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Chairman: Mr. Erik NETTEL (Austria).

AGENDA ITEM 62

International Year for Human Rights (continued)
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(a) Measures and activities undertaken in connexion
with the International Year for Human Rights:
report of the Secretary-General;

(b) International Conference on Human Rights

GENERAL DEBATE AND CONSIDERATION OF
DRAFT RESOLUTION A/C.3/L.1623/REV.1
(continued)

1. Mr. BAROODY (Saudi Arabia) said he was con-
vinced that, sooner or later, man would at last under-
stand that there could be no real peace, local or uni-
versal, until the dignity and rights of the individual
were respected. The Universal Declaration of Human
Rights, adopted in Paris in 1948, had had a significant
effect not only in the newly independent countries but
also on the constitutions of many other countries. Un-
fortunately, the equal rights of which the Declaration
spoke had remained very abstract and had little prac-
tical meaning in many parts of the world. When the
Declaration was being drafted in Paris, the repre-
sentative of Saudi Arabia had asked what "equal rights"
meant and had been told that it was a question of
equality before the law. However, the law could be
twisted by lawyers and even by Governments, which
was perhaps why all over the world there were still
millions of people living in poverty, while millions of
others were well off, and why entire peoples were
subjected to minority domination. In his view, recog-
nition of the dignity of every human being was basic
to the exercise of human rights.

2. Human society of an earlier day had been charac-
terized by fear of the occult, which had prevented man

from giving free rein to his brutality and had prepared
the ground for religion. The imposition of a moral code
had made it possible to suppress man's aggressive
instincts, but even in modern times the thirst for power
and glory remained a factor for inequality among men
and the source of many abuses in the field of human
rights. Money, although an essential economic instru-
ment, was another factor making for inequality and
conferred power upon those who had it. There was no
more equality today than there had been a thousand
years ago, although there was much talk about human
rights, and sometimes the very people responsible
for defending those rights—for example, the trade
unions—misused the power bestowed upon them. In-
creasingly sophisticated technical devices were being
invented and plans were being made to land on the
moon, but no attention was being paid to the plight of
the great majority of human beings who were still
living in wretched conditions.

3. The freedom of expression which was referred to
in the Declaration and in the International Covenants
on Human Rights had led to serious abuses, not the
least of which was the pornography publicly displayed
everywhere. As for freedom of information, it barely
existed, since most of the mass information media
were in the hands either of the State, which used them
as instruments of propaganda, or of individuals whose
aim was to make the maximum profit. Furthermore,
it was impossible to speak of human rights when
noxious gases were being stored up and advanced
weapons were being manufactured to destroy man.

4. He had already had occasion to speak of women's
rights but had not been correctly understood. In his
view, women could not enjoy the same rights as men
by virtue of the fact that they were mothers and their
first duty was to their children. Women's rights should
be viewed from a qualitative rather than a quantitative
standpoint, contrary to the opinion of even some people
in the Third Committee. Otherwise, the family dis-
integrated and men and women became strangers to
each other and, in their solitude, eventually transferred
their affection to animals, on which they lavished vast
sums.

5. The record of the twenty years which had elapsed
since the proclamation of the Universal Declaration
of Human Rights was thus far from satisfactory. The
Declaration would remain a dead letter unless rela-
tions between men were imbued with a spirit of love
and brotherhood. The cure was within easy reach:
the resources devoted to armaments should be used
to alleviate poverty, and children should be taught
from their earliest years that the worst thing was to
kill one's neighbour and the best thing was to love
him. Only then would there be any hope for human
rights.

6. Mr. RESICH (Poland) said that, in designating 1968 as International Year for Human Rights, the General Assembly had wanted to give Member States an opportunity to take stock both of what had been done and of what had not been done as regards the protection of human rights and to draw up a rough plan for future activities in that sphere.

7. The Iranian Government was to be thanked for its efforts to ensure the success of the Teheran Conference, where the assembled countries had looked back over the past twenty years. At the Conference, mention had been made of serious violations of human rights which were impeding progress: the military aggression in Viet-Nam, the aggression in the Middle East and the racial discrimination in South Africa and the United States.

