

SUMMARY RECORD OF THE NINTH MEETING

held on Saturday, 27 April 1968, at 4:30 p.m.

President:

H.I.H. Princess Ashraf PAHLAVI

Iran

REVIEW OF PROGRESS ACHIEVED AND IDENTIFICATION OF MAJOR OBSTACLES ENCOUNTERED, AT THE INTERNATIONAL, REGIONAL AND NATIONAL LEVELS, IN THE FIELD OF HUMAN RIGHTS SINCE THE ADOPTION AND PROCLAMATION OF THE UNIVERSAL DECLARATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS IN 1948, PARTICULARLY IN THE PROGRAMMES UNDERTAKEN BY THE UNITED NATIONS AND SPECIALIZED AGENCIES (item 9 of the provisional agenda) (A/CONF.32/4, A/CONF.32/5 and Add.1, A/CONF.32/7 and Add.1 and 2, A/CONF.32/8 and 10, A/CONF.32/12, A/CONF.32/13 and Corr.1, A/CONF.32/16, A/CONF.32/L.9-L.11) (continued)

General debate (continued)

Mr. ROBERTS (United Kingdom) said he was happy that the Conference was being held in a country with such a historical awareness and under the chairmanship of a personage in whom the nobility of ancient tradition was united so finely with an ardent devotion to the well-being of her fellow women. He thanked his colleagues for his election as a Vice-President and expressed particular pleasure at the election of the representative of Jamaica as another Vice-President, for Jamaica had played a great part in the activity of the United Nations in furtherance of human rights.

If one drew up a balance sheet of that activity, he noted on the negative side that, surprisingly and regrettably, world opinion appeared to have lost its original interest in United Nations human rights activity. Conceived in the aftermath of the Second World War, which had provided cruel evidence of the relationship between personal liberties and the cause of peace, the United Nations Charter had given pride of place to the promotion of human rights, second only to the preservation of peace. As the representative of France had so eloquently said, the two aims were intimately linked. Governments which did not respect the wishes of the people had suppressed the free expression of opinion and all other liberties had been shown by history to be the worst threat to world peace. The campaign for civic and political rights was therefore vital. An influence had to be brought to bear on the relationship between Governments and their citizens. That was the key area and if there had not been progress there then there had not been much progress at all.

But freedom was indivisible, and civic and political rights were inseparable from economic and social rights. If a man was hungry he was not free, and the freedom of his neighbour was precarious. Consequently, in his opening address, H.I.M. The Shahinshah had placed the need for economic and social progress in the forefront of the responsibilities of the Conference.

While economic and social progress had been almost unbearably slow, the pace of change in other fields had been very rapid. Technological progress brought benefits but also problems of its own. Pervading all those changes was the developing struggle for racial equality and racial harmony. United Nations human rights activity had not always been geared to those realities.

The defects in United Nations bodies and in their procedures were the last of the debit items. It was doubtful, for example, whether the Third Committee of the General Assembly was a suitable body to engage in detailed drafting work. As had been said by the representative of the Netherlands, it was far from certain that the Economic and Social Council was capable of giving human rights the attention they deserved. It was imperative that the backlog of items on the agenda of the Commission on Human Rights should be cleared. The Conference should assess the efficiency of the various bodies with a view to streamlining their machinery.

On the credit side of the balance sheet, was the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the raison d'être of the International Year for Human Rights and of the Conference itself. Its implementation was the principal concern of the Conference. Forty-eight out of fifty-six States had voted for it in 1948. In 1949, it had provided the inspiration for the Charter of Bogotá, the first example of the great Latin American interest in human rights. That had been followed by reaffirmation of its principles in the Joint Communiqué of the 1955 Bandung Conference and the Charter of the Organization of African Unity in 1963. The constitutions and laws of numerous States were powerfully influenced by the principles of the Universal Declaration.

Important codification work had taken place in those twenty years and had produced a body of instruments. The outstanding ones were surely the International Covenants on Human Rights adopted unanimously in 1966 which opened up the prospect of a reasonably effective universal system for the protection of human rights.

