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GENERAL DEBATE (*continued*)

1. Mr. LORCH (Israel) said that 10 November had been the anniversary of a day of unspeakable horror in 1938, when innocent people had been killed in cold blood. They had been amongst the first of the 6 million Jews to be slaughtered and murdered under nazism. Persecution at the hands of the Nazis and their collaborators had been but one instance in the long history of persecution, discrimination and degradation suffered by the Jewish people in many parts of the globe, ever since they had been expelled from ancient Israel. The hope that had kept them alive in the hours of misery and dark despair had been that one day they would return to Israel, and would be able to live there like all other people.

2. Zionism was the national liberation movement which aimed at restoring the Jewish people to freedom and independence in the land of their fathers, from which they had been uprooted by the imperialist cohorts of ancient Rome. Inspired by Jewish sovereign existence in the past, it had drawn its strength from a refusal to accept forcible expulsion by a colonial ruler as the final verdict of history, and the movement had gained urgency and poignancy from the catastrophe during the Second World War. The Zionist movement had served in turn as a beacon of light and a source of inspiration to other national liberation movements, in Asia and in Africa. For example, when Marcus Garvey had first dreamt of a free Africa, it was not by chance that he had spoken of "Black Zion". Outstanding men in all parts of the globe had recognized the justice of the Zionist movement, including illustrious Arab leaders. The late King Faisal of Iraq had written to the first President of Israel stating that the Arabs looked with the deepest sympathy on the Zionist movement, that the Jewish and Arab liberation movements were national and not imperialistic, that there was room for both and that neither could be a real success without the other.

3. The Zionist ideal was not directed against anyone, and the Jews did not begrudge the sovereignty which the Arab peoples had acquired in the course of the last few decades. Israel consistently supported the right of all peoples to self-determination. Even when it had known that a new State would join the ranks of its adversaries, it had voted at

Chairman: Mrs. Turkia OULD DADDAH
(Mauritania).

AGENDA ITEMS 55, 56 AND 57

Elimination of all forms of racial discrimination (*continued*) (A/7649 and Add.1, A/7667, A/7688, A/C.3/L.1733):

- (a) Implementation of the United Nations Declaration on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination;
- (b) Status of the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination: report of the Secretary-General;
- (c) Programme for the celebration in 1971 of the International Year for Action to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination: report of the Secretary-General

Measures to be taken against nazism and racial intolerance: report of the Secretary-General (*continued*) (A/7581/Rev.1, A/7603, chap. IX, sect. C; A/7683, A/C.3/617)

Question of the violation of human rights and fundamental freedoms, including policies of racial discrimination and segregation and of *apartheid*, in all countries, with particular reference to colonial and other dependent countries and territories (*continued*) (A/7603, chap. IX,

the United Nations in favour of its acceptance as a Member. It asked for no special privileges and guaranteed equality of rights for all its citizens, regardless of religion, race and sex. Yet, on the very anniversary of the "Crystal Night" of 1938, nazism had been compared to Zionism by the representative of Iraq—the representative of a Government which was responsible for shedding innocent blood, which continued its acts of genocide against the Kurdish minority, which persecuted Shiites for their religion, which committed unspeakable crimes against the small remnants of its Jewish community and which violated every single human right of its citizens. With the memory still fresh in its mind of the victims of a secret mock trial who had been executed without right of appeal and whose corpses had then been exposed in public squares, the Israel delegation had remained silent as the representative of the rulers of Baghdad had compared the national liberation movement of its people to the most horrid ideology of racial barbarism—an equation which could only be the fruit of venomous malice. Despite the bitter hostility which divided the Jews and the Arabs, he hoped and prayed that Israel's Arab neighbours would never have to suffer what his people had endured.

4. Mr. YAZID (Algeria) said that the fundamental rights of the Viet-Nameese people, as set forth in the 1954 Geneva Agreements—*independence, sovereignty, unity and territorial integrity*—were threatened by the United States aggression against Viet-Nam. The United States was engaged in Viet-Nam in one of the most cruel colonial wars of the present time. One million troops of the United States, its puppets and its allies were using the most modern armaments, and weapons prohibited by international law, such as gas, toxic chemical products and napalm, phosphorous and magnesium bombs. In the name of "pacification"—an expression which had first been used in the Algerian war—the Americans were destroying towns, razing villages and crops, burning forests, poisoning the water supply and slaughtering the civilian population. Millions of persons had been forced into the concentration camps styled "strategic hamlets" and hundreds of thousands had been arrested, tortured and frequently massacred under barbaric conditions. However, he would not dwell on that picture, because the American people was beginning to learn the realities of the war in Viet-Nam and to condemn the atrocities committed by the American expeditionary force.

5. Reference had been made at the preceding meeting to the Geneva Convention of 12 August 1949 relative to the treatment of prisoners of war,¹ but he pointed out that, in acceding to the Convention, the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam had made specific reservations with regard to article 85, declaring that prisoners of war prosecuted for and convicted of war crimes or crimes against humanity in accordance with the principles established by the Nuremberg Tribunal, would not enjoy the benefits of the provisions of that article. The Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam had always behaved in an exemplary, humanitarian manner towards American prisoners. A memorandum issued by the Red Cross of the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam in September 1969 had stated that, despite crimes against the Viet-Nameese people, and with the sole exception of prisoners guilty of indis-

cipline in the internment camps, the Government had always pursued a humanitarian policy, allowing prisoners to correspond with their families and to receive parcels, and caring for those who were sick or injured. Members of the United States anti-war movement and foreign journalists who had been allowed to visit the camps had been able to verify that the treatment of those detained there was humane, a fact which had been confirmed by many American prisoners released by the Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam.

6. In a war like the one being waged in Viet-Nam it was necessary to draw a clear distinction between the aggressors and those who resisted aggression, between justice and injustice. The resistance of the Viet-Nameese people, who were fighting for their independence and unification, helped to uphold international law, which was threatened by the imperialists. The war of aggression must be condemned. He had felt bound to offer the foregoing comments because the statements of the United States delegation had been made for reasons of domestic policy, in an attempt to resist the growing upsurge of feeling among the American people in favour of a just peace in Viet-Nam.

7. The representative of Israel had displayed great audacity in asserting that imperialist Zionism was a national liberation movement. He wondered whether the national liberation movements in Viet-Nam, Africa and Latin America would view the matter in the same way. Moshe Dayan had visited Viet-Nam quite recently, and any experience he had acquired there had most certainly been of war against a national liberation movement. It had been established that, during the Algerian war of independence, Israel officers had given their assistance in French military schools and acted as advisers in field operations against the Algerians; yet France had never claimed that it was carrying on a national liberation movement in Algeria. An examination of the way in which the representatives of Tel Aviv had cast their vote in the General Assembly would suffice to show what contribution they had made to the struggle against imperialist forces. It was possible for a people to have suffered from racism and oppression and one day to become, itself, racist and oppressive.

