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68th meeting
held on
Wednesday, 8 December 1982
at 10.30 a.m.
New York

SUMMARY RECORD OF THE 68th MEETING

Chairman: Mr. CALERO RODRIGUES (Brazil)

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The meeting was called to order at 10.45 a.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 (English only), 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, 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: REPORT OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL (continued) (A/37/292, A/37/530, A/37/586; A/C.3/37/L.78)

1. Mr. HARLAND (New Zealand) said that his country was deeply concerned at the wholesale denial of even elementary human rights, such as the right of people to marry according to their wishes and the right to live wherever they liked within their own country, as well as the more fundamental ones like the right to life, all of which were taken for granted in New Zealand. The worst example of the denial of rights to a large group on the ground of race or some other arbitrary consideration was the apartheid system in South Africa. As the Prime Minister of New Zealand had often said, apartheid was an unjust and inhuman system, antithetical to the principles by which New Zealanders lived. The spectacle of husbands being separated from their wives, of children from their parents, and of large numbers of so-called squatters being removed from the only places where they could earn a living appalled and distressed New Zealanders. Such massive and deliberate violations of human rights must be condemned wherever they occurred.

2. New Zealand also felt concern about more selective violations of human rights. When the power of the State was used by one political group to get rid of its rivals and to suppress opposition, the rights of the people involved were denied as plainly as when the rights of whole sections of a country's population were violated. The case was even worse when people imprisoned for purely political reasons were ill-treated, tortured or murdered, or simply disappeared without a trace. Such violations, which not only occurred but appeared to be increasing, must trouble anyone who valued human life and took human rights seriously.

3. His country could not but be distressed at the use of martial law in Poland to suppress political opposition. Valuing the freedom of association, New Zealand was particularly disturbed at the arrest and detention of the freely elected leaders of Poland's trade unions. He welcomed the recent release of Mr. Lech Walesa and expressed the hope that the military Government in Poland would display the courage and statesmanship necessary to engage in a constructive dialogue that would lead to the complete restoration of human freedoms and the fulfilment of the aspirations of the Polish people.

4. Some of the reports before the Committee referred, quite appropriately, to other individual countries in which human rights had been violated. It was also appropriate to acknowledge that there were few countries where those rights were never violated and where constant vigilance was not required to ensure that

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violations were kept to a minimum. It should likewise be borne in mind that the purpose of international scrutiny was to encourage Governments to carry out the commitments that they had undertaken and to respect the rights of individual citizens and non-citizens alike.

5. The promotion of respect for human rights was the main purpose of the Seminar on National, Local and Regional Arrangements for the Promotion and Protection of Human Rights in the Asian Region, held in Sri Lanka in June 1982. Since that region was characterized by a wide range of cultures and political and legal systems, such exchanges of views were a particularly useful approach to the problem. Continuing discussions could help overcome cultural difficulties and encourage greater respect for human rights. His delegation was pleased to be one of the sponsors of the draft resolution put forward by Sri Lanka calling for distribution of the report of the recent Seminar to the Governments of ESCAP member countries.

6. His delegation was disturbed at the recent spread of refugee problems. Mass exoduses must concern the international community, even when caused by natural disasters or events beyond the control of Governments. They were all the more distressing when they resulted from the calculated and deliberate acts of a Government, or when those acts themselves violated fundamental human rights. Welcoming the report on human rights and massive exoduses (E/CN.4/1503), he expressed the hope that it would receive due attention from the group of governmental experts on international co-operation to avert new flows of refugees. The problem of mass exoduses and their causes was very much the concern of the United Nations.

7. Turning to the problem of drug trafficking, he said that growing numbers of New Zealanders had fallen victim to the predatory activities of those who peddled drugs, both inside and outside New Zealand. The drug-peddlers' cynical abuse of the rights and freedoms they enjoyed in order to exploit the weaknesses of others and profit from their degradation had aroused widespread indignation in his country and in many others. The problem could be solved only by close co-operation between Governments and between law-enforcement agencies. Co-operation at the regional level could sometimes be particularly useful, as in the case of the recent meeting of the Operational Heads of National Narcotics Law Enforcement Agencies, Far East Region (HONLEA), held at Manila. However, because of the growing sophistication of international drug trafficking the United Nations itself had an important contribution to make in that sphere. New Zealand fully supported the international drug abuse control strategy and the work done by the United Nations bodies that implemented it; it was glad to co-operate with them whenever it could.

8. Mr. ROA-KOURI (Cuba) said that violations of human rights had long been a topic of discussion in the Third Committee and had, in recent years, provided fertile ground for imperialistic propaganda, which endeavoured to set up a smoke-screen to mask its close ties with régimes that, like the racist South African Government and the Israeli Zionist entity, constituted the most abominable outgrowths of political thought. Imperialists tried to ignore their own origins of

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power based on the exploitation of man by man, on colonialist territorial expansion and on the repression and subjugation, if not the extermination, of the indigenous populations of continents and nations which they had occupied over the centuries. As self-styled defenders of human rights, they denied sustenance to those who did not agree with their own way of viewing the world. The people of Cuba, after breaking their ties with Spanish colonialism, had been subjected for more than 50 years to Yankee military occupation followed by the establishment of a neo-colonial régime, which had not only subordinated them to United States imperialistic interests but also denied them the possibility of deciding their own destiny. During that period, most Cuban leaders had been mere puppets of successive United States Presidents and had sacrificed the true interests of their people and country to Yankee monopolies.

9. The representatives of the United States were at present nostalgic about the "paradise lost" of their friend Batista and in the name of a democracy which they had never practised, were lecturing independent and sovereign States on human rights and prescribing norms of political conduct for them. But those States had no reason to admire the "American way of life", under which blacks, Chicanos, Puerto Ricans, Latin Americans and all those who were not white Anglo-Saxon Protestants were third-class citizens.

