



Chairman: Mrs. Helvi SIPILÄ (Finland).

*Expression of sympathy in connexion with the catastrophe  
in India*

1. The CHAIRMAN said that to her great regret she was obliged to announce that thousands of people had been killed in a cyclone and tidal wave which had swept the province of Orissa on the east coast of India. She was sure that the Committee would wish her to convey its concern and condolences to the Government and people of India.

2. Mr. DAS (India) thanked the Chairman and the Committee for their expression of sympathy at the calamity which had overtaken his country and said he would convey the Committee's message to his Government.

**AGENDA ITEM 54**

**Elimination of all forms of racial discrimination (continued)** (A/8367 and Corr.1 and 2, and Add.1 and 2, A/8403, chap. XVII, sects. B and F; A/8418, A/8439, A/C.3/L.1871):

- (a) International Year for Action to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination: report of the Secretary-General;
- (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

GENERAL DEBATE (continued)

3. Mr. EL-FATTAL (Syrian Arab Republic), speaking in exercise of the right of reply, said that it was a sacred right that could not be denied to any delegation. Its purpose was to allow delegations to correct or refute misrepresentations by other delegations. Israel had several times used the right of reply to statements made by his delegation, but in doing so had evaded the issues which had been raised and had claimed that questions had been brought up which were not related to the situation in what Israel called the "administered territory". In a previous statement, however, the speaker had said that one of the prerequisites of settler colonialism was an indigenous population to be exploited, but that colonialism in Israel differed from colonialism in South Africa in that Israel's indigenous population had been evicted and the oriental Jews made the object of exploitation. Israel in its reply had not addressed itself to that point or to several others which the speaker had raised.

4. The idea that there was a colonial settler régime in Israel was not a Syrian invention. Hertzl had described his

vision of Israel as a colonial outpost in 1902 and had pledged Zionist loyalty to the British Empire in return for British support of the Zionist colonial venture. He quoted a memorandum from Hertzl to the British Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs in which the advantages of Anglo-Zionist co-operation for Britain were outlined. There was so much Zionist literature on colonial settlements that perhaps a special unit should be established to study that material.

5. Regarding Israel's eviction of the Arab labour force, he quoted a statement by the Israeli leader Moshe Dayan to the effect that there was not a single Jewish village that had not been built on the site of an Arab village. On another occasion Dayan had stated that the process of "building up the country and the nation, of expansion, of giving additional Jews additional settlements in order to expand the borders" was a process that had not ended.

6. It was not a figment of Syrian imagination to say that the oriental Jews had become the subject of exploitation. A statement by a leading American Zionist, reported in *The New York Times* on 15 June 1971, had warned that "Israel was in danger of compounding the South African experience with a minority group or the mistake made by American society on its black and under-privileged citizens". According to the same statement, although American Jews were being told that Israel was a country under siege, the fact was that since 1967 the standard of living of the Israeli middle class had doubled; it would thus appear, the statement continued, that the country was only under siege when it came to the needs of the 20 per cent of the population below the poverty line. The points raised by Syria had not been answered by the Israeli representative because the latter could not and would not answer her own leaders and had not even reacted when the Syrian delegation expressed its concern about anti-Semitism in the United States.

7. Mr. DAS (India) expressed surprise at the length of the Pakistan representative's statement at the previous meeting in exercise of the right of reply and noted that she had raised a number of extraneous issues which clearly lay outside the scope of the item under consideration by the Committee.

8. The speaker had been obliged to raise the question of discrimination in Pakistan only because the matter had been raised by the Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination, the report of which was included in the Committee's agenda. Whereas the Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination had found the report of Pakistan "incomplete" and "unsatisfactory", it had found the report of India quite satisfactory. Accordingly, discussion of the situation in Pakistan was in order but discussion of India had no bearing on the present item.

9. He wished, however, to clarify certain points raised by the Pakistan representative at the previous meeting. She had said that discrimination was being practised on a large scale in India against various minority communities. Had those slanderous allegations been true, the number of Indian refugees leaving Indian soil would now have reached such proportions that they would have created serious problems for the whole of Asia. He doubted, however, whether the Pakistan representative could point to a single member of any minority group who had left India because of insecurity of life, honour or property inside India and become a refugee in any other country. The 9.5 million refugees who had fled Pakistan and were now in India were the living proof of what was currently happening in Pakistan. Despite the unfounded allegations made by the Pakistan representative in order to vilify India, it was a fact that the people of India, comprising a large number of ethnic, linguistic and religious communities, stood as a strong, united and integrated nation enjoying all the privileges and opportunities that a fully democratic system could provide—a situation which could not be claimed to prevail in Pakistan. Not only had a large number of distinguished representatives of every single minority community in India occupied high and responsible positions in political, administrative and other spheres of public life in India, but, in 1967 an eminent Moslem, Dr. Zakir Husain, had been elected President of India and, in the same year, a distinguished Moslem had been appointed Chief Justice of the Supreme Court. Could the Pakistan representative cite a single parallel example in her own country?