8. The people of Algeria had helped to fight nazism. Algerian troops had formed part of the allied armies and had freed Jews from concentration camps. However, the course of history had changed; it was now the Arabs who were the oppressed, whose country was occupied by alien forces. The Palestinians were fighting a guerrilla war and were receiving support, not because they were Arabs, but because they were seeking national liberation and because their human rights had been violated. When the Vichy régime had endeavoured to apply the racist policy of nazism to the Jews of Algeria, Morocco and Tunisia, the rulers of those countries had opposed that attempt with might and main and had informed the Jews that their rights were equal to those of the Arabs.

9. Mr. RESICH (Poland) said that the United Nations, after making a great contribution to the progress of mankind through the adoption of a number of historic documents concerning the struggle against all forms of racial discrimination, particularly *apartheid* and nazism, must now seek an answer to the fundamental question of

¹ United Nations, *Treaty Series*, vol. 75 (1950), No. 972.

what measures were to be taken so that the decisions and declarations of the Organization would be effectively implemented in all countries.

10. The question of *apartheid* required urgent attention. The present situation in South Africa was shameful, and *apartheid* had now, of course, spread beyond the boundaries of that country. The acts committed under that policy were crimes against humanity, but the United Nations had so far been unable to take sufficiently effective measures because a number of States, in defiance of many resolutions adopted by the General Assembly, maintained diplomatic, commercial, economic and other relations with the South African régime. Some even provided military aid in various forms. The causes of the situation were the influence of big money and the influence of the doctrines of racism. The effective remedy lay within the hands of the Security Council.

11. In general, his delegation supported the suggestions contained in the interim report submitted by Mr. Santa Cruz to the Sub-Commission on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities² and the measures indicated in the report of the Secretary-General (A/7660). His delegation was gratified at the entry into force of the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination and the election of a Polish member to the Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination, which had a particularly important and urgent task. Although a representative of the Federal Republic of Germany had also been elected a member of that Committee, he noted that there was no representative of the German Democratic Republic. All were aware that the Nazi Party was still engaging in activities in the Federal Republic, while the German Democratic Republic had been one of the first countries to introduce legislation for the prevention of racial discrimination. It was essential to give effect to the principle of the universality of the United Nations, and it was in the interest of the struggle against racial discrimination, in the interest of the development of Europe and in the interest of the protection of international peace and security that the German Democratic Republic should be able to participate in the work of international organizations. The principle of universality derived from the provisions of the Charter of the United Nations, and it would be an act of political realism to seek a positive solution to the problem, particularly if it was borne in mind that the other German State—the Federal Republic of Germany—had already been accorded observer status. He stressed that his country favoured the entry of both German States into the United Nations as full Members.

12. He was in agreement with the proposals made by the Secretary-General concerning the objectives of the International Year for Action to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination in his report on the subject (A/7649), and he shared the view that the purpose should be to achieve substantial progress in efforts to bring about the elimination of racial discrimination. It was also true that the International Year should be devoted to more intensive action on the part of States, the United Nations, the specialized agencies and regional and non-governmental organizations. The United Nations Declaration and Interna-

tional Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination should be fully implemented and a programme formulated whereby new measures would be taken after the celebration of the International Year. In that regard, he wished to call particular attention to sub-paragraphs (b) and (g) of suggestion B in the Secretary-General's report; the idea of issuing an appeal to the peoples of the world to intensify their efforts was proper. It would also be proper, under the circumstances, to speak of an international year for action to combat racism and racial discrimination, including the policy of *apartheid*, colonialism and manifestations of nazism.

13. Where nazism was concerned, the draft resolution recommended to the General Assembly by the Economic and Social Council in its resolution 1417 (XLVI) was a very important document. It urgently called upon States to take immediate and effective measures for the complete prohibition of Nazi, neo-Nazi and racist organizations and groups. An appeal of that kind was essential. Unfortunately, despite many resolutions and appeals on the part of the United Nations, the activities of such groups were increasing, particularly in the Federal Republic of Germany, where the neo-Nazi National Democratic Party was becoming more and more active. There were forces in that country which pursued a policy based on Nazi, neo-Nazi and openly revanchist outlooks. In its statement to the General Assembly (A/C.3/617), the Government of the German Democratic Republic pointed out with great concern that neo-nazism was constantly spreading in the Federal Republic and turning into a danger to the peace and security of the peoples of Europe.

14. Obviously, the danger inherent in the revival of nazism threatened not only the continent of Europe but the whole world. The influence of Nazi ideology on the policy and the practice of *apartheid* had been rightly pointed out, and the Special Rapporteur of the Sub-Commission on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities had stated that his report² might provide an indication of why the General Assembly had been compelled to reaffirm that nazism was incompatible with the objectives of the Charter of the United Nations and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. In fact, he had concluded that the primary danger of any revival of nazism was that undemocratic groups might again be able to infringe dramatically on human rights, to commit terrible crimes against humanity, such as genocide, or even to begin a new war.

15. The main objective was to prevent a repetition of the Nazi crimes committed during the Second World War and thereby to protect the German people itself against a revival of nazism.

16. Mrs. RAATIKAINEN (Finland) said that the International Year for Human Rights had already proved its value in many ways. Governments and peoples had compared the internationally adopted standards with the circumstances prevailing in each country, and many efforts had been made to comply with the principles set forth in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. She noted with satisfaction that the results were to be seen in an ever-increasing number of ratifications and accessions to the various Conventions concerning human rights. Her Government was now considering ratification of the International Covenants

² E/CN.4/Sub.2/301.

on Human Rights and might be able to ratify both the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination and the ILO Convention Concerning Discrimination in Respect of Employment and Occupation before the end of the year.