8. As was evidenced by the numerous resolutions adopted at the Teheran Conference, there were still deficiencies to be overcome and urgent tasks to be tackled. Above all, efforts should be intensified to put an end to the violations to which he had referred, for otherwise men would eventually become disheartened and lose faith. Next, peace should be defended by preventing the resurgence of nazism and the dissemination of war propaganda and by clearly defining in international law the responsibility of those guilty of such crimes. In addition, efforts should be concentrated on the defence not only of civil and political rights but also of social, economic and cultural rights, which should occupy a much more prominent place in United Nations activities. In that connexion, the International Covenant on Social and Economic Rights and the seminars devoted to those rights, particularly the Seminar on the Realization of Economic and Social Rights Contained in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, held at Warsaw in 1967, showed that gradual social and economic reforms were a prerequisite for smooth development. Lastly, he wished to state that the time had come to proceed beyond the stage of resolutions and declarations and put the international instruments into effect.

9. As far as his country was concerned, the history of the past twenty years showed that Poland was among the countries which had ratified the most international instruments and had been one of the first to sign the International Covenants on Human Rights. In 1968, Poland had ratified the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination, and it had helped to draw up most of the international instruments adopted on the subject of human rights.

10. At the current session and before the end of the International Year for Human Rights, there should be a summing-up of the activities undertaken by States in connexion with the Year, which would help to establish future requirements and harmonize efforts to promote human rights.

11. The basic problems which were undermining human rights should also be tackled. For example, one could not ignore the United States aggression in Viet-Nam, which was preventing the Viet-Nameese people from fully exercising their rights: Israel's

tem of apartheid which still existed in South Africa because some countries were not implementing the relevant United Nations resolutions. In that connexion, it was regrettable that the United Kingdom delegation had not given more attention to the situation in South Africa and Rhodesia, for which the United Kingdom bore a special responsibility, instead of raising imaginary problems of anti-Semitism.

12. Poland had executed the programme it had planned in connexion with the International Year for Human Rights, which included, for the month of December, the holding of two scholarly seminars on the protection of human rights, the inauguration of a school under the auspices of the United Nations, the opening of an exhibition entitled "Art in the Service of Man", and a commemorative ceremony.

13. Mrs. MENGOME (Gabon) welcomed the Secretary-General's report on measures and activities undertaken in connexion with the International Year for Human Rights (A/7195, A/7195/Add.1 and Add.3-6) and the Final Act of the International Conference on Human Rights (A/CONF.32/41). Her delegation supported draft resolution A/C.3/L.1623/Rev.1 but had serious reservations about draft resolution A/C.3/L.1626 and Add.1, under which a three-member committee would be established to investigate Israeli practices affecting the human rights of the population of the occupied territories; the Gabonese Government believed that minorities should be protected and steps taken to ensure that they were treated fairly and tolerantly, but it could not agree to a measure being adopted against one particular Member State. She appealed to the opposing parties to abandon the hostile attitude which was preventing a settlement from being reached in the Middle East. She was prepared to support any constructive solution calculated to liberate the human person and put an end to violations of human rights.

14. Mr. AL-JABIRI (Iraq) said that for those who had experienced the totalitarian régimes of nazi Germany and fascist Italy it had been imperative to create a world where respect for human rights and human dignity and the absolute right to self-determination and freedom would prevail. The Universal Declaration of Human Rights was regarded as the most significant achievement of the community of nations since the adoption of the United Nations Charter. The generation which had experienced two tragic wars was the generation which had been determined to ensure respect in all countries for human rights and fundamental freedoms without distinction as to race, sex, language or religion. Twenty years later, however, régimes which should have learned from experience were pursuing the same expansionist and colonialist policy and were exposing the world to the threat of a new war. Why could not those rich countries let the world live in accordance with the principles set forth in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights?

