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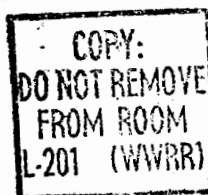
THIRD COMMITTEE
70th meeting
held on
Thursday, 8 December 1983
at 6 p.m.
New York

SUMMARY RECORD OF THE 70th MEETING

Chairman: Mr. CHAVANAVIRAJ (Thailand)

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AGENDA ITEM 12: REPORT OF THE ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL COUNCIL (continued)



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The meeting was called to order at 6.35 p.m.

AGENDA ITEM 12: REPORT OF THE ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL COUNCIL (continued) (A/38/3 (Parts I, II), A/38/106, 147 and Add.1 and 2, A/38/166 and Add.1, 2 and 3, A/38/221, 270, 325, 385 and Add.1, A/38/422, 479, 480, 485, 503, 529, 538; A/C.3/38/1, 3, 5, 8, 11 and Corr.1, A/C.3/38/12; A/C.3/38/L.57, L.61, L.62, L.63 and L.64)

1. Mr. ROA KOURI (Cuba) said that the capitalist ruling class had, from the beginning, unequivocally taken the side of those who practised hatred and destruction, as was shown by the colonial and imperialist phases of their system. The arguments of the enemies of socialism, whose conceptual poverty was equalled only by their brutal rejection of all that represented social progress for humanity, were well known. The invasion of Grenada, which had the aim of annulling the economic, political and social victories of Maurice Bishop, was proof of that policy. The support given to the racist Pretoria régime; the hatred shown for the Cuban revolution, the Salvadorian patriots and the Sandinist Government of Nicaragua; the solidarity evinced with the enemies of the Palestinian people and the Arab nation - all such facts were further proof. Those who declared themselves to be the defenders of human rights were also the originators of the insane theory that thermonuclear war was not only inevitable but could be won by the United States. Those who believed they could intimidate revolutionaries with their bombs, their military intervention and their manipulation of the information media were mistaken. They would never be victorious on the battlefield; no more would they in the field of ideas, since theirs reeked of decay.

2. The American continent was witnessing a whole series of flagrant and massive violations of human rights, which were the result of tyrannies and repressive régimes which went hand in hand with the imperialist United States Government. From Paraguay and Uruguay to the sinister dungeons of Pinochet and the genocidal régimes of El Salvador and Guatemala, the shadow of reactionary terror loomed over those countries.

3. The eleventh of September 1983 marked the tenth anniversary of the fall of President Salvador Allende, who had died heroically in defence of the constitutional Government, elected by the sovereign will of the Chilean people. Over a decade of military Fascist dictatorship characterized by repression, Chile had known torture, disappearances and the systematic denial of civil and political rights, as well as of basic economic, social and cultural rights. For 10 years, the human rights situation in Chile had not ceased to be of grave concern to the international community, and the question had continued to be included in the agenda of the Third Committee and of the Commission on Human Rights. The deterioration in the situation had been confirmed by the various reports prepared, at first by the Ad Hoc Working Group and later by Judge Dieye, the Special Rapporteur. The document presently under consideration (A/38/385 and Add.1), the report prepared by Judge Lallah of Mauritius, the new Special Rapporteur, provided further proof of the seriousness of the situation prevailing in Chile, particularly following the violent suppression of national protest demonstrations. Judge Lallah's report highlighted the fact that the armed forces were paramount in all