10. The United States régime was not a democracy but an oligarchy, in which power was held by a minority. Democracy, moreover, was not a pure idea. The kind of democracy known all through history, first in Greece, where democracy had initially appeared, then in Rome and later in Europe during the Renaissance, had never been true popular democracy. The French Revolution had brought the first major historical change, followed by the North American revolution, which had claimed to establish a political régime based on popular will. All ideas, however, were conditioned by historical circumstances, and man had always endeavoured to create conditions for the development of the spirit of freedom. That was precisely what the revolutionary Government of Cuba had attempted to do following the series of oligarchical régimes ruling in the name of democracy. It had laid emphasis on the creation of economic and social foundations, since there could be no democracy while there was poverty. The fundamental difference between Cuban democracy and the self-styled democracy of the Yankees was that the Cuban system was able to embrace the poor and helpless of society.

11. The Cuban Government had a deep respect for human rights. It was not sufficient to inscribe respect for human dignity in a document; real conditions must be created to ensure that the dignity embodied in that document was guaranteed. Cuba had made great efforts to that end because a large majority of its population had, in the past, been treated as objects. Land reform and radical socio-economic change made during the past 24 years had raised the status of those Cubans to that of genuine human beings. The Cuban revolution was therefore truly democratic.

12. Accordingly, his delegation was not concerned at the fact that many countries in the Third Committee had referred to gross violations of human rights in Latin

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America. The Cuban people had struggled for 100 years to acquire, once and for all, the right to speak the truth, and it had no ties whatsoever with régimes which sullied the dignity of peoples. Cuba had neither commercial nor other types of ties with Israel or South Africa and did not expect to receive gifts from the United States or any other imperialist Power. Its foreign policy was founded on unshakeable principles, and it would never falter in its pledge to contribute to the emergence of a world based on peace and socialism, without exploiters or exploited, without racism and racial discrimination, without imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism.

13. The genocide perpetrated against innocent civilians in the refugee camps of Sabra and Shatila during the Zionist aggression in Lebanon constituted an abominable crime against humanity, for which both the Begin Government and the United States were responsible. President Reagan might well have mentioned that violation of human rights when he set himself up as a champion of those rights.

14. The situation of the Namibian people and the black majority population of South Africa constituted an affront to the modern era. The United States, through its economic and financial assistance, was enabling that heinous and inhumane system to subsist.

15. A tyrannical régime existed in South Korea as well, with the support of United States armed forces, characterized by corruption, pillage and the exploitation of working classes, as well as the brutal repression of any popular movement in favour of genuinely representative government.

16. In the Latin American region, flagrant and massive violations of human rights were being committed by various tyrannical and repressive régimes. All of them had a common characteristic: the support of the United States, which had brought them to power and had vigorously defended them. Among those Governments were Paraguay, Uruguay and, in particular, Chile, El Salvador and Guatemala.

17. The situation in Chile continued to be on the Committee's agenda because, according to the report of the Special Rapporteur on Chile, there were as yet no signs of substantive improvement in human rights and fundamental freedoms. Since the forcible overthrow of its legitimate constitutionally elected President, Salvador Allende, at the urging of President Richard Nixon and through the Central Intelligence Agency and its local collaborators, Chile had been subjected to barbaric repression. A hierarchical constitutional structure persisted, with the powers of the State being controlled by the armed forces, thus facilitating serious, flagrant and systematic violations of human rights. Torture and ill-treatment continued to be openly tolerated by administrative and judicial authorities. The security services were responsible for torture and for a long list of violations of fundamental human rights. The fate of a large number of disappeared persons had not been clarified by the Government, in spite of the repeated appeals of the international community. The report further stated that the rights to freedom of thought, opinion and expression were not respected in Chile. In addition to the political and economic crisis, there was a moral crisis,

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denounced by the Catholic Church, and many rights and guarantees were impaired or practically non-existent. In particular, the rights of indigenous minorities were not duly respected in Chile.

18. Draft resolution A/C.3/37/L.53 was the response of the delegations of Algeria, Mexico, Yugoslavia and Cuba to the serious situation existing in Chile. The facts were clear, and it was impossible to contend that there had been any "selectivity" in that case.

19. One of the most tragic cases of human-rights violations was that of El Salvador. Since 1980 and the adoption of General Assembly resolution 35/192, disappearances had increased and the climate of repression in the country had continued to worsen. The Movement of Non-Aligned Countries had deplored the fact that the Salvadorian elections had not led to a real solution of the country's problems. In spite of propaganda to the contrary, the elections held in March 1981 had been farcical, and their validity was being challenged all over the world. The actual outcome of the "elections" was regression to a situation similar to or worse than that existing prior to the military coup of 15 October 1979. The current Government was subordinated to the armed forces, and the Constituent Assembly was presided over by a "pathological killer" whose name was associated with the establishment and activities of the "death squads" that had assassinated many Salvadorians, including Archbishop Oscar Arnulfo Romero.

20. Massive violations of human rights persisted, and the number of civilians killed by the "death squads", security forces and the army increased day by day. Torture and disappearances, particularly of political prisoners, were common, and horrible murders and massacres had taken place in 1982.

21. The report of the Special Rapporteur on the human-rights situation in El Salvador had stated, as in 1981, that the situation was the result of internal political, economic and social factors. In his conclusions, the Special Rapporteur referred to indications that the violations of human rights were largely the work of groups of the extreme right. Nevertheless, the Political and Diplomatic Commission of FDR-FMLN, in its comments on the report, had said that the report was merely a compilation of existing information and did not resolve any cases of contradiction. It would be helpful if the Special Rapporteur could make a more in-depth analysis of the information obtained from relevant sources and of the causes of certain occurrences and could investigate the veracity of the information provided by the Government, in order to avoid inconsistencies.

22. The situation in El Salvador was made possible by the ongoing support of the United States Government. Political, military and economic assistance to the Salvadorian Government had been increasing at a staggering rate, at the same time as opposition to the régime was increasing and the actions of the heroic combatants of FMLN were being stepped up.

