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MS-603: Rabbi Marc H. Tanenbaum Collection, 1945-1992.

Series D: International Relations Activities. 1961-1992

Box 75, Folder 2, United Nations - declaration on elimination of religious intolerance, 1963-1965.

*Bishop Griffin  
Alba Zizania - MV-5-8791*

**THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE**

**date** December 11, 1963  
**to** Marc Tanenbaum  
**from** Sidney Liskofsky  
**subject** UN Declaration on the Elimination of All Forms of Religious Intolerance.

The key Protestant group with consultative status at the UN, is the Commission of the Churches on International Affairs (CCIA), whose officers include: <sup>Director</sup> Rev. Frederick Nolde; Executive - Secretary, Dr. Fagley; Secretary of NY Office, A Dominique Micheli. In arranging an inter-faith consultation on this subject, I would approach particularly Dr. Fagley and Mr. Micheli. (If in addition, you want to involve US Protestant representatives, I would speak to Kenneth Maxwell, Executive Director, or Vernon Ferwerda, Director of Washington Office of the National Council of Churches' Commission of the Churches on International Affairs. In the interest of speed and simplicity, it may be best to limit yourself to the international group.)

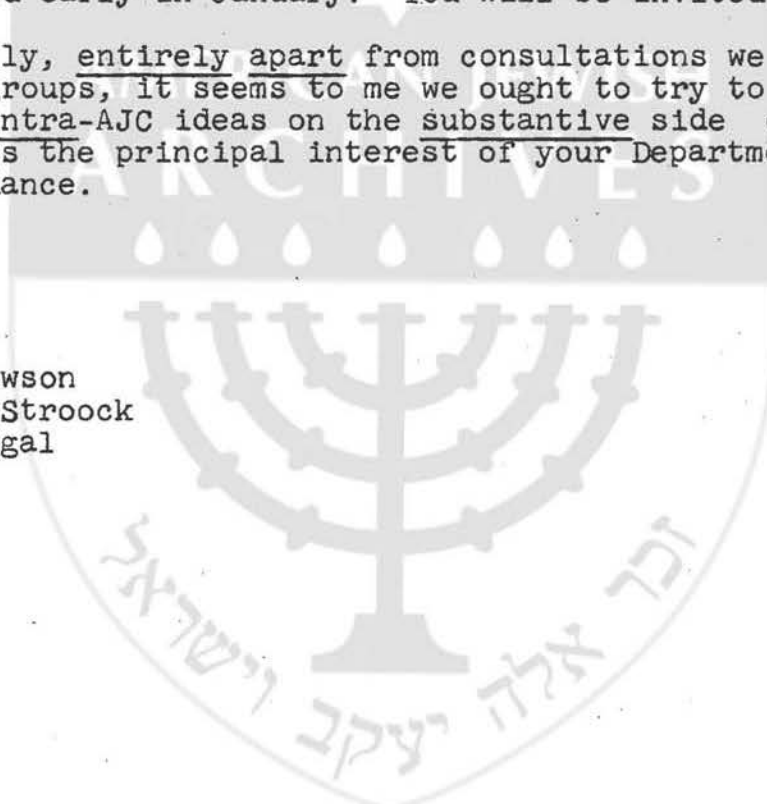
The Catholic picture is more complicated, since there are over a dozen Catholic organizations accredited to the UN in various categories. However, my impression is that in the sphere of the Human Rights Commission and the Sub-Commission on Discrimination and Minorities, the most active groups have been those with which Catherine Shaeffer is associated, i.e., National Catholic Welfare Conference, National Council of Catholic Women and the World Union of Catholic Women's Organizations (?); and the Pax Romana. I have also run across from time to time Dr. Longarzo, who (I believe but am not sure) represents the International Council of Catholic Charities. In the case of the Catholics, I <sup>would</sup> approach Miss Schaeffer's superior and an authoritative person in the Pax Romana.

Sincer the Sub-Commission session opens on January 13, if we are to make any impact, it is obviously important to convene as soon as possible, the kind of inter-faith meeting you envisage. Even if the session does not have time to confront issues pertaining ~~of~~ to the Declaration's substantive content, the Sub-Commission should at least make a start, possibly by designating a committee or rapporteur ~~to~~ bring in a draft for the session next year. Furthermore, if the Sub-Commission, because of the priority it is mandated to give to the racial discrimination Convention, does not get to the subject, we should at least try to be prepared for the Human Rights Commission, which starts <sup>its session</sup> immediately after the Sub-Commission ends.