17. The field of human rights was so vast that a special need existed for calling attention to some of the subjects separately, and she therefore welcomed the proposals for the celebration of 1971 as the International Year for Action to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination. Suggestions C, D, E and F in the report of the Secretary-General (A/7649) were particularly useful. She supported the idea of organizing a world-wide seminar on measures to be taken at the national level for the implementation of the relevant United Nations instruments as a first step which would be of benefit to all regions of the world and which could be followed by regional seminars, where needed. A world-wide information campaign would also make every nation aware of the problems existing in all parts of the world and of the need for international co-operation in the observance of rights which, it was agreed, belonged to everyone. Again, many excellent suggestions had been made in relation to educational programmes. Education played a major role in the formation of opinions and the eradication of prejudice, which was largely the cause of discrimination. Practical programmes involving communication between people of various cultures and races, like those mentioned in sub-paragraphs (k) and (l) of suggestion D, were also of great importance. In addition, she endorsed the idea of conducting research into the causes of prejudice and discrimination and the techniques for their eradication, but wondered why a textbook containing stories about the great men of different races should not also include the lives of great women. She stressed that, in the printing and distribution of the texts of United Nations instruments dealing with racial discrimination and in the preparation of pamphlets, leaflets and posters, account should be taken of the need for translation into many languages; otherwise, the publications would be of little use. In that respect, she pointed out that the Finnish National Association for the United Nations arranged for the translation and printing of publications both for its own members and for other organizations.

18. She firmly believed that concrete action was needed in many fields in order to combat racism and racial discrimination and that it was impossible to ignore the violations of human rights which occurred in all parts of the world. In certain cases, it was almost ironical even to speak of the existence of human rights. Moreover, in enumerating easily identifiable instances of violations, the danger existed of forgetting many other cases where the suffering, although less easily discernible, was equally great. It could be asked how many people in the contemporary world really enjoyed all the human rights set forth in the Universal Declaration. It was incontestable that civil, political, economic, social and cultural rights were being violated throughout the world. Accordingly, she wished to emphasize the importance of the creation of effective machinery for the implementation of human rights, so as to make them a reality for every human being in every country.

19. Mr. MOUSSA (United Arab Republic) said that the desperate efforts of the representative of Israel to compare

Zionism with national liberation movements were an insult to the latter, which were authentic movements of the indigenous people to control their own destiny and were not expansionist, aggressive or terroristic. Zionism could be compared only with nazism and with the policy of *apartheid* because it was a racist, aggressive and imperialistic policy based on destruction. Africans were trying to liberate their countries, but Israel was occupying territories belonging to other countries. Just as the Europeans had resisted the Nazi occupation during the Second World War, the Arabs were resisting Zionism.

20. Violations of human rights were growing more serious and more flagrant. Whatever the United Nations did, oppressors never changed their policies because they knew that oppression, repression and discrimination were necessary to them because their very existence depended upon the exploitation of the indigenous people for the benefit of an alien society. The racist-imperialist complex had played a major role in initiating *apartheid*, racial intolerance and racial supremacy; the world had witnessed the crimes of Nazi Germany during the Second World War and was now witnessing the crimes of Zionist Israel and Fascist South Africa. All those régimes had violated and were violating basic human rights and fundamental freedoms. Their policies of discrimination and destruction could not be separated from the parent policies of colonialism and imperialism; when European empires had expanded into Africa and Asia, the master had always been a white man and the natives had been oppressed and exploited. Just as South Africa had expanded into South West Africa, Israel in the Middle East had expanded into and was occupying illegally the lands of three States Members of the United Nations. The Arabs in Israel and in the occupied territories, like the indigenous population of South Africa, were deprived of their most basic human rights and fundamental freedoms.

21. His country, which had always opposed theories of racial superiority and oppression, had joined in all international efforts to protect human rights and fundamental freedoms in the conviction that the equality of man was the only basis for an honourable life, peace and friendly relations and co-operation among States. In spite of all those efforts, those who violated human rights in defiance of all international instruments designed to protect them were becoming more adamant. Consequently, the Third Committee must also become more adamant in combating such violations, because it was responsible for putting an end to them and for taking a stand against *apartheid*, racial discrimination, nazism, neo-nazism and all policies like Zionism, which undermined the dignity of man. That was why the items under consideration could be considered the very backbone of the work of the Committee and of the United Nations in the field of human rights.

22. If aggression and occupation represented the worst violations of human rights, the case of the people of Palestine and of the inhabitants of the Israel-occupied territories should command the Committee's particular attention at the present time. Despite article 15 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the Palestinian people were denied the right to a nationality and even their very existence had been denied by the Prime Minister of Israel. Despite article 17 of the Universal Declaration,

laying down the right to own property, the people of Palestine had been deprived of their lands and homes. Despite article 9, concerning arbitrary arrest, detention or exile, nearly all the Palestinian people had been expelled from their country, while others were detained, arrested or deprived of their freedom of movement within its borders. Despite article 18, concerning the right to freedom of religion, the people of Palestine were prevented from exercising their religion because of the vandalism, arson and burglary practised against their mosques and churches.

23. Such flagrant violations of the principles which the international community had adopted to regulate the behaviour of States in time of war had led to the intervention of the international community. The Security Council had adopted its resolution 237 (1967), calling upon Israel to facilitate the return of those who had fled the areas of military operation; Israel's reaction had been more intimidation, more coercion and more mass deportations. Confronted with that defiance of all standards of international behaviour, the General Assembly had adopted its resolution 2252 (ES-V) which had called upon the Government of Israel to ensure the safety, welfare and security of the inhabitants of the occupied territories and to facilitate the return of those who had fled; with the same callousness and intransigence, Israel had refused to comply. In his note³ to the International Conference of Human Rights, the Commissioner-General of the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East had admitted that UNRWA had been unable to accord to the refugees the full measure of their human rights. In its resolution I,⁴ the Conference had expressed its grave concern for the violation of human rights in Arab territories occupied as the result of the June 1967 hostilities. The Twenty-first International Conference of the Red Cross had also expressed its concern about the situation of the civilian population of the occupied territories, called upon the authorities of Israel to facilitate the return of the people concerned to their homes and deplored Israel's refusal to implement in its entirety the provisions of the Geneva Convention relative to the protection of civilian persons in time of war, but the Israel authorities had neither heeded that request nor accepted persistent Red Cross representations urging it to apply the Convention. The Government of Israel had declared that it wished "to leave aside for the time being" the question of the application of the Convention.

24. There could be no doubt that Israel's policy was to obstruct the return of the refugees and displaced persons, notwithstanding article 13 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. The facts showed that Israel's reaction to repeated resolutions recognizing the rights of nearly half a million displaced persons, some 50 per cent of whom were refugees for the second time, had always been negative.

25. All those international efforts had had no effect; according to the French television service, Israel was now engaged in establishing new concentration camps, because prisons in Israel had become overfull. According to *The Times* of London of 28 October 1969, the intensity with

which the Israelis were hated everywhere by all sections of the population was equivalent to the hatred of the population of occupied France for the Nazis in 1942. Repression was severe and acts of resistance were multiplying. Entire villages had been destroyed, sometimes merely because someone suspected of being connected with guerrilla activity lived there. Anyone even suspected of helping a guerrilla was tortured. The statement made by the representative of Israel at the current meeting could not, therefore, be taken seriously.