The International Year for Human Rights was itself a positive factor that had done much to arouse public interest. In the United Kingdom over a hundred local committees had been formed under the auspices of the National Committee, which had received £10,000 in support from Government funds. Activities included public meetings, film shows, and the construction of temporary housing for the homeless. There was special interest in the rights and status of women and enthusiasm for all theoretical and practical problems involving human rights.

The fourth item on the credit side was the practical experience acquired by some States since 1948, and it was important that the experience should be used to solve such problems as that of race relations.

As to the future programme of work, he said that above all it was necessary to recapture the idealism which had fired the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. What had to be found were practical methods of enlisting public support and particularly the younger generation and its sound spirit of criticism and protest.

First priority should be accorded to the promotion of personal freedom. Six of the ten points in the programme of action proposed by the representative of Afghanistan bore directly on that goal. Freedom being indivisible, the whole range of rights enumerated in the Universal Declaration had to be promoted universally, since it would be inequitable to treat some principles or areas as being more important than others.

On the subject of racial discrimination, he said that racism as an official government policy deserved special attention. The detestable policy of apartheid laid down the principle that black and white should live separately, but that only white people were entitled to decide on the fundamental issue. It was the duty of the Conference to deal with such policies.

Even in the case of societies based on a goal of racial equality, however, problems existed and they required separate treatment in the United Nations. Many honest people were still troubled by doubts about the form that a multi-racial society should take if human rights were to be guaranteed. No country had yet found the right formula. The recent murder of Martin Luther King and the wave of violence that it set in motion were a reminder of the dangers of treating the problem of racial tensions lightly. There was no doubt that those dangers menaced peace, stability and prosperity in many areas. As the Secretary-General had stated, racial conflict might grow into a destructive monster compared to which the religious or ideological conflicts of the past and present would seem like small family quarrels. It was vital to confront the danger with an alliance of all that was capable of defeating it. The British Parliament, for example, now had before it a Bill intended to put an end to discriminatory practices, particularly in the field of housing and employment, and in combination with the Race Relations Act, 1965, it would provide a sound legislative framework. The United Kingdom therefore had some experience which it was ready to make available to other

States. In turn, it would be glad to have the benefit of experience in other States. It was most desirable that such an exchange should be organized and it should be a principal task of the Conference to devise a United Nations programme to facilitate such exchanges.

In the future programme the implementation of the right of self-determination should find its place. The British Government and the Labour Movement - to which he belonged - attached great importance to the final disappearance of colonialism.

The implementation of economic and social rights was as important a step in the promotion of personal freedom as was the respect of civic and political rights.

He supported the spirit if not all the details of the proposal by the Attorney-General of Nigeria for the establishment of dynamic machinery for the implementation of the rights and freedoms that had been so carefully defined. The representative of Denmark had been right to stress the importance of regional efforts which should be based on the standards contained in the Universal Declaration and the Human Rights Covenants.

The United Kingdom had supported and would continue to support the human rights work of the United Nations. On its own behalf and on behalf of most of its overseas territories, it was already party to fourteen of the twenty-one principal international instruments. It had now decided to sign the International Covenant on Economic Social and Cultural Rights and the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights. With the introduction of its new Race Relations Bill the United Kingdom now would give activity study to the possibility of ratifying the Convention on Racial Discrimination which it had already signed. The United Kingdom was about to accede to the Protocol relating to the Status of Refugees. It was party to the European Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms. Together with most of its overseas territories, it had accepted the compulsory jurisdiction of the European Court of Human Rights and recognized the rights of individuals to petition against violation of rights under the Convention.

It also supported the Advisory Services Programme. As a demonstration of that support it would welcome participants from twenty-six countries to London in June for an International Seminar on Freedom of Association. That was a field in which it was expected to break new ground. While the ILO had done solid work on the trade union aspects, there were several others that had not yet been studied in detail by the United Nations. It would therefore be valuable to have an exchange of views.

