

SUMMARY RECORD OF THE ELEVENTH MEETING  
held on Monday, 29 April 1968, at 10.55 a.m.

President:

Mr. BOWEN

Australia

In the absence of the President, Mr. Bowen (Australia), Vice-President took the Chair.

REVIEW OF THE 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 THE SPECIALIZED AGENCIES (agenda item 9) (A/CONF.32/4, A/CONF.32/5 and Add.1, A/CONF.32/7 and Add.1 and 2, A/CONF.32/8-10, A/CONF.32/12, A/CONF.32/13 and Corr.1, A/CONF.32/16, A/CONF.32/L.2-L.11) (continued)

EVALUATION OF THE EFFECTIVENESS OF METHODS AND TECHNIQUES EMPLOYED IN THE FIELD OF HUMAN RIGHTS AT THE INTERNATIONAL AND REGIONAL LEVELS (agenda item 10) (A/CONF.32/6 and Add.1) (continued)

- (a) INTERNATIONAL INSTRUMENTS: CONVENTIONS, DECLARATIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS;
- (b) IMPLEMENTATION MACHINERY AND PROCEDURES;
- (c) EDUCATIONAL MEASURES;
- (d) ORGANIZATIONAL AND INSTITUTIONAL ARRANGEMENTS

General debate (continued)

Dr. TABA (World Health Organization) said that for the World Health Organization (WHO) one of the most encouraging developments in recent times had been the increasing interest shown by Governments throughout the world in the well-being of their citizens. Article 12 of the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights recognized "the right of everyone to the enjoyment of the highest attainable standard of physical and mental health", and indicated the steps which should be taken to achieve the full realization of that right. Article 25 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights proclaimed the right to a standard of life adequate for health and the right to medical care, and since its inception WHO had devoted all its efforts and available resources to the realization of the right to health in the sense of physical, mental and social well-being. It had consistently striven to deepen the search for agreement on health requirements and to ensure that the right to health should be exercised in the light of contemporary technical and scientific progress. It was assisting Governments to co-ordinate and upgrade their existing services and to extend coverage and improve quality in an orderly manner as resources became available. Maternal and child health, nutrition, nursing, health education and environmental health activities and programmes, and programmes to combat specific diseases, were playing an important role in preparing the way for the establishment of basic health services.

In pursuing their specific aims, member States had introduced modern health measures in areas which until then had known nothing of modern medicine. They had carried out training programmes for various categories of workers to operate and expand the basic health services. The good work done by the Health Corps in Iran was an excellent example of what was being done.

WHO recognized in the provision of that assistance the desire of all people for health facilities within easy reach of their home or place of work, and the need of all health authorities for local machinery through which they could implement national health programmes and from which they could receive information about local health conditions. The growing concern of Governments, the rising expectations of the population and the techniques available to public health authorities now provided the necessary conditions for planning the orderly development of basic health services once the required manpower and funds were available.

The two inter related objectives of economic and social progress were the concern of the entire modern world, and health was assuming a steadily growing importance in the evolution of a strategy for growth. That was natural, since investment in health improved the quality of human resources. one of the three major sources of economic growth.

The right to health raised complex problems which called for a variety of diversified but co-ordinated solutions within a global policy. Techniques for the physical and mental protection of individuals required constant adaptation, with due regard to the rapid progress of scientific research and the consequences of the social changes which were taking place more and more rapidly in all countries. While there was a need to increase and diversify the infrastructure of health care services, techniques and institutions should be established which provided equal opportunities to the inhabitants of urban and rural areas to obtain preventive and curative health services of uniform quality.

Mrs. RUSSEL (Sweden) considered the praise which previous speakers had bestowed on the Universal Declaration well warranted. The Declaration had served both as an inspiration and as the starting point for urgent tasks to be carried out by the international community.