26. In October 1969, a citizen of the United Arab Republic who was a member of the staff of UNRWA had been illegally arrested, tried by the Israel occupation forces in Gaza and imprisoned, despite the immunity she enjoyed as a United Nations official, because she had been rendering humanitarian medical assistance to her fellow inhabitants of Gaza.

27. Many international organizations had taken up the matter of such violations with the Israel authorities. The Commission on Human Rights had dealt with the question at its twenty-third, twenty-fourth and twenty-fifth sessions and had, in particular, called upon Israel to respect the rights of the people of the occupied areas; Israel, as usual, had defied that appeal. In January 1969, the President of the International Red Cross had expressed his concern to the Israel authorities over the demolition of houses contrary to the Geneva Convention; there had been no response. On 24 July 1969, the Twenty-second World Health Assembly had adopted a resolution deploring the deficiency of health conditions in the occupied territories in the Middle East.

28. The subject under discussion in the Committee, namely, violations of human rights caused by the policies of *apartheid*, racial discrimination and intolerance, including acts of destruction in the occupied territories in the Middle East, called for the reawakening of the conscience of mankind and the exercise of the authority of the United Nations. The fact that the authorities and régimes espousing those policies defied and disregarded the Organization must not weaken its determination to bring them to a speedy end.

29. Mr. ARCHER (United Kingdom) said he hoped that the Declaration on Social Progress and Development, which the Committee had just finished drafting, would provide a pattern at which Governments would aim and a yardstick against which they would measure their achievements. The Declaration would take its place among those international instruments whose standards all Governments accepted when they were formulated but which they often overlooked in specific situations. In a sense, the items currently under discussion measured the effectiveness of drafting declarations, because they concerned instances where particular societies had been less than mindful of those standards. There were many reasons why the standards in question might be infringed: sometimes Governments deliberately imposed tyranny on their subjects because, like the Government of South Africa, they did not even pretend to a concern for rights recognized by the civilized world; sometimes Governments simply did not care enough to prevent infringement; sometimes a busy government official did not recognize an infringement in a given situation. In all

³ A/CONF.32/22.

⁴ See *Final Act of the International Conference on Human Rights* (United Nations publication, Sales No.: E.68.XIV.2), p. 5.

those instances, however, ordinary people who could not speak for themselves were denied rights to which they were entitled and their lives were ruined.

30. Although the United Kingdom subscribed to Article 2 (7) of the United Nations Charter, it did not believe that a consistent pattern of violations of human rights was a matter within domestic jurisdiction. No country could say that the human rights of its citizens were an exclusively domestic matter. Such violations were breaches of Charter obligations under Article 56 and of international practice as embodied in a series of United Nations instruments indicating that its Members undertook to observe certain standards of respect for human rights.

31. The Committee was faced with a number of difficulties in implementing its responsibilities in the field of human rights. First, time being short, it could not accord to any single instance the attention and understanding it demanded. Secondly, its members, as representatives of their Governments, could not fail to take account of the political consequences of their actions; each was inclined to believe that allegations concerning infringements of human rights in his own country were politically motivated and not genuine. Thirdly, all representatives were tempted to regard infringements other than those on which they had strong personal views as being of minor importance, and all were more conscious of the short-comings of others than of their own. It was entirely right that the situation in southern Africa should receive much of the Committee's attention—and in that connexion he supported the statements of the representatives of Yugoslavia and Poland—but it did not follow that other infringements were without importance, or that tyranny elsewhere was to be ignored.

32. Perhaps one of the most effective contributions the Committee could make to the implementation of the standards it had formulated was to consider the establishment of machinery, acceptable to all Governments, which could devote more time to its investigations, which would not be tainted with political motivations, real or alleged, and which would be less tempted to approach problems with preconceived ideas. Of course, any procedure for mitigating human suffering might occasionally embarrass Governments, but to spare Governments embarrassment was not necessarily the first task of the Third Committee. What was important, however, was not to blame but to prevent.

33. He suggested for the Committee's consideration five possibilities, on which he would welcome the comments of other delegations. First, valuable experience might be gained, and an atmosphere of mutual confidence might be developed, if Governments ratified the International Covenants on Human Rights and the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination as soon as possible and considered making use by progressive stages of the implementation machinery provided therein.

34. Secondly, the United Nations should establish some procedure for dealing with individual communications alleging violations of human rights. No doubt many of the communications received by the United Nations concerned imaginary or irrelevant grievances, but some undoubtedly complained of real injustices suffered by persons who had

no one but the United Nations to turn to for help. For that reason, his delegation had supported the proposal which had been made at the twenty-fifth session of the Commission on Human Rights for a new method of dealing with communications.⁵ Limited and modest as that proposal was, it would establish some machinery for examining complaints by individuals who had put their trust in what the United Nations said about human rights. In that connexion, he noted that the Secretary-General had recently found it necessary to inform the United Nations Information Centres that they should no longer accept communications addressed to him by private individuals and organizations. While he sympathized with the difficulties confronting the Secretary-General, he shared the concern expressed by the representative of Norway that the closing of that channel of communication might raise a serious obstacle, in certain situations, to persons who had something important to say about human rights. Public opinion in the United Kingdom was concerned that an organization whose Charter began with the words "We the peoples" might be insulated from the voices of some of those peoples.

35. Thirdly, the proposal to establish the post of United Nations Commissioner for Human Rights, which would be discussed later, offered the kind of limited, informal procedure that might afford some assistance without publicly embarrassing the Governments concerned.

36. Fourthly, both the United Nations and individual Governments should encourage the establishment of regional machinery for the protection of human rights, because it was sometimes possible to make swifter progress in particular directions through that means. There might be considerable scope for creating institutions similar to those existing under the European Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms signed at Rome on 4 November 1950, whose pioneering work had been recognized by the Secretary-General, and to the machinery set up by the League of Arab States. The discussions now under way in the Organization of American States concerning the possibility of creating such machinery for the Americas and the seminar held at Cairo in September 1969 concerning the possibility of the creation of a human rights commission for Africa were fraught with promise.

37. Fifthly, any action which the United Nations or individual Governments could take to facilitate the work being done by many non-governmental organizations—whether they were concerned with human rights in general, with particular aspects of human rights, or with human rights in particular areas of the world—to implement recommendations of the United Nations would demonstrate the latter's support for them.