15. It was indeed regrettable that in the International Year for Human Rights, marked by the holding of an International Conference on Human Rights in a Middle Eastern country, the holy and once happy land of

population nothing but war, occupation and aggression for the past twenty years and had denied them the homeland to which everyone was entitled under the United Nations Charter and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. The community of nations should defend the right of the Palestinians to recover their homeland and to be liberated from imperialism and Zionism.

16. His delegation had wholeheartedly supported the Proclamation of Teheran and the resolutions adopted by the Conference; it was one of the sponsors of draft resolution A/C.3/L.1623/Rev.1, the implementation of which would represent real progress.

17. He wished to express his outrage at the policy of apartheid pursued by the racist régimes in South Africa, Southern Rhodesia and Portugal and at the humiliating occupation of nations in Africa, Asia and Latin America. Interference in the internal affairs of African and Asian countries constituted a grave violation of human rights, which could be exercised only if the imperialists stopped opposing the nationalist régimes in those countries. He noted in that connexion that the racist régimes in South Africa, Portugal, Israel and Rhodesia could not survive without the support of their masters and colleagues in Europe, America and elsewhere.

18. With reference to the statement made at the preceding meeting by the representative of Israel, he wished to state that Mr. Gailani had in no sense been a Nazi; he had been a Prime Minister and the leader of the nationalist movement seeking to put an end to British rule in Iraq, and when the movement had failed he had been obliged to flee to the only country where he could find asylum, namely Germany. The Zionists, who had been the tools of British imperialism, had been sorry to see Mr. Gailani escape death because they lived in constant fear of every nationalist movement in the world.

19. Mr. EL-FATTAL (Syria) recalled that one of the authors of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights had observed in 1948 that the picture which the world presented was not one of humanity enjoying dignity and freedom but caricatures of humanity, men denied their material needs and oppressed by their ideas, by the laws of their Governments and by the customs of their societies. Twenty years later, the situation had scarcely changed. One of the factors in the adoption of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights had been the determination manifested in 1948 to ensure that the world would never again witness the genocide, the complete disregard for human rights and the brutality which had prevailed during the Second World War. Yet, twenty years later shameful acts of brutality were again being committed in various parts of the world, particularly in Asia and Africa. In his opening statement at the Teheran Conference, the Secretary-General had observed that violence bred violence, that fear bred fear, and that one could hardly fail to be alarmed at the violence and brutality in today's world (see A/CONF.32/41, annex II).

20. The evolutionary process which was to have been ushered in by the adoption of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights had been apparent only at the national level. The conditions of man's political and

material life had indeed improved in certain countries, old and new, the concept of human rights now included not only political and legal but also social and economic equality, and the masses everywhere were engaged in eliminating a mediaeval feudal system, capitalist exploitation and colonial intervention. It was regrettable that some Governments, namely those of South Africa, Southern Rhodesia, Portugal and Israel, based their policies on the cynical idea that they could not survive without depriving the indigenous peoples of their fundamental rights. Ensuring respect for human rights required more than simply hailing the adoption of a document. In 1948, the year of the adoption of the Universal Declaration, an entire people had fallen victim to one of the most flagrant violations of human rights: driven from their homeland, forced to become refugees, the Palestinians had been denied the right to self-determination, to a nationality, to life, to liberty, to security and to prosperity. The international community must not forget that the Palestinian people exceeded in numbers the population of certain States Members of the United Nations. No declaration, no covenant, no statement could alleviate the plight of those displaced persons, but, by the same token, silence did not deprive them of their inalienable right to their homeland. The plight of the Palestine refugees was a matter of human rights just as much as it was a political, legal and colonial issue. The international community was increasingly recognizing the human aspect of that tragedy. The Secretary-General had reaffirmed the right of the Palestinians to self-determination in the introduction to his annual report for the period June 1966-June 1967,^{1/} and he had also emphasized the human rights aspect of the question when he had transmitted to the Teheran Conference a note from the Commissioner-General of the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East (see A/C.3/L.1636). That had enabled the Conference to adopt resolution I on respect for and implementation of human rights in occupied territories and to hear a statement to the effect that the status of the Palestine refugees was at variance with the provisions of article 1 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

