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Chairman: Mr. Humberto DIAZ CASANUEVA
(Chile).

AGENDA ITEM 47

Measures designed to promote among youth the ideals of peace, mutual respect and understanding between peoples (A/5364, A/5445, E/3638 and Add.1, A/C.3/L.1183/Rev.2) (continued)

1. Mr. COCHAUX (Belgium) commenting on two points raised in connexion with his statement (1284th meeting), said that when he had referred to hasty work, he had had in mind not the drafting of the declaration, but the Committee's own deliberations. In reply to the suggestion that he had not given sufficient attention to the arguments for a declaration, adduced in the report of the Acting Director-General of UNESCO, he referred to the text of that document, and particularly to the Director-General's statement that "different views may be held as to whether it is desirable, useful and feasible for the United Nations or UNESCO to attempt to draft such a declaration of principles" (see E/3638, para. 334), to the fact that, of the replies concerning the UNESCO discussion paper, more had opposed the drafting of a declaration than favoured it (*ibid.*, para. 338), and to the observation of the Director-General, based on his inquiry, that the "divergence of views in itself casts doubts on the possibility of reaching agreement on the terms of an international declaration" (*ibid.*, para. 48). Those were some of the factors he had considered in his statement. He could agree to a declaration, but only if it was worked out carefully and with the participation of experts and of young people themselves.

2. Miss WACHUKU (Nigeria) said that education had a most important place in her country's development programme, for the Nigerian Government recognized the vital role which youth could play, both in economic development and in the propagation of ideals of peace, mutual respect and understanding throughout the world. Her Government encouraged the participation of Nigerian youth in various international programmes, seminars, sports events and cultural exchanges. It felt that there was a need to broaden the horizon of youth, to make it aware that the world was made up of different peoples which, despite their differences, had the same essential humanity and were all equals.

3. The world, which had been plagued throughout the ages by persons and groups seeking to dominate others,

had recently witnessed an attempt to build a "master race" and still knew today a doctrine designed to deprive whole peoples of their basic dignity and humanity; there were films and newspapers which portrayed Africans and others in an unfavourable light, and all too frequent manifestations of bigotry and hatred for peoples of different creed, race or ideology. Such attitudes were a source of danger to the civilized world and became even more dangerous when systematically implanted in the young.

4. As teaching in schools played a most important part in moulding the minds of youth, instruction should be specifically related to the promotion of respect for others and should exclude anything that might encourage children to believe themselves superior on racial, national or any other ground.

5. Her Government had always held that everything should be done to engender confidence in people's minds and that the idea that various systems could not exist side by side with each other should be combated. It was most important for the future of the world that the principle of coexistence should be accepted not only in theory but in practice.

6. The revised draft declaration contained in the second revision of the draft resolution before the Committee (A/C.3/L.1183/Rev.2), which her delegation co-sponsored, would, if adopted and faithfully implemented by States, go a long way towards ensuring that the young were brought up in the right spirit and in a favourable environment. Everyone should realize that nuclear war would mean an end to human civilization; that point was well covered in the draft declaration. But tolerance based on fear of annihilation was not enough—something more positive was needed, and that the draft declaration also provided in stating that the education of the young should prepare them for mutual understanding, international co-operation, friendship and respect between peoples. Those and the other ideals proclaimed in the draft must be fostered in the minds of the young, if the principles of the United Nations Charter, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and other important instruments of the United Nations designed to make the world a happier place to live in were ultimately to be realized. She trusted that the draft declaration would receive universal support.

7. Mr. TODOROV (Bulgaria) remarked that the present era was one of enormous changes affecting every aspect of human existence. Those changes were of direct significance and interest to the young, who were particularly concerned with peace and coexistence, questions on which their future depended.

8. Today the rearing of the young was a matter of concern not only to the family and the community but also to Governments and international organizations. It was entirely appropriate that the General Assembly should devote attention to the matter. In the Charter,

the peoples of the United Nations expressed their determination to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war. Effect must be given to that determination both negatively, by preventing and punishing breaches of the peace, and positively, by creating favourable conditions for the maintenance of peace. The present item came under the latter heading, and its discussion was fully in keeping with the Charter provisions on the maintenance of peace and the promotion of international co-operation in the human rights field.

