



Chairman: Mr. Carlos GIAMBRUNO
(Uruguay).

AGENDA ITEM 50

Elimination of all forms of racial discrimination
(continued) (A/8660-S/10528, A/8703, chap. XIV,
sect. B; A/8718, A/8767, A/8768 and Add.1, A/8773,
A/8779, A/8789, A/8805 and Add.1, A/C.3/629,
A/C.3/L.1937, E/CN.4/1093 and Add.1-6):

- (a) Reports of the Secretary-General under General Assembly resolutions 2784 (XXVI) and 2785 (XXVI);
- (b) Report of the Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination;
- (c) Status of the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination: report of the Secretary-General;
- (d) Draft convention on the suppression and punishment of the crime of *apartheid*

GENERAL DEBATE (continued)

1. Mr. SÖYLEMEZ (Turkey) recalled that, in the Declaration on Principles of International Law concerning Friendly Relations and Co-operation among States in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations (General Assembly resolution 2625 (XXV), annex), the peoples of the United Nations had reaffirmed their determination to practise tolerance and live together in peace. Nevertheless, racism, a pathological phenomenon which had been repeatedly deplored by the Organization and which constituted a gross violation of the purposes and principles of the Charter, continued to exist. The situation was particularly serious in southern Africa, where, if a solution could not be found to existing problems, a racial conflict with world-wide repercussions would probably break out. Racial discrimination continued to exist in other parts of the world also, and his delegation wished to congratulate the representative of Morocco on her enlightened remarks in that connexion made at the 1917th meeting.

2. Implementation of United Nations resolutions and instruments was a basic weapon in combating racial discrimination, and in that connexion it was heartening to note that the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination, which had entered into force on 4 January 1969, had already been signed by 72 States and acceded to by 67 States. Turkey had unfortunately not yet been able to complete the formalities that were required to accede to the Con-

vention, but would make every effort to ratify it on the occasion of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, in 1973.

3. Turkey had always practised racial and religious tolerance. It was of significance that the Ottoman Commonwealth had sheltered a multiracial nation comprising different ethnic and religious groups and had been characterized by co-operation and understanding among them; different ethnic and religious minorities had flourished and none had been the victim of discrimination. The Republic of Turkey, which was the direct descendant of the Ottoman Commonwealth, had embodied in its Constitution 52 articles devoted to the safeguarding of human rights and fundamental freedoms. The Constitution proclaimed the equality of all individuals before the law and established that no privileges should be granted to any individual, family group or class.

4. His delegation felt that the draft programme for a Decade for Action to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination (A/8805, annex) was a positive document but should not be considered as exhaustive. His delegation was studying the draft convention on the suppression and punishment of the crime of *apartheid* (A/8768, annex I), the importance of which needed no elaboration. He concluded by concurring with the statement of the representative of UNESCO (1916th meeting) that racism and racial discrimination took different forms in different societies and did not exist in isolation from other social phenomena; consequently, measures to eliminate them should be adapted to the characteristics of each society.

5. Mr. WANG (China) said that the total elimination of the evils of racial discrimination was an obligation common to all justice-loving States and peoples. The existence of such evils in southern Africa and other parts of the world constituted a challenge by colonialism and imperialism to progressive mankind everywhere. Colonialist-dominated South Africa and Southern Rhodesia were a hell on earth, in which the most elementary human rights were being trampled upon. Racial discrimination and *apartheid* had their roots in the aggression and domination by imperialism and colonialism. The white racists of South Africa and Southern Rhodesia had the energetic support of the forces of imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism, which were lending political and economic support to the racist régimes, supplying arms to South Africa, Southern Rhodesia and the Portuguese colonialist authorities and inciting the latter to enter into the reactionary "military alliance" for the total suppression of the African people's struggle for liberation. Only

by ousting the imperialist forces of aggression, overthrowing the white colonialist rule and achieving national liberation could the evils of racial discrimination be uprooted.

6. A resolution adopted by the nineteenth ordinary session of the Council of Ministers of the Organization of African Unity had proclaimed that the situation prevailing in southern Africa left the African people in those Territories no other choice but armed struggle and condemned certain countries for rendering political, economic and military assistance to the racist régimes in South Africa and Southern Rhodesia in violation of the relevant United Nations resolutions. The African people had demonstrated to the whole world that they could defend their national independence, win their liberation and eradicate the evils of racism. The Conference of the States of East and Central Africa, held recently in Dar es Salaam, had also reaffirmed its determination to defeat colonialism and neo-colonialism and thus to eliminate racial discrimination and *apartheid*. The people of southern Africa had come to realize in the course of their struggle that, in order to overthrow the reactionary rule of colonialism and racism, they must rely mainly on their own strength, although foreign aid was necessary too. The representatives of some African countries had rightly said that United Nations resolutions to combat racial discrimination and *apartheid* could not be implemented because of the obstructive action of imperialism and colonialism. Such a phenomenon could not be allowed to continue.

