

UNITED NATIONS EDUCATIONAL,
SCIENTIFIC AND CULTURAL ORGANIZATION

COMMITTEE OF GOVERNMENTAL EXPERTS TO PREPARE
A DRAFT DECLARATION ON RACE AND RACIAL PREJUDICE

Unesco House, Paris, 26-30 January 1976

Background Paper II

Results of an expert consultation on possible changes in
the 1967 Statement on Race and Racial Prejudice
(Paris, 9 to 13 July 1973)

The two consultants were requested to consider the implementation of that part of Resolution 10.1 adopted at the seventeenth session of the General Conference of Unesco on 18 November 1972, calling for a draft declaration based on the 1967 Statement on Race and Racial Prejudice (see Background Paper I).

They prepared the attached declaration which, while taking account of the main themes dealt with by the 1967 meeting of experts also seeks to bring this Statement up to date in the light of subsequent development.

(SHC-76/CONF.207/COL.4)

Paris, July 1973

1. "All men are born free and equal both in dignity and in rights." This universally proclaimed democratic principle stands in jeopardy wherever political, economic, social and cultural inequalities affect human group relations. A particularly striking obstacle to the recognition of equal dignity for all is racism. Racism continues to haunt the world. As a major social phenomenon it requires the attention of all students of the sciences of man.
2. Racism stultifies the development of those who suffer from it, perverts those who apply it, divides nations within themselves, aggravates international conflict and threatens world peace.
3. A conference of experts meeting in Paris in September 1967, agreed that racist doctrines lack any scientific basis whatsoever. It reaffirmed the propositions adopted by the international meeting held in Moscow in 1964 which was called to re-examine the biological aspects of the statements on race and racial difference issued in 1950 and 1951. In particular, it drew attention to the following points:
 - (a) all men living today belong to the same species and descend from the same stock;
 - (b) the division of the human species into "races" is partly conventional and partly arbitrary and does not imply any hierarchy whatsoever. Many anthropologists stress the importance of human variation, but believe that "racial" divisions have limited scientific interest and may even carry the risk of inviting abusive generalization;
 - (c) current biological knowledge does not permit us to impute cultural achievements to differences in genetic potential. Differences in the achievements of different peoples should be attributed solely to their cultural history. The peoples of the world today appear to possess equal biological potentialities for attaining any level of civilization.

Racism grossly falsifies the knowledge of human biology.

4. The human problems involving what is called "racial" conflict are social in origin and not biological. Groups dominate, exploit and discriminate against other groups and such intergroup relations are sometimes falsely justified on biological grounds. The elimination of racism implies both the elimination of injustice between groups and the refutation of doctrines of biological inferiority.
5. Clearly most groups evaluate their own characteristics in comparison with others. This need not of itself be harmful. The falsity of racist theory lies in its claim that there is a scientific basis for arranging groups hierarchically in terms of psychological and cultural characteristics that are immutable or innate. In this way it seeks to make existing differences appear inviolable as a means of permanently maintaining current relations between groups.
6. Faced with the exposure of the falsity of its biological doctrines, racist theory finds ever new stratagems for justifying the inequality of groups. Whenever it fails in its attempts to prove that the source of group differences lies in the biological field, it falls back upon justifications in terms of divine purpose, cultural differences, disparity of educational standards or some other doctrine which would serve to mask its continued racist beliefs. Very often, moreover, racist practice may be concealed as the regulation of citizenship of immigration. Thus, many of the problems which racism presents in the world today

do not arise merely from its open manifestations, but from the activities of those who discriminate on racial grounds but are unwilling to acknowledge it.

7. Racism has historical roots. It has not been a universal phenomenon. Many contemporary societies and cultures show little trace of it. It was not evident for long periods in world history. Many forms of racism have arisen in recent centuries out of the conditions of conquest, out of the justification of Negro slavery and its aftermath of racial inequality in the West, and out of colonial relationship. Among other examples is that of anti-semitism, which has played a particular rôle in history, with Jews being the chosen scapegoat to take the blame for problems and crises met by many societies.
8. The anti-colonial revolution of the twentieth century has opened up new possibilities for eliminating the scourge of racism. In some formerly dependent countries, people formerly classified as inferior have for the first time obtained full political rights. Moreover, the participation of formerly dependent nations in international organizations in terms of equality has done much to undermine racism. This has not merely altered the situation in formerly colonial countries but amongst formerly oppressed peoples in the advanced countries who have won for themselves a new dignity through activities based upon self-help.
9. There are, however, some instances in certain societies in which groups, victims of racialistic practices, have themselves applied doctrines with racist implications in their struggle for freedom. Such an attitude is a secondary phenomenon, a reaction stemming from man's search for an identity which prior racist theory and racialistic practices denied them. None the less, the new forms of racist ideology, resulting from this prior exploitation, have no justification in biology. They are a product of a political struggle and have no scientific foundation.
10. It should not be imagined, however, that racist practice is always accompanied by explicit racist theory. The problems which face minorities and oppressed peoples today often appear simply as those of discrimination or "institutionalized racism". Moreover explicitly racist criteria of discrimination might be concealed behind non-racist ones. This means that in any attempt to root out racism and to defeat it by legal means considerable attention should be paid to its concealed form. Legal action as a means of combating racism must be supplemented by research on a continuing basis into all the nuances of racist theory and racist practice.
11. In order to undermine racism it is not sufficient that biologists should expose its fallacies. It is also necessary that psychologists and sociologists should demonstrate its causes. The social structure is always an important factor. Within the same social structure, however, there may be great individual variation in racialistic behaviour, associated with the personality of the individuals and their personal circumstances.
12. The committee of experts agreed on the following conclusion about the social causes of race prejudice:
 - (a) social and economic causes of racial prejudice are particularly observed in settler societies wherein are found conditions of great disparity of power and property, in certain urban areas where there have emerged ghettos in which individuals are deprived on equal access to employment, housing, political participation, education, and the administration of justice, and in many societies where social and economic tasks which are deemed to be contrary to the ethics or beneath the dignity of its members are assigned to a group of different origins who are derided, blamed, and punished for taking on these tasks;