23. The increasing complicity of the United States Government with Salvadorian tyranny, its well-known plans to destabilize the Sandinista Government of

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Nicaragua, and President Reagan's announcement that he was considering the resumption of military assistance to the dangerous régime of Guatemala were increasingly making Central America a hotbed of tensions in the hemisphere, with obvious risks to international peace and security. The statements of the President of the United States with regard to an alleged improvement in the human-rights situation in El Salvador and Guatemala, when in fact there was overwhelming evidence to the contrary, could be explained only in the light of his plans for interference and intervention in Central America.

24. The hypocrisy of United States support for "democracy" was clear from the case of Guatemala, a country in which the persistent and systematic violation of human rights had not ceased since 1954, when the Central Intelligence Agency had overthrown the constitutional Government of Jacobo Arbenz and replaced it with successive puppet régimes. In a country with a small number of large landholders, high illiteracy and serious unemployment, social discontent had been violently repressed, especially in rural areas, where the present Government was undertaking a monstrous campaign of extermination of the local population, along with forced displacement of persons and razing of farms. Such practises clearly constituted genocide and must be repudiated by the international community. The situation in Guatemala, especially since the coup d'état of 23 March 1982, seemed to have reached unprecedented levels of brutality. Many persons had borne witness to the persistence of large-scale repressive actions by the régime, in which the army had participated directly. The responsibility of the Government in the killing of non-combatant civilians had been publicly confirmed by General Ríos Montt himself, who had said that it had been necessary to liquidate them because of their collaboration with the insurgents.

25. In response to the statement made at the 66th meeting by the Permanent Representative of the United States to the United Nations, he said that violence had historically been used by peoples as a response to the violence of dominating Powers that insisted on exercising their privileges and sway over peoples. Revolutionaries turned to violence when there was no other recourse. It was the forces of imperialism and the bourgeoisie that turned to reactionary violence in order to impede change and distort the will of the people. In the case of Nicaragua, for example, the Somoza Government had been imposed by imperialistic violence and could be overthrown only by revolutionary violence. The people of El Salvador had struggled unsuccessfully for almost 50 years to establish a representative régime, and the oligarchy in that country, associated with imperialism, had had to resort to armed insurgency to defend its position. In fact, the Permanent Representative of the United States was a partisan of reactionary violence and regretted only that revolutionaries were increasingly successful in resorting to violence. Her Government was a partisan of the existing state of affairs in the world and an enemy of social change and progress. It was above all a defender of the interests of bourgeois imperialists and their right to exploit the natural and human resources of the developing world.

26. All the legislation proposed by the current United States administration had been designed to strengthen the privileges of the bourgeoisie and to eradicate any

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social progress achieved during previous administrations. The United States attitude was another form of violence, since the State existed only by virtue of its power over others. It was, however, unsuitable, to disparage violence in addressing the representatives of a country which had been based on violence, as was apparent from the ill-treatment of its indigenous inhabitants, its violent seizing of 40 per cent of Mexico's land, and its takeover of Cuba, Puerto Rico and the Philippines at the end of the nineteenth century. The intelligence services and the armed forces of the United States were champions of violence, and it should not be surprising that Palestinians, Namibians, South Africans, Salvadorians, Guatemalans, Chileans and others, responded to their reactionary violence with their own revolutionary violence.

27. In response to the statement made by the Permanent Representative of the United States that there were counter-revolutionary prisoners in Cuba, he stated categorically that no one in Cuba had been denied freedom in contravention of the guarantees established by existing penal law and no one had been detained in prison after the completion of his sentence. Many persons were in prison, however, because of the role played by various United States administrations and the United States mass media in promoting counter-revolution in Cuba.

28. In 1983, the bicentennial of the birth of Simón Bolívar would be observed. That great hero of Latin America had worked for the unity of its peoples and for the rule of peace and justice. He had been an anti-imperialist who would not have tolerated Latin America's being considered as the mere backyard of powerful empires. The great leaders of Latin America would never have accepted the protection of tyrants and acquiesced in their crimes. The best tribute the peoples of Latin America could pay to Simón Bolívar was to honour his example with their deeds. They would stand firm to overthrow tyranny and defend their honour, sovereignty and independence. The words and deeds of the Cuban revolution would always serve those who struggled to make the lofty aspirations of the Latin American liberators a reality.

29. Mr. ADAN (Somalia), speaking on assistance to refugees in Somalia, said that document A/37/419 contained a very good summary description of the refugee situation in his country and expressed the hope that Member States would approve its recommendations and respond generously to the continuing need for assistance to the refugees there. A more comprehensive review and in-depth assessment of the situation was provided in the report on the Inter-agency Mission to Somalia (E/1982/40), which, possibly as a result of an oversight, had not been circulated as a document of the General Assembly.

30. There were two types of refugees in Somalia: those living in the camps established to provide them with shelter and those seeking out an existence in the country at large. The 35 refugee camps in four areas of the country were now well organized to satisfy basic needs, thanks to the generous support offered by individual donor countries, United Nations agencies and non-governmental and other organizations. For the purposes of planning international assistance, his Government accepted the figure of 700,000 registered camp refugees mentioned in

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paragraph 1 of the report. It was gratified that that firm basis for aid programmes had been established. Another matter of great satisfaction was the arrangement whereby the management of the logistics of food storage, delivery and distribution had been entrusted to CARE, relieving the Somalia Government of financial and bureaucratic responsibilities beyond its resources. His Government was also deeply grateful for WFP's co-ordination and delivery to Somali ports of food assistance for the refugees. Those developments illustrated the magnificent response of the international community to his Government's request that the international community should assume the largest share of responsibility for providing for the refugees in the camps.

31. He stressed, however, that the existence of at least 600,000 more refugees living in the community at large represented an even greater drain on his country's resources. The livelihood of such refugees depended on the generosity of relatives or of the population in general, but the overall effect of their presence was best expressed in the report of the Inter-agency Mission, which had concluded that the Somali socio-economic infrastructure was not capable of sustaining such a heavy burden.