21. The war on June 1967 and Israel's occupation of Arab territories had further aggravated the human rights problem in the Middle East. Massive violations of human rights were occurring in the occupied territories, and half a million Arabs driven from those territories were being prevented from returning to their homes. The Teheran Conference had reaffirmed the right of all those who had been obliged to leave their homes as a result of the outbreak of hostilities to return to their homes, recover their property and resume a normal life. The Conference had also called on the Government of Israel to desist from destroying the homes of Arab civilians and to implement the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the 1949 Geneva Conventions. The international community's concern over the human rights of the Arabs in the occupied territories and of those who had been driven from their lands was expressed not only in resolution I of the Conference, adopted on 7 May 1968, but also in article 10 of the Proclamation of Teheran. The reso-

^{1/} See Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-second Session, Supplement No. 1 A, para. 49.

lution of 7 May had not yet been implemented. The Secretary-General had stated at the 612th meeting of the Special Political Committee, held on 11 November 1968, that only small numbers of refugees or displaced persons had returned to their former places of residence, and the Director of the Division of Human Rights had said at the 1620th meeting that the Third Committee would no doubt wish to take measures which would ensure the implementation of the decisions adopted by the Teheran Conference. He hoped that the Committee would prove equal to its humanitarian task and would follow the path marked by the Conference.

22. However great the sufferings inflicted upon the Syrian people by Israel's invasion, his country had not forgotten the plight of other peoples. Its position on apartheid and racial discrimination was well known. It believed that any violation of human rights, in any part of the world, affected humanity in its entirety, and it would continue to fight for the elimination of apartheid and racism. It wholeheartedly supported the liberation movement in the southern part of the African continent.

23. Since 1963, the Syrian Government had adopted numerous measures aimed at ensuring respect for human rights; many laws had been enacted, the process of socialization was being carried out without distinction as to race, colour, sex, language or religion, and Syria's legislation granted everyone the fundamental freedoms enunciated in the Universal Declaration and the Covenants. A number of laws dealing with economic and social matters were based on the fundamental principle set forth in article 13 of the Proclamation of Teheran, in which it was stated that "Since human rights and fundamental freedoms are indivisible, the full realization of civil and political rights without the enjoyment of economic, social and cultural rights is impossible".

24. Syria believed that, in the words of article 2 of the Proclamation of Teheran, "The Universal Declaration of Human Rights states a common understanding of the peoples of the world concerning the inalienable and inviolable rights of all members of the human family and constitutes an obligation for the members of the international community", and it wholeheartedly supported that Proclamation. It was in favour of draft resolution A/C.3/L.1623/Rev.1, even though the latter contained some loop-holes. His delegation reserved the right to set forth its views on draft resolution A/C.3/L.1626 and Add.1 at a later stage in the proceedings.

25. Miss DEVER (Belgium) announced that her country, whose devotion to human rights was well known and which had already ratified many conventions on human rights, would formally mark the International Year for Human Rights which was now drawing to a close by signing the two International Covenants on 10 December. Issues Nos. 5 and 6 of the Newsletter on the International Year for Human Rights published by the United Nations Secretariat already gave some information on activities in Belgium in connexion with the International Year. While she would not enumerate those activities in full, she said that the Belgian National Committee for the International Year for Human Rights had tried, by distributing folders and posters during the period,

to bring more directly home to the general public the questions involved in human rights. Moreover, the work done by the specialized commissions, such as the Commissions for Education, for Civil and Political Rights, for Economic and Social Rights, and for International Penal Law, had made possible the mass distribution of various documents and basic material, and model lessons had also been devised for courses in history and ethics.