- (b) individuals with certain personality troubles may be particularly inclined to adopt and manifest racial prejudices. Small groups, associations, and social movements of a certain kind sometimes preserve and transmit racial prejudices. The foundations of the prejudices lie, however, in the economic and social system of a society;
- (c) racism tends to be cumulative. Discrimination deprives a group of equal treatment and presents that group as a problem. The group then tends to be blamed for its own condition, leading to further elaboration of racist theory.

13. The major techniques for coping with racism involve changing those social situations which give rise to prejudice, preventing the prejudiced from acting in accordance with their beliefs, and combating the false beliefs themselves.
14. It is recognized that the basically important changes in the social structure that may lead to the elimination of racial prejudice may require decisions of a political nature. This is particularly true in those cases where white domination of African peoples prevail as in the Portuguese occupied African territories, Rhodesia, South Africa and South West Africa. In the case of the Portuguese occupied territories the maintenance of colonial rule must be strenuously opposed. In the case of territories which practise the political and social system of apartheid, all those who are fighting to overcome its political, social, cultural and social-psychological effects must be assisted.
15. In the vast majority of countries, however, other means than purely political ones may be successfully used to help eliminate racial prejudice, racist theory and racist practice. These include the improvement of housing, the physical environment and the social services, the use of the educational system and the mass media, and legislation against discrimination.
16. Governmental units and other organizations concerned should give special attention to improving the housing situations and work opportunities available to victims of racism. This will not only counteract the effects of racism, but in itself can be a positive way of modifying racist attitudes and behaviour.
17. The school and other instruments for social and economic progress can be one of the most effective agents for the achievement of broadened understanding and the fulfilment of the potentialities of man. They can equally much be used for the perpetuation of discrimination and inequality. It is therefore essential that the resources of education and for social and economic action of all nations be employed in two ways:
 - (a) the schools should ensure that their curricula contain scientific understandings about race and human unity; and that invidious distinctions about peoples are not made in texts and classrooms;
 - (b) (i) because the skills to be gained in formal and vocational education become increasingly important with the processes of technological development, the resources of the schools and other resources should be fully available to all parts of the population with neither restriction nor discrimination;
 - (ii) furthermore, in cases where, for historical reasons, certain groups have a lower average education and economic standing, it is the responsibility of the society to take corrective measures. These measures should ensure, so far as possible, that the limitations of poor environments are not passed on to the children.

In view of the importance of teachers in any education programme, special attention should be given to their training. Teachers should be made conscious of the degree to which they reflect the prejudices which may be current in their society.

18. The media of mass communication are increasingly important in promoting knowledge and understanding, but their exact potentiality is not fully known. Continuing research into the social utilization of the media is needed in order to assess their influence in relation to formation of attitudes and behavioural patterns in the field of race prejudice and race discrimination. Because the mass media reach vast numbers of people at different educational and social levels, their rôle in encouraging or combating race prejudice can be crucial. The problem facing those who work in these media is no longer a simple one of avoiding references to race when this is not germane to a story, nor of simply avoiding unfavourable stereotypes. The so-called racism of the media often involves simply the amplification and reinforcement of racism in the larger society. Often when there is no explicit or deliberate intention of racism, the underlying assumptions of a television programme or a news story may be implicitly racist. What those who work in the media have to do if they are to avoid fostering racism is to pay special attention to the structures, forms and timing of their work lest these should have damaging consequences for minority groups. Minority groups should share in the control of media both on the issues facing them as a minority and on the problems of the larger society of which they are part. In this sphere not merely must the educators continually be educated. There must be continuous research into the forms in which racism penetrates the media.

19. Law is among the most important means of ensuring equality between individuals and one of the most effective means of fighting racism.

The Universal Declaration of Human Rights of 10 December 1948 and the related international agreements and conventions which have taken effect subsequently can contribute effectively, on both the national and international level, to the fight against any injustice of racist origin.

Legislation is a means of combating racist propaganda and acts based upon racial discrimination. Moreover, the policy expressed in such legislation must bind not only the courts and judges but the police and all other agents of law enforcement.

It is not claimed that legislation can immediately eliminate prejudice. Nevertheless, by being a means of protecting the victims of acts based upon prejudice, and by setting a moral example backed by the dignity of the courts, it can, in the long run, even change attitudes.

Experience has suggested however, that in some cases the existence of legislation makes for complacency and that formal compliance with the requirements of legislation is compatible with maintenance of de facto discrimination.

20. Racial prejudice and discrimination in the world today arise from historical and social phenomena and falsely claim the sanction of science. It is, therefore, the responsibility of all biological and social scientists, philosophers, and others working in related disciplines, to ensure that the results of their research are not misused by those who wish to propagate racial prejudice and encourage discrimination. Narrowness of perspective, looseness in the formulation of research findings, sensational publication of findings taken out of context can all very easily if unintentionally lead to the reinforcement of racism. Scientific theories like any others have ideological potential and sociologists and psychologists should keep published scientific research findings as much under review as they do media programmes.