



Chairman: Miss Maria GROZA (Romania).

AGENDA ITEM 55

Youth, its education in the respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms, its problems and needs, and its participation in national development: report of the Secretary-General (*continued*) (A/7921 and Add.1, A/8003, chap. IX, sect. K; A/C.3/L.1764, A/C.3/L.1766/Rev.1, A/C.3/L.1767/Rev.1, A/C.3/L.1772, A/C.3/L.1773, A/C.3/L.1774 and Corr.1 and 2, A/C.3/L.1775-1790)

CONSIDERATION OF DRAFT RESOLUTIONS
(*continued*)

1. Mr. FLORES (Argentina) pointed out an error in document A/C.3/L.1790, which contained the amendments submitted by Argentina, Costa Rica and Uruguay. In the first amendment to the second preambular paragraph, the words "of Human Rights" should be added to the phrase "and of the Universal Declaration", while in the amendment to operative paragraph 3 the word "*celosa*" in the Spanish text should be replaced by "*estricta*", in order to facilitate translation into the other languages.

2. Mr. CHTIOUI (Tunisia) said that draft resolution A/C.3/L.1767/Rev.1, the fruit of very praiseworthy efforts by a large group of countries, was acceptable and merited the support of the whole Committee. Nevertheless, in order to make it more practical he suggested that in operative paragraph 4 the phrase "of ensuring the participation of youth in United Nations activities and" should be added after the words "the possibility".

3. Miss WEEKES (Barbados) announced that, since a new version (A/C.3/L.1767/Rev.1) of the draft resolution submitted by Yugoslavia had been distributed, the amendments proposed by her delegation (A/C.3/L.1787) now applied to operative paragraphs 6 and 11 of the revised text.

4. Mr. RYBAKOV (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) thanked those delegations which had supported his amendment (A/C.3/L.1774 and Corr.1 and 2) which, in general, did not appear to have aroused serious objections. Nevertheless, it had been said that the amendments of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries would make the draft resolution one-sided, and would increase the length of the document and overburden it unnecessarily.

5. In answer to the first criticism, made by the representative of the Netherlands, he said that he had been unable

to find in his amendment any signs of the one-sidedness ascribed to it. The amendment said that the efforts of young people should be directed mainly towards strengthening peace and friendship among peoples. It was obvious that the United Nations was in favour of peace and friendship, and it was therefore impossible to adopt the contrary attitude. Further, young people were urged to combat the threat of war and all forms of oppression and exploitation; he did not see how anybody could assert the opposite view. Finally, young people were recommended to direct their efforts towards the development of fruitful co-operation between countries, and that was precisely the spirit that must be instilled in present-day youth.

6. The second criticism referred only to a question of form, and was entirely subjective. The important thing was to avoid having a document which would be long on words but short on content. The draft resolution was a collective document which should clearly reflect the views of all delegations. The form should therefore be subordinate to the substance.

7. With regard to the insertion of the word "nazism" in operative paragraph 8 of the revised draft resolution, he was surprised at the opposition the amendment had aroused among various delegations, in particular that of the Netherlands, since he was well aware of the sufferings inflicted on the people of the Netherlands by the Hitler régime. He did not think he had proposed anything which would contradict either the principles laid down in the Constitution of the Netherlands or the standards of international politics. His amendment aimed solely at reaffirming the inadmissibility of nazism, which was a well-known idea accepted by everyone, including the people of the Netherlands. The United Nations had condemned nazism on countless occasions, and he was not aware that any change of position had taken place within the Organization with regard to that evil ideology. Not only did the shadow of nazism persist in the world, but it had been revived in pernicious and insidious forms which must be urgently opposed by all means. Moreover, it was essential that it be prevented from exerting an influence on the young people of today's world. Nazism had not ceased to be a crime against humanity; his delegation was therefore greatly surprised at the attempts by those who were opposed to mentioning it in the draft resolution to deprive it of importance or to thwart the efforts being made to root it out once and for all. He would like to know who was behind all those attempts, since it was inconceivable that any Government had given its representatives instructions to defend, or at least excuse, that infamous ideology.

8. No doubts should be entertained as to the attitude of the Soviet Union towards nazism. The Soviet Union, which had lost twenty million of its sons in the fight against

Hitler, had done and would continue to do everything possible to sweep nazism from the face of the earth. To attempt to play down the seriousness and the consequences of nazism was an insult to the memory of the millions of men and women of so many nationalities who had fallen victim to the Nazis.