I should add that whatever the outcome of your effort to convene an inter-faith meeting, the subject perforce will come up at other NGO meetings, which will discuss or even decide on certain initiatives. For example, the subject is on the agenda of the January 6, 2:30 P.M. meeting (at the Carnegie Endowment Building, 245 East, 46th Street, Conference room 1) of the NGO Committee on Human Rights Research, of which I am Chairman. Dominique Micheli of the CCIA and William Korey of B'nai B'rith will lead the discussion of this item. I invite you to attend. (The subject will probably also be discussed at the next meeting of AJC's Committee on International Organizations, which will probably be held early in January. You will be invited to attend)

Finally, entirely apart from consultations we may hold with other groups, it seems to me we ought to try to develop some of our own intra-AJC ideas on the substantive side of the subject. Since this is the principal interest of your Department, I look to you for guidance.

cc: John Slawson  
Alan M. Stroock  
Simon Segal



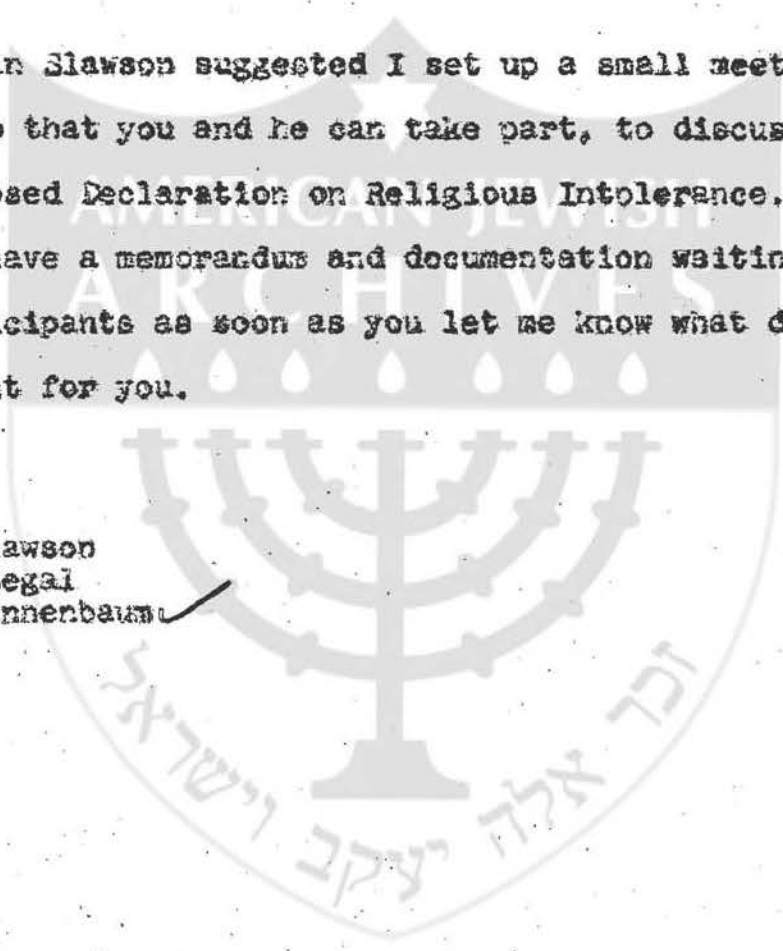
November 26, 1963

Morris B. Abram  
Sidney Liskofsky

John Slawson suggested I set up a small meeting, scheduled so that you and he can take part, to discuss the subject of the proposed Declaration on Religious Intolerance.

I have a memorandum and documentation waiting to be sent to the participants as soon as you let me know what date and hour is convenient for you.

cc: John Slawson  
Simon Segal  
Marc Tannenbaum ✓



Thus, the draft principles on freedom in the matter of religious rights set forth in the text of the Commission on Human Rights are already being applied in Luxembourg and are regarded as fundamental rights of Luxembourg citizens.

2. The Luxembourg Government wishes, however, to express reservations concerning part II, paragraph 10, of the Commission's draft which states that "No one shall be compelled to take an oath of a religious nature contrary to his convictions."

Under the Luxembourg Constitution, civil servants and members of the Chamber of Deputies, before taking office, must take the following oath: "I swear allegiance to the Grand Duke and obedience to the Constitution and the laws of the State. So help me God!"

The law requires that judicial oaths also include an invocation of the Deity, in the words "So help me God!"

The Luxembourg authorities consider that the invocation of the Deity is an essential feature of the oath and that the oath would lose its specific character and meaning if the above-quoted principle were enacted into law.

Moreover, it is clear from the proceedings of the Chamber of Deputies which adopted the Constitution and from the long-established practice of Luxembourg courts that the form of oath in use is not deemed to infringe the principles of freedom and non-discrimination in the matter of religious rights.

The invocation of the Deity cannot be considered an infringement of the freedom of citizens to express their religious opinions and to worship as they please, since it is not connected with the practice of any particular religion and does not require citizens to take the oath according to the ritual of any particular religion. As the invocation of the Deity, in itself, is common to all religions, the religious beliefs of all citizens are respected.

In view of the foregoing, the Ministry has the honour to inform the Secretary-General of the United Nations that, for reasons of principle, part II, paragraph 10, of the draft of the Commission on Human Rights is not acceptable to the Luxembourg Government, especially as part III, paragraph 1, provides that the freedom set out in it is not to be subject to any restrictions.