9. His delegation did not share the view that the subject under discussion was not sufficiently important to warrant the adoption of a special declaration. Attempts had been made to skirt the main issue and turn the debate to certain marginal matters. But it would be a grave error to lose sight of the basic and vitally important question of teaching the young to defend peace and international friendship and to combat ideas of national and racial superiority. The importance of the subject was clear from the interest shown in it by Member States and from the close connexion they saw between it and the maintenance of peace.

10. The draft declaration did not specify measures for international co-operation in the rearing of the young. That did not mean that those favouring the declaration underrated the importance of practical measures such as those to increase contacts and exchanges. On the contrary, the adoption of general principles would encourage practical steps. He found it incomprehensible, in that connexion, that some speakers should have suggested that the proposed general principles would limit the freedom of the young and hamper the free exchange of views among them.

11. Some representatives had complained that the draft declaration employed general and undefined notions, such as "humanism" and "freedom", which might be variously interpreted. It was quite true that the meanings of words changed with time and with changing conditions, but the new contents of such words as "freedom", "humanity" and "equality" represented an advance, for the words became applicable to ever wider groups of people. He could not see that the enrichment of the meaning of words should be a ground for rejecting the draft declaration.

12. He also rejected the argument that the adoption of the draft declaration might impair the force of United Nations declarations in general. The significance of declarations did not depend on their number, but on whether or not they dealt with questions of vital concern to the peoples of the world. He was convinced that the draft declaration did just that.

13. The principles enunciated in the draft should give rise to no objection, as they were already enshrined in the Charter, the Universal Declaration and other important United Nations documents. The Committee's task, in his view, was to reassert those principles and develop them into an orderly system. The draft declaration offered a good working basis in that regard, and he commended the sponsors for their willingness to consider any suggestions that might be made. His delegation, for one, was prepared to vote for the draft declaration as it stood.

14. Mrs. NGAPETH (Cameroon) said that her delegation, a co-sponsor, was anxious to transmit to the rising generation the finest legacy which man had to

offer—understanding and friendship between peoples and respect and co-operation among States. That was, indeed, the supreme objective of the United Nations and of the historic instruments adopted by it over the years.

15. The Government and people of Cameroon attached the highest importance to the rearing of the young. They knew that, the better a nation's youth was prepared for its future responsibilities, the happier the nation's own future would be. Indeed, the future of the world itself depended on that of the young, who must therefore be taught to channel their energies towards mankind's finest objectives. The proposed declaration would not resolve all the problems concerned, but that was true of any declaration. Many years had passed since the adoption of the Universal Declaration, for instance, and yet serious problems of human rights still remained. The proposed declaration would be valuable, for it would set out the principles on which the broadest agreement existed and would thus constitute a guide for national and international bodies. The current world climate was particularly propitious for the adoption of such a declaration, and the opportunity of further strengthening world friendship should not be lost.

16. The text of the revised draft bore witness to the spirit of accommodation of sponsors and enabled the Committee to advance rapidly in its work. The draft was not over-ambitious, but simply stated those moral principles that should underlie the education of the young. It was an excellent working document for the elaboration of a final text. She hoped that such a text would be adopted, for even if it was only a modest beginning, it might mark the dawn of an era of world peace.

17. Mrs. DICK (United States of America) said that she wished to comment on the excellent report by the Acting Director-General of UNESCO which in fact constituted the item before the Committee. Her delegation expected to introduce a draft resolution expressing appreciation to UNESCO and encouraging it to continue its activities among youth and its regular reports to the Economic and Social Council.

18. It was important to remember that the UNESCO report was based on comments from member States, National Commissions for UNESCO, and international non-governmental organizations; the substance of the comments was summarized under pertinent headings (see E/3638, para. 10) and, where there were obvious differences of view, the report recorded them. The Committee's discussion had to some extent been overtaken by events, since UNESCO had already begun various projects as a result of its own consideration of the report, culminating in resolution 1.252 adopted at the Twelfth General Conference. The main outcome of that resolution would be the International Conference on Youth in 1964, which would have on its agenda an item with the same title as that now under discussion and would also consider mutual appreciation of Eastern and Western cultural values. The Conference had been carefully planned by a committee of experts from all continents, and it would have before it a survey prepared on the basis of replies to a questionnaire to member States on out-of-school education for young people.