38. His delegation had noted the United States representative's reference to the tragic evidence that men and women were imprisoned in certain areas, not for what they had done, but for the opinions which they had ventured to express. It had also noted her remarks about the application of the Geneva Convention of 1949 relative to the treatment

⁵ See *Official Records of the Economic and Social Council, Forty-sixth Session*, document E/4621, paras. 409-435.

of prisoners of war to United States prisoners in North Viet-Nam and elsewhere. Whatever the political merits of the tragic conflicts now taking place in various regions, which it was not for the Committee to debate, the United Kingdom hoped that Governments, including the authorities in North Viet-Nam, would regard it as their responsibility to ensure that individuals caught up in such situations were not subjected to avoidable suffering. Political conflicts necessarily resulted in personal tragedies, but it did not follow that the victim should be abandoned without some attempt to spare them additional privations.

39. The passing of another year had not diminished the concern which his delegation had expressed at the preceding session about the unhappy conflict in the Middle East. There had been further developments endangering the basic rights of individuals on both sides—rights which, in the atmosphere of the Third Committee, appeared sometimes as mere debating-points. His delegation offered its sympathy to all the peoples of the Middle East.

40. There were other situations in which some indication from the Committee might serve to remind a Government of a situation it might have overlooked. One such situation was the question of slavery. While no Government deliberately countenanced the practice of slavery, there was convincing evidence that in many areas practices tantamount to slavery continued to exist, that in certain areas families sold their children, that in some areas the payment of bride-price virtually reduced women to a condition of slavery, and that in more than one area chattel slavery was practised. What was required in some cases was financial assistance to alleviate the economic conditions which had given rise to those practices. His delegation paid a tribute to Governments which frankly and honestly admitted the existence of the problem within their territories and were seeking a solution. He suggested that the implementation of the International Slavery Convention of 1926 and the Supplementary Convention of 1956 on the Abolition of Slavery, the Slave Trade and Institutions and Practices Similar to Slavery might be made one of the social objectives of the Second United Nations Development Decade. Meanwhile, his delegation hoped that the idea of establishing a committee of experts, as proposed in the Economic and Social Council in 1966, would be re-examined in the new study of implementation measures being carried out by Mr. Awad, Special Rapporteur of the Sub-Commission on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities. He suggested that the study should include a detailed examination of the techniques which were at present being used internationally for the control of narcotics and the protection of refugees, with a view to establishing whether any of them could be adapted for use against slavery.

41. His delegation hoped that the interim report on racial discrimination in the political, economic, social and cultural spheres which had been prepared for the Sub-Commission by Mr. Santa Cruz could lead to suggestions about further measures that might be required at the national and international levels to tackle the special problems of indigenous peoples whose way of life was not readily adaptable to modern social and technological development, whose health was susceptible to new infections and whose environment was undergoing a transformation which left

them bewildered and helpless. Many Governments, particularly those of Canada and Yugoslavia, were considering how such peoples could be integrated into society without subjecting them to the risk of social disintegration or physical extinction. A similar problem arose in connexion with nomadic peoples and gypsies. The Council of Europe had recently conducted a survey on the question. Members of other legislatures might wish to follow the example of some members of the United Kingdom Parliament, who had recently formed a group to ensure that something should be done for those people while there was yet time.

42. Another situation which distressed his delegation was evidenced by the appeal addressed to the Secretary-General on 20 May 1969 by a group of Soviet citizens. Realizing that they must have taken that step only with great reluctance, his delegation had been most concerned to read in the document that many of those who had expressed opinions contrary to official views had been arrested and to note that the writers called attention to a particularly inhuman form of persecution, namely, the committal of normal people to psychiatric hospitals because of their political convictions. Even more worrying was a further appeal of 26 September stating that, of those who had signed the earlier appeal, two had in fact been confined to psychiatric hospitals, and three had been arrested. There was also evidence that five had been dismissed from their posts and one, a student, had been denied his degree. While he appreciated that those who were strongly committed to a particular political system might feel that those who differed were so clearly in error that they required correction, he would point out that it was not impossible to combine commitment with tolerance.

43. His delegation hoped that the debate would be one in which all members co-operated in considering how some of the situations he had mentioned might be set right. While the Third Committee could not rectify the major political tragedies that blighted so many lives, it could make a real if modest contribution to the creation of a world in which ordinary people could live their lives without improper interference.

44. Mrs. AHMED (Pakistan) said that, in view of the persistence of racial discrimination in many parts of the world, the United Nations must contemplate more effective action to ensure human rights and fundamental freedoms to peoples exposed to hate and violence because of the colour of their skin, their religious profession or their desire for liberation from foreign occupation and exploitation.

45. Her delegation was pleased to note that the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination had entered into force in January 1969. Pakistan was a member of the Committee established under the Convention to oversee the implementation of its provisions. Other measures against racial discrimination which her delegation welcomed were the proclamation of 21 March as the International Day for the Elimination of Racial Discrimination and the celebration in 1971 of the International Year for Action to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination.

46. International morality and United Nations action had, however, made no impact on the entrenched ethos of

exploitation and inhumanity, based on the misguided belief in racial superiority. The practice of *apartheid*, an anachronistic carry-over from the era of colonial rule, had now been extended to the Territories of Namibia and Southern Rhodesia. The countries with a vested interest in the maintenance of the *status quo* were assuring the world that there was calm in southern Africa, but the calm was illusory; the black Africans had neither accepted nor resigned themselves to the policies of racial domination and exploitation. The régimes in southern Africa employed an immense power apparatus, including a ruthless police force, and South Africa's own official statistics showed that almost one fifth of its adult population had lived in prisons within the span of a year.

47. Her delegation was pleased to note that the mandate of the *Ad Hoc* Working Group of Experts set up by the Commission on Human Rights in its resolution 2 (XXIII) had been extended to include investigation of the treatment of political prisoners in Namibia, Southern Rhodesia and Territories under Portuguese administration. Its second report (E/CN.4/984 and Add.1-19) stated that the practices followed by the countries and Territories concerned in their prisons and police stations constituted violations not only of international instruments but also of the provisions of some of their own legislation. Her delegation would also like to commend Mr. Ganji, the Special Rapporteur appointed by the Commission on Human Rights, and Mr. Santa Cruz, the Special Rapporteur appointed by the Sub-Commission on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities, for their work.

48. It was clear that the racist policies of the régimes in southern Africa and the political and security aspects of the question could not be divorced. Furthermore, since those régimes were not susceptible to the moral influence of the United Nations, some kind of coercive action was called for. Southern Africa had in fact become a "white fortress", with the three régimes actively co-operating to circumvent the effectiveness of any action taken against them.

49. The main reasons for the failure of the existing United Nations provisions were the non-implementation or circumvention of economic sanctions against Southern Rhodesia, the unwillingness of the major trading partners to extend the sanctions to South Africa and the Portuguese Territories, the unwillingness of the Government of the United Kingdom to consider the use of force against the illegal régime in Southern Rhodesia, and the continued sale of arms to South Africa and Portugal by certain Western Powers.