9. The effort to combat nazism was a question of principle, and pronouncements on such questions must be made with all honesty and frankness. If for any reason any country wished to oppose that effort it should do so openly and not resort to the subterfuge of mere formal objections.

10. His delegation's position with regard to nazism was not a purely formal one but was based on the painful experience of its people. He was sure that other delegations would respond to his appeal and would support reference to the rejection of nazism in the draft resolution.

11. Mr. de Gaiffier D'HESTROY (Belgium) said that he would be able to accept draft resolution A/C.3/L.1767/Rev.1 on condition that two amendments were accepted, namely those submitted by the delegations of New Zealand, the Netherlands and the United Kingdom (A/C.3/L.1778), and by France and Greece (A/C.3/L.1786). The latter met the practical concern that youth should participate more in the planning and management of education systems, which was of special interest to his delegation since it proposed to submit an identical proposal to the next General Conference of UNESCO.

12. Miss EDMONDS (United States of America) stressed that co-operation among States must be based on mutual respect and reciprocity, and pointed out that the sixth preambular paragraph of draft resolution A/C.3/L.1767/Rev.1 did not respect that reciprocity. She accordingly proposed in her amendment to that paragraph (A/C.3/L.1784, para. 1) that the paragraph should be replaced by another taking more fully into account the need for mutual respect among peoples.

13. The aim of her delegation's amendment to the seventh preambular paragraph (*ibid.* para. 2) was to maintain consistency in the various documents of the United Nations.

14. With regard to the operative part of the draft resolution, the United States attached great importance to the training and education of youth in the respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms, and stressed that at any meeting of young people held under the auspices of the United Nations freedom of expression must be guaranteed without pressure of any kind. That was the reason for her delegation's amendment to operative paragraph 4 (*ibid.*, paragraph 3). Finally, the amendment to paragraph 10 (*ibid.*, para. 4) was based on the need she had already referred to to maintain general consistency in all documents of the United Nations.

15. Mr. EL-FATTAL (Syria) said that the representative of France had requested, for reasons of a legal nature, the deletion of the words "and reports" appearing after the word "message" in his amendment (A/C.3/L.1772). He was pleased to accept that suggestion in a spirit of compromise. At the same time, however, he appealed to the delegation

of Yugoslavia and the other sponsors of the revised draft resolution to consider the possibility of including in the final text the amendment submitted by his delegation.

16. He wished to point out that his delegation's intention had never been to make a value judgement on the contents of the message of the World Youth Assembly, but simply to take note of its existence. Finally, he supported the oral amendment of the Soviet Union that the word "nazism" should be included in operative paragraph 8 of the revised draft resolution.

17. Mrs. STEVENSON (Liberia) described the problems of youth as crucial not only for young people but also for the future of all mankind. Her Government accordingly gave high priority to the education and training of youth.

18. With regard to the revised draft resolution (A/C.3/L.1767/Rev.1), she considered it a satisfactory synthesis of the ideas expressed in the Committee. It had not yet been possible for her to study in depth all the amendments submitted, but some of them seemed definitely to improve the original text. In particular, she was in agreement with the amendment submitted by the Netherlands, New Zealand and the United Kingdom (A/C.3/L.1778), which added clarity to the original text. Now that a channel of communication had been established between youth and the United Nations, she hoped that it would be possible to hold seminars on youth on a regular basis. The Belgrade seminar and the World Youth Assembly had afforded young people an opportunity to study the main problems of the present day and their conclusions definitely constituted useful guidelines for the future.

19. Her delegation found no difficulty in supporting several of the other amendments submitted, which it felt improved the text. She was referring in particular to those submitted by the delegations of France and Greece (A/C.3/L.1786) and of Morocco (A/C.3/L.1789) respectively, for she regarded education in general as particularly important, and the reference to the family's basic role in educating young people in the respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms as very timely.

20. Mrs. DAES (Greece) thanked the sponsors of the revised draft resolution (A/C.3/L.1767/Rev.1) for having agreed to include in it the suggestions made by her delegation. She wanted to take that opportunity to introduce some amendments to the operative part of it. The first one (A/C.3/L.1786), which she was introducing on behalf of her own delegation and the delegation of France, was based on proposals made in the Committee by a number of delegations, on the report of the Secretary-General on the education of youth in the respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms (A/7921), on the report of the Director-General of UNESCO¹ and on the recommendations contained in the report of the Commission on Education of the World Youth Assembly.² The amendment set forth two basic principles: the principle that Governments should encourage closer association of young people in the planning and administration of educational programmes, and the so-called "principle of self-management",

¹ Document E/CN.4/1027.

