

United Nations

# GENERAL ASSEMBLY

THIRTY-SEVENTH SESSION

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THIRD COMMITTEE  
69th meeting  
held on  
Wednesday, 8 December 1982  
at 3 p.m.  
New York

## SUMMARY RECORD OF THE 69th MEETING

Chairman: Mr. CALERO RODRIGUES (Brazil)

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The meeting was called to order at 3.15 p.m.

AGENDA ITEM 12: REPORT OF THE ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL COUNCIL (continued) (A/36/855; A/37/3 (parts I, II and III), A/37/178, 188 and Corr.1 and Add.1, 201, 259, 310, 333, 412, 419, 420, 422, 452, 495, 500, 519, 521, 540, 556, 564, 611, 618; A/C.3/37/1, 5, 7 and Corr.1 and 2, 8, 9, 10; A/C.3/37/L.47, L.50, L.53, L.54/Rev.1, L.55, L.57/Rev.2, L.58/Rev.1, L.62, L.64, L.67, L.68, L.69, L.70, L.72, L.74, L.75, L.76, L.77, L.81)

AGENDA ITEM 93: International Campaign Against Traffic in Drugs (continued) (A/37/292, A/37/530, A/37/536; A/C.3/37/L.78)

1. Mr. MI GUOJUN (China), speaking on agenda item 12, said that his statement would relate to two questions: human rights in southern Africa, and human rights and mass exoduses. In relation to the first question, the three reports submitted by the Ad Hoc Working Group of Experts on Human Rights in Southern Africa provided a large number of facts exposing the gross violations of human rights committed by the racist régime of South Africa. Over the past 30 years, the South African authorities had promulgated more than 100 racist decrees and regulations to subject the non-white population to bloody repression. Nearly 20 million blacks, or more than 70 per cent of the South African population, had been confined to "homelands" where they were unscrupulously exploited by a small number of racist capitalists and farm owners. Not content with depriving the black population of all rights, the South African authorities were intensifying their policy of bantustanization by granting fraudulent "independence" and staging farcical elections to legalize and perpetuate racism and apartheid. The South African authorities were also continuing their policy of arbitrarily arresting, detaining and executing leaders of the national liberation movements and trade unions and the South African prisons were full of black militants who were being tortured and many of whom had been sentenced to long jail terms on trumped-up charges.

2. South Africa's prolonged illegal occupation of Namibia constituted a most serious violation of the Namibian people's right to self-determination. In Namibia the occupying Power was pursuing a policy of racial discrimination and apartheid which was in all respects similar to that imposed in South Africa.

3. Those gross violations of human rights had been strongly condemned by all justice-loving countries and peoples. However, the international community was forced to note with deep regret that one or two countries were still openly defending the South African régime. The Chinese Government and people had always supported the people of southern Africa in their liberation struggle. China strongly condemned the criminal policies of the South African authorities and their gross violations of human rights and supported the proposal by African countries to impose global and mandatory sanctions against South Africa. It also hoped that all the Member States of the United Nations would act in concert to terminate the political, military, economic and other assistance provided to South Africa in order to expedite the eradication of racism and apartheid in South Africa and the restoration of the fundamental rights and freedoms of the peoples of southern Africa.

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(Mr. Mi Guojun, China)

4. China also believed that it was impossible to ignore the gross violations of human rights in South Korea where more than 560 patriotic democratic activists had been barred from all political activities while over 2,000 patriotic workers, students and other people had been imprisoned and tortured. The massive arrests connected with the Kwangju massacre, the detention of the democrat Kin Dae Jung and the death in prison of the student leader Park Kwanhyun were well known facts. The Committee should therefore pay due attention to the numerous violations of human rights committed by the South Korean authorities.

5. As to the question of mass exoduses, his delegation welcomed the study on human rights and mass exoduses prepared by Prince Sadruddin Aga Khan and wished to state briefly its own views on the question. At the current time, mass exoduses were usually made by refugees, victims of natural disasters or immigrants. Exoduses of refugees were the most prominent and they were continuing on an increasing scale. Despite the strange arguments from certain quarters, it was clear that the largest exoduses currently taking place in the world, such as those from Afghanistan, Indochina, Palestine and southern Africa, were the result of gross violations of human rights, such as the aggression, expansion and armed occupation carried out by certain countries or the policy of colonial oppression and racial discrimination practiced by the racist régimes. In order to prevent mass exoduses of refugees, the root causes of those exoduses must be eradicated.

6. With regard to exoduses of victims of natural disasters, China believed that the governments of the countries concerned and the international community should act jointly in order to organize timely relief. The problem of immigrants was more complex for historical and other reasons but China believed that at all events immigrants and their families should not be subjected to any kind of discrimination or unjust treatment in the countries in which they resided.

7. In accordance with General Assembly resolution 35/124, his Government had communicated to the Secretary-General in writing its position and its recommendations on measures to be adopted to resolve the serious problem of mass exoduses and to prevent their recurrence in the future.

8. Mr. ERDOS (Hungary), speaking on agenda item 12, said that his Government was concerned about the situation of human rights in various countries and in different continents. In that respect, it wished in particular to refer to the human rights situation in Chile, which, according to the report of the Special Rapporteur, had in no way improved and continued to be a source of tension at both the national and international levels. After seizing power by violent means, the military junta was flouting the elementary norms of international law and trying to introduce to the country a new order which would eradicate the ideals of social progress and democracy. His delegation paid tribute to the work carried out by the Special Rapporteur, who had succeeded in assembling precise documentation on the situation in Chile despite the total lack of co-operation on the part of the Chilean authorities. Hungary was convinced that Chile would one day re-establish the democratic traditions for which it had always been known and felt it essential that the United Nations should continue to concern itself with the human rights situation in that country with the necessary degree of seriousness and vigilance.

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(Mr. Erdos, Hungary)

9. The human rights situation in El Salvador was another source of increasing concern for the international community. The Special Representative of the Commission on Human Rights indicated in his report that the situation had not changed in relation to the previous year. As events reported every day in the world press demonstrated, institutionalized terror was raging in El Salvador and nothing seemed to restrain members of the State apparatus and groups of the extreme right any longer in their violent actions directed against the life, liberty and security of Salvadoran citizens. Draft resolution A/C.3/37/L.77, concerned with that problem, rightly stressed that the situation had its root causes in internal political, economic and social factors. Nevertheless, some Western political circles were persisting in attributing the difficulties of central America to foreign intervention in the region.

10. Such an analysis showed a total lack of understanding of history and an astonishing failure to recognize Latin American realities, just as it proved that the essential aim of the policy of those circles was not to defend human rights. Furthermore, there were the glaring internal contradictions and inconsistencies of a policy according to which certain countries like Guatemala, the scene of continual and massive violations of human rights, were congratulated on their "success" in restoring democracy, while others like Nicaragua were continually harassed and had to face attempts to isolate them politically and economically and the threat of military incursions. To reproach the Nicaraguan Government in those circumstances with having mobilized its population and strengthened the defence capability of a country bled white by the despotism of its former rulers was pure hypocrisy.