10. The Pakistan representative had herself been obliged to admit that disparity existed not only between East and West Pakistan but also among the four provinces of West Pakistan. She had also acknowledged that dissatisfaction had been voiced at the unequal rate of economic development in East Pakistan and that that had exacerbated political tensions culminating in the current crisis. The statement made by the Pakistan representative in exercise of the right of reply had merely served to confirm the facts he himself had stated. Moreover, since Pakistan had taken pains to make such lengthy explanations in the Committee, he failed to understand why it had so far failed to submit a full report to the Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination.

11. He firmly maintained all he had said in his original statement at the 1851st meeting and also in his statement made at the 1852nd meeting in exercise of the right of reply. Geographically, East Pakistan was separated from West Pakistan by a distance of 1,000 miles of foreign territory. History and anthropology showed that the culture, language and ethnic origin of the people of East Pakistan were entirely different from those of the people of West Pakistan. Economists had established the fact that the 60 per cent of the people of Pakistan living in the eastern region had a share of less than 10 per cent in the armed services, 15 per cent in the civil services, less than 20 per cent in foreign economic assistance, 30 per cent in imports and 30.6 per cent in the gross national product. The Pakistan representative had not denied that during the period 1965-1970 the total development expenditure in East Pakistan had been \$3,481 million as against \$6,252 million in West Pakistan. The events themselves and the

inequalities acknowledged even by the Pakistan delegation were convincing evidence that there had been gross discrimination against the people of East Pakistan.

12. Although the Pakistan representative had said that the people of East Pakistan constituted the majority in Pakistan, and by virtue of the principle of one man, one vote, possessed the power to dominate the political life of the country, the elected representatives of the people of East Pakistan had been either imprisoned, killed or driven out of the country. Even the voters, supporters of the Awami League, the party which had won an absolute majority in the Pakistan National Assembly, had been subjected to the most inhuman atrocities, and, as a consequence, over 9 million people of East Pakistan had fled to take temporary refuge in India.

13. The crisis in East Pakistan was a problem between the Government of Pakistan and the people of East Pakistan. India was in no way to blame for it, although it had to bear the heavy consequences. As a Member of the United Nations, it was India's duty to call for the elimination of any form of discrimination in East Pakistan, but the basic problem must be solved between the Government of Pakistan and the people of East Pakistan. If the Government of Pakistan was serious and sincere about solving the problem and creating conditions which would provide sound guarantees for the safe and honourable return of its exiles, it should not waste time making futile and hypocritical appeals to India for co-operation but should take the necessary steps immediately to reach a political settlement with those who had been elected as their representatives by the people of East Pakistan in December 1970.

14. Mr. BUDAI (Hungary), speaking in exercise of the right of reply to the Israeli representative's customary provocative remarks that referred also to his country, said that all allegations by some delegations that the socialist countries practised discrimination against certain groups were totally unfounded distortions and they were contradicted by the very social order and legislative provisions of those countries. Israel was levelling those charges in an attempt to divert attention from the gross violations of human rights which it was itself perpetrating. Israel had no legitimate right to speak in favour of Jews or any other group but it had to abide by all relevant United Nations resolutions, particularly Security Council resolution 242 (1967), and had to stop persecution of the Arab population as well as to cease the illegal occupation of Arab territories.

15. Mr. DOS SANTOS (Portugal) said there could be no doubt that problems of racism, colonialism and *apartheid* were both a cause and a manifestation of social upheavals or that anything which could be done to eliminate those evils would promote universal progress and would be of service to all mankind. The Committee was annually faced with problems relating to the elimination of obstacles to the unity of all mankind and, in particular, with the eradication of all forms of racial discrimination, not only in those parts of the world enumerated in the reports now before it, but in others as well.

16. While it was true that the main way of eliminating racism was to destroy its causes, those causes were many

and various. A distinction should be made between the social and anthropological causes of racism. Anthropological differences undoubtedly existed but they constituted an inexhaustible source of riches for mankind, and had nothing to do with the deplorable racism under discussion. Since racism originated from a personal value criterion, it was among individuals that action should be taken to engender a dialogue between equals, without the superiority complexes which provoked on the other side effects similar to the causes, or a kind of counter-racism. That did not mean that political structures and institutions were unnecessary or that they should not be taken into account, for it was through them that people expressed their position towards their personal destiny and towards history; but political methods were not the most suitable ones for eliminating evils which directly affected people in their individual motivations and actions. Measures to combat those evils must be adapted to the human dimensions of the evils themselves, and consequently could not be approached from political premises, which were not accurate enough to lead to specific conclusions. Moreover, each situation must be carefully studied within its own geo-human context. Racism originated from different sources in different parts of the world. Thus, some derived from purely historical situations, such as migrations; others had geographical causes, connected with such factors as fertility of the soil or means of cultural or commercial communication; yet others sprang from a fear of competition which gave rise to bitterness between social groups and degenerated into a kind of artificial racism. The cultural confrontations so frequent in a changing world, together with increasing mass population movements, often engendered racial or pararcial conflicts; and even religion, when viewed only in a narrow context, could cause violence similar to racial conflict.