In conclusion, he said that the United Kingdom would support all practical efforts to combat violations of human rights and it was in favour of the proposal for the appointment of a High Commissioner for Human Rights.

Mr. CASELY-HAYFORD (Ghana) associated his delegation with the tribute paid to the memory of Martin Luther King, apostle of peace and victim of violence. It was a sad thing to say, but it was only his death, occurring just after the celebration of the United Nations International Day for the Elimination of Racial Discrimination and just before the opening of the Teheran Conference, which had brought home to public opinion the realization of the legitimate rights of mankind.

The twentieth anniversary of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights was a historic date and a milestone. The time had come to take stock of the progress achieved during the twenty years that the United Nations, the specialized agencies, the Member States and the regional organizations had been engaged in putting the principles of the Declaration into effect.

The status of women had definitely improved owing to the activities of the Commission on the Status of Women, which had in particular drawn up the Declaration on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women, adopted by the General Assembly on 7 November 1967, and owing to the seminars organized under the Advisory Services Programme in the field of human rights.

As far as racial discrimination was concerned, the principles serving as the basis of the major international treaties already signed were admirable, but it still remained for the Member States to ratify those instruments and to apply the principles involved.

Ghana was in fact doing so. It had become party to most of the Conventions. It was applying the economic and diplomatic sanctions voted against South Africa. It was contributing to the trust fund for the freedom fighters of South Africa as a means of helping to stamp out apartheid and the violation of human rights.

The campaign against apartheid - the system which denied to millions of individuals the exercise of their most elementary rights - was making little progress: the victims of racial discrimination were excluded from political life and hence debarred from economic and social emancipation. The South African and Rhodesian régimes continued, in defiance of the resolutions adopted by the United Nations, to carry out arbitrary arrests and sentences. The recent executions at Salisbury were reminiscent of the sinister massacre of Sharpeville in 1960, when African nationalists had demonstrated

peacefully against apartheid. In refusing to admit the United Nations Committee on South West Africa to that territory in order to establish United Nations authority which had been recognized by the International Court of Justice, the South African Government displayed its intention, in defiance of world opinion, of persisting in its policy of racial oppression in the very year of the twentieth anniversary of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. The economic sanctions imposed on South Africa and Rhodesia by the United Nations had failed because various States which traded with those two countries had refused to apply them.

Furthermore, Portugal continued to pursue colonialist policies and to deny to the peoples of Angola, Mozambique and Portuguese Guinea the liberty of expression and movement and even the fundamental right to self-determination.

The continued existence of racial discrimination, apartheid and colonialism threatened international peace and security. An explosion of racial violence in countries like South Africa, South West Africa, Rhodesia and the so-called Portuguese territories was liable, in view of their geographical situation, to set off an uncontrollable chain reaction. Every means should therefore be employed to put an end to the activities of those who systematically flouted the rights of their fellow men and to aid those who would, sooner or later, by force if necessary, conquer their legitimate and inalienable rights.

The Conference should seek practical results. It was concerned not so much with defining human rights or taking stock of the achievements to date as with devising machinery for eradicating flagrant violations of human rights which threatened world peace, in particular violations in the form of racial discrimination.

It was time to put an end to the hypocritical practices of certain States which subscribed to United Nations resolutions only to violate them subsequently and which, not content to maintain trade links with South Africa, were supplying that country with arms. Under its Charter, the United Nations was empowered to use force to secure the implementation of its decisions. If, within a year or two, the situation showed no appreciable improvement, such a solution should be seriously contemplated.