UNITED NATIONS  
ECONOMIC  
AND  
SOCIAL COUNCIL



Distr.  
GENERAL

E/CN.4/809/Add.5  
18 January 1961  
ENGLISH  
ORIGINAL: FRENCH

COMMISSION ON HUMAN RIGHTS  
Seventeenth session  
Item 6 (a) of the provisional agenda

DRAFT PRINCIPLES ON FREEDOM AND NON-DISCRIMINATION IN THE  
MATTER OF RELIGIOUS RIGHTS AND PRACTICES

Note by the Secretary-General

As requested in the first operative paragraph of resolution 4 (XVI), which the Commission adopted at its sixteenth session, the Secretary-General transmitted to the Governments of States Members of the United Nations and of the specialized agencies the text of the draft principles on freedom and non-discrimination in the matter of religious rights and practices drawn up by the Sub-Commission on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities (E/CN.4/800, para. 160, resolution 1 (XII), annex), so that they could submit their comments on the substance of the draft principles and the form in which such principles should be embodied.

The comments received from the Government of the Grand Duchy of Luxembourg are transmitted to the Commission herewith.

LUXEMBOURG

1. Article 19 of the Luxembourg Constitution provides that "The freedom of religion and public worship, and the right of every man to express his religious opinions are guaranteed, subject to the power to punish offences committed in the exercise of these liberties." Moreover, according to article 20 of the Constitution, "No person may in any way be forced to observe the acts or ceremonies of a religion".

UNITED NATIONS  
GENERAL  
ASSEMBLY



Distr.  
GENERAL

A/5459  
29 July 1963

ORIGINAL: ENGLISH

Eighteenth session

DRAFT DECLARATION ON THE ELIMINATION OF ALL FORMS  
OF RACIAL DISCRIMINATION

Note by the Secretary-General

1. In resolution 1780 (XVII) of 7 December 1962, 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 this matter that might be submitted by Governments and any international instruments already adopted in this field by the specialized agencies, to prepare: (a) a draft declaration on the elimination of all forms of racial discrimination, to be submitted to the Assembly for consideration at its eighteenth session, and (b) a draft international convention on the elimination of all forms of racial discrimination, to be submitted to the Assembly if possible at its nineteenth session and, in any case, not later than at its twentieth session. By the same resolution, the General Assembly invited Member States to submit their comments and proposals concerning the draft convention by 15 January 1964.
2. At its resumed thirty-fourth session the Economic and Social Council, on 19 December 1962 (1238th meeting), decided to transmit the General Assembly resolution to the Commission on Human Rights and to the Sub-Commission on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities.
3. At its fifteenth session (14 January-1 February 1963) the Sub-Commission agreed that no attempt should be made at that session to prepare a draft of a convention, since the draft convention was to be submitted to the General Assembly only at the Assembly's nineteenth or twentieth session. The Sub-Commission did,

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/...

however, adopt resolution 7 (XV),<sup>1/</sup> submitting to the Commission the draft declaration on the elimination of all forms of racial discrimination which was annexed to that resolution.

4. At its nineteenth session, held at Geneva from 11 March to 5 April 1963, the Commission considered item 12 of its agenda, "Draft Declaration and Draft Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Racial Discrimination",<sup>2/</sup> and adopted a draft declaration on the elimination of all forms of racial discrimination.<sup>3/</sup> On recommendation of the Commission, the Economic and Social Council in resolution 958 E (XXXVI) submitted the draft declaration prepared by the Commission to the General Assembly for consideration at its eighteenth session, together with the summary records of the debates of the Commission.<sup>4/</sup> The text of the draft declaration is as follows:

DRAFT DECLARATION ON THE ELIMINATION OF ALL FORMS  
OF RACIAL DISCRIMINATION

The General Assembly,

Considering that the Charter of the United Nations is based on the principle of the equality of all human beings and seeks, among other basic objectives, to achieve international co-operation by promoting and encouraging respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language or religion,

Considering that the Universal Declaration of Human Rights proclaims that all human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights and that everyone is entitled to all those rights and freedoms, without distinction of any kind, in particular race, colour or national origin,

<sup>1/</sup> E/CN.4/846, para. 210.

<sup>2/</sup> Official Records of the Economic and Social Council, Thirty-sixth Session, Supplement No. 8 (E/3743), chapter IX.

<sup>3/</sup> Ibid., chapter XIII, draft resolution VI, annex.

<sup>4/</sup> E/CN.4/SR.740 to 744 and 757 to 767.



Considering that the Universal Declaration proclaims further that all are equal before the law and are entitled without any discrimination to equal protection of the law and that all are entitled to equal protection against any discrimination and against any incitement to such discrimination,

Considering that the Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples affirms that an end must be put to colonialism and all practices of segregation and discrimination associated therewith,

Recalling the other resolutions adopted by the General Assembly and the international instruments adopted by the specialized agencies, especially the International Labour Organisation and the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, in the field of discrimination,

Considering that, although international action and efforts made in a number of countries have made it possible to achieve progress in that field, discrimination based on race, colour or ethnic origin in certain areas of the world none the less continues to give cause for serious concern,

Disturbed by the manifestations of racial discrimination still in evidence in some areas of the world, some of which are imposed by certain Governments by means of legislative, administrative or other measures, in the form, inter alia, of apartheid, segregation and separation, as well as by the promotion and dissemination of doctrines of racial superiority and expansionism in certain areas,