17. The six bases of racism had been described as the desire to secure personal advantage, ignorance about other human groups, national and religious tensions, economic considerations, the need for a political diversion, and ethnocentrism, or abnormal fear of the different. Even from a superficial standpoint, it could be seen that racism in southern Africa, where it existed, had very varied anthropological, geophysical and historical causes. If it was difficult to trace those causes, it was no less difficult to define the exact limits of the "constants" which must be the basis of any social action to combat any kind of racist aggression. Moreover, it was extremely difficult to define accurately racial boundaries or those of the cultures with which races identified themselves. Yet without an appropriate definition for each of the regions affected, it would be impossible to draw up a social plan for the effective implementation of the wise provisions of Article 76 c of the Charter of the United Nations; there could be no doubt that the idea of the interdependence of all peoples proclaimed in those provisions was in perfect conformity with the plan of that human universe which the nations translated into political structures; but the latter must be based on the essence of man as an individual and as a member of society. The most effective working method would be to study the essence of man and his problems on the basis of his personal nature rather than merely in the social and political context of a given moment of history. At the same time it was essential to bear in mind the geographical and historical conditions and other factors

which determined personal choices in favour of social progress or suffering. The search for truth in that context must be directed towards family relations and rooted in physical and human geography, constituting the basis of the national groups which, when allowed to exercise their freedom, would take appropriate political decisions. If society succeeded in training the new man, transcending past history, a new social order would be created on which the future could be built. Those considerations should be borne in mind when preparing specific and equitable methods of action to eradicate the evils of racism, *apartheid* and colonialism. Moreover, such methods should be applied everywhere, not only in relation to racial or colonial problems between whites and blacks but also to ethnic problems between groups of the same colour, and between people who were of the same nation but in different economic or social situations.

18. Just as there was not one racism but several racisms, there was not only one colonialism but several colonialisms. In the contemporary world, industrial and commodity market conditions often caused individuals and groups to be exploited by colonial methods. In those cases, it was for the stronger to desist from exploiting the weaker, because the exploited were in no position to improve the markets for their goods or demand a higher price for their labour. It was essential to bear in mind all the nuances of colonialism engendered by the lust for economic power and to take collective action to arouse individual consciences. Thus it could be concluded that racism was a problem of the education of consciences rather than of national or regional political structures; since racism was based on a value judgement reached through reason, that judgement was social before it became political. The foundations for a society free from racism, *apartheid* and colonialism would exist when individuals devoted themselves to the service of the common good and accepted the duties incumbent upon them in accordance with their sex, culture and professional or other options.

19. His delegation wished to suggest certain principles for the study of the cultural, historical and environmental conditions of the victims of racism and the evils associated with it. Merely to determine the identity of the victims, without seeking the causes of the evils in different regions, would render no service to mankind, since the roots of the evil would remain. For example, millions of people had died in the Second World War which had been fought to extirpate nazism, yet it was said that nazism still prevailed in various parts of the world; accordingly, violence and war were not the proper remedies for that evil. What was essential was to have efficient working methods, to study problems in depth and make it possible for everyone to engage in constructive criticism, since the forces of good were the best fitted to overcome the forces of evil. A collective effort on a social and community basis, the will to see the points of view of others and the courage to accept certain sacrifices would make it possible to reach realistic conclusions.

20. Colonialism was now a more universal scourge than racism, and financial pressures and commodity market conditions were the manifestations of a colonialism which was not linked with the social or political system of any country. If colonialism was understood to mean the

exploitation of a human being or a human group by another, it was hard to see how a country like Portugal, which was materially poor, could be described as colonial. Colonialism was a type of exploitation usually connected with economic values, and in the modern world far transcended local, social or political structures and the men engaged in it: it was a scourge engendered by selfish greed and lust for power.

