Naturally his Government also supported the launching of the Decade for Action to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination and endorsed the goals and objectives laid down in paragraphs 8 and 9 of the draft programme for the Decade (A/8805, annex). With regard to the activities to be undertaken at the national and international levels in the course of the Decade, he attached special importance to the measures intended to promote the widest possible publicity for the programme for the Decade, to deny all support to Governments or régimes practising racial discrimination and to introduce educational and training programmes on that topic. In that connexion his delegation noted with satisfaction that the Office of Public Information had drawn up a comprehensive draft programme of work (see A/8805/Add.1).

40. References had been made during the debate to alleged discrimination in the Soviet Union. In his view such accusations were totally unfounded and were a distortion of the facts. They were also entirely irrelevant to the item under discussion and served only to divert the Committee's attention from the real crimes of racial discrimination.

41. Mr. ZAPPA (Brazil) said that discrimination in all its forms had been condemned in numerous instruments adopted by the United Nations and that the Governments of various countries often took the initiative in adopting new laws and principles designed to combat racism. However, as the representative of Morocco had observed (1917th meeting), it was not enough to pass laws, necessary though they were; it was essential to ensure that they were respected and became a dynamic factor, a habit, a part of the consciousness of everyone. His delegation was therefore glad to note that 67 countries had ratified the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination and that the number of ratifications was steadily growing. That indicated a gradual expansion of the movement for the elimination of officially sanctioned racism. It was to be regretted that some were still stubbornly ignoring the irresistible force of the movement, opposing, in ever-growing isolation, the major trends of history, and practising the inhuman policy of classifying human beings according to the colour of their skin. The violence of *apartheid* and similar systems must be met, not by violence in return, but by peaceful solutions.

42. Brazil had always been in favour of introducing further improvements in the international legal system to condemn racial discrimination. Accordingly, it was studying with great attention the drafts presented to the General Assembly. They deserved careful examination in the light of their effectiveness and respect for the international legal order.

43. In his country, which might well serve as an example of perfect national integration and where harmonious relations between all members of society had existed long before the introduction of laws prohibiting and punishing racism, a legal system had been established which provided for the punishment of all forms of racial discrimination. The principles of equality were embodied in articles 153 and 165 of Brazil's Federal Constitution and in other legal instruments, such as Law No. 5250, of February 1967, penalizing the propagation of racial prejudice through the information media and Law No. 899, of September 1969, providing that incitement to hatred and racial discrimination was a crime against national security. At the international level, his country had always supported all efforts aimed at establishing a legal system to combat racial discrimination, having regard to the vital importance of respect for the international legal order in that sphere.

44. His delegation had read with great interest document A/8805/Add.1 concerning the activities of the Office of Public Information in connexion with the International Year for Action to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination and considered that it would be useful to organize an exhibition of relevant publications for the information of members of the Committee. He also wished to know whether the programme of the Office of Public Information for 1973 took into account the activities suggested in the draft programme for the Decade for Action to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination, which was the result of the excellent work of the Sub-Commission on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities and which would be considered by the Commission on Human Rights and the Economic and Social Council. His delegation supported the idea of a long-term plan for making the measures adopted by the United Nations in the struggle against racial discrimination more effective and was prepared to support draft resolution A/C.3/L.1939.

45. Mr. GHACHEM (Tunisia) said that the persistence of racial discrimination in some parts of the world was a violation of the moral values proclaimed by the United Nations. His country had ratified the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination and strongly supported the proposal for a Decade for Action to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination. He hoped that the Decade would be something more than a mere slogan.

46. It was deplorable that in the twentieth century, when the mass media were facilitating and strengthening relations between people and nations, some peoples were denied the most basic human rights. The situation in southern Africa and in the Territories under Portuguese domination was worsening. Racial discrimination and *apartheid* must be ended: there was today no scientific, social or economic justification for thinking that one race was superior to another. Moreover, the concept of race was so obscure that it was equivocal. Modern science showed that there was nothing to justify the belief that natural intellectual aptitude differed as between groups of human beings.



