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Chairman: Mrs. Halima EMBAREK WARZAZI (Morocco).

AGENDA ITEM 57

- Elimination of all forms of racial discrimination (continued):
- (a) Measures to implement the United Nations Declaration on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination (continued) (A/6303, chap. XI, sect. I; A/6403, A/6412, E/4174 and Add.1-2, Add.2/Corr.1 and Add.3-9; A/C.3/L.1345-1349);
- (b) Status of the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination: report of the Secretary-General (continued) (A/6405 and Add.1)
- 1. At the suggestion of Mr. GILLET (Belgium), the CHAIRMAN suggested that the meeting should be suspended to enable members of the Committee to hold consultations on the text of a new amendment.

The meeting was suspended at 3.15 p.m. and resumed at 4.15 p.m.

2. Mr. TAUSHANI (Albania) said that the Committee was considering one of the most important items on its agenda, for, despite the adoption of a great many resolutions, racial discrimination was still rampant, particularly in South Africa and Southern Rhodesia where the odious practice of apartheid continued in defiance of the resolutions of the United Nations and thanks to the economic and military support of the imperialist Powers, especially the United States, which were quite willing to encourage racism since they themselves practised racial discrimination in the political, economic and social spheres, Indeed, United States Negroes faced persecution, lynching and murder and lived in deplorable economic conditions. The Puerto Ricans were also subject to discrimination. The Civil Rights Act was mere dupery and had in no way changed the situation, for subsequent to its adoption bloody repressive measures had been taken at Los Angeles, Chicago and elsewhere. It was understandable, therefore, that United States Negroes should be increasingly resorting to violence to oppose violence inflicted by the United States authorities, which had killed and wounded many victims among the coloured population, without mentioning the thousands arrested. That struggle of United States Negroes was linked with the struggle of all peoples oppressed by racism and imperialism and in particular with the struggle of the Viet-Namese people against the aggression of United States imperialism.

- 3. Albania condemned racial discrimination in all its forms and maintained no diplomatic or economic relations with South Africa or Southern Rhodesia. It supported the demands of the African peoples and considered that the United Nations should take effective measures and thus make its contribution to the struggle of the peoples which would be the decisive factor in the victory over the colonialists and imperialists, in particular the United States imperialists. It accordingly believed that a resolution should be adopted condemning racial discrimination where it was practised in its most abhorrent form-in South Africa and the United States-and it would support any amendment in that respect that would improve the draft resolution recommended by the Economic and Social Council (A/6403, annex).
- 4. Mrs. DE CATTAROSSI (Uruguay) said that she had previously indicated her country's position on the United Nations Declaration on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination, and she announced that Uruguay would soon sign the Convention. She hoped that the resolution which the Committee would adopt would lay due stress on the importance of education in the fight against racial discrimination, for discrimination was the result of intolerance, and intolerance was bred by ignorance. She hoped that the Committee would not insist on the new operative paragraph 6 proposed by India, Nigeria and Pakistan (A/C.3/L.1345, fourth amendment) for it would impair the principle of non-intervention. Uruguay recognized the equality of all before the law and practised no form of discrimination; it deplored the fact, noted by the Israel representative, that discrimination still subsisted in some parts of the world.
- 5. Mr. Bahnev (Bulgaria) agreed with the Iranian representative that the elimination of racial discrimination would greatly help to improve the lot of people. International law had long been merely the law of the strong and the so-called civilized countries had pillaged the entire world. It was only with decolonization and the attainment of independence by former colonial peoples that it had become possible for instruments such as the Declaration and the

Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination to be adopted. Even the colonial Powers had supported the Declaration and even they endorsed the draft resolution recommended by the Economic and Social Council (A/6403, annex). With respect to the Convention, however, some signatory Powers had entered reservations which evidenced their intention not to apply its essential provisions. The delegations of the United Kingdom, Canada and the United States, for example, claimed that democratic principles prevented them from regarding the dissemination of ideas based on racial superiority as an offence and from declaring organizations which incited to racial discrimination illegal. In his view, neither article 4 of the Convention nor article 9, paragraph 3, of the Declaration were incompatible with the freedoms of expression and opinion. Proof was given by the United States Criminal Code, which provided twenty years of imprisonment and a possible fine of \$20,000 for all persons disseminating certain ideas. But the United States Government preferred at present to focus its attention on other matters; the Viet-Nam war had in fact led to a slowing down or total halt of activities to improve the material lot of disadvantaged groups of Negroes, particularly in housing, education and public health.

- 6. Since the elimination of racial discrimination was a long-term undertaking, he endorsed the idea of including the item in the agenda of the twenty-second session and of inviting the Secretary-General to submit a further report to the General Assembly at that session.
- 7. Mrs. AFNAN (Iraq) said that no comparison was possible between racial discrimination in general, which could be remedied by education—and the information received showed that Governments were making very strenuous efforts in that regard—and apartheid, which was a new and particularly revolting form of racial discrimination.
- 8. A defect of the resolution adopted (A/C.3/L.1344) at the conclusion of the discussion on agenda item 95 (Question of the violation of human rights and fundamental freedoms, including policies of racial discrimination and segregation and of apartheid, in all countries, with particular reference to colonial and other dependent countries and territories) was that it condemned apartheid and racial discrimination on the same grounds. She regretted the fact that some passages in the draft resolution recommended by the Council (A/6403, annex), and particularly the sixth preambular paragraph, fell into the same error. In any case, it was not resolutions that would bring apartheid to an end; so long as the economic conditions providing the basis for racism persisted, that odious policy would survive.
- 9. Mrs. BARISH (Costa Rica) said that her country had signed the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination on 14 March 1966 and hoped to ratify it shortly. The Convention would then become part of Costa Rican law. Costa Rica already guaranteed under its Constitution equal protection to all persons on its soil, and the reason why it had sent no information to the Secretary-General was that there was no discrimination based on ethnic origin or religion in Costa Rica. Unfortu-

- nately, such harmony was not to be found in all countries, and some minorities had not yet secured the right to live according to their traditions.
- 10. Her delegation would support the draft resolution recommended by the Council and any amendments intended to strengthen it. With respect to the amendments submitted by India, Nigeria and Pakistan (A/C.3/L.1345) and especially to the fourth amendment calling for a new operative paragraph 6, she endorsed the remarks of the Chilean and Mexican delegations and said that she could not agree to an invitation to Governments to extend "political support" to private organizations, even in the most praiseworthy cause.
- 11. Mr. TEJA (India) said that the Indian Government fully guaranteed the rights of all, irrespective of caste or religion, and that his country's administrative and judicial organs fully applied the principles of the Declaration.
- 12. His delegation had co-sponsored the amendments in document A/C.3/L.1345, but it had also taken part in the elaboration of amendments (A/C.3/L.1349) combining the various proposals submitted and it hoped that with those amendments the Council's draft resolution could be adopted unanimously.
- 13. Mr. MOMMERSTEEG (Netherlands) said that the adoption of the Declaration and the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination bore witness to the growing concern of the United Nations at the manifestation of racial discrimination in the world. He recalled that a large part of the Jewish population of the Netherlands had been exterminated by the nazi criminals during the war, and he expressed the hope that the Jews of all countries might be able to practise their religion in complete freedom and to live in accordance with their traditions, as they did in the Netherlands.
- 14. In view of the adoption in 1965 of the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination, it might be wondered whether it was still necessary to take measures to implement the Declaration. It seemed that the answer must be "yes", for unlike the Convention which would be binding only on States parties, the Declaration contained principles that were accepted by all States Members of the United Nations and therefore had a special significance, provided of course that the fulfilment by States of the obligations arising from it was ensured. However, the adoption of the Convention was undoubtedly an event of major importance. That instrument was the first international treaty on human rights prepared under United Nations auspices to provide for implementation machinery and institute a system of individual petition. It would be desirable for other treaties guaranteeing human rights and fundamental freedoms to contain similar implementation clauses.
- 15. He announced that the Netherlands Government would sign the Convention in the very near future and stated that he would support the draft resolution recommended by the Economic and Social Council.
- 16. Mr. SALSAMENDI (United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization) said that he was glad to have the opportunity to describe to the Third Committee some of the basic aspects of UNESCO's