50. In order to reach a comprehensive solution to the problem, the economic sanctions against Southern Rhodesia should be extended to the whole of southern Africa and, if they failed, the feasibility of the use of force should be considered. Full and active assistance should be given to the liberation movements in Southern Rhodesia, Namibia, South Africa and the Portuguese Territories. A radio station and other information media should be set up to disseminate information concerning the condition of the oppressed peoples of southern Africa; that should act as a catalyst in exerting public pressure on the Governments of the main trading partners to discontinue their assistance. Within the United Nations itself, a separate department

should be set up to deal with the problem of southern Africa in all its aspects—social, economic and political.

51. The situation in southern Africa was crucial to the maintenance of international peace and security, precisely because it was primarily a racial question. Asians and Latin Americans, no less than Africans, were aware of the economic relationship between South African industry and Western capital and the influence of that relationship on Western policies. Consequently, the racial clash in southern Africa could lead directly to racial conflicts throughout the world.

52. The action which her delegation recommended might, of course, pose certain difficulties for South Africa's main trading partners. However, they must decide whether it was in their long-term interests to break off economic relations with South Africa now or to face a racial war in the future. Their decision would be a test of their prudence and their sense of responsibility as world Powers.

53. The question of the revival of nazism and similar ideologies had been the concern of the United Nations since 1966. Her delegation was grateful for the various studies undertaken within the United Nations on that question. However, it was not convinced that there had been a revival of nazism in the Federal Republic of Germany; nazism in Germany had died with the fall of the Third *Reich*.

54. Pakistan condemned the grave violations of human rights in the territories occupied by Israel during the 1967 conflict and regretted that the concerted attempts of the international community to influence Israel to redress its inhuman policies had proved futile. In 1968 the General Assembly, under its resolution 2443 (XXIII), had established a Special Committee to Investigate Israeli Practices Affecting the Human Rights of the Population of the Occupied Territories, and the Commission on Human Rights, in its resolution 6 (XXV), had set up a special Working Group of Experts. However, Israel had successfully obstructed any investigations on the grounds that those bodies were not impartial and that the United Nations was not competent to pass judgement. The Arabs had always given evidence of their tolerance, and it was the Zionists who were now threatening the peace. Furthermore, such events as the burning of the Al Aqsa Mosque represented a regression to vandalism and barbarity. The occupied territories had been transformed into a police state; innocent civilians were imprisoned and tortured, their homes were demolished and their property confiscated in reprisal for, or on suspicion of, guerrilla activity. The representative of Pakistan had pointed out in the Security Council on 28 March 1969 that the grave violations of the cease-fire committed by Israel could not be equated with the actions of the Arab resistance organizations, which were the inevitable result of, and response to, alien occupation. Her delegation urged the Committee to adopt effective measures to ensure the observance by Israel of the human rights of the population it had conquered or evicted. Nevertheless, it believed that the only lasting solution was the withdrawal of Israel forces from the occupied territories, including the City of Jerusalem.

55. Mr. ALARCON (Cuba) said that Cuba had already made its position clear regarding the questions before the

Committee. As far as racial discrimination and *apartheid* were concerned, Cuba had placed all its faith and confidence in, and given its complete support to, the struggle being waged against the imperialist, colonialist and racist bloc in all parts of the world, and particularly in southern Africa. Cuba had no faith in theoretical declarations.

56. With respect to the question of the violation of human rights and fundamental freedoms, the Committee had witnessed a further attempt by the Government of the United States to bring the question of Viet-Nam before the United Nations, using as its pretext the alleged maltreatment of American so-called prisoners of war by North Viet-Nam. However, the question of the American prisoners held in North Viet-Nam could be satisfactorily considered only in the general context of the Viet-Nam war. As the Prime Minister of Cuba had pointed out, the United States Government had unleashed one of the most bloody, cruel and criminal wars in history. United States imperialism had used Viet-Nam to test the effectiveness of its anti-guerrilla tactics and weapons of destruction as instruments of blackmail to check liberation movements throughout the world. United States imperialism had not hesitated to use the most cruel methods of overcoming the resistance of the Viet-Nameese people in order to be in a strong position, both on the battlefield and at the conference table, for keeping the dictatorial Thieu-Ky lackey régime in power and prolonging its neo-colonialist domination in South Viet-Nam. The criminal aggression of the United States had led it directly to the practice of genocide. When the "special war" had failed, the imperialists had resorted to the policy of "local" or "limited" war, sending into South Viet-Nam vast numbers of troops. The neo-colonialist intentions had then become apparent. The United States army had come face to face with a people which was united and determined to achieve independence, whatever the cost. As the puppet army had disintegrated and the desire for peace among the American people had grown, the United States Government had become more inextricably involved in the war. Its rash policy, along with its crimes against humanity, was the best proof of the failure of imperialism to contain the revolutionary people. The Washington Government's plan to "Viet-Namize" the war conferred on the puppet army of Saigon the task of pacifying the South. That meant arrests, tortures, prison or death for anyone under the slightest suspicion of supporting a peaceful solution based on the total and unconditional withdrawal of United States troops and the establishment of a nationally elected Government.

57. Where human rights were concerned, it would seem that since 1964 the victims of bloody repression had numbered more than 1 million, although the statistics were incomplete. It should be recalled that, at the beginning of the "special war", it had been planned to pacify the country in eighteen months through the establishment of 17,000 "strategic hamlets", and by mid-1963 over 8 million people—more than 60 per cent of the population of South Viet-Nam—had been confined to those euphemistically named concentration camps. Chemical warfare, increasingly used since 1961, had poisoned vast quantities of livestock, water and agricultural products, thereby depriving millions of people of their food sources. The victims of napalm had been primarily the children; thousands were reduced to begging, many had lost limbs and others had been dis-

figured or affected by mental illnesses. Schools, churches, hospitals and historical monuments had been systematically burned. As the former Chief of Staff of the United States Air Force had said on one occasion, it was necessary to reduce the country to the level of the stone age.

58. The meeting of the Russell Tribunal at Stockholm had drawn attention in particular to the massive use of anti-personnel or fragmentation bombs, which were designed solely for the purpose of killing or injuring the defenceless population. They were weapons of genocide. The President of the Russell Tribunal, Jean-Paul Sartre, had called Viet-Nam "a prefabricated hell". Mr. Lemkin, one of the authors of the original draft of the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide, had defined the crime of genocide as including the destruction of a national group through the disintegration of the culture, language, health, religion, personal security, freedom and dignity of the individual members of the group. Such crimes were committed daily in Viet-Nam, and the progressive escalation of the war was paralleled by the progressive escalation of crime.