7. The Chinese Government and people firmly supported the peoples of Mozambique, Angola, Guinea (Bissau), Azania (South Africa), Zimbabwe and Namibia in their just struggles against imperialism, colonialism, neo-colonialism and racism. His delegation believed that, in order to uphold the purposes and principles of the Charter and to eliminate racial discrimination and *apartheid* in southern Africa, the United Nations should firmly side with the African people, support their just struggle and, in compliance with their aspirations, take resolute action against the inhuman crimes committed by the white racist régimes of South Africa and Southern Rhodesia and the Portuguese colonialist authorities. The General Assembly should ask the Security Council and the other competent bodies to strengthen the sanctions against South Africa and Southern Rhodesia and condemn the Governments which violated them. The General Assembly should also at its current session reaffirm its determined support for the just struggles of the peoples of southern Africa, including armed struggle, and call on all justice-loving peoples to render political, moral and material support to those struggles.

8. Mr. ÅLGÅRD (Norway) said that his country's stand on racial discrimination was well known; accordingly, his delegation had been a sponsor of resolution 1 (XXVIII)¹ of the Commission on Human Rights, whereby the Commission had requested the

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

Sub-Commission on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities to draw up a draft programme for the Decade for Action to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination. His delegation therefore agreed with the representative of Egypt and other representatives that the highest priority should be given to finalizing the programme, the implementation of which would bring the United Nations one step closer to the eradication of discrimination. Of special importance in the draft programme (A/8805, annex) were the proposed measures relating to education and information because, unless world opinion was informed of them, the efforts being made to uproot the scourge of racism would be in vain. Doctrines of racial superiority were based on prejudice and ignorance. In Norway, practical steps had been taken to foster respect for human rights.

9. The United Nations now had a legal basis for the struggle against racial discrimination: the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination. It was gratifying to note that 12 more Member States had ratified or acceded to the Convention in the preceding year, bringing the total number of ratifications or accessions to 67. However, the General Assembly should once more urge States which had not yet done so to ratify the Convention as soon as possible. The forthcoming twenty-fifth anniversary of the Universal Declaration offered an excellent opportunity to accelerate the ratification process. Norway, for its part, had ratified the Convention in 1970.

10. If decisive results were to be obtained, the struggle against racial oppression must take several forms; the United Nations was the focal point and indispensable instrument for co-ordinating all endeavours to achieve the elimination of all forms of racial discrimination. He concluded by noting with pleasure that in 1973 Norway would host the world conference of the Organization of African Unity for the support of victims of *apartheid* and colonialism.

11. Mr. LEHTIHET (Algeria) recalled that in the Preamble to the Charter the peoples of the United Nations had proclaimed their determination to reaffirm faith in fundamental human rights and in the dignity and worth of the human person. Unfortunately, those noble words had developed a hollow and meaningless ring; racial discrimination, far from disappearing, was causing havoc everywhere. The General Assembly and other United Nations organs had on several occasions declared that racism and *apartheid* were crimes against humanity. His country, which for many years had had to endure the tragic effects of racism, had not hesitated to join those nations which condemned the practice of such aberrant policies. However, it was necessary to be realistic and to acknowledge that the racist leaders would continue to oppress the African majority of the territories under their domination, without paying heed to the protests of the international community.

12. On the eve of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the proclamation of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and at a time when the international community was preparing to adopt a programme for a Decade for

Action to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination, it was distressing to observe that thousands of human beings still suffered constant humiliation because of the colour of their skin. The iniquities of the policy of racial discrimination—a policy which was also being pursued in Palestine and the occupied Arab territories, where the Arab inhabitants were the victims of the Zionist-inspired racism practised by a group of colonialists—had been repeatedly condemned. The Zionists, who had come from various parts of the world, had expelled thousands of Palestinians from their homes, subjecting those who had remained in their homeland to a segregationist régime which had nothing to learn from the Vorster régime.

13. Furthermore, at a time when Africa was being liberated, a white minority was continuing to send thousands of African men, women and children to concentration camps. In that connexion, his delegation felt that the approach adopted so far was inadequate to deal with the evils besetting the peoples of southern Africa. The international community had all too quickly forgotten the Sharpeville massacre of 1960 as well as the recent protests of the workers of Namibia, which had been drowned in blood by the agents of racism. In South Africa, *apartheid* had become an official policy of degradation and odious exploitation. It held sway in education, in housing, in sports arenas and even in gaols. The international community should not deceive itself as to the nature of the Vorster policy, which had been devised by whites to convince whites; the time had come for certain countries to set aside their ambivalent policy of condemning the Pretoria and Salisbury régimes and, at the same time, systematically refusing to break off their economic ties with those régimes.