21. In the universal context of the problems at issue, Portugal, like many other countries, had found some positive solutions but still had shortcomings which should be remedied. Of course, some social injustices persisted, but Portugal did not have a racist or colonial social or political structure. The Brazilian representative had told the Committee that there was no racism in Brazil today and that racism was not a part of its traditions; it was therefore hard to see when racism could have been introduced into Portugal, from which the multiracial tradition of Brazil had sprung. As for colonialism, it was one of the most widespread scourges of the present era, disguised sometimes under other names, and it developed as a result of economic tensions and greed for economic and political power. Yet neither colonialism nor racism were involved when young students of many races worked together during their vacations throughout Mozambique, for example, to build the new schools which were needed because of the constant increase in the school-age population, or to improve health services. When housing co-operatives were being organized as an essential element of agrarian reform, how could it be asserted that Portuguese policy consisted in concentrating the African population of Mozambique in protected villages surrounded by barbed wire, guarded and administered by paramilitary and military forces? When many black workers in Lourenço Marques held higher-paid posts than their white colleagues, how could the Portuguese social system be accused of colonialism or racism? It was true that much remained to be done, but it should be noted that violence engendered by political pressures was one of the major obstacles to progress. The task of ensuring the well-being of individuals should take precedence over considerations of politics and race. The concept of race must be superseded by a concept of human beings richer in dignity, sharing equally in the riches of the world. That necessitated collective social action to educate everyone in the conviction that the highest value in the world was represented by man, irrespective of his race and his material or moral potential. When a society was achieved in which that fact was recognized, it would be necessary to organize political structures which would be quite different from those prevailing today.

22. Mr. BOOTHE (Jamaica) stressed his country's unequivocal opposition to all forms of racial discrimination and its unrelenting commitment to the elimination of a scourge which denied human rights and was a threat to international peace and security. His delegation was gravely concerned about the existence and extension of *apartheid* and racial discrimination in South Africa, Southern Rhodesia and the African colonies under Portuguese administration. It deplored the persistent action of certain States in flouting the Charter, Security Council and General Assembly resolutions and the advisory opinion on Namibia given by the International Court of Justice. In thus serving their own selfish commercial ends they denied human rights

to millions of human beings and undermined the prestige of the United Nations. Those were the States which cast doubts on the impact of the United Nations in solving problems of peace and security and whose deeds were retarding economic and social progress.

23. Bearing in mind General Assembly resolution 2646 (XXV) reaffirming the legitimacy of the struggle of all oppressed peoples, in particular those of South Africa, Namibia, Southern Rhodesia and the Territories under Portuguese domination, to obtain racial equality by all possible means, his delegation urged that steps should be taken to ensure that freedom-fighters were treated as prisoners of war and that the provisions of the third Geneva Convention of 1949 should be applied to them.

24. Jamaica's Constitution provided protection against discrimination on the grounds of race. The national motto—"Out of many, one people"—was appropriate in view of the many ethnic groups comprising the population: 76.8 per cent were African, 14.6 per cent Afro-European, 3.4 per cent East Indian and Afro-East Indian, 3.2 per cent were of other races, mainly Arabs and Jews, 1.2 per cent were Chinese and Afro-Chinese and 0.8 per cent were European. But first and foremost the people were all members of the human race and Jamaicans. His Government had ratified the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination and urged all countries which had not yet done so to give the matter urgent consideration.

25. The inhuman and immoral policy of *apartheid* as practised in South Africa was a policy of calculated enslavement and exploitation of fellow human beings to enable a minority to maintain social and economic control of the country. South Africa's social and economic structure had been built and was maintained on the blood, sweat and tears of the Africans, with 95.5 per cent of the population held in subjugation by 4.5 per cent. *Apartheid* affected all aspects of everyday life: religion, marriage, home and family, land ownership, movement, education, work, assembly and association, opinion, sport and the rule of law.

26. His delegation was equally dismayed at the situation in Southern Rhodesia, where 4.5 million blacks were held in subjugation by 200,000 whites. The illegal unilateral Declaration of Independence by the Smith régime in 1963 had been followed by a tightening of the grip of *apartheid* throughout Southern Rhodesia and the failure of United Nations sanctions. Jamaica's belief that sanctions would not cause the collapse of the Smith régime, particularly when there was no universality of application, had been confirmed. Jamaica continued to support the principle of no independence until majority African rule had been achieved.

27. Racial discrimination was not limited to the African continent, but existed in many other parts of the world. His delegation believed that the answer to that problem was education. It welcomed the work already done in that respect, particularly in the context of the International Year for Action to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination, and urged its continuation and furtherance. Education was one of the strongest forces for combating racial

discrimination. Ignorance was the mother of bigotry and only by eradicating misconceptions and providing the true facts could attitudes be changed.

28. Moral pressure was also important. States which maintained economic and military ties with racist régimes and thus aided and abetted racial discrimination should be constantly subjected to moral pressure by all men of goodwill and by all States which denounced the evil of racial discrimination.