Convinced that racial discrimination and governmental policies based on racial superiority or hatred, besides constituting a violation of fundamental human rights, tend to jeopardize friendly relations among peoples, co-operation between nations and international peace and security,

Convinced also that racial discrimination is injurious not only to those who are the objects of discrimination but also to those who practise discrimination,

Solemnly affirms the necessity of the speedy elimination of racial discrimination in all its forms and manifestations and proclaims this Declaration in order to secure by national and international measures and by teaching and education the universal and effective recognition and observance of the principles therein set forth:

Article 1

Discrimination between human beings on the grounds of race, colour or ethnic origin is an offence to human dignity and shall be condemned as a denial of the principles of the Charter of the United Nations, as a violation of the human rights and fundamental freedoms proclaimed in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and as an obstacle to friendly and peaceful relations among nations.

Article 2

1. No State, institution, group or individual shall make any discrimination in matters of human rights and fundamental freedoms in the treatment of persons on the grounds of race, colour or ethnic origin.
2. Special measures may be taken in order to secure adequate development or protection of individuals belonging to certain racial groups with the object of ensuring the full enjoyment by such individuals of human rights and fundamental freedoms. These measures shall not be maintained after the need for them has disappeared and shall in no circumstances have as a consequence the maintenance of unequal or separate rights for different racial groups.

Article 3

1. Particular efforts shall be made to prevent discrimination based on race, colour or ethnic origin, especially in the fields of political rights, citizenship, education, religion, employment, occupation and housing.
2. Everyone shall have equal access to any place or facility intended for use by the general public, without distinction as to race, colour or ethnic origin.

Article 4

All States should take the necessary steps to revise governmental policies and to rescind laws and regulations which have the effect of creating and perpetuating racial discrimination wherever it still exists. They should pass legislation, if necessary, for prohibiting such discrimination and should take all appropriate measures to combat those prejudices which lead to racial discrimination.

Article 5

An end should be put without delay to governmental policies of racial segregation and especially policies of apartheid, as well as all forms of racial discrimination and separation resulting from such policies.

Article 6

Every person, without distinction as to race, colour or ethnic origin, shall have the right to take part in the government of his country and to participate in elections through universal and equal suffrage. In appointments to public office there shall be no discrimination on the grounds of race, colour or ethnic origin.

Article 7

Everyone shall have the right to an effective remedy against any discrimination he may suffer on the ground of race, colour or ethnic origin with respect to his fundamental rights and freedoms through independent national tribunals competent to deal with such matters.

Article 8

All necessary steps shall be taken as soon as possible, in the field of teaching and education and in the field of information, with a view to eliminating racial discrimination and prejudice and promoting understanding, tolerance and friendship among nations and racial groups, as well as propagating the purposes and principles of the United Nations and of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

Article 9

All propaganda based on ideas or theories of the superiority of one race or group of persons of one colour or ethnic origin with a view to justifying or promoting racial discrimination in any form, and all incitement of hatred and violence against any race or group of persons of another colour or ethnic origin, should be condemned.

Article 10

The United Nations, the specialized agencies, States and non-governmental organizations, each within the sphere appropriate to its activities, should do all in their power to ensure the abolition of all forms of discrimination based on race, colour or ethnic origin.



religious right

'PRINCIPLES' IN THE MATTER OF RELIGIOUS RIGHTS AND PRACTICES

Recommended by the U.N. Subcommission on the Prevention of  
Discrimination and Protection of Minorities  
(January 11-29, 1960)  
(New York, 12th Session)

PREAMBLE

Whereas the peoples of the United Nations have, in the Charter, reaffirmed their faith in human rights and fundamental freedoms, and have taken a stand against all forms of discrimination on the ground of religion or belief;

Whereas the principle of non-discrimination and the right to freedom of thought, conscience and religion have been proclaimed in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights;

Whereas the disregard of human rights and fundamental freedoms and in particular of the right to freedom of thought, conscience and religion has brought in the past untold sorrow to mankind;

Whereas it is therefore the duty of Governments, organizations and private persons to promote through education, as well as through other means, respect for the dignity of man and a spirit of understanding, tolerance and friendship among all religious and racial groups, as well as among all nations;

Whereas the efforts of Governments, organizations and private persons to eradicate discrimination in respect of the right to freedom of thought, conscience and religion should be supported by elaborating the provisions relating to these freedoms with a view to ensuring their protection and furtherance;

Now therefore, the following provisions are proclaimed to promote the freedom of thought, conscience and religion and the eradication of discrimination on the ground of religion or belief.

PART I

1. Everyone shall be free to adhere, or not to adhere, to a religion or belief, in accordance with the dictates of his conscience.

2. Parents or, when applicable, legal guardians, shall have the prior right to decide upon the religion or belief in which their child should be brought up. In the case of a child who has been deprived of its parents, their expressed or presumed wish should be duly taken into account, the best interests of the child being the guiding principle.

3. No one shall be subjected to material or moral coercion likely to impair his freedom to maintain or to change his religion or belief.

4. Anyone professing any religious or non-religious belief shall be free to do so openly without suffering any discrimination on account of his religion or belief.