19. As defined by UNESCO, out-of-school education included the work of a vast range of non-governmental organizations, as well as sports, cultural activities, and special services offered by official

bodies. In the United States, youth organizations of varying types played an important role in the life of young people; she stressed that virtually all of them were non-governmental. Many of them were concerned, not only with developing among youth the capacity to live a full life and to carry out the functions of responsible citizenship, but also with encouraging respect for other peoples. The Government had also done much to increase the possibilities of international understanding through exchange programmes, under which thousands of foreign students and scholars came to the United States annually while their United States counterparts pursued studies abroad.

20. It was important for the United Nations to support UNESCO in the discharge of its responsibilities. The UNESCO report disclosed large areas of agreement, and also certain issues where differences of approach reflected fundamental differences in philosophy. In the United States, educators and the public at large had given increasing thought in recent years to the question of making young people more aware of the crucial issues of the modern world and of their heavy responsibilities in the future. Attempts were made to give young people educational and practical experience that would commit them to the highest ideals of the human community—a sense of the inherent dignity and equality of all men, the need for international understanding and co-operation through the United Nations and otherwise, and the basic responsibility of every human being to contribute through his own efforts to the promotion of liberty, equality and tolerance.

21. Above all, the aim was to equip the young to think for themselves, to criticize and to judge, since the best hope for the future was that the new generation might be able to find solutions to world problems overlooked by their predecessors. No sure techniques had been found for such training, and that was as it should be, for every young person was an individual with rights of his own. In general, mass indoctrination was incompatible with her country's concept of the proper role of the State. The United States had found that young people could best understand ideals, and become most truly committed to them, when those ideals were acquired through practical experience. The enormous response to such programmes as the Peace Corps had shown that the young were eager to engage in practical projects which reflected a spirit of idealism and a sense of brotherhood, and she was happy to note that many nations throughout the world were forming similar organizations. Young people in the United States wanted to translate their ideals into action; they did not respond enthusiastically to the idea of youth festivals as such, but wanted rather to exchange ideas, to learn how other people thought and lived, and to engage in programmes producing practical results.

22. While not opposed in principle to a declaration on the subject under discussion, her delegation continued to have doubts on what such a declaration could accomplish and whether an effective agreement on principles and phraseology could be reached in a matter of days. A document of such importance should not be hastily produced, but should first be carefully examined and commented on by Governments, educators and the public. The text before the Committee had not been prepared, after detailed study and compromise, by a special United Nations body representing all ideological and educational views, but was based on a draft resolution (A/C.3/L.1051) submitted at the

seventeenth session by a single delegation, whose views on the upbringing and education of youth were in some respects at considerable variance with those of many other delegations. She appreciated the motives of the sponsors, but it would obviously be difficult, in the limited time available at the current session, to arrive at a text acceptable to all and having any real meaning or value for the future. To establish such a precedent of haste would be to downgrade all United Nations declarations.

23. The third preambular paragraph of the draft resolution regarding the Commission on Human Rights, adopted earlier in the session (1274th meeting), stated that "the work of the Third Committee would be greatly hindered if it could not depend on a previous and specialized study of the items allocated to it, particularly the drafting of texts". Her delegation had believed that the proper body to consider the draft declaration would be UNESCO, because the education of youth was the chief concern of that agency, and also because of the wording of operative paragraph 3 of General Assembly resolution 1572 (XV). But UNESCO, having examined the replies from member Governments on the desirability of a declaration, had chosen not to make a recommendation to the General Assembly. The arguments on that point were summarized in the UNESCO report (see E/3638, paras. 39-48 and 330-348), and the fact that only four Governments had referred to the question of an international declaration of principles (*ibid.*, para. 338), showed that Member States were not yet ready to commit themselves to the drafting of such a document.

24. Some members had suggested that the text of the draft declaration, together with the record of the debates and any amendments proposed, should be sent to Governments for thorough study and comment, and that sufficient time should be allocated for full consideration at the nineteenth session. Another suggestion had been to refer the matter to the Social Committee of the Economic and Social Council at its summer session in 1964. She wished to make it clear that, in drawing attention to those suggestions, her Government was not trying to force a postponement of the adoption of a draft declaration, although it had already placed on record its reasons for feeling that such a declaration was unnecessary and, in view of the great divergence of views on the question, perhaps unwise. Nor was her Government opposed to declarations as such, for it had taken the lead in drafting certain declarations in the past; it was concerned, however, about the substance of declarations, the proper forum for drafting them, and the effect they would have in promoting the cause of international peace, friendly relations among nations, and mutual goodwill and understanding between peoples.

