

tims of *apartheid*. Furthermore, on 7 July 1972, the French Parliament had passed a special law to punish manifestations of racism, which would be applied with the utmost strictness.

54. With regard to the Decade for Action to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination, France had voted in favour of General Assembly resolution 2919 (XXVII), in which it had been decided that the launching of the Decade should be proclaimed on 10 December 1973. In the main, his delegation found the draft programme for the Decade acceptable. However, like the representative of Iran, he felt that the convening of a world conference on the combating of racism and racial discrimination was not altogether advisable. The Commission on Human Rights, the Economic and Social Council and

the General Assembly were sufficiently representative bodies, and questions relating to racial discrimination, *apartheid*, decolonization and human rights were considered by them every year. He did not feel, therefore, that better results could be achieved at a conference. Moreover, the financial implications of convening such a conference had to be taken into account.

55. The CHAIRMAN suggested that, since there were no more speakers on the list and it was not yet 6 p.m., the informal open-ended working group should begin to meet the same afternoon.

It was so decided.

The meeting rose at 5.05 p.m.

1982nd meeting

Monday, 1 October 1973, at 10.50 a.m.

Chairman: Mr. Yahya MAHMASSANI (Lebanon).

A/C.3/SR.1982

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. KHMIL (Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic) said that his delegation warmly supported the idea of the Decade for Action to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination, and in principle endorsed the draft programme for the Decade (A/9094 and Corr.1, annex I). In doing so, it based itself on the principle of internationalism, equal rights and friendship among peoples, which was a corner-stone of socialism and of the internal life and external policy of the socialist countries. Consistently faithful to that principle, the Ukrainian SSR decisively opposed, as it had always done, all forms of discrimination, particularly racial discrimination, which was one of the most shameful forms of the violation of human rights and dignity. His delegation considered that the concentration of effort provided for in the draft programme would contribute to the eradication of racial discrimination.

His delegation wished, however, to make certain comments which, if taken into account, should make the programme a more effective mobilizing force. In particular, it shared the view that paragraph 5 of the programme was inappropriate; that paragraph accorded neither with past efforts to combat racism and racial discrimination nor with the objective of the document, which was designed to intensify those efforts. The thought expressed in that paragraph accorded more with the view which the racists, co-

lonialists and their partners were trying to propagate: the South African racists and the Portuguese colonialists had for many years been waging a relentless propaganda campaign to present the view that the international community was growing increasingly disenchanted and that the role of the United Nations was constantly declining. Such propaganda was obviously designed to sow the seeds of doubt as to the possibility of overthrowing the racist and colonialist régimes in southern Africa and of eliminating racial discrimination. However, the course of events gave no grounds for belief in that propaganda or in the chances of its success. On the contrary, there were many indications of the growing belief of peoples in the rightness of the cause of eliminating racial discrimination. An indication of that attitude could be found in the current composition of the United Nations: the influx of new States had changed the existing attitudes on racism and racial discrimination; the front on which the struggle was being waged, hitherto limited to the socialist and a few other States, had been widened and a change had occurred in the atmosphere of the discussions and the nature of the decisions taken. The new alignment of forces in the early 1960s had led to the adoption 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, later, the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights and the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights. In addition, the draft Convention on the Suppression and Punishment of the Crime of *Apartheid* had been prepared (A/9095, annex) and would, it was hoped, be adopted by the General Assembly in time for the commencement of the Decade. Furthermore, there was a consolidation of forces at the international, regional and national levels with a view to implementing United Nations decisions relating to racism, *apartheid* and colonialism. An impetus to such efforts had been given in 1971, the International Year for Action to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination, and the General

Assembly, in its resolution 2784 (XXVI), had marked 1971 as the opening year of an ever-growing struggle against racial discrimination in all its forms and manifestations and for the purpose of promoting international solidarity with all those struggling against racism.

3. Faced with the continued existence of the racist régimes in southern Africa, the continued support given to them by international imperialism, and the fact that a number of other countries continued to practise racial discrimination, the world community was growing increasingly alarmed over the fate of peoples subject to imperialist exploitation and racial discrimination, and over the future of international peace and security. However, that alarm was not synonymous with "frustrations and disappointments". Humanity could not remain indifferent to such crimes as the massacre in the village of Viriama in Mozambique or the firing upon the miners at Carletonville in South Africa, but, as the world was aware, the racists and colonialists were resorting to such shameful acts out of despair, and one conclusion could accordingly be drawn, namely, that the struggle against racism and racial discrimination must be intensified.

4. The racist régimes in southern Africa were the most evil sources of racism in the present-day world, and the international community had a duty to the peoples oppressed by those régimes to eliminate them and establish equal rights and freedoms for all peoples. In that connexion, the implementation of United Nations resolutions concerning the severance of all relations with the South African racists and the embargo on the supply to them of arms and military equipment was of vital importance. It was well known that a large number of States Members of the United Nations, including those whose co-operation was decisive for the existence of the racist régimes, were completely ignoring those resolutions. According to information placed before the Special Committee on *Apartheid*, 24 States Members of the United Nations maintained diplomatic representation, while seven others maintained consular representation, in South Africa. In most of those countries South Africa had trade representation and information offices, and in many of them tourist and immigration offices. Western countries assisted South Africa in developing its war potential and they continued to supply that régime with weapons and equipment and to co-operate with it in developing new types of armaments, training military personnel and carrying out military manoeuvres.