11. Hungary condemned the human rights violations committed by Israel in the occupied Arab territories and the massacres perpetrated in Beirut, just as it condemned the racist régime of Pretoria which would long since have ceased to exist without the support of certain circles representing Western interests. The human rights situation in South Korea also was a source of world-wide public concern. The rejection of the proposals of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea to open negotiations for ending the partition of the peninsula and the presence of foreign troops stationed in South Korea made that country yet another source of tension in the Far East.

12. His delegation was pleased that the United Nations was continuing to study the question of measures to be taken against Nazi, Fascist and neo-Fascist activities and all other forms of totalitarian ideologies and practices based on racial intolerance, hatred and terror, and it noted with satisfaction that many resolutions on that subject had been adopted by the Organization. The United Nations had been created after the end of a historic struggle against the adherents of theories based upon intolerance, racial exclusiveness and violence, and 40 years later it was witnessing a resurgence of movements and trends under the banner of nazism. It was common knowledge that some adherents of the criminal ideologies and practices of the last war had, moreover, found refuge in certain countries without justice being done.

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(Mr. Erdos, Hungary)

13. Events reported in the world press testified to the resurgence of totalitarian ideologies and practices. In several Western European countries, there were groups seeking to revive concepts that not so long ago had sparked a world conflagration. In France, for instance, extreme right wing terrorists had carried out 182 attacks from June 1977 to May 1980, while in the Federal Republic of Germany groups inspired by neo-Nazi ideology openly claimed to be the successors of Adolf Hitler. In the United States, the Ku Klux Klan and the American Neo-Nazis formed a common front and the Klan maintained several paramilitary training camps in the country.

14. Those examples were very telling and proved that fascism, far from being an isolated phenomenon limited to a few countries, was instead a protean scourge that swept across all continents spreading its ideological poison at all levels of the population and intoxicating the young people of many countries.

15. It would be wrong to underestimate the potential danger of fascism and the ideologies deriving from it. History showed, in fact, that in countries where the people and responsible political circles did not take action to prevent the spread of Fascist theories and their practical manifestations, it was possible for nazism to rear its head. To oppose such steps in the name of democracy showed a fundamentally misguided conception of democracy.

16. His delegation supported the efforts urging the various States Members of the United Nations to take steps in accordance with their constitutional systems with a view to outlawing the propagation of extremist ideologies, including nazism, fascism and neo-fascism. In order to do so, the international conventions mentioned in General Assembly resolution 36/162 had to become genuinely universal legal instruments. It was also important for world public opinion to become more aware of the threat that such ideologies posed to peace, friendship and mutual understanding among peoples.

17. In Hungary, people's organizations, such as the Association of Hungarian Partisans and Anti-Fascists and the Committee of Victims of Nazism, gave first priority to the struggle against any conceivable manifestation of Fascist ideologies and were intensely active in inculcating a democratic and anti-Fascist spirit in young people.

18. Hungary was in favour of the elaboration of a declaration on Nazi, Fascist and neo-Fascist ideologies and practices and supported the Polish suggestion that 1 September should be designated as an international day of struggle against fascism.

19. Hungary, as one of the sponsors of draft resolution A/C.3/37/L.69, considered it highly significant that the German Democratic Republic, a State born of the ravages and destruction caused by Fascist tyranny, was among the countries that had taken the initiative of having that question included in the agenda of the General Assembly and it hoped that the United Nations and especially the Commission on Human Rights, would study with all due attention the question of the measures to be taken against totalitarian ideologies and practices as represented by nazism, fascism and neo-fascism.

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20. Mrs. ROSE (Federal Republic of Germany) said that the number of drug related deaths in her country had dropped considerably in 1981, although the consumption of narcotic drugs and drug trafficking was still a problem. New developments in drug abuse gave cause for concern. Trafficking was becoming increasingly more sophisticated and internationalized, which meant that countermeasures at the national level alone were not sufficient. It should also be noted that drug dependent persons were turning more and more to psychotropic substances and that improved control of natural substances had caused a rise in the consumption of substitute drugs.

21. The Federal Republic of Germany realized that the fight against drug abuse would have to continue. That was why it had introduced a new Narcotics Act which had been in force since 1 January 1982. The Act not only incorporated all provisions of the 1961 Single Convention on Narcotic Drugs and the 1971 Convention on Psychotropic Substances but, in several respects, even went beyond their provisions. The new Act applied, for instance, to substances outside the scope of the schedules of the Single Convention on Narcotic Drugs and introduced more severe penalties for large-scale illicit drug traffic offences. Her Government had also made special efforts to combat the abuse of metaqualon and had strengthened the regulations concerning the trade in acetic anhydride, since that substance was used as an agent in the production of heroin. Furthermore it was continuing to pursue the aims of its 1980 Programme of Action to combat drug abuse.

22. The measures taken at the national level had been complemented by active participation in international efforts. Thus, the Federal Republic continued to participate in the harmonization of legal provisions in Europe concerning drug abuse control and co-operated closely with other interested countries. It attached the greatest importance to the United Nations Fund for Drug Abuse Control, to which it had contributed 2 million deutsche mark in 1982. It also provided substantial support for specific projects organized by the Fund; thus, it contributed towards the financing of a crop substitution programme in Pakistan and would assist Fund projects in Egypt and Malaysia in 1983. In the matter of bilateral co-operation, it provided police equipment and training aids to developing countries and would try to use the co-operative ventures in which it participated in order to facilitate exchanges of information, especially with countries where natural substances were produced.

23. Mrs. LEGWAILA (Botswana), speaking on agenda item 12 on behalf of the countries mentioned in the Secretary-General's report on assistance to student refugees in southern Africa, namely, Lesotho, Swaziland, Zambia and Botswana, said that he was gratified to note that the report indicated that several Governments, international agencies and intergovernmental organizations had continued to make contributions on a bilateral basis on behalf of student refugees in those four countries. As of 15 July 1982, those contributions had amounted to \$8,651,336. That showed that the international community was prepared to do something about the plight of student refugees in southern Africa and that it was understood that those students had left their homelands to escape the evils of the apartheid system which prevailed in the Republic of South Africa and in Namibia.

(Mrs. Legwaila, Botswana)

24. The Secretary-General's report described several projects that had been carried out by the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR). In that context, educational assistance remained a priority objective for UNHCR, which sought to prepare student refugees to become useful citizens when they returned to an independent Namibia or assumed their legitimate place in South Africa. In Swaziland, UNHCR was concentrating its activities on the establishment or expansion of educational facilities for student refugees; the major part of its activities on behalf of those refugees was included in its normal activities.