32. While an organized programme of voluntary repatriation would certainly be the best solution to the problem, the refugees themselves had shown no desire to return home, since they had no evidence that conditions existed for their safe return with guarantees of basic human rights. The need for large-scale humanitarian assistance thus remained unchanged. Assistance for basic requirements needed to be maintained at least at the current level and, since the refugees were likely to remain in Somalia for some time, additional support was required for self-help activities and for services such as education, which would enable the refugees to lead dignified and productive lives and achieve a measure of hope for the future. His Government had committed itself to providing, with international assistance, schooling for 30,000 refugee children each year for the next four years, at an estimated cost of almost \$64 million, although the education offered would be of the most rudimentary kind. The extent of the need in that one area could be seen from the fact that there were more than 300,000 children in refugee camps. His Government could not strengthen services and facilities and accelerate development projects in refugee areas without increased international support. In that connection, it endorsed the recommendation that refugee programmes should be closely associated with national development schemes and that there should be increasing involvement of government ministries in the implementation of such projects. However, Somalia could not support a greater shift of the refugee burden from the international community to its Government and people. He therefore appealed once again to the generosity of the international community in the effort to provide more than mere sustenance to refugees and to consider their needs in the longer term.

33. His Government agreed that the conclusions and recommendations in document A/37/419 were valid and would do everything possible to implement them in so far as they related to specific action on the part of Somalia. He also expressed the gratitude of his Government to all those States and organizations that had generously supported action to alleviate the plight of the refugees.

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34. Underlying international efforts to assist the refugees in the Horn of Africa was the question of achieving fundamental and durable solutions to the refugee problems in the area. While repatriation was the most appropriate solution, the oppression and persecution which had caused the flights into Somalia and other countries still persisted and worked against the return of the refugees to their homes. The bombing of villages, the massacre of nomads, the poisoning of wells, the killing of livestock and even the strafing of refugees from the air had all been reported by the international news media. The genocidal attempt to depopulate western Somalia and resettle there people from other areas deepened the tragedy of the refugees and sharpened the political problems of the region. The situation in western Somalia had been succinctly described in one of the case histories appended to the study on human rights and massive exoduses contained in document E/CN.4/1503. The case history on Ethiopia stated that particularly unsettling to the Oromo and Somali peoples of Harahghe, Bale and Sidamo were measures to suppress their distinct linguistic and cultural patterns, the drafting of men into the people's militia and the Government's relocation programme.

35. Mr. DERESSA (Ethiopia), speaking on a point of order, said that the representative of Somalia was referring to a document which was not before the Committee. He therefore requested him to confine his remarks to the item under discussion.

36. The CHAIRMAN said that while he agreed that the main focus of the debate should be on the basic documentation, he could not prevent delegations from referring to other sources. He would, however, appeal to the representative of Somalia to avoid political issues in considering an item which was basically humanitarian.

37. Mr. ADAN (Somalia) said that the representative of Ethiopia himself frequently quoted from all sorts of documents.

38. Continuing his statement, he said that, within that relocation programme, currently being implemented with some international assistance, substantial numbers of people from central parts of the country were being transferred to lands the Oromos and Somalis had traditionally considered theirs.

39. Mr. DERESSA (Ethiopia), speaking on a point of order, said that he was aware that any delegation could quote from any document to support its views, as he himself would do in replying to the representative of Somalia. However, the Chairman and the High Commissioner for Refugees had stressed the need to avoid politicizing a humanitarian item. The representative of Somalia was continuing to cast aspersions on Ethiopia, in a statement which was supposed to concern assistance to refugees in Somalia. He appealed to the Chairman to prevent that representative from doing so.

40. The CHAIRMAN appealed to the representative of Somalia to moderate his statement in order to avoid increasing existing tension.

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41. Mr. ADAN (Somalia) said that the representative of Ethiopia was infringing his right to speak. He was quoting from material to explain the plight of refugees and the background to it. It was important to understand whether the situations which had caused flights of refugees had been improved, since it was impossible to separate cause and effect. It was also important for donor countries to know how their contributions were being used. He hoped that the representative of Ethiopia would restrain himself and that he could continue his statement without further interference.

42. Quoting further from the case history on Ethiopia, he said that the Government strenuously attempted to identify those sympathizing with liberation movements in order to eliminate all opposition to official policies. Commenting on the same situation, the German magazine Der Spiegel had stated in 1980 that Ethiopia's governing Military Council was attempting to solve minority problems with a massive resettlement programme. Provinces not inhabited by the Amhara were rapidly being colonized with farmers from the central province of Shoa, while the Ogaden region, inhabited primarily by Somalis, was being systematically depopulated. The same magazine had also referred to the scorched-earth policy of Ethiopian and Cuban troops, who went from village to village burning down the huts, poisoning wells and water-holes and machine-gunning livestock. Der Spiegel described those policies as an attempt to break resistance and had said that using the generally favourable cover of resettlement, the Government had succeeded in getting the United Nations and the European Community to subsidize its paramilitary operations. It was therefore necessary for Member States to take a close look at the current resolution on assistance to displaced persons in Ethiopia (A/C.3/37/L.55), which referred repeatedly to displaced persons and to so-called voluntary returnees in Ethiopia.

43. A closer look at the polite but sceptical report of visiting officials of the League of Red Cross Societies (LRCS) revealed the unsatisfactory nature of their visits to the so-called camps or transit centres for voluntary returnees. He wondered whether their inability to visit the Dahlac Archipelago, where returnee fishermen were reported to be, was connected with the Soviet base which reportedly existed there or to the fact that there were no such returnees. It was also significant that the visitors did not see or talk to the people in the transit camp at Karen in Eritrea in order to establish their identity as voluntary returnees. At other camps, the LRCS officials had been unable to establish the number of people accommodated, since there were no records or registration of inhabitants. His delegation's insistence on the need for a fool-proof system through which any voluntary returnees could be monitored and their credentials established could be appreciated in the light of the deliberately casual manner in which things were currently being done, as could be seen from the LRCS report.