5. Between 1962, when the United Nations had appealed for an end to trade with South Africa, and 1972, South Africa's imports had increased by 184 per cent and its exports by 133 per cent. Seventy-two and one half per cent of its trade in 1972 was carried on with 10 developed capitalist countries—its main trading partners. Despite the fact that the General Assembly had condemned the activities of foreign capital in South Africa and had appealed for an end to such activities, foreign capital investments not only continued but were increasing. According to *The Times* of London dated 15 March 1973, 70 per cent of direct capital investments in South Africa in 1970 came from abroad. Currently literally hundreds of industrial concerns and banks of the United Kingdom, the United States, the Federal Republic of Germany, Japan and certain other countries were active in southern Africa.

6. In the light of those facts, it was extremely important that the programme for the Decade should include a statement to the effect that the competent United Nations bodies, firstly, should call upon Member States to apply sanctions against the racist régimes and, secondly, should condemn the activities of foreign economic, financial and other interests which were impeding decolonization and the overthrow of racist régimes, and should appeal for an end to such activities. Those provisions should be included as separate subparagraphs in paragraph 2. In the section of the programme concerning basic measures to be taken at the national, regional and international levels, there should be a direct reference to the need for more specific measures to ensure that all Member States observed United Nations decisions and sanctions against the racist régimes and that foreign corporations and banks curtailed activities impeding the elimination of *apartheid*, racism and colonialism.

7. Some might consider that his delegation's proposals were excessively detailed since the draft programme included points such as those contained in paragraphs 2 (c), 12 (a) (i) and 13 (d). However, while those points might not require such detailed treatment for those directly engaged in United Nations activities relating to *apartheid* and other forms of racial discrimination, they were far from adequate in a programme aimed at mobilizing wide public support for United Nations decisions on those questions. In that connexion, it should be noted that the Commission on Human Rights, in adopting resolution 1 (XXVIII),¹ which related to the preparation of the draft programme, referred, in addition to the foregoing, to the need to consider ways and means of achieving the total international and regional isolation of racist régimes.

8. Too much stress was laid in the draft programme on such measures as the convening of international and regional seminars and conferences, the updating and developing of existing studies and research and the carrying out of further research and study. While his delegation did not object in principle to such measures, it considered that their adoption might strain the Organization's financial resources and that their actual utility was questionable. Past experience indicated that such conferences and research ended in academic discussion of the meaning of race, racial prejudices and racial discrimination, whereas the elimination of *apartheid* and racial discrimination required the massive mobilization of world public opinion, and United Nations efforts should be concentrated on specific measures that might produce such an effect. The centre of the struggle against racism and racial discrimination in the forthcoming Decade must be shifted from the level of academic discussion on racial discrimination to that of eradication of its causes and restraint of those who propagated it.

9. In countries in which racial discrimination existed, it was interpreted as deriving from human nature itself and, consequently, as existing in one form or another all over the world. Even some research carried out within the United Nations was not free from that interpretation. His delegation disagreed in principle with such interpretations. It was convinced that the basis for racial discrimination was to be found in social and

¹ See *Official Records of the Economic and Social Council, Fifty-second Session, Supplement No. 7*, chap. XIII.

economic exploitation, with the disappearance of which the preconditions for such discrimination would likewise disappear. That conviction was strengthened by experience in the Ukrainian SSR and other socialist countries, where the elimination of the exploitation of man by man had been accompanied by the disappearance of conflict based on race or nationality and by the creation of friendly relations and co-operation among peoples of all nationalities and races. A striking demonstration of that fact had been provided by the fiftieth anniversary of the foundation of the USSR, about which the USSR representative had spoken in detail at the preceding meeting. Research should accordingly concern itself with racial and national relations under various social systems in both socialist and capitalist societies.

10. Turning to the question of co-ordination and review and appraisal, he said his delegation fully shared the position of those delegations that opposed the establishment of a special committee for that purpose. The programme was aimed at accomplishing a task of paramount importance and embraced a whole range of activities; transfer of the functions of co-ordination and evaluation to a temporary body with limited possibilities would diminish its significance. Such control should be exercised directly by a representative, competent and authoritative body of the United Nations, and his delegation considered that that body should be the Economic and Social Council.

11. His comments reflected a sincere desire on the part of the Ukrainian SSR to co-operate in the speedy and full elimination of *apartheid*, racism and racial discrimination, and he hoped that they would receive due attention.

12. Mr. ROOTHE (Jamaica) said that UNESCO, the Economic and Social Council, the Commission on Human Rights, the Division of Human Rights of the Secretariat and the non-governmental organizations concerned were all to be commended for their work in preparing the draft programme (A/9094 and Corr.1, annex I).

13. However, great care would have to be exercised to ensure that the Decade did not turn out to be a pipe dream and, like a number of other loudly proclaimed decades, only a pale shadow of what had been intended. His delegation's words of caution should not be taken to indicate any lack of enthusiasm for the Decade on the part of his country. They simply expressed Jamaica's recognition of the great difficulties faced in finding the ways and means to implement the programme.

