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SUMMARY RECORD OF THE 67th MEETING

Chairman: Mr. O'DONOVAN (Ireland)

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The meeting was called to order at 11 a.m.

AGENDA ITEM 12: REPORT OF THE ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL COUNCIL (continued) (A/36/3, chaps. II, V, VIII, XIX, XXIII (Parts I and II), XXIV, XXVII, XXVIII, XXXII (Part I and Corr.1 and 2 and Part II), XXXIV (Parts I and II), XXXVI and XXXVII; A/36/61, A/36/117, A/36/136 and Add.1 and Corr.1 (English only), A/36/138, A/36/179, A/36/187, A/36/209 and Add.1, A/36/214, A/36/216 and Add.1, A/36/255, A/36/284, A/36/354, A/36/355, A/36/378, A/36/383, A/36/421 and Corr.1 (English only), A/36/423, A/36/500, A/36/524, A/36/540, A/36/560, A/36/566, A/36/584, A/36/594, A/36/608 and A/36/705; A/C.3/36/3, A/C.3/36/7 and A/C.3/36/11; A/C.3/36/L.60, A/C.3/36/L.62, A/C.3/36/L.64, A/C.3/36/L.70, A/C.3/36/L.72, A/C.3/36/L.73/Rev.1, A/C.3/36/L.81, A/C.3/36/L.87, and A/C.3/36/L.91).

AGENDA ITEM 129: INTERNATIONAL CAMPAIGN AGAINST THE DRUG TRAFFIC (continued) (A/36/193; A/C.3/36/L.80)

AGENDA ITEM 30: INTERNATIONAL YEAR OF DISABLED PERSONS (continued) (A/36/471 and Add.1-2, A/36/363 and A/36/491; A/C.3/36/L.79 and A/C.3/36/L.90)

1. Mr. SIBAY (Turkey), speaking on agenda item 129, said that drug abuse was one of the most serious problems of the age; no nation was immune to its devastating and eadly consequences for the well-being and health of the people and the structure and fabric of society. Success in combating drug abuse depended on correct identification of the main aspects of the problem. Half-measures and an ostrich approach would be useless, if not harmful, whatever dictates of short-term political expediency might motivate them.
2. In the opinion of his Government, the demand aspect of the drug problem, which was the root cause, had not been adequately studied, assessed, understood and dealt with; the abuse of psychotropic substances, which had reached equally dangerous levels, also was not receiving the attention it deserved. Turkey regretted that the 1971 Convention on Psychotropic Substances had not yet been ratified or acceded to by all the main manufacturing and exporting countries.
3. Another important problem calling for urgent action by the international community was the misuse of chemical substances for the illicit production of drugs - for example, acetic anhydride, which was essential for manufacturing heroin, one of the most destructive narcotics. Efforts initiated by Turkey in the Commission on Narcotic Drugs had met with only moderate success because of inadequate co-operation by the producing countries.
4. It was also urgent to restore the global balance between the demand for opiates for medical and scientific purposes and the available supply. The poppy-

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(Mr. Sibay, Turkey)

straw cultivation started in recent years by countries which had not previously grown poppies had upset the world balance of supply and demand in licit opiates. He urged that the countries concerned should all implement the recommendations of the Economic and Social Council and the Commission on Narcotic Drugs in order to remedy the situation.

5. The International Narcotics Control Board, in its report for 1980, had referred to the special position of India and Turkey, as the longest-standing producers of opium and poppy straw for export, and to the special consideration and practical support they merited because poppy cultivation had become an integral part of the culture and economy, upon which hundreds of thousands depended for their livelihood. The report also stated that Turkey required practical assistance in disposing of its excessive stocks of poppy straw and that Governments might bear in mind the understanding between Turkey and the United Nations encouragement and assistance, would produce poppy straw under effective control and would not resume opium production. It had also mentioned that during a period of temporary supply difficulties, certain other countries had made investments in new or expanded production, manufacturing facilities and costly control systems, which has far exceeded domestic requirements and had resulted in substantial exports; the Economic and Social Council and the Commission on Narcotic Drugs had urged those countries to restrict their production, and it was suggested that they should consider adjusting it to meet their own domestic needs and restricting exports as much as possible in order not to displace long-established producers in markets on which they had long depended.

6. During 1980 his country had continued its policy of poppy cultivation under strict control with a view to preventing the production of illicit opium. It had also managed to bring under control a new threat which had emerged during the past few years in the form of increased transit trafficking, whose organizers had been using Turkish citizens as couriers. The transit trafficking was not following a more southerly route over the eastern Mediterranean. The problem of drug abuse must be tackled in all its aspects, including illicit demand, production and means of production; otherwise the immediate problem might be dealt with by diversion to another area or country, but the basic problem would remain.

7. His Government had also been making greater efforts to ensure international co-operation, which was essential in fighting highly organized criminals whose machinery rivalled that of the most efficient enforcement agencies. With increased co-operation and joint action by all concerned at all levels, it would be possible to achieve victory over an unprecedented evil.

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(Mr. Sibay, Turkey)

8. A highly dangerous recent development was the trade used by narcotics smugglers in illegal arms in exchange for narcotics as a means of multiplying their profits. Even more dangerous development was the use of profits from narcotics trafficking by international terrorism. There appeared to be a relationship between international terrorism and narcotics smuggling, and there were indications that some of the proceeds were being used to destabilize countries for political ends. Unless the international community recognized those dangerous trends and took the necessary national and international measures, it would be impossible to avoid irreparable damage to the international community and to peace and stability. Turkey had therefore joined in sponsoring draft resolution A/C.3/36/L.77 on the international drug control strategy and the five-year programme of action proposed by the Commission on Narcotic Drugs.