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matters involving the Government of the country, in accordance with the Constitution in force since May 1981. That Constitution stipulated that the period of transition from military to civilian rule should last until 1989. Nevertheless, the Special Rapporteur had indicated that he had seen nothing which would enable him to conclude that there had been any development towards the achievement of civilian rule, a situation which explained the many protests which themselves provoked serious and systematic violations of human rights. The institutionalization of the state of emergency found expression in a tenuous application of procedural guarantees, particularly with the regard to rights of protection and of application for amparo, and in repeated violations of the right to life and the right to physical and moral integrity committed by the State security forces. Between January and June 1983, 66 cases of torture and other forms of cruel and inhuman treatment had been reported. Many cases of persons killed or wounded, particularly by bullets, in the suppression of peaceful demonstrations had also been mentioned. The report also described the immunity from punishment enjoyed by the security organs, which encouraged the perpetration of various violations of fundamental human rights and the formation of illegal patrols which sowed terror and persecution. The number of arbitrary and/or unlawful arrests, most of them for public demonstrations, had increased to 2,860 in the first eight months of 1983. The profound economic crisis, as a factor making for discontent, was closely linked with the political crisis resulting from the disturbance of the traditional democratic order. It was impossible to enumerate all the violations of human rights committed by the Fascist Chilean régime. It should nevertheless be recalled that, in spite of the appeals of the General Assembly, it was still not known what had become of the thousands of persons who had disappeared since 1973. The number of acts of persecution and intimidation had increased in 1983. The exodus of the Chilean population was increasing. The number of persons condemned to internal exile had grown considerably, freedom of expression and of information had been restricted appreciably, and the rights of the indigenous population had been violated. The Chilean authorities had not responded in a positive manner to the concern expressed by the international community in numerous resolutions of the General Assembly and of the Commission on Human Rights.

4. For three years, the General Assembly and the Commission on Human Rights had been concerned with the question of human rights in El Salvador where the situation, far from improving, continued to deteriorate. In that fraternal country, the army, supported and directed by the Government of the United States, had assassinated more than 50,000 persons. There were clear proofs of the innumerable human rights violations committed in El Salvador by the security forces, as well as by paramilitary groups taking part in a systematic programme of torture, kidnapping and murder of individuals and of groups of men, women and children. The "death squads", which had exterminated thousands of peasants during the 1930s, continued to impose a reign of terror in the towns and in the countryside with impunity and were responsible for many murders of trade union leaders, teachers, students and opposition leaders such as Santiago Hernández, Rosendo Menjivar, Dora Munoz and Victor Manuel Quintanilla. In that regard, it should be recalled that such persons as Roberto D'Aubuisson, former commander of

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the National Guard, characterized as a pathological murderer by the former Ambassador of the United States to the country, had close links with the death squads and that his name was associated with the murder, as yet unclarified, of the Archbishop of El Salvador in March 1980. Such facts as the vile assassination, at the beginning of 1983, of Marianel García Vila, President of the Salvadorian Commission on Human Rights, who had courageously denounced throughout the world the human rights violations committed in that country, were an affront to humanity, as were the barbarous acts perpetrated against the civilian population, such as the aerial bombardment of Tenancingo which had caused hundreds of victims.

5. The Political and Diplomatic Commission of the FDR-FMLN of El Salvador said that the state of war was having a decisive influence on all aspects of social life in El Salvador, and in considering the human rights situation article 3 common to the Geneva Conventions and Additional Protocol II, which guaranteed respect for basic rights in armed internal conflicts of that kind, needed to be borne in mind because the Salvadorian Government had signed the Conventions but had systematically violated them. Additionally, the Salvadorian Government was following a "scorched earth" strategy, deliberately seeking to exterminate the popular forces. In his report on the human rights situation in El Salvador (A/38/503) the Special Rapporteur, Mr. Ridruejo, said that responsibility for the gross violations of civil and political rights lay with members of the armed forces and security services and the extreme rightist paramilitary organizations they tolerated. His own delegation felt that the Special Rapporteur should continue his intensive study of the causes of some occurrences, particularly when the information was provided by the Government, and hoped that the final report to the Commission on Human Rights would take account of the comments made on the basis of consultations with all the relevant sources.

6. In analysing the violations of human rights in El Salvador, one must remember that the régime received political and economic assistance from the Government of the United States; without such support, the Salvadorian people would long ago have put an end to the current situation. In increasing its military aid to the oppressors of the people, the Reagan Administration had again disregarded the General Assembly's insistent appeals and, thus, prolonged the armed conflict and the suffering of the Salvadorian people, violating their right to self-determination. To justify the continuing military aid President Reagan had told the United States Congress that the Salvadorian Government was making an effort to improve its human rights record; the real situation gave the lie to that statement. President Fidel Castro had recently praised the Salvadorian revolutionaries fighting imperialism and had said that the invasion of Grenada had increased the Salvadorian, Nicaraguan and Cuban revolutionaries' patriotic fervour and fighting spirit.