PART II

Everyone shall be free to comply with what is prescribed or authorized by his religion or belief, and free from performing acts incompatible with the prescriptions of his religion or belief, particularly in the following respects, subject to the interests of society as a whole as provided in Parts III and IV:

1. (a) Everyone shall be free to worship, either alone or in community with others, and in public or in private.

✓ (b) Equal protection shall be accorded to all forms of worship, places of worship, and objects necessary for the performance of rites.

7 ✓ 2. Everyone shall have the freedom, as acts of devotion, to journey to sacred places, whether inside or outside his country.

7 3. No one shall be prevented from observing the dietary practices prescribed by his religion or belief.

4. ✓ (a) The members of a religion or belief shall not be prevented from acquiring or producing all materials and objects necessary for the performance or observance of prescribed rituals or practices, including dietary practices.

✓ (b) Where the Government controls the means of production and distribution, it shall make such materials or objects, or the means of producing them, available to the members of the religion or belief concerned.

5. (a) Without prejudice to the right of the State to lay down the conditions of a valid marriage, no one shall be prevented from having marriage rites performed in accordance with the prescriptions of his religion or belief.

(b) No one shall be compelled to undergo a religious marriage ceremony not in conformity with his convictions.

(c) The right to seek and to obtain a dissolution of marriage shall be determined solely in accordance with the provisions of the law applicable to it without any adverse distinction being based upon the religion or belief of the parties.

6. (a) The prescriptions of the religion or belief of a deceased person shall be followed in all matters affecting burial, cremation or other methods of disposal of the dead, particularly in the assignment of places for such disposal, the display in such places of religious or other symbols, and the performance of funeral or commemorative rites.

6. (b) Equal protection against desecration shall be afforded to all places for burial, cremation or other methods of disposal of the dead, as well as to religious or other symbols displayed in these places; and equal protection against interference by outsiders shall be afforded to the funeral or commemorative rites of all religions and beliefs.
7. Due account shall be taken of the prescriptions of each religion or belief relating to holidays or days of rest.
8. (a) Everyone shall be free to teach or to disseminate his religion or belief, either in public or in private.  
(b) No one shall be compelled to receive religious or atheistic instruction, contrary to his convictions or, in the case of children, contrary to the wishes of their parents and, when applicable, legal guardians.
9. (a) No group professing a religion or belief shall be prevented from training the personnel intending to devote themselves to the performance of its practices or observances, or from bringing teachers from abroad necessary for this purpose.  
(b) When such training is available only outside the country, no permanent limitations shall be placed upon travel abroad for the purpose of undergoing such training.
10. No one shall be compelled to take an oath of a religious nature contrary to his convictions.
11. In countries where conscientious objection to military service is recognized, exemptions shall be granted to genuine objectors in a manner ensuring that no adverse distinction based upon religion or belief may result.
12. In countries where exemptions from participation in certain or all public ceremonies are granted to individuals who object to such participation on the ground that it is contrary to their conscience, such exemptions shall be granted in such a manner that no adverse distinction based upon religion or belief may result.
13. No priest or minister of religion who receives information in confidence in the performance of his duties as prescribed by his religion or belief, shall be compelled to divulge such information.

### PART III

1. The freedoms set out in Part I and in paragraphs (10) and (13) of Part II shall not be subject to any restrictions.

2. (a) The freedoms and rights set out in the other paragraphs of Provision II shall be subject only to the limitations prescribed by law solely for the purpose of securing due recognition and respect for the rights and freedoms of others and of meeting the just requirements of morality, health, public order and the general welfare in a democratic society. Any limitations which may be imposed shall be consistent with the purposes and principles of the United Nations.
- (b) These freedoms and rights may in no case be exercised contrary to the purposes and principles of the United Nations.

#### PART IV

Public authorities shall refrain from making any adverse distinctions against, or giving undue preference to, individuals or groups of individuals with respect to the right to freedom of thought, conscience and religion; and shall endeavour to prevent any individual or group of individuals from doing so. In particular:

1. In the event of a conflict between the demands of two or more religions or beliefs, public authorities shall endeavour to find a solution reconciling these demands in a manner such as to ensure the greatest measure of freedom to society as a whole;
2. In the granting of subsidies or exemptions from taxation, no adverse distinctions shall be made between, and no undue preference shall be given to any religion or belief or its followers. However, public authorities shall not be precluded from levying general taxes or from carrying out obligations assumed as a result of arrangements made to compensate a religious organization for property taken over by the State or from contributing funds for the preservation of religious structure recognized as monuments of historic or artistic value.



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DRAFT DECLARATION ON RELIGIOUS TOLERANCE

WHEREAS one of the purposes of the United Nations is to achieve international co-operation in promoting and encouraging respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language or religion;

WHEREAS the Universal Declaration of Human Rights proclaims, in article 18, that "everyone has the right to freedom of thought, conscience and religion; this right includes freedom to change his religion or belief, and freedom, either alone or in community with others and in public or private, to manifest his religion or belief in teaching, practice, worship and observance";

WHEREAS religious intolerance has through the ages given rise to persecutions, inquisitions, crusades and wars;

WHEREAS it is imperative that the world be made safe for the right to differ;

NOW, THEREFORE, THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY DECLARES:

1. Everyone is free to believe or not to believe in the existence of a supreme ~~being~~ being.
2. Everyone is free to believe or not to believe in the immortality of the soul.
3. Everyone has the right to adhere to or proclaim the truth as he sees it, whether it is orthodox or heterodox.
4. Everyone shall respect the beliefs of others, however strange or inexplicable those beliefs may appear.
5. Let everyone practice tolerance, and treat others as he would have others treat him.
6. Human experience being limited, in the face of the infinite and the unknown, let everyone be humble and reverent.