59. That was the background against which the Government of the United States had brought before the Committee the question of the American soldiers captured in Viet-Nam, as if it were the basic humanitarian question in the war in South-East Asia. The ten-point plan of the National Liberation Front of South Viet-Nam for a comprehensive solution to the problem stated that the question of the prisoners should be treated as one aspect of the over-all political solution based on the complete and unconditional withdrawal of United States troops from Viet-Nam with prior recognition by the United States Government of its responsibility for the devastation and deaths in Viet-Nam. Furthermore, the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam, in acceding to the Geneva Convention of 1949 relative to the treatment of prisoners of war, had made the following reservation to article 85:

"The Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam declares that prisoners of war prosecuted for and convicted of war crimes or crimes against humanity, in accordance with the principles established by the Nuremberg Tribunal, will not enjoy the benefits of the provisions of the present Convention as provided in article 85."⁶

Nevertheless, a humanitarian policy had been followed in respect of the air pirates brought down in the air space of the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam, an independent and sovereign State; they were allowed to correspond with their families and received adequate medical attention in case of sickness, and members of anti-war movements in the United States and American and other journalists had been allowed to visit them. The attempts of Washington and Saigon to distort the policy of the Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam were designed simply as a cover for the crime of aggression, the crimes against peace and against humanity and the crime of genocide which those air pirates had committed under orders from their Government.

60. The question should not be brought before the United Nations. Neither the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam nor

⁶ United Nations, *Treaty Series*, vol. 274 (1957), p. 340.

the provisional revolutionary government in the Republic of South Viet-Nam—the only genuine representative of the South Viet-Nameese people—had a delegation in the Committee to defend its position, and both had stated categorically that the United Nations was not the appropriate forum for discussion and settlement of the problems which concerned the Viet-Nameese people directly. His delegation therefore considered that it was out of order for the question of the so-called prisoners of war to be brought before the General Assembly.

61. In conclusion, he wished to recall the statement of the late President Ho Chi Minh, in his political testament, that the war of resistance against North American aggression might continue for a long time and that the Viet-Nameese should resolutely struggle against the United States aggressors until victory was theirs. Once the Americans had been defeated, the Viet-Nameese would build a ten times more beautiful land.

62. Mrs. NØRTHEN (Denmark) said that, despite the efforts of the United Nations, there had been only limited progress in the field of human rights and fundamental freedoms. The dualism of the international community's behaviour was obvious. It stated that all human beings were free and equal and endorsed the concept of brotherhood. It affirmed the right to an adequate standard of living, the right to freedom of movement and residence within the borders of each State and the right of everyone to leave any country, including his own, and to return to his country. It affirmed the right to freedom of thought, conscience and religion and to freedom of opinion and expression. It had declared that everyone had the right to take part in the government of his country and that the will of the people should be expressed in periodic and genuine elections. Yet there was proof of frequent violations of all those rights.

63. With respect to the victims of the conflict in the Middle East, the Danish Government fully agreed with the remarks of the Secretary-General in the Introduction to his annual report on the work of the Organization⁷ and would support to the best of its ability the work undertaken for the Arab refugees. At the same time, it appealed to the countries in which there were Jewish minorities to sanction and arrange the departure of those who would wish to leave.

64. The United Nations machinery in the field of human rights was still imperfect. The Economic and Social Council, in its resolution 728 F (XXVIII), had stipulated that the Commission on Human Rights had no power to take any action in regard to any complaints concerning human rights. At the same time, however, it had set up a procedure for handling such complaints, in order to ensure that the Commission on Human Rights would be acquainted with communications and that the attention of Governments would be drawn to the complaints. There could, in fact, be no formal procedure for dealing with complaints as long as the International Covenants on Human Rights had not entered into force. However, consideration of individual complaints in the Commission on Human Rights should not be ruled out. Her delegation

therefore supported resolution 9 (XXIII) of the Commission on Human Rights.⁸ In view of the varied motivations of complaints, it was not possible to arrive at an over-all solution to the problem. A workable solution to certain cases of racial or religious persecution would be the migration of the minority groups concerned. On the other hand, discretion should be used in dealing with complaints which reflected a basic disagreement between the complainant and the political system of the country in which he resided. However, the United Nations should follow the general rule of submitting complaints to the Commission on Human Rights for information and, if appropriate, discussing them with the authorities of the State concerned. Complaints about legal practices in Denmark had been brought before international forums. In particular, one had been submitted to the Commission on Human Rights regarding the admissibility of imprisonment for an unspecified period if a court found that deprivation of liberty was essential for psychiatric rehabilitation. An answer to that complaint would be forthcoming from the Danish authorities. The complaint had reached the United Nations through the United Nations Information Office at Copenhagen, and her delegation considered it of the utmost importance that there should be nothing to prevent a free flow of communications from individuals or groups of individuals to the United Nations.

65. Denmark was convinced of the need for continuous debate on human rights in all fields. Such debate would exert pressure on Governments and was conducive to solutions capable of promoting the development of human rights and improving the status and condition of the individual.

66. Lastly, Denmark hoped shortly to be in a position to ratify the International Covenants on Human Rights and the Optional Protocol thereto. It supported Economic and Social Council resolution 1417 (XLVI), concerning measures to be taken against nazism and social intolerance. However, it could not support Council resolution 1415 (XLVI) in its present form, because it dealt in too large a measure with political matters which were within the competence of other United Nations organs.

67. In conclusion, she hoped that the intensified debate of the last few years on human rights would further the implementation of human rights in all spheres and lead to practical measures that might bridge the gap between word and deed.

68. Mr. AL-RAWI (Iraq) said that he had raised the question of the Middle East in the Third Committee because of the policy of racial discrimination practised by the Zionists. The sources he had cited were all Jewish, some liberal and some Zionist, such as the modern Zionist philosopher, Herzl, Mr. Morris Cohen, and the former Prime Minister Levi Eshkol. He had not quoted from Arab sources or from statements made in other countries of the world. All the quotations he had used proved that Zionism and nazism were based on the same ideologies of the super-race, used the same methods of oppression and committed the same crimes against humanity. Zionist activities had been

⁷ See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-fourth Session, Supplement No. 1A*, paras. 62-75.

⁸ See *Official Records of the Economic and Social Council, Forty-second Session, Supplement No. 6 and Corr.1*, para. 404.

condemned by the International Conference on Human Rights, and the General Assembly itself had established a Special Committee to investigate the violations of human rights in occupied Arab territories, but no investigation had been permitted by the Israel authorities. The international community might therefore consider taking action under Chapter VII of the United Nations Charter.