14. In his address to the Fourth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held at Algiers in September 1973, the Prime Minister of Jamaica had suggested that all problems in human affairs required a summoning of political will. In the context of the programme, the questions of political will and financial will were of the greatest concern to his delegation. The Government and people of Jamaica were convinced that racial discrimination was wrong by whatever criteria one might judge it, and Jamaica's uncompromising opposition to racism and racial discrimination was well known throughout the world and was a matter of record at the United Nations. They had already done much and were ready to undertake whatever else was required in terms of international action. In the light of the comments made by some States in

other United Nations forums, his delegation could not but wonder whether the goodwill and political will of Member States with respect to the programme would be sufficient to ensure the success of the first of what Jamaica expected would be a number of decades of action for the elimination of racial discrimination.

15. His delegation took the view that the Committee should undertake a detailed consideration of the programme, but that its task in connexion with subitem 53 (a) should not be one of decrying racial discrimination. That could be done more appropriately when the Committee considered subitems 53 (b), (c) and (d). Rather, his delegation saw the Committee's task as one of carefully examining the programme and recommending it for adoption by the General Assembly.

16. It was clear that the main elements of the draft programme were, firstly, information; secondly, co-ordinated action; and, thirdly, assistance. With regard to information, his delegation attached the greatest importance to paragraphs 15, on research and study, and 16, on education, training and information; in fact, it considered them to be the very crux of the programme. It also felt that both UNESCO and the non-governmental organizations had a vital role to play in planning and implementing programmes for the Decade. His delegation eagerly awaited the presentation by UNESCO of its programme of action for research, training, information and normative action. Furthermore, his delegation hoped that, in their approach to and action on plans for the Decade, individual States would have sufficient political will to facilitate a frank study of the situation in their own territory in an endeavour to ensure that there were no unconscious factors that might contribute to the perpetration of racism and racial discrimination.

17. His delegation endorsed the national policy measures proposed in paragraph 12 of the programme, and was pleased to state that the great majority of those policy measures were already in effect in Jamaica.

18. With regard to paragraph 13, his delegation supported in principle the proposal for a world conference, which could be regarded as being akin to the highly successful International Conference on Human Rights held at Teheran in 1968. His delegation believed that such a conference would be one of the highlights of the Decade and would attract world-wide attention. The idea of such a conference commended itself to his delegation, and it was prepared to join in a careful assessment of that proposal.

19. The only proposed international policy measure in paragraph 13 with which his delegation had some difficulty was that referred to in subparagraph (g). Its reservation was based on the fact that the adoption of new international instruments on racial discrimination and the crime of *apartheid* depended on an exercise of political will; States could not be forced to adopt and implement such measures. One of the most important aspects of the Decade was the need to examine ways and means, as outlined in the programme, of obtaining the implementation of and compliance with existing international instruments and resolutions. It was pointless to continue to adopt such instruments and resolutions without being able to ensure the implementation of existing ones. He wished, however, to make an exception with regard to the preparation of the draft Convention on the Suppression and Punishment of the

Crime of *Apartheid* (A/9095, annex), on which much work had already been done, and which was a special case.

20. Turning to the question of co-ordination and review and appraisal referred to in paragraph 18 of the programme, he said that the discussions in the Commission on Human Rights and the Economic and Social Council indicated that there were three alternatives: the task could be entrusted to the Economic and Social Council, the Commission on Human Rights or a specially appointed committee. In that connexion, his delegation recognized fully the primacy of the Economic and Social Council in such matters. However, account should be taken of the fact that the Council had recently been entrusted with new duties with regard to the International Development Strategy and the review of the Strategy. It seemed to him that the Council had throughout the years tended, perhaps without realizing it, to give more consideration to economic than to social matters. The proposal for a special committee might therefore be a good one, and should be given further consideration.

21. However, he supported the proposal outlined in paragraph 18 (f) to the effect that the special committee should act as the preparatory committee for the world conference. The Economic and Social Council would not be able to undertake such a duty, even if it were ready to undertake the review and appraisal—which was highly doubtful, in view of its work schedule. Hence there was a good case for the establishment of a special committee.

22. With regard to the question of financial resources, he drew attention to paragraph 8 of the note by the Secretary-General (A/C.3/L.1995) on the administrative and financial implications of the draft programme, in which it was stated that its implementation would entail an additional workload for the Division of Human Rights. He wished to contrast that statement with the opinion expressed by the Advisory Committee on Administrative and Budgetary Questions in its first report on the proposed programme budget for 1974-1975 to the effect that the Division was clearly in a position to undertake the work in connexion with the proposed Decade without any additional posts, by utilizing its spare capacity.² Hence there was an obvious difference of opinion as to the availability of the necessary resources even before the Decade was launched.

23. In paragraphs 9 and 10 of that note, the Secretary-General stated that a phased addition to the manning table of the Division would be required for the programme, and that he had "no alternative but to reiterate the estimate presented to the Commission on Human Rights and subsequently to the Economic and Social Council at its fifty-fourth session". His delegation was gravely concerned that, at a time when the United Nations was about to launch the Decade, it was experiencing difficulties in finding the staff resources needed to make the Decade a success, and he urged all delegations to consider the matter most carefully.

24. In conclusion, he considered it very important that the draft programme should include a definition of racial discrimination, and supported the view that the definition contained in article 1 of the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination should be used.

² Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-eighth Session, Supplement No. 8, para. 20.14.

25. Mrs. GEORGE (Trinidad and Tobago) said that the draft programme for the Decade for Action to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination had already been accepted in principle through the endorsement of the relevant United Nations bodies to which it had been submitted for consideration. Her delegation had supported the decision in General Assembly resolution 2919 (XXVII) to launch the activities of the Decade on 10 December 1973. It viewed the Decade as a precursor to intensified activity and interest in the subject, which would lead to significant social change and, eventually, to the complete elimination of racism and racial discrimination.

26. Her delegation noted that in paragraph 12 (b) of the draft programme and in paragraph 4 of the draft recommendations of the Committee on Non-Governmental Organizations (A/9094 and Corr.1, annex II), a justifiable emphasis was placed on the education of youth in human rights and against racism and racial discrimination, while no adequate provision was made for the education of adults. An intensive programme of adult education in the field of human rights was needed to run concurrently with the planned education of youth during the Decade, since the attitudes of adult society constituted a decisive influence on human rights education. The involvement of adults in such education should be brought about through direct or indirect governmental action.

27. Her delegation could not accept the proposal made by the representative of the Philippines at the 1980th meeting that the reference to the equal rights of men and women should be deleted from paragraph 1 of the draft programme. He had argued that discrimination on account of sex was unrelated to racial discrimination, since women were not a separate race. That was quite true, but neither was youth a separate race. Her delegation viewed any manifestation of discrimination as having a bearing on racial intolerance; any attempt to deal with the problem, therefore, should take into account all aspects of discrimination in any form.

28. In that regard, her delegation formally proposed that consideration should be given to the particular involvement of women in the programme for the Decade, taking into account the programme envisaged for International Women's Year in 1975, and that the proposed activities for the celebration of that Year should be harmonized with the activities of the Decade, since the elimination of racism and racial discrimination was an integral part of women's crusade for equality with men.

29. There was a positive link between the inequality of women and the education of youth, since young people closely observed the relationship between men and women in society in seeking guidance in the formation of their own social attitudes. Thus, careful attention should be given to that problem in the proposed areas of research and study outlined in paragraph 15 of the draft programme.

30. With regard to paragraph 1 of the suggestions made by the Committee of Non-Governmental Organizations on Human Rights (*ibid.*, annex III) which stated that the definition of racism and racial discrimination for the entire programme should be based on the definition of racial discrimination given in article 1 of the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination, her delegation felt that

the broader and more flexible approach embodied in the draft programme would help create a stronger base for achieving the desired objectives. Consequently, it would not agree to any definition that would limit the scope of the programme.

31. On the other hand, her delegation welcomed the interest shown by the non-governmental organizations in their effort to co-operate and participate in the implementation of the programme, and whole-heartedly endorsed paragraph 5 of the suggestions (*ibid.*) and paragraph 10 of the recommendations of the Committee on Non-Governmental Organizations (*ibid.*, annex II).

32. The implementation machinery would be one of the most decisive factors in the success of the programme. In that connexion, her delegation believed that the Social Committee of the Economic and Social Council should be given the responsibility for evaluating and co-ordinating all the activities carried out during the Decade.

33. Her delegation could not accept the proposal by the Ukrainian SSR and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics in document A/9094/Add.1 that paragraph 5 of the draft programme should be deleted. It was true that the provisions of the paragraph were somewhat ambiguous, but any attempt to take a positive long-term course of action required that a realistic acknowledgement of *de facto* attitudes must be kept in focus.

34. Mr. COSTA COUTO (Brazil) said that the problems of racism and racial discrimination which, unfortunately, appeared on the Committee's agenda year after year deserved the high priority assigned to them. His delegation had repeatedly expressed its strong feelings on the subject, citing the historical origins of Brazil, the multiracial basis of its society and the non-existence within its frontiers of prejudices based on race. Racial integration in Brazil was so authentic and so natural that it would be impossible for any Brazilian to accept or even to understand discrimination against a human being because of the colour of his skin.

35. Under the Brazilian Constitution everyone was equal before the law, without distinction as to sex, race, employment, religious creed or political convictions. Racial prejudice was punishable by law. Measures had also been taken to widen the education of youth, and even children, on the subject of human rights, the equality of all human beings and the evils of racial discrimination.

36. In the international field, Brazil, a founding member of the United Nations, had actively participated in the Organization's activities against racism and had made significant contributions to the drafting of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination. His delegation had supported the setting up of the Special Committee on *Apartheid* and the United Nations Council for Namibia. It fully supported and applied Security Council resolution 282 (1970) calling for a general embargo on all arms shipments to South Africa.

37. His delegation had welcomed and supported the programme for the commemoration of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the initiatives leading to the adoption of the draft programme for the Decade for Action To Combat

Racism and Racial Discrimination. Consequently, it had voted in favour of Assembly resolutions 2784 (XXVI), 2906 (XXVII) and 2919 (XXVII).

38. Because it had not had time at the fifty-fourth session of the Economic and Social Council to examine the draft programme now before the Committee, his delegation had refrained from participating in the debate and the voting on the draft. If the Council had been given enough time to improve on the draft—the objectives of which his delegation fully supported, many of the points raised by previous speakers would no doubt have been rendered superfluous.