UNITED NATIONS  
ECONOMIC  
AND  
SOCIAL COUNCIL



PROVISIONAL

E/CN.4/Sub.2/L.296  
28 January 1963

ORIGINAL: ENGLISH

COMMISSION ON HUMAN RIGHTS  
SUB-COMMISSION ON PREVENTION OF  
DISCRIMINATION AND PROTECTION  
OF MINORITIES

Fifteenth session

Agenda item 12

Mr. Santa Cruz: draft resolution on the preparation of a  
draft declaration on the elimination of all forms of  
religious intolerance

The Sub-Commission on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection  
of Minorities,

Noting General Assembly resolution 1779 (XVII), on manifestations of racial prejudice and national and religious intolerance, and 1781 (XVII), on the preparation of a draft declaration and a draft convention on the elimination of all forms of religious intolerance;

Noting further that, in accordance with resolution 1781 (XVII) the Economic and Social Council has asked the Commission on Human Rights, bearing in mind inter alia the views of the Sub-Commission, to prepare a draft declaration on the elimination of all forms of religious intolerance, to be submitted to the Assembly for consideration at its eighteenth session,

Recalling that the Sub-Commission at its twelfth session in 1960, after having examined the study on discrimination in the matter of religious rights and practices prepared by its Special Rapporteur, Mr. Arcot Krishnaswami, prepared and transmitted to the Commission on Human Rights draft principles on freedom and non-discrimination in the matter of religious rights and practices (E/CN.4/800, resolution 1 (XII)),

/...

Recalling further that the Commission on Human Rights was unable to complete the examination of the draft principles at its eighteenth session in 1962, and decided in resolution 11 (XVIII) to continue consideration of those principles at its nineteenth session,

Expresses the view that the draft principles on freedom and non-discrimination prepared by the Sub-Commission and currently under examination by the Commission on Human Rights contain the basic elements which should be included in a draft declaration on the elimination of all forms of religious intolerance;

Urges the Commission to take special measures to complete its examination of these draft principles at the nineteenth session in order that a draft declaration on the elimination of all forms of religious intolerance might be submitted to the General Assembly for consideration at its eighteenth session as requested by the Assembly in resolution 1781 (XVII).



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# ISRAEL INFORMATION SERVICES



Twentieth Session of the  
General Assembly of the United Nations

STATEMENT ON ANTI-SEMITISM,

MADE BY AMBASSADOR MICHAEL COMAY, CHAIRMAN  
OF THE DELEGATION OF ISRAEL

BEFORE THE THIRD COMMITTEE, on WEDNESDAY, 20 OCTOBER 1965.

AMERICAN JEWISH  
ARCHIVES

Mr. Chairman,

The Israel delegation supports an explicit condemnation of anti-Semitism in the Draft Convention which is before us. We do so because the entire history and fate of the Jewish people, throughout the generations, has been tragically bound up with this evil phenomenon.

Let me explain, first of all, that "anti-Semitism" is a social disease involving active hostility towards the Jews. A semite can be an Arab or a Jew; but the word "anti-Semite" connotes only an anti-Jew. As I say, this and this alone is the meaning of the term and we find it used in the literature and living language of the world.

The history of my people over twenty centuries is the history of one branch of the human family singled out for savage persecution by anti-Semites. At certain times anti-Semitism had a religious aspect: mediaval Europe was stained with the

blood of hundreds of thousands of Jewish martyrs who were tortured and burned for refusing to forsake their faith. At other times, anti-Semitism had its racial aspect: the Jews were denied civil rights and segregated into ghettos. Elsewhere, again, anti-Semitism had an economic aspect: Jews were denied access to most professions: in some countries their property was confiscated. Elsewhere, again, anti-Semitic discrimination entered the field of education when the number of Jews to be allowed into schools and universities was arbitrarily restricted to a low percentage; in some educational institutions Jewish children and students were forced to sit on segregated so-called ghetto-benches. In one country Jews were not allowed to use the sidewalks of public thoroughfares. In dozens of countries Jews were the victims of physical mob assaults, often in the wake of fantastic accusations such as Jews using the blood of non-Jewish children for ritual purposes. In sum, the history of the Jews throughout the generations ever since the destruction of their national independence in their own land, has been that of the suffering of Jewish citizens from the consequences of anti-Semitic onslaughts, of their fleeing or being expelled from their own countries, of their search for security in other countries. Thus, we were hunted from pillar to post over the centuries.