25. The situation of refugees in southern Africa remained unsatisfactory. Swaziland, a small country of about 575,000 inhabitants had taken in approximately 6,700 refugees, nearly all of whom had come from South Africa and of whom 1,022 were students distributed among the country's various educational institutions. Lesotho, which was also a small country, was giving asylum to a large number of student refugees whom the Government was trying to assign to local schools in collaboration with UNHCR and other international organizations.

26. As at the beginning of July 1982, there had been 2,500 student refugees from Namibia in Zambia, of whom 2,000 were studying at the SWAPO Education and Health Centre at Nyango. As indicated in the report, which covered the period from 15 July 1981 to 30 June 1982, Botswana continued to receive student refugees from South Africa and Namibia. Refugees continued to pour into that country as into the three other southern African countries of asylum.

27. She then went on to discuss some of the projects mentioned in the Secretary-General's report; in Lesotho, the United States Government had contributed \$1,103,896 for additional residential facilities for student refugees from southern Africa at the National University of Lesotho. UNHCR had contributed \$41,789 for the expansion and equipment of the Lerotholi Technical Institute. In Swaziland, the Government had begun a fund-raising campaign for the construction and equipment of a primary school for 280 pupils and to cover the school's recurrent costs. UNHCR was continuing its efforts to secure contributions for the expansion of facilities at the University College of Swaziland. In Zambia, the expansion of the Nkumbi College had not been given priority because of the insufficient number of student refugees qualifying for admission. Finally, in Botswana, UNHCR had allocated \$649,889 for the Dukwe Refugee Settlement project.

28. Lesotho, Swaziland, Zambia and Botswana were developing countries with meagre resources that would be unable to continue to accept student refugees from Namibia and South Africa without increased international assistance.

29. Mrs. MBETTE (United Republic of Cameroon), speaking on agenda item 12, said that the fact that neither the Secretary-General nor the Economic and Social Council had yet been able to follow up the report of the Ad Hoc Working Group on the Social Aspects of the Development Activities of the United Nations, established in accordance with Council resolution 1979/45, was in itself evidence of the problem's complexity. How could the United Nations system be organized so as to ensure the unified approach to development led to action? Development was an

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(Mrs. Mbette, United Republic of Cameroon)

indivisible process and it was arbitrary to make a distinction between its social and economic aspects, the social aspects of development should no longer be considered the poor relation in development activities; only by taking them into account could the development process become really meaningful. She did not mean that social aspects should be given preferential treatment to the detriment of economic aspects; she simply wished to reaffirm that development could not be limited to growth, which was a concept specific to market economics which tended to overlook the social parameters. Her delegation had been pleased to note that States were increasingly adopting a humanistic conception of development by centering their policies on man in all his aspects and by seeking to integrate economic, social and cultural dimensions harmoniously. It was fortunate that that approach had found its place in the resolutions pertaining to the new international economic order and the new United Nations development strategy.

30. According to the Charter, the United Nations had been established to promote social progress and better standards of life and to achieve international co-operation in solving international problems of an economic, social, intellectual or humanitarian character. To do so, the unified approach to development called for a convergence of views at the decision-making level as well as at the implementation level. The decision to establish certain bodies to deal either with economic development or with social and cultural development must be based on nothing more than a simple division of labour and necessitated the co-ordination of their activities. That convergence of views should also be reflected in the discussions of the Second and Third Committees, which implied that the deliberations of one would be reported to the other, and the allocation of items to be included in their respective agendas should be carried out with greater care.

31. Article 62 of the Charter stipulated that the Economic and Social Council should make studies with respect to international economic, social, cultural, educational, health and related matters and make recommendations with respect to any such matters to the General Assembly. That dual function appeared to be increasingly lost sight of; the Council, being overwhelmed with documents and issues, tended to transmit reports to the General Assembly without any substantive consideration and without making any recommendations. It was therefore urgently necessary that the Council should be revitalized, should establish priorities and should refer to the Assembly only matters which were ripe for action, thus facilitating the efforts of the United Nations to promote development for all mankind and for the whole man.

32. Mrs. CASTRO de BARISH (Costa Rica), speaking on item 12, noted with satisfaction that the current discussion demonstrated the concern of the entire international community for human rights and fundamental freedoms; she welcomed in particular the transformation of the Division of Human Rights into the Centre for Human Rights. Her delegation considered that human rights were now an integral part, and in fact the very basis, of the international order and that they constituted the only guarantee of peace and security at both the internal and the international levels; for when a people, however poor, could truly exercise its right to self-determination not only by achieving independence but also by being

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(Mrs. Castro de Barish, Costa Rica)

allowed to express its will freely, there was no need for it to revolt violently against its Government; it need only take part in the electoral process in order to correct the errors of its leaders.

33. If the adoption of the International Covenants on Human Rights were the sole criterion, there would be every reason for satisfaction at the progress which had been made. However, the fact that frequent violations of such fundamental human rights as the right to life and liberty and to security and integrity of the person continued to be committed in many parts of the world could not be overlooked. It was paradoxical that, although progress had undoubtedly been made in the codification of human rights, the political reality was that the defence of those rights served as an instrument of propaganda in the hands of those who were themselves guilty of violating such rights but nevertheless posed as their champions.

34. The same ritual had gone on for years; régimes which were out of favour with a particular group were condemned while violations committed by the countries of the same group were winked at; the Third Committee was presented with a draft resolution on the situation in El Salvador, despite the fact that the Salvadorian Government had agreed to receive the Special Representative of the Commission on Human Rights and had stated that it would try to facilitate his task, and with another on the situation of human rights in Guatemala, which had been submitted even before the Special Rapporteur, whose appointment had been agreed to by the Guatemalan Government, had produced his report but not with any draft resolution on the situation of trade union rights in Poland or of human rights in Iran, where countless arbitrary executions were taking place.

35. Costa Rica did not of course regret that relatively effective mechanisms had been established, but it did regret that that had been done only to deal with cases which met selective and biased criteria. It favoured the creation of a post of United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights, in the belief that that would ensure that problems were to be considered without political preconceptions and that the incumbent would work discreetly to improve the situation.

36. By virtue of its democratic traditions, Costa Rica had the moral authority to associate itself with draft resolutions on human rights; in fact, it was among the sponsors of several of the draft resolutions submitted under item 12, such as draft resolutions A/C.3/37/L.76, A/C.3/37/L.72, A/C.3/37/L.58 and A/C.3/37/L.70. It preferred, however, not to sponsor any that were motivated by discriminatory political considerations, particularly in regard to Latin American States, when comparable situations existed in all parts of the world.