39. At the 1980th meeting, the representative of the Philippines had criticized the draft programme on the ground that it raised issues extraneous to racial discrimination as such. That was the case in paragraph 1 of the draft programme, in which reference was made to "the equal rights of men and women and of nations large and small". He did not think that the repetition of parts of the Preamble to the Charter in paragraph 1 was necessary, since the programme should be direct, pragmatic and action-oriented. He felt that the various types of discrimination referred to in paragraphs 3, 8, 10 and 15 were extraneous to the problem under consideration and that reference to them should be deleted if the programme was not to lose its impact and the limited resources of the United Nations were not to be wasted in activities already undertaken under other programmes. A striking example was the preparation of studies of the type called for in paragraph 15 (d) (v). Such ambitious studies would put such a strain on the manpower and other resources of the Secretariat that its output might be seriously jeopardized. The draft programme also called for a substantial increase in the budget of the interested departments of the Secretariat, which seemed unrealistic in view of the current financial difficulties of the Organization.

40. In paragraph 13, it was stated that one of the main themes of the proposed world conference on combating racism and racial discrimination should be the adoption of ways and means for securing adherence to and ratification and enforcement of the instruments on human rights. Again, that proposal was unrealistic, given the multiplicity of such instruments.

41. His delegation endorsed the suggestion by the Committee of Non-Governmental Organizations on Human Rights that the definition of racial discrimination for the entire programme should be the one given in article 1, paragraph 1, of the International Convention; it also supported the proposal that non-governmental organizations should participate more fully in the struggle against racism.

42. His delegation interpreted paragraph 2 (d) of the draft programme in terms of the spirit of paragraph 6 (a) and (b); in other words, the struggle against racism should be carried out with full adherence to the purposes and principles of the Charter.

43. His delegation supported the holding of a world conference as a major feature of the Decade; it had an open mind with regard to the date, but would prefer it to be held by the middle of the Decade. It seemed advisable for the Committee to try to reach a consensus on the date for the conference.

44. Paragraph 13 (g) of the draft programme deserved careful scrutiny. Its provisions seemed to constitute a

blank cheque for the adoption of new international instruments. However, every instrument had to be examined on its own merits. For example, his delegation supported the objectives of the draft Convention on the Suppression and Punishment of the Crime of *Apartheid* (A/9095, annex) but felt that some of its articles needed to be carefully weighed from the standpoint of international law and the sovereignty of States. Accordingly, it considered that the reference to the crime of *apartheid* in paragraph 15 (d) (vii) of the draft programme was premature.

45. With regard to the question of financial resources, his delegation had supported the establishment of the funds already in existence and had been contributing regularly to one of them. All of those funds were directed against racism in southern Africa and their only limitation was the inadequacy of the resources available to them. The establishment of another fund would merely intensify the competition for scarce resources. Thus, instead of a new fund, he would prefer a drive to be made to encourage Member States to increase their contributions to the existing funds.

46. His delegation was deeply concerned at the fact that paragraph 18 barred the Economic and Social Council from the activities of the programme. The Council was one of the main bodies of the United Nations and had been established precisely for the purpose of dealing with both social and economic questions. Since it had been enlarged and strengthened, it was impossible for his delegation to accept a curtailment of its competence in such a fundamental field as the one under consideration.

47. There were a number of drawbacks to the proposal for the establishment of a special committee in paragraph 18 of the draft programme. Apart from the financial implications and the implications for the already overburdened calendar of meetings of United Nations bodies, consideration should be given to the possibility of overlapping with the work of the Sub-Commission on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities and the Commission on Human Rights and the extra burden that would be imposed on the small number of specialized staff from Member States and on the Secretariat.

48. Mr. ACEMAH (Uganda) said his delegation attached the utmost importance to the item under consideration, since Africa, more than any other continent, had long suffered from the scourge of racism and racial discrimination. Its peoples had been oppressed, exploited, tortured and treated as second-class citizens by foreigners in their own lands. That continued to be the reality in southern Africa.

49. His Government's stand on the issues of racism and racial discrimination was clear and well known. In the United Nations and other international assemblies it had consistently condemned racism and racial discrimination in all their forms and wherever they existed. It had supported all measures taken by the United Nations to eradicate those evils. However, it was distressed to observe that some countries, and particularly South Africa, Portugal and Rhodesia, had consistently defied the Charter of the United Nations, world opinion and international law, and had ignored the decisions and resolutions of the United Nations on those issues. Those racist régimes were only deceiving themselves if they thought that they could continue to suppress the

forces of self-determination, human equality and justice forever.

50. His Government had also condemned all those countries which had directly or indirectly encouraged the racist régimes in the crimes they had committed against humanity, and it continued to appeal to them to desist from giving any form of support to those régimes.

51. Uganda had consistently given both material and moral support to the just struggle of all peoples fighting against racism and racial discrimination, particularly in southern Africa and the Portuguese colonies in Africa. It had channelled assistance to Africans fighting for human dignity and equality through the Liberation Committee of the Organization of African Unity and directly to the various liberation movements active in those areas.

52. It was against that background that his delegation welcomed the draft programme for the Decade for Action to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination and wished to congratulate all those who had been involved in the preparation of the programme, which, it trusted, would be adopted by the United Nations. There had been enough talk in the international community about racism and racial discrimination. Action to combat those anachronistic social evils was long overdue.