In this very century we witnessed the culminating horror of anti-Semitism as perpetrated by the Hitler regime. That evil gang, drunk with its dream of racial glory, set as one of its major policy-aims what it called "the final solution of the Jewish question" - that is, the clod-blooded, planned extermination of every Jew. By the time the Hitler regime was destroyed by the victorious allies in World War Tow, six million Jews, including over one million babies and children, had been rounded up and wiped out in Nazi-occupied Europe, mostly in the gas-chambers of

the death camps. Such was the ultimate outgrowth of anti-Semitism, and it took place not in the remote past, but in the lifetime and memory of every single person sitting in this Committee chamber.

Mr. Chairman, whilst, as I have pointed out, the scourge of anti-Semitism has always chosen the Jews as the victims of their attack, it would be quite wrong to regard anti-Semitism as a phenomenon that concerns Jews alone. In many instances in the history of the Middle Ages, as well as of modern times, anti-Semitism has been used as a means deflecting the attention of the people from the real ills which beset the regime and the society within which they live. The Nazi movement in particular exploited anti-Semitism in order to lower the power of resistance of those other peoples which it intended to subvert and ultimately to conquer.

In the early days of Nazism, most non-Jews did not realize that the violent anti-Semitism of the Nazis would soon turn into aggression against other groups and nations. What started with an attack on the Jewish minority, soon broadened out to exploit and foster prejudice against other groups, and in due course swept away all civilized and human values. It then became clear that Hitler had divided the population of Europe into several categories: Germans - the Herrenvolk; some Nordic peoples, who would have the privilege of being absorbed by the Herrenvolk; Slavic peoples - some to be exterminated, and the rest to be turned into slaves of the Germans. Negroes were to be considered sub-human. The Jews were to be exterminated to the last man, woman and child. It is estimated that apart from the six million Jews, another six million civilians were murdered in Nazi-occupied Europe, outside the scope of military operations, people from every enslaved country, but mainly from the Slav populations of Eastern Europe.



Anti-Semitism was the beginning, and the enslavement of other peoples, accompanied by mass murder, was the final outcome. And in the period since the defeat of Hitlerism, we have again been able to observe that anti-Semitism is the stock-in-trade of every fascist group which aims at the subversion of democratic institutions and the denial of freedom and of liberty in various parts of the world.

This brings me to the sad observation that the phenomenon of anti-Semitism is, unfortunately, not merely a matter of past history. The inclusion of a specific reference to it in this Convention is assential precisely because anti-Semitism is once more rearing its head in different regions and on a number of continents.

My delegation has, therefore, been puzzled to a considerable degree as to why the Soviet Delegation has now seen fit to attempt to lump Zionism together with anti-Semitism in this Convention. Might it be that we are confronted with an effort to deflect international attention from a grievous problem which involves their own country and to which the Foreign Minister of Israel, Mrs. Golda Meir, made reference in her statement in the General Debate on 7 October 1965. The plight of the Jews in the Soviet Union is a very serious one. They are deprived of facilities to maintain their distinctive religion, traditions, their language and their literature. Synagogues are being closed, one after the other. The Scriptures and prayer-books are not allowed to be printed. Rabbis are not allowed to be trained. The production of articles required for worship and ritual purposes has been stopped. Hebrew, the sacred tongue of the Bible, may not be taught. Educational facilities in Yiddish, the vernacular language, are being denied. Books and periodicals of Jewish content have been almost entirely throttled out of existence. Contact is

not permitted between Jews in the Soviet Union and their brethren all over the world. Over and above this, systematic campaign destined to blacken the image of Jews and of Judaism, is maintained in the Soviet press.

Thus, this Jewish community is the victim of various forms of discrimination which has caused distress not only to Jews throughout the world, but to decent and liberal opinion in other lands, including many distinguished personalities who cannot be accused of any ill-will towards the Soviet Union.

It is true that of late there have been some positive gestures. Basically, however, there has been no change in the situation where Jews are not permitted to live a full Jewish life inside the Soviet Union or to leave the Soviet Union in order to migrate to Israel, or to any other place where they might live freely as Jews.

We have been happy to note that a number of Governments as well as of important Church bodies have called upon their citizens and their adherents to oppose this evil. I refer to the statement made by the Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR, Mr. Kosygin, who in a recent speech at Riga called upon the population to oppose anti-Semitism. It is well-known that the Ecumenical Council of the Catholic Church in Rome has just approved a resolution against anti-Semitism. Sir, it is clear that anti-Semitism is being widely recognized for the danger that it is for human society at large, and that is why we strongly believe that it must find mention in this Convention as one of the long-standing evils of discrimination and persecution.

May I now remind this Committee that this very Draft Convention owes its origin to the manifestations of anti-Semitism which occurred in a number of countries late in 1959 and early in

1960. Originally this matter was dealt with in United Nations Organs under the agenda heading of "Manifestations of anti-Semitism and other Forms of Racial Prejudice and Religious Intolerance of a Similar Nature". The Secretary-General was requested to gather information from member-States regarding current anti-Semitic manifestations. In response to this request data were received from nearly forty governments and from about twenty non-governmental organizations. A list was compiled of some two thousand individual incidents as well as of one hundred and thirty Nazi organizations in the world, all of them fiercely anti-Semitic. When the matter was considered within the framework of the discussion on the Elimination of All Forms of Religious Intolerance, it was understood that anti-Semitism was not a matter of religious intolerance alone, but also in the context of racial discrimination. It is hard to imagine that this Convention in its final form would not make reference to the phenomenon which caused the need for the Convention in the first place.