7. Turning to the human rights situation in Guatemala, he said that the patriotic forces of Guatemala were heroically resisting the various tyrannies imposed by the CIA over the past 29 years and, despite thousands of deaths, their fighting spirit in the face of injustice and the aggression of the ruling oligarchy was undiminished. The military authorities, through their scorched-earth policy, civil

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defence patrols and other measures of repression against the civilian population had caused tens of thousands of refugees to flee to Mexico and uprooted nearly a million people within the country. The régime that had recently come to power - that of General Mejia Víctorez - had reinstated the death squads, leading to renewed persecution in urban areas accompanied by disappearances and illegal executions. Guatemala was going through the most serious economic, political and social crisis in its history, and would escape only through the determination of its people and with the support of the international community.

8. The report by Viscount Colville of Culross (A/38/485) did not reflect the true gravity of the situation or the gross and flagrant violations of human rights; it even stated that the programme put forward by the new military Government could lead to real progress. His delegation had serious reservations about the report, which showed no sign of the requisite ideological and methodological objectivity and contrasted sharply with the report drawn up by Mr. Antonio García Borrajo on behalf of the International Federation for Human Rights and the information submitted by more than 40 bodies concerned with the defence and protection of human rights. Bearing in mind the preliminary nature of the Special Rapporteur's report, provision should be made for a complete, objective account of the human rights situation in Guatemala to be submitted to the Commission on Human Rights at its forthcoming session. The Special Rapporteur needed to get information from all available sources and undertake the requisite consultations with the various sectors and international organizations that could provide the necessary ingredients for an analysis of the problem.

9. The reference made by the United States representative during the afternoon meeting to Orwell's book 1984 did not surprise him. In fact, 1984, which was supposed to be a book against socialism, was no more than an extrapolation of the evils of capitalism. What was Big Brother, if not the FBI, the CIA or the Committee on Un-American activities; who were Joseph McCarthy or his current followers in the White House, the John Birch Society, if not a group of fascist reactionary fanatics opposed to social progress? Why had the restrictions on CIA activities imposed by preceding Governments after the Watergate scandal been lifted? Why had the news been manipulated and access by the press denied at the crucial moment during the invasion of Grenada? Did the leaders of the United States think that world opinion had not noticed the typically Nazi fashion in which they had lied to the American people about their unjustified crime in Grenada? Where had the plans for invading Grenada, cynically attributed to Cuba, been hidden? Why had it been said that Mr. Scoon, the Governor of Grenada, had requested the intervention when he had written a letter on the subject only three days after the Yankee aggression of 25 October?

10. Who were the Orwellians, those who dubbed Salvadorian patriots terrorists or those who gave weapons to a pathological murderer like D'Aubuisson, those who supported the Palestinian patriots in the PLO or the usurpers of Palestinian land, who had funded Count Bernadotte's murderers, those who supported the liberation movements in South Africa and Namibia or those allied with the Pretoria racists? His delegation had no doubt about what George Orwell and his adherents, and their fallacious, anti-popular aims, really were.

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11. He wished to make some comments on the puerile interpretation of the role revolutionaries attributed to violence given by the representative of the United States. It was Karl Marx who said that violence was the midwife of history. Certainly, historically, violence had always been used by the ruling classes to assert their supremacy over other social groups. Violence by revolutionaries had always been the result of violence by the oppressors, for peoples preferred peaceful change to upheavals that came about amidst cruelty. The Chilean people had chosen the path of non-violence to bring about the social change they considered necessary, and it was Salvador Allende who had undertaken to work the changes peaceably after winning the presidency without weapons. The representative of the United States accused Marxists of provoking violent upheavals, but she forgot that it was a Yankee Government, the CIA and Mr. Henry Kissinger himself who had brought about the fall and murder of President Allende because Chile's democratic institutions were threatening the interests of their capitalist monopolies.

12. In reality, the musings by the United States representative on violence showed a clouded understanding of her country's history and daily life in the United States. The first colonists in that part of the world had used violence to seize land from the aboriginal inhabitants, whom they had then dumped in reservations