



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/C.3/L.1799-1801):

- (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, A/C.3/L.1802)

**CONSIDERATION OF DRAFT RESOLUTIONS**

1. Mr. NAMUTABO (Zambia) introduced draft resolution A/C.3/L.1800 on behalf of the sponsors, who had been joined by Burundi, Mali, Pakistan and Somalia. The question of racism and racial discrimination was of particular importance to Coloured peoples because, except in countries in which they controlled the Government and constituted an absolute majority, Coloured people were subjected to discrimination. They were therefore grateful to the United Nations, which had recognized the importance of the problem and had unequivocally condemned racial discrimination.

2. The non-aligned Afro-Asian States which were submitting the draft resolution had been guided by the work of the Third Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held at Lusaka in September 1970, and had borne various factors in mind, among them, the fact that their text was intended for the whole world, and not only Africa or Asia, and should therefore be acceptable to as many countries as possible. In addition, they had considered it important to indicate clearly those areas in which racial discrimination and *apartheid* were most preva-

lent and to state which countries were collaborating with racist régimes and which Member States had not complied with the obligations established in certain United Nations resolutions. The draft resolution also referred to the proclamation of 1971 as the International Year for Action to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination, and the Government of the United Kingdom was reminded of its responsibility with regard to Southern Rhodesia.

3. The sponsors knew that their text was far from perfect, but they hoped that it would constitute a useful basis for a draft resolution which would be acceptable to as many delegations as possible.

4. Mr. PAOLINI (France) introduced draft resolution A/C.3/L.1799, noting that Belgium and Costa Rica had added their names to the list of sponsors. The draft had been prepared with the intention of offering the Committee, on the eve of the International Year for Action to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination, a declaration likely to marshal the widest support. The text was the outcome of a collective effort and did not reflect any particular political ideology; it was not in competition with the draft resolution submitted by Zambia and other States (A/C.3/L.1800). In fact, it constituted a different approach, which had been agreed on in consultation with delegations from Africa and Asia, and which sought, for once, to avoid the Third Committee's tendency to deal with all questions from a purely political viewpoint. As had already been stated, it was not sufficient to adopt draft resolutions year after year which represented an improvement in form, but had no chance whatsoever of being fully implemented in practice. Moreover, the Third Committee should not be dealing with matters which had been allocated to the Special Political Committee or the Fourth Committee, and it did not seem right to vote on a text concerning *apartheid* which was similar to those being submitted to those other bodies. Undoubtedly, the question of racism and racial discrimination had important political implications and the text which he was introducing called for political measures which could be adopted at the national and international levels in order to eliminate those evils. However, the sponsors of the text had avoided going beyond the Committee's sphere of competence and had refrained from condemning individual Governments or demanding the adoption of political measures which were within the sovereign jurisdiction of States. Instead, the chief purpose of the draft was to define the initiatives of a humanitarian nature which could be taken by the United Nations and which, as had already happened, sometimes proved more effective than political action.

5. There was an error in the heading of draft resolution A/C.3/L.1799: the text referred not only to item 53 (a) but to the item as a whole. He hoped that all delegations would

recognize that the ideas expressed in operative paragraphs 1 and 2 were in keeping with the most important objectives of the International Year for Action to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination.

6. Mrs. SIPILÄ (Finland) introduced draft resolution A/C.3/L.1801, which was intended to focus attention on the Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination and on the first report it had submitted to the General Assembly (A/8027). While the report did not contain suggestions or recommendations which required comment, the mere fact that the Committee had begun to function, particularly on the occasion of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the United Nations, represented genuine progress, however modest, in the establishment of international implementation machinery in the field of human rights. Her delegation hoped that it would be the starting-point for the establishment of effective implementation machinery in all spheres related to human rights.

7. Mr. AKRAM (Pakistan) introduced draft resolution A/C.3/L.1802, relating to agenda item 60, on behalf of his own delegation and those of Algeria, Ceylon, Kuwait, Libya, Morocco, Peru, Saudi Arabia and Somalia. The sponsors attached major importance to self-determination as one of the fundamental human rights. In the opinion of many States Members of the United Nations, the right to self-determination, which was enshrined in Article 1 of the Charter, was the principle on which the whole present-day system of international relations was based. It had been discussed on many occasions in the Third Committee, the Commission on Human Rights and the Economic and Social Council, and, on the recommendation of the General Assembly, it had even been embodied in the two International Covenants on Human Rights. Nevertheless, although the right to self-determination had since been discussed in various bodies as an aspect of colonialism, and although it had been spelt out in detail in the Declaration on Principles of International Law concerning Friendly Relations and Co-operation among States in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations (General Assembly resolution 2625 (XXV)), the Third Committee had not yet dealt with it as a fundamental human right, and that was what draft resolution A/C.3/L.1802 was attempting to do.