Mr. CHALMERS (Haiti), speaking on behalf of the President of Haiti, wished the Conference success in its deliberations. He said that the Republic of Haiti was the only country to have emerged from slavery to the full and complete exercise of a dearly

bought independence. He recounted his country's history from the proclamation of independence, on 1 January 1804, up to modern times and described the gradual evolution of the essential human rights throughout that period, a process which had culminated in the François Duvalier Labour Code, the François Duvalier Land Code and the establishment of numerous social institutions, achievements consolidated and guaranteed by the 1964 Constitution. Articles 5, 6, 7 and 8 of chapter I of the Constitution related to the right to life and liberty, to the full and complete exercise of civic and political rights, to education and to all social and economic rights. He cited articles 17, 18, 19, 20 and 21 of the Constitution, which referred to liberty of the individual, to security in general and to the guarantees of fair trial, articles 26 and 31, dealing with the freedom of expression and assembly, articles 32 and 36, concerning the right of association and asylum, and articles 23, 24 and 25 relating to economic and social rights. He pointed out, however, that the exercise of those rights was not unlimited, being subject to restrictions for reasons of national or public security or the safeguard of morality and health.

The François Duvalier Code represented, according to the experts, a veritable monument of labour legislation, establishing a harmonious balance between employers and labour unions. The Code covered contracts, working conditions and conflicts of interest, social organizations, and so forth. He quoted extracts from the law putting the Code into effect.

After his survey of Haitian legislation on human rights, he said that Haiti was in the vanguard of progress in the field of labour and the defence of union rights, contrary to the claims of his Government's enemies. The Declaration of Human Rights had never been contradicted by any Member State since its proclamation. There was, however invariably a certain gap between the formulation of principles and their application. That was why the Conference had met to attempt to remedy the evils which remained.

In response to the criticisms levelled at the Haitian Government, he pointed to the statements against apartheid and all forms of discrimination which the President of Haiti, an unchallenged leader of the negro world, had made at the United Nations. Despite Haiti's solidarity with the Organization of American States, he wished to protest against the defamatory attacks directed at his country in the report submitted by that Organization (A/CONF.32/L.10) to which his delegation was circulating a reply. The Government of President Duvalier had been elected by the universal and free suffrage of

the citizens. The revolution of 1946, consolidated by that of 1956, had aroused the awareness of people in all walks of life by proclaiming the right of each citizen to dignity, sweeping away the age-old myths of class superiority. It was based on the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, of which he quoted certain extracts.

Referring to General Assembly resolution 2081 (XX) which had designated 1968 as International Year for Human Rights, he submitted his Government's proposals for an action programme under agenda item 11.

With reference to paragraphs (e), (f) and (g) of item 11, the Haitian Government proposed:

(a) the study and adoption of measures aimed at detaching from the Economic and Social Council the Commission on Human Rights, which would become an organ of the United Nations, with its own statute and regulations (Council on Human Rights);

(b) the organization, at the international and national levels, of bodies having virtual jurisdiction in the field of human rights (International Court for Human Rights and corresponding national courts);

(c) the elimination or the supervision of the activities of individuals whose anonymity was evidence of bias and partiality; that would be effected by means of observers representing the Council on Human Rights in Member States;

(d) the strict subordination of the activities of regional bodies to those of international bodies;

(e) intensified efforts to instruct young persons and the public in human rights questions.

With regard to agenda item 11 (a), relating to the elimination of all forms of racial discrimination, the President of Haiti proposed that the United Nations:

(a) endeavour to secure the ratification by all the Member States of the Conventions for the prevention of discrimination;

(b) prevail upon the permanent members of the Security Council and the nations trading with South Africa to change their policies;

(c) endeavour to inculcate in the rising generations disapproval of the practices of racial discrimination;

(d) endeavour to promote measures designed to inform the public as widely as possible of the effects of discrimination;

(e) give moral and material support to the victims of racial discrimination and apartheid;

(f) endeavour to secure the repeal of all legislation likely to encourage apartheid.

With regard to agenda item 11 (c) and (d) relating to the question of slavery and women's rights, the Haitian Government took the view that the United Nations should organize seminars, carry out on-the-spot inquiries and adopt a policy calculated to eliminate practices such as slavery and forced labour, supervise the implementation of the Conventions already adopted in the field of women's rights and disseminate more widely the General Assembly's Declaration of 7 November 1967 on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women.