9. Mr. CHAMORRO MORA (Nicaragua), speaking on agenda item 12, said that Nicaraguans, who had themselves suffered repression, torture and even genocide, were concerned about similar violations of human rights in the neighbouring countries. They were angered particularly by the actions of the United States, which used absurd distinctions between "totalitarianism" and "authoritarianism" in pursuing its policy of supporting dictatorships and attacking nations whose only crime was the desire to decide their own destinies.

10. His delegation was seriously concerned at the conflict situation in Central America, especially the war of liberation in El Salvador, and at the attitude of the present United States administration, which was trying to turn that war into a regional conflict. The violations of human rights in El Salvador were a disgrace to Latin America and the whole world. To be silent about them would denote complicity in a situation which was a threat to world peace and security. A brief look at the report on the situation of human rights and fundamental freedoms in El Salvador (A/36/608) made clear the gravity of the present crisis. No human heart could fail to be moved by that report, with its tale of suffering and unpunished bloodshed. After hearing the United States threats of military intervention and the increase in United States military assistance to the Salvadorian oppressors, the international community could not salve its conscience with a resolution of regret. It must act.

11. His delegation was convinced of the need to promote a political solution between the parties involved in the conflict. His Government had already transmitted proposals from the Salvadorian patriots for bringing an end to the general violence. A real solution in El Salvador must be found through reason and good sense, starting with recognition by all the parties involved of the need for a global and unconditional dialogue. Only accomplices in the martyrdom of the Salvadorian people could imagine that the best way of achieving peace was to provide arms and military advisors to those responsible for the violations of

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(Mr. Chamorro Mora, Nicaragua)

human rights, with the sole objective of maintaining a pliable Government; only they could believe that armaments and repression were the solution, or would support the Salvadorian junta and seek to secure its victory. What was needed was a genuine solution based on open discussions and common understanding for the benefit of the people themselves, not those who maintained power through force.

12. It was time to stop inventing outside culprits for what was happening in El Salvador. The people had been fighting and dying for nearly half a century in the struggle for freedom against military Governments which usurped power and claimed to be constitutional. The only culprits were those responsible for the injustice and exploitation suffered by the majority of people for the contrast between rich and poor and between the people and the Government which was not a people's Government. Nobody could doubt the justice of the Salvadorian patriots' fight.

13. No one, least of all the present United States administration, should forget that the Salvadorians had the inalienable right to seek the freedom they were denied, more that they were perfectly capable of building a genuinely independent nation which would not be a threat to anyone except those who enriched themselves by repression and subjugation.

14. His delegation hoped that the Committee would make a real contribution to peace in El Salvador and ultimately in Central America - not a peace based on graveyards but a genuine and inspired peace which all peoples deserved. A valuable move in that context was the joint statement by Mexico and France recognizing that the Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front and the Revolutionary Democratic Front were representative political forces and were entitled to take part in setting up the machinery for reconciliation and dialogue required for a political solution to the crisis.

15. In an effort to help bring peace to the Salvadorian people, his Government had conveyed to the General Assembly on 7 October 1981 what it had described as a practical proposal in the search for a rational solution to the serious crisis in Central America, which was most acute in El Salvador. The proposal consisted of a series of general principles established by the Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front and the Revolutionary Democratic Front for consideration by the Government of El Salvador as a basis for discussions with a view to a political solution of the conflict. He reaffirmed that proposal which his Government would be ready to promote at any time.

16. He appealed to members of the Committee to support draft resolution A/C.3/36/L.62 on the situation of human rights and fundamental freedoms in El Salvador, of which his delegation was a sponsor.

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17. Mr. GONZALEZ de LEON (Mexico) commended the Chairman for his remarkable skill, objectivity and honesty in conducting the work of the Committee, particularly the way in which he had handled the question of the appearance in the Committee of the Special Representative appointed by the Commission on Human Rights to look into the human rights situation in El Salvador.

18. While the system of assigning groups of items to its Main Committees enabled the General Assembly to deal more thoroughly and efficiently with the vast scope and diversity of its agenda, it must not be forgotten that the Committees were only organs of the General Assembly and that the items they dealt with in the first instance were all eventually dealt with in the plenary Assembly. Committees had often come to regard themselves as autonomous and tended to forget that the matters they dealt with were also the responsibility of others; the result was that the same delegation might on occasion adopt different or contradictory positions in different Committees on the same or related questions.

19. In the Special Political Committee, for example, a draft resolution on international co-operation to prevent new flows of refugees (A/SPC/36/L.27/Rev.1) went into some detail in expressing concern over their sufferings, condemning oppressive regimes and considering the causes of the refugee situation and proposed the establishment of a body to carry out a comprehensive study of the problem in all its aspects and make recommendations on appropriate means of international co-operation. The body was to be entirely separate from existing United Nations machinery for protecting refugees and monitoring respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms. While not questioning the humanitarian nature of the proposal, he wondered why the question of the massive flows of refugees was not assigned to the Third Committee, which deal with humanitarian matters and was the channel through which the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees and the Commission on Human Rights kept the General Assembly informed. Of course, the items assigned to the Special Political Committee and the Third Committee were discussed again in the plenary Assembly by the same delegations of the same countries; but he wondered why in the Special Political Committee there should be so much interest in expanding United Nations humanitarian activities for the protection of refugees in what were clearly particular situations, while there were objections to the Third Committee's dealing with specific cases. How was it possible to condemn the crimes of the racist regime of South Africa and the abuses of foreign forces in occupied territories - always on humanitarian grounds - while opposing the condemnation of the same kind of violations of human rights and fundamental freedoms which had been going on for the past eight years in Chile and more recently in El Salvador?