37. Intensified ideological confrontation in the world found expression in acts of mindless terrorism, the victims of which were usually innocent. One guerrilla tactic was preventing the proper conduct of free and honest elections. In some totalitarian quarters, terrorism was exalted as a means of social struggle. The healthy reaction of public opinion in rejecting such tactics must be taken advantage of, so as to improve the national and international legal instruments

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(Mrs. Castro de Barish, Costa Rica)

designed to remove the threat which they posed to peace. It was inevitable that guerrilla movements should evoke ambivalent attitudes and feelings, inasmuch as a people might exercise its right to rebel as a last resort in defence of its fundamental freedoms. However, so long as legal, democratic and peaceful means remained open, guerrilla warfare was a totalitarian tool for tearing the social fabric apart and creating anarchy, which doomed to failure any effort to promote the common good. It was common knowledge that terrorist movements and internationally orchestrated propaganda exploited for their own ends the legitimate aspirations of peoples for freedom and better economic, social and cultural conditions, thus perverting the aims and demands of the peoples concerned.

38. Some democratic countries with an impeccable record on human rights took initiatives in the Third Committee which, being the result of a misreading of the situation, of propaganda or of political pressure by international associations, had the effect of conferring a semblance of legitimacy on proposals that would never gain a hearing without their endorsement; for how could anyone take seriously accusations by those who, according to reports from Amnesty International, had for years been holding thousands of political prisoners?

39. Other causes of deep concern were racial discrimination and apartheid, and the fate of the many men and women who were denied freedom of expression, information and association, on pain of imprisonment, in which case they found themselves subjected to arbitrary treatment, whether from the totalitarianism of the left or the authoritarianism of the right, and to torture and denial of their right to an impartial and speedy trial.

40. Her delegation supported the Venezuela representative's proposal that, firstly, the Commission on Human Rights should submit annually to the General Assembly a detailed report on the human rights situation in each of the regional groups comprising the Organization, without exception, and, secondly, Governments which submitted and sponsored draft resolutions on human rights violations should agree to the Commission's submitting to the Assembly reports on the human rights situation in their own countries.

41. On the question of capital punishment, her Government had wanted to mark the centenary of the abolition of the death penalty in Costa Rica by organizing from 6 to 10 December 1982 a world congress on the subject attended by distinguished participants, in the hope of thereby creating a favourable climate for the abolition of a penalty of such severity and so susceptible to error and arbitrariness. Lastly, she noted that Costa Rica was currently celebrating the thirty-third anniversary of the abolition of its army, which attested to its desire to contribute to world peace.

42. Mr. O'DONOVAN (Ireland) paid tribute to the Director of the Centre for Human Rights and the other members of the Secretariat who had introduced agenda item 12 and thanked the Special Rapporteur on the Situation of Human Rights in Chile and the Special Representative to investigate the situation of human rights and fundamental freedoms in El Salvador for their reports. It appeared essential to

(Mr. O'Donovan, Ireland)

clarify what human rights violations were and with whom the responsibility of preventing them lay. His delegation considered the concept of human rights to mean that the individual had rights in relation to governmental authority, which was responsible for protecting those rights; the latter defined the limits within which governmental power might be exercised legitimately. It also accepted the complementary concept of the rights of peoples and the idea that human rights helped to promote the dignity of the human person vis-à-vis the national and international institutions which were supposed to serve individuals but sometimes oppressed them. It considered that human rights violations were committed or permitted by the authorities and not by groups or individuals, and when groups or individuals committed offences against human rights that were called crimes, it became the duty of the authorities to prosecute them.

43. His delegation had for a long time been concerned by the politicization of discussion on human rights. There were those who had pointed out that it was impossible to dissociate the question of human rights from politics, and it appeared that, when some speakers had called for more balance in the consideration of human rights questions they had, in fact, been referring to the need to adopt an objective political stance.

44. It had been only recently that the General Assembly and the Commission on Human Rights had begun to deal with specific situations where human rights were violated. In the first resolution that it had adopted on the procedure to be followed in considering communications concerning human rights violations, the Economic and Social Council had decided that the Commission would not have the power to follow up complaints. It was, moreover, quite clear that that caution was not limited to certain States but had been shared by all regional groups. Despite the minor changes in that procedure during the 1960s, it was not until 1967 that the Commission on Human Rights had been given the authority for the first time to take some kind of action: in resolution 1235 (XLII), the Economic and Social Council had decided that the Commission could make a thorough study of situations which revealed a consistent pattern of violations of human rights, as exemplified by the policy of apartheid. It appeared that that change had been caused by the arrival of a large number of newly independent States, particularly African States which were concerned to have the United Nations condemn apartheid. Initially, their task had not been easy, since the attempts to put that question before the General Assembly and the Commission on Human Rights had been classed as interference in the internal affairs of States, a protest that was still being heard with respect to other questions. However, their efforts had finally been successful, and it was no accident that the Commission had established the first Ad Hoc Working Group on violations of human rights in southern Africa in 1967, the year that resolution 1235 (XLII) had been adopted. More than any other factor, the campaign against apartheid had enabled the Commission to begin the process of implementing all the rights specified in the Universal Declaration.

45. The procedure provided in resolution 1235 (XLII) had been devolved further by Council resolution 1503 (XLVIII). The Commission could now consider complaints relating to human rights violations, which were examined by the Sub-Commission on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities or by the Commission

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(Mr. O'Donovan, Ireland)

itself, confidentially and in the presence of representatives of the States accused. Following that consideration, the Commission announced that a State had been investigated although it did not give the results of the investigation. The procedure followed by the Commission generally consisted of contacting the Government concerned, asking it to receive a representative or a special rapporteur or recommending other United Nations bodies, particularly the Economic and Social Council and the General Assembly, to take steps to remedy the situation under consideration. Although its decisions still could not be enforced, the Commission could implement them to a certain extent because of its moral authority. It was to strengthen that authority that his delegation once again urged those countries on which resolutions had been adopted at the Commission's previous session to co-operate with the Secretary-General in his exercise of the mandate given to him under those resolutions. In retrospect the extreme caution shown by the Commission during the first 20 years of its existence, when it had focused its efforts on the elaboration of international standards of human rights, appeared surprising, and that surprise was perhaps a measure of the increased importance attached to human rights by international public opinion, and the ever-increasing expectations placed upon the United Nations in that field.

46. The interest which the United Nations had in certain situations resulted from a variety of reasons, not all of which were laudable. It did, however, demonstrate that United Nations concern for human rights violations was increasingly widely accepted, which was something that his delegation welcomed. What was required in order to preserve the credibility and increase the moral authority of the United Nations in that area was to gain acceptance of the idea that serious human rights violations were of concern to the United Nations not only on humanitarian grounds but also because they posed a threat to international co-operation and peace. Although the principles set forth in human rights instruments were widely recognized, the views of Member States differed on the way those rights should be understood and applied. Certain countries preferred to speak of social progress rather than human rights, or of collective and social and economic rights rather than individual or civil and political rights. They treated every case before the United Nations in a political light and not in the light of any general principles. They were prepared to condemn Chile but were not prepared to draw any general conclusions from that condemnation. They had refused to condemn Cambodia when the genocidal régime of Pol Pot had been in power, but they had later attacked that régime for its human rights violations in order to justify foreign intervention. When some countries deplored the refusal of one country to co-operate with the Commission on Human Rights but voted against a resolution appealing to all States to co-operate with the Commission, the least that could be said was that they were using double standards or that they were adopting a selective approach. However, accusations of subjectivity or selectivity could ring hollow, since the argument that all States should be dealt with in the same way was unrealistic, and could lead to no action at all. Furthermore, it ignored the fact that the process of examining specific situations at the General Assembly was a very recent one and that it was going to take time to develop institutional procedures which were both comprehensive and fair.