47. The problem would not be solved by adopting resolutions which would produce no results if they were not universally implemented. The United Nations must ensure that existing resolutions were respected. It must also be ascertained whether certain delegations voted in favour of certain resolutions from conviction or from political or other interests. The interests of each country should be respected, but it must be understood that national and international obligations were complementary. It was essential that measures for putting an end to racial discrimination should include information and education. Racial hatred was based on vague ideas and its strength was rooted in ignorance.

48. With regard to specific cases of racial discrimination, he said that Israel's segregationist policy concerning Palestinians and oriental and coloured Jews was a flagrant violation of the Charter of the United Nations and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. It was regrettable that Jews who had had immediate experience of the evils of racial discrimination could not behave in that way. Moreover, it was not surprising that relations between the Governments of South Africa and Israel were becoming stronger and stronger; both countries practised racial discrimination and had made of it an ideology. However, it was not enough to assign blame: effective measures must be taken, and that, unfortunately, did not depend on the Secretary-General but on the decisions of some States which placed their own economic interests above the lofty principles proclaimed by the Organization.

49. Regarding the draft convention on the suppression and punishment of the crime of *apartheid*, Tunisia considered that there were already enough conventions on racial discrimination. What was needed was to strengthen and implement existing conventions and machinery. He would not, however, be opposed to consideration of a draft convention embodying practical suggestions for new measures and attitudes to help the United Nations find an effective solution to the problem of *apartheid*.

50. Mr. BARUTI (United Republic of Tanzania) said that, for his country, true independence and freedom meant treating all human beings as equals; the people of his country could not ignore the sufferings of the people of southern Africa. The fight against all policies of racial discrimination should be a continuous one, because unless the entire world was freed from them man would not enjoy true freedom and the maintenance of peace would not be assured.

51. His country saw a clear link between colonial exploitation and racial discrimination; hence the vital importance of completely abolishing colonialism and universally recognizing and applying the right of peoples to self-determination. For example, Portugal maintained that its policy in Angola, Mozambique and Guinea (Bissau) was multiracial, but that concept had not been translated into practice. Instead, Portugal was using violence, with the help of arms from her NATO allies, to repress the liberation movements which were struggling to establish a society based on respect for human dignity.

52. South Africa, despite its claim that it was willing to live in peace with other African countries, had in fact intensified its oppressive measures against the black population, thus refusing to recognize the only possible basis for a policy of good-neighbourliness. In South Africa more people were hanged than anywhere else in the world; similarly, the prison population was the highest in the world in proportion to the population of the country, and mass arrests, demolition of houses, evictions and torture had become the South African way of life. In reality the minority white régime, which was insensible to the sufferings of other human beings, which pursued a philosophy of hate, which maintained an economic system based on slavery and which had distorted its religion to support the policy of hatred and organized violence, was an insult to mankind. That was why the people of South Africa had been obliged to fight and why his country, along with many other nations of the world, had supported their struggle.

53. South Africa was able to prosper with that racist system thanks to the support it received from abroad. While it was impossible suddenly to change the structure of trade relations, it was one thing to recognize the problem and try to change that structure and quite another to increase trade and economic relations with the racist minority for the benefit of both parties. Despite the numerous resolutions of the United Nations and the mandatory sanctions imposed, France continued to sell arms to South Africa and allowed it to manufacture, under licence, planes that were intended solely for use in repressing the non-white population. The United Kingdom also provided it with arms and its trade relations with Pretoria had been expanding. The United States maintained trade relations with South Africa, and Japan was increasing its ties in that area. That policy strengthened the forces of *apartheid* and therefore his delegation would ask all Member States, in particular the permanent members of the Security Council, to change direction and take steps which would make it possible to isolate South Africa, since only by such measures could the situation in that country be changed without the shedding of blood. It should not be forgotten that the people who were really opposed to racial discrimination knew what the truth was, as evidenced by the rejection of the "proposals for a settlement", which had been the subject of the inquiry by the Pearce Commission, by the black population of Southern Rhodesia.