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(Mr. Gonzalez de Leon, Mexico)

20. Some people maintained that selectivity in the treatment of different situations was based exclusively on political motives. That was not the view of his delegation, nor of the United Nations, which had made apartheid the selective case par excellence because it was a particular and very serious example of violation. The Organization's concentration on flagrant violations of human rights did not amount to injustice or discrimination. To argue that certain cases could not be condemned or censured unless all cases were condemned or censured would lead to the absurd thesis that no criminal could be apprehended and punished unless all criminals were apprehended and punished.

21. With regard to the Chilean situation, his Government's views were well known; in the fate of Chile, the world saw the gradual decline of a nation which until 11 September 1973 had been a model to Latin America for its democracy and its sound legal tradition. He would say nothing further on that subject at present.

22. In the case of El Salvador, however, he felt compelled to express his country's concern at the seemingly endless internal conflict, the aggravation of the situation by outside interference, the danger of intervention and the risk that the conflict might become international. Unfortunately, while others were intervening for their own ends, the people of El Salvador was paying the price in blood. Available figures indicated that the conflict had already cost 30,000 lives and displaced over 600,000 persons. According to the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, some 200,000 refugees had left El Salvador for neighbouring countries, and that figure did not include the latest mass exoduses. Of the country's 4.5 million inhabitants, 0.6 per cent had died, 13 per cent were displaced and 4 per cent had taken refuge abroad, over 70,000 in Mexico alone.

23. The violence had affected all sectors of Salvadorian society: men, women and children, the Church, the press. Victims included Archbishop Romero, four United States nuns and a number of journalists from various countries, including one from Mexico. Anyone who was unaware of what was happening was wilfully so, for events in El Salvador had long been front-page news in the press, and had been reported on radio and television and were being shown even now at the cinema. If any one disbelieved the mass media, there were also official documents of the International Red Cross and the World Council of Churches and the reports of the Inter-American Commission on Human Rights and the Special Representative of the Commission on Human Rights.

24. Only the Salvadorians could solve the internal conflict, for it had arisen out of inequalities and injustices in the country's political, economic and social structure. Two things were necessary in order to ensure that the solution was a Salvadorian one and that Salvadorians would be able to exercise their civil and

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(Mr. Gonzalez de Leon, Mexico)

political rights and decide freely on the economic and social system that would meet their aspirations: refraining from outside interference and creating the conditions for a democratic life through the free action of all the political forces of the country, without intimidation or terrorism. Such a course would bring about a political solution in the best sense of the word. Those who advocated immediate elections, in the middle of a civil war, would only help to legitimize the violations of human rights and close the door to a genuine democratic solution. On the other hand, those, including Mexico, that advocated negotiations between the conflicting parties and recognized the representative character of the Revolutionary Democratic Front and the Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front were working for the implementation of the 1949 Geneva Conventions with the view to ending the bloodshed and ensuring a just and lasting settlement of the conflict.

25. His Government fully supported the activities of the United Nations in the human-rights field. Those who claimed that the Organization's role was interventionist or complained of violations of sovereignty should never have subscribed to the Charter, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights or the International Covenants on Human Rights. It would be regrettable if the General Assembly failed to take a clear and honourable stand on the tragedy of the people of El Salvador.

26. Mr. HEPBURN (Bahamas), said that, of the three targets of the international campaign against drug abuse - production, traffic and consumption - it was drug trafficking that caused the greatest difficulties in the Bahamas. His delegation had previously described the serious problems that resulted from the illicit movement of narcotic and psychotropic substances through Bahamian territory. Unfortunately, such trafficking was on the rise, despite efforts to combat it. While the Bahamas was not naturally suited to the cultivation of narcotic plants and was not a major consumer of illicit drugs, as the Foreign Minister of the Bahamas had indicated in his statement to the General Assembly on 6 October 1981, the geography and location of the Bahamas enabled drug traffickers to avoid detection and offered a convenient place of transit for drugs destined for profitable North American markets. Most of the illegal traffickers were not Bahamian nationals but were nationals of producer and consumer States, a fact confirmed by statistics on the nationalities of those arrested for drug-related offences.

27. However, the devastating impact of drug trafficking was taxing the social and moral fibre of the Bahamas, inter alia, because the consumption of illicit drugs had increased together with the volume of drug transit through the country. Drug-related crime was also on the rise, as international drug traffickers sought to involve young people in their activities. While the links between drug trafficking and organized crime had long been recognized, the most

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(Mr. Hepburn, Bahamas)

alarming aspect of the situation was that illegal firearms were currently being introduced at an alarming rate into the Bahamas, a country where it had formerly been unnecessary even for law-enforcement offices to carry weapons.

28. The Royal Bahamas Defense Force, established in 1978 to prevent poaching in Bahamian waters, to discourage illegal immigration and to assist in disasters and emergencies at sea, was currently engaged in defending Bahamian territorial waters against drug smugglers. Although joint exercises between the Defense Force and immigration, police and customs services had resulted in an increase in the number of seizures, those activities were costly and the amount of drugs seized, although considerable, represented only the tip of the iceberg.

29. National legislation had also been updated to ensure that it kept pace with other efforts to combat drug abuse. In short, drug control was taken seriously in the Bahamas, and resources for that purpose currently vied with those for social services in the national budget.

30. The Bahamas was deeply committed to international efforts to combat drug abuse, and for that reason, the Bahamian Foreign Ministers, in his address to the General Assembly, had supported the inclusion in the agenda of a new item entitled "International campaign against drug trafficking". Moreover, his delegation had joined in the consensus on the adoption of draft resolution A/C.3/36/L.77 because it considered the international drug abuse control strategy to be a major step towards combating the problem of drug abuse and towards furthering the campaign against drug trafficking.