(Mr. O'Donovan, Ireland)

47. It should also be recalled that the General Assembly was not a judicial but a political body, which was why its judgements carried extra weight among many States. However, the political nature of that body meant that factors other than humanitarian or moral considerations, such as political, economic and strategic factors, came into play in judging human rights issues. When a decision was adopted by a majority, the motives of the States participating in that majority were likely to be very mixed. That was not, however, a reason to criticize the United Nations as a whole, and those who complained about the United Nations should offer positive suggestions as to how its capacity to remedy human rights violations could be strengthened. His delegation was ready to join in efforts to establish general rules for the investigation of situations where human rights were violated, in the General Assembly or any other United Nations body, and to determine what types of human rights violations merited more thorough investigation and, in particular, how the United Nations could satisfy itself from its own information sources that human rights violations were taking place. In that connection, it welcomed the proposals of some countries, particularly that of Venezuela that a report on the general situation of human rights in all five regions should be submitted to the Commission on Human Rights.

48. His delegation was aware of the gap which existed between the eloquent, exhaustive and universal principles set forth by the United Nations and the facts of human rights violations. World public opinion regretted the slow progress in the activities which the United Nations had undertaken to prevent human rights violations, and the point might have been reached where the work of the United Nations in standard setting and the production of declarations and conventions might even be contributing to a widening of that gap. It was therefore necessary to strengthen available machinery to remedy serious human rights violations, i.e., principally, the use of good offices and, if that failed, by mobilizing public opinion. It could, however, happen that in certain cases public pressure would only worsen the situation and, consequently, aggravate human suffering. The United Nations therefore had a difficult choice to make and, while the current system was still imperfect, every effort should be made to improve it, bearing in mind the need to promote real respect for human rights throughout the world, to preserve the credibility and increase the effectiveness of United Nations action in that field, to accept that human rights questions could not be totally disentangled from political questions and to give full consideration to each initiative in the light of its humanitarian effects. His delegation was prepared to join in those efforts, both in the Third Committee and the Commission on Human Rights.

49. Mr. DEL ROSARIO C. (Dominican Republic) noted that the defence of human rights and freedoms had been closely linked to the very existence of the Dominican Republic since the beginning of the 16th century, when an Indian named Enriquillo had abandoned the comforts of city life in Santo Domingo to struggle for freedom in the Sierra de Bahoruco. Since then, the country had suffered considerably from abuses of totalitarian power, and it had thereby learned to struggle to obtain its freedom and ensure respect for the rights of its nationals and of foreigners.

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(Mr. Del Rosario C., Dominican Republic)

50. The Dominican Republic attached prime importance to fundamental human rights. The freedom, security and integrity of persons which it now jealously safeguarded, were not a privilege but the result of a long process of revendication. No one in his country was imprisoned or exiled for political reasons; the press was free, freedom of association was absolute, and democratic elections were organized periodically for the sole purpose of ensuring national development and the well-being of the population.

51. The elections held in May, 1982 with the participation of the various political associations of the country representing all tendencies in the Dominican political spectrum, were striking proof of the democratic development of the Republic. Those elections, which had been completely free, constituted the culmination of a political process which had grown continually stronger since the most brutal and unscrupulous tyranny in the history of the Americas had been ended 21 years earlier.

52. The Dominican Republic vigorously condemned violations of human rights, wherever they occurred and without exception. However, in the light of its historical experience, it felt it was entitled to ask the members of the Committee why a particular group of countries was currently the target of accusations and whether Latin America held a monopoly of violations of human rights.

53. The Latin American countries had become the victims of a systematic and selective attack with regard to human rights. The Committee seemed to have become an international tribunal with the right to judge and sentence those countries in a preconceived manner. It was well known that the informal circulation of resolutions on human rights violations started even before the reports requested of the Commission on Human Rights were issued. His country was opposed to such a sectarian attitude, which exacerbated the situation it was meant to improve or transform. The purpose of resolutions on human rights violations should be to assist countries in their struggle for democracy and in coping with the difficulties they encountered.

54. It was ironic that the continent which was the target of that discrimination had established the necessary machinery to ensure respect for fundamental human rights. For example, the Inter-American Commission on Human Rights performed its functions in a commendable way. Mention should also be made in that connection of the Inter-American Court of Human Rights, set up recently in Costa Rica, which was composed of eminent Americans and had broad latitude to interpret and apply the American Convention on Human Rights. Moreover, the Organization of American States at its most recent General Assembly had adopted a resolution on human rights which, because of its objective and constructive nature, could serve as an example and should be carefully studied by all concerned with respect for human rights.

55. The way in which human rights violations were considered in the Third Committee was of great concern to his delegation, which felt that the examination should be conducted urbi et orbi, without exceptions. It therefore believed that the recommendations recently formulated by the representative of Venezuela should

(Mr. Del Rosario C., Dominican Republic)

be adopted. If those recommendations were implemented, it would be possible to avoid the politicization of the question under consideration and ensure that the work entrusted to the Committee would be conducted in a more just and effective way.

56. The struggle for the realization of human rights had been a source of constant turmoil in the Americas. The right to life was often non-existent, not only because justice was arbitrary or flawed but also because the physical security of individuals was not safeguarded. People lived in terror and uncertainty and in spite of laws and courts did not know whether anyone would defend them. The right to own property, the right to just remuneration and the right to leisure had no meaning for people living in poverty and unable to find either work or means of subsistence. It would be even more utopian to speak of cultural rights and participation in scientific and artistic development to illiterates, of whom there were many in Latin America.

57. Peace at home and abroad, democracy and public freedoms, structural change and social development were all essential if the people of the Americas were to be able to exercise their civil, political and economic rights. For that reason, his delegation urged that resolutions on human rights violations should be studied objectively and constructively, bearing in mind that subjective criticism was destructive.

58. Mrs. SARANGEREL (Mongolia) observed that the international community had long been concerned about massive and flagrant violations of human rights in Chile, El Salvador, South Africa and the Israeli-occupied Arab territories.

59. Her delegation had carefully studied the report of the Special Rapporteur on the situation of human rights in Chile and considered it to be objective. The Pinochet régime, in defiance of United Nations resolutions, was pursuing its policy of terror and refused to end the state of emergency and re-establish democracy. Disappearance, murders, arrests and cases of torture for political reasons currently numbered in the tens of thousands. In the first six months of 1982 alone, there had been close to 8,000 arrests of that type. The junta was currently trying to avail itself of legal means to combat the fighters for freedom and democracy, as demonstrated in the draft legislation which punished "subversive activities" by death or life imprisonment. The international community must redouble its efforts to remedy the situation. The Mongolian people expressed solidarity with the just struggle of the Chilean people for the defence of human rights and fundamental freedoms. She fully supported draft resolution A/C.3/37/L.53.