Under item 11 (b) regarding the universal realization of the right of peoples to self-determination and the speedy granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples, the Haitian Government proposed that the measures adopted by the General Assembly with regard to the colonial régimes still in existence should be strengthened by:

(a) the presence of a United Nations Commissioner in the territories of colonial countries;

(b) increasing participation of the indigenous populations in the administration of those countries;

(c) implementation of the recommendations mentioned under item 11 (a), concerning the elimination of all forms of racial discrimination.

Referring to the recent assassination of Martin Luther King, the outbreaks of violence and hatred which were a daily occurrence in various parts of the world, discrimination against and persecution of minority groups and the fate of the poor peoples, who were victims of international competition which benefited the prosperous countries, he stated that in spite of such a gloomy picture, men of goodwill were continuing to struggle for human progress and the betterment of the lot of the underprivileged.

Mr. WAMBURA (United Republic of Tanzania) said that at the very time of a meeting to mark the twentieth anniversary of the proclamation of human rights, millions of human beings were suffering injustice and violation of their fundamental rights. Among the hardest hit were the 5 million refugees whose plight had been described by the High Commissioner and whom the Conference would consider before closing.

The Tanzanian delegation earnestly besought all delegations present to endeavour to find out why so many resolutions and principles of the United Nations had remained a dead letter in the area of human rights and also in other areas. The Conference should redefine the meaning of the term "human rights"; its members should look the truth in the face and act in conformity with the ideals of justice and the principles which they professed. In particular, he said, there was no ideological, religious or other reason for the continued non-representation of mainland China at the United Nations. He urged the Conference to recommend that the General Assembly at its next session should revise its previous attitude to the admission of mainland China.

The Universal Declaration of Human Rights had been the first step taken internationally to relieve human suffering. Mindful of its immense importance, Tanzania had drawn on the Declaration for inspiration in drafting its own Constitution, especially its preamble. Yet, despite the Declaration, situations still occurred all the world over - particularly in South Africa and Southern Rhodesia and in the Portuguese territories - which were a blot on humanity. Those situations would not be remedied by adopting resolutions that would not be implemented. What was needed was that the States Members of the United Nations should agree to put into practice the principles which they professed. Without such a change in attitude, it would be idle to convene further conferences in the future. It was for the participants to convince their governments of the need to see realities in a new light.

As for the creation of a post of High Commissioner for Human Rights, he said that machinery was already in existence in the United Nations framework which was not being used to the full. Positive results could not be expected to flow automatically from the mere creation of a new body, which would moreover add to the expenses of the United Nations. His delegation accordingly saw little point in establishing such a post for the time being.

Mankind depended largely for its survival on the nations which were in a position to put an end to injustice in the field of human rights. He urged them to take action to that end.

Mr. STEELE (Canada) said that the whole world had been saddened by the tragic and violent death of the Reverend Martin Luther King, whose life and example stood as an inspiration for all who were concerned with mankind's struggle for dignity and freedom.

His delegation was convinced that all participants in the Conference could contribute to its work by pooling their experience in the field of human rights. Canada had taken the opportunity offered by the International Year for Human Rights to take stock of progress in that area, to re-examine its goals and to renew its endeavours. Since 1948, the Federal Government and the Governments of nine of the Provinces had enacted legislation prohibiting discrimination based on race, colour, creed or national origin in living practices, conditions of employment, trade union membership and public accommodation. Laws alone, however, were not adequate for the effective elimination of discriminatory practices. He described action taken in his country to make good that inadequacy, among them the establishment in three Canadian Provinces of Human Rights Commissions, the concentration of a good part of the country's resources on extending and improving the social security and education systems, the appointment by two Provinces in 1967 of Ombudsmen to protect individuals from possible abuse of administrative authority, and the enactment in 1960 of a Bill of Rights which had had a significant psychological and moral impact. At the Federal level, a Royal Commission had submitted recommendations on bilingualism and biculturalism; another Royal Commission was expected to make recommendations on women's rights; and at the provincial level, the Royal Commission of Inquiry into Civil Rights had made suggestions which were of considerable importance to human rights.