31. As a new member of the Commission on Narcotic Drugs, the Bahamas would seek to ensure that all measures to combat drug abuse were implemented, particularly in the context of the strategy. However, every aspect of that problem should be dealt with in a balanced manner, so as to avoid focusing on problems which concerned only certain States. In the light of past efforts, greater attention should be devoted to the question of drug trafficking between place of production and the place of consumption.

32. As a member of the group of Latin American States, the Bahamas felt that competent United Nations agencies should become more involved in the question of drug abuse, particularly in the Caribbean. Regional approaches to law enforcement, surveillance and information would complement national and international efforts. Since no State could consider itself immune from drug trafficking, it was important for the international community to work as a whole in seeking to solve that problem. Co-operation and co-ordinated activities were necessary to ensure the success of long-term efforts to that end. His delegation firmly believed that special consideration should be given to the problem of drug trafficking in the context of an international campaign.

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(Mr. Hepburn, Bahamas)

33. Introducing draft resolution A/C.3/36/L.80 concerning the international campaign against traffic in drugs, which was compatible with the international strategy, he pointed out that all delegations speaking on that question had drawn attention to the increase in the production, traffic and consumption of narcotic drugs, a fact which was borne out by United Nations statistics. Furthermore, drug trafficking had become an increasingly critical issue for both developed and developing countries. Accordingly, several preambular paragraphs of draft resolution A/C.3/35/L.80 dealt with the different aspects of that problem. He pointed out that efforts to combat drug trafficking must be conducted at all levels, along the lines suggested in paragraph 1, subparagraphs (i) and (vi).

34. On behalf of the sponsors, which had been joined by Australia, Haiti, Jamaica and Sweden, he explained that the draft resolution was intended to encourage Governments, non-governmental organizations and United Nations agencies to increase their efforts to international drug trafficking. Since that problem had created havoc for many countries and currently threatened others, the sponsors trusted that Member States would find the text acceptable.

35. Mr. BELTRAMINO (Argentina) said that since 1945, the world community had made considerable progress towards achieving international co-operation in solving international problems of an economic, social, cultural, or humanitarian character, and in promoting and encouraging respect for human rights and for fundamental freedoms for all, in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations. Almost all international forums, but particularly the Commission on Human Rights, were currently dealing with questions related to human rights. The significant progress achieved in that connexion and the complexity of human-rights problems were reflected in the report of the Commission on Human Rights (E/1981/25).

36. With regard to the elaboration of international instruments on human rights, he said that his delegation welcomed the encouraging results of the activities of the Working Group on the Elaboration of an International Convention on the Protection of the Rights of All Migrant Workers and Their Families. The spirit of co-operation displayed by participants would surely favour efforts to elaborate a balanced text which duly reflected the interests of both the sending and the receiving States and which adequately protected the human rights of migrant workers. He expressed the hope that the elaboration of the draft convention would be concluded in 1982.

37. Encouraging results had also been achieved by the working group on the rights of non-citizens, and in that connexion, he also expressed the hope that the draft declaration on the human rights of individuals who were not citizens of the country in which they lived could be adopted at the next session of the General Assembly. The most important thing was that distrust had been overcome and progress had been achieved.

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(Mr. Beltramino, Argentina)

38. However, his delegation deplored the growing politicization of certain aspects of the human-rights question. The United Nations could achieve optimum results through the co-operation of Member States, and accordingly, delicate procedures had been established with a view to achieving a balance between the basic objective of promoting and protecting the rights of individuals and peoples and the need to protect States from unjustified or irresponsible attacks. Nevertheless, those procedures had been by-passed for political reasons, and subordinate bodies were again dealing with subjects on which the General Assembly had already taken a decision. In addition, the humanitarian aspects of problems had been misrepresented for political reasons. The result was that instead of engaging in the necessary co-operation, Governments understandably rejected that attitude, and solutions became more remote. That was a general sense of procedural disorder resulting from activities which did not further the cause of human rights but merely furthered political propaganda.

39. The United Nations must seek to promote human rights effectively and not to set up courts of inquisition, which were of no practical use. As an indication of the political, non-humanitarian intentions that guided such action, he observed that such courts were established to deal with the cases of countries in one particular region alone, as though nothing remained to be done in the field of human rights elsewhere in the world. His country rejected that approach and was convinced that only by respecting established procedures could international co-operation, and hence satisfactory results, be achieved in the area of human rights. As the representative of Ecuador had stated during the general debate, every country should, in presenting its position on the human-rights situation in other countries, also describe the human-rights situation in its own country. It was essential to remove political factors from the discussion of that subject and to focus strictly on its humanitarian aspects, in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations.

40. His delegation supported the provision of economic assistance to refugees in Africa on the basis of humanitarian considerations, but it rejected any attempt to use such assistance for political purposes. Moreover, the suffering of hundreds of thousands of human beings must not be used to generate political controversy, for that would call into question the Committee's sense of responsibility and fairness.

41. Referring to the problem of drug abuse and drug trafficking, he drew attention to the extremely important resolutions and decisions contained in chapter XXIV of the report of the Economic and Social Council (A/36/3/Add.24). In particular, his delegation fully supported the Council's decision 1981/113 concerning the strategy and policies for drug control. Clearly, the situation and trend of world-wide drug abuse and drug trafficking called for long-term action, but the success of any strategy required Governments and the

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international system to set the necessary priorities and to appropriate sufficient resources for implementing the strategy. The latter factor was especially critical in view of the magnitude of the drug-abuse problem. In addition, political will, determination and the support of Member States was essential. In that connexion, international treaties and conventions and national legislation directed towards combating drug abuse and the drug traffic must truly be put into practice. Countries should establish national machinery for that purpose, as Argentina had done, utilizing its human resources and confronting that problem from a realistic and practical perspective.