² See *World Youth Assembly*, document 56/WYA/P/10, p. 27.

which should be affirmed in all areas of education. The amendment also included the proposal that Governments, in planning their educational programmes, should give some consideration to the relevant studies and recommendations of UNESCO, which had done highly important work in that connexion.

21. She then introduced amendment A/C.3/L.1785, which was co-sponsored by Ghana and consisted of a proposal to add the words "with particular attention to the problems of young workers and rural youth" to operative paragraph 12 of the revised draft resolution. Several delegations had proposed that particular attention should be given to the problems of young workers and rural youth, who constituted the majority of the younger generation in many countries. That need had also been stressed in the conferences and seminars organized by FAO and the ILO.

22. In conclusion, she appealed to the representative of Syria to replace the word "message" by the word "views" in his amendment (A/C.3/L.1772).

23. Mr. OUEDRAOGO (Upper Volta) felt that the revised draft resolution submitted by Yugoslavia (A/C.3/L.1767/Rev.1) would benefit from certain changes. The words "continuance" and "subjugation" in the fourth preambular paragraph might be replaced, for example, by the words "persistence" and "submission", respectively. Operative paragraph 8 should begin: "*Urges* Governments to respond to the aspirations of youth by taking emergency measures to support the struggle for peace".

24. Mr. WALLOT (Central African Republic) fully endorsed the changes suggested by the Upper Volta delegation and announced that the representative of Saudi Arabia, with his keen sense of logic and unflinching desire to speed up the work of the Committee, had withdrawn his draft resolution (A/C.3/L.1766/Rev.1), which had now become a working paper providing the Committee with a fund of ideas as interesting as they were timely and with matter for reflection and study.

25. The sponsors of draft resolution A/C.3/L.1767/Rev.1, of which the Central African Republic was one, had been at pains to formulate an objective and impartial text which would voice youth's impatience with the slow progress made in realizing the purposes and principles of the United Nations Charter. They had also emphasized the urgent need to adopt measures guaranteeing peace so that youth might realize its full potential and make the maximum contribution to the well-being of society. While it might be felt that the text was too long and not very well phrased, it should be borne in mind that the aim had been to include in it as many acceptable ideas as possible, in order to ensure that agreement could be reached.

26. Again, the question of youth was a complex one and many important and inextricably linked factors were involved. In some countries, for example, the youth movement was bound up with the struggle for political, economic and cultural emancipation, while in others it was identified with revolutionary demands. The draft resolution accordingly set forth, within a coherent framework, a number of different but interrelated measures calculated to

provide comprehensive solutions for problems that could not be dissociated from the general situation as it related to youth. In formulating the text, everything possible had been done to avoid phraseology which might emphasize points of difference; while the measures proposed in it were strictly in line with the purposes and principles of the United Nations Charter and with the provisions of previous General Assembly resolutions. The need to consider, assess and solve the question of youth in the context of the rapid changes now taking place was obvious. In a world in which all efforts to avoid devastating wars and do away with points of conflict had failed, and which was threatened by the arms race, by the constantly growing gap between the rich countries and the poor ones and by the scourge of racism and colonialism, the question of youth should be in the forefront of matters engaging international attention. Any viable solution to the problem would have to be based on a sound evaluation of national and international realities, and could result only from the common will of the majority of the members of the international community.

27. Finally, he urged the members of the Committee to regard the proposed text, with all its imperfections, as an effort to devise a new strategy for solving the problems of youth in accordance with the ideals of peace, justice and progress, as reaffirmed on the occasion of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the United Nations.

28. Mrs. MOFOLO (Lesotho) noted that the troublesome question of nazism had again arisen in the course of the Committee's discussions although the delegations had already had opportunities to make known their views on racism and on racial discrimination and intolerance. There were those who argued that, even after the destruction of the Nazi régime and the death of Hitler, nazi ideology still flourished in some countries. However, in the absence of any conclusive proof that nazism was legally practised in those countries, she would urge that the matter be dropped, her point being that people who stirred up the mud at the bottom of a puddle usually got dirty. For that reason, she would prefer to have a general reference made to totalitarian ideologies in the draft resolution, rather than an express mention of nazism, which as a form of government was a thing of the past. On the other hand, her delegation supported the amendment submitted by Czechoslovakia for prohibiting the publication and distribution of the kind of negative literature whose sole purpose was to perpetuate hatred (A/C.3/L.1783, para. 3).