At the national level, Canada had made every effort to respond fittingly to the United Nations call to observe the International Year for Human Rights: the Federal Government had, for example, encouraged the formation of an independent non-governmental association to co-ordinate the country's International Year activities, the outcome of which had been the establishment of a Canadian Commission for the International Year for which the Canadian Government had made a grant of \$100,000. In each region in Canada the activities for the Year were being co-ordinated by autonomous provincial committees. He gave some particulars of the projects and activities sponsored by the committees and undertaken by schools; universities and voluntary associations. In one Province the efforts of the regional International Year Committee had encouraged consideration by the provincial Cabinet of a proposal to establish an official human rights commission.

In addition, at a gathering held in Montreal, in March 1968, leaders in the human rights field had produced a number of recommendations which his delegation hoped would be considered by the Teheran Conference. The Canadian Commission had formally initiated the International Year by organizing a conference of governmental and non-governmental agencies in December 1967. Since then, it had distributed a periodic newsletter throughout the country and had plans for a conference at the end of the Year which would receive reports from every part of the country on what had been accomplished, what difficulties had been encountered and what needed to be done to ensure the continuing involvement of Canadian citizens in human rights activities after 1968.

Turning to the various conventions adopted under the auspices of the United Nations he said that Canada had been considering the International Covenants and the optional Protocol to the Covenant on Civil and Political Rights with a view to becoming a party thereto at the earliest possible date. A substantial number of the provisions of the Covenants fell within provincial jurisdiction, and consultations were in progress with provincial governments on the matter. The possibility that Canada might accede to the Convention on the Status of Refugees and to the Convention relating to Refugee Seamen before the end of International Year was under active consideration; as required by its constitution, his Government was in the process of consulting the Provinces concerning the ratification of the Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Racial Discrimination which it had signed.

There was a collective obligation upon all countries to seek new ways and means of protecting human rights at the universal and regional as well as at the national level. To achieve that, the role of the United Nations in the human rights area needed strengthening. The Conference might usefully consider examining afresh the relationship between the Universal Declaration, the two international Covenants, the various regional instruments and the many declarations in existence with a view to reconciling their provisions and co-ordinating methods of implementation with the object of guiding member countries and the Organization itself towards common goals.

The time had probably come for a re-examination of the procedures set forth in Economic and Social Council resolution 728 F (XXVIII), regarding communications on

human rights. That resolution, which prohibited the Commission on Human Rights from taking significant action in regard to any complaint concerning human rights, appeared to be somewhat out of date and to call for re-examination in the light of developments since 1959. The same was true of the provision of information by States on progress achieved in the field of human rights.

Governments should be invited to provide meaningful information, and information of general interest should be widely disseminated. Likewise the United Nations bodies responsible for examining reports should be given the power and the technical facilities to draw appropriate conclusions from those reports.

Greater efforts should be made to compare the success of various international organizations, such as the ILO, the regional human rights commissions, the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees and the International Red Cross, with a view to assessing the usefulness of certain of their procedures for the protection of human rights. Consideration might well be given to the establishment of a United Nations co-ordinating office with a mandate to investigate those methods.

The proposal for establishing a post of High Commissioner for Human Rights deserved widespread support. The High Commissioner would have certain positive functions to fulfil but he would have no authority to interfere without invitation in the internal affairs of Member States, thus holding a balance between the mounting interest of the international community in human rights on the one hand, and the need scrupulously to respect national sovereignty on the other. The High Commissioner would also accelerate the United Nations programme in the field of human rights.

Further consideration should be given to the right of petition; for that purpose it might be instructive to study the practices of the ILO, of the Trusteeship Council and of the Special Committees on apartheid and colonialism as well as the experiences of the European and Inter-American Commissions on Human Rights. His delegation favoured discussion of that concept by the Conference.

Governments should be encouraged to give priority to the development of a comprehensive legal aid system for the more effective protection of human rights and fundamental freedoms. His delegation hoped to introduce a draft resolution on that subject at a later stage.

His Government hoped that the Conference and the programmes which would emerge from it would produce the greatest possible impact on the public at large. In that regard, the fullest use should be made of the United Nations potential in the educational field, and efforts should be made to enlist the co-operation of non-governmental organizations, artistic groups and all institutions and societies in a position to develop programmes of study on human rights.