42. Regional and international co-operation and co-ordinated action were essential to any program of action. The policy measures proposed for attaining the objectives of the long-term strategy indicated various lines of action, including suggestions for activities to be undertaken by regional organizations. His country attached great importance to regional activities, for example to the South American Agreement on Narcotic Drugs and Psychotropic Substances, whose Permanent Secretariat had its headquarters at Buenos Aires. He expressed the hope that all States would participate more actively in both regional and international efforts to achieve a more effective implementation of international agreements on the subject.

43. The South American Agreements, which had been concluded in Argentina in April 1973, had entered into force in March 1977. In accordance with article 2 of the Agreement, each State party undertook to set up an agency to co-ordinate national activities in the field of drug abuse, so as to facilitate not only the efforts of each country but regional co-ordination and co-operation as well. With regard to the legal sale of drugs and psychotropic substances, it had been agreed that regulations would be standardized at the regional level, in accordance with the detailed guidelines contained in the second Additional Protocol.

44. Efforts to eliminate illicit drug traffic included co-operation between national security agencies, the training of their forces, the exchange of information and co-operation with specialized Interpol agents. Regional action to prevent drug abuse focused on educating the community, with emphasis on children and adolescents, especially in family, school and social settings.

45. His country fully supported the basic five-year programme of action for the period 1982-1986, which listed United Nations activities for the implementation of the policy measures contained in the general strategy, as well as the drug-control activities currently being conducted in the context of the United Nations medium-term plan for the period 1980-1983. In his delegation's opinion, the projects being executed should be reviewed in the context of the proposed programme of action so as to assess the effectiveness of the efforts made by

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Member States and national and international bodies; in addition, sufficient resources should be devoted to the attainment of the proposed objectives. In that connexion, he drew attention to the suggestion contained in draft resolution A/C.3/36/L.77, adopted the day before, and reaffirm his Government's pledge to support international efforts to control drugs.

46. The International Year of Disabled Persons was especially important as a first step towards the international community's recognition of the need to integrate millions of disabled persons fully into society. Despite their handicaps, the disabled could make an effective contribution to the community and could achieve personal fulfilment. Accordingly, all countries should take appropriate action at the national and international levels, and United Nations bodies should co-operate in that undertaking with a view to attaining the objectives of the Year.

47. The social and economic situation in the developing countries was such that the largest number of disabled persons were concentrated there. Attention should therefore be focused on solving the problems in those countries. In the long run, full development was the driving force that not only would help to integrate the disabled into society but would help them to overcome their economic and social disadvantages.

48. Long before the proclamation of the International Year of Disabled Persons, Argentina had instituted programmes for the social integration of the disabled; subsequently, it had intensified its efforts, in accordance with United Nations guidelines. Seminars were held in various parts of the country to inform the public about the problems of the disabled and to suggest practical ways of solving them. In addition, the Government itself had initiated activities and was co-operating with a large number of private institutions. In that connexion, he drew attention to the recently established Foundation for the Development of Rehabilitation, whose activities were directed towards the training of human resources and towards research in that field.

49. Among other things, building-construction guidelines had been established with a view to facilitating access and use by disabled persons, and legislation on the protection of the disabled had been adopted in March 1981.

50. His delegation supported the recommendations contained in the report of the Advisory Committee for the International Year of Disabled Persons (A/36/471 and Add.1 and 2), which would help to maintain the momentum acquired during the Year and to achieve the desired results. In that regard, the proposals for implementing the programme of action were especially useful and should, in his delegation's opinion, serve as a practical guide for States.

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51. In conclusion, he expressed the hope that the activities resulting from the recommendations of the Advisory Committee would duly reflect the need to co-ordinate the efforts of both United Nations and regional bodies, so as to avoid any duplication of work and thus make maximum use of the resources available.

52. Mrs. KIRKPATRICK (United States of America), speaking on agenda item 12 with particular reference to human rights in El Salvador, said that her country, like the sponsors of draft resolution A/C.3/36/L.62, was deeply concerned for the freedom and well-being of the people of El Salvador. It too wanted to see peace restored to that land and democracy built on the ruins of oligarchy and dictatorship. However, it did not believe that draft resolution A/C.3/36/L.62 contributed to that end. While the draft resolution was said to have been borne out of concern at the suffering, intimidation and oppression of the people of that country, two of its operative paragraphs gave the whole document a tendentious, partisan political aspect. It was in fact a bold effort to intervene in El Salvador's internal strife on the side of the insurgents and to help those insurgents gain, through international pressure, the status and power which they were incapable of winning on the battlefield or through competitive elections. It had less to do with human rights than with politics. Rather than expressing an even-handed concern at the violence, the grave violations of human rights or the suffering of the civilian population, it expressed regret "in particular" at the actions of "governmental paramilitary organizations". It did not offer support for the Government's efforts to hold elections and establish a Government based on the will of the people but called instead for a "negotiated settlement" as a precondition for democratic elections. Under the guise of promoting human rights, it sought an endorsement for the programme of the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front and the Revolutionary Democratic Front (FMLN/FDR).

53. Any delegation seriously thinking of supporting that resolution should consider three fundamental questions: whether the Government of El Salvador was guilty of the gross human-rights abuses indicated in the draft resolution; whether the FMLN/FDR was worthy of the support of Governments and persons genuinely concerned about respect for freedom, law, democracy and development; and whether such an exercise in partisanship was a serious and morally and politically justifiable intervention in the politics of a Member State. Her Government believed that all three questions should be answered in the negative.