*Mr. Mahmassani (Lebanon), Vice-Chairman, took the Chair.*

29. Mr. PAPADEMAS (Cyprus) said that the item under discussion was one of the most important on the agenda and related to one of the most persistent human rights problems. Non-discrimination on racial grounds was a fundamental principle of the Charter. There could be no peace, justice or freedom in the world as long as people were discriminated against because of their race or colour: the ideals and principles of the United Nations could not be implemented as long as there was discrimination between countries and people by reason of colour or race. The United Nations had rightly devoted a great deal of time and energy to the question of human rights, particularly the right to freedom and self-determination of the millions of people suffering under the yoke of foreign domination. His delegation commended the United Nations on its tremendous achievements in decolonization and human rights and particularly appreciated the work of the Division of Human Rights and its Director and their tireless efforts and dedication to the struggle for equality and dignity of man. But there was still so much to be done. The evils of racial discrimination and *apartheid* were recognized by all but a very few nations. Racial discrimination existed on a small scale in many parts of the world; but the national policy of *apartheid* practised by South Africa, the illegal Smith régime of Southern Rhodesia, and by Portugal in Angola, Mozambique and Guinea (Bissau) were problems which could endanger world peace and security if they were not solved quickly. It was the duty of the United Nations to use all the means at its disposal to eradicate those widespread forms of colonialism and racial discrimination. His country would support any measures to that end. It had fully complied with all the relevant United Nations resolutions and it had no relations with the Smith régime or with South Africa. Despite its limited resources, it was helping the oppressed people of Africa by scholarships and other means.

30. In connexion with the other forms of racial discrimination elsewhere in the world which were referred to in the report of the Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination (A/8418), he stressed the importance of the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination as a first major breakthrough in that field. His country had been one of the first to sign and ratify the Convention; it had complied with the provisions of the Convention and had submitted a report. He urged countries which had not yet ratified the Convention to do so as soon as possible. His delegation appreciated the excellent and objective work of that Committee's members. The Committee's report was the first substantive one to throw official light on the practice of racial discrimination

and would greatly contribute to the struggle for the elimination of racial discrimination. He noted that it also referred to complaints by Panama on discrimination in the Canal Zone and by the Syrian Arab Republic on discrimination in part of its territory occupied by Israel. He supported the decisions and recommendations of the Committee adopted at its third and fourth sessions (A/8418, chap. VII) and considered that the Third Committee should formulate an expression of appreciation to its Chairman and members.

31. Mrs. FLOREZ PRIDA (Cuba) said that the principle of non-discrimination was embodied in the Charter of the United Nations and had been reaffirmed in numerous decisions over the past 25 years. She recalled in particular General Assembly resolution 1510 (XV) calling on States Members to adopt measures to prevent all manifestations of racial, religious and national hatred in the political, economic, social, educational and cultural spheres, as violations of the Charter and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. She also recalled the adoption of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, and of General Assembly resolution 1850 (XVII) which recognized the close link between colonialism and racism and stated that the best way to eradicate racial discrimination and segregation in the dependent territories was to implement that Declaration.

32. Racial discrimination was a typical manifestation of any régime based on exploitation. The idea of white superiority had been used as an ideological weapon by the colonialists in their expeditions to hunt slaves and seize overseas territories with their rich resources. Today racism, fascism and *apartheid* were manifestations of imperialism. White superiority was the weapon of imperialism and neo-colonialism, particularly in the United States. The condemnation of imperialism, colonialism, neo-colonialism and racial discrimination and the recognition of the justice of the fight for national freedom were closely linked, as were the fundamental national rights of peoples and human rights. The independence and freedom of peoples were the basis for achieving true freedom for mankind. Despite all the resolutions adopted by the United Nations, it had not been possible to eliminate racial discrimination in its many forms. On the contrary, three incontrovertible facts emerged from recent history. In the first place, the régimes of South Africa and Southern Rhodesia were intensifying their aggressive and criminal policies against the black majorities in their countries. Secondly, the imperialism of the United States and its allies, and their support for the racist régimes, made *apartheid* possible and rendered all the declarations and resolutions adopted by the United Nations useless. Thirdly, the collective imperialism which ruled in southern Africa depended on the racist régime of Pretoria to maintain the illegal Government of Southern Rhodesia and colonialism in Angola, Mozambique and Guinea (Bissau) and threatened the peace and security of all the African countries which had achieved independence.

33. It was a critical time in man's history. The colonial and imperial system was beginning to totter. The imperialists could not quench the flames of the national liberation movement, but its resounding triumph had made imperialism more cynical and brutal, as evidenced by events in Indo-China. Progressive writers in the United States said

that the word “genocide” was inadequate to describe the crimes that were committed daily in that part of the world and had accordingly put forward the concepts of “biocide” and “ecocide”. United States imperialism was trying to suppress the growing liberation movement in the third world. She drew attention in that connexion to the Pentagon papers published by *The New York Times* and to a memorandum dated 19 January 1966 by the then Under-Secretary of Defense of the United States to the effect that although there were many reasons why the United States was in Viet-Nam, most of them were academic.