54. Accordingly his delegation whole-heartedly endorsed the draft programme for the Decade for Action to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination and urged approval of draft resolution A/C.3/L.1939, of which it was a sponsor.

55. Mr. DAMMERT (Peru) said that for more than 25 years the United Nations had been engaged in systematic and continuing study of the problem of racial discrimination. Numerous efforts had been made by the Organization, its specialized agencies and a great majority of Member States to eradicate the inhuman practices of *apartheid*, racism and racial discrimination, which were largely a result of colonial domination and neo-colonialism. Racial discrimination

was usually the covert means by which a colonial Power perpetuated the economic and cultural isolation of a majority which, if it gained superiority, would be able successfully to challenge the system imposed upon it. Therefore, the struggle against discrimination was a struggle to change the prevailing socio-political conditions and the economic structures that condemned some peoples to produce in unjust conditions wealth that others consumed in unnecessary opulence. The struggle against racial discrimination should thus be understood in the context of the attainment by the peoples of the third world of an awareness of their unity and interdependence. Racial discrimination was simply the cruelest expression of the injustice which was manifested in other areas of international relations, such as the unjust relationship reflected in the terms of trade between rich and poor countries, the provision of assistance under burdensome conditions tending to accentuate the relationship of dependence, discrimination against peoples of the third world in international decisions which also affected them and the unjust international distribution of work. Those were all aspects of a single reality that the peoples of the third world should learn to recognize so that they could more effectively combat it.

56. The practices of *apartheid*, racism and racial discrimination were violations of the principles and purposes of the Charter, of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, of the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination and of other international instruments in that field. The Security Council and the General Assembly had adopted many resolutions condemning those aberrant practices and calling upon States that engaged in them to discontinue them. Events demonstrated that for colonial Powers as well as for the racist régime of South Africa, those resolutions were a dead letter.

57. From the very beginning, Peru had supported the proposal for a Decade for Action to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination. The draft programme for the Decade which had been prepared by the Sub-Commission on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities represented another effort by the international community to try to eliminate racism, racial discrimination and *apartheid*. Peru favoured the launching of that programme on 10 December 1973, to coincide with the twenty-fifth anniversary of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

58. Mrs. AL-MADFA (United Arab Emirates) said that it was paradoxical to have to discuss the question of racial discrimination in an age of technical progress and that the blame for the lack of similar progress in the field of human rights lay entirely with those States that practised that odious form of tyranny. Of those countries the first that should be cited was South Africa, which blatantly practised racial discrimination imposed by whites who considered themselves superior to the black Africans, forgetting that superiority and inferiority were questions of individual levels of intelligence. However, racial discrimination was also closely connected with the expansionist policy of Israel and was one of the ugliest manifestations of Zionist ideology and practice. Zionist leaders condemned all criticism as anti-Semitism and tried thereby to disguise their criminal acts. For many years the Arabs in Israel had been victims of oppression, discrimination and persecution. Long before the establishment of Israel the Zionist organizations had embarked on their plans for the expropriation of Arab lands and the expulsion of Arab peasants as the first step towards depriving the Arab people of Palestine of their natural rights. Ahad Haam, a Zionist leader who had visited Palestine had said that the Jews were treating the Arabs very cruelly and were depriving them of their legal rights without any reason. If a Zionist leader felt compelled to make that accusation, one could imagine how far the Zionist organizations had gone in their brutal acts against the Arabs in Palestine.

59. She expressed the view that the problem of racial discrimination could not be solved solely by resolutions; it was essential to that end that the United Nations should adopt effective measures against Governments engaging in discriminatory policies. The United Arab Emirates, the newest Member of the United Nations, intended to accede very soon to the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination. Her country was proud to state that the scourge of racial discrimination was completely unknown in its territory, both in law and in practice.

60. Mr. BADAWI (Egypt) said that the list of sponsors of draft resolution A/C.3/L.1939 now included the delegations of Argentina, Chad, the Central African Republic, Ecuador, Indonesia, Kenya, Morocco, Senegal and the Upper Volta.

*The meeting rose at 6 p.m.*