All the resources of the academic community should be utilized and a publicity drive should be mounted through the press, radio and television so as to build up a body of informed opinion throughout the world.

A great deal remained to be done and the experience of other countries could be of very great benefit. Canada was ready to work together with all delegations to achieve positive solutions to the urgent problems of the day in the human rights field.

Mr. YAZID (Algeria) thanked the delegations which had expressed their sympathy to the Algerian delegation after the heinous attempt on the life of the Head of the Algerian Government.

He wished, without passion or hatred, to make a sincere and positive contribution - which would not offend any man of goodwill - to the work of the Conference. In 1948, the United Nations had adopted the Declaration of Human Rights in special circumstances. Many countries which had since become independent had then been absent, and it was natural that the region to which those countries belonged should seize the occasion to express its human rights philosophy and to say that it was not always satisfied with the progress made or with the manner in which it had been brought about.

The Declaration of Human Rights had been a help and an inspiration to those who were coming of age at the time of its adoption, but it was not the sole cause of the progress made, especially the liberation of the African peoples. Events since 1948 had shown that man had progressed only through struggle. Men of goodwill had drafted the principles of the Declaration, but others had striven for the triumph of those principles, sometimes by shedding their blood. The discussion could not be academic. The most important factor was the challenge to human rights. Whenever one people wished to dominate another, one religion to eradicate another, or one class to subjugate another, those rights were negated. The proclamation of human rights could not be separated from man's struggle to win respect for principles. In actual fact, rights were not granted; they had to be won.

The Conference was meeting at a time when men were being denied their rights and when international assemblies had failed to create the proper stimulus for bringing about the necessary progress. Economic and social rights were natural rights, but they were threatened and infringed by force and violence. That was why individuals and peoples often had also to resort to violence to obtain respect for those rights.

The Conference must not give vent to hatred, but realities must be taken into account. It was impossible to talk about human rights without speaking of apartheid and referring to the Portuguese territories, Zimbabwe, Cuba, which was defending its right to exist and to achieve a better society, or Viet-Nam, where a people had risen up in the South to choose the government it desired. Nor was it possible to ignore the Palestine question, which the Conference would have occasion to discuss if it was included in the agenda.

The Algerian delegation would be pleased if the Teheran Conference adopted a declaration taking account of developments in the past twenty years. Small States might then take heart and participate more willingly in United Nations work in the human rights field.

There would always be men capable of sacrificing themselves for their convictions. Martin Luther King had fallen victim to the same reactionary forces as those which had killed Gandhi, Lumumba and Guevara. However, convictions must be affirmed and propagated. He recalled the realistic counsel he had received at the beginning of his career: "Speeches can change convictions, but they have never altered a vote"; today, he was asking of the Conference nothing other than its conviction.

ORGANIZATION OF WORK

ADOPTION OF THE AGENDA (item 8 of the provisional agenda)

The PRESIDENT invited the Conference to consider the first report of the General Committee (A/CONF.32/20) chapter by chapter.

Chapter I. Organization of the Conference

Chapter I was adopted without comment.

Chapter II. Adoption of the agenda

Mr. KANYEIHAMBA (Uganda) said he could not agree to the amendment to item 11 (c) suggested by the General Committee in paragraph 7 of its report. He proposed that the original text should be retained.

The PRESIDENT put the proposal of the representative of Uganda to the vote. The proposal was adopted by 28 votes to 17, with 13 abstentions.

Mr. AWAD MOHAMED (United Arab Republic), explaining his vote, pointed out that he had proposed the amendment in the General Committee because, since apartheid was worse than any slavery and could entail sanctions, the two matters deserved separate treatment. However, owing to the objections raised by the representative of Uganda, he had himself also voted for the retention of the original text.

Chapter II, as amended, was adopted.

Chapter III. Allocation of agenda items

Chapter III was adopted without comment.

The meeting rose at 6.45 p.m.