34. Mankind was living in a period when imperialism was fighting desperately to stave off its inevitable defeat and resorting to extreme forms of discrimination, including segregation in the United States. The United States representative had spoken in the Committee (1848th meeting) of the great progress made by the black minority and had said that the latter’s growing influence and responsibility would help to eliminate the oppression of the black population in southern Africa. Yet there were growing doubts in the United States itself as to the truth of such assertions. Despite its wealth and its scientific and technological development, the United States was experiencing a serious economic crisis, and the results of inflation, the devaluation of the dollar and the rise in unemployment and the cost of living would be paid for by the black American. Developments such as the arbitrary imprisonment of Angela Davis and the assassination of George Jackson in San Quentin prison—which equalled in savagery the notorious “tiger cages” in Viet-Nam—suggested that the free and democratic system embodied in the United States Constitution had degenerated into a fascist system opposing the interests of the people, in particular the black minority. The growth of internal fascism was the inevitable consequence of an aggressive foreign policy as symbolized by the suicidal and criminal war against Viet-Nam. If the black majority in southern Africa waited for freedom to be brought about by the black Americans they would have to wait for ever. Their only hope was armed revolutionary struggle. The right of people enslaved by imperialism to resort to armed revolution against reactionary violence had been recognized in numerous United Nations resolutions; it was confirmed by the history of all peoples, including those of the United States, as recognized expressly in their Declaration of Independence.

35. Miss MENESES (Venezuela) recalled the statement of the President of Venezuela in which he had welcomed the International Year for Action to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination, and said that her delegation welcomed the priority given to the problems of racial segregation and discrimination. In his introduction to the report on the Work of the Organization the Secretary-General had described racial discrimination as one of the greatest evils of the day, an obstacle to the maintenance of public order, economic and social development and harmonious relations between nations (see A/8401/Add.1, para. 283). General Assembly resolution 2734 (XXV)—the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security—established a link between international security and universal respect for an exercise of human rights. It was intolerable that a State Member of the United Nations should continue to practise the most obnoxious form of racial discrimination, namely,

*apartheid*. No arguments could justify the oppression of one group by another or the separation of groups according to the colour of their skins.

36. Venezuela’s population was a fusion of three groups: indigenous, European and African. There had never been any question of one group being superior to the others by reason of race, colour, religion, origin or social status. Venezuela’s was a true multiracial society. The Government could not therefore adopt administrative or legal measures to eliminate something that did not exist in its territory. There was no distinction in employment, education, recreation or access to public office by reason of ethnic origin, colour or social situation. That principle was embodied in the Constitution and safeguarded by law.

37. Although Venezuela itself had not had occasion to implement United Nations resolutions on situations that did not exist in its territory, it had supported and publicized the United Nations Declaration on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination and had ratified the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination and was party to such international instruments as the UNESCO Convention against Discrimination in Education and ILO Conventions No. 105, of 1957, concerning the Abolition of Forced Labour and No. 111, of 1958, concerning Discrimination in Respect of Employment and Occupation. At the regional level it had supported all efforts to preserve, improve and respect human rights and had ratified the Protocol of Amendment to the Charter of the Organization of American States which provided that all human beings, without distinction based on race, sex, nationality, belief or social condition, had the right to material well-being and spiritual development in conditions of freedom, dignity, equality of opportunity and economic security. Legislation was in process for approving the Inter-American Convention on Human Rights.

38. Despite the improvements evident from the documents before the Committee and the statements of representatives, Venezuela considered that the time had come to seek new and better solutions. That would need firm determination on the part of all States. Her delegation would support any effort to strengthen United Nations action against racial discrimination, racism and *apartheid*. In that connexion she referred to the draft convention contained in document A/C.3/L.1871. Since the report of the Special Committee on *Apartheid* was being discussed in the Special Political Committee, it might be desirable to co-ordinate the action of the Third Committee and the Special Political Committee.

39. She recalled that at the 697th meeting of the Special Political Committee, on 15 October 1970, the Venezuelan delegation had proposed consideration of the possibility of drawing up a legally binding multilateral instrument on international measures concerning South Africa’s policy of *apartheid* which would reflect all the measures and resolutions on the subject adopted by the United Nations, and had suggested that if the idea were accepted, the task of drafting such a convention should be entrusted to the appropriate United Nations body.

40. Miss TEDAM (Ghana) said that while she recognized the need to avoid wasting funds, in the case of items as



broad and important as the one under review she felt that it would be useful to issue introductory statements verbatim, provided they were circulated immediately after their presentation. Her delegation welcomed the comprehensive statement made by the Director of the Division of Human Rights at the 1845th meeting; in future statements, however, it was to be hoped that he would make a greater attempt at analysis and evaluation.