26. Some events had been planned especially for the month of December—days for the study of Belgian legislation and the humanitarian law of Geneva, a conference on the laws of war, a gala performance at the National Theatre of Brussels, a day devoted to the problem of the protection of human rights in European penal law to be held at Brussels by the Institute for European Studies of the Université Libre de Bruxelles, and a good-citizenship day organized by the provincial government of Hainaut.

27. Those various activities had provided Belgium with an opportunity to define the essential meaning of the anniversary on 10 December; the purpose was not merely the better to make known the major proclamations of the past twenty years but, first and foremost, to provide Belgian public opinion with a sound basis for judging national or international events and for evaluating their scope and implications for human rights.

28. Several speakers had pointed out that, leaving aside the achievements of the United Nations and other international agencies active in the field of human rights, words and solemn declarations were not always matched by actions. Countries sometimes used mere pretexts to trample underfoot the most elementary, often protesting their amicable sentiments in a dialectic which deceived no one. Manifestations of partiality and intolerance were seen in the United Nations itself. Infringements of human dignity occurred in Europe, Asia and Africa. There was still much to be done to ensure effective respect for human rights. That was why, as the Director of the Division of Human Rights had said, there should be no relaxation of the efforts made during the International Year for Human Rights and the activities began should be continued and supplemented by further measures in the light of the experience which had been gained. The achievements of 1968 could provide the opportunity for a common effort directed towards the future.

29. The Third Committee had before it a number of resolutions adopted by the International Conference on Human Rights and some draft resolutions and amendments thereto which the Conference had been unable to consider (A/CONF.32/41, annex V), owing to lack of time. Her Government did not wish to resume the debate on the substance on the resolutions that had been adopted; it considered that the Third Committee should see to the implementation of those which called for action on its part. Her delegation considered draft resolution A/C.3/L.1623/Rev.1 satisfactory in that respect. Belgium attached particular importance to some of the resolutions adopted by the Conference, which dealt with problems connected with the effective implementation of human rights, and in particular the resolutions which the Conference had adopted on the

gian delegation had supported at Teheran. She hoped that the Third Committee would have time to give them proper consideration, in order to ensure that appropriate action was taken to implement them.

30. Mrs. OULD DADDAH (Mauritania) said that the Teheran Conference had been one of the most important events of the International Year for Human Rights. She considered the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, which in its twenty years of existence had provided the basis for the constitutions of many countries, one of the most important instruments of all time. All the instruments thus far adopted in the field of human rights had a real and positive significance, even if they had not yet entered into force, and they constituted a guarantee for the future. The United Nations, and especially the Third Committee, should sincerely and objectively continue its crusade, inspired solely by a passion for human dignity.

31. Some important aspects of human rights problems—such as the relationship between human rights and socio-economic development, and the fact that the International Covenants or the Universal Declaration could hardly have any meaning for people who were illiterate and dying of hunger—had come to the fore during the Teheran Conference. That was why the most important ministries in the developing countries were necessarily those concerned with education, economic affairs and planning, and it was regrettable that the efforts of the newer nations to attain the same level as more developed countries did not always meet with the response that was to be desired. Her delegation, true to the African continent's traditions of humanity, hospitality, friendship and respect for others, had made a point of co-sponsoring draft resolution A/C.3/L.1642.

32. In order to make real progress in the promotion of human rights, objectivity and sincerity were essential. She was disappointed that the United States delegation had devoted an entire statement to the invasion of Czechoslovakia and only one sentence to apartheid, while not mentioning the Palestine refugees at all; she feared that so biased an attitude would arouse antipathies.