53. His own country was already implementing many of the policy measures set forth in the draft programme. It supported in principle establishing a special United Nations body to administer and co-ordinate the implementation of the programme. It hoped that all nations represented on the Committee would actively participate in the challenging task confronting it. Racism and racial discrimination posed a serious threat to world peace and security and a major racial conflict in southern Africa could be averted only through the active co-operation of the entire world community.

54. Lord GAINFORD (United Kingdom), welcoming the new States Members of the United Nations, recalled the statement by his country's Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs in the general debate (2128th plenary meeting) that the entry of the two German States was a historic step which would undoubtedly have beneficial effects. His delegation greatly admired the generous manner in which the Federal Republic of Germany had compensated those who had suffered hardship under the Third Reich and hoped that the German Democratic Republic would find it possible to act in a similar spirit. The Bahamas and his country had strong historical ties and his delegation looked forward to continuing that warm association.

55. Racial discrimination was a world-wide problem which was not limited to any one country or continent and could not be eliminated overnight. Inevitably, it was associated in particular with the continent of Africa because that was where the most striking and blatant manifestations occurred. It was, however, important to bear in mind that it was universal and occurred in many different shapes and forms. Despite that variety, it could be said that racial discrimination was a product of racial prejudice, which in turn was a complex and imperfectly understood phenomenon. Much study was still needed to determine the precise causes of racial prejudice and the means to overcome them. Existing research, however, indicated that racial prejudice had its roots in fear and ignorance. There was no simple or

easy answer as to how to deal with such prejudices but its eradication could undoubtedly be facilitated by education and by more effective procedures for conciliation.

56. It was against that broad background that the Committee should consider the Decade for Action to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination. The measures proposed must be truly constructive and serve to lessen racial prejudice and thus help to eliminate racial discrimination. The Committee must probe honestly and searchingly and must not content itself with suggestions for action which might at first appear likely to give rise to desired results but which, on closer analysis, might be counter-productive. Much thought and hard work had gone into the formulation of the proposals for the Decade and his delegation particularly welcomed the recognition implicit throughout the programme that racial discrimination was a world-wide problem and one which could not be solved quickly by a universal application of a single remedy. It also particularly welcomed the emphasis on education, research and information and on the need to take positive action to eradicate racial discrimination and to promote racial harmony.

57. The proposal in paragraph 13 (a) of the draft programme concerning a world conference was one of the central features of the programme. At first sight, the proposal appeared to fit in perfectly with the Decade and seemed certain to have useful results. Closer analysis, however, revealed that that was not necessarily so. What could the conference achieve that could not be achieved by another means? Was it certain to go beyond sterile debate? A world conference of the kind envisaged would inevitably be expensive and the question was whether, in its continuing financial straits, the United Nations could meet the cost of such a conference without a major call on its limited resources. His delegation therefore felt that while the cause was thoroughly praiseworthy, a world conference was likely to require a large financial outlay by an organization which could not afford it and to produce few, if any, positive results. It might be better, as suggested by the representative of Poland (1979th meeting), to devote some of the resources that would be needed for the conference to such valuable items as scholarships instead.

58. His delegation recognized that such a view might not be overwhelmingly supported. Therefore, if it was decided to hold a conference, every effort should be made to ensure that it produced positive results. Careful preparation to ensure that its scope was properly defined was therefore necessary. To that end, the conference must deal with the elimination of all forms of racial discrimination, not only of its most blatant manifestations. In that connexion, he wished to remind the Committee of the definition of racial discrimination as set out in article 1 of the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination. The main theme of the conference should be ways and means to put an end to racial discrimination as defined in the Convention. Such a theme would focus attention on the many different possible manifestations of racial discrimination, would increase knowledge of the phenomenon of racial prejudice and would hold out the prospect of real and lasting achievements in that important area.

59. Some co-ordinating machinery for the Decade was necessary but its precise form was open to question. The programme advocated the establishment of a special committee to assume responsibility for co-ordinating the programmes and evaluating activities during the Decade. The Committee should ask itself whether the task to be done could not be adequately carried out with the existing machinery. His delegation felt that within the machinery of the Economic and Social Council adequate means could be found to carry out that task, perhaps by placing prime responsibility on the Council's Social Committee. Furthermore, the detailed provisions for the co-ordination and review and appraisal, and reporting of the Decade, as set out in paragraph 18 of the draft programme, seemed somewhat premature. There was no need for more frequent review and appraisal than in the case of the International Development Strategy, i.e. every two years. It should be sufficient if the Social Committee of the Economic and Social Council were charged with that responsibility every two years, devoting, perhaps, a week of its spring session to the Decade.

60. His delegation stood ready to help the informal open-ended working group to determine how the programme might be improved.

61. The Committee should approach its task with understanding and tolerance. The spirit which, 25 years before, had brought about the adoption of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights should be recalled, for, above all, it was important that the Decade should be seen to have the greatest measure of support behind it. If the Committee was ready to adopt a spirit of conciliation and harmony—so essential to the lessening of racial prejudice and the elimination of racial discrimination, his delegation had no doubt that it would succeed.

62. Mr. VAN WALSUM (Netherlands) said it was a matter of record that his delegation supported the proclamation of the Decade as well as the elaboration of measures designed to prevent it from falling into oblivion once it had been launched.