The documentation before the Conference provided evidence of the wealth of international legislation which had come into being since the adoption of the Universal Declaration, on the initiative either of the United Nations itself or of the specialized agencies. Among the major instruments, her delegation regarded the Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, the Covenant on Civil and Political Rights and its Optional Protocol, and the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination as the culmination of the efforts to transform the exhortatory provisions of the Universal Declaration into legally binding obligations. The Swedish Government had been among the first to sign those instruments and intended to ratify all of them.

But while much had been achieved, a great deal still remained to be done, and guidelines and priorities must be established. Some work had been done on freedom of information and on the elimination of all forms of intolerance and discrimination based on religion or belief, but the final results would not appear for some time to come, and the position would probably be the same in the case of discrimination in regard to political rights and discrimination against persons born out of wedlock.

Her Government had been disappointed by the scanty progress made in regard to the implementation of the various instruments in the field of human rights. Among the ways in which the United Nations tried to follow developments concerning respect for human rights in various parts of the world, the most widely used and most successful method had been periodic reporting. The preparation of the reports called for self-analysis, and the publicity and comparisons which the system entailed exerted healthy pressure. Of the other methods proposed but not tried out, the most important, in her delegation's view, was the proposal to resort more extensively to regional machinery to safeguard human rights. The council of Europe had achieved some success in that direction. Her delegation agreed that a world-wide system of commissions, each set up by countries with a common background and outlook, would be able to solve most problems within the group of countries concerned. There would, however, also have to be as final authority a central United Nations body, whether a High Commissioner for Human Rights, an international court for human rights or some other institution.

She did not share the view that the various measures and proposals with regard to implementation necessarily constituted a duplication of effort. It could be useful to test out various methods of implementation simultaneously for some time.

Meanwhile, until it had been decided which methods were the most satisfactory, the Commission on Human rights would have to act as co-ordinator. Her delegation felt strongly that questions of implementation should for some time to come be given much more prominence than had recently been the case.

With regard to priorities in the future work programme, her Government felt, first of all, that apartheid in South Africa and South West Africa and the form of racial discrimination existing in Southern Rhodesia should be treated with particular urgency as constituting violations of all norms of decent behaviour and of the Charter. To achieve the best results, co-ordination between the organs specifically concerned with human rights, the Security Council, and the General Assembly, should be as close as possible. Secondly, the campaign against illiteracy deserved special attention. The ability to read, which enabled an individual to acquire a knowledge of contemporary problems and of the rights which governed his and other people's liberty, was a prerequisite for the achievement of full human rights.

Suitable prominence should also be given to efforts, in particular those of the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF), to assist those who were most vulnerable and in need of help. Similarly, the plight of refugees had continued to be one of the priority areas of Swedish assistance activities, and Sweden fully subscribed to the statement made by the High Commissioner for Refugees and pledged its continued wholehearted support to him.

Her delegation was glad to see that the rights of women constituted a special item on the agenda, but regretted that it was still necessary to deal with human rights and the rights of women as though they were two different topics, and her country would work individually and within the United Nations to eliminate the distinction. Sweden's aim was the development of the world into a society of true equality without discrimination of any kind. Men and women should work together, from planning for the well-being of the family to the formation of society as a whole, in the political and administrative organs which would have to make and implement the relevant decisions. Sweden's active interest in the question of family planning was well known. In recent years, whenever the question was dealt with in the General Assembly or elsewhere, attention had been concentrated on the inter-relationship between population growth and economic development. There were reasons for that, but the fact remained that the population situation of any country was the sum total of the situations of countless individual families of human beings.



On the question of capital punishment, she expressed the hope that the Conference would make appropriate reference to the subject when formulating its recommendations to the General Assembly.

As from the end of 1968 Sweden would no longer be a member of the Commission or of the Economic and Social Council, and she would like to conclude with a few general observations based on her own experience and on Sweden's participation in the work of those two bodies. She hoped that the letter and the spirit of the Universal Declaration would guide all future efforts towards a truly positive outlook. Thus, the treatment of the question of freedom of information must not turn into an exercise on the control of information, nor freedom from discrimination into freedom to discriminate. The principles laid down in the Universal Declaration on those and other matters were admirable as they stood, and any elaboration of them in a restrictive direction would be a retrograde development.