29. Mr. VAN WALSUM (Netherlands) submitted in reply to observations by the representative of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, that the sponsors of draft resolution A/C.3/L.1767/Rev.1 had apparently intended to raise a large number of strictly political questions under the agenda item on youth, the sole reason being that the young people had expressed opinions on them, notably in the message of the World Youth Assembly. However, an arbitrary selection had been made in connexion with their inclusion in the draft resolution on the subject, some of them being included and others left out, which was why his delegation had described the draft resolution as one-sided. In principle, if a reference were made to the Assembly's message, all fifteen of its paragraphs should be given the same consideration, as they would be if the Syrian amendment (A/C.3/L.1772) were adopted.

30. His delegation had no serious objection to the USSR amendment (A/C.3/L.1774 and Corr.1 and 2), although it considered the text somewhat condescending and paternalistic. In the Netherlands, at least, young people were accustomed to deciding for themselves which goals they would devote their efforts to, and he therefore doubted whether it was right to tell young people what their objectives should be. As to the oral amendment put forward by the USSR delegation, to include the term "nazism" in operative paragraph 8 of the revised draft resolution, he saw no reason to limit the scope of the provision to one particular ideology which had sprung up in Germany between the two World Wars. It would be better to include all despotic régimes by using the expression "totalitarian ideologies and practices", proposed in the sub-amendment submitted orally by his delegation at the preceding meeting, which covered not only nazism but every present or future totalitarian régime.

31. Miss SOLESBY (United Kingdom) said that, in response to suggestions from a number of delegations, the amendment submitted by the United Kingdom and Italian delegations (A/C.3/L.1779) had been divided into two paragraphs. The first, which would replace operative paragraph 6 of draft resolution A/C.3/L.1767/Rev.1, would read: "*Emphasizes* the importance of increasing participation of youth in the social, economic, political, cultural and other domains of human activities". The second paragraph would follow the first and would read: "*Welcomes* the generous contribution to voluntary services which youth is already making."

32. Mr. AKRAM (Pakistan) expressed concern at the turn taken by the debate on item 55, which had been thought to be non-controversial. In his view, the disagreement arose from the choice between expressing in the draft resolution eventually adopted the aspirations of youth as manifested at the World Youth Assembly and restating the bland doctrines reaffirmed by the General Assembly year after year. It was time, however, to abandon weak and evasive approaches and adopt a more determined attitude, which was precisely what was done in draft resolution A/C.3/L.1767/Rev.1. He therefore urged the delegations which had submitted amendments to bear in mind the need for a resolution expressing the aspirations of young people themselves rather than the points of view of Governments.

33. Referring specifically to the proposed amendments, he said that the Hungarian amendment (A/C.3/L.1777) had, in a sense, already been adopted by the sponsors in the revised version of the draft resolution. The amendment submitted by New Zealand, the Netherlands and the United Kingdom (A/C.3/L.1778) was unacceptable, in his opinion, since the idea it expressed was stated much more positively and explicitly in operative paragraph 5 of the revised draft resolution. He also had reservations concerning the Italian-United Kingdom amendment (A/C.3/L.1779), whose ideas did not seem clear to him, particularly with regard to the contribution made by youth to voluntary services. On the other hand, he found no difficulty in accepting the Turkish amendment (A/C.3/L.1781). He could agree to support the change proposed by Mongolia (A/C.3/L.1782) if the last phrase, which he felt raised some difficulties, were deleted. The amendment proposed by Czechoslovakia (A/C.3/L.1783) had already been considered by the sponsors, and his delegation agreed with them on the question.

34. He could not fully accept the United States amendments (A/C.3/L.1784), which were intended to change four passages of the draft resolution. With regard to the first amendment, he preferred the original wording of the sixth preambular paragraph, which was more precise. He was not sure he understood the meaning of the change implied by the second amendment; if the goals referred to in the original text were being pursued under the auspices of the United Nations, the proposed insertion would be unnecessary, while if they were not, the proposal would place an unacceptable limitation on universality of effort. On the other hand, he would have no difficulty in accepting the third amendment, although he did not feel that the suggested change was really necessary. The text proposed in the fourth amendment omitted some important concepts contained in the original passage it was intended to replace and would be more acceptable only if, like the original, it stressed the need to strengthen the internal capacity of the developing countries in order to implement development policies to the fullest extent.