63. The draft recommendations and suggestions in annexes II and III of document A/9094 and Corr.1 were before the Committee by virtue of the Economic and Social Council's decision taken at its 1877th meeting. At the fifty-fifth session of the Council it had rightly been pointed out that the Council Committee on Non-Governmental Organizations had done admirable work despite such unfavourable circumstances as lack of time. His delegation therefore felt that annexes II and III deserved careful consideration, either in the Committee as a whole or in the informal working group. It had been a wise decision to limit the terms of reference of the working group, at the initial stage, to the four areas of dispute—the definition, the conference, the fund and the special committee—because it was obvious that the deliberations on those subjects would proceed better in such an informal atmosphere. The Committee should be aware, however, of the risk that the satisfaction produced by the efficiency of the working group procedure might lead to the belief that once those four issues had been settled the way would have been cleared for a unanimous adoption of the programme without further delay. While his delegation favoured unanimous adoption, it must be borne in mind that a responsible discussion should not be limited to four subjects which had been given privileged treatment

only because they were controversial. The Committee owed it to the non-governmental organizations, whose full and active participation in the Decade was indispensable, to give serious consideration to the follow-up which their contributions required.

64. His delegation had some reservations on paragraph 6 of the draft recommendations in annex II. It felt, however, that that contribution could serve as a useful basis for either an annex to the programme, specifically dealing with the role of non-governmental organizations, or a separate resolution on the subject. His delegation therefore invited others interested in the further elaboration of that idea to join it in drawing up a generally acceptable text in one of the two forms indicated.

65. Annex III consisted of suggested modifications to the draft programme and should therefore be treated in the same manner as other such suggestions. Although, under its initial terms of reference, the working group had thus far tackled only the first of those suggestions, his delegation felt that it might be a good idea to invite that body to extend its consideration to all of annex III at a later stage.

66. On the matter of co-ordination, he noted that there was a strong trend in favour of reverting to the original proposal of the Sub-Commission on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities to entrust the Council with the task of supervising and co-ordinating the activities of the Decade. His delegation was inclined to share that view. There too, its considerations were based on the position of the non-governmental organizations. The problem with a special committee established by the General Assembly was that the relationship between such a body and the non-governmental organizations would not be automatically defined. In other words, in the context of the Decade, the non-governmental organizations would be, so to speak, deprived of their consultative status. Such a problem would not arise if the Economic and Social Council was charged with the task of co-ordination. If, however, the General Assembly should decide to establish a special committee for that purpose, there would be all the more need to make new and specific arrangements for non-governmental organizations, i.e. to determine their status and to strengthen their role.

67. Mr. VON KYAW (Federal Republic of Germany) expressed appreciation of the kind words of welcome extended to his delegation by previous speakers.

68. On the occasion of the admission of the Federal Republic of Germany to the United Nations, his country's Minister for Foreign Affairs had stated in the General Assembly (2119th plenary meeting) that every individual had the right freely to develop his personality and to live free from oppression and that his country therefore rejected all racial discrimination and colonial rule. A few days earlier, Chancellor Willy Brandt, addressing the Assembly (2128th plenary meeting), had condemned racism and colonialism in clear and unequivocal terms. Those statements reflected both the basic political concept of and the realities in the Federal Republic of Germany. Convinced that the realization of human rights began at home, the Federal Republic of Germany had made a great practical effort to abolish racial discrimination. The first and foremost principle of its Constitution was the inviolability of the dignity of the individual. All persons should be equal

before the law and no one might be discriminated against because of his parentage, race, homeland or origin. As far as his country was concerned, any kind of racial discrimination was unlawful and that principle was binding on the legislative, executive and judicial branches of the Government. Every individual, whether a German citizen or an alien, could take legal action to enforce his rights, including the annulment of unlawful administrative measures. Furthermore, there were both constitutional and penal law provisions and stipulations which gave the authorities the power, and indeed made it their duty, to take action against any violations of the principle of racial tolerance.

69. The Federal Republic of Germany had also become a party to the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination, to the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide and to the European Convention on Human Rights. The International Covenants on Human Rights were being examined by the Federal Parliament and his delegation was confident that it would be able to make a further announcement on that matter in the near future.

70. It was not his intention to be misleading by painting an idyllic picture of the situation in his own country while condemning racism in certain parts of the world. His delegation was fully aware that the evils of racial discrimination, oppression and exploitation were still to be found in many parts of the world. The dignity of man continued to be violated and the racial policies applied in the southern part of Africa were a particularly painful and intolerable example. It therefore followed that his delegation welcomed the draft programme for the Decade for Action to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination. It would like to see the Decade make an effective contribution to the worldwide struggle against racial discrimination, thereby promoting better understanding for the dignity of man and his inalienable rights.

71. His delegation considered useful the suggestion in annex III of the Secretary-General's report (A/9094 and Corr.1) aimed at providing a clearer definition of the term "racial discrimination" by using the definition in article 1 of the International Convention. That definition had so far been accepted by 75 States. It also welcomed the proposal by the Soviet Union, in document A/9094/Add.1, that the function of co-ordination should be entrusted to the Economic and Social Council. It would prefer the Social Committee to deal with the matter, since the Commission on Human Rights was already overburdened with important work. It might be advisable to be a little more flexible with regard to the date of the proposed world conference in order to ensure the necessary preparation and to guarantee practical results. An agreement on a generally accepted programme would be the most noteworthy contribution which the Committee could make to the struggle against racial discrimination.

