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# ELIMINATION OF ALL FORMS OF RELIGIOUS INTOLERANCE

#### Report of the Third Committee

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#### I. INTRODUCTION

1. The General Assembly at its 1564th plenary meeting, on 23 September 1967, allocated to the Third Committee agenda item 54, entitled "Elimination of all forms of religious intolerance: (a) Draft Declaration on the Elimination of All Forms of Religious Intolerance; (b) Draft International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Religious Intolerance".

2. The preparation of a draft declaration and a draft international convention on the elimination of all forms of religious intolerance originated in resolution 1781 (XVII) of 7 December 1962, in which the General Assembly requested the Economic and Social Council to ask the Commission on Human Rights, bearing in mind the views of the Sub-Commission on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities, the debates at the seventeenth session of the General Assembly, any proposals on the matter that might be submitted by Governments and any international instruments already adopted in that field by the specialized agencies, to prepare: (a) a draft declaration on the elimination of all forms of religious intolerance, to be submitted to the Assembly for consideration at its eighteenth session; (b) a draft international convention on the elimination of all forms of religious intolerance, to be submitted to the Assembly if possible at its nineteenth session and, in any case, not later than at its twentieth session. The Assembly invited Member States to submit their comments and proposals concerning the draft convention by 15 January 1964.

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3. At its eighteenth session the General Assembly's agenda included an item entitled "Draft Declaration on the Elimination of All Forms of Religious Intolerance". The Assembly's attention was drawn to resolutions of the Economic and Social Council and the Commission on Human Rights which informed the Assembly of the progress made in the preparation of the draft declaration.  $\frac{1}{}$  At that session the Assembly at its 1279th meeting, on 12 December 1963, postponed consideration of the item to its nineteenth session.

4. At its nineteenth session the General Assembly had before it Economic and Social Council resolution 1015 C (XXXVII). In this resolution the Council, noting the report of the working group set up by the Commission on Human Rights to prepare a draft declaration and the fact that the Commission could not study and approve a draft declaration for lack of time expressed its high appreciation to the Commission for the work it had been able to achieve although the difficulties encountered had not enabled it to complete its work within the term given in resolution 1781 (XVII) of the General Assembly. The Council decided to refer resolution 2 (XX) of the Commission to the Assembly together with certain documents, which included: the preliminary draft of a declaration submitted by the Sub-Commission on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities; the report of the working group of the Commission, which dealt with the consideration by the working group of the first six articles of the text submitted by the Sub-Commission and of certain alternative texts and proposals presented to the working group and comments of Member Governments on these texts. $^{2/}$ 

5. Resolution 2 (XX) of the Commission on Human Rights also included its decision to prepare at its twenty-first session a draft international convention in compliance with General Assembly resolution 1781 (XVII) and to invite the Sub-Commission to prepare and submit to the Commission at its twenty-first session in 1965 a preliminary draft of such a convention.

6. The Assembly at its nineteenth session was unable to consider the item relating to the draft declaration and the draft convention and therefore did not consider the suggestion of the Council in its resolution 1015 C (XXXVII) that

- <u>1</u>/ Official Records of the General Assembly, Eighteenth Session, Annexes, agenda item 44, document A/5460.
- 2/ See document A/5723.

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the Assembly "take a decision at its nineteenth session on the further course to be followed on this matter".

Therefore, the Commission on Human Rights at its twenty-first session, held 7. in 1965, having no new instructions from the General Assembly or the Council, proceeded in accordance with the decision in its resolution 2 (XX) (see paragraph 5 above) to examine the preliminary text of a draft international convention prepared by the Sub-Commission on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities and adopted a preamble and four articles for inclusion in the draft convention. $\frac{3}{1}$  It was however unable, because of lack of time, to complete its work on the draft convention and it adopted resolution 1 (XXI) whereby it decided to give absolute priority to that task at its twenty-second session. On the recommendation of the Commission, the Economic and Social Council in its resolution 1074 B (XXXIX) of 28 July 1965 drew the attention of the General Assembly at its twentieth session to the decision of the Commission  $\frac{4}{-4}$ 8. At its twentieth session the General Assembly adopted resolution 2020 (XX) of 1 November 1965, in which it requested the Council to invite the Commission to make every effort to complete, at its twenty-second session, the preparation of the draft declaration and the draft convention in order that they might be submitted to the Assembly at its twenty-first session.

9. At its twenty-first session the Assembly had before it Council resolution 1157 (XLI) of 5 August 1966. The Council in this resolution had requested the Commission on Human Rights to do its utmost to complete consideration of the draft international convention at the twenty-third session in 1967 and drew the attention of the General Assembly to resolution 1 (XXI) of the Commission<sup>5/</sup> in which the Commission had decided, <u>inter alia</u>, to give the highest priority at its twenty-third session to the completion of the preparation of the draft convention. Neither the Council nor the Commission referred in their decisions to the

- <u>3</u>/ Official Records of the Economic and Social Council, Thirty-ninth Session, Supplement No. 8 (E/4024), chapter II.
- 4/ Official Records of the General Assembly, Twentieth Session, Annexes, agenda item 62, document A/5925.
- 5/ Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-first Session, Annexes, agenda item 59, document A/6404.

preparation of the draft declaration. At its 1498th meeting, on 19 December 1966, the Assembly decided to postpone consideration of the item to its twenty-second session.

10. At its twenty-third session in 1967 the Commission on Human Rights continued its consideration of the draft international convention and by its resolution 3 (XXIII) it submitted to the Council, and recommended that the Council transmit to the Assembly, the text of the preamble and twelve articles of the draft international convention adopted by the Commission, an additional draft article submitted by Jamaica and a draft article XIII proposed by the Sub-Commission and the preliminary draft of additional measures of implementation submitted by the Sub-Commission in its resolution 2 (XVII); the Commission expressed the hope that the Assembly would decide upon suitable measures of implementation and final clauses of the draft convention. The Commission did not take up the preparation of a draft declaration.

11. The Council in its resolution 1233 (XLII) of 6 June 1967 transmitted to the General Assembly the documentation which it had received from the Commission on Human Rights  $\frac{6}{}$  and expressed the hope that the Assembly would decide upon suitable measures of implementation and final clauses and, in that connexion, the Council noted that the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination and the International Covenants on Human Rights adopted by the General Assembly in 1965 and 1966 contained measures of implementation and that the Council itself had recommended in resolution 1101 (XL) of 2 March 1966 that future conventions in the field of human rights should contain appropriate provisions for their implementation.  $\frac{7}{}$ 

6/ See document A/6660, annexes I to IV. Also transmitted was an amendment moved in the Social Committee of the Council (A/6660/Corr.1, annex V).

<sup>7/</sup> See document A/6660.

#### II. PROCEEDINGS IN THE THIRD COMMITTEE

12. The Third Committee had before it a note by the Secretary-General (A/6660), which contained brief background information concerning the preparation of the draft Declaration and the draft International Convention and the following texts transmitted to the General Assembly:

(a) The preamble and twelve articles of the draft International Convention adopted by the Commission on Human Rights;

(b) An additional draft article submitted by Jamaica to the Commission on Human Rights;

(c) Draft article XIII proposed by the Sub-Commission on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities;

(d) A preliminary draft of additional measures of implementation submitted by the Sub-Commission;

(e) An amendment by Libya to article VI adopted by the Commission on Human Rights, submitted to the Social Committee of the Council.

13. The Third Committee devoted twenty-nine meetings (1486th to 1514th meetings, held from 17 October to 14 November 1967) to the consideration of the item.
14. The Committee began by holding a general debate on the item to which it devoted twelve meetings. The views expressed in the general debate are summarized in documents A/C.3/SR.1486 to 1497.

15. There was widespread agreement regarding the need for an international instrument designed to bring about the elimination of religious intolerance and of discrimination based on religion or belief, and it was generally felt that the draft prepared by the Commission on Human Rights constituted a good basis on which to proceed. Some representatives nevertheless felt that the draft lacked the desired degree of cohesiveness and balance. In particular, several speakers contended that the text, despite its avowed objectives, dwelt unduly on religious beliefs and failed adequately to emphasize the right to hold non-theistic or atheistic convictions. Certain representatives also thought that greater stress should be laid on the right of the State to impose reasonable restrictions on practices which might otherwise tend to impede plans for economic, social and cultural development or hamper scientific inquiry. Again, several speakers

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regretted that the draft contained no adequate provision guaranteeing the rights of individuals with regard to religious marriage ceremonies and the dissolution of marriage.

16. Certain representatives felt that, before elaborating a convention on the elimination of all forms of religious intolerance, the General Assembly should have followed the established procedure and first adopted a declaration on the subject. That had been the course envisaged in General Assembly resolutions 1781 (XVII) and 2020 (XX), and the existence of a declaration would have enabled Member States to consider the draft convention with a clearer understanding of all the issues involved. Moreover, a declaration required no ratification and thus would have an impact on all countries. Some speakers therefore felt that the Commission on Human Rights should again be asked to prepare a draft declaration and that the work on the convention was adopted first, a declaration would become purposeless.

17. Other representatives, however, stressed that the General Assembly had deliberately given priority to the draft convention, since resolution 2081 (XX) called for the convention to be open for ratification or accession before 1968, the International Year for Human Rights. There was no rule requiring a declaration to be adopted before a convention on the same subject. A declaration was only a necessary first step where a new ideological basis had to be established; in the present case there was no need for such a basis, as the principle of religious tolerance was already universally accepted and needed only to be confirmed within an international legal context. Moreover, the decision to proceed with the consideration of the draft convention would not prejudice any decision which the Third Committee might later take with respect to a declaration. 18. As the consideration of the draft convention proceeded, several representatives pointed out that it would clearly be impossible for the Committee to complete its work on the text at the twenty-second session of the General Assembly. The principal reason for that was the Committee's extremely heavy agenda, which precluded the Committee from devoting all the time at its disposal to one Certain representatives felt also that a postponement was desirable, since item. it would allow Governments to study the proposals relating to measures of

implementation. In the opinion of some speakers, the fact that the convention would not be open for signature, ratification or accession in 1968 was relatively unimportant, since religious intolerance, though still not uncommon, was no longer the grave menace it had been in earlier periods of history.

19. Following some discussion at the 1497th meeting of the Committee, held on 27 October 1967, on the order of consideration of sub-items (a) and (b) of the item, the Committee decided to proceed to a discussion of sub-item (b): "Draft International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Religious Intolerance". 20. At the same meeting, the representative of New Zealand stated that he would not press the following draft resolution (A/C.3/L.1458) to a vote at that time since opinions on it were divided:

# "The Third\_Committee,

"<u>Having considered</u> the method of work appropriate to the completion of the draft Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Religious Intolerance,

"<u>Decides</u> that, following a discussion of the draft Convention in the Committee, a working group shall be established whose task shall be to prepare measures of implementation and final articles of the draft Convention and, in addition, to make proposals for the resolution of any outstanding issues in the substantive articles of the draft Convention;

#### "Decides further:

(a) To refer to the working group the documents transmitted to the General Assembly by the Economic and Social Council in resolution 1233 (XLII);

(b) That the working group shall also have regard to proposals and amendments submitted and to views expressed during the discussion of this item in the Committee at the present session;

"<u>Authorizes</u> its Chairman to engage in consultations with a view to making a proposal to the Committee concerning the composition of the working group;

"Requests the working group to report to the Committee not later than \_\_\_\_\_."

21. Also at the 1497th meeting, the Committee adopted by 87 votes to 2, with 7 abstentions, a draft resolution proposed by the representative of Upper Volta (A/C.3/L.1467). The text of the resolution read as follows:

#### "The Third Committee

"Decides not to mention any specific example of religious intolerance in the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Religious Intolerance."

22. Thereafter the Committee considered during its 1498th to 1511th meetings the title, the preamble and individual articles of the draft International Convention. It adopted a new title and the text of the preamble and article I of the draft International Convention (see paragraphs 29, 72 and 90 below).

23. The various texts before the Committee relating to the title, the preamble and article I of the draft International Convention and the amendments proposed thereto, and the voting thereon are described in the following part of the report; the opinions expressed by members of the Committee are summarized in documents A/C.3/SR.1498 to 1511.

24. The Committee did not consider the other articles, proposals and amendments relating to the draft International Convention. These included the relevant texts transmitted to the General Assembly (see paragraph 12 above) and the following: amendments submitted by <u>India</u> (A/C.3/L.1481), <u>Bulgaria</u> (A/C.3/L.1483), <u>Syria</u> (A/C.3/L.1484) and the <u>United States of America</u> (A/C.3/L.1489) to article II; amendments submitted by <u>Liberia</u> and <u>Sierra Leone</u> (A/C.3/L.1489), the <u>Ukrainian</u> <u>Soviet Socialist Republic</u> (A/C.3/L.1470), and the <u>Philippines</u> (A/C.3/L.1475) to article III; amendments submitted by the <u>Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic</u> (A/C.3/L.1470) to articles IV and IX together with a proposal for a new article after article IX; an amendment by <u>Jamaica</u> (A/C.3/L.1463) for a new article after article XII; amendments by <u>India</u>, <u>Nigeria</u>, <u>Pakistan</u>, the <u>United Arab Republic</u> (A/C.3/L.1456) and to an optional protocol concerning measures of implementation (A/C.3/L.1457).

25. The Committee, after considering various draft resolutions during its 1511th to 1514th meetings (see paragraphs 91-99 below), adopted a draft resolution to be recommended to the General Assembly for adoption which is set forth in paragraph 100 below.

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# III. CONSIDERATION OF THE TITLE, THE PREAMBLE AND ARTICLE I OF THE DRAFT INTERNATIONAL CONVENTION

#### A. <u>Title</u>

26. The Committee discussed the title of the draft Convention at its 1498th and 1505th meetings. The title mentioned in General Assembly resolution 1781 (XVII) and in the text of the Commission on Human Rights was "Draft International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Religious Intolerance".

#### Amendments and voting

27. The amendment of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic (A/C.3/L.1460) proposed modifying the title of the draft Convention to read: "International Convention on the Elimination of Discrimination on the Ground of Religion or Belief". Italy proposed (A/C.3/L.1462) to amend the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic's text by inserting the words "All Forms of Intolerance and of" between the words "of" and "Discrimination". Neither the amendment of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic nor the Italian sub-amendment was pressed to the vote. The amendment of Burundi, Ceylon, Democratic Republic of the Congo, Guinea, 28. India, Iran, Mali, Mauritania, Morocco, Nigeria, Pakistan, Rwanda, Syria, Turkey, United Arab Republic and Upper Volta (A/C.3/L.1468/Rev.1) sought to amend the title of the Convention to read: "International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Intolerance and of Discrimination based on Religion or Belief". 29. At its 1505th meeting the Committee adopted that amendment, by 89 votes to none, with 1 abstention, changing the title to "International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Intolerance and of Discrimination based on Religion or Belief".

#### B. Preamble

30. The Committee discussed the preamble to the draft Convention at its 1498th to 1505th and 1511th meetings. The first paragraph of the preamble was voted on at the 1498th meeting of the Committee and the remaining paragraphs at the 1505th meeting. The preamble as a whole was voted on at the 1511th meeting in accordance with the decision taken by the Committee at its 1501st meeting to consider and vote on article I before voting on the preamble as a whole.

31. The text of the preamble, as submitted by the Commission on Human Rights, read as follows:

"The States Parties to the present Convention,

"<u>Considering</u> that one of the basic principles of the Charter of the United Nations is that of the dignity and equality inherent in all human beings, and that all States Members have pledged themselves to take joint and separate action in co-operation with the Organization to promote and encourage universal respect for an observance of human rights and fundamental freedoms for all, without distinction as to race, sex, language or religion,

"<u>Considering</u> that the Universal Declaration on Human Rights proclaims the principle of non-discrimination and the right to freedom of thought, conscience, religion and belief,

"<u>Considering</u> that the disregard and infringement of human rights and fundamental freedoms, and in particular of the right to freedom of thought, conscience, religion and belief, have brought great suffering to mankind,

"<u>Considering</u> that religion or belief, for anyone who professes either, is a fundamental element in his conception of life, and that freedom to practise religion as well as to manifest a belief should be fully respected and guaranteed,

"<u>Considering</u> it essential that Governments, organizations and private persons should strive to promote through education, as well as by other means, understanding, tolerance and respect in matters relating to freedom of religion and belief,

"<u>Noting with satisfaction</u> the coming into force of conventions concerning discrimination, <u>inter alia</u>, on the ground of religion, such as the International Labour Organisation Convention on Discrimination in Respect of Employment and Occupation, adopted in 1958, the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization Convention against Discrimination in Education, adopted in 1960, and the United Nations Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide, adopted in 1948,

"<u>Concerned</u> by manifestations of intolerance in such matters still in evidence in some areas of the world,

"Resolved to adopt all necessary measures for eliminating speedily such intolerance in all its forms and manifestations and to prevent and combat discrimination on the ground of religion or belief,

"Have agreed as follows:" .

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#### Amendments and voting

#### First paragraph

32. The amendment of the <u>Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic</u> (A/C.3/L.1460) proposed the addition at the end of the paragraph of the following words: "political or other opinion, national or social origin, property, birth or other status". The amendment was withdrawn and subsequently submitted in another form (A/C.3/L.1460/Rev.1) as an amendment to the second paragraph (see paragraph 34). 33. At its 1498th meeting the Committee unanimously adopted the text of the first preambular paragraph as submitted by the Commission on Human Rights.

# Second paragraph

34. The <u>Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic</u> (A/C.3/L.1460) proposed (a) the insertion of the words "equality and" before the word "non-discrimination", and (b) the addition at the end of the paragraph of the following words: "which are also included in the International Covenants on Human Rights, and that freedom to practise religion or manifest a belief should be guaranteed and fully respected". As subsequently revised, the amendment (A/C.3/L.1460/Rev.1) proposed the addition of the following words at the end of the paragraph: "and that these are consecrated in the International Covenants on Human Rights".

35. The amendment of the <u>Union of Soviet Socialist Republics</u> (A/C.3/L.1466) proposed the insertion of the words "and the International Covenants on Human Rights confirm" after the word "proclaims". The amendment was withdrawn at the 1499th meeting.

36. At the 1505th meeting, the amendment of the <u>Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic</u> (see paragraph 34 above) was adopted by 92 votes to 7, with 4 abstentions, and the text of the second preambular paragraph submitted by the Commission on Human Rights, as amended, was adopted unanimously.

#### Third paragraph

37. <u>Hungary</u> proposed (A/C.3/L.1465) the replacement of the paragraph by the following text:

"Considering that intolerance and discrimination, and in particular the imposition of a religion or a change of religion on human beings by force

and the abuse of religions for purposes having nothing to do with religion, have throughout history caused mankind immeasurable suffering,"

This amendment was subsequently withdrawn in favour of the sixteen-Power amendment (A/C.3/L.1468/Rev.1) (see paragraph 39 below).

38. The <u>Union of Soviet Socialist Republics</u> (A/C.3/L.1466/Rev.1) proposed the replacement of the word "and" before the word "belief" by the word "or". This amendment was withdrawn in the light of the second amendment proposed by the sixteen Powers (see paragraph 39 below).

39. <u>Burundi</u>, <u>Ceylon</u>, <u>Democratic Republic of the Congo</u>, <u>Guinea</u>, <u>India</u>, <u>Iran</u>, <u>Mali</u>, <u>Mauritania</u>, <u>Morocco</u>, <u>Nigeria</u>, <u>Pakistan</u>, <u>Rwanda</u>, <u>Syria</u>, <u>Turkey</u>, the <u>United Arab</u> <u>Republic</u> and <u>Upper Volta</u> (A/C.3/L.1468/Rev.1) proposed (a) the insertion of the words "directly or indirectly, wars and" between the words "have brought" and the words "great suffering to mankind", and (b) the replacement of the word "and" between the words "religion" and "belief" by the word "or".

40. <u>Saudi Arabia</u> (A/C.3/L.1476) proposed to amend the sixteen-Power amendment by the addition of the following text after the words "great suffering to mankind": "especially when manifestations of religion or belief have served and are still serving as a means or as an instrument of foreign interference in the internal affairs of other States and peoples".

41. At the 1505th meeting the Committee voted on the third preambular paragraph of the text submitted by the Commission on Human Rights and the amendments thereto as follows:

(a) The second amendment proposed by the sixteen Powers (see paragraph 39 above) was adopted by 108 votes to none, with 1 abstention;

(b) The Saudi Arabia sub-amendment (see paragraph 40 above) to the first amendment proposed by the sixteen Powers was adopted by 46 votes to 42, with 20 abstentions;

(c) The first amendment proposed by the sixteen Powers, as amended, was adopted by 87 votes to none, with 7 abstentions;

(d) The text of the third preambular paragraph submitted by the Commission on Human Rights, as amended, was adopted by 57 votes to 17, with 36 abstentions in a roll-call vote requested by the representative of the United Republic of Tanzania. The voting was as follows:

- In fevour: Afghanistan, Algeria, Botswana, Bulgaria, Burma, Burundi, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cameroon, Ceylon, Chad, Congo (Brazzaville), Congo (Democratic Republic of), Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Ethiopia, Greece, Guinea, Hungary, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Jordan, Kenya, Kuwait, Lebanon, Lesotho, Libya, Malaysia, Mali, Mauritania, Mexico, Mongolia, Morocco, Nigeria, Pakistan, Poland, Romania, Rwanda, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Somalia, Sudan, Syria, Togo, Tunisia, Turkey, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Arab Republic, United Republic of Tanzania, Upper Volta, Venezuela, Yemen, Yugoslavia and Zambia.
- <u>Against</u>: Argentina, Australia, Austria, Brazil, Canada, Colombia, Dominican Republic, El Salvador, Guatemala, Israel, Netherlands, Nicaragua, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland and the United States of America.
- <u>Abstaining</u>: Barbados, Belgium, Chile, China, Costa Rica, Dahomey, Denmark, Ecuador, Finland, France, Gabon, Ghana, Guyana, Haiti, Honduras, Iceland, Ireland, Italy, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Japan, Liberia, Luxembourg, Madagascar, Nepal, New Zealand, Niger, Norway, Philippines, Portugal, Sierra Leone, Spain, Sweden, Thailand, Uganda and Uruguay.

#### Fourth paragraph

42. The amendment of the <u>Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic</u> (A/C.3/L.1460/Rev.1) called for the deletion of the paragraph.

43. The amendment of <u>Hungary</u> (A/C.3/L.1465) sought to replace the text of the Commission on Human Rights by the following:

"<u>Considering</u> that anything to do with a human being's complex of ideas and emotions affects him most deeply and intimately and that therefore the freedom to practise religion and the freedom not to believe, the freedom to profess a religion and the freedom to profess the lack of a religion should be fully respected and guaranteed".

Subsequently this amendment was withdrawn in favour of the sixteen-Power amendment. 44. The amendment of the <u>Union of Soviet Socialist Republics</u> (A/C.3/L.1466), which called for the deletion of the paragraph, was later withdrawn,

45. The amendment of <u>Burundi</u>, <u>Ceylon</u>, <u>Democratic Republic of the Congo</u>, <u>Guinea</u>. <u>India</u>, <u>Iran</u>, <u>Mali</u>, <u>Mauritania</u>, <u>Morocco</u>, <u>Nigeria</u>, <u>Pakistan</u>, <u>Rwanda</u>, <u>Syria</u>, <u>Turkey</u>, the <u>United Arab Republic</u> and <u>Upper Volta</u> (A/C.3/L.1468/Rev.1) called for (a) the replacement of the words "a fundamental element" by the words "one of the fundamental elements", and (b) the replacement of the words "to practise religion as well as to manifest a belief" by the words "of religion or belief".

46. At the 1505th meeting the Committee voted on the fourth preambular paragraph of the text submitted by the Commission on Human Rights and the amendments thereto as follows:

(a) The amendment of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic to delete the paragraph was rejected by 82 votes to 8, with 17 abstentions.

(b) The first amendment proposed by the sixteen Powers (see paragraph 45 above) was adopted by 71 votes to 26, with 11 abstentions.

(c) The second amendment proposed by the sixteen Powers was adopted by 51 votes to 42, with 16 abstentions in a roll-call vote requested by the representative of Ceylon. The voting was as follows:

- <u>In favour</u>: Afghanistan, Algeria, Burma, Burundi, Cameroon, Central African Republic, Ceylon, Chad, Congo (Brazzaville), Congo (Democratic Republic of), Cuba, Cyprus, Ethiopia, Guinea, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Japan, Jordan, Kenya, Kuwait, Lebanon, Lesotho, Libya, Malaysia, Mali, Mauritania, Morocco, Nigeria, Pakistan, Rwanda, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Somalia, Sudan, Syria, Thailand, Togo, Tunisia, Turkey, Uganda, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Arab Republic, United Republic of Tanzania, United States of America, Upper Volta, Yemen, Yugoslavia and Zambia.
- <u>Against</u>: Argentina, Australia, Austria, Belgium, Brazil, Canada, Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, Denmark, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, El Salvador, Finland, France, Ghana, Greece, Guatemala, Guyana, Haiti, Honduras, Iceland, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Jamaica, Luxembourg, Mexico, Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, Portugal, Sierra Leone, Spain, Sweden, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, Uruguary and Venezuela.
- <u>Abstaining</u>: Botswana, Bulgaria, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, China, Czechoslovakia, Dahomey, Gabon, Hungary, Ivory Coast, Liberia, Madagascar, Mongolia, Nepal, Niger, Poland and Romania.

(d) The text of the fourth preambular paragraph submitted by the Commission on Human Rights, as amended, was adopted by 80 votes to 3, with 26 abstentions.

#### Fifth paragraph

47. The <u>Union of Soviet Socialist Republics</u> (A/C.3/L.1466) proposed to amend the paragraph to read as follows:

"<u>Considering</u> it essential that States should strive by all appropriate means to promote understanding, tolerance and respect in matters relating to freedom of conscience, religion or belief".

This amendment was subsequently withdrawn.

48. Burundi, Ceylon, Democratic Republic of the Congo, Guinea, India, Iran, Mali, Mauritania, Morocco, Nigeria, Pakistan, Rwanda, Syria, Turkey, the United Arab Republic and Upper Volta (A/C.3/L.1468) proposed to add to the end of the paragraph the following words: "as well as to combat any exploitation or abuse of religion or belief". The amendment was revised (A/C.3/L.1468/Rev.1) to read: "as well as to combat any exploitation or abuse of religion or belief for political or other ends". The amendment was later revised further to read (A/C.3/L.1468/Rev.1/Corr.1): "as well as to combat any exploitation or abuse of religion or belief for political or other ends inconsistent with the provisions of the present Convention". It was still further revised (A/C.3/L.1468/Rev.1/Corr.2) to read as follows: "as well as to combat any exploitation or abuse of religion or belief for political or other ends inconsistent with the provisions of the present Convention". It was still further revised (A/C.3/L.1468/Rev.1/Corr.2) to read as follows: "as well as to combat any exploitation or abuse of religion or belief for political or other ends inconsistent with the purposes and principles of the present Convention".

49. At its 1505th meeting the Committee adopted the final revision of the sixteen-Power amendment (see paragraph 48 above) by 63 votes to 30, with 12 abstentions, and the text of the fifth preambular paragraph submitted by the Commission on Human Rights, as amended, by 71 votes to 9, with 28 abstentions.

#### Sixth paragraph

50. The amendment of the <u>Union of Soviet Socialist Republics</u> (A/C.3/L.1466) called for the replacement of paragraphs 6 and 7 by the following:

"<u>Considering</u> the relevant provisions of other conventions and declarations adopted under the auspices of the United Nations and its specialized agencies which also ensure freedom of conscience, religion or belief".

This amendment was subsequently withdrawn in favour of the sixteen-Power amendment (see paragraph 51 below).

51. The amendment of <u>Burundi</u>, <u>Ceylon</u>, <u>Democratic Republic of the Congo</u>, <u>Guinea</u>, <u>India</u>, <u>Iran</u>, <u>Mali</u>, <u>Mauritania</u>, <u>Morocco</u>, <u>Nigeria</u>, <u>Pakistan</u>, <u>Rwanda</u>, <u>Syria</u>. <u>Turkey</u>, the <u>United Arab Republic</u> and <u>Upper Volta</u> (A/C.3/L.1468/Rev.1) called for the replacement of the paragraph by the following:

"<u>Noting with satisfaction</u> the adoption of several and the coming into force of some, Conventions under the aegis of the United Nations and its specialized agencies, for the elimination of verious forms of discrimination,".

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At the 1502nd meeting, the sponsors accepted an oral proposal of the representative of the <u>Netherlands</u> to replace the word "its" before "specialized" agencies" by the words "of the".

52. At the 1505th meeting the Committee adopted the new text of the sixth preambular paragraph contained in the revised sixteen-power amendment (see paragraph 51 above) by 102 votes to 1, with 6 abstentions.

## Seventh paragraph

53. The amendment of the <u>Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic</u> (A/C.3/L.1460) called for (a) the insertion of the words "in matters relating to the right to freedom of thought, conscience, religion and belief" after the word "intolerance", and (b) the deletion of the words "in such matters". This amendment was not pressed to a vote. 54. The amendment of the <u>Union of Soviet Socialist Republics</u> (A/C.3/L.1466/Rev.1) called for the deletion of the paragraph. This amendment was withdrawn at the 1505th meeting.

55. The amendment of <u>Burundi</u>, <u>Ceylon</u>, <u>Democratic Republic of the Congo</u>, <u>Guinea</u>, <u>India</u>, <u>Iran</u>, <u>Mali</u>, <u>Mauritania</u>, <u>Morocco</u>, <u>Nigeria</u>, <u>Pakistan</u>, <u>Rwanda</u>, <u>Svria</u>, <u>Turkey</u>, the <u>United Arab Republic</u> and <u>Upper Volta</u> (A/C.3/L.1468/Rev.1) called for the replacement of the words "in such matters" by the words "and by the existence of discrimination in matters of religion or belief".

56. At the 1505th meeting the Committee voted on the text of the seventh paragraph submitted by the Commission and the amendments thereto as follows:

(a) The sixteen-Power amendment (see paragraph 55 above) was adopted by 91 votes to none, with 2 abstentions.

(b) At the request of the representative of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, a separate vote was taken on the phrase "still in evidence in some areas of the world" and the phrase was retained by 97 votes to 6, with 3 abstentions.

(c) The seventh preambular paragraph proposed by the Commission on Human Rights, as amended, was adopted by 99 votes to none, with 6 abstentions.

#### Eighth paragraph

57. The amendment of the <u>Union of Soviet Socialist Republics</u> (A/C.3/L.1466) called for the replacement of the words "eliminating speedily such intolerance in all its forms and manifestations and to prevent and combat discrimination on the ground of

religion or belief" by the words: "speedily eliminating intolerance and discrimination on the ground of religion or belief". This amendment was not pressed to a vote.

58. The amendment of <u>Burundi</u>, <u>Ceylon</u>, <u>Democratic Republic of the Congo</u>, <u>Guinea</u>, <u>India, Iran, Mali, Mauritania, Morocco</u>, <u>Nigeria</u>, <u>Pakistan</u>, <u>Rwanda</u>, <u>Syria</u>, <u>Turkey</u>, the <u>United Arab Republic</u>, and <u>Upper Volta</u> (A/C.3/L.1468/Rev.1) called for the replacement of the words "eliminating speedily" by the words "the speedy elimination of".

59. At the 1505th meeting the Committee adopted the sixteen-Power amendment (see paragraph 58 above by 96 votes to none, with 1 abstention, and the text of the eighth preambular paragraph submitted by the Commission on Human Rights, as amended, unanimously.

# New paragraphs

60. The amendment of the <u>Union of Soviet Socialist Republics</u> (A/C.3/L.1466) proposed the addition of a new paragraph reading as follows:

"<u>Convinced</u> that manifestations of freedom of conscience, religion or belief should not impede the implementation of measures for the elimination of colonialism and that they should not serve as a means of interference in the political life of a country or as an instrument of foreign interference in the internal affairs of other States".

61. <u>Pakistan</u> (A/C.3/L.1471) proposed to sub-amend that text by (a) deleting the words "freedom of conscience", (b) inserting the words "be abused to" between the words "should not" and "impede", and (c) replacing the words "and that they should not serve as a means of interference in the political life of a country or as an instrument of foreign interference in the internal affairs of other States" by the words "and racialism". This sub-amendment was withdrawn at the 1504th meeting after the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics had submitted a revised amendment (see paragraph 64 below).

62. Argentina proposed a sub-amendment (A/C.3/L.1472) to the amendment of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (A/C.3/L.1466) calling for (a) the deletion of the words "freedom of conscience", and (b) the replacement of the words "impede the implementation of measures for the elimination of colonialism and that they should not serve as a means of interference in the political life of a country or as an instrument of foreign interference in the internal affairs of other States"

by "constitute an obstacle to the process of political independence of peoples or the exercise of such independence by peoples".

63. <u>Nigeria</u> (A/C.3/L.1474) proposed to amend the first paragraph of the revised USSR amendment by (a) the replacement of the words "manifestations" by the words "the right to freedom", and (b) the replacement of the words "to impede the implementation of measures for" by the words "as to impede any measures aimed at".

64. The amendment of the <u>Union of Soviet Socialist Republics</u> was later revised (A/C.3/L.1466/Rev.1) and divided into two new sub-paragraphs, reading as follows:

"(a) <u>Convinced</u> that manifestations of religion or belief should not be abused to impede the implementation of measures for the elimination of colonialism and racialism,

"(b) <u>Considering</u> that manifestations of religion or belief should not serve as a means of interference in the national life of countries or as an instrument of foreign interference in the internal affairs of other States and peoples,".

At the 1504th meeting, the representative of the <u>Union of Soviet Socialist</u> <u>Republics</u> withdrew his proposal regarding the first paragraph and agreed to co-sponsor the text of that sub-paragraph as amended by Nigeria (A/C.3/L.1474), reading as follows:

"<u>Convinced</u> that the right to freedom of religion or belief should not be abused as to impede any measures aimed at the elimination of colonialism and racialism,".

65. At the 1505th meeting the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics representative withdrew sub-paragraph (b) of his amendment.

66. In the revised <u>Union of Soviet Socialist Republics</u> amendment (A/C.3/L.1466/Rev.1), <u>Argentina</u> proposed (A/C.3/L.1472/Rev.1) to replace in paragraph (a) the words "be abused to impede the implementation of measures for the elimination of colonialism and racism," by "contribute an obstacle to the attainment or exercise of political independence by peoples,".

67. <u>Italy</u> proposed (A/C.3/L.1473) a sub-amendment to the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics text calling for (a) the replacement of the words "should not be abused to impede the implementation of measures for the elimination of colonialism and racialism" in the first sub-paragraph (a) by the words "should not lead to abuses,

1 ...

such as the jeopardizing of national security, of friendly relations among nations or of the purposes and principles of the United Nations", and (b) the deletion of the second paragraph.

68. The sub-amendment of <u>Italy</u> (A/C.3/L.1477) to the text co-sponsored by Nigeria and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics called for the replacement of the words "to impede any measures aimed at the elimination of colonialism and racialism" by the words "to jeopardize national security, friendly relations among nations or the purposes and principles of the United Nations".

69. At its 1505th meeting the Committee voted on a motion of the representative of Lebanon to decide whether the sub-amendment submitted by Italy (see paragraph 68 above) was in order. The Committee decided by 47 votes to 40, with 12 abstentions, that the Italian sub-amendment was in order.

70. At the same meeting the Committee voted on the proposal of Nigeria and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the amendment of Italy as follows:

(a) The Italian sub-amendment (see paragraph 68 above) to the amendment of Nigeria and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics was rejected by 57 votes to 42, with 7 abstentions in a roll-call vote requested by the representatives of Pakistan and the United States of America. The voting was as follows:

- <u>In favour</u>: Argentina, Austria, Belgium, Botswana, Brazil, Chile, China, Colombia, Costa Rica, Dahomey, Ecuador, El Salvador, France, Gabon, Ghana, Greece, Guatemala, Honduras, Iceland, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Japan, Lesotho, Luxembourg, Madagascar, Mexico, Netherlands, Niger, Norway, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Portugal, Spain, Sweden, Uganda, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America and Uruguay.
- <u>Against</u>: Afghanistan, Algeria, Australia, Bulgaria, Burma, Burundi, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cameroon, Canada, Central African Republic, Ceylon, Chad, Congo (Brazzaville), Congo (Democratic Republic of), Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Ethiopia, Finland, Guinea, Guyana, Hungary, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Jordan, Kenya, Kuwait, Lebanon, Libya, Malaysia, Mali, Mauritania, Mongolia, Morocco, Nigeria, Pakistan, Poland, Romania, Rwanda, Saudi Arabia, Somalia, Sudan, Syria, Thailand, Togo, Tunisia, Turkey, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Arab Republic, United Republic of Tanzania, Upper Volta, Yemen, Yugoslavia and Zambia.

<u>Abstaining</u>: Denmark, Liberia, New Zealand, Philippines, Senegal, Sierra Leone and Venezuela.

(b) The new paragraph proposed by Nigeria and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (see paragraph 63 above) was adopted by 55 votes to 38 with 13 abstentions in a roll-call vote requested by the representatives of India, Italy, Pakistan and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. The voting was as follows:

- <u>In favour</u>: Afghanistan, Algeria, Bulgaria, Burma, Burundi, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cameroon, Central African Republic, Ceylon, Chad, Congo (Brazzaville), Congo (Democratic Republic of), Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Ethiopia, Guinea, Hungary, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Jordan, Kenya, Kuwait, Lebanon, Libya, Malaysia, Mali, Mauritania, Mongolia, Morocco, Nigeria, Pakistan, Philippines, Poland, Romania, Rwanda, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Somalia, Sudan, Syria, Thailand, Togo, Tunisia, Turkey, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Arab Republic, United Republic of Tanzania, Upper Volta, Yemen, Yugoslavia and Zambia.
- <u>Against</u>: Argentina, Australia, Austria, Belgium, Botswana, Brazil, Canada, Chile, China, Colombia, Costa Rica, Ecuador, El Salvador, Finland, France, Greece, Guatemala, Honduras, Iceland, Lreland, Israel, Italy, Jamaica, Japan, Luxembourg, Madagascar, Mexico, Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Portugal, Spain, Sweden, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America.

Abstaining: Dahomey, Denmark, Gabon, Ghana, Guyana, Ivory Coast, Lesotho, Liberia, Niger, Sierra Leone, Uganda, Uruguay and Venezuela.

Adoption of the preamble

71. At its 1511th meeting the Committee adopted the preamble as a whole by 58 votes to none, with 45 abstentions in a roll-call vote requested by the representative of the United States of America. The voting was as follows:

<u>In favour</u>: Afghanistan, Algeria, Botswana, Bulgaria, Burma, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cameroon, Central African Republic, Ceylon, Chad, Congo (Brazzaville), Congo (Democratic Republic of), Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Ethiopia, Gambia, Guinea, Hungary, India, Iran, Iraq, Japan, Jordan, Kenya, Kuwait, Lebanon, Lesotho, Libya, Madagascar, Malaysia, Mali, Mauritania, Mongolia, Morocco, Nigeria, Pakistan, Philippines, Poland, Romania, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Somalia, Sudan, Syria, Thailand, Togo, Tunisia, Turkey, Uganda, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Arab Republic, United Republic of Tanzania, Upper Volta, Venezuela and Zambia.

Against: None.

<u>Abstaining</u>: Argentina, Australia, Austria, Barbados, Belgium, Brazil, Canada, Chile, China, Colombia, Costa Rica, Dahomey, Denmark, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, El Salvador, Finland, France, Gabon, Ghana, Greece, Guatemala, Honduras, Iceland, Indonesia, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Jamaica, Liberia, Luxembourg, Malta, Mexico, Nepal, Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Panama, Peru, Portugal, Sierra Leone, Spain, Sweden, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland and the United States of America.

72. The text of the preamble, as adopted, reads as follows:

#### "The States Parties to the present Convention;

"<u>Considering</u> that one of the basic principles of the Charter of the United Nations is that of the dignity and equality inherent in all human beings, and that all States Members have pledged themselves to take joint and separate action in co-operation with the Organization to promote and encourage universal respect for and observance of human rights and fundamental freedoms for all, without distinction as to race, sex, language or religion.

"<u>Considering</u> that the Universal Declaration of Human Rights proclaims the principle of non-discrimination and the right to freedom of thought, conscience, religion and belief, and that these are consecrated in the International Covenants on Human Rights.

"<u>Considering</u> that the disregard and infringement of human rights and fundamental freedoms, and in particular of the right to freedom of thought, conscience, religion or belief have brought, directly or indirectly, wars and great suffering to mankind, especially when manifestations of religion or belief have served and are still serving as a means or as an instrument of foreign interference in the internal affairs of other States and peoples,

"<u>Considering</u> that religion or belief, for anyone who professes either, is one of the fundamental elements in his conception of life, and that freedom of religion or belief should be fully respected and guaranteed,

"<u>Considering it essential</u> that Governments, organizations and private persons should strive to promote through education, as well as by other means, understanding, tolerance and respect in matters relating to freedom of religion and belief, and to combat any exploitation or abuse of religion or belief for political or other ends inconsistent with the purpose and principles of the present Convention,

"<u>Noting with satisfaction</u> the adoption of several, and the coming into force of some, Conventions under the aegis of the United Nations and of the specialized agencies, for the elimination of various forms of discrimination,

"<u>Concerned</u> by manifestations of intolerance and by the existence of discrimination in matters of religion or belief still in evidence in some areas of the world.

/...

"<u>Resolved</u> to adopt all necessary measures for the speedy elimination of such intolerance in all its forms and manifestations and to prevent and combat discrimination on the ground of religion or belief,

"<u>Convinced</u> that the right to freedom of religion or belief should not be abused so as to impede any measures aimed at the elimination of colonialism and racialism,

#### "Have agreed as follows:".

73. The Committee discussed article I of the draft Convention at its 1507th to its 1511th meetings. The text of article I submitted by the Commission on Human Rights read as follows:

"For the purpose of this Convention:

"(a) The expression 'religion or belief' shall include the istic, non-the istic and athe istic beliefs;

"(b) The expression 'discrimination on the ground of religion or belief' shall mean any distinction, exclusion, restriction or preference based on religion or belief which has the purpose or effect of nullifying or impairing the recognition, enjoyment of exercise, on an equal footing, of human rights and fundamental freedoms in the political, economic, social, cultural or any other field of public life;

"(<u>c</u>) The expression 'religious intolerance' shall mean intolerance in matters of religion or belief;

"(<u>d</u>) Neither the establishment of a religion nor the recognition of a religion or belief by a State nor the separation of Church from State shall by itself be considered religious intolerance or discrimination on the ground of religion or belief; provided that this paragraph shall not be construed as permitting violation of specific provisions of this Convention".

#### Amendments and voting

#### Sub-paragraph (a)

74. <u>Bulgaria</u> proposed (A/C.3/L.1482) the deletion of the word "non-theistic" and the replacement of the word "and" by "or". This amendment was withdrawn at the 1509th meeting.

75. The amendment of <u>Syria</u> (A/C.3/L.1484) called for: (1) the insertion of the word "In" at the beginning of the sub-paragraph; (2) the replacement of the words "shall include" by the words "the word 'belief' shall mean"; and (3) the replacement of the words "theistic, non-theistic and atheistic beliefs" by

"metaphysical beliefs, whether theistic, non-theistic or atheistic". The text of these amendments was later revised (A/C.3/L.1484/Corr.1) to call for the replacement of the words "theistic, non-theistic and atheistic beliefs" by the words "metaphysical or ideological beliefs of an all-inclusive nature, whether theistic, non-theistic or atheistic".

76. <u>Uganda</u> (A/C.3/L.1485) proposed the replacement of the whole of sub-paragraph (a) by the following text: "The expression 'religion or belief' shall mean belief in the existence or otherwise of a supernatural being or beings, and such practices and manifestations as are related to that belief". The amendment was withdrawn at the 1509th meeting.

77. At its 1510th meeting the Committee voted on the text of article I, sub-paragraph (a), submitted by the Commission on Human Rights and the amendments thereto as follows:

(a) The first amendment proposed by Syria (see paragraph 75 above) was rejected by 26 votes to 1, with 54 abstentions. After the vote the Committee decided by 58 votes to none, with 41 abstentions, to reconsider its decision and to vote on the amendment of Syria to sub-paragraph (a) as a whole. The amendment as a whole (A/C.3/L.1484/Corr.1) read as follows:

"In the expression 'religion or belief' the word 'belief' shall mean metaphysical or ideological beliefs of an all-inclusive nature, whether theistic, non-theistic or atheistic".

(c) A separate vote was taken, at the request of the representative of Italy, on the words "metaphysical or ideological beliefs of an all-inclusive nature, whether" in the Syrian text, and those words were rejected by 49 votes to 2, with 48 abstentions.

(d) A separate vote was taken, at the request of the representative of Indonesia, on the word "atheistic" in the Syrian text, and the word was retained by 64 votes to 1, with 25 abstentions. Thereupon the representative of Syria withdrew his text, which was, however, reintroduced by the representative of Italy, who subsequently did not press for a vote on the text after the Committee had taken a separate vote, at the request of the representative of the USSR, on the word "theistic" in this text and retained it by 82 votes to 8, with 3 abstentions.

(e) Article I, sub-paragraph (a), of the text as submitted by the Commission was adopted by 94 votes to none, with 4 abstentions.

#### Sub-paragraph (b)

78. No amendments were submitted to sub-paragraph (b) and at its 1510th meeting, the Committee adopted article I, sub-paragraph (b), of the text submitted by the Commission on Human Rights by 98 votes to none, with 1 abstention.

#### Sub-paragraph (c)

79. <u>Bulgaria</u> (A/C.3/L.1482) proposed that sub-paragraph (c) should be amended by the deletion of the word "religious" before the word "intolerance", the addition of the words "manifestation of" after the word "mean" and the addition at the end of the sub-paragraph of the words "reflected in actions contrary to the provisions of this Convention".

80. <u>Syria</u> proposed (A/C.3/L.1484) the replacement of the sub-paragraph by the following: "The word 'intolerance' shall mean any manifestation of discrimination based on religion or belief and practised against individuals or groups of another religion or belief". At the 1510th meeting the representative of Syria withdrew this amendment.

81. At the 1511th meeting, the representative of <u>Bulgaria</u> expressed the wish that his amendments should be voted on as a whole in a new text for sub-paragraph (c) reading as follows (A/C.3/L.1482):

"The expression 'intolerance' shall mean manifestations of intolerance in matters of religion or belief reflected in actions contrary to the provisions of this Convention".

82. The Committee voted separately, at the request of the representative of Guatemala, on the phrase "reflected in actions contrary to the provisions of this Convention," in the text submitted by Bulgaria and rejected it by 43 votes to 1 with 36 abstentions; the text of the Bulgarian amendment as a whole was rejected by 45 votes to 22, with 30 abstentions.

83. Article I, sub-paragraph (c) of the text submitted by the Commission on Human Rights was adopted by 86 votes to 2, with 7 abstentions.

#### Sub-paragraph (d)

84. The <u>Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic</u> proposed an amendment (A/C.3/L.1464) to insert in sub-paragraph (d) the words "and schools from the Church" after the words "separation of Church from State".

85. The <u>United States of America</u> (A/C.3/L.1488) proposed to sub-amend the Byelorussian text by replacing the words "schools from the Church" by the words "the existence of a system of public education independent of any religion or belief".

86. <u>Pakistan</u> proposed (A/C.3/L.1480) to amend sub-paragraph (d) by replacing the word "specific" between the words "of" and "provisions" by the word "the". 87. <u>Syria</u> proposed (A/C.3/L.1484) to delete the word "specific" before the word "provisions". This amendment was withdrawn at the 1511th meeting. 88. At the 1511th meeting, the Committee voted on article I, sub-paragraph (d) of the text submitted by the Commission on Human Rights and the amendments thereto as follows:

(a) At the request of the representative of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic a separate vote was taken on the words "or belief" at the end of the United States sub-amendment to the Byelorussian amendment (see paragraph 85 above) and the words were retained by 41 votes to 14, with 37 abstentions.

(b) The United States sub-amendment to the Byelcrussian amendment was adopted by 33 votes to 30, with 41 abstentions.

(c) The Byelorussian amendment, as sub-amended, was rejected by 38 votes to 29, with 21 abstentions.

(d) The amendment of Pakistan (see paragraph 86) was adopted by 73 votes to 5, with 16 abstentions.

(e) Article I, sub-paragraph (d), as amended, was adopted by 92 votes to 8, with 1 abstention.

# Adoption of article I

89. Article I, as a whole, as amended, was adopted by 91 votes to 2, with 6 abstentions.

90. The text of article I, as adopted, reads as follows:

"For the purpose of this Convention:

"(a) The expression 'religion or belief' shall include theistic, non-theistic and atheistic beliefs;

/ ...

> "(b) The expression 'discrimination on the ground of religion or belief' shall mean any distinction, exclusion, restriction or preference based on religion or belief which has the purpose or effect of nullifying or impairing the recognition, enjoyment of exercise, on an equal footing, of human rights and fundamental freedoms in the political, ecomomic, social, cultural or any other field of public life;

"(<u>c</u>) The expression 'religious intolerance' shall mean intolerance in matters of religion or belief;

"(<u>d</u>) Neither the establishment of a religion nor the recognition of a religion or belief by a State nor the separation of Church from State and the existence of a system of public education independent of any religion or belief shall by itself be considered religious intolerance or discrimination on the ground of religion or belief; provided that this paragraph shall not be construed as permitting violation of the provisions of this Convention".

#### IV. ADOPTION OF A DRAFT RESOLUTION RELATING TO FURTHER CONSIDERATION OF THE ITEM

91. At the 1511th meeting of the Committee, <u>India</u>, <u>Nigeria</u>, the <u>United Arab</u> <u>Republic</u> and <u>Pakistan</u> submitted a draft resolution (A/C.3/L.1487/Rev.1) which read as follows:

"The General Assembly,

"Recalling its resolutions 1781 (XVII) of 7 December 1962 and 2020 (XX) of 1 November 1965,

"Noting that the Third Committee has adopted the preamble and article I of the draft Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Intolerance and of Discrimination based on Religion or Belief,

"Noting further the decision of the Third Committee not to mention any example of religious intolerance in this Convention,

"<u>Having been unable</u> to complete the consideration of the draft Convention due to the lack of time,

"Decides to accord priority to the item entitled 'Elimination of all forms of religious intolerance' during its twenty-third session with a view to completing the consideration of the draft International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Intolerance and of Discrimination based on Religion or Belief if possible during that session."

92. An amendment submitted by Iran (A/C.3/L.1490) calling for the insertion of the words "its heavy agenda and" between the words "due to" and "the lack of time" was accepted by the sponsors.

93. <u>Guatemala</u> and <u>Mexico</u> jointly proposed an amendment (A/C.3/L.1491) to the draft resolution calling for the replacement of the second and third paragraphs of the preamble by the following text:

"Bearing in mind the decisions of the Third Committee at the twenty-second session on the item 'Elimination of all forms of religious intolerance' and the votes by which those decisions were adopted;"

and the replacement of the fourth paragraph by the following:

"<u>Considering</u> that the Third Committee has been unable to complete the consideration of the draft Convention during the twenty-second session owing to the lack of time and its heavy agenda;".

1...

94. At the 1513th meeting, India, Nigeria, Pakistan and the United Arab Republic further revised (A/C.3/L.1487/Rev.2) their draft resolution by the replacement of the second and third preambular paragraphs by a single paragraph, reading as follows:

"Bearing in mind the decisions of the Third Committee: (a) not to mention any specific examples of religious intolerance in the draft International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Intolerance and Discrimination based on Religion or Belief,

"(b) regarding the title, the preamble and article I of the draft Convention".

95. At the same meeting, Guatemala and Mexico withdrew their amendment.
96. Also at the 1513th meeting, <u>Ceylon</u> submitted another draft resolution (A/C.3/L.1492/Rev.1) which read as follows:

"The General Assembly,

"Recalling its resolution 1781 (XVII) of 7 December 1962,

"Noting that, in its resolution 2081 (XX), the General Assembly decided to hasten the conclusion of the draft International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Religious Intolerance so that it may be opened for ratification and accession if possible before 1968,

"Noting also that the Third Committee has been able to adopt only the preamble and article I of the draft Convention and could not complete the draft Convention,

"1. <u>Decides</u> to give due priority to the consideration of the draft Declaration on the Elimination of All Forms of Religious Intolerance;

"2. <u>Requests</u> the Commission on Human Rights to complete the consideration of the draft Declaration so as to enable the General Assembly to consider the same at the earliest possible opportunity."

97. At the 1514th meeting, India, Nigeria, Pakistan and the United Arab Republic accepted some of the proposals made by Ceylon and revised the operative part of their draft resolution (A/C.3/L.1487/Rev.2) to read as follows:

"<u>Decides</u> to accord priority to the item 'Elimination of all forms of religious intolerance: (a) Draft Declaration on the Elimination of All Forms of Religious Intolerance; (b) Draft International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Religious Intolerance', during its twenty-third session".

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98. In this connexion, it was pointed out that under the new draft resolution, the General Assembly would decide to accord priority at its twenty-third session to the item as it appeared in the agenda of the twenty-second session, subject to a possible change in the wording to take account of the Committee's decisions concerning the title of the Convention. With regard to the work programme of the Commission on Human Rights, it was pointed out that the question of the Declaration and that of the Convention would remain on the Commission's agenda in order to make it possible for the Commission, within the framework of its activities, to furnish to the General Assembly any further assistance in the consideration of the item.

99. At the 1514th meeting, the Committee adopted the revised draft resolution (A/C.3/L.1487/Rev.2) by 96 votes to none, with 1 abstention.

# V. RECOMMENDATION OF THE THIRD COMMITTEE

100. The Third Committee recommends to the General Assembly the adoption of the following draft resolution:

# Elimination of all forms of religious intolerance

The General Assembly,

<u>Recalling</u> its resolutions 1781 (XVII) of 7 December 1962 and 2020 (XX) of 1 November 1965,

Bearing in mind the decisions of the Third Committee:

(a) Not to mention any specific examples of religious intolerance in the draft International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Intolerance and Discrimination based on religion or belief,

(b) To amend the title, the preamble and article I of the draft Convention, proposed by the Commission on Human Rights,

Having been unable to complete the consideration of the draft Convention owing to its heavy agenda and the lack of time,

<u>Decides</u> to accord priority during its twenty-third session to the item entitled:

"Elimination of all forms of religious intolerance:

- "(a) Draft Declaration on the Elimination of All Forms of Religious Intolerance;
- "(b) Draft International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Intolerance and of Discrimination based on Religion or Belief."

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