8. An attempt had been made to reconcile the principle of self-determination with that of territorial integrity in operative paragraph 1, which stated that peoples recognized by international instruments as being entitled to the right of self-determination should exercise that right. The right of those peoples to seek and receive assistance in their struggle for self-determination as stated in operative paragraph 2, as well as the violation of the Charter mentioned in paragraph 4, had been recognized in the Declaration on Principles of International Law concerning Friendly Relations and Co-operation among States in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations. In connexion with paragraph 3, he pointed out that the expression of the right of self-determination had always created problems, since that right manifested itself not only in the independence of a people, but also, for example, in its integration or voluntary union with another State; the sponsors had therefore suggested a plebiscite or other democratic means to ascertain the wishes of the people. The right of self-determination of the peoples of southern Africa and

Palestine, mentioned in paragraph 5, had been recognized in countless resolutions and decisions of the General Assembly and the Security Council and, in the case of Palestine, in instruments which antedated the establishment of the United Nations; denial of that right constituted one of the most difficult problems confronting the Organization. Finally, in paragraph 6, the sponsors had wished to express the view that a study of the question by the Commission on Human Rights, which was a smaller body, might be very fruitful.

9. Miss SOLESBY (United Kingdom) said she wished to make a few comments on the problems raised in draft resolution A/C.3/L.1799. Race relations were of the utmost importance to the United Kingdom, a multiracial society which had always received people of varied ethnic and cultural backgrounds. However, in the past two decades, more than a million immigrants had entered the United Kingdom from non-European countries, and that had inevitably created problems. The United Kingdom believed that it could build a truly harmonious multiracial society. However, since that could not be done by adopting a passive, waiting policy, the Government had adopted legislation with the approval of all political parties. The Race Relations Act of 1965 had made unlawful any discrimination on the grounds of race, colour or ethnic or national origin in public places. A supplementary Act in 1968 had widened the protection against other forms of discrimination and authorized the courts to take action against offenders. However, legislation was not enough to eradicate racial prejudice; it was also necessary to remove the underlying economic and social causes. Her Government had therefore initiated a programme of urban renewal to provide housing, education and employment in poorer areas where many immigrants often lived. It had also set up a Community Relations Commission to combat racial prejudice.

10. Prejudice undoubtedly existed in one form or another in virtually every country. It was also unfortunately true that there were many revolting examples of racial discrimination and persecution, the most apparent example being *apartheid*, which her Government resolutely condemned.

11. The most effective instrument produced by the Committee to combat racial discrimination was the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination, which had come into force on 4 January 1969. Her delegation expressed the hope that those Governments which had not yet ratified the Convention would take the necessary measures to do so. She felt that the first report of the Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination (A/8027) had laid a sound foundation for the future work of the Committee, whose success would depend on the full co-operation of Governments.

12. Another contribution which the Third Committee could make in that field was to add its voice to the many others which carried the message of racial tolerance and co-operation. However, the voice of the United Nations would be listened to with greater respect if its message was reasonable and constructive and if it had the support of Member States. Her delegation therefore expressed the hope that the Third Committee would unanimously adopt draft resolution A/C.3/L.1799.

13. Mr. RYBAKOV (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) said that he would only make some preliminary comments on the four resolutions which had been submitted. They showed that the Third Committee attached great importance to some aspects of the question of racial discrimination. He had listened with great interest to the Zambian representative's remarks on draft resolution A/C.3/L.1800, which indicated that the draft constituted a good working basis for a text on item 53 which would receive general support. His delegation regarded draft resolution A/C.3/L.1800 as worthy of its support. His delegation would also study the other two draft resolutions relating to item 53 (A/C.3/L.1799 and A/C.3/L.1801), but he felt that the Third Committee should first concentrate on the Zambian representative's suggestion for agreement on a single text.

14. His delegation would also examine with great interest draft resolution A/C.3/L.1802 relating to agenda item 60.

15. Mrs. WARZAZI (Morocco) said that in 1934 R. P. Coulet, referring to the dire threats which hung over the international community at that time, had said in his book *Le catholicisme et la civilisation en péril* that it was the duty of Catholics, by all legitimate means within their power, to see that the spirit of peace and charity prevailed

in the world, and that an anguished world was justified in asking that hundreds of millions of Catholics should strive to maintain world peace. The Portuguese representative should have remembered those words when, in defending a policy which the international community regarded as a threat to peace, he had quoted many writers but had failed to make a single reference to the very humane principles of the Charter of the United Nations. The Portuguese representative's statement had abundantly proved how right Maurice Duverger had been in saying that the Church was very influential in Portugal's social and political life. However, it was a question of how much influence the Pope had on the Portuguese Church, in view of the fact that he had recently recognized, both explicitly and implicitly, those who struggled for independence in the territories under Portuguese domination.

16. Convinced of the legitimacy of the struggle of the peoples of South Africa, Namibia, Southern Rhodesia and the territories under Portuguese colonial domination, her delegation would support draft resolutions A/C.3/L.1800 and A/C.3/L.1802.

*The meeting rose at 5 p.m.*