54. The moral quality of the Government of El Salvador was attested, firstly, by the willingness of its leaders to submit themselves to the judgement of the people in competitive elections that featured freedom to criticize the Government, to campaign against it and to offer alternative rulers. Foreign observers were invited to witness all phases of those elections. Power-hungry

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(Mrs. Kirkpatrick, United States)

dictators did not, of course, submit themselves to such tests of popular consent; democrats, who believed that government should rest on the consent of the governed, did. The Government of El Salvador was made up of democrats who respected the right of the Salvadorian people to choose its rulers and its capacity to do so. The President and his cabinet did not believe that they had the right to rule by force or that the citizens had been too intimidated or brainwashed to make judgements concerning their own good. Like democrats everywhere, they were ready to let the people decide. Secondly, the moral quality of the Government and its vision for the people could be seen in its land-reform programme, the most radical in the western hemisphere, which demonstrated that the Government was not a continuation of the "oligarchy" of absentee landlords and landless peasants. It was a Government committed to reform and social justice. A third indicator of the moral status of the Government was the solid support it received from virtually all the democracies of Latin America, most of whose leaders knew and respected the President and his cabinet, had known his predecessors and understood the problem of trying to break with a history of traditional military rule and simultaneously stave off a determined, externally supported insurgency.

55. There were two reasons why, despite the presence of democrats and reformers in the Government, there was continuing violence against the civilian population from the Government side. Firstly, the insurgency had penetrated the population and attempted to hide itself within it, with the result that the fight against violent insurgents spilt over into society. Secondly, the Government was not strong enough to claim a monopoly on the use of coercion. It was a Government with an imperfect control of its security forces confronting a violent enemy bent on provocation and destruction. The Government had incomplete power and, like most of its predecessors, it lacked the authority to control all sources of force and violence. The fact that it was confronted by a violent, well-armed adversary had enormously complicated the full consolidation of power by the Government. Violence not only begot violence - it also undermined the efforts to teach and to practise restraint in the use of power. The result was that in El Salvador, murderous traditionalists confronted murderous revolutionaries, with only the Government working to end the mutual murder and attempting to pacify the adversaries. There were societies and political conflicts in which the only choice lay between different would-be dictators and oppressors. That was not the case in El Salvador, where there were political leaders worthy of the support of democrats everywhere.

56. Her delegation believed that the methods utilized by the insurgents provided all the evidence needed by reasonable men to determine the moral quality of the Government's adversaries and the kind of regime they sought to establish in El Salvador. Lacking the popular support that could paralyse the economy with strikes or bring down the Government with demonstrations or elections, the

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insurgents had sought to create a revolutionary situation by the systematic use of violence against the civilian population and the nation's economy. The FMLN was not a broad front of any kind. It was a band of armed men who relied on violence to achieve power. Its leadership had claimed some 6,000 Salvadorians killed in 1980 alone. Its men had assassinated ordinary citizens, carried out bloody reprisals against villagers unwilling to assist them, decimated peasant co-operatives in their determined efforts to sabotage the land reform, bombed restaurants, buses, theatres, factories, food-storage facilities, market-places, public utilities, bridges and public buildings, occupied eight foreign embassies, kidnapped and killed diplomats and executed hundreds of presumed "informers", and until quite recently, when their "peace offensive" had dictated a change in tactics, they had taken no prisoners. They had sought to provoke reaction from the extreme left and had deliberately set off a chain reaction of violence and counter-violence which imperiled the freedom, security and well-being of every Salvadorian. In short, they had behaved not as chivalrous Robin Hoods who confronted the oppressed but as well-armed free booters inspired by an anti-democratic ideology and a consuming will for power with no inhibitions about the use of violence.

57. To provide some contrast to the outpourings of the international propaganda machine which furthered the interests of the FMLN by continually focusing attention on the actions of the Government side, she drew the Committee's attention to some specific examples of the atrocities being committed on a regular basis by the radical armed insurgents against the civilian population of El Salvador. On 10 January 1980, nine Christian Democrats had been assassinated by the FMLN. In September 1980, at San Pedro Perulapan, 60 peasants had been executed as government collaborators after summary trials. On 21 October 1980, near Armenia in the Department of Sonsonate, three men had been found dead with notices attached to their bodies asserting that they had been executed for treason by the FMLN. On 16 November 1980, Col. Carlos Choto, his wife and two children had been burned to death inside their house at San Salvador after an attack by FMLN terrorists. On 1 May 1981, seven persons who had refused to join the FMLN had been killed and four more had been injured by a bomb explosion. In August 1981, an FMLN attack on a bus in the Department of Usulután had claimed 20 lives. On 11 September 1981, over 40 relatives of National Guard members had been shot to death by FMLN terrorists.

58. The insurgents' essential strategy was one of provocation, challenging authority through persistent attacks which disrupted society and made ordinary life impossible, and forcing repressive countermeasures in the expectation that repression would alienate parts of the population, polarize the society, undermine the legitimacy of the regime and create so-called objective conditions needed to bring the insurgents to power. Naturally, those tactics had not endeared the FMLN/FDR to the citizens of El Salvador, whose long experience with violence

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had taught them the value of order. Had the insurgents succeeded in winning acceptance as a lesser evil, they would easily have come to power during the so-called final offensive of the 1980 Christmas season, a time when the guerillas had enjoyed a large advantage in weapons and ammunition. But they had won no popular response, and the offensive had died for lack of roots. In a statement made on 4 September 1981 in response to yet another attempt to intervene in the affairs of El Salvador, the bishops of that country had pointed to the lack of popular support for the FMLN and FDR, to their dedication to sowing terror among the population, and to their policy of damaging the nation's economy in order to obtain a political-military advantage and to create the conditions necessary for taking power and imposing a Marxist-Leninist dictatorship.

59. When the leaders had anticipated imminent military victory, through the vast quantities of arms they had received from Soviet-bloc countries, they had disdained any negotiated settlement and had clearly stated their determination to impose a military solution. It was only after the failure of their offensive that they had begun to show interest in a political solution. They were not, however, interested in a political solution that would permit the people to decide. It was always easy for the partisans of non-democratic politics to find reasons why the people of El Salvador, or of any other country, should not be permitted to choose their rulers and to hold them accountable through competitive elections. Claims to the effect that the citizens did not know their own minds and would not dare to express their true views had been heard all too often in the past. History showed that those who sought power without the consent of the people always found reasons why their rule should not be subjected to the discipline of popular election. It would obviously be vastly preferable if all elections could be held in a climate of mutual trust and civic peace. However, Governments came into being whether or not the ideal preconditions for democracy existed, and someone decided who should rule. No democrat could seriously argue that the decision was better made by a small minority operating under unstable conditions than by a larger majority operation under those same conditions.

60. When the context of the struggle in El Salvador was taken into account, it was clear that the Government of that beleaguered country was doing an honest job under extraordinarily difficult circumstances. It was also clear that democracies in the region believed that the present Government and its leaders were the best available for El Salvador. Lastly, it was clear who would profit from the alternative courses. Actions that weakened the Government of El Salvador would strengthen those who throughout the world undermined peace, democracy, national independence and the self-determination of peoples. She was sure that the United Nations did not desire to strengthen the fascism of the left, and it should not make the task of El Salvador's democrats more difficult. It should not intervene

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lopsidely on the side of repression, ignoring the call of the Salvadorian people, as articulated by the bishops' statement of 4 September 1981. The bishops had been right to defend their country's right to self-determination and condemn any intervention in its internal affairs. The Committee would be right to heed their call and reject the draft resolution before it.

61. Mr. KOMMISSAROV (Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic), speaking on agenda item 12, said that, as an active participant in the work of the Economic and Social Council and its organs, the Byelorussian SSR consistently maintained that their activities should, in keeping with the purposes and principles of the United Nations Charter, contribute to the development of co-operation among States to avert nuclear war, strengthening international peace and security, check the arms race and promote disarmament, to eliminate the vestiges of colonialism and racism, to ensure that fundamental human rights and freedoms were guaranteed by countries and to promote the social progress of peoples. That position reflected the nature of his country's social structure, in which concern for the individual and his well-being was of the first importance. As was emphasized in the Byelorussian Constitution, in accordance with the Communist ideal that the free development of each was the condition for the free development of all, the State pursued the aim of giving citizens more and more real opportunities to apply their creative energies, abilities and talents and to develop their personalities in every way. That concern could be seen throughout the decisions taken at the Twenty-sixth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, at which a major new programme for the economic and social development of the country, including the Byelorussian SSR, for the period 1981-1985 and up to 1990 had been adopted. The individual tasks of the new five-year plan were aimed at accomplishing the major task, which was to increase the prosperity of the Soviet people still further.

62. The main decisions of the thirty-seventh session of the Commission on Human Rights demonstrated that that body was, on the whole, coping with the tasks entrusted to it, in spite of the fact that recently certain countries, particularly the United States of America, had been attempting to introduce the spirit of the cold war into its work to the detriment of international co-operation in the field of human rights. An example of such attempts was the continuing effort of imperialist and reactionary groups and their accomplices to use the Commission for flagrant interference in the internal affairs of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan and the People's Republic of Kampuchea. The provocative uproar created around those two countries was based on slander and had nothing in common with the true situation there.

63. In its most important decisions, the Commission had rightly concentrated on the struggle against mass and flagrant violations of human rights, occurring as a result of the imperialist policy of aggression, racism, apartheid,

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colonialism, foreign domination and oppression. The Commission had resolutely condemned the policy of apartheid of the South African racists and also condemned the imperialist monopolies and Western Powers behind them for continuing to defy numerous United Nations decisions by providing political, economic, military and other assistance to the apartheid regime. The Commission had supported economic sanctions against South Africa to make it stop its illegal policy of apartheid and had requested the Security Council to consider the question of applying mandatory economic sanctions against South Africa and to take comprehensive measures to strengthen the arms embargo. The international community was justifiably indignant that the Security Council had been unable to take the appropriate action owing to the attitude of representatives who, in the Third Committee, were hypocritically expatriating on the protection of human rights.

64. The Commission had once again rightly condemned the widespread repression and persecution of the Arab population in the Arab territories occupied by Israel and the denial of the Palestinian people's legitimate right to self-determination. Not surprisingly, the representative of Israel had preferred to evade the essential question and had resorted to his customary slanderous attacks on other countries.

65. The overwhelming majority of members of the Commission had condemned the continuing mass and flagrant violations of human rights perpetrated by the Chilean junta against the people of Chile. The Commission's deep concern about the tragic situation of human rights in that country had been fully vindicated by the report on that situation (A/36/594), which showed not only that gross violations of human rights were continuing on a massive scale but that the human-rights situation was actually deteriorating. Continuing terror and repression on the part of the junta could be seen in all areas of the country's political and economic life. Political rights in Chile had been trampled since the counterrevolutionary coup carried out by the fascist junta in 1973 with outside help. Since that time the Chilean people had been subjected to arbitrary rule and violence by the junta, and encroachments upon life, freedom, physical and moral inviolability and individual security had become a legalized practice. The report showed that the number of arbitrary arrests had increased in 1981 and that torture continued to be used during interrogations. Opponents of the regime were still being killed, and the security agencies had been given the legal right to commit such crimes on the pretext that that was essential for safeguarding public order (A/36/594, para. 508). The international community had been directly challenged by the refusal to heed the appeals that the fate of missing persons should be duly investigated and that those responsible for their disappearance should be punished. The report also underlined that the most important social and economic rights were still being violated on a massive

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scale, thus causing hardship and deprivations for the workers of Chile. Drawing attention to paragraph 521 of the report, he said that his delegation resolutely condemned the mass and flagrant human-rights violations in Chile and supported the demand of the international community that they should cease immediately. It also felt that further effective measures to that end should be taken at the current session of the General Assembly and that the mandate of the Special Rapporteur of the Commission on Human Rights should be extended. His delegation categorically rejected the recommendations for renaming, and thus in effect abolishing, the United Nations Trust Fund for Chile, since that ran counter to previous United Nations resolutions on the subject and was aimed at undermining assistance to the victims of the Chilean junta.

66. His delegation fully endorsed resolutions of the General Assembly and the Commission on Human Rights expressing concern about the gross violations of human rights and fundamental freedoms in El Salvador, the widespread murders and kidnappings, the disappearances of individuals and the terrorist acts in that country carried out by the Salvadorian military clique. The report contained in document A/36/608 demonstrated that the human-rights situation in El Salvador was continuing to deteriorate. His delegation was particularly concerned at the fact that the appeals made by the General Assembly, the Commission on Human Rights and other international organizations for ending the flow of arms and other forms of military assistance to the Salvadorian junta were being flagrantly ignored by imperialist forces in the United States, which continued to provide the junta with comprehensive military and other assistance, including military personnel, and were thus interfering in El Salvador's internal affairs. The statement made at the current meeting by the representative of the United States was simply an attempt to divert the attention of the Committee from what was really happening in the country and to disguise the role of the United States in those events.

67. South Korea was another country in which mass and flagrant violations of human rights were taking place with the direct support or covert protection of the United States. The situation in South Africa, the occupied Arab territories, Chile, El Salvador, South Korea and certain other places where human rights and fundamental freedoms were being violated by tyrannical dictatorial regimes illustrated clearly the real attitude of United States imperialism with regard to human rights. The events of the past year had confirmed that the concept of human rights was used only to the extent convenient for the so-called doctrine of United States "vital interests". It was therefore not surprising that, in the United Nations and elsewhere, United States representatives resorted to rhetoric, gross falsifications and slanderous fabrications. Yet it was precisely in the United States, where everything was subordinate to the power of money, where the rights of working people were constantly under attack, where

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the mass media, on orders from above, could create overnight an atmosphere of hatred of animosity towards entire peoples and countries, that respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms was being distorted and disregarded. Moreover, the United States was flagrantly imposing its own political and social models upon sovereign States and attempting to destabilize, blackmail or threaten other countries, such as Cuba, Nicaragua, Grenada and the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya. All of that was clearly calculated to poison the international climate.

68. Turning to the question of nazism, fascism and neo-fascism, which posed a real threat to human rights and fundamental freedoms, he said that his country had consistently supported the total eradication of nazism and fascism in all their forms and manifestations as incompatible with the United Nations Charter and as endangering international peace and security. He recalled that during the Second World War one quarter of the people of the Byelorussian SSR had fallen victim to the inhuman ideology and practices of fascism and nazism. Therefore his country could not remain indifferent in the face of the revival and intensification of nazi, fascist and neo-fascist ideologies and activities, which had recently increased in a number of countries. It was particularly disturbing to hear that fascist and neo-fascist organizations were establishing links with militaristic groups and were expanding their relations and co-ordinating their activities at the international level, as could be seen from the closer ties between fascist organizations in South Africa and like-minded groups in Western Europe and North America. The victims of the crimes of fascist and pro-fascist organizations were usually those who opposed racism and racial discrimination, migrant workers, and virtually everyone whose skin was not white. Therefore his delegation felt that by considering that question at the current session, the General Assembly would help to spur efforts throughout the world against fascism and neo-fascism and their ideologies and practices. It also felt that General Assembly resolution 35/200 could serve as a basis for practical measures to eliminate such inhuman phenomena.

69. His delegation believed that the system of human rights and fundamental freedoms was intended to meet all of man's needs. At the basis of that system lay social and economic rights, without which one could not ensure all-round individual development and the true enjoyment of civil and political rights. The Commission on Human Rights had, in its resolution 36 (XXXVII), devoted due attention to the question of the implementation of economic, social and cultural rights in all countries and the study of specific problems faced by the developing countries in endeavouring to implement those rights. His delegation agreed with the basic provisions of that resolution, which stressed that all human rights and fundamental freedoms were indivisible and interdependent and that their implementation deserved equal attention.

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70. The United Nations Seminar on the relations that existed between human rights, peace and development was an important contribution to international co-operation in the field of human rights. The conclusions of that Seminar pointed out the close link between the maintenance of peace, social and economic development and human rights. Only if there was peace would it be possible to guarantee human rights and fundamental freedoms, first and foremost the sacred right of each individual to life. Therefore his delegation was deeply concerned at the fact that that right was being threatened as a result of the military build-up in the imperialist countries, the new impetus being given to the arms race, the development of even more complicated weapons of mass destruction, including neutron weapons, and the formulation in Washington of inhuman doctrines such as that of a limited nuclear war. In those circumstances, the primary tasks of the international community was to strive to maintain peace and strengthen international security and to reduce the threat of war - in other words, to protect the right to life. All United Nations activities, including the efforts of the Economic and Social Council and its subsidiary bodies, should be subordinated to that task, since the United Nations Charter imposed specific obligations in that regard.

The meeting rose at 1.15 p.m.