25. Several speakers had referred to the part which the family must play in bringing up the young properly. Article 26 (3) of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the second paragraph of principle 7, of the Declaration of the Rights of the Child, and article 14 (3) of the draft Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights all attested to the fact that, in every type of civilization, the child found in the family the surest protection and the necessary social, psychological, educational, moral and spiritual conditions for his personal development. The debate had also brought out the fact that one of the major preoccupations of all Governments was the proper upbringing of youth, and the United States shared the conviction that only ade-

quate protection and education of children, in a spirit of dedication, could assure the world of a better future. War and its accompanying upheavals were not the only causes of misery and injustice in the world, for the blame must be placed also on bad social conditions in general and on ignorance, hate, and sheer indifference.

26. She suggested that the purposes of the sponsors might be better served if the text contained in the revised draft resolution were renamed a recommendation to Member States, since it was not so much a statement of general principles as a series of recommendations on teaching young people to shoulder their future responsibilities for international peace and security. Recommendations were highly effective and honoured international instruments; they were most frequently used by the ILO, but they had also been used by the United Nations.

27. If the Committee decided to prepare a draft on the question under discussion, she trusted that serious consideration would be given to amendments to be submitted by her delegation, which she believed would improve and strengthen the text.

28. Miss TABBARA (Lebanon) noted that all delegations were in favour of measures to promote among youth the ideals of peace, mutual respect and understanding between peoples, but the differences had arisen concerning the form such measures should take. On the question whether a declaration should be adopted or other means employed, it was obvious that a declaration alone, unaccompanied by practical measures, would be inadequate, but it was equally obvious that the adoption of a declaration would facilitate the taking of other measures. Her delegation believed that a declaration would help the specialized agencies, and in particular UNESCO, by assuring them that all States Members of the United Nations endorsed the work they were doing.

29. The second difference of opinion related to the procedure to be followed in drafting a declaration; some delegations maintained that such a text should be submitted by an expert group. That was true in principle, but the present draft could be accepted by all Member States, and the Committee should take advantage of the opportunity. The doubts expressed by UNESCO had been due to the difficulty of reaching agreement on the principle of a draft declaration, but the sponsors of the text contained in the revised draft resolution had expressed their willingness to consider all amendments submitted and had already revised their draft twice. The Lebanese delegation was grateful to them and wished to become a co-sponsor.

30. The third objection to the drafting of a declaration was that young people should be consulted on the measures to be taken, rather than have such measures imposed on them. She was sure that the intention of the sponsors was not to impose anything on the young, but to show them that the United Nations was interested in their problems and considered them deserving of a solemn declaration. She hoped that the declaration could be presented to the International Conference on Youth in 1964.

31. The United States representative had commented on the small number of Governments dealing with the question of a declaration in their replies to the UNESCO questionnaire, but the fact that seventeen delegations, including her own, had joined in spon-

soring a text, indicated that the idea was now quite acceptable. She also pointed out that the sponsors had introduced the idea of the family in principle VI of their latest text.

32. Mr. CAMPBELL (Ireland) said that he would not discuss in detail the various points made by preceding speakers with regard to the comprehensive and balanced UNESCO report, but would refer to some general considerations of material importance to the Committee's future action on the item under discussion. Part I of the UNESCO report emphasized the wide-spread concern occasioned by the problem and the extensive action taken or contemplated. The inquiry, on which the report was based, showed no signs of complacency, and it appeared from the comments received that there was a need to extend or improve the types of activity already being carried out, rather than to devise new forms of action. The statement that "experience indicates that programmes proceeding from broad moral imperatives towards generalized objectives may be met with indifference, suspicion or cynicism" (see E/3638, para. 19), seemed particularly relevant to the question whether the further promotion among youth of the ideals of peace, mutual respect and understanding between peoples could best be served by the preparation of a draft declaration of the kind contained in the revised draft resolution, or whether it would be more profitable for the Committee to consider and recommend practical measures for intensified action.