41. Although it was a little premature to assess results at the present stage, her delegation was impressed by the response being given to the programme for the International Year for Action to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination by the United Nations system and by a number of non-governmental organizations. It particularly welcomed the work done by the Office of Public Information and noted with approval the increasing number of publications on racial discrimination in a variety of languages. The Office of Public Information should further expand its activities and should work in closer collaboration with the Organization of African Unity in the dissemination of information on racial discrimination and *apartheid*. Indeed, it would be advisable to make the Organization of African Unity an executive arm of the United Nations in combating racial discrimination in southern Africa. On the other hand, it was regrettable that the World Bank Group had made no contribution whatsoever to the activities of the International Year.

42. It was vital that the level of activity reached in 1971 in combating racial discrimination should be sustained in the years to come. The subject, especially the *apartheid* aspect, should be considered on an emergency basis, and in that respect her delegation whole-heartedly endorsed operative paragraph 1 of Economic and Social Council resolution 1588 (L). The value of such a resolution when faithfully implemented would be that it would serve to focus continuing attention on racial discrimination. It was to be hoped that governmental and non-governmental organizations would draw up programmes of action to combat racial discrimination as soon as possible. Although many non-governmental organizations had reported on their activities in connexion with the International Year, fewer than 10 such organizations in category I consultative status with the Economic and Social Council had done so. Particularly commendable were the efforts of the group of non-governmental organizations in New York and Geneva which had formulated a joint programme. Organizations which were unfettered by political ties were in a particularly favourable position to work for the elimination of racial intolerance. The system of biennial reporting to the Economic and Social Council which had recently been instituted was a step in the right direction. A body particularly deserving of commendation was the World Council of Churches, which had recently given financial assistance to the efforts of the liberation movements in Africa.

43. While the non-governmental organizations could make a valuable contribution, in the final analysis the chief burden lay with Governments and States. It was the responsibility of Governments actively to discourage racial discrimination by educational and legislative means. Countries with populations composed of different races must lay the foundations for a multi-racial society if peace and

harmony were to be preserved. In that regard her delegation was greatly impressed by the efforts of the New Zealand Government.

44. Another welcome development was the public outcry in New Zealand and Australia against racist sports teams from South Africa. By ostracizing South Africa in every possible way, collective international opinion would dent the armour of *apartheid*. That most inhuman form of racial discrimination had become further entrenched in South Africa in 1971 and was spreading to Namibia, Southern Rhodesia and the so-called Portuguese Territories. The grim life of non-whites in South Africa had already been brought out by preceding speakers but it had not been sufficiently emphasized that *apartheid* would lead to genocide. Reports prepared by the World Health Organization showed that malnutrition was widespread among Africans in South Africa. The study on racial discrimination by Mr. Santa Cruz showed that genocidal tendencies were manifest in that country. Information concerning trials and executions pointed to a covert extermination policy. A régime which systematically maintained the living conditions of its non-white population at sub-human standards and separated men from their families could only lead to mass extermination. According to a South African priest, between 1953 and 1966 nearly half of the executions recorded in the entire world were carried out in South Africa. The report of the *Ad Hoc* Working Group of Experts on the treatment of political prisoners in South Africa, established under Commission on Human Rights resolution 2 (XXIII), revealed that many prisoners had committed suicide after being mercilessly tortured. Political prisoners and captured freedom-fighters were denied the protection of internationally accepted rules of law. Under the Sabotage and Terrorism Acts, the burden of proof was laid on the accused and the entire judicial process was conducted in a manner contrary to the basic tenets of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. Even those who had assisted the families of opponents of *apartheid* were victimized; a prominent example was the Anglican Dean of Johannesburg, who had been tried for providing assistance to the families of political prisoners. That was just one example of a systematic attack on churchmen, university teachers, student leaders and newsmen who criticized *apartheid*.

45. It was deplorable that the Western Powers should encourage the régime in South Africa by expanding their military, economic and trading ties with that country. Capital inflow to South Africa had reached an all-time record of \$1,000 million in the financial year 1970-1971. Investment came in the main from the United Kingdom, the United States, West Germany and France. Yet trading with South Africa was tantamount to being an accomplice to murder.

46. The Committee should not conclude its consideration of the item without adopting a very strongly worded resolution on *apartheid*. That resolution should be on the lines recommended by the Special Committee on *Apartheid*. Among other things, it should deplore the actions of Governments which had exported arms to South Africa, whether for external defence or for internal repression. It should state that there was no justification whatsoever for any Government continuing military co-operation with South Africa.

47. Her delegation was gratified to note the further accessions to the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination and urged countries not parties to accede to that instrument in order to be able to participate constructively in the work of the Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination.