activities in connexion with the elimination of racial discrimination. He recalled the statement made to the Economic and Social Council on 7 July 1966, by Mr. René Maheu, Director-General of UNESCO,1/ who had stressed that UNESCO's objectives were fundamentally moral in nature. As established in the agency's Constitution, the advancement of education, science and culture was no more than a means to an end. The end was the aim of the whole United Nations family, namely, peace, but peace pursued in a unique fashion, because UNESCO was founded on the belief that man in his freedom ultimately decided the course of history, that "wars begin in the minds of men" and that there could be no true peace unless the mind accepted an order which the mind esteemed. That order was human dignity and "it was in the minds of men that the defences of peace must be constructed". UNESCO's mission was to use education, science and culture to establish in the human consciousness those aspirations towards justice and tolerance on which depended, in the final analysis, freedom or slavery, life or death.

17. In the matter of racial discrimination, UNESCO had essentially served as a link between social scientists and specialists in other disciplines and had thus made it possible to establish a purely scientific definition of the concept of race. In the light of the knowledge acquired, there was no longer any shadow of a doubt that theories of genetic racial superiority were irrational. From 1949 to 1951, UNESCO had dealt with the problem in a series of conferences and had defined the concept of "race" in an authoritative study entitled "The Race Concept", which had been followed by a series of specialized studies. At subsequent meetings, UNESCO had focused attention on the social aspects of the race question. In 1964, immediately following the Seventh Congress of Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences, which had been held at Moscow, anthropologists and ethnologists from all over the world had met in that city to discuss the race concept. They had concluded their debate with a declaration that biological data were in open contradiction with the tenets of racism, which consequently could not lay claim to any scientific foundation. They had also stated that scientific researchers should endeavour to prevent the results of their work from being distorted and exploited for non-scientific purposes. In November 1965, a Round Table Meeting on Human Rights had been held at Oxford on the problems arising from the implementation of the articles of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights in the modern world. It was to be followed by further meetings at which the social and ethical aspects of the race problem would be discussed. Moreover, the peoples of the United Nations had been informed about that crucial problem in a series of publications on the race question in modern science and the race question and modern thought, and in articles appearing in the International Social Science Journal and the UNESCO Courier. UNESCO would continue to sponsor scientific research into the causes of conflict connected with relations among ethnic groups and would go still further by examining all human rights situations—whether or not they involved

race relations—which appeared to warrant social science research.

18. He wished to mention some of UNESCO's plans for 1967-1968, which were to be submitted to its General Conference at its fourteenth session for consideration. 2/ First, in the field of education, UNESCO planned to invite all its member States to become parties to the international convention against Discrimination in Education and to intensify their efforts to eliminate any inequalities in their laws and any legal provisions likely to impede the access of women to education to all levels. Secondly, in the field of social science, human sciences and culture, member States and national commissions would be called upon to strengthen and extend the application of the principles of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, in particular those directly related to UNESCO's competence. They would also be invited to encourage scientific studies intended to combat discrimination on grounds of race, sex, nationality, religion, language, cultural characteristics or economic and social status, and to disseminate the results of those studies in the interests of an enlightened public opinion. The direct co-operation of member States and National Commissions with UNESCO would be required to carry out studies on the measures taken by member States themselves to ensure access to cultural activities and that co-operation might also be required to carry out other programme activities relating to human rights. The General Conference would be asked to act on the following draft resolution:

"Resolution 3.262: The Director-General is authorized, in co-operation with organizations of the United Nations system as well as with other appropriate national and international, governmental and non-governmental organizations:

"(a) To promote respect for human rights and effective application in all matters coming within UNESCO's terms of reference, by undertaking and facilitating scientific studies, by convening international symposia, by publications and by other appropriate means;

"(b) To carry out and encourage scientific activities to counteract discrimination having as pretext differences of race, sex, nationality, religion, language, cultural characteristics, or based on economic or social conditions, and to disseminate the results of these activities so as to enlighten public opinion." 3/

The Work Plan of UNESCO regarding universal respect for human rights and eradication of racial prejudice was in two parts. The first dealt with the promotion of universal respect for human rights. In the light of the suggestions made at the Oxford meeting, it was proposed to carry out a number of activities in the period 1967-1968: a study would be made on the structure of the family and the right to education; case studies would be made on steps taken to ensure access to cultural activities and their impact on the right to culture. The results of those studies would be published in 1969-1970. The second part of the

Official Records of the Economic and Social Council, Forty-first session, 1425th meeting, paras. 25-45.

^{2/} See United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, Draft Programme and Budget for 1967-1968 (document 14 C/5).

^{3/} Ibid., para. 853.

Work Plan dealt with the eradication of racial prejudice. Following the preparatory meeting held at Moscow in August 1964, an international interdisciplinary meeting of experts would be convened at UNESCO Headquarters in 1967. The experts were expected to adopt a declaration on race and racial prejudice supplementing the declaration on the race concept publicized in 1951. Furthermore, the studies conducted by the International Social Science Council in Africa south of the Sahara on inter-group relations and social identification should be completed in 1966. The report entitled: "The effects of the policies of apartheid in the fields of education, science, culture and the dissemination of information in the Republic of South Africa," prepared by UNESCO in 1965-1966 for the United Nations Special Committee on the Policies of Apartheid of the Government of South Africa, would also be published. Studies would also be undertaken on the social structure of various ethnic groups in Africa. A work on the economic aspects of the race question would probably be published in 1969-1970. Finally, the series entitled "The Race Question and Modern Thought" would be completed with the publication in 1967 of the study on Islam and the race question.

19. On the question of international norms, relations, and programmes, the UNESCO Secretariat would continue to help promote human rights by co-operating actively with the appropriate organs of the United Nations and, in particular, with the Sub-Commission on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities, the Commission on Human Rights, the Commission on the Status of Women and the Economic and Social Council. In accordance with a recent decision of the Council, the Director-General of UNESCO would transmit to the Secretary-General at the end of 1966 a report on the progress achieved by member

States in respect of the rights proclaimed in articles 19, 26 and 27 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights during the period from 1 January 1963 to 30 June 1966. The report would be discussed in 1967 by various appropriate United Nations bodies with the participation of UNESCO. Similarly, the UNESCO Secretariat would participate in United Nations work on methods of implementing human rights and, in particular, on the report submitted by the Director-General to the Economic and Social Council concerning organizational and procedural methods for implementing conventions and recommendations concerning human rights. It might also be of interest to mention two meetings which had been planned: an interdisciplinary meeting of experts on race relations in 1967 and a meeting of experts on the universality of human rights in 1968.

- 20. Those were the principal activities by UNESCO to promote human rights and the elimination of racial discrimination. UNESCO considered that since a new society was in the process of being created, it had a sacred duty to do everything in its power to enable man to develop in a new climate of humanism.
- 21. Mr. OSBORN (Australia) said that he was pleased to inform the Committee that his country had signed the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination that very day.
- 22. Mrs. DMITRUK (Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic), supported by Mr. SANON (Upper Volta), moved the adjournment of the meeting under rule 119 of the rules of procedure, in order to enable delegations to study the new amendments.

The motion for adjournment was adopted by 60 votes to 12, with 14 abstentions.

The meeting rose at 5.40 p.m.