44. While UNHCR was launching a \$20 million programme for the settlement of 15,000 returnees, the Ethiopian Commissioner for Relief and Rehabilitation had mentioned a figure of 150,000 such persons. It was clear that the Commissioner had increased the number by simply adding one more zero to the UNHCR figure. The same device could be used again in 1983, to confront the international community with a figure of 1,500,000 so-called voluntary returnees in the same way as the international

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community was being called upon to assist 5 million drought-stricken persons and 2.4 million displaced persons, numbers which must be treated with scepticism since they had not been determined beyond reasonable doubt. On the one hand, the representative of the Sudan had recently stated that the influx of refugees into his country was continuing unabated and on the other, refugees were not returning home from Somalia. He therefore wondered where the returnees mentioned by Ethiopia were coming from. A further typical discrepancy in Ethiopian claims was that until very recently Ethiopia had maintained that the refugees in Somalia were not from Ethiopia but were destitute Somali citizens. Now, however, Ethiopia was asking for international assistance to resettle returnees from Somalia whose existence they had consistently denied. Ethiopia could not have it both ways.

45. It was important to determine with reasonable accuracy the numbers and true origin of so-called displaced persons and returnees in Ethiopia. The necessary assessments could not be made on the basis of hurried visits under close Ethiopian supervision to rural areas by LRCS representatives. Ethiopia, which had repeatedly accused Somalia of inflating refugee figures, had not opened its refugee operations to the kind of impartial, extensive and widely-based international scrutiny which had established the number of refugees in the camps in Somalia. Instead, it had resisted all but the most cursory examination of its claims. Until it was prepared to change its attitude, the figures of 2.4 million displaced persons, 150,000 returnees and 5 million drought-stricken people must remain in question, particularly because of the serious suspicion that many of those people were merely Ethiopians relocated for political purposes.

46. The concern expressed by the Somali delegation in 1980 over the request for \$11 million for upgrading the airstrip at Gode so that relief aid could be freighted there for distribution in the Ogaden had proved justified, since the airstrip had been used in 1982 as a base for large-scale and sustained military aggression against Somalia.

47. Member States therefore had to adjust themselves to a number of issues pertaining to the refugee situation in the Horn of Africa and the response of the international community to that situation. First, there must be more vigorous international supervision of the use of humanitarian assistance. Somalia was willing to comply with such supervision, having being falsely and scurrilously accused by Ethiopia of mismanagement and misappropriation of aid. Ethiopia should follow the example his country had set in turning over the management of aid to an impartial agency. Secondly, there must be a closer monitoring of the numbers and the nature of so-called displaced persons. Thirdly, a system should be established for the monitoring of voluntary returnees at agreed, specific checkpoints so that their credentials as genuine refugees could be ascertained. The international community must exert the greatest care to ensure that, in making every effort to extend humanitarian assistance to those genuinely in need of it, it did not unwittingly support unjust, aggressive and even genocidal policies. Only when such policies had ended could there be hope for a peaceful, just, humane and durable solution to the refugee problem in the Horn of Africa.

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48. Mr. NGO-PIN (Democratic Kampuchea) said that one could not overemphasize the indispensable role played by the Economic and Social Council in the consideration of global social and economic problems and of the economic and social factors of crucial political problems which threatened international peace and security. Since 1945, considerable progress had been made in the development of international co-operation aimed at solving economic, social, cultural and humanitarian problems and strengthening respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms for all, in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations. The Universal Declaration of Human Rights was a decisive landmark in the efforts of the international community to establish principles and rules that would make it possible to evaluate the measures taken by Member States to protect the fundamental rights of their peoples. Nevertheless, 30 years after the adoption of that Declaration, the fundamental human right, namely the right to self-determination, was still violated in many countries. At the end of the twentieth century, characterized by staggering progress in science and technology and by the approaching end of colonialism, but also by the birth of a new imperialism, namely, regional and global hegemonism and expansionism, the principal violation of human rights was still the violation of the fundamental right of peoples to self-determination in the countries subjected to colonial or foreign domination or to foreign occupation.

49. His delegation wished to reiterate its support for the just struggle of the Lao people to regain their independence and freedom from Vietnamese expansionist domination. It was in that spirit that it supported the appeal launched on 14 October 1982 by the European Parliament, calling for the withdrawal of all foreign forces from the Lao People's Democratic Republic. His delegation wished to reaffirm its complete solidarity with the valiant Afghan people, who were heroically fighting against the Soviet invasion to enable Afghanistan to regain its independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity and status as a non-aligned State. Democratic Kampuchea strongly supported the Korean people who were legitimately aspiring for the reunification of their country and reiterated its support for the courageous Palestinian people and their legitimate representative, the Palestine Liberation Organization, who were waging a difficult and complex struggle for the renaissance of their nation and the exercise of their inalienable national rights. It also expressed its unswerving solidarity with the Namibian people struggling under the leadership of their legitimate representative, the South West Africa People's Organization, for national liberation against the racist and colonialist régime of Pretoria and with the people of Azania in their struggle against the ignoble apartheid régime.

50. Another problem of concern to the international community was the situation of refugees throughout the world. The social and humanitarian aspects of the refugee problem continued to disturb the human conscience and, despite international assistance and the tireless efforts of the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) and other international humanitarian organizations, the number of refugees in the world continued to increase. Despite the fact that its budget had exceeded half a billion dollars, UNHCR did not have sufficient resources to meet all the needs of refugees. The Economic and Social Council, too, had made an active contribution towards easing the lot of African refugees, particularly in Djibouti, Ethiopia, Somalia and the Sudan. All those

(Mr. Ngo-Pin, Democratic Kampuchea)

joint efforts had helped to ease the suffering and save the lives of millions of people. Nevertheless, those efforts had not stemmed the flow of refugees because they had not been able to eliminate the root cause of the phenomenon, which was essentially political.