35. The other amendments were not controversial and therefore raised no difficulty; that was true particularly of the amendments proposed by Morocco (A/C.3/L.1789), which his delegation fully supported.

36. Mr. MILUTINOVIĆ (Yugoslavia), after announcing that Guinea and Somalia had joined the sponsors of draft resolution A/C.3/L.1767/Rev.1, drew the Committee's attention to the changes made in the revised version. In the preamble, the suggestions made at the 1753rd meeting by the Hungarian and Turkish representatives had been taken into account in the second paragraph, and the new third paragraph included the main ideas of the Iraqi amendment (A/C.3/L.1773).

37. As for the operative part, the sponsors of the draft resolution had accepted the Italian amendment (A/C.3/L.1780) to operative paragraph 1. The USSR amendment (A/C.3/L.1774 and Corr.1 and 2), with some drafting changes, had been incorporated into operative paragraph 2. The amendment submitted by New Zealand, the Netherlands and the United Kingdom (A/C.3/L.1778) had been included by the sponsors as a new operative paragraph 5 rather than a substitute for the entire operative paragraph 3, as its proponents had intended. It had been impossible to reach agreement on the Barbadian amendments (A/C.3/L.1787), and he suggested that the idea might be expressed in a new operative paragraph. The words "the principles of international law" had been added to operative paragraph 7, and the words "and independence" had been inserted in operative paragraph 8, as proposed by the Turkish representative (A/C.3/L.1781). It had not been possible to reach agreement concerning the inclusion of the word "nazism" in operative paragraph 8, and the sponsors had therefore agreed to leave the decision to the Committee. He personally favoured inserting the word.

38. The Syrian amendment (A/C.3/L.1772) had been discussed at length by the sponsors of the draft resolution, and they had finally decided not to include it. Similarly, they had not accepted the amendments submitted by the Byelorussian SSR (A/C.3/L.1775) and Bulgaria (A/C.3/L.1776), since the ideas contained in them were already

included in the draft resolution. On the other hand, the amendment submitted by Italy and the United Kingdom (A/C.3/L.1779) had been rejected because its ideas were not in keeping with the resolution.

39. He emphasized that the draft resolution, produced by the efforts of twenty-five countries, contained no new or controversial ideas but only ideas already accepted and reaffirmed in the Third Committee and in the United Nations. He could not, therefore, agree with the Netherlands representative that the document was one-sided.

40. A resolution on youth could not be non-political, since the dissatisfaction, impatience and frustration among today's youth was due in large measure to the political situation in the world. Although Yugoslavia did not fully approve of the course taken by discussions at the World Youth Assembly, and particularly of the manner in which the Assembly had been convened, it did not feel that the idea could be rejected outright merely because the results had not been satisfactory or had fallen short of expectations. Despite its serious defects, the Assembly had had the merit of offering young people their first opportunity to come together and exchange ideas not only on the so-called problems of youth but on the problems of the entire world. It had been a valuable experience which should be borne in mind for the future.

41. Mr. LISITSKY (Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic), speaking in exercise of the right of reply, said that he could not understand how the representative of Lesotho

could be unaware of the existence of nazism in the world, particularly since her country was a neighbour of the Republic of South Africa, where the odious policies of *apartheid* were being implemented. Furthermore, one only had to read a history book to learn about the horrors and atrocities committed by Nazis throughout the world.

Mrs. Barish (Costa Rica), Vice-Chairman, took the Chair.

42. Mr. RYBAKOV (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics), speaking in exercise of the right of reply, said that he could not agree with the Netherlands representative that there was no need to refer the struggle against nazism in United Nations resolutions. The struggle against nazism had always been an important cause in the United Nations, and it must be recognized that new forms of that hateful ideology existed at the present time which must be firmly and vigorously opposed.

43. Mr. PAPADEMAS (Cyprus) asked the sponsors of the revised draft resolution (A/C.3/L.1767/Rev.1) to study it carefully during the week-end, so that on Monday they might be able to submit a draft resolution that could be adopted unanimously.

44. Mr. EL-FATTAL (Syria), speaking in exercise of the right of reply, deplored the Netherlands representative's reference to his delegation's amendment (A/C.3/L.1772) in a completely unjustified and inappropriate context.

The meeting rose at 1.35 p.m.