14. In spite of the resolutions adopted by the General Assembly and the Security Council, some members of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) were still selling war matériel to South Africa, thus helping to perpetuate the hateful policy of *apartheid*. Moreover, the Pretoria Government did not hesitate to lend a helping hand to the illegal minority régime of Ian Smith, with the collaboration of the Lisbon mercenaries. That alliance, as the attacks launched against Senegal and the Republic of Guinea demonstrated, was a constant source of danger to the independent countries of Africa. The peoples of the world could not remain unconcerned at the complicity of the great Powers in protecting the power of the white minority; when the members of a community were sacrificed to safeguard certain economic interests, there must be a greater resolve to assist those who were fighting for their freedom.

15. It was distressing to have to acknowledge that armed struggle was the sole means remaining to oppressed Africans if they were to make their voices heard. Clearly, the colonial societies still in existence in Africa must disappear, for they were not prepared to give up their privileges or to grant the Africans equal rights. However, it was a fallacy to believe that racism and racial discrimination would disappear thanks to the benevolence of the leaders of racist minorities.

They would not end until the peoples still under the colonial yoke had been completely emancipated. Only in that way would the principle of the equality of all men embodied in the Charter of the United Nations be fully realized.

16. Mr. ABDELLAHI (Mauritania) said that it lay with the Third Committee, more than any other body, to put an end to racial discrimination throughout the world, particularly in territories under colonial rule or where a racist system held sway. It was impossible to discuss that distressing question, which involved both politics and economics, without speaking of South Africa, Southern Rhodesia, the colonies under Portuguese administration and, in addition, the Arab territories occupied by Israel. The Pretoria and Salisbury Governments were persisting in their policy of harsh racial discrimination. Discrimination was to be seen everywhere—in such matters as the ownership of property, agriculture, urbanization, labour, education, vocational training and the distribution of national income—and the fundamental concepts underlying legislation and official policy were completely discriminatory. Although the Committee's principal concern was with humanitarian questions, the economic and social consequences of racist practices should not be overlooked. Education was the key which enabled countries to resolve the problem of social development, and there was therefore nothing more grave or criminal than discrimination in education. Under the racist régimes, compulsory education was usually free of charge for white children but not for non-white children, and it differed for the various ethnic groups. His own country did not compromise on any of the principles of human rights.

17. Mauritania condemned the violation of the rights of the Palestinians and the discrimination practised in the occupied Arab territories as forcefully as it did the oppression of the peoples of southern Africa. In the Middle East, the forces implanted by international Zionism had made the Jewish religion a national policy. Furthermore, despite the adoption of General Assembly resolution 2507 (XXIV), which had urged the States members of NATO to desist from giving further military and other assistance to Lisbon, it was a fact that Portugal was in possession of the latest weapons to help it impose racial discrimination in the Territories under its administration. He was certain, however, that the freedom fighters would ultimately carry the day under the standard of liberation.

18. Lastly, he expressed the hope that the specialized agencies would prepare a study on the economic and social consequences of discriminatory practices in Africa, Asia and Latin America, for he was convinced that such a document would be of great value to the United Nations.

19. Mr. RAJU (India) said that his country had celebrated the International Year for Action to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination in a fitting manner. India's Constitution conferred equal rights on all its citizens irrespective of their race, colour, creed or religion, and it provided adequate safeguards for religious, linguistic and ethnic minorities.

20. The tensions caused by racism and racial discrimination constituted a threat to world peace. Attention should therefore be constantly focused on the matter, and continuing action would have to be taken in that regard for years to come. The draft programme for a Decade for Action to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination, prepared (A/8805, annex) by the Sub-Commission on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities at its twenty-fifth session, was balanced, comprehensive and realistic. It was practical, for the various measures were classified at three levels, namely measures to be undertaken at the national and international levels and those to be undertaken within the United Nations system. That method would not compartmentalize the action taken but would resolve the problem through a converging multilateral approach. The aim of the programme for the Decade was to mobilize all efforts in a concentrated manner in order to deal a final blow to the worst and most naked forms of racial discrimination practised in southern Africa. The co-operation of all States was imperative if the programme was to succeed. The suggestions and the draft programme were not intended only for the vast number of Member States which had consistently opposed any form of racism or racial discrimination and which scrupulously complied with the resolu-

tions of the General Assembly and the Security Council but also for the handful of Member States which had of late not been consistent in their compliance with those resolutions, particularly those relating to southern Africa. No part of the draft programme could be construed as opposing progress or contravening national laws. The substance of the programme clearly showed that the cause was just; sooner or later, the millions of victims of racism must be able to live in dignity and honour in their homelands, free from fear, oppression and discrimination.

21. Accordingly, his delegation would join in sponsoring the draft resolution to be submitted on the item by the delegation of Egypt.

22. Mr. LÜTEM (Secretary of the Committee) informed the members of the Committee that the report of the Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination (A/8718) was now available in English, French and Spanish. The Russian version would be ready the following day, when the document would be given general distribution.

The meeting rose at 12 noon