33. His delegation reserved its position on the proposed declaration and on the other proposals and suggestions made, but at the same time it drew attention to the findings of UNESCO on the possibility of an international declaration of basic principles, and to the clear divergence of opinion in the Committee. As often before, there was no disagreement on the fundamental aim involved—in the present case, the assurance of world peace—and the difference of views related solely to the means to be adopted in pursuit of that aim. The current session had been characterized by a spirit of understanding and compromise, and his delegation sincerely hoped that a generally acceptable solution would be found to the problem under discussion, bearing in mind that the principles on which peace, mutual respect and understanding could best be established were already proclaimed in the United Nations Charter and in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. One very practical consideration to be taken into account was the heavy agenda facing the Committee at the coming sessions, which already included no less than nine items relating to draft conventions, declarations and recommendations.

34. Mr. BAROODY (Saudi Arabia) observed that the consensus of opinion in the Committee was in favour of a declaration. It had been argued that the Committee would be acting too hastily by voting immediately on the text which, in its revised version, had been greatly improved. But it would be a contradiction to refer the question to the Commission on Human Rights, which would have no time to discuss it, as its own agenda was already overloaded. It had also been suggested that the Economic and Social Council might deal with it. If it were merely a matter of a declaration on the education of youth, the question would be a technical one and consequently it would be the Council's prerogative to discuss it. But the text before the Committee was not technical, as it set forth general principles. Some delegations, including

those of Belgium and Australia, had expressed doubts about the text. The United States delegation had made a constructive but rather too cautious statement, and he was glad that it was going to study the new text. It had been mentioned that war was not necessarily the sole source of the ills of mankind; but it was certainly at the basis of most of those ills, either directly or indirectly. Youth should have its eyes opened to the situation and, since war was caused primarily by a conflict of economic interests, no economic conflict should cause it to become cannon fodder. As it stood, the draft declaration would be certain to command a large majority, but he appealed for unanimity. The justification for a declaration was that, although not binding, it would, when its principles were applied in schools, prepare the way for a better future.

35. With reference to the wording, he considered that "disarmament" alone would be better than "general and complete disarmament" in principle I, as that phrase referred to a controversial issue before the First Committee and had a distinctly political flavour. The word "all", applied to "means" in the second paragraph of principle II, was also objectionable. Lastly, the third paragraph in principle V was unnecessary and might interfere with freedom of assembly.

36. The Committee knew from past experience that the discussion of a particular question was frequently postponed when a few influential delegations manifested opposition. In fairness to Romania, a small country which had made a useful proposal, the Committee should stipulate that, if the question were referred to some other United Nations body, it should be disposed of by the nineteenth session of the General Assembly.

37. Mr. CUEVAS CANCINO (Mexico) said that his delegation was unable to support the draft declaration. Despite drafting improvements, the basic structure of the text had not changed since the idea had first been introduced in 1961. Past declarations of the General Assembly had been few in number and all had concerned matters of principle. There was a desire on the part of the Assembly to use the declara-

tion as a special weapon, as for example in the case of the Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples (General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV)). The distinction between a declaration and a resolution must not be blurred, and the Committee must be careful not to approve a declaration which did not meet all requirements. Many of the points enumerated in the UNESCO report were not covered by the draft declaration. He had serious doubts whether the Committee could approve a technical declaration and, if the principle of a declaration was accepted, expert opinions should be sought and the young themselves consulted. Above all, the Committee should not take hasty action.

38. Mrs. SUMARI (Indonesia) said that, because of its overburdened agenda, the Committee had been unable to give priority to the draft declaration, as had been decided in General Assembly resolution 1842 (XVII). She welcomed the initiative of Romania, but expressed her concern about the fate of the draft declaration in view of the existing differences of opinion. In Indonesia the role of youth was clear-cut, and the educational organization of youth had begun even under colonial rule. The people and youth of Indonesia were taught to believe in five principles—God, humanity, nationality, democracy and social justice. The second principle, which meant love for all mankind, was the main basis for Indonesian education and should be internationally applied. She was confident that the Committee would realize the importance of adopting a declaration, and she hoped that it would not be discouraged by the irrelevant incident concerning the "Asian Games" to which the United Kingdom representative had referred (1284th meeting).

39. Mr. PARAMESWARAN (India) felt that that incident should not be used as a precedent against the holding of international youth sports events.

40. Mr. DELGADO (Senegal) proposed that the general debate should be closed to enable the Committee to consider the specific proposals before it.

It was so decided.

The meeting rose at 1.25 p.m.