My delegation is not unmindful of the body of feeling which exists in this Committee favouring the elimination of any further detailing of the evils which have beset human society. May I point out in this connection that anti-Semitism is not the first phenomenon to which a detailed and specific reference is being sought in the Convention. In Article III of the Convention reference to racial segregation and apartheid has already been unanimously approved by way of a particular condemnation, and in the preamble there is a reference to colonialism. There would appear, therefore, to be no reason why the evil of anti-Semitism should not find mention alongside these other phenomena. My delegation was deeply impressed by the point made a few days ago by the distinguished delegate of Tanzania when he said that just as the African nations insist on the mention of colonialism, apartheid and racial segregation in every document of this nature,

the African nations must surely realize that there are other evils of society the eradication of which are of similar crucial importance to other, non-African peoples, and that these evils therefore deserve similar mention. Whilst the distinguished delegate of Tanzania was referring at that point to the amendment of Poland with regard to Nazism, his argument applies to the matter of anti-Semitism with equal if not greater force.

To sum up, Mr. Chairman, my delegation believes that anti-Semitism is so deep-rooted and stubborn a phenomenon and so tragic and far-reaching in its social and political consequences, that it warrants explicit attention in a Convention on Racial Discrimination, from what my delegation has said in the course of this as well as previous interventions in the Committee, it is clear that we also welcome the Bolivian amendment (Doc. E/C.3/L.1236) which would condemn Nazism in all its forms and manifestations.

I would now refer to the mention of Zionism in this context. There is no question that this should now be set aside, for it should never have been brought in, in the first place. The bracketing of Zionism with anti-Semitism, Nazism and neo-Nazism, represents at best a frivolous, and at worst a contemptible manoeuvre. This is the most scandalous proposition to be put before the United Nations in the twenty years of its existence, and it is hard for us to speak of it with restraint.

Zionism is the name of the national movement of the Jewish people. My delegation feels proud and privileged to represent in this world forum a small member-State which was born out of the Zionist Movement. In fact, Zionism is one of the most stirring and constructive national movements in human history. Historically, it is based on a unique and unbroken connection, extending some four thousand years, between the People of the Book and the Land of the Bible.

It was there, in the Land of Zion (hence the term "Zionism") that our people enjoyed national independence. Later they lost it, regained it, and lost it again, in the perpetual struggle against the great colonial empires of the time. We live in an era of movements for national self-determination, and Zionism is perhaps the oldest of them all. It was this longing to return to its national homeland that sustained the Jewish people in its suffering throughout the ages. Our people dreamt of the eventual rebuilding of the ancient land.

In modern times, spurred by the twin forces of anti-Semitic persecution and of nationalism, the Jewish people organized the Zionist Movement in order to transform their dream into reality. Since the turn of the century the Zionist Movement has existed in almost every country where Jews live. More than that, support for its aim was written into the League of Nations Mandate for Palestine, and was again endorsed by the United Nations in 1947, when the General Assembly voted by overwhelming majority for the restoration of Jewish independence in our ancient land. It is worth recalling that the Soviet Union strongly supported that proposal. At the twelfth meeting of the Ad Hoc Committee on the Palestinian Question during the Second Session of the General Assembly, the Representative of the Soviet Union, Mr. Tsarapkin, said:

"The Jewish people were...striving to create a State of their own and it would be unjust to deny them that right... The members of the United Nations could help the Jewish people by acting in accordance with the principles of the Charter, which called for the guaranteeing to every people of their right to independence and self-determination."

(Official Records, page 69)

In one final sentence I must come back to the earlier part of my intervention. My delegation feels certain that, in the wake of all that anti-Semitism has wrought upon generations of the Jewish people and of humanity at large, this Committee will not

Jewish people and of humanity at large, this Committee will not wish to pass a Convention of this kind without resolving specifically that enlightened humanity will do everything in its power to eradicate this evil thing, and to banish it from its midst forever.

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APPENDIX

The three proposals referred to in the statement were as follows:

(a) The United States and Brazil proposed the insertion of the following new Article in the Draft International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination:

" States Parties condemn anti-Semitism and shall take action as appropriate for its speedy eradication in the territories subject to their jurisdiction. "

(b) The USSR proposed amendments to the United States-Brazil proposal, whereby the text of the proposed new Article would read:

" States Parties condemn anti-Semitism, Zionism, Nazism, neo-Nazism and all other forms of the policy and ideology of colonialism, national and race hatred and exclusiveness and shall take action as appropriate for the speedy eradication of those inhuman ideas and practices in the territories subject to their jurisdiction. "

(c) Bolivia proposed an amendt of the USSR, which would -

(i) delete the word "Zionism";

(ii)replace the words "Nazism, Neo-Nazism" by the

words, "Nazism in all its forms and manifestations".