48. Begum INAYATULLAH (Pakistan), speaking in exercise of the right of reply, said that the Indian representative had spoken of economic disparities in Pakistan and had said that the Pakistan authorities had admitted that such disparities exacerbated political tensions. That was true, but the admission of such inequalities was by no means the same thing as an official policy of discrimination. Furthermore, Pakistan was developing a programme to eliminate all economic disparities.

49. With regard to the refugees, she drew attention to a recent article in *The Washington Post* which stated that although the refugees were a heavy economic burden, India was willing to bear it so long as it helped to weaken West Pakistan's control over East Pakistan. The article had also stated that India was using the refugees to supply manpower for guerrilla warfare in East Pakistan and that millions of the refugees could probably return with relative safety to their homes. Her country was deeply concerned at the plight of Pakistan citizens in the Indian refugee camps and was working for their speedy repatriation. It emphatically contested the inflated figures on refugees cited by the Indian Government. Unfortunately, India had repeatedly spurned the suggestion that impartial international observers should be permitted to ascertain the exact number of refugees. The exodus of refugees had fortunately ended and it was to be hoped that her Government's steps to hasten repatriation would bear fruit. Any citizen who had left the country could be assured of a safe return. Unfortunately India was not taking any action to return the refugees to their homeland and was, indeed, exploiting the situation in a most distressing way. There was good reason to believe that only one out of every five inmates of the camps was a genuine East Pakistan refugee. That was why India was reluctant to allow visits by United Nations officials. While her Government was taking every possible step to unite Pakistan, India, despite protests of non-interference, was bent on aggravating the situation. It was even giving moral support to secessionist elements, as a statement made by the Indian Minister for Foreign Affairs in Parliament on 28 October 1971 attested. Yet her country was actively engaged in achieving a truly representative democratic government in East Pakistan within the framework of the present system. It was deplorable, when peace was in the balance, that India should prefer to stir up controversy rather than take constructive steps to end the dispute.

50. Mr. DIALLO (Guinea), speaking in exercise of the right of reply, said that it had been shocking to hear the representative of Portugal—a churchman—travesty the problem of racial discrimination as he had. He had appeared to be supporting racism and denying that racism was susceptible of political solution. Yet racism, as everyone knew, was based on the instinct of a weak group to survive. Like nazism, racism relied on terrorism and oppression. Since the representative of Portugal had talked about

colonialism, it was relevant to note that the European countries at the time of their colonizing undertakings had sent missionaries ahead of their troops, for they had regarded the conversion to Christianity of the inhabitants of the territories they coveted as a major weapon in their quest for colonies. The time had come for the international community to strip Portugal of its illusions. Africa, for its part, was prepared to do so and to resort to as much violence as was necessary to loosen Portugal's grip on its African territories.

51. Mr. NYANG'ANYI (United Republic of Tanzania), speaking in exercise of the right of reply, said that, contrary to the assertion made by the representative of Japan at the 1853rd meeting, at no point had his delegation accused Japan of selling arms to South Africa. His delegation had merely pointed out that Japan was a leading trading partner of South Africa. A leading South African publication had reported in January 1971 that South African chrome producers had successfully concluded some long-term export contracts with Japanese buyers for the first time. Previously such contracts had been on a limited basis only, but now up to 50 per cent of South Africa's chrome exports were expected to go to Japan. In March 1971 a long-term contract for the export of coal had been arranged by the Transvaal Coal Owners Association and the value of coal exports from South Africa to Japan over the next 15 years would total \$353 million. Another South African publication had reported in February 1971 that the Japanese Government had agreed to import South African grapefruit and lemons. That was in addition to an agreement in December 1969 under which Japan imported South African oranges. Another contract worth \$140 million for hot strip mills had been signed, according to *The Rand Daily Mail*, between the South African firm ISCOR and the Japanese firm Mitsubishi Heavy Industries. It was also reported that negotiations were taking place between Nuclear Fuels Corporation of South Africa and the Kansai Electric Power Company of Japan concerning the sale of uranium. According to another South African newspaper, Consolidated African Mines had negotiated a provisional contract with a Japanese firm for the supply of iron ore to the value of \$700 million. Under that agreement, an off-shore loading plant to accommodate ore carriers would be built near Port Elisabeth. A survey published by *The Financial Mail* of Johannesburg in 1968 showed that Japan's exports to South Africa between 1964 and 1967 had increased by 205 per cent. Further information on the subject was contained in a document issued in October 1971 by the United Nations Unit on *Apartheid*.

52. His purpose in taking the floor was purely to put the record straight. His country enjoyed friendly relations with Japan and therefore found it all the more repugnant that that country should have economic ties with South Africa. Japan should be combating *apartheid* and not co-operating with a régime which infringed with impunity the principles that all civilized humanity upheld. It was not enough to proclaim that racial discrimination and *apartheid* were wrong. Such proclamations, if they were to have any meaning at all, had to be backed up by constructive action.

*The meeting rose at 6 p.m.*