60. In his report, the Special Representative of the Commission on Human Rights on the situation of human rights in El Salvador provided irrefutable evidence of mass murder, the unleashing of terror and the multiplication of cases of torture in prisons. The United States of America, through its military assistance to the régime, was guilty of complicity in the genocide of the Salvadorian people. What terms could be used to describe the support which it gave to the régime in South Korea, which flouted civil and political rights? Her delegation resolutely supported the struggle of the Salvadorian patriots for freedom and democracy.

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(Mrs. Sarangerel, Mongolia)

61. The re-emergence of fascist and nazi ideologies and practices and the activities of certain neo-fascist organizations constituted a threat to international peace and security and to the realization of human rights and fundamental freedoms. It was time to take practical measures and intensify the struggle against those ideologies and practices. Her delegation supported draft resolution A/C.3/37/L.69. The social and economic structures of Mongolia precluded any manifestation of racism, racial discrimination, nazism or fascism, which were also prohibited by national legislation. Her country had ratified all the international instruments referred to in paragraph 5 of General Assembly resolution 36/162 and strictly fulfilled the commitments undertaken by virtue of those instruments.

62. Mr. QUIÑONES AMEZQUITA (Guatemala), speaking on item 12, said it was a fact that human rights had been violated in various parts of the world, very often with impunity, and efforts at the international level to put an end to those abuses were of course justified. However, as the representatives of Ecuador, Venezuela, Costa Rica and the Dominican Republic had correctly stated, any analysis of violations of human rights should cover all countries, irrespective of the commercial, political or military ties one might have with them.

63. The Committee had before it a draft resolution in which Guatemala was accused of violations of human rights. However, that text was political in nature, in that its aim was not to protect human rights but simply to aid one political group in Guatemala. Its sole purpose was to condemn the Guatemalan Government for propaganda purposes and prevent Guatemala from receiving assistance. Its sponsor seemed to have forgotten what it had said less than a week before, namely, that concern for human rights must be universal. It seemed to have become a habit to take the view that only Latin American countries violated human rights; that was intolerable, and his delegation was grateful to the Latin American countries that had refused to sponsor the draft, despite pressure from the Nordic country which had prepared it.

64. The new Guatemalan Government viewed the country's internal situation in quite a different light from its predecessors and with a concern for ensuring respect for human rights. At the twelfth General Assembly of the Organization of American States, held recently, the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Guatemala had stated that the new Government, operating without any partisan political commitment and motivated solely by the desire to bring about profound and far-reaching change in which all social groups in the country would participate, had completely broken with the past in order to return to a state of legitimate law and strengthen the authentic democratic institutions that would permit an affirmation of the identity and national personality of the country. In his talks with President Reagan on 4 December, the President of the Republic himself had stated that the Guatemalan Government was currently striving to restore lasting peace in the country, which meant ensuring national economic and social development, trying to meet the economic and social needs of disadvantaged groups and bringing about political liberalization. As the President had pointed out, the make-up of the population of Guatemala made that task all the more complex, since it consisted for the most part

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(Mr. Quiriones Amezcuita, Guatemala)

of groups who spoke different regional dialects unrelated to Spanish or to each other, who rejected the Western way of life and whose values and mentality were an enigma to outsiders. The Government therefore had to do all it could to improve the quality of life for them while respecting their right to live as they chose. Like the United States, Guatemala wanted to achieve national unity with due regard for individual differences. At the political level, new laws governing the formation of political parties and the holding of elections would be promulgated in March 1983. Elections would be more open than they had ever been. For instance, the President had said, all parties which proclaimed themselves to be socialist would be recognized and their participation in the electoral process would be guaranteed.

65. The Guatemalan Government fully realized that Governments which did not want their peoples to become revolutionaries must not be reactionary, but must be the interpreters of the sentiments of the people. It also knew, however, that time, the creator and preserver of all that was great and lasting, was needed in order to put in place a system of sound and effective democratic reforms.

66. The subversion with which Guatemala was confronted was being stirred up by a group using the pretext of poverty, inequitable distribution of wealth and the lack of a satisfactory education and health system. Those were problems which the present Government was trying to begin to solve, knowing that it could not do so overnight. The subversion was instigated and financed from abroad and was bent on seizing power by force without recognizing that all force must be sought in legality and legitimacy. Its tactics were armed struggle, death, kidnappings, extortion and terrorism.

67. Guatemala was not the only victim of violence in Latin America. Other countries with democratic governments were also under attack in the quest for violent change in economic structures which some sought to impose on peoples without consulting them. Any analysis of human rights which did not take into account the situation and realities of countries that were grappling with a problem of subversion was lacking in objectivity and practical value.

68. The draft resolution condemning the Guatemalan Government was unfair and untimely, because it sought to condemn a Government without even offering it an opportunity to be heard. One of the fundamental guarantees applicable in the case in point was that set forth in article 11 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, which stated that everyone had the right to be presumed innocent until proved guilty, having had all the guarantees necessary for his defence. The Commission on Human Rights had nominated a Rapporteur to study the situation of human rights in Guatemala, and his appointment had been agreed to by the Guatemalan Government, which had offered him all the necessary facilities. And yet a condemnatory resolution had been introduced without waiting for the Rapporteur to submit his report. That was a procedure which contravened the very essence of human rights. Furthermore, the Inter-American Commission on Human Rights had visited Guatemala in September 1982 and had been pleased with the facilities offered to it, but Guatemala was being condemned before the Commission had issued

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(Mr. Quiñones Amezcuita, Guatemala)

its report. His delegation therefore wondered what purpose the appointment of a Special Rapporteur would serve. Draft resolution A/C.3/37/L.75 was based on Commission on Human Rights resolution 1982/31, which had been adopted shortly before a radical change of government had taken place in Guatemala. His delegation acknowledged the legal continuity of the State, but the fact was that the present Government of the Republic did not have to answer for what had occurred before it had taken over. It was also superfluous to cite General Assembly decision 36/435, since cordial contacts had now been established with the Secretary-General and the Guatemalan Government was giving him its full co-operation.

69. The sixth preambular paragraph stated that the Assembly was disturbed about the large number of missing persons who, despite appeals from various international organizations to the Government of Guatemala, remained unaccounted for. Only the sponsors knew which international organizations were referred to - probably those that were financing the campaign of denegration against Guatemala. It went without saying that there should be no cases of missing persons, but in a situation of subversion they could not be attributed to the Government. A paragraph as vague as that was therefore meaningless.

70. The representative of the Nordic country that was sponsoring the draft resolution had observed that, without respect for human rights, economic development was devoid of meaning. That was self-evident, and of course there could not be full development in the absence of respect for the right to freedom of thought, freedom of association, universal suffrage and ideological and political pluralism. But was that what certain subversive groups in Latin America were seeking? Did they respect human rights? Did they want political pluralism? Were certain guerrilla groups opposed to violence, as the Government of that Nordic country was?

71. In the seventh preambular paragraph, the Assembly noted with concern "the state of siege in force in Guatemala since 1 July 1982, under which basic human rights are abrogated". The Guatemalan Constitution, which embodied the individual and social guarantees that were necessary to ensure the protection of human rights, provided, like the constitution of any democratic country, for a state of emergency under which certain guarantees were suspended for a period of not more than 30 days, which could not be extended. That did not mean that the guarantees were abrogated: suspension of guarantees, as permitted by the Latin American Convention on Human Rights, was not the same thing as abrogation. That paragraph was simply intended to shock delegations. The first obligation of a Government was to ensure the protection of life, liberty and security of person. All those rights, and in particular freedom of thought, speech and writing, freedom of association, freedom of conscience and universal suffrage, were essential. They could not exist, however, where there was no security and where the Government did not protect life, liberty and security of person. The fight against subversion had forced the Guatemalan Government to suspend individual guarantees for a time, but that was in fact an indication of its respect for national legality. The seventh preambular paragraph was therefore completely without basis.

(Mr. Quifiones Amezquita, Guatemala)

72. In the operative part of the draft resolution, the General Assembly expressed its deep concern at the serious violations of human rights reported to take place in Guatemala, including killings, disappearances, and the like. His delegation wondered what were the sources of information which had been used. If proposals based on unverified information were to be submitted, Guatemala too could submit draft resolutions directed against the Nordic country sponsoring the text under consideration. Everyone knew how that country, where the suicide rate was the highest in the world, protected life. Everyone knew how it worked for peace, forbidding the manufacture of warlike toys while it was among the largest arms exporters. With regard to the displacement of populations, it was regrettable that Guatemalans had to flee from violence, but that violence could not be imputed to the Government. In recent weeks, numerous groups of displaced persons had asked for assistance in returning to their homes and finding productive work. The Guatemalan army protected them and also provided emergency aid to those peasants who had been forced to follow the subversive elements and were now returning to special camps where they felt safe. The next stage would be resettling the peasants in their homes, in order that they might resume their activities in a climate of peace and security such that subversive groups could not compel them to pay war levies. The Government had, in fact, co-operated to the maximum possible extent with the High Commissioner in meeting the needs of the refugees.

73. In paragraph 2, the Government of Guatemala was urged to ensure respect for human rights; such urging was completely superfluous, since that was itself one of the Government's own objectives. In paragraph 5, the Assembly called upon Governments to refrain from supplying arms and other military assistance to Guatemala. That paragraph merely confirmed what had already been stated, namely, that the draft resolution was of a partisan character and that its objective was not to protect human rights but to prevent the present Government of Guatemala from obtaining military assistance while the subversive groups obtained arms from other countries free of charge. In paragraph 6, the Government was invited to co-operate with the Special Rapporteur of the Commission on Human Rights, which it had already offered to do, and in paragraph 7 the Commission on Human Rights was requested to study carefully the report of its Special Rapporteur and to consider further steps for securing human rights and fundamental freedoms in Guatemala.

74. In conclusion, he declared once again that draft resolution A/C.3/37/L.75 was unfair and inappropriate and expressed the hope that it would be rejected.

75. Mrs. WARZAZI (Morocco), speaking on agenda item 12, said that the problem of drug abuse was one of global dimensions; no society was free of that evil, which was continuing to spread, as was made clear by the ever-growing numbers of seizures and of drug users. The efforts of the General Assembly to combat the problem had met with little success, and it was regrettable that the Assembly had not given more active support to the international campaign against traffic in drugs.

76. In Morocco, a producer of psychotropic substances, young people were being mobilized to combat that evil, of which they were the prime victims. Organized into brigades, they were carrying out information campaigns among their peers. The

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(Mrs. Warzazi, Morocco)

authorities had conducted conferences and debates on the question and had taken steps to regulate the sale and to control the movement of such substances. The penal code provided for sanctions against those who sold or used those substances illegally. Those efforts had earned the Moroccan Government tributes from the experts of the World Health Organization.

77. Consumer countries should combat the illicit demand for drugs through prevention and information campaigns, combat traffickers in concert with producer countries, and provide financial support to the latter - most of which were developing countries - in particular when they tried to interest their populations in activities which could provide an alternative to poppy cultivation.

78. With regard to the question of human rights and mass exoduses, she commended the Special Rapporteur for his frank, lucid and impartial report. Her delegation shared his views concerning the underlying causes of exoduses. There were two major types of mass exodus. Exoduses of the first type arose out of an unfavourable economic situation and consisted of movements of persons in search of a better material life. Such was, for example, the case in developing countries. It must, however, be recognized that if a developing country was unable to guarantee its citizens the enjoyment of social and economic rights, that did not release it from the obligation to respect and protect their civil and political rights. The President of the Association of Young African Jurists had recently emphasized that idea at a seminar held at Lomé. It was true that the establishment of the new international economic order could only promote the achievement of human rights in those countries. However, certain countries seemed to have succeeded in compensating for the absence of democracy and the concomitant restrictions on freedom of movement, by giving their people access to material affluence. Thus, the establishment of the new order was not a universal panacea. The other kind of mass exodus - the kind most frequently encountered during the past 10 years - was that provoked by deliberate violations of political and civil rights. It involved the people fleeing from oppression, persecution and wars who were referred to as refugees. It should be noted that those refugees, leaving their property, and often their families, only to find insecurity, misery and disease in another country, were the object of haggling and bargaining among the Governments of receiving countries. Even worse, it was not impossible that they would be considered a source of income, that could be used to shore up a tottering national economy. Violations of human rights must obviously be remedied if the flows of refugees were to be stemmed. It would be desirable to develop by means of international instruments the Declaration on Territorial Asylum adopted in 1967. The African Charter of Human and People's Rights adopted in 1980 recognized the universal character of the right of asylum.

79. The solution of those problems required the countries concerned to manifest a high degree of good will; it might also be advisable to consider measures for exerting pressure with a view to redressing the situations underlying mass exoduses.

80. Concerning the human rights situation in Chile, El Salvador and Guatemala, she said that members of the Third Committee and, with even better reason, Special

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(Mrs. Warzazi, Morocco)

Rapporteurs and special representatives would be well advised to act with prudence in investigating allegations of violations of human rights, so as not to compromise for all time their contacts with the Governments concerned. For eight years, it had not been possible to engage in a real dialogue with the Chilean authorities owing to the adoption of unwise resolutions, to a failure to recognize a positive change in the situation in certain respects, which should have been encouraged, and to a selective and biased approach to the problem, about which a great deal could be said. As the delegation of Venezuela had observed, the General Assembly called to account only such small Latin American countries as El Salvador, Guatemala and Chile. A reading of the press was enough to show that there were political prisoners elsewhere in the world also, that torture was often their daily bread, and that states of war, martial law and curfews were also prevalent.

81. With regard to Chile, the previous Rapporteur had submitted the report of a commission of inquiry in whose work he had not even taken part. Still more regrettable, that commission had made no change at all in a report which had been drawn up even before it had made its visit of inspection in order to establish the facts. The report submitted at the present session was based on news items and on information given by organizations of all kinds and by individuals, probably members of the political opposition, and not on co-operation with the Chilean Government. In that connection, she pointed out with concern that certain non-governmental organizations deliberately violated the instructions of the Economic and Social Council by sending members of political oppositions as representatives to the General Assembly. The fact that such organizations dealt with questions of human rights was not without baneful consequences.

82. The representative of Morocco noted that the Salvadorian Government had welcomed the Special Representative, whose reputation for honesty and integrity had preceded him and that it had accorded him every facility to carry out his investigation. According to the Special Representative, responsibility for the violations of civil and political rights in El Salvador lay both with members of the State apparatus and groups of the extreme right and with armed groups of the extreme left; she noted, however, with a certain amount of interest that, whenever the Special Representative drew attention to a positive change made by the Government, he also cited the press or professors and writers who criticized that change. For example, it was a well known fact that land reforms posed tremendous difficulties for all countries which had sought to introduce such reforms; therefore why single out the Government of El Salvador for reproach for not having been able to complete out such reforms in that country? With regard to the assassinations, she agreed with the Special Representative that the figures should be handled with prudence. It was very likely that mass murders and the assassination of political leaders, reporters and other people, including many members of the Christian Democratic Party, might have been committed by the extreme right. However, people who died during armed conflict between the regular forces and guerrilla groups should not be counted among the murder victims. In any case, the Government of El Salvador should take the necessary steps to put an end to the human rights violations and should take severe action against the members of the extreme left, who were partly responsible for the killings and destruction of

(Mrs. Warzazi, Morocco)

public property. She endorsed recommendations 2, 3, and 4 of the Special Representative contained in paragraph 103 of his report. It was not easy to determine exactly who was responsible for what in a situation in which fighting between guerrillas and government forces was common, materially encouraged by certain countries who had economic, ideological or geopolitical designs and who took pleasure in pouring oil upon the fire.

83. Lastly, she said that all too often people were imprisoned, tortured and killed in the name of liberty, for that allowed others to have a quiet conscience at little cost. Accordingly, human rights must not be exploited for purposes which were not humanitarian and those who were really concerned with human rights must act with sincerity, impartiality and discretion.

84. Mr. DERESSA (Ethiopia), speaking in exercise of his right of reply, pointed out that his delegation had always tried to maintain a standard of debate commensurate with the noble aims of the Third Committee and to work for a meeting of minds without sacrificing its position of principle. As everyone had seen, his delegation had been positively disposed towards all members of the Committee, including Somalia. However it could not remain silent when professional agitators used the Committee as a platform for smear campaigns and vilifications of Ethiopia. That was why he had taken the liberty twice, at the morning meeting, to remind the Ambassador of Somalia - who, being but an occasional visitor to the Committee was perhaps unaware of the traditions maintained in that body - that he should confine his remarks to the item under consideration and that he should exercise prudence and restraint. He was in no way seeking to infringe on the inalienable right of the Ambassador of Somalia to talk of his cherished fantasy but was simply trying to point out that he should watch his language and remind him that the Third Committee had neither the competence nor the time to deal with root causes of bilateral conflicts such as the one in the Horn of Africa, which conflict could only be traced to Somalia's irredentist policy and territorial ambitions.

85. However, neither his appeals for restraint nor those of the Chairman had been heeded by the Ambassador of Somalia, who had devoted more than two thirds of his statement neither to the needs of his country nor to the situation of the so-called refugees but to a meaningless diatribe against Ethiopia. That polemical and provocative attitude was not as fortuitous as it seemed; it was a direct result of the policy of the Somali Government which was doing its utmost to throw dust into everyone's eyes so as to cloud their vision and conceal its real aims.

86. All the manoeuvres of the Ambassador of Somalia who - notwithstanding the earnest pleas of several delegations who had urged both parties to keep politics out of humanitarian issues - had seen fit to attack Ethiopia by citing irrelevant material, were designed simply to hide the fact that Somalia had nothing to substantiate its claims that it was sheltering millions of so-called refugees.

87. The Ambassador of Somalia claimed that his country had the largest number of refugees in the world and he was pleading for increased humanitarian assistance from the international community on their behalf. Those refugees were, of course,

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(Mr. Deressa, Ethiopia)

supposed to have originated in Ethiopia and were said to have been expelled by force from that country. Ethiopia, for its part, had consistently rejected the figures concocted by the Somali authorities and had maintained that the so-called refugees were, in fact, Somalia's needy citizens who were being paraded in the camps for fund-raising purposes. Now, information from various sources was proving the Ethiopian Government right. A United Nations mission which had visited Somalia had indicated in its report that the number of people who were in camps because of the drought was unknown. That observation had been confirmed by an article in the Herald Tribune, which stated that one settlement which had been set up at Kurtenware, in 1975, during one period of drought had still been there, five years later and that not one of the individuals in that settlement was a refugee. In a country in which 80 per cent of the population was nomadic and in which was a drought persistent problem, where could the drought victims be if not in camps conveniently called refugee camps?

88. According to an article published in the Washington Post in August 1981, the office of the Somali Refugee Commission kept no records or accounts yet the Somali authorities had claimed to be sheltering 2,300,000 refugees - a figure they had later reduced to 1,300,000 - and had asked for \$360 million - an amount almost equal to Somalia's GNP - in assistance.

89. But, thanks to the efforts of the international community, the truth was slowly being revealed. He cited an article published in the British newspaper, The Guardian, on 2 August 1981, which stated, in substance, that the 27 international agencies operating in Somalia had dismissed the estimates of 1.3 million refugees advanced by the Somali authorities as out of all proportion and had asked United Nations demographers to carry out a census. The Somali Government had refused to publish the results and it was easy to see why, for the aid organizations had calculated their budgets on a generous assumption of some 600,000 refugees. United Nations officials were deeply worried by the Government's attitude for, unless the truth was told, donors could feel that they had been victims of a massive international confidence trick perpetrated by that Government. An article published in the Philadelphia Enquirer on 17 September 1980, had stated that the policy of President Siad Barre had been badly defeated, that the fraudulent nature of the "refugee operation" was common knowledge in Somalia and that the so-called "refugee camps" were simply food distribution points in the bush where the nomads had quickly gone to receive free food and water.

90. It was in an effort to divert attention from those revelations and to prevent a proper examination of the question of the so-called refugees in Somalia that the representatives of that country had launched into vile attacks against Ethiopia.

The meeting rose at 6.45 p.m.