The very fact that human rights constituted a highly political question rendered the drafting of legal provisions particularly difficult. While it was natural for any delegation to endeavour to see that any point it wished to safeguard was explicitly covered in a text, that resulted in provisions characterized by political compromise rather than juridical clarity. While it might no longer prove possible to draft conventions in the simple and exalted language of the Universal Declaration, she thought efforts would have to be made in the direction of a more general and less specific way of drafting.

Sweden was concerned that political considerations, which fell within the competence of other United Nations organs, were increasingly occupying the time of organs specifically concerned with human rights. Although the intentions of those who introduced such considerations were worthy, that was bound to result in a decline in the United Nations authority and usefulness and in the general public's confidence in it, which was the main element in the moral force of the Organization.

There might be something to be said for equitable geographical distribution when the problem was to make known the viewpoints of different regions of the world; but it was a different matter when chairs around the committee table were constantly empty, while people ready and qualified to participate were kept out from the deliberations. She hoped that in future when the question of candidatures was discussed, steps would be taken to make certain that the countries to be elected could nominate as their representatives fully qualified persons able to attend all meetings.

The growing tendency to label representatives as Westerners, Asians, etc., was regrettable. Admittedly, the attitude of a delegation was often influenced by its regional background, but it was not always so. She hoped that it would prove increasingly possible for representatives to consider each other first and foremost as human beings, each and every one striving to improve conditions for mankind as a whole.

Mr. ALFARAS (Cuba) said that the present Conference provided a suitable setting in which to analyse basic human rights. All were aware of the wide gap between the aims of the Universal Declaration and the actual state of affairs in the world.

The Universal Declaration recognized the right to an adequate standard of living; yet only one third of the world's population had enough to eat. In Latin America, which should be a wealthy continent, large number of people were under-nourished, lived in wretched hovels, were illiterate and received no medical attention. As the heroic leader Ernesto Che Guevara had said, the development of his continent was stifled and retarded by the vicious circle of inflation, unemployment, and foreign indebtedness resulting from its relations with the United States of America. Every year \$2,000 million extracted from the impoverished Latin-American economy found their way into yankee coffers. The yankee imperialists spoke of Latin American inferiority but, in the words of Fidel Castro, that inferiority was the hunger imposed on their peoples of Latin America by imperialists and colonialists.

The Universal Declaration recognized the right to health, but under present conditions over 10 per cent of children died before the age of one, and malnutrition, disease and epidemics were rampant. The right of the sick to medical and hospital attention must be proclaimed. The Declaration recognized the right to education and culture, yet more than 700 million adults in the world were illiterate and more than half the children of school age did not receive even a primary education. The Declaration postulated the right to universal justice, yet the majority of the world's population, particularly in Asia, Africa and Latin America was exploited and subjected to conditions of unemployment and under-employment akin to slavery.

How was it possible to speak of the rights of children and of the family when imperialism had embraced the so-called "population explosion" theory with its Neo-Malthusian implications: The imperialists wished to put an end to poverty by eliminating the poor, but surely in the present state of knowledge no limit could be set to the number of human beings which the earth could support.

How could the ideal of the free human being be recognized unless the minimum conditions existed to enable every human being to enjoy his basic rights? How were human rights to be enjoyed under the criminal conditions imposed by colonialism, neo colonialism and imperialism? How could those who violated their legal international obligations be expected to respect an instrument like the Universal Declaration of Human Rights whose force was merely moral? While human dignity and human rights were incompatible with those who distorted, alienated and violated all rights, Cuba's President had challenged anyone to deny that in his country all the material and economic measures to guarantee the exercise of human rights were being implemented.

It had been agreed that the present Conference should devote particular attention to the rights set out in articles 2, 3 and 4 of the Universal Declaration. Indeed the international community had achieved a virtual consensus on the problems of discrimination and apartheid -- that ignoble system characterized by forced labour, poverty, malnutrition and racial tension. The Security Council and the General Assembly had adopted many resolutions on those subjects, and the Bandung Conference of 1955, the Belgrade Conference of 1961 and the Cairo Conference of 1964 had all condemned racial discrimination.