72. Mr. SHEN (China) said that racial discrimination in various forms still existed in some self-styled "civilized countries". Of course, the most intolerable crimes of racism and racial discrimination were to be found in the southern part of Africa. The people of Azania, Zimbabwe and Namibia had not only been deprived of their political, economic and cultural rights under prolonged colonialist and racist rule, but their

fundamental right to survival had also been trampled on. The racist régimes of South Africa and Rhodesia subjected the broad masses of African people under their domination to barbarous *apartheid* and Fascist rule. Recently innocent miners at Carletonville had been slaughtered in an attempt to suppress the African peoples' struggle against racist régimes. The Portuguese colonialists still occupied Angola, Mozambique and Guinea-Bissau, enforcing their ruthless colonial rule over 13 million Africans. Abetted by imperialism, the régimes of South Africa and Rhodesia had entered into a reactionary military alliance with the Portuguese colonial authorities for the purpose of suppressing and massacring the people in southern Africa who were striving for national liberation and the defence of their basic human rights. All countries and peoples that upheld justice had expressed their utmost indignation at, and had strongly condemned, those reactionary and brutal acts.

73. The evils of racial discrimination and *apartheid* in southern Africa were by no means isolated phenomena but were closely linked to the aggressive and colonialist policies of imperialism. Regrettably, while some Western Powers professed a desire to defend the principles of the Charter and to strengthen the role of the United Nations, they were daily trampling on the Charter and deliberately violating the relevant resolutions. They extended political, diplomatic, economic and military assistance to the white racist régimes in southern Africa. That was the basic reason why the racists dared to ignore the relevant United Nations resolutions in defiance of the universal will of the people. The African people must therefore integrate their struggle for national liberation with the struggle against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism in order to eradicate the evils of racial discrimination and *apartheid*.

74. Some other countries which expressed their objection to racial discrimination were still maintaining relations with the racist régime of South Africa and were continuously increasing their investments in southern Africa. His delegation strongly condemned those countries which violated the General Assembly and the Security Council resolutions on sanctions, and demanded that those countries which gave political and economic support to the racist régimes in southern Africa should sever all contacts with them.

75. The people in southern Africa had never submitted to the sanguinary rule of the colonialists and racists. They had waged unrelenting struggles in various forms, including armed struggle, against imperialism, colonialism and racism. They had emerged ever stronger in their struggles and continued to march forward. The Government of the People's Republic of China welcomed the birth of the Republic of Guinea-Bissau and had decided to recognize it.

76. His delegation was pleased to note that in the preceding year increasingly broader assistance had been given by the world community, particularly the African people, to the struggle of the people in southern Africa for national liberation. The African countries were becoming more closely united in giving strong

support to their brothers in the southern part of the continent. The Solemn Declaration on General Policy, adopted at Addis Ababa in May 1973, on the occasion of the tenth anniversary of the Organization of African Unity, reaffirmed the determination of African countries to eradicate colonialism and racism from African soil and emphasized the intensification of the armed struggle being waged by the liberation movements. The Declaration on the Struggle for National Liberation adopted by the Fourth Conference of Non-Aligned Countries strongly condemned imperialism, colonialism, neo-colonialism, racism and zionism, decided to establish a support and solidarity fund to increase the effectiveness of the struggles of national liberation movements, and pledged to undertake in any circumstances to increase their military, material, political and moral aid to the liberation movements. That was a powerful encouragement to the people of southern Africa and was an expression of the strong determination of the peoples of Africa and the world to unite in defeating imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism and in winning national liberation and the eradication of racism. His delegation was convinced that if the people of southern Africa united with all the forces fighting against racism and persevered in that struggle, the three heavy burdens of imperialism, colonialism and racism would surely be lifted.

77. The Chinese people had deep sympathy for the plight of the people of Azania, Zimbabwe, Namibia, Mozambique, Angola and Guinea-Bissau and resolutely supported their just struggle against imperialism, colonialism, neo-colonialism and racism and for national liberation and basic human rights. Ever since the restoration of China's lawful rights in the United Nations, his delegation had consistently supported all positive resolutions in favour of that struggle. Proceeding from that consistent stand, his delegation generally supported the draft programme for the Decade for Action to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination. It was willing to discuss specific provisions with other delegations in order to improve the text. On the question of convening an international conference, it supported the idea of some African delegations that it should be incorporated into the programme, and it proposed that the Economic and Social Council should proceed with the preparations for the conference at an early date. Furthermore, his delegation felt that the objective and task of the conference should be to review the implementation of relevant United Nations resolutions on racial discrimination and *apartheid* to see what had been done to assist the people of southern Africa and to oppose the racist régimes of South Africa and Rhodesia. The United Nations had adopted many resolutions on that matter. What remained to be done was to adopt concrete measures to ensure that those resolutions were scrupulously implemented.

78. The CHAIRMAN said that if he heard no objections, he would take it that the list of speakers for the general debate had been closed.

It was so decided.

The meeting rose at 12.55 p.m.