33. Mauritania condemned all violations of human rights. It hoped that the situation in Czechoslovakia would be settled in a way which respected the sacred rights of the Czechoslovak people. It condemned the Pretoria, Salisbury and Lisbon régimes and the policies of apartheid and colonial exploitation which they practised in violation of the civil and political rights and the economic and social rights of peoples; it believed that the reason why resolutions of the United Nations remained unimplemented was that a number of Powers were giving economic support to those régimes. The world could hardly derive any satisfaction from the considerable progress made in other fields until it had put an end to the martyrdom of the people of South Africa and had eliminated apartheid. She regretted that in Viet-Nam a murderous war was being waged against a people whose only crime was their desire to preserve their freedom and independence. Mention must also be made of the martyrdom of the Palestinians, which was on a par with that of the people of South Africa and the Zimbabwe people. While Mauritania had condemned nazism and respected

the memory of the millions of Jews who had been its victims, it did not consider that that could in any way justify the fact that a whole people had been dispossessed and that some 2 million exiles had been reduced to living on international charity. Israel might try to justify its occupation of the Arab territories by claiming that the standard of living had risen but she could not accept the violation of the rights of Palestinians, whose freedom, dignity and very existence had been jeopardized. The world community could hardly understand how the very people who were celebrating 1968 as the International Year for Human Rights could accept such a situation.

34. Lastly, she hoped that the next international conference would respect the principle of universality.

35. Mr. BONNY-EBOUMBOU (Cameroon) said that the principles contained in the Universal Declaration on Human Rights had found fertile ground in Cameroon: its geographical position made Cameroon a cross-road of humanity where a multitude of races and religions rubbed shoulders; it had of its own free will become a federal State where the Latin and Anglo-Saxon cultures were coexisting with African culture. That meant that in Cameroon ideological, religious and racial tolerance was practised and equality before the law was necessary to the continued existence of the State. It was not surprising, therefore, that Cameroon had so enthusiastically celebrated the twentieth anniversary of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

36. The Government of Cameroon had taken a number of measures at the national level, in pursuance of General Assembly resolutions 2081 (XX) and 2217 (XXI); in January 1968 the Federal Republic of Cameroon had issued a series of commemorative postage stamps, the week of 16-24 October 1968 had been declared Human Rights Week, and the Federal Court of Justice and the Federal National Assembly had held special sessions to commemorate the anniversary of the Declaration. For the occasion, the President of the Federal Court of Justice had recalled how the principles embodied in the Universal Declaration had been implemented in Cameroon: freedom of movement had been affirmed in the Federal Constitution of 1961; the principle of non-discrimination against women had been applied by the courts in connexion with guardianship; in criminal law, the Penal Code punished offences against children and the family; and laws had been promulgated on freedom of association, the organization of social insurance, and the Press. The President of the Federal National Assembly had recalled the impressive amount of legislation adopted in Cameroon during the past three years, the liberal and progressive nature of which was the most striking proof of Cameroon's devotion to the principles of the Declaration; he had mentioned, inter alia, the Penal Code, the Labour Code, the Family Allowances Code, the Social Insurance Code, the laws on the prevention of and compensation for industrial accidents and diseases, and the laws relating to the Press and to freedom of association.

37. At the international level, Cameroon had acceded to about ten International Labour Conventions, including Convention No. 87 on Freedom of Association and Protection of the Right to Organize and Convention

No. 11 on the Rights of Association and Combination of Agricultural Workers. It had also become a party, in 1967, to the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination.

38. In spite of the shortcomings of the Universal Declaration, he paid a tribute to the clarity of a text many of whose provisions were still entirely relevant. In his opinion, an examination of the way in which the principles contained in the Declaration were being applied after twenty years meant trying to assess not so much the amount of legislation that had been enacted as the extent to which States appreciated the validity of those principles and the need to ensure that they were guaranteed. In the view of his delegation, developments in international politics over the past twenty years had made it necessary that those principles should be recognized and applied. The first of those developments was undoubtedly the progress achieved in scientific research, and more particularly in the manufacture of increasingly sophisticated weapons designed to destroy mankind; in those circumstances, a nation could no longer choose to remain neutral; for war had become total, not only because of the destructive power of the weapons involved, but because of the number of people who could be involved, in violation of the most fundamental right of all, namely, the right to life and security of person. Consequently, a vote for the strict observance of that right was a vote for the survival of mankind.