The problems of racial discrimination and apartheid were closely related. There was, moreover, a close link between imperialism and racism which was manifested in a common ideology, common economic aims and complementary political and military structures. Strategic reasons made the United States imperialists declare that the frontiers of the United States and the Western world ran through the Azores, Angola, Mozambique and Portuguese Guinea.

The Special Committee on the situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples had condemned the activities and financial methods of the international companies which exploited the natural resources and those of the African population for their own exclusive benefit. But the imperialist Powers supported racist policies and ignored the United Nations recommendations, with the support of imperialist foreign interests and the financial backing of foreign monopolies ostensibly contributing to the material progress of the territories concerned. Moreover, it was authoritatively established that foreign economic and financial activities in southern Africa were not restricted to investment and trade but also helped to strengthen discriminatory labour policies and exploitation of the population. As well as supporting racist Governments, the imperialists were overtly opposing action to implement human rights and the right of self-determination.



The United States Government used the pretext that United States trade and other economic activities in South Africa were carried on by private interests beyond its control. It was, however, well known that the United States Government had ordered the suspension of trade with Cuba, so that the explanation could not be accepted.

Racism was an instrument of imperialism, and its elimination must be prefaced by that of imperialism, which used racism as a basic tool of oppression and exploitation and took advantage of cheap labour in many Asian, African and Latin American countries in an attempt to convert the countries of the Third World into a vast hinterland dominated by its interests. Imperialism rejected the universally proclaimed principle that all men are born free and equal in dignity and rights and reaffirmed racist doctrines which constituted a recrudescence of the Nazi theory of Aryan superiority.

In the light of the recent resolution adopted by the United Nations Commission on Human Rights condemning racist ideologies, it might be well to consider the brutal discrimination practiced throughout the United States of America. It should not be forgotten that the United States imperialists made more than \$4,000 million a year out of the oppression of the North American negro and inequality in his working conditions. The response of the North American negroes had varied from the Civil War for the freeing of the slaves to the armed and violent disturbances of the present day. They were closing ranks for the struggle, and the days of white supremacy in the United States were numbered.

Latin America was an exploited continent in which the chief victims were the indigenous populations: negro and half-caste, who were subjected to all sorts of discriminatory laws and practices. There, likewise, the Puerto Ricans came under United States colonial domination. The United Nations must realize that the continuation of the policy of discrimination and apartheid constituted a crime against humanity and a serious threat to world peace and security. The great majority of Member States were agreed that the United Nations must effectively promote the implementation of human rights and denounce the growing collaboration between racist and colonialist regimes and the assistance they received from certain foreign Powers and economic interests. They urged the implementation of the Security Council and General Assembly resolutions on the situation in South Africa, and believed that the Security Council must adopt measures of coercion under Chapter VII of the Charter and impose compulsory universal sanctions in all the regions of the world in which racism and discrimination held sway. Cuba had made its attitude

to the problem of discrimination and apartheid clear by denouncing the material assistance that the imperialists, principally the yankees, gave to the racists and colonialists.

The legislation of Cuba, a multi-racial country, formally proscribed discrimination of all kinds; but it was only with the triumph of the revolution that discriminatory practices had disappeared forever with the suppression of the economic and social factors which engendered them.

In the international sphere, the revolutionary Government was carrying on a continuing campaign against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism which were the sources of all violations of human rights, particularly racial discrimination. Like the Special Committee, Cuba had denounced both the close link between South African racism and the interests of the imperialist monopolies which controlled the natural resources of southern Africa, and the link between the United States and the racist regime in Pretoria. It was hardly surprising that where segregation in schools and lynchings and assassinations of negroes were tolerated, the United Nations resolutions should be flouted. The efforts of all States interested in peace and freedom must be co-ordinated in order to defeat the United States machinations and offer active support to those fighting for national freedom or resisting imperialist aggression. Cuba did not believe that the General Assembly should condemn the racist régime in South Africa alone; it must also condemn the fundamental bulwark of colonialism, racism and reaction - United States imperialism.

The ideology of imperialism had two bases: racism and colonialism. There were still nations in Africa, the Middle East and Latin America under the colonial yoke. The case of Puerto Rico, incidentally, had been placed upon the agenda of the Special Committee.

He went on to describe the characteristics of neo-colonialism, quoting the statement by President Dorticos, at the 1961 Belgrade Conference, that perfidious and violent methods were used to ensure the survival of forms of colonial exploitation or to create new forms of imperialist domination.

In his delegation's view, the chief of the "major obstacles" referred to in agenda item 9 was imperialism, and above all yankee imperialism. The serious crisis in the Middle East was due to that policy of intervention, aggression and plunder carried out by Yankee imperialism everywhere. He wondered how it was possible to speak of human rights in connexion with those who were the perpetrators of the aggression and plunder of which the Palestinian people had been and were the

victims, or their accomplices. He then quoted the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Cuba who had said that the grave crisis which had arisen in the Near East was also attributable to the policy of intervention, aggression and plunder pursued by Yankee imperialism everywhere and had declared that Cuba wholeheartedly supported the Arab peoples in their struggle to reconquer the territories occupied by Israel.

He wondered how those who were the perpetrators of the criminal aggression which Yankee imperialism was carrying out against the Vietnamese people or their accomplices could speak of human rights; that aggression constituted a flagrant example of genocide. In Viet Nam the United States had unleashed a war, the motives for which were despicable, and whose aims were unlawful and methods criminal.

The United States had committed in Viet Nam a series of crimes defined and condemned by international law, and was as guilty as those it had itself accused at Nuremberg.

In the face of colonialism, neo-colonialism and imperialism, the peoples of the world must demonstrate their revolutionary solidarity with those who were fighting to eliminate such evils, and the armed struggle should form a unifying and enlightening element from which a new consciousness of human rights would emerge. General Assembly resolutions 2189 (XX) and 2202 (XX) recognized the legitimacy of the struggle of peoples under colonial domination and under the régime of apartheid to implement their right to independence and equality, and that recognition extended to all the peoples who were combating imperialism engendered by colonialism and fascism. The disdain of the colonialist and imperialist Powers for the United Nations recommendations and for world opinion must not be allowed to pass unchallenged. The General Assembly had called upon all Member States to give moral, political and material assistance to movements of national liberation in southern Africa, and the greatest contribution which could be made by States sincerely desiring to enforce respect for human rights was to give the maximum moral and physical support to peoples which, with weapons in their hands, were fighting for the conquest of those rights.

Mr. PAUS (Norway) expressed the thanks of his Government for the generous hospitality extended to the Conference by the Government of Iran.

The Conference, although convened to observe the twentieth anniversary of the adoption of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, had in addition a more serious task, namely the promotion and the safeguarding of human rights. Work in that area was one of the main tasks of the United Nations and a basic duty in its efforts to maintain peace. Wars and other international conflicts very often were the direct result of lack of respect for human rights. His delegation had come to the Conference

with high hopes that tangible measures would emerge which would represent a forward step in the endeavours of the United Nations to ensure protection and respect for man's fundamental rights and freedoms. It would give full and loyal support in all such efforts.

It was difficult to deal with human rights problems with detachment. His delegation hoped, however, that emotions would be held in check in the discussions and would not hinder positive work on that unique occasion.

Before commenting on aspects of human rights which he believed to be of particular relevance to the Conference, he wished to express appreciation of the excellent work done by the Preparatory Committee and to thank Secretariat members and others who had prepared useful background material.

The holding of an International Year for Human Rights would undoubtedly bring results. Norway had set up an Action Committee for celebration of the International Year, with the active support of the Government. Its work had resulted in increasing public interest in human rights questions and a growing awareness of the many problems involved, thus giving a new impetus to action at the national level.

There was a strong need for spreading knowledge about human rights matters, about the various international instruments in that field, about the work undertaken by the United Nations and the specialized agencies and, lastly, about the obligations governments had undertaken. It was not propaganda he had in mind but real education of the people. The day would probably come when the teaching of human rights would form part of the curriculum in educational institutions throughout the world. Protection of human rights could not rely solely on international instruments, however useful those might be, nor even on national legislation. Public opinion would be the decisive factor in ensuring full respect for the fundamental rights and freedoms of fellow individuals and fellow nations.

He agreed with previous speakers that, while progress had been made since the adoption of the Universal Declaration, there was no reason to rejoice unduly, particularly in view of the persistence of racial discrimination.

The statements by the Director-General of the United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) and the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees had particularly impressed him. The magnitude of the battle against illiteracy and the problems of the refugees were indeed striking, and it might well be that the solution of those problems would prove to be among the most pressing tasks in the field of human rights. His Government would continue to support all efforts in that direction.



Norway was a party to more international instruments in the human rights field than any other State, and had recently signed the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights and the Optional Protocol and hoped to be able to ratify them shortly. Their entry into force was of the utmost importance and he trusted that it would not be long delayed.

While the adoption of the International Covenants in 1966 had been a welcome step forward, much remained to be done. Increased attention should be paid to questions related to the status of women and the status of children, particularly those born out of wedlock.

In his Government's view, the system for the protection of human rights laid down in the International Covenants and the Optional Protocol, owing to the lack of efficient international machinery for implementation, was not satisfactory. His Government was well aware of the persisting and understandable reluctance to accept supra-national jurisdiction, but the magnitude of the obstacles should not be allowed to prevent attempts to find ways of overcoming them. Norway had, in fact, become subject to international control in recognizing the competence of the European Court of Human Rights.

He thought that a United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights might provide an efficient non-bureaucratic international control of a non-judicial nature.

He agreed that the time had come to pay more serious attention to the problems created in the field of human rights by technological developments.

Mr. WEITZ (Food and Agriculture Organization) speaking on behalf of the Director-General of the Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO), who had unfortunately been unable to attend the Conference personally, said that food stood first among the material needs of man. The right to adequate food and to an adequate standard of living was a fundamental human right, as proclaimed in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights. Food, which was FAO's business, had to be considered in the complex human, social, cultural, commercial and political relationships of today, as existing in a world of misunderstanding and conflicts and divergent interests. With the instant communication that now spanned the globe, new means of destruction could bring a common annihilation, and gigantic famines and pestilences could ravage vast regions and urban areas. No equivalent moral or social community had been achieved to counterbalance those facts of physical proximity. The peoples of the world had



not yet discovered how to live together. The Conference's task was to reaffirm the universal principles uniting all and thus to forge anew the will to act together for the common good.

Since its inception, FAO had been engaged in helping to achieve the fundamental goal set out in the Universal Declaration. Under its basic Charter, it was committed to promoting the common welfare and in particular to raising nutrition levels and living standards, improving production and distribution of food and agricultural products and bettering the conditions of rural populations. Twenty years after its founding, FAO's Constitution had been amended to state that its objective was to ensure humanity's freedom from hunger; and at its fourteenth session the FAO Conference had adopted a declaration regarding the International Year for Human Rights, proclaiming that the future of mankind and the peace of the world could not be secure unless man's fundamental right to freedom from hunger was universally recognized, and that the granting of that basic right would further the achievement of all other human rights as defined in the Universal Declaration.

Human rights did not exist in a vacuum; nor could they be effectively promoted or safeguarded unless ordinary people had access to goods and services exceeding bare minimum needs. FAO's primary concern was with people engaged in agriculture in all its phases. In many parts of the world those people continued to live at a subsistence level, and FAO's efforts were aimed at changing the existing cycle of low productivity, malnutrition, poverty and disease.

Social justice for the individual required national social justice, and in the world order, a rational mobilization and distribution of resources. The accomplishment of those ends in turn required changes in attitudes and practices, for which adequate political and moral motivation was needed.

The Freedom from Hunger Campaign had a twofold objective: to create worldwide understanding of the nature, gravity and urgency of the world food situation and thereby to create the will to take essential action for solving that problem. As the second United Nations Conference on Trade and Development had recognized, the conscience of the world had been alerted to the dangers and urgency of the problem, and it was now for the present Conference to lay the foundations for practical action on the basis of political and moral motivation.

The growing youthfulness of the world was another factor that was prompting FAO to increase the tempo of its work. The age group of twenty five years and under, now standing at between 40 and 50 per cent of the total population in most countries, would by another decade or so become as high as 60 per cent. The implications of

that development in terms of employment, education, housing and social facilities were obvious, yet most national development plans were failing to take them into account. The most happy augury in that situation was the world-wide demand for social justice coming from the young everywhere. They were refusing to accept the undesirable as inevitable and indeed were questioning the very bases on which affairs were arranged. Welcoming that healthy phenomenon, FAO had instituted a special programme, The Young World Appeal, designed to involve that generation more effectively in development.

Acute human suffering and hardship attended the grim food problem. The problem was not merely a humanitarian one but was closely linked with aid, trade and the process of economic development. Although it would decline in relative importance as overall economic activity grew, nonetheless agriculture would remain for a long time to come the largest sector of the economy in nearly all developing countries. The rate of growth in those countries would be largely determined by the rate of growth in agriculture, a main source of foreign exchange earnings.

The Conference was concerned with the human problem and must bear in mind that half of the world's population was suffering from hunger or malnutrition or both. Those food deficiencies were reflected in reduced activity or capacity for work and, in children, in retarded physical development. The world protein gap was growing a particularly serious matter for the physical and mental development of children. Indeed, mortality among children, although often ascribed to more medically or socially acceptable causes, was often at root due to hunger or malnutrition.

Owing to the population explosion, the problem of increasing world food supplies was both one of removing existing deficiencies and of providing food for a rapidly growing population. The task was a formidable one when reckoned in terms of the capital costs for social services, health, education and non-productive investment such as housing. For that reason, FAO had constantly argued that population growth and food supplies must be considered together and that international and other action should be taken in the full light of the close link between the two.

To give some idea of the dimensions of food demand for the future, the projected population increase would require a 60 per cent increase in food supplies by 1985 in the developing countries, merely to maintain existing consumption levels. In order to close the nutritional gap and to meet the rising demand for food following upon rising incomes, as well as to reduce the impact on budgets caused by large food imports, food supplies in the developing countries would have to grow at the rate of 4 per cent

per year, assuming an over-all growth rate of approximately 6 per cent and a population growth of 2.5 per cent.

Undoubtedly the goal could be attained, given the courage and the will to act. Sufficient land and water resources were available; what was needed was to improve land tenure and utilization practices, eliminate shifting cultivation and uneconomic land-use patterns and make available water supplies for double or triple cropping where that was feasible. Technology and science could provide the answers. For instance, revolutionary new varieties of wheat and rice had been developed which with careful adaptation could offer yields three to four times greater than the traditional varieties. Wide-scale investments, going far beyond anything which countries were now making available, were needed, together with the provision of credit, extension services and marketing, transport and storage facilities. Waste due to disease and pests must also be combated.

As for the role of the developed countries in eliminating hunger and malnutrition, food aid would continue to be of the greatest importance. In the long run, dependence on such aid must cease, but for the time being it could make an important contribution to agricultural and general development. Secondly, there was need for increased technical and financial assistance. A rapid rate of economic growth required adequate savings and investment of as much as 20 to 25 per cent of national income. The goal of 1 per cent of national income to be made available by the developed world, set by the United Nations General Assembly, had been raised by the second United Nations Conference on Trade and Development to 1 per cent of the gross national product. The level of international assistance was still well below either target.

The third and most important factor was trade. The FAO commodity projections to 1985 indicated that imports of agricultural products into the developed countries were likely to grow at less than 2 per cent per year. Accordingly, solutions had to be found to replace policies which protected high-cost farming, discouraged increased consumption of agricultural products by taxation, and discriminated against the movement between countries of processed or semi-processed products. New and improved commodity agreements and arrangements, financial schemes relating to international deficit payments, diversification, new approaches in regard to synthetics, improved productivity in natural products, assistance to facilitate the development of agricultural processing industries in the developing countries - those and other steps were essential.

In the general context of agriculture, man's rights undoubtedly acquired a special and specialized significance. Man was traditionally reliant upon the land and the work of his hands, a fact often overlooked in the thermonuclear age. The persistence of hunger and malnutrition must be regarded as a continuing social injustice of concern to all bodies and individuals.

The PRESIDENT invited the representative of Israel to speak in exercise of the right of reply.

Mr. KHALAF (Iraq), speaking on a point of order, said he was reluctant to take up the Conference's time at that late stage of the meeting, but felt bound to protest against once again having to hear the representative of a country that was committing aggression against States Members of the United Nations. The representative of Israel, far from refraining from exercising the right of reply in accordance with his stated intention, was seeking the floor day after day, and if he was to be heard every time he wanted to attempt to justify his Government's aggressive policies, that would be tantamount to putting a premium on crime. His own country had been hesitant about attending the Conference at all, for it had not wished to be present at meetings in which an aggressor State was also participating. The Governments of Portugal and South Africa, however dishonest their policies towards their subject populations, had been honest enough at least not to attend.

The PRESIDENT, interrupting, requested the representative of Iraq to keep to his point of order.

Mr. KHALAF (Iraq), continuing, said he would ask the President on procedural grounds to deny the right to speak to the representative of Israel, for exercise of the right of reply would not right the wrongs perpetrated by his Government; indeed, in the circumstances, the so-called right of reply violated the rules of procedure and the work of the Conference should no longer be delayed by discussion of the political matters which would undoubtedly be the subject of the reply.

The PRESIDENT stated that the rules of procedure contained no restriction which would support the objection made; he would accordingly rule it out of order and invite the representative of Israel to speak in exercise of the right of reply.



Mr. COMAY (Israel) said that the representative of Iraq obviously preferred that those who were attacking Israel should not have to listen to a legitimate defence. If the representative of Iraq and all other representatives of Arab States would cease launching vicious attacks on Israel, there would be no need for his delegation to put the record straight. On that occasion, however, the representative of Iraq had leapt to the false assumption, for the remarks he had to make had no reference either to Iraq or to the situation in the Middle East.

His delegation had listened with deep sadness to some of the remarks made on the previous day by the Polish representative. Poland had a special place in the history of the Jewish people. Before the Second World War, its Jewish community, which had been established in Poland for generations, had numbered three and a half million. Despite problems of poverty and anti-semitism, the community had been a vigorous and creative one. The Nazi occupation of Poland had led to Hitler's so-called "final solution of the Jewish question", i.e. the physical genocide of the Jews; and the Polish Jews had constituted about half of the six million Jews slaughtered at that time. The death camps of Poland formed a monstrous roll of dishonour on Polish soil.

Today, there were only some twenty-odd thousand Jews left in Poland, and it was shocking to note the revival of anti-semitic attacks upon them. They were being made the pawns of an internal power struggle and the scapegoats for current unrest, as well as the butt to bolster an unpopular stand on the Middle East conflict. Even communist parties elsewhere in Europe were expressing concern at that development, which was a source of revulsion among decent and civilized men everywhere. His delegation did not believe that that ugly phenomenon was an authentic expression of the spirit of the Polish people, a people that had given so much to the world's culture and had struggled so tenaciously in the past for its national freedom.

He would refrain from giving chapter and verse in support of his assertions and in conclusion would merely cite a report appearing in that day's issue of Tehran Journal, quoting moving words about the current wave of anti-Jewish hysteria in Poland uttered by the world-famous concert pianist Arthur Rubinstein, who himself was a Jew of Polish origin.

The meeting rose at 1.10 p.m.