69. The Israelis tried to divert attention from their own crimes by attacking the Government of Iraq. The death sentences passed on certain Iraqis had been quite justified. The people concerned—mainly Moslems—had been spying for the enemy in time of war and in Iraq, as in many other countries, the penalty for treason was death. However, during the trial, the accused had been offered legal aid.

70. The Kurds had the same rights and obligations as other Iraqis, without any distinction. Because a small group of Kurds had been disturbing the peace and security of the northern part of the country, the Government had been forced to take administrative and police measures to keep the peace and to safeguard the lives of the local population.

71. Mrs. HAUSER (United States of America) said she had hoped that the representative of Algeria would approach the humanitarian question of United States prisoners of war held by the North Viet-Nameese authorities in the same humanitarian way as her Government, without taking sides in the Algerian conflict and in co-operation with the Red Cross Societies, had persuaded the Red Cross to investigate evidence of torture and maltreatment of interned Algerian prisoners. In that connexion, she referred him to a communication dated 10 February 1960 addressed to the Secretary-General by twenty Member States concerning the circulation of a report by the International Committee of the Red Cross dated 15 December 1959 on internment camps in Algeria.

72. In quoting the reservation made by the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam to article 85 of the Geneva Convention relative to the treatment of prisoners of war, the representatives of Algeria and Cuba had not pointed out the significance of certain key words. None of the United States prisoners of war in North Viet-Nam had been prosecuted for, much less convicted of, war crimes or crimes against humanity. The USSR itself had stated that a prisoner would not be deprived of the protection of the Convention until after he had been prosecuted and convicted and until all appeal procedures had been exhausted.

73. The representative of the USSR was mistaken in thinking that the United States Government was averse to discussion of the political question of Viet-Nam in the United Nations. It had tried to bring the question before the United Nations in 1964 and again in 1966. The USSR response to its last attempt, in 1966, had been that the USSR opposed the convening of the Security Council to discuss the question of Viet-Nam and the placing of the question on the agenda of the Security Council.

74. Mr. YAZID (Algeria) said that he was well acquainted with the communication referred to by the United States representative, but failed to see how the internees during the Algerian war could be equated with war criminals. Moreover, the United States had not adopted a neutral

position at the time of the Algerian war of independence, and it could have done more to assist the Algerian people. The United States was fortunate never to have experienced war on its own soil. Algeria supported the Viet-Nameese people in their immense suffering as a matter of principle, for it always upheld the cause of national liberation. It had been said that political arguments should not be adduced but, in his view, the events in Viet-Nam could not be described without reference to their political character.

75. It was now acknowledged in the United States by public opinion that the war in Viet-Nam was unjust and that it involved such crimes as executions without trial and torture. He was sure that the time would come when the prisoners would be freed and it would be recognized that the Viet-Nameese were generous human beings who had treated their enemies in humane fashion.

76. Mr. TARASOV (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) said that the concern expressed by the United Kingdom representative regarding the observance of human rights in the USSR was based entirely on documents of dubious authenticity published in the United States press. He was obliged to regard the statement in question as a planned act of provocation. It was ironical to note that the comment had been made by the representative of British imperialism, which had once organized an economic blockade to starve Russians to death.

77. The United Kingdom delegation was fully aware of the procedure for handling communications concerning human rights laid down in Economic and Social Council resolution 728 F (XXVIII); yet it had preferred to make unfounded and slanderous statements on the basis of mere rumours. In fact, the United Kingdom, which was a permanent member of the Security Council, had disagreed with the Secretary-General's ruling that United Nations Information Centres should not be used for the transmittal of complaints from individuals and had chosen to urge the use of the United Nations as a tool for interfering in the internal affairs of a sovereign State.

78. Mr. LORCH (Israel), speaking in exercise of his right of reply, said that Israel recognized the sovereignty of the Arab States. There would have been no conflict if the Arabs had not declared war on Israel immediately upon its accession to independence. In 1967, President Nasser had stated that the closure of the Strait of Tiran represented the hour of reckoning. His declared objective was now to kill as many of the enemy as possible. Along the cease-fire lines, the Arabs made no distinction between the civil population and military personnel. Their attacks and bombings endangered the lives of Arabs as well as Jews. They hijacked aircraft and detained innocent passengers.

79. Unfortunately, in addition to the war being waged in the Middle East, there was now within the United Nations itself a war of propaganda designed to deny recognition of the State of Israel.

80. Israel was making every effort to safeguard the human rights of individuals in occupied Arab territories, despite the war, but did not recognize the right to kill. If members of the Committee wished, he would make available to them the record of the proceedings in the case relating to the

burning of the Al Aqsa Mosque; the jury, in fact, included two Israel Arabs. On the other hand, in the case of the Iraqis allegedly spying for the enemy, there had been no fair trial and the right of appeal had been denied to the accused.

81. Mr. BAROODY (Saudi Arabia) pointed out that in wartime all human rights were trampled underfoot. Man was a predatory animal worse than the wolf and revealed no humanity in times of conflict.

82. With regard to the question of the 1959 Red Cross report, which had been raised by the representative of the United States, he pointed out that it was not the United States, but the reaction of outraged French liberal public opinion responding to a leakage of the report in the French press, that had induced the international community to take action with regard to the atrocities being committed in Algeria. He himself, as chairman of the Afro-Asian group in the United Nations at the time, had been asked by the representative of Algeria to have it circulated; the then Secretary-General had requested him not to do so because publication of the report might jeopardize the confidential nature of Red Cross reports and the position of the Red Cross in Algeria, and he had acceded to that request.

83. The Nuremberg war crimes trials had been a disgrace to the participants; the Nuremberg Tribunal should not have been set up by the victors in a military conflict, whose own war criminals had never been prosecuted.

84. The representative of the United Kingdom had made a purely academic case for human rights. References to slavery in other countries sounded hollow when they were made by representatives of Western Powers whose children were enslaved to drugs and whose two world wars had succeeded in destroying the institution of the family.

85. Israel was a Zionist State. If the Zionists had come to Palestine as refugees they would have been admitted. But they had come as conquerors, and the activities of the Irgun Zvai Leumi, Haganah and the Stern gang, which had killed Arabs, Britons and Jews alike, if they opposed them, showed how those Zionist groups intimidated all nationalities in the area. Such upstarts knew nothing about human rights. Academic speeches did not help. Human rights and religion were really concerned with how one treated one's fellow-man, whoever he was. The Third Committee could contribute to the cause of human rights not by talking about them academically but by truly doing its part to ensure their observance.

The meeting rose at 7.30 p.m.