39. Tremendous progress had been made, in the economic and social fields, so that nowadays it was often said that man was moving towards the civilization of leisure. At the same time, however, two thirds of mankind, threatened by starvation and struggling for their survival, were deprived of the economic, social and cultural rights, the necessity of which was so rightly recognized in article 22 of the Declaration. Those injustices had become all the more blatant because advances in communications and information had made the people concerned aware of their poverty.

40. Finally, contemporary political philosophy recognized the right of self-determination of peoples and affirmed that that right was the best way by which they could obtain the full enjoyment of their civil, political, economic, social and cultural rights.

41. Those few facts sufficed to show that it was no longer possible to speak of human rights solely in terms of States and that increased international solidarity was essential to ensure that those rights were respected and implemented. His delegation paid a tribute to United Nations efforts to that end; it had been gratified at the adoption, in 1965, of the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination and, in 1966, of the International Covenants on Human Rights. It had also followed with particular interest the work of the Teheran Conference, and noted that its resolutions were a fitting complement to the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. However, it was still deeply concerned at the continuation of the policies of apartheid and racial discrimination in South Africa and in Rhodesia, in violation of the most elementary human rights and of the exhortations of the international community. It was still concerned also at the development of the situation

which the Government of Cameroon had already had occasion to state its position. The continued existence of those situations increasingly jeopardized the achievement of the objectives proclaimed in the Declaration. The principles affirmed in the Universal Declaration were being violated and negated at a time when they were clear to all, and when they had been followed up by other instruments, force was being used more than ever before as an instrument of national and international policy, and many peoples were still demanding their right to self-determination. An awakening awareness at all levels was therefore essential if the rights which were so justly considered universal, inviolable and inalienable were finally to be implemented everywhere.

42. Mr. WARZAZI (Morocco) said that the twenty years which had elapsed since the adoption of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights allowed its effectiveness to be judged and constituted a decisive period for the international community. In those twenty years, the world had undergone many upheavals; the cold war, which had governed relations between the great Powers, had pushed them into an arms race and had resulted in a balance of power which had temporarily dispelled the terror of another world war. Moreover, over the space of twenty years, the membership of the United Nations had more than doubled, owing to the admission of newly independent countries which had brought with them a character of their own, national aspirations of their own and new ideas. It was precisely those countries which would pass a harsh judgement on the progress made during the twenty years which marked the anniversary of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. Although many peoples of the Third World had recovered their independence as a result, of course, of action by the United Nations, but, first and foremost, as a result of their refusal to live under constraint and of the desperate struggle they had waged against colonialism, that struggle was not yet over, for there were still peoples dispossessed of their most elementary rights—peoples who for more than twenty years had been living under the system of apartheid or in tents on the threshold of their own country. The hopes with which the adoption of the Declaration had been greeted had often been cruelly dashed; for, as John Maynard Keynes had said, "The difficulty lies not in adopting new ideas, but in escaping from old ones". Thus, the same evils could still be found twenty years later, often in new forms: political exploitation had given way to economic exploitation, war had become armed conflict in almost every area of the world, and the motto dear to Machiavelli, "divide and rule", had not remained a dead letter for some. The countries of the Third World were the first to suffer, for they, with their own unexploited natural resources, were the main stake.

43. The Teheran Conference had heard many statements emphasizing the importance of economic, social and cultural rights, without which civil and political rights and freedoms could not be exercised. One might wonder in the present commemorative year, what were the reasons for the ever-widening gap between the rich and poor countries, and for the

with its principles, it would have been easy for the industrialized countries to remedy the injustice by establishing with the countries which supplied them with commodities relations based on equality and mutual trust; for, as Mr. Prebisch, the former Secretary-General of UNCTAD, had said, "when there is the political will to solve a problem, it is solved". That observation could also be applied to the problems resulting from those violations of human rights which, because of their gravity, revolted the international conscience, such as colonialism, neo-colonialism and apartheid—which, after all was merely a colonialist method of keeping power in the hands of a European minority. In that respect, she deplored the fact that certain countries had considered it necessary to abstain on resolutions condemning the Pretoria régime, and she noted that, if there had been a political will on the part of the great Powers, the South African leaders would have been forced to change their attitude. It was not the countries of the Third World which should be reminded of the principles of the Declaration, for they always had the greatest respect for human rights and were the first to sign and to ratify international declarations and conventions. However, those countries needed fraternal and disinterested aid in achieving the objectives of the Declaration. On the twentieth anniversary of the Declaration, the newer countries had every right to demand that the older ones should set them an example and give proof of their goodwill and understanding. In that respect, the Teheran Conference had had the merit of giving many hitherto sceptical delegations some hope, since, despite the differences of opinion, it had resulted in a number of recommendations which gave a fairly objective picture of the problems considered.

44. Referring to certain statements which had been made during the debate, she expressed surprise at the complete change of course which some countries had displayed with regard to the rights of ethnic or religious minorities or deliberate intervention in the internal affairs of a country. She was surprised to note that those countries commiserated only with the Jewish minority, and were not concerned about the fate of the millions of Africans who still lived in the ghettos of apartheid.

45. She sincerely hoped that—to paraphrase Albert Sorel—in the next twenty years there would be many who would adapt their policies to the reality of a just, peaceful and fraternal world.

46. Mr. SCHREIBER (Director, Division of Human Rights) stated that Costa Rica had just become a party to the International Covenants on Human Rights and India had that morning ratified the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination. He noted that India's ratification was the twenty-sixth, and that twenty-seven ratifications were needed to bring the Convention into force.

47. Mrs. ESHEL (Israel), replying to the charges made against her country by the Syrian delegation,

stressed that it was Syria which subjected peaceful villages in Israel to constant unprovoked bombardments and acts of terrorism. She also recalled the appeal to total war which Prime Minister Atassi had made to Syrian workers on 29 May 1967. Lastly, she recalled that the General Assembly and the Security Council had supported none of the attempts by the Arab States to condemn Israel as an aggressor. It was Syria which had refused to implement Security Council resolution 242 (1967) and had refused to cooperate with the Jarring mission.

48. To Iraqi denials regarding nazi activities by Gailani, she enumerated his relations with nazi Germany in 1941 and the help he had received from Hitler. Further, she noted the pogroms organized by him against the Jewish community in Iraq.

49. Mr. AL-JABIRI (Iraq) said that the United Nations was tired of Israel's propaganda against the Arab States, financed by the imperialists and the Zionists, who controlled the information media and the publishing houses. He pointed out that no Jews had been killed in Iraq during the last war, and stated that the Zionists had been official agents of the British colonialists. In addition, he recalled the massacres and tortures which had been inflicted on innocent Palestinian Arabs. Israel had taken no notice of the many United Nations resolutions calling on it to put an end to those crimes; it had occupied Jerusalem and confiscated the land and property of Arabs living in the occupied territories, and it dared to protest its peaceful intentions when it had seized by force part of the territories of Syria, the United Arab Republic and Jordan.

50. Mr. ABOUL-NASR (United Arab Republic) pointed out that the representative of Israel had not answered the three questions he had put at the preceding meeting. He stated that his Government was prepared to implement forthwith the Security Council resolution she had just mentioned and would like to know whether the Government of Israel would be willing to do likewise.

51. Mr. EL-FATTAL (Syria) said he had tried to emphasize the purely humanitarian aspect of the question of the Palestinian Arab refugees, without saying how and why they had been driven from their homes. The representative of Israel had not replied to any of the charges he had made against her country, for those charges had been based entirely on statements by the Secretary-General. She had preferred to reply with other charges, in accordance with the usual tactics employed by Israel, which attempted, through crude propaganda, to conceal its crimes by slandering the Arab people. He quoted an article published on 1 December 1968 in The Observer, which described the tragic lot of the people of the town of Kuneitra, in occupied territory. In that connexion, he pointed out that 700 Syrians who had asked to be allowed to return him in order to be reunited with their families had not been given permission to do so.

The meeting rose at 7.45 p.m.