51. General Assembly resolutions 35/124 and 36/148 had strongly condemned all policies and practices of the oppressive and racist régimes, aggression, apartheid and foreign domination, intervention and occupation, which were among the main causes of massive new flows of refugees throughout the world. The continued Soviet invasion of Afghanistan had increased the number of Afghan refugees in Pakistan from 2.5 million to 3 million, the largest concentration of refugees in the world. In South-East Asia, the repressive and expansionist policy of the Vietnamese authorities in Hanoi had deported from their native land more than 1.2 million Vietnamese, known as the "boat people", of whom an estimated 450,000 had perished at sea. The root cause of that exodus, which had not ceased, was the Hanoi authorities' policy of repression, a corollary of their policy of aggression against neighbouring States, namely Kampuchea and the Lao People's Democratic Republic.

52. In emphasizing its appreciation of the contributions made by the Economic and Social Council and all of its members which cared for peace and justice to ease the unspeakable suffering of the Kampuchean people and to find a just and lasting solution to the problem of Kampuchea, his country could not forget that at a time when Viet Nam was waging its war of aggression and genocide against Kampuchea, the Council had organized various conferences and adopted various resolutions to assist the Kampuchean people. In all the resolutions and decisions on Kampuchea, the Economic and Social Council had played the role assigned to it by the Charter, namely, that of defending international peace and security.

53. Mr. SCHLEGEL (German Democratic Republic) said that the report of the Economic and Social Council made it clear once again that in the modern world one could not speak about human rights and social development without dealing with the safeguarding of peace. In line with that constructive approach, his country has submitted numerous proposals for the maintenance of peace and it supported and welcomed all initiatives aimed at halting the arms race. In that connection, his country attached great importance to the draft resolution concerning the right to life (A/C.3/37/L.71) which had been adopted at the 67th meeting.

54. In developing peaceful international co-operation aimed at promoting respect for human rights, the United Nations had great tasks to fulfil. The basis for those tasks was set forth clearly in the Charter. Accordingly, all States must respect the sovereignty of other States in international co-operation and must not interfere in their internal affairs. That meant that the Charter clearly rejected a human rights policy aimed at confrontation and intervention. Ensuring human rights was a matter within the domestic jurisdiction of States. The United Nations had the obligation to become active in all cases which constituted mass and flagrant violations of human rights and which endangered international peace. In its human rights activities, the United Nations should give absolute priority to the struggle against mass violations of human rights which affected millions of

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(Mr. Schlegel, German
Democratic Republic)

people. That meant that it should take action against the genocide of the Palestinian people and South Africa's policy of apartheid in the same way as it took action against reactionary Latin American régimes.

55. The recent report on the protection of human rights in Chile (A/37/564) had again furnished clear proof that the junta in that country stubbornly refused to comply with the demands made by democratic forces in Chile that were broadly supported by world public opinion. Torture, terror, sentences against patriots and the disappearance of opponents of the régime were characteristic features of everyday life in Chile. The continued existence of the state of emergency provided the framework for the use of terror and injustice. The Chilean authorities had ignored all demands of the Commission on Human Rights and the General Assembly to provide information about those missing persons. Despite the repression and terror, a broad-based opposition movement had arisen and was supported by people in all walks of life. What was urgently needed in Chile was immediate information on the whereabouts of 2,500 abducted and disappeared patriots, the cessation of mass arrests and torture by the secret service, the release of all political prisoners, the restoration of all trade union rights and freedoms and an end to the policy of social oppression and plundering of the working people. Solidarity with the struggle of peoples for their inalienable rights was an irreversible and fundamental principle of the German Democratic Republic. Accordingly, it would vote in favour of the draft resolutions on the situation of human rights and fundamental freedoms in Guatemala and El Salvador contained in documents A/C.3/37/L.75 and L.77.

56. His delegation regarded the mass and flagrant violations of human rights in South Korea with deep concern and indignation. It fully shared the view of all progressive forces concerning the immediate restoration of human rights in that country. Its sympathy, assistance and solidarity went to all peoples in Asia, Africa and Latin America who stood up against violence, diktat and foreign rule.

57. The right to peace was closely related to the right to development because without peace and stability there could be no development and no social progress. On the other hand, peace could not be durable without development and without the elimination of inequality and discrimination at all levels. The right to self-determination was the legal basis for the right to development and the latter embodied the right of people to lead a decent life and to shape their existence free from the chains of capitalist exploitation. His delegation therefore believed that the current process of codification of the right to development was of great importance and would support that process by all means at its disposal.

58. The political will of all States was needed to maintain peace and to further develop and extend détente. If there was such a will, all that was needed was to make effective use of the existing mechanisms within the United Nations. In that connection, the conversion of the Division of Human Rights into the Centre for Human Rights was neither necessary nor legal. His delegation was strictly opposed to the establishment of bodies which undermined the authority of existing ones and were apt to be misused for the purpose of defaming States and interfering in their internal affairs.

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59. Mr. KOROTICH (Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic) said that the consideration of a broad range of human-rights issues in the United Nations revealed that progress depended on the willingness of States to guarantee basic human rights and freedoms, a task which lay within their exclusive competence. It also showed that international co-operation in accordance with the principles of the Charter of the United Nations was not only possible but useful. The international climate could either encourage or discourage respect for human rights; tension and a lack of trust between countries and peoples severely hindered co-operation in that field. The doctrine of "limited" nuclear war, new missiles aimed at the socialist States, the establishment of "rapid deployment forces", and the production of the neutron bomb and other new weapons of mass destruction rendered meaningless the efforts made to ensure a life of peace for millions of people all over the planet to live in peace and security and to guarantee the supreme human right - the right to life.

60. Socialism demanded solutions to the global problems affecting the rights and liberties of the individual in the modern world: how to strengthen international peace and security, halt the arms race, bring about disarmament, introduce a new international economic order, or eliminate all forms of racism, apartheid, fascism, foreign aggression and occupation. Another approach to the question of human rights, however, was also in evidence. Attempts were being made by some to use the "protection of human rights" as a propaganda slogan in a campaign against the socialist States and some developing States. The West was seeking to undermine international co-operation in the sphere of human rights through its cynical use of human-rights issues for narrow political ends.

61. One such attempt had been the recent declaration by the President of the United States of a "crusade" against socialism in order to instil the "values of Western civilization" everywhere. The current United States administration had obviously learned nothing from history. It was blinkered by its strident anti-communism and had no real idea of what the world outside was like. Those who claimed to be guardians of democracy had even gone so far as to hold State-sponsored rallies on the "democratization of the communist countries". Such acts plainly amounted to gross meddling in the domestic affairs of other States, in disregard of the recognized principles of international law, the Charter of the United Nations and the Final Act of the Helsinki Conference, and also those of the Declaration on the Inadmissibility of Intervention and Interference in the Internal Affairs of States, which had been adopted by an overwhelming majority at the preceding session of the General Assembly. The United States and a number of its allies had objected to that Declaration, thereby once again revealing their true intentions. His delegation believed that international co-operation on human rights should be based on unwavering adherence to all the principles of the Charter, foremost among them being the sovereign equality of States and non-interference in their internal affairs.

62. At the same time, the international community both could and should oppose *gross and massive violations of human rights* in situations that threatened international peace and security, as defined in General Assembly resolution 32/130. One such situation was the one that had prevailed in Chile for a number of years. The Commission on Human Rights had recently devoted

(Mr. Korotich, Ukrainian SSR)

considerable attention to that question and expressed deep concern at the deteriorating human-rights situation in Chile; its sentiments were confirmed by the most recent report of the Special Rapporteur (A/37/564) and the alarming news coming out of Chile. The Special Rapporteur's report gave an insight into the dire effects suffered by the Chilean people as a result of government by the Fascist military junta. Over the nine years that the junta, installed through the direct intervention of the United States, had been in power, tens of thousands of people in Chile had been annihilated. The ringleader of the junta was making profuse threats of further repressive measures in the future, in an effort to put down any expression of national wrath: the régime clearly still had reserves in hand. It was no surprise, however, to find that the United States felt no concern at the situation in Chile. The recent statement by the Permanent Representative of the United States had contained a mass of fabrications about human rights under socialism but not a single word of criticism directed at régimes of Pinochet's persuasion. Yet, as reports published in The New York Times early in 1982 established, the direct result of co-operation with the junta was greater repression of the Chilean people.

63. His delegation supported the renewal of the Special Rapporteur's mandate and hoped that fundamental rights and freedoms would eventually be restored in Chile.

64. Human rights continued to be grossly violated on an enormous scale in southern Africa, which also had been subjected to severe scrutiny by the Commission on Human Rights and by the Economic and Social Council during the current year. The Economic and Social Council should keep the human-rights situation in southern Africa under review, for the policy of apartheid practised by the South African régime was an example of inhuman racial discrimination, that merited universal condemnation. The Pretoria régime was not only trampling on the rights of non-whites in South Africa but had extended its racist practices to occupied Namibia, was preventing the Namibian people from exercising its inalienable right to self-determination, and was conducting raids against neighbouring sovereign African States, particularly Angola. It was obvious that the Pretoria régime could not behave in such a brazen and provocative fashion without the support and assistance it received from the major capitalist countries, primarily the United States, in violation of decisions by the General Assembly and Security Council.

65. The rights of the Arab people of Palestine and other Arab peoples in the territories occupied by Israel had been trampled upon for decades. The Israeli war machine's latest act of aggression had been directed against Lebanon, and it had tried to annihilate the Arab people of Palestine and Lebanon's patriotic forces. The only description for its actions was genocide. He would not discuss in detail the role played by United States imperialism in supporting and assisting the aggressor, for that role was well established and needed no further illustration. However, his delegation hoped that the Economic and Social Council would continue to devote particular attention to the situation in the occupied Arab territories.

(Mr. Korotich, Ukrainian SSR)

66. The human-rights situations in El Salvador and Guatemala could not but give rise to concern. The criminal junta in El Salvador had murdered over 30,000 people, including women, children and old people. Since the Permanent Representative of the United States had been agitated at reports that the partisans had taken two football teams hostage, he wished to remind members of the genocide which the United States representative had failed to mention - the annihilation of whole villages by the junta's forces, and the murders of both Salvadorians and foreigners. The interim report by the Special Representative of the Commission on Human Rights (A/37/611) provided a wealth of detail on human-rights violations in El Salvador, and the same picture was emerging in Guatemala, where, according to the press, 13,000 persons had been murdered by the Government's forces since 1978 and killings currently averaged 300 per month. The reasons for that situation should be sought in the anti-popular régime that had taken power in 1954, when the United States had intervened directly in Guatemala to protect the "vital interests" of its monopolies.

67. Another part of the planet where the human-rights situation gave cause for concern was South Korea, whose anti-popular régime was maintained solely by United States bayonets. Members should remember the incident in 1980 when advocates of greater democracy in South Korea had been killed or wounded by the régime's armed forces. Thousands of opponents of the régime were now languishing in prisons without trial, and torture and savage treatment of detainees were common practice. Once again, a direct link could be traced between the support, military presence and overt meddling of the United States and the suppression of human rights by anti-popular régimes.

68. It appeared that the main criterion governing the United States attitude towards a totalitarian régime was not that régime's attitude to human rights but its anti-Communist zeal. That was the only explanation for the protection afforded by the United States to the Pinochets, the South Korean and Salvadorian dictatorships, the South African racists and the Zionist warmongers.

69. The United Nations had been created in the aftermath of a conflict with the blackest forces of imperialism and reaction - fascism and nazism - which had sought to establish a "new order" through the systematic extermination of entire peoples. Fortunately, their plans had not been realized, but peace had been bought at too high a price to allow the world to forget the reasons for the war. His delegation therefore shared the concern at the resurgence of the germs of fascism in a number of countries. While it realized that the existence of a Nazi party in the United States was not yet a threat to that country's national institutions, it felt that the moral atmosphere in which such a party could emerge and grow was cause for alarm. He welcomed the trials of old or new Nazi murderers in the United States from time to time; however, he found it disturbing that so many racists and criminals had sought refuge in the United States because they had felt that the judicial system in other countries would treat them as they deserved.

(Mr. Korotich, Ukrainian SSR)

70. The United States leadership's fanatical opposition to communism constantly drove it towards the dangerous other extreme. It appeared that grave transgressions could be forgiven in the name of anti-communism. For example, United States leaders had recently called for a celebration of the jubilee of the Ukrainian insurrectionist army, an ultra-nationalist group that had opposed popular power in the Soviet Ukraine and had been routed by the Ukrainian people itself; those leaders forgot that a Ukrainian SS Division in the Fascist army had been made up of the same turncoats whose jubilee now seemed so important to them. The United States authorities had been strongly attracted to the cave-man anti-communism of the Ukrainian turncoats, and had used them in diversions against the Ukrainian SSR during the cold war. The representatives of Zionist organizations in the United States embraced the former Ukrainian Nazis for the same reason, willing to forgive them their animal anti-Semitism and war crimes because their anti-communism provided a stronger bond. Too many crimes were committed out of an artificially fanned fear of communism, which was used to justify the current arms race, the McCarthyism of earlier years and the proposed overburdening of Europe with American nuclear warheads.

71. Fascism and nazism could be discussed only in relation to the actual conditions in which they had emerged. Fascists had repeatedly been set on his country as an extreme right-wing force which, it was hoped, would destroy the Ukrainian social system. The areas where fascism was now most conspicuously rearing its head were Chile, South Africa and other countries that almost openly supported former Nazis - States that had erased the word "socialism" from their political lexicons, that coddled military dictatorships and that shot their opponents, from preachers to partisans, in large numbers.

72. It was strange how little those facts seemed to trouble the representatives of the United States, who supported and defended the most reactionary forces in the western hemisphere and were prepared to embrace anyone provided that that "anyone" was sufficiently anti-Communist.

73. Crushing fascism in the Second World War had cost his country and people too much to leave them indifferent to the campaign against neo-nazism in the broader context of world problems. For that reason, his delegation had become a sponsor of draft resolution A/C.3/37/L.69 and hoped that it would be supported by all who held dear the memory of the victims of fascism and sought to prevent its resurgence.

74. Whatever the reason might be, no swastikas were painted on synagogues in his country. The representatives of some countries might object, but the discussion of human rights could not be separated from the major discussion of the overall way of life in each society and the quality of life for each individual citizen.

75. The socialist countries did not seek to impose their way of life on any other country or people, however deeply convinced they might be of its merits and advantages. The only thing they sought to impose upon the forces of imperialism was a commitment to refrain from war and enmity and to promote peace between peoples.

76. Mr. ACEMAH (Uganda), speaking in exercise of the right of reply, said that at the 66th meeting, the Permanent Representative of the United States, referring to the question of respect for human rights in Uganda, had asserted that a serious concern with human rights would also require taking into account the plight of more than 30,000 Ugandans across the border in Rwanda and the repression in other African States where freedom was denied and due process of law violated. That assertion was a complete misrepresentation of fact and a surprising interpretation of the very concept of the violation of human rights. What was even more unfortunate was that it had come nearly three weeks after his delegation had given a detailed account in the Third Committee of the factual circumstances surrounding the movement of a number of refugees across the Ugandan border into the sister republic of Rwanda.

77. The allegation that more than 30,000 Ugandans had fled their homes and had taken refuge in Rwanda was both inaccurate and unfounded. The Permanent Representative of the United States was no doubt aware that since the early 1960s, Uganda had been host to over 70,000 refugees from Rwanda. Most of those refugees had been resettled in designated areas in south-western Uganda, not far from the Uganda-Rwanda border. That had been done with the assistance of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees and the co-operation and assistance of the Government of Uganda. Both UNHCR and the international community at large had widely acknowledged the remarkable record of the Government of Uganda with respect to the treatment of those refugees. The events of October 1982 that had led to the influx of Rwandese refugees into Rwanda did not therefore have their genesis in the attitude or actions of the Government of Uganda.

78. As his delegation had stated during the debate on agenda item 90 at the 46th meeting of the Committee, as a result of complex ethnic, political and cultural factors, the relationship between the Rwandese refugees, particularly those that had deserted the designated areas, and the indigenous populations among whom they had settled had not always been tranquil. That uneasy relationship had culminated, in October 1982, in an open local conflict and some fighting and destruction of property. As a result, a large number of refugees had fled their settlements in panic, many of them crossing the border into Rwanda. The existence of the long-term difficulties between the refugees and some of the indigenous peoples, as well as the efforts exerted by the Ugandan Government to defuse the situation, had all along been known to and acknowledged by, among others, UNHCR.

79. The position of the Government of Uganda on the unfortunate events of October 1982 had been made abundantly clear. Upon learning of the disruption of the peace, the Government, in accordance with its national and international obligations, had acted promptly to restore law and order and to ensure the security and welfare of all persons in the area, including the refugees who were still in Uganda. Only a few days after the incident, the President of Uganda had denounced the conflict and had reaffirmed the Government's commitment under the constitution to uphold the fundamental human rights and freedom of all individuals living in Uganda, irrespective of their nationality.

(Mr. Acemah, Uganda)

80. With regard to the refugees who had fled to Rwanda, he wished to draw the attention of the Permanent Representative of the United States to the joint and co-operative efforts by the Governments of Uganda and Rwanda aimed at finding an early and lasting solution to the problem. His delegation had given a full account of those efforts in its statement at the 46th meeting of the Committee. His delegation earnestly hoped that in making those gratuitous and unwarranted references to the situation in question, the Permanent Representative of the United States had not intended to jeopardize the ongoing efforts of the Joint Committee established by Uganda and Rwanda to find a lasting solution to that problem.

The meeting rose at 1.20 p.m.