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President: Mr. Adam MALIK (Indonesia).

Special meeting on the International Year for Action to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination

1. The PRESIDENT: I call to order the special meeting of the General Assembly convened in accordance with the programme for the celebration of the International Year for Action to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination,¹ approved by the General Assembly in resolution 2544 (XXIV).

2. Members will recall that the General Assembly, in that resolution, reaffirmed its resolve to achieve the total and unconditional elimination of racism and racial discrimination. During 1971, the International Year for Action to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination, significant progress has been achieved, and many peoples of the world have become increasingly involved in the struggle to end racism and racial discrimination. However, there have also been setbacks, and, as the International Year draws to a close, we realize with regret that its goals are still far from having been achieved. Ideologies and practices based on racial intolerance continue to be manifested in some parts of the world, and even greater and more vigorous efforts will be required if they are to be eradicated from this earth within our lifetime.

3. I now call on Her Royal Highness Princess Ashraf Pahlavi of Iran, former Chairman of the Commission on Human Rights and of the Commission on the Status of Women.

4. Princess Ashraf PAHLAVI (Iran) (*interpretation from French*): Speaking on a subject which is as serious as it is sad, I should like at the outset to mention the great International Conference on Human Rights. As you know, the idea of observing an international year for action to combat racism and racial discrimination goes back to the International Conference on Human Rights, held at Teheran from 22 April to 13 May 1968. That Conference was entrusted with the task of undertaking a close scrutiny of all achievements in the field of human rights since the adoption of the Universal Declaration on Human Rights, and specifically of intensifying action against racism in all

¹ See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-fourth Session, Annexes*, agenda item 55, document A/7649, section II, suggestion B (a).

its guises. Far from being satisfied with the resolutions adopted in this connexion, the Conference wanted to show its desire to see the effort of the international community followed without interruption, by effective measures, and requested the Secretary-General, in consultation with Member States, to prepare the outline of a programme for an international year for action to combat racism and racial discrimination.²

5. The decision of the General Assembly by which the year 1971 was proclaimed International Year for Action to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination [*resolution 2544 (XXIV)*] reflects the deep concern felt by the international community because of the persistence of policies and manifestations of racial discrimination still surviving in the world.

6. Indeed, any discrimination against human beings is unjustified in itself and discrimination based on the notion of race is, further, fundamentally absurd. To say that a man, a woman or a child is inferior to another simply because of the colour of the skin, or any other ethnic characteristic, can only be the sign of a deranged mind and of a mental aberration. To apply repressive measures on this basis is a criminal act which must be condemned by the international community.

7. The tragic consequences of such aberrations appear throughout the history of mankind, and the horror and shame felt after the racist excesses which accompanied the Second World War explain the priority granted by our Organization since its inception to the fight against this scourge. Iran, where racial discrimination has never existed, is proud to have made a militant contribution to this action in international bodies. It was in this spirit that on 29 August 1968 we adhered to the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination [*resolution 2106 A (XX), annex*].

8. During the International Year for Action to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination, many programmes have been carried on radio, on television and in the press in Iran. This massive campaign has made it possible to underline the misdeeds of racism and racial discrimination in all its forms and especially of *apartheid*, which is one of the most reprehensible manifestations of this policy.

9. We wish to insist especially on the educational role which the international community must assume in this field. It is from earliest childhood that the notion of the unity of the human race and the equality of men must be inculcated.

² *Final Act of the International Conference on Human Rights* (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.68.XIV.2) chap. III, resolution XXIV.

10. It is obvious that the International Year will not put an end to this scourge so deeply rooted in some peoples and sometimes underlying the policies of others, but the merit of this Year is to have caused greater awareness, and led to the taking up of firm positions. The fact that it was proclaimed and has been fervently welcomed makes it possible to hope that it will not have been held in vain.

11. In order more speedily to attain the noble objective which we wish to achieve, we must, as was said by the Secretary-General in his message of 15 March 1971:

“...redouble our efforts to achieve these goals. Education and information are powerful instruments which must be used to promote understanding, tolerance and friendship among nations, communities and individuals. At the national level, we must urge the adoption and genuine enforcement of legislation prohibiting racial discrimination; every one of us can play a personal part in combating policies and practices which have the effect of creating or perpetuating discrimination. As citizens of the world, we must support the United Nations and other international organizations in their efforts to identify the measures which are still required to hasten the total elimination of racial discrimination in all its forms and manifestations and to build up a universal community truly consistent with the sacred principle of the unity of the human race and the equality of all its members.”

12. The year 1971, devoted to the fight against racism and racial discrimination, is coming to an end, but those noble words of the Secretary-General remain true and urgent. It is in the deep conviction of the truth of these principles that we must tirelessly continue our efforts and seize every opportunity to fight racial discrimination in all its forms and manifestations until the day when this scourge will for ever have been eradicated from our planet.

13. The PRESIDENT: I now call on Mrs. Helvi Sipilä of Finland, Chairman of the Third Committee.

14. Mrs. SIPILÄ (Finland): At a time when events give proof of the insufficient fulfilment of the foremost reason for the foundation of the United Nations, when international peace and security has not been maintained all over the world, and when criticism directed to this failure results in expressions of doubts in which even the mere existence of the United Nations is sometimes challenged—at this time such criticism should be seen also in relation to the fulfilment of the purposes and principles of this Organization in other fields.

15. As means for the maintenance of peace, the Charter, in Article 1, paragraph 1, mentions:

“... collective measures for the prevention and removal of threats to the peace ... to bring about by peaceful means ... adjustment or settlement of international disputes or situations which might lead to a breach of the peace”.

16. The Charter sets out, among its principal purposes, the achievement of international co-operation in solving international problems of an economic, social, cultural or humanitarian character, and the promotion and encourage-

ment of respect for human rights and for fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language or religion. Achievements in the above-mentioned fields were not, however, explicitly defined as pre-conditions for peace in the Charter itself. The interdependence of those targets and peace in the world was stated three years later in the first preambular paragraph of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, which says:

“... recognition of the inherent dignity and of the equal and inalienable rights of all members of the human family is the foundation of freedom, justice and peace in the world”.

17. In the course of the elaboration of international law in the field of human rights, the denial of human rights and the principle of non-discrimination in various fields was considered to be a threat to world peace. In the United Nations Declaration on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination, adopted in 1963, [resolution 1904 (XVIII)], the United Nations solemnly proclaimed that:

“Discrimination between human beings on the ground of race, colour, or ethnic origin is an ... obstacle to friendly and peaceful relations among nations and ... a fact capable of disturbing peace and security among peoples.”

18. The same expression may be found in the international convention on the same subject which was adopted in 1965³ and came into force at the beginning of 1969. That Convention has now been ratified or acceded to by 57 Member States. The Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination, established by that Convention, has submitted its second report to the twenty-sixth session of the General Assembly in a year specially devoted to action to combat racism and racial discrimination.

19. When evaluating the past achievements of our Organization in the field of human rights, the coming into force of the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination and the creation of a new implementing machinery must be regarded as one of the most important of such achievements. The last quarter-century—the age of the United Nations—has seen the coming into being of a machinery that, I believe, will effectively deal with the inequalities based on race that have prevailed in the past. Nevertheless, since that Convention has not been ratified or acceded to even by one half of the total membership of the United Nations, much remains to be done. Much is needed everywhere for the implementation of the requirements of this Convention. It is, therefore, important that the International Year for Action to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination should not be observed as just one more year among many others devoted to various purposes. As requested in a resolution adopted during this session of the General Assembly only two days ago, it should be

“... the opening year of an ever-growing struggle against racial discrimination in all its forms and manifestations and for the purpose of promoting international

³ International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination (resolution 2106 A (XX)).

solidarity with all those struggling against racism" [*resolution 2784 (XXVI)*].

20. Further activities are now requested for launching continued international action to combat racism on the basis of a "Decade for vigorous and continued mobilization against racism and racial discrimination in all its forms", as called for in paragraph 3 of resolution 2784 I (XXVI).

21. At the same time as racial discrimination in all its forms is declared a criminal affront to the conscience and dignity of mankind, the General Assembly has also reaffirmed that *apartheid* is a crime against humanity [*resolution 2784 II (XXVI)*]. It was decided to send a special message to the Head of State or Government of each State, and it was asked that the text be transmitted to the legislative, administrative, judicial, educational and trade-union bodies of each country, as well as to the mass information media, in order to ensure the continuation of the world campaign against racial discrimination [*resolution 2784 (XXVI), annex*].

22. Another resolution requests the implementation of a programme of political, social, cultural and economic redress to improve the conditions of those suffering from the effects of past and present policies of racial discrimination [*resolution 2785 (XXVI)*]. It also contains a special appeal for urgent attention to the problems involved in the education of youth in the spirit of world peace, justice, mutual respect and understanding, as well as the value and the dignity of the human person.

23. When the United Nations is criticized, people in the world very often consider it an ineffective organization and fail to identify themselves with the concept of the United Nations. It is often forgotten that the United Nations is what we—all of us thousands of millions of human beings in the world—want it to be.

24. It is by the action of Governments, organizations and individuals—especially those who have leading roles in the local, national or international community—that we can make it understood that the United Nations is something much wider than just some thousands of human beings connected visibly with it. We are all responsible for the achievements of the targets of the United Nations, and this joint responsibility is one of the unifying factors for all of us, for all mankind.

25. As we end this International Year and launch a new decade for action to combat racial discrimination, let us express our firm belief that there will be no need for continuing this combat for any further decade. Let us hope that the human mind will soon be changed to realize the dignity and value of every human being, irrespective of race, colour, sex, language and religion. That is not, to my mind, an expression of wishful thinking if the peoples of the world, and in particular the youth of today, are efficiently educated in the real spirit of the United Nations Charter and the internationally accepted standards for equality among persons all over the world.

26. The PRESIDENT: I call on Mr. Andrés Aguilar of Venezuela, Chairman of the Commission on Human Rights.

27. Mr. AGUILAR (Venezuela) (*interpretation from Spanish*): We are a few days from the end of 1971, a year that was proclaimed by the General Assembly in resolution 2544 (XXIV) as the International Year for Action to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination.

28. As yet, we do not have all the information necessary to draw up a complete balance sheet of the results obtained in the course of this year, but there can be no doubt that, thanks to the efforts of a number of Member States, of the United Nations itself, of its specialized agencies, of the regional organizations, of numerous non-governmental organizations and of men and women of good will all over the world, those results are positive.

29. Eleven States—Cameroon, the Central African Republic, Chile, France, Jamaica, Lesotho, Lebanon, Malta, Nepal, Peru and Sweden—have all become parties to the International Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Racial Discrimination [*resolution 2106 A (XX), annex*], which is doubtless the most important instrument of the United Nations dealing with this subject. Other States have ratified other international Conventions seeking the same goal, such as the International Covenants on Civil and Political Rights and on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights [*resolution 2200 A (XXI), annex*], the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide [*resolution 260 A (III)*], the Slavery Convention of 1926, the 1958 ILO Discrimination in Employment and Occupation Convention and the UNESCO Convention against Discrimination in Education.

30. In the course of this year, significant results have also been achieved in the investigation of the causes and effects of racial discrimination and of suitable means to combat it. On this subject, special mention must be made of the study prepared by the Special Rapporteur of the Sub-Commission on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities,⁴ Mr. Hernán Santa Cruz of Chile, which was also discussed at the twenty-seventh session of the Commission on Human Rights.

31. Notable progress has also been achieved in education, particularly among youths, and in respect for the fundamental rights and freedom of mankind. Through the regular teaching courses, in conferences, seminars and talks and through the use of the mass media of information, much has been done to combat theories, ideas and prejudices which lead to racial discrimination and to create the awareness that the elimination of this type of discrimination is basic in order to establish the full dignity and fundamental freedom of human beings and to encourage mutual understanding, tolerance, respect and friendship among different racial and ethnic groups and among nations.

32. We should make special mention of the efforts and activities of the United Nations and its specialized agencies. In the United Nations itself, which has a very long and distinguished history in this matter, the General Assembly, the Economic and Social Council, the Trusteeship Council, the Commission on Human Rights, the Sub-Commission on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities,

⁴ *Racial Discrimination* (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.71.XIV.2).

have all made a contribution to the holding of this International Year.

33. A few moments ago the representative of Finland, the Chairman of the Third Committee, very briefly but very clearly defined for us the scope of some of the resolutions adopted by the General Assembly on the recommendation of its Third Committee at the present session.

34. Obviously, from a list of organs playing a direct part in the holding of this International Year, we cannot omit to mention other organs which have direct responsibility, such as the Special Committee on *Apartheid*, or organs which are very closely linked to the struggle against racial discrimination, as is the case with the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, also known as the Committee of 24, and also of the United Nations Council for Namibia.

35. In all these main and subsidiary bodies of the United Nations the holding of this International Year for Action to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination has led not only to special acts and ceremonies devoted to this matter, but also to the adoption of new measures intended to improve and intensify the efforts of the Organization in this important field of activities.

36. Each, within the field of its own competence, during its regular sessions this year, has carried out an examination and study of the measures and decisions adopted thus far to eliminate racial discrimination, in order to assess their effectiveness and the degree of implementation of those decisions and to identify the obstacles in its path and decide on measures to be adopted to overcome them and obtain better results.

37. Under the direction and with the constant encouragement of Secretary-General U Thant, the Secretariat, particularly the Division of Human Rights, has made an important contribution to this effort. Within the programme of assistance in the field of human rights much has been done.

38. Equal praise has been earned by the United Nations Department of Public Information to show world public opinion the evils of *apartheid*, discrimination and racial segregation. The preparation and dissemination of pamphlets, magazines and radio and television programmes on these grave problems, as well as the different international instruments which seek to eliminate discrimination have also been a very positive contribution.

39. The specialized agencies, particularly the ILO and UNESCO, have also made valuable contributions to the achievement of the objectives of the International Year for Action to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination.

40. But to carry out a detailed examination of the activities undertaken by these specialized agencies, by the regional organizations, by non-governmental organizations would make this statement too lengthy and prolix. We shall therefore at the moment limit ourselves to expressing our profound appreciation for the contribution they have all made to the common endeavour to eliminate all forms and manifestations of racial discrimination and racial intoler-

ance which have caused and are causing so much trouble to the world.

41. From all I have said, it must be gathered that, although spectacular results may not have been achieved in the course of this year, the balance of the work done, both within and outside the United Nations, has been positive.

42. We know, of course, that much has still to be done, for, to eliminate such a deeply rooted evil as racial discrimination is not the work of a day, of a year, or even of a decade. Unfortunately, there are still those who believe in the false theories of the superiority of certain racial or ethnic groups over others, and to a greater or lesser extent many people in different parts of the world still nurture prejudices and ideas that encourage racial intolerance and create difficult and dangerous situations.

43. The situation in southern Africa is particularly grave. In South Africa there is still pitilessly applied the odious policy of *apartheid* in open challenge to hundreds of United Nations resolutions and to resolute world public opinion. In Rhodesia a minority Government upholds and practices the policy of open discrimination against the majority of the people of Zimbabwe.

44. Furthermore, in Africa and other continents there are still people who are denied the right of self-determination and we know of the close link that existed in the past, and still exists to a certain extent today, between colonialism and racial discrimination.

45. We would be guilty of naïveté were we to believe that these and other problems are easily and quickly settled. The International Year for Action to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination is not, and cannot be, a miraculous cure for such extensive ills as these. If you like, it has been a stage; it has given us a breathing space so that, without stopping, we can assess what has been done thus far and plan what must be done in the future for more rapid and effective results.

46. What is true is that the struggle against racism and racial intolerance is one of the most important aspects of our struggle for peace and security in the world.

47. In the Declaration on the Occasion of the Twenty-fifth Anniversary of the United Nations [resolution 2627 (XXV)], particularly in its paragraphs 7 and 8, the importance of this undertaking is stressed. But it is particularly in the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security [resolution 2734 (XXV)], one of the most important documents adopted in the first quarter century of the life of the Organization, that the role played by respect for human rights and the elimination of racism and racial discrimination in matters of international security is highlighted most clearly.

48. In paragraph 22 of the latter Declaration, the General Assembly solemnly reaffirmed

“that universal respect for and full exercise of human rights and fundamental freedoms and the elimination of the violation of those rights are urgent and essential to the strengthening of international security, and hence resolutely condemns all forms of oppression, tyranny and

discrimination, particularly racism and racial discrimination, wherever they occur”.

49. As can be seen, our Organization is fully aware of the importance of the undertaking. In the course of its first 25 years of existence and under its auspices, very important international instruments have been prepared that define and develop the principles contained in the Charter. The Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the Covenants on Civil and Political Rights and on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, the United Nations Declaration on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination, and the international Convention on that matter are all indisputably important steps.

50. What we need now is the speedy ratification of these and other international instruments on the part of all States, or the great majority of them, and then their effective and universal application. We must also intensify our efforts to create among all men and women of the world the understanding and the conviction that any theory of racial superiority, any doctrine based on racial differentiation is, as the General Assembly itself has proclaimed, scientifically false, morally reprehensible, socially unjust and dangerous, and that nothing can justify racial discrimination either in theory or in practice.

51. The PRESIDENT: I call on Mr. Abdulrahim Abby Farah of Somalia, Chairman of the Special Committee on *Apartheid*.

52. Mr. FARAH (Somalia): On this occasion, which marks the close of the United Nations international year for the elimination of racial discrimination, the central thought of Member States should be that this past year does not signify the end or culmination of the international campaign. Its purpose is to initiate a new phase of the struggle to end racial discrimination—a phase in which the problem of racism will be tackled with renewed determination and redoubled efforts.

53. Over the centuries, the thinkers of each age have attempted to deal with the human condition by the formulation of moral, philosophical and political ideals. The Universal Declaration of Human Rights is the highest expression of the moral and political philosophy of our times. Article 1 of that Declaration lays down the fundamental principle that “All human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights”. The practice of racial discrimination attacks that dignity and inevitably undermines those rights. Article 2 states that everyone is entitled to all the rights and freedoms set forth in the Declaration without distinction of race and colour. It is therefore clear, that, if the need to fight racism cannot be discerned through the natural law that moves the consciences of men, this need and duty is rooted in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights which the world community is pledged to uphold.

54. Unfortunately, while principles are easily stated it is no easy matter to change the minds and hearts of men so that principles can be translated into practice. It is the task of the international campaign against racism, to change the minds and hearts of men, who, as the Declaration states, are endowed with reason and conscience and should therefore act towards each other in a spirit of brotherhood.

55. A strong motivation of prejudice based on racial differences is fear and suspicion of the unknown. One of the hopeful features of the world campaign is that it has never been more possible than at the present time to make people known to each other so that ignorance and suspicion and fear might be dispelled. The mass communications media have immense potential in this regard, and the United Nations itself with its almost universal membership and its far-reaching administrative organization is uniquely equipped to play a central role in this task.

56. It is also true, however, that greed and the lust for power are equally strong motivations for racial discrimination, and these forces are not so readily combated. As we know, these are the main forces behind the most virulent form of racial discrimination that exists, namely, the system of *apartheid* imposed on the non-white people of South Africa. These forces, it is sad to state, also motivate those Member States—South Africa's main trading partners—which contribute to the entrenchment of *apartheid*.

57. It sometimes seems that the task of fighting an evil which has its basis in some of the fundamental flaws of the human character is a hopeless one. It is easy to be discouraged by the steady increase of the trading, commercial and diplomatic involvement of Member States with South Africa. It is easy to be discouraged by the actions of those States which mistakenly believe that dialogue with South Africa, conducted on terms which exclude the participation of the non-white people, will somehow serve to weaken *apartheid*. Such actions, of course, have the effect of undermining the international campaign. It is easy to be discouraged by the increasingly severe application of *apartheid* in South Africa, a process which is backed by all the force of a militant police State.

58. But there are also hopeful signs, signs that people—individual people, student groups, non-governmental organizations, sports organizations, Church groups—are taking up the challenge which so many of their Governments have failed to take up. The United Nations, on this day and on every succeeding day, must continue to relay the message, and to remind itself, that the day must never come when no voices are raised in protest against injustice because there seem to be few results from protest. The moral force of strong and continued protest against injustice cannot be measured; it works in mysterious ways and is never without effect—this is one of the lessons of history. Of course, moral protest becomes more effective if it can be backed by practical measures. The United Nations has repeatedly called for the political, social, economic as well as the moral isolation of the régime of South Africa in its efforts to bring to an end the great crime against humanity that is being perpetrated in that country. And time is against us. Changing the minds and hearts of men is a slow process, which may at any time be overtaken by the tragedy of large-scale race conflict. But our efforts toward increasing the tempo of change must not be relaxed. And in this respect we must make full use of education and the mass communications media to promote not only racial tolerance and racial understanding, but also racial harmony and racial co-operation. As Ambassador Edvard Hambro, the former President of the General Assembly, indicated in his message to the international community earlier this year:

“As citizens of our various countries, we can press for laws to defend racial equality and for the full application

of existing statutes. We can join organizations which fight discrimination. We can oppose and seek to remedy racial inequities as we come across them in our communities and in our professional and personal lives.”

59. While there is hope that the young people of today—the leaders of tomorrow—are more attuned to the needs of a new world order based on the Charter and the Universal Declaration, the time for action is now. It cannot be deferred. The moral challenge and the danger to peace and security presented by racial discrimination has to be faced and met by the leaders and people of today. In this respect the United Nations has a central role to play. We must make this Organization the co-ordinating centre for the world campaign against racism: it must be an Organization to which oppressed people can turn in hope and not be driven away by despair. This is the message of the International Year for Action to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination.

60. The PRESIDENT: The next speaker is Mr. Károly Szarka of Hungary, Vice-President of the Economic and Social Council and Chairman of its Social Committee.

61. Mr. SZARKA (Hungary): We are on the eve of the conclusion of an important and very useful stage in the constant fight against racial discrimination, the International Year for Action to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination. The achievements of this campaign have been amply summarized in the report of the Secretary-General [*A/8367 and Add.1 and 2*] and they have also been reflected in the statements we have just heard.

62. Speaking in my capacity as Vice-President of the Economic and Social Council, as well as on behalf of the East European socialist countries, I wish to emphasize that this International Year has been but one stage in that constant and dedicated struggle that has been carried on by the United Nations for many years now in order to eliminate one of the most serious evils in contemporary human society: racial discrimination and racist ideology.

63. The seriousness of this problem is also shown by the fact that many United Nations organs, including the Economic and Social Council, of course, have been continuously engaged in deliberations on the subject, in examining, debating and adopting numerous resolutions aimed at the elimination of all forms of racial discrimination wherever it exists. Although roughly a decade ago one chapter of human history which had been characterized by the widespread manifestation of genuine racial discrimination, that is the colonial era, was officially terminated, the remnants of its darkness still exist in certain parts of the world. In this context the responsibility of the former colonial Powers which planted and disseminated the idea and practice of racial discrimination is a case in point—but that has already been sufficiently underlined by historians, among others.

64. Our task here is to concentrate our attention and combine our efforts in order to eliminate the present manifestations of racism and the existing policies and practices of racial discrimination. To that end we may assess the International Year to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination as a successful year of activities. It gave

fresh impetus to the overwhelming majority of nations in their educational, legislative and even political activities to prevent and combat racism and racial discrimination within their own spheres. In the light of those accomplishments we commend the initiative and highly appreciate the activities of both the United Nations family and the large number of individual States which have observed the International Year seriously and usefully.

65. Assessing the present situation, however, we regret to note that, in spite of our combined efforts, no success in eliminating racial discrimination has been achieved in those parts of the world where the most vicious and criminal forms of racism are being practised. From the point of view of the United Nations, and particularly from that of the objectives of the International Year for Action to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination, it is even more tragic that such crimes against humanity as *apartheid* in South Africa are perpetrated, with the direct or indirect assistance of certain Powers. At the close of the International Year we have to stress again that the hypocritical attitude and obstructionist policies of those Powers towards the fundamental rights of people oppressed by the racist régimes, and also towards the legitimate demands of the large majority of nations, are the main reason for the failure of the United Nations to reach any positive results in curbing the racist criminals and eliminating racial discrimination in the southern part of Africa in the past 10 years, 1971 included.

66. My country, like most of the countries of Europe, having had direct and very painful experiences of the criminal Nazi racial practices, still well remembers that such policies can cause immeasurable sufferings, not only to those directly oppressed and persecuted by them, but also to the whole of mankind. It is because of that experience that the socialist countries have always been in the vanguard of the struggle against all forms and manifestations of racial discrimination and similar totalitarian ideologies, whether they appear under the cloak of *apartheid* or as a revival of Nazi ideas, or disguised in any other form of exploitation or suppression. Our alertness in the face of the occurrence of any form of racial discrimination not only has been embodied in basic legislative instruments but also is manifested in our educational and administrative activities. And I may add that it is those positive attitudes and activities that could have been reported by the Secretary-General in document A/8367 and Add.1 and 2 in respect of those socialist countries which are still deprived of the opportunity of participating in the action of the United Nations against racial discrimination.

67. Despite the efforts of the majority of the nations of the world, and numerous actions by the United Nations, the ideology and practice of racial discrimination still exist. A number of Member States have not yet adhered to the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination [*resolution 2106 A (XX), annex*]. Yet we believe that the International Year for Action to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination has been another important demonstration of the anti-racist forces. It has helped us a great deal in appraising the positive actions taken by Governments against racial discrimination, as well as in order to find new grounds for extended co-operation, which we really need in order to achieve further results.

68. Needless to say, at the close of the International Year our struggle against racism will by no means come to an end. On the contrary, it will be encouraged and stimulated by the honest and serious attitude of those who, not only in words but also, and first of all, in deeds, stand by the spirit of the International Year. We are aware of our limitations here at the United Nations but now, with the experience of the International Year, we know also our potentialities. We are convinced that we can and must go forward in the struggle to eliminate finally all forms of racial discrimination from the face of the earth.

69. The PRESIDENT: On behalf of the Secretary-General of the United Nations, Mr. I. S. Djermakoye, Under-Secretary-General for Trusteeship and Non-Self-Governing Territories, will make a statement. I now call upon him.

70. Mr. DJERMAKOYE (Under-Secretary-General for Trusteeship and Non-Self-Governing Territories) (*interpretation from French*): The Secretary-General has requested me to read the following message:

"We are coming to the close of the International Year for Action to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination. This special meeting is one of the last among the programmes and activities which, in accordance with decisions of the General Assembly, have been undertaken to commemorate the Year. The General Assembly, by pausing as it does now in its extremely heavy schedule, demonstrates its deep concern over the continuing existence of racism and racial discrimination which not only degrade those who are their victims but which may seriously jeopardize world peace and the security of peoples.

"I have already reported to the General Assembly on the observance of the International Year for Action to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination. The programmes and activities undertaken were impressive both in number and in quality. They have improved the position in many areas, but they have not yet destroyed the malignant growth of racial discrimination. Racism and racial discrimination subsist in many parts of the world. Some States have not responded fully to the call of the Assembly for action against countries practising policies

of racial discrimination and *apartheid*; others have not dealt adequately with manifestations of racial prejudice within their borders.

"But one cannot fail to be impressed by the widespread response, at short notice, to the call issued by the General Assembly. Most Member States, and nearly all competent elements within the United Nations family, gave support to the commemoration of the International Year, and made it a significant landmark in the world-wide struggle to eradicate racism and racial discrimination. There is ground for satisfaction in the results achieved, although they still fall short of our goal.

"That goal, I need hardly say again, is to eradicate racism and racial discrimination once and for all: to reduce it to a shameful memory. It is a goal to be pursued with every resource at our command.

"Therefore I join with those who call for a full-scale mobilization of world public opinion to create universal disapproval of all forms of racism and racial discrimination, and for practical measures at all levels, national and international, to ensure the implementation of United Nations recommendations designed to end those evils.

"Certainly we cannot afford to relax our efforts when this special meeting ends, or when 1971 draws to a close. The International Year for Action to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination must be recognized as only a step, although a significant one, in the struggle which must not be ended until all peoples, everywhere, enjoy all the human rights and fundamental freedoms set out in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights without distinction as to race, colour, descent, or national or ethnic origin."

71. The PRESIDENT: I thank the Under-Secretary-General for Trusteeship and Non-Self-Governing Territories for the statement which he has delivered on behalf of the Secretary-General.

72. The special meeting is concluded.

The meeting rose at 1.05 p.m.

