

should be entrusted to a new special committee of the General Assembly or to an existing body of the Economic and Social Council. It would support a programme which received the resources necessary for its success, as well as other measures devised in the course of the Decade to expand the programme and ensure the participation of all Member States and the specialized agencies. In that connexion, he commended the ILO and UNESCO for their past and promised contributions. His delegation hoped that the programme could be launched on the occasion of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

17. Mr. LÜTEM (Secretary of the Committee) drew attention to the suggestions concerning the draft pro-

gramme by Iraq, the Philippines, the Syrian Arab Republic, the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics as contained in documents A/9094 and Corr.1 and Add.1.

18. Mr. COSTA COUTO (Brazil) suggested that the Committee should adjourn its meeting and continue the discussion of the suggested amendments in an informal working group to be presided over by the Chairman.

19. The CHAIRMAN said that, if there was no objection, he would take it that the Committee endorsed the Brazilian representative's suggestion.

It was so decided.

The meeting rose at 11.40 a.m.

1986th meeting

Wednesday, 3 October 1973, at 3.10 p.m.

Chairman: Mr. Yahya MAHMASSANI (Lebanon).

A/C.3/SR.1986

AGENDA ITEM 53

Elimination of all forms of racial discrimination (*continued*) (A/9003, chaps. XXIII, sect. A.1 and A.2 and XXX, sect. B; A/9094 and Corr.1 and Add.1, A/9095, A/9139, A/9177, A/C.3/L.1995):

(a) **Decade for Action to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination (*continued*)** (A/9003, chaps. XXIII, sect. A.1 and XXX, sect. B; A/9094 and Corr.1 and Add.1, A/9177, A/C.3/L.1995)

GENERAL DEBATE (*continued*)

1. Mr. KABINGA (Zambia) reiterated the resolute opposition of the Government and people of Zambia to racism and racial discrimination in all their forms and manifestations, whatever the justification and whether practised by a minority against the majority or vice versa. That firm and basic principle was embodied in the Constitution of Zambia which, *inter alia*, provided in article 25 that no law should make any provision that was discriminatory either in itself or in its effect. The Constitution also stated that the fundamental rights and freedoms embodied in it could not be withheld from any race or ethnic group on a discriminatory basis, provided that the members of that racial or ethnic group were citizens of the country. While aliens did not enjoy the same constitutional rights as citizens, they did enjoy the normal status of aliens generally accepted in progressive international law. In actual practice, great progress had been made in the course of the preceding decade in moving Zambia from a position of institutionalized racism which had existed during the colonial era to one of racial harmony under the humanist philosophy of the Zambian Government.

2. In the light of those considerations, his delegation condemned in the strongest terms the blatant manifestations of racism and racial discrimination that existed in South Africa and Zimbabwe and the colonialism practised by Portugal in Angola and Mozambique. It welcomed the defeat of Portugal in Guinea-Bissau and the Cape Verde Islands, and was sure that the heroic

people of the new Republic would eradicate the last vestiges of Portuguese colonialism. As the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Zambia had indicated in his statement to the General Assembly (2130th plenary meeting), the massacre of innocent people at Wiriyanu and in other parts of Mozambique by the Portuguese forces had horrified the people and Government of Zambia. The systematic repression of the African majority in South Africa by the racist minority aroused similar indignation. The Carletonville massacre, which would go down in history as a patent act of racial bigotry, cruelly dramatized the economic exploitation of which Africans in South Africa were victims. Racism expressed itself in that country not only in economic terms; the theorists of *apartheid* continued to propagate artificial political, cultural and social differences between the races and ethnic groups.

3. With regard to Namibia, which continued to be occupied by South Africa, he pointed out that the United Nations must fulfil its responsibility to the oppressed people, and deplored the complicity of certain countries, especially Western countries, which continued to provide the South African régime with arms for reasons of ethnic, economic and military interest. For its part, Zambia would continue to honour its obligations under the Charter, by providing help to the refugees and scholarships to young people and by disseminating information about the cause for the benefit of the oppressed peoples of southern Africa.

4. The evils of racism and racial discrimination manifested themselves in their crudest form in southern Africa, but they also existed in other parts of the world, such as in the ghettos of North America and in some countries in South America, Europe, Africa and the Middle East, where they assumed various forms. Zambia did not accept the view that each State should solve its own racial problems, in the light of its own historical circumstances. Racism and racial discrimination were crimes against humanity and as such deserved the attention of the international community.

5. Zambia, which was a party to the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination, welcomed the report of the Secretary-General on the item (A/9094 and Corr.1 and Add.1), supported the recommendations contained in it and would do everything in its power at the regional and international levels to secure the achievement of the stated objectives. However, with regard to paragraph 13 of the draft programme (A/9094 and Corr.1, annex 1) it would have preferred it if the year 1978 had been specifically set as the date for the convening of a world conference on combating racism and racial discrimination. It felt that the importance and scope of that conference justified the establishment of a special committee of the General Assembly. With regard to the adoption of measures at the national level, Zambia's position had already been stated; it need only be added that it had halted the flow of migrant workers to South Africa shortly after achieving independence.

6. Mrs. ESHEL (Israel) reiterated Israel's unequivocal opposition to any form of human discrimination and more particularly to that based on the abhorrent criterion of race. Her nation was particularly sensitive to that form of discrimination since it had suffered the longest and most cruel history of discrimination and persecution based on the heinous prejudice of racism. The inherent dignity and equality of man could not tolerate the notion of discrimination, whether based on race or colour, or on any other perverse invention. It was therefore with a deep sense of shame and anger that Israel witnessed the continued injustices which still affected millions of people on the African continent as a result of policies of racism and discrimination. She wished to place on record her country's solidarity with the struggle against all forms and manifestations of racism and racial discrimination, wherever they might occur, and its emphatic rejection of all doctrines based on the concept of racial superiority.

7. During the Second World War, Germany had perpetrated, in the name of racial superiority, the greatest mass murder of innocent people, putting to death 6 million of her people, including 2 million children. While the Federal Republic of Germany had recognized the heavy responsibility it bore for the holocaust, the German Democratic Republic had totally ignored its historical responsibility and moral obligation.

8. Knowing the dangerous and corrosive consequences of racial discrimination for any society and for the world as a whole, Israel strongly supported the decision to launch the Decade for Action to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination. On the whole, it supported the aims and goals of the programme, and considered that it should be a continuous and vigorous one, not merely confined to a period of 10 years. With regard to the definition of racial discrimination, her delegation would have preferred to use the definition which appeared in article 1, paragraph 1, of the International Convention, since it felt that if the scope of the definition was broadened, it could only dilute the aims. It should be borne in mind that the practices of racial discrimination took different forms in different countries and systems, and care should be taken to ensure that the programme for the Decade was pragmatic and practical.

9. Although Israel recognized the importance of holding a world conference, it doubted whether such a con-

ference could contribute substantially to the practical steps needed at the current stage. The conference should give adequate publicity to the activities of the Decade and serve as a summing-up of all the measures adopted under the programme. Consequently, her delegation would have preferred a later date for the world conference, towards the end of the Decade. It also attached great importance to all educational activities which, although they were long-term measures, constituted the only hope of eliminating discrimination at its very source.

10. She welcomed the statement made at the 1984th meeting by the representative of UNESCO, who had informed the Committee of that agency's plans to investigate the roots of the problem. It was to be hoped that, as a result of those programmes, a series of audio-visual kits would be developed for various age levels, so that the Member States could adapt them for their specific needs and situations for use in schools and community centres and by the mass media.

11. On the question of co-ordination and review and appraisal, her delegation did not think that a special committee was warranted, since it was necessary to avoid the danger of duplication and not to strain the financial resources. The Economic and Social Council, with the help of the Social Committee, could manage the programme adequately. Nor did her delegation consider the establishment of a special fund to be a realistic proposal, since the same objectives could be achieved by according high priority to the activities of the Decade within existing programmes of United Nations bodies, specialized agencies, non-governmental organizations and Governments. In that connexion, her delegation suggested that a list of specialists—such as researchers, film makers, writers, educators and sociologists—needed to implement the programme should be prepared and presented to Member States and non-governmental organizations, with the request that they designate suitable candidates as their contribution to the programme at their own expense, thereby alleviating the financial burden and bringing about a wider involvement in the Decade.

12. Mr. KRISHNAPPA (India) said it would have been deeply satisfying if it had been possible to celebrate in the current year not only the twenty-fifth anniversary of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights but also the complete elimination of all forms of racism and racial discrimination. However, those evils remained a grave menace, particularly in South Africa and southern Africa. The South African régime persisted in its racist policy and had intensified repression and torture in a desperate effort to consolidate its rule, despite the strong resistance to *apartheid* and the pronouncements of the international community. For its part India had consistently supported the General Assembly Security Council resolutions recognizing the gravity of the situation prevailing in South Africa and the legitimacy of the struggle of the oppressed African peoples for their liberation and for their human and political rights. India had always been in the vanguard of the struggle against all forms of racism and racial discrimination; as early as 1946 it had raised that question in the United Nations. Moreover, Mahatma Gandhi had been the first to champion the cause of the oppressed peoples of South Africa at the beginning of the century.

13. Referring to the draft programme for the Decade for Action to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination (A/9094 and Corr.1, annex I), which was to be launched on 10 December 1973, he noted that the goals and objectives of the Decade had been enunciated very clearly; it was important that the measures decided upon should be fully and effectively implemented. Moreover, the competent organs of the United Nations must co-ordinate their efforts, in a manner which would avoid any duplication, in order to mobilize world opinion for the elimination of racial discrimination.

14. India trusted that the important recommendation in the draft programme concerning a campaign to enlighten and involve world public opinion in the struggle against racism and racial discrimination, emphasizing the education of youth in the spirit of human rights and fundamental freedoms and in the dignity and worth of the human person (*ibid.*, para. 9), would meet with the whole-hearted support of the Committee and all Member States. Furthermore, in view of the obvious need to update and develop the existing studies and research in the field of *apartheid* and racial discrimination, his delegation supported the recommendation regarding pilot studies in the economic, political, social and cultural fields to detect manifestations of racism and racial discrimination as early as possible and adopt preventive measures (*ibid.*, para. 15). It also supported the idea of enlisting the co-operation of international scientific organizations to analyse and study, during the Decade, all aspects of racial discrimination within their competence. It would also be appropriate to study the role which could be played by the Office of Public Information and by the Council Committee on Non-Governmental Organizations; those bodies could play a vital role in the programme.

15. India had always been active in the struggle against *apartheid*. It had already responded to the appeal contained in the draft programme for the denial of any kind of support to Governments or régimes practising racial discrimination (*ibid.*, para. 12). India had not hesitated to sacrifice its growing trade with South Africa for the sake of the cause of human dignity and freedom. It had also provided assistance to the United Nations Educational and Training Programme for Southern Africa and the United Nations Trust Fund for South Africa. In conclusion, he expressed the hope that the Committee would recommend the adoption of the draft programme for the Decade for Action to Combat racism and Racial Discrimination by consensus.

16. Mr. ILOY (Congo) said that it was not possible to consider manifestations of racial discrimination and *apartheid* without thinking of Africa. In its colonial policy in Angola, Mozambique and Guinea-Bissau, Portugal flouted Article 73 of the Charter. The Portuguese régime continued to ignore its international obligations and to reduce the peoples under its administration to servitude. The repression of the political aspirations of those peoples had reached such a point of cruelty that peaceable and unarmed populations were being killed and whole villages were being razed. The statements by the representatives of the liberation movements and other petitioners in the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples bore witness to the atrocities committed by the Portuguese authorities in Mozambique. Nevertheless, despite the

destruction of their culture, property and very lives, the peoples of the Territories under Portuguese administration would triumph. His delegation hailed the independent State of Guinea-Bissau on the occasion of the proclamation of its independence, and announced that the Government of the Congo had already recognized that State.

17. The policy of *apartheid* practised by the Pretoria authorities was undoubtedly the most criminal form of contempt for the human person and human rights. The export of that policy—its application in Namibia and its manifestations in Zimbabwe demonstrated the threat it presented to peace and security in southern Africa.

18. However, those responsible for destroying human life and sabotaging human rights and fundamental freedoms were the major western European Powers, which were giving substantial assistance to the racist colonial régimes and, by their complicity with Portugal, South Africa and Ian Smith, flouting international instruments and frustrating the purposes of the Charter of the United Nations.

19. His delegation reaffirmed its support for the legitimate struggle being waged by the liberation movements, which it would continue to provide with moral and material assistance. Moreover, it had always maintained that the representatives of the liberation movements were the only authentic representatives of the peoples for whom they were fighting.

20. With regard to the draft programme for the Decade for Action to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination, he felt that the importance of information during the Decade should be emphasized. International seminars should be held for the purpose of promoting human rights and fundamental freedoms, identifying the regions in which such rights were still being violated and the countries that continued to obstruct, directly or indirectly, the application of instruments relating to human rights and fundamental freedoms, and determining specific action to be taken and means of securing the universal application of United Nations resolutions on racial discrimination, *apartheid* and decolonization. Such seminars should also emphasize the importance of accession to or ratification of, and also implementation of, human rights instruments. His delegation also supported the idea of organizing a world conference on combating racism and racial discrimination and expressed the wish that that conference should be held no later than 1978. With regard to the special committee for co-ordinating the programmes and evaluating activities under the Decade, it would be practical and appropriate for that organ to be directly subsidiary to the General Assembly as well as being established by it.

21. Miss MENESES (Venezuela) observed that, both at the regional and international levels, Venezuela had been a consistent defender of principles upholding the dignity and equality of all human beings, and in that spirit had given the firmest support to the measures proposed with a view to combat any form of racial discrimination. There had been no discrimination based on sex, creed or social status in Venezuela, since it had been declared a free and independent State in 1810. From that date on, a provision strictly prohibiting any kind of discrimination had always been included in all its Constitutions. Furthermore, titles of nobility and hereditary distinction were not recognized. Failure to respect the individual rights recognized in the Constitu-

tion was considered a violation of the Constitution and was regarded as a public offence.

22. From the outset her delegation had supported the idea of a Decade for Action to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination, and had voted for General Assembly resolution 2919 (XXVII). The draft programme for the Decade was similar in format to the International Development Strategy for the Second United Nations Development Decade, consisting of a preamble, a section on goals and objectives and a section on policy measures. The draft programme took account of the United Nations Declaration on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination, the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination and the Declaration on Principles of International Law concerning Friendly Relations and Co-operation among States in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations. The draft programme contained a fairly well-balanced and commendable set of provisions, and her delegation wished to congratulate its authors, particularly the delegations of Egypt, Ghana and Pakistan. However, it was regrettable that more time and thought had not been given to its formulation, as in the case of the International Development Strategy. The sections relating to education, training and information claimed particular attention and interest on the part of her delegation. In that connexion, it shared the view of the representative of Peru (1980th meeting) that the Office of Public Information and other offices should print their publications in other languages, especially Spanish.

23. With regard to the agreements arrived at in the working group, her delegation wished to state, firstly, that it would have liked the draft programme to contain a definition of racism and racial discrimination, possibly drawn from article 1, paragraph 1, of the International Convention. Since that did not appear to have been the general view, her delegation would be very glad if the wording of those paragraphs of the draft which referred to racism and racial discrimination—namely paragraphs 8, 10 and 12 (a)—could at least be made uniform.

24. Her delegation reaffirmed its support for the proposal to hold a world conference as a major feature of the Decade. In view of the consensus reached in that regard, it might be unnecessary to retain paragraph 18 (b). With respect to the organ for co-ordination and review and appraisal, her delegation believed that the establishment of a committee was justified in the current instance, although it was opposed to the unnecessary creation of bodies. It did not believe that the establishment of such a committee would infringe on the Economic and Social Council's competence under the Charter, and in any event a formula could be found to surmount that difficulty. The risk of entrusting the new task of supervising the Decade to the Council, which already had a large number of activities to deal with, should be avoided. As for the Commission on Human Rights, experience had amply demonstrated how little time it had each year to complete its heavy programme of work. There was therefore an obvious need to establish a new organ, and Venezuela had no objections to its being a subsidiary body of the Council.

25. Mrs. BERTRAND DE BROMLEY (Honduras) said that, in her view, it was most appropriate to dedicate a decade to the struggle against racism and racial

discrimination since the intensive approach to the subject which it would entail might eliminate the evils of racism and racial discrimination. Happily, there was no racial discrimination in Honduras, either in legislation or in practice. The population was composed of a mixed race which was proud of its Spanish, Indian and African origin. However, Honduras was aware of the terrible problems caused by racial discrimination in the world, and it had always voted for United Nations decisions and resolutions condemning racism. It had also stated on many occasions that it considered *apartheid* the most odious form of racial discrimination and that it deplored the failure of some States to comply with the relevant United Nations resolutions.

26. Her delegation welcomed the participation of non-governmental organizations in the programme for the Decade, since it felt that it would be helpful in disseminating information on the objectives of the Decade at the international level. It also supported the convening of a world conference on combating racism and racial discrimination in order to sustain international interest in that vital problem during the entire Decade. With regard to the establishment of a special committee to co-ordinate programmes and evaluate activities during the Decade, her delegation would prefer that function to be assigned to the Economic and Social Council, in view of the latter's experience and the costs involved in establishing a new committee. It supported the provisions of the draft programme relating to education and training and the suggestion that the subject of human rights should be included in curricula.

27. In conclusion, she stressed that the views of her delegation were not inflexible. What was most important was to obtain the greatest possible majority when adopting the draft programme for the Decade, and to that end her delegation was prepared to meet the wishes of other delegations within the limits which she had indicated.

28. Mr. ISERING (Bhutan) said that the question of racism and racial discrimination had been a matter of concern to his Government in view of the fact that such practices continued to exist in some parts of Asia and particularly in Africa. It was appalling that some countries continued to practise such internationally condemned policies as their national policy with the help of a few economically advanced countries. In Bhutan, every human being was granted equal opportunities and dignity without discrimination of any kind. His delegation had supported General Assembly resolution 2784 (XXVI) and accordingly welcomed the draft programme for the Decade for Action to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination. Bhutan had no intention of encouraging the racist regimes and condemned all régimes which continued to practise racism and racial discrimination. In order to reaffirm that policy, Bhutan had recently signed the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination, which it would ratify in due course. It also trusted that more countries would sign the Convention and take the necessary action to ratify it.

29. He felt that the establishment of a special committee for the Decade could be regarded as an ideal solution. However, if that proposal was not feasible, consideration might be given to the possibility of using existing organs and committees in the field of human rights. His delegation would support the draft Conven-

tion on the Suppression and Punishment of the Crime of *Apartheid* (A/9095, annex), since it was prepared to co-operate with the Committee in combating all practices of racism, racial discrimination and *apartheid*, which unfortunately still existed in many parts of the world. Every possible effort would have to be made at the international level to eradicate those evils so that every human being might live in dignity, equality and justice.

30. Mr. MOUSSA (Egypt) said that the programme for the Decade (A/9094 and Corr.1, annex I) had been conceived because, in spite of the many efforts made by the United Nations, the specialized agencies, intergovernmental organizations and many individual States, racial discrimination not only continued to exist but was even proliferating throughout the world. *Apartheid* had once been practised as an official policy in South Africa only, but it had also become the official policy in Southern Rhodesia. Zionism had formerly been practised in part of Palestine only, and today it was practised throughout Palestine and the occupied Arab territories. Colonialism continued to exist in many parts of Africa where the indigenous populations were denied all rights and national identity and were treated as second-class citizens in their own countries.

31. The United Nations had achieved some positive results, particularly as regards promoting a better understanding of the fallacy of racist dogmas and practices, although much difficult work remained to be done. It should continue the struggle against racism and racial discrimination, and that was the objective of the programme which the Committee had before it. Its goals were clear, and one of them was to "identify, isolate and dispel the fallacious and mythical beliefs, policies and practices that contribute to racism and racial discrimination" (*ibid.*, para. 8). That was the purpose of the action to be taken at the national and international levels and within the United Nations system.

32. Moreover, in no less than three paragraphs and subparagraphs the programme stated that racist régimes should be denied any support or assistance that could enable them to perpetuate their policies and practices. That point was an important one, since it was assistance to the racist régimes which led to the creation of other racist regimes despite all the efforts of the United Nations. Any appeal for so called generosity could ultimately lead to the strengthening of any racist regime and was itself a policy of racism. Certain mistakes in that regard had been committed in the past, and he wished to urge all States to withhold any kind of assistance which, either directly or indirectly, might lead to the continuance, strengthening or expansion of racism. In that regard, what the representative of Israel had done was to launch a campaign of blackmail in order to collect funds in the name of human rights.

33. The draft programme called for the establishment of an international fund (*ibid.*, para. 17). Some members of the Committee had argued against the proliferation of such funds, noting that the United Nations already operated three funds established to assist the victims of colonialism, racial discrimination and *apartheid*. The first was the United Nations Educational and Training Programme for Southern Africa which had been established in 1967 (General Assembly resolution 2349 (XXII)) for the purpose of consoli-

integrating existing programmes for Namibia, the Territories under Portuguese administration and South Africa and now also covered Southern Rhodesia. Its purpose was to provide education and training to as many persons as possible from those countries and Territories so as to enable them ultimately to play a responsible role in their countries. However, those persons were only permitted to work under conditions of racial discrimination in their own lands. The second fund was the United Nations Trust Fund for South Africa, established in 1965 (General Assembly resolution 2054 B (XX)), which provided legal assistance, relief and aid for the training of persons persecuted under the discriminatory laws of South Africa and made grants to voluntary organizations. The third fund was the United Nations Fund for Namibia, established in 1970 (General Assembly resolution 2679 (XXV)) to finance educational and training programmes for Namibians. Like the other funds, it was financed by voluntary contributions, but in 1972 \$100,000 had been allocated to it from the regular budget of the United Nations.

34. Those funds had been established for specific areas and principally for the purpose of providing relief, training and assistance within them; however, the proposed fund would have to deal with racism and racial discrimination throughout the world, provide assistance to all those who were victims of racial discrimination, finance some activities which would take place during the Decade and, in general, help the peoples which were struggling to eliminate racism and *apartheid*. It was therefore different from the existing funds. Should it prove necessary and feasible at a later stage to amalgamate some or all of the existing programmes and funds into a single fund, there should be no hesitation about doing so in the light of the experience of the first two or three years of the Decade.

35. A broad and important programme like the Decade would require an organ, committee or body to supervise its work, follow its development and co-ordinate its activities. His delegation was open to suggestions in that regard but wished to make it clear that it was not prepared to go along with any attempt to make the task ambiguous or to refer it to another body with an already heavy work programme. It would prefer to see the co-ordinating activities entrusted to a special committee, whether under the aegis of the General Assembly or of the Economic and Social Council. In any case, the question should appear annually on the agenda of the Committee throughout the Decade so that it would remain under the direct supervision of the General Assembly. In conclusion, he appealed to all representatives to approve unanimously the programme for the Decade.

36. Mr. EVORA (Portugal), referring to the Decade for Action to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination, said he assumed that the terms "racism" and "racial discrimination" referred to the moral, social, economic and religious aspects of life and not exclusively to the political aspects. History offered many examples of domination, exploitation, co-operation and the final fusion of different communities, tribes and peoples which today lived in harmony and without serious problems. It was right to combat racism and racial discrimination by acceptable means, but to attempt to build closed societies in order to combat racism was something different and even inconsistent, since a closed society led sooner or later to a new racism. What

must be achieved was a union of races in which all would enjoy freedom and security, as, for example, was the case in Brazil, Cape Verde, Angola, Mozambique and Portuguese Guinea.

37. After quoting the definition of the term "racial discrimination" contained in article 1, paragraph 1, of the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination, he asserted that a number of remarks directed against his country in the Committee were completely unfounded. Furthermore, he did not understand why some representatives linked racism and racial discrimination with the Portuguese system of government. Political systems, of themselves, did not necessarily lead to racism or racial discrimination; rather, it was the manner in which a political system was applied that determined the happiness or unhappiness, the prosperity or poverty of the various races and peoples living under it. In that connexion, some points of the draft programme for the Decade would not only fail to eliminate racial discrimination but, on the contrary, would strengthen it.

38. His country had been trying through the centuries to establish, in its several provinces in Africa, Asia and Europe, a society characterized by co-operation and the mingling of all races and based on the principle of mutual respect—a fact that had been attested to by politicians, journalists and well-known personalities. It was a paradox that a country like Portugal, the initiator of a multiracial system, stood accused of racial discrimination. It was determined to co-operate in the Third Committee in the task of eliminating the injustices of racial discrimination and sincerely hoped that, by the end of the Decade, its efforts would be rewarded.

39. Much had been done in the Portuguese provinces to reduce the social and economic gaps separating the different levels of the population, and everything possible was still being done to promote the well-being of the Portuguese people, whatever their origins. Some delegations had referred to the so-called massacres in Mozambique. His Government firmly refuted such accusations and wished to make it quite clear that those rumours had been originated for propaganda purposes by people linked to subversive movements. It regretted, however, that hundreds of innocent villagers had been victims of the mines and other weapons used in districts of Mozambique by elements coming from outside the Territory's borders.

40. Although his country was willing to co-operate in any constructive proposals aimed at putting an end to racial discrimination in the world, his delegation had reservations concerning some points of the programme which would be considered, if necessary, at the proper time.

41. Mr. EL-FATTAL (Syrian Arab Republic) said that his country was irrevocably committed to the peoples' struggle against racism and racial discrimination. Its enmity towards racism and the notion of racial superiority was deeply rooted in the universal and humanist traditions of Arab civilization, which was based on the common culture, language, history and aspirations of the Arab peoples, values which were neither exclusivist nor exclusionist, since their validity depended on the positive contributions that they made to the advancement of humanity. The injustices still plaguing Arab society were due to underdevelopment,

foreign occupation and aggression, and the legacy of the feudal and colonial period.

42. His country viewed the Decade for Action to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination as an organized effort by the international community to assist the armed struggle of the national liberation movements against colonialism. It was essential to support that struggle and not to divert it from its goals; one must not be deceived by the diversionary tactics that were employed even within the Third Committee. His country gave priority to decolonization because it believed that *apartheid*, *zionism* and colonial occupation were inherently racist. As long as colonialism existed, racism and racial discrimination would also exist. It was unrealistic to ask Portugal not to discriminate against the people it dominated, since the mere occupation of African lands was an expression of racial supremacy. Neither could Israel be asked to stop discriminating against the Arabs, since *zionism*, like *apartheid*, was inherently racist. It was a mistake to neglect the roots of the evil, attacking only its outward manifestations.

43. The Fourth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held at Algiers in September 1973, had fixed the priorities for the struggle against racism. In its general declaration it had emphasized that the primary concern of the non-aligned countries was to remove the yoke of colonialism and to eradicate *apartheid*, *zionism* and all other manifestations of oppression and racial discrimination. Moreover, it had stressed that the armed struggle was the only means of putting an end to foreign domination and racism. The programme of action for the Decade should take into consideration those aims and objectives proclaimed by that Conference, since the countries in question represented half the population of the earth.

44. The Syrian Arab Republic recognized the newly created Republic of Guinea-Bissau and would do its utmost to support that country's struggle until total victory was achieved. It would spare no effort, both inside and outside the United Nations, to ensure the consolidation of the new State and considered that the programme of action for the Decade should also assist in fulfilling the aspirations of the people of Guinea-Bissau. The programme of action should also include substantive provisions for the liberation of Mozambique and Angola. In addition, the situation in South Africa and Southern Rhodesia should be faced with more resolve and realism. Sooner or later, sanctions would have to be directed against the purveyors of assistance and arms to those two white racist regimes.

45. At the same time, the Decade should devote special attention to the racist ideologies and practices of the Israeli colonial regime. The Syrian Arab Republic, as it had stated in its comments contained in document A/9094 and Corr. 1, considered that in the field of studies and research it was necessary to examine all the nefarious effects of the settler colonialism practised by Israel or other regimes. In the case of the Arab territories occupied by Israel, his delegation demanded that studies should be made of the policy of settler colonialism that was pursued there in order to establish the role of Zionist racism in the colonization process in the Middle East and determine the responsibility of Israel for its crimes. Moreover, the Decade should provide for concrete measures against Israeli colonial and

racist policies both in Palestine and in the occupied Arab territories. The Conference of Non-Aligned Countries had welcomed the decision of those States which had severed relations with Israel, and it had called upon the non-aligned countries that had not yet done so to sever their diplomatic, economic, military and cultural ties with Israel in accordance with Chapter VII of the Charter.

46. One delegation had seen fit to raise the question of compensation to be paid to the Israeli colonialist and racist régime. The Syrian Arab Republic deplored the fact that the question had been raised in the wrong context and for the wrong reasons. The correct procedure would be for the colonialist régimes to pay compensation to the victims of colonialism, *apartheid* and *zionism*. It would therefore be opportune to set up, under the programme for the Decade, a small body of experts to deal with the payment of compensation to those peoples which for years had suffered from colonial exploitation.

47. Mr. GAHUNGU (Burundi) said that racism had existed from time immemorial and that since its founding the United Nations had consistently opposed the despicable practices of racial discrimination, barbaric colonization and *apartheid*—practices which had no place in the modern era of advanced technology and planetary discoveries. His delegation, loyal to the principles of equality, independence and self-determination as defined in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the Proclamation of Teheran and other instruments in favour of peace, supported all the proposals made by other delegations for the purpose of ridding the world of any kind of discrimination. For the same reason, it condemned those Powers and organizations that maintained regular relations with the racist régimes and supplied them with material assistance in wiping out innocent people in their own countries, and it called for the implementation of Security Council resolution 253 (1968) concerning economic sanctions against the racist Salisbury régime. Furthermore, his delegation urged the immediate implementation of General Assembly resolutions 1514 (XV) and 2621 (XXV) and Security Council resolution 322 (1972), which were reaffirmed in the Declaration on the Territories under Portuguese domination adopted by the twenty-first ordinary session of the Council of Ministers of the Organization of African Unity in May 1973.

48. His delegation firmly supported General Assembly resolutions 2784 (XXVI) and 2919 (XXVII) instituting the Decade, and it supported the convening of a world conference on combating racism and racial discrimination. On the other hand, it considered that the co-ordination and review and appraisal of the programme for the Decade should be entrusted to the Economic and Social Council, or sub-committee appointed by its President, in order to avoid the duplication of activities and expenditure which would result from the establishment of a special committee.

49. Furthermore, his delegation endorsed the Jamaican proposal (1982nd meeting) that Member States should unite their political and financial efforts with a view to affording military and moral support to the peoples which were waging war. At the same time, it would be appropriate to launch an information and training campaign in order to direct world-wide attention to the sufferings of the oppressed peoples.

50. Every day brought further proof of the degree to which the United Nations was at the mercy of the five Member States which had the power to veto decisions in the Security Council. In order to prevent the continued obstruction of decisions aimed at achieving peace and the emancipation of peoples, that power should be accorded to a larger number of Members. There was also a need to amend the Charter so as to take account of current realities and the development of the international situation.

51. In conclusion, he paid a tribute to the valiant people of Guinea-Bissau for the relentless struggle it had carried on to achieve its independence, proclaimed on 24 September 1973. The Government of Burundi had already recognized the new State. It was an inspiration to other peoples to struggle for peace, and showed the extent to which the difficult task being carried out in the Third Committee and in the United Nations as a whole was benefiting and promoting the honour, dignity and fellowship of peoples.

52. Mrs. ESHEI (Israel), speaking in exercise of the right of reply, said that the problem of the human rights of Arabs in the administered territories would be fully examined by the Special Political Committee. She felt obliged, however, to reply to the utterly false accusations levelled at her country at the current meeting by the representatives of Egypt and the Syrian Arab Republic.

53. The situation prevailing between Israel and the Arab population in the administered territories was a direct outcome of the consistent refusal of the Arab States to fulfil their obligations under the Charter and to work for a peaceful solution of a purely political problem. It was a political problem and had nothing to do with human rights. The Israeli Minister for Foreign Affairs had said at the 2139th plenary meeting of the General Assembly:

"The plain fact is that the present Arab leadership is not satisfied with the verdict of history which has led to the constitution of 18 Arab States in an area of 11 million square kilometres with a population of 100 million. Arab leadership seems to be in an excited imperialist mood. It demands the elimination of Israel, a non-Arab nation, older in its roots within the Middle East than any other.... But Israel is a Jewish and not an Arab entity. Therefore there are Arab leaders who cannot sustain its sovereign presence."

Not was *zionism* the heinous creation depicted by the Arab delegates, but the legitimate liberation movement of the Jewish people.

54. If Israel were the hell that some Arab Governments represented it to be, hundreds of thousands of Arabs would not go there to visit their families or ask to be reunited with them. Peaceful coexistence with the Arab population of the territories administered by Israel was a fact which the Governments of Egypt and the Syrian Arab Republic found unpleasant to face.

55. In conclusion, she expressed her conviction that peaceful coexistence between the Arab and Jewish peoples in the Middle East would come about by the will of those peoples, which would prove stronger than the policies of the Arab Governments.

56. Mr. BAROODY (Saudi Arabia), exercising the right of reply, said that the representative of Israel had

no right to claim reparations, since the Zionists from Central and Eastern Europe had confiscated Palestine and expelled the Palestinians from their country, thus giving rise to the whole Middle East conflict. Zionism was a colonialist movement which had begun in Central Europe and had been embraced only by the Ashkenazim in a non-Semitic people who had become converted to Judaism in the eighth century A.D., and not by the Sephardim, who were Semites. Arabs and Sephardim had lived together in peace for centuries in the Middle East. In that connexion, he recalled the pressure brought to bear on the United Kingdom during the 1940s by the Zionists in the United States, and quoted documents of that period. The United Kingdom had contributed to the creation of the Middle East problem by yielding to Jewish pressure and creating the State of Israel in Palestine. The Ashkenazim interfered in the affairs of all peoples. One day the world would grow weary of the Jewish problem. They were trying to put pressure on the Soviet Union to allow the Soviet Jews to emigrate to the Middle East. The Arabs considered that to be an unfriendly action.

57. Mr. BAL (Mauritania), exercising the right of reply, read the message from the President of the General Assembly to the Heads of State or Government, annexed to General Assembly resolution 2784 (XXVI), and referring to the unholy alliance between South Africa, Portugal and Southern Rhodesia to suppress the struggle of the peoples of that region and silence the protests throughout Africa against racism, *apartheid*, economic exploitation and colonial domination. He also quoted paragraphs from the report of the Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination to the twenty-seventh session of the General Assembly,¹ which said that the existence of a state of what virtually amounted to martial law in the Territory of Angola and parts of Mozambique represented a denial of the right to justice and fair treatment, especially to the majority of the African population; that the waging of war by the Portuguese administration against the inhabitants of the three African Territories severely violated the right of the African population to security of person and protection against violence and bodily harm; and that political rights were greatly restricted since only a fraction of the indigenous population enjoyed the franchise while African participation in the Government and administration of the African Territories was nominal. Many other texts could be quoted in that connexion, and the representative of Portugal should have shown the minimum consideration for the members of the Committee by keeping silent.

58. Mr. EL-FATIAL (Syrian Arab Republic), exercising the right of reply, said that the only usurper in the Middle East area was Israel, which had usurped Palestine, and it was no coincidence that the statements that contained most propaganda were those of the representatives of Israel and Portugal, since Portugal dominated Territories vastly larger than its own, with millions of inhabitants, and Israel had deprived the 3 million inhabitants of Palestine of their freedom. He quoted Theodor Herzl, the founder of the Jewish State, as having said that the poorest segment of the Palestinian population should be transferred outside the frontiers of the Jewish State and found occupation in other countries. He also quoted a statement made by the Chief of

the Israeli General Staff on 16 February 1973, to the effect that there should be a minimum of refugees on the West Bank, and that the final solution would be for the Palestinians not to return. Finally, he referred to Mr. Dayan's statement that the Arabs might be right, but that no State could be created without hurting somebody. Israel was a racist and colonialist State, despite the statements to the contrary by the representative of Israel, and he could continue quoting many documents to prove it.

59. Mr. ILLOY (Congo), speaking in exercise of the right of reply, said that after hearing the misleading statements of the representative of Portugal, his delegation considered that the union of races and their harmonious development was a dream which Portugal evoked in order to conceal the atrocities and genocide committed against the innocent people under its domination. The representative of Portugal had argued, on the one hand, that political systems did not necessarily lead to racial discrimination, and, on the other hand, that the dynamic application of a political system was what produced prosperity or poverty in a given society. In the face of such a contradiction, his delegation felt that Portugal would never be able to deceive world opinion or refute the mass of evidence against it. Portugal had the heavy responsibility of answering the charges brought against it by the peoples of Angola, Mozambique and Guinea-Bissau, until such time as those peoples at last achieved self-determination. Portugal should know, and it was well to recall it, that despite its barbaric repression, the peoples of the African Territories still under its shameful administration would ultimately emerge victorious.

60. Mr. KABINGA (Zambia), exercising the right of reply, said that Portugal had tried to draw a distinction between human rights and politics, which was a serious matter, not because Portugal adopted such a position but because many delegations had attempted to do so for years. He wondered what Portugal meant by human rights with reference to colonies where fundamental rights were flouted or trampled under foot. The representative of Portugal had said that racism was alien to his country, but experience had shown that there existed three basic divisions in the Territories under Portuguese administration—the settlers, a small assimilated group representing from 1 to 3 per cent of the population, and the African peoples—and those divisions arose not from cultural but from racial differences. He noted with surprise that Portugal regarded Brazil as an example of population groups living in harmony, and wondered what the representative of Brazil thought about that view. Portugal's denial of the massacres was not even worth mentioning, since so many official United Nations documents and impartial witnesses had confirmed them.

61. The CHAIRMAN said that the Committee had almost concluded the general debate on item 53 (a) of the agenda, to which it had devoted nine meetings, although only eight had been allocated to the consideration of the question. There had been a general consensus on the importance of the Decade for Action to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination as a further United Nations activity for the elimination of all vestiges of racial discrimination, policies of racial segregation and *apartheid*. The representatives who had participated in the general debate had, in general, expressed their support for the draft programme contain-

¹ *Official Records of the United Nations, Economic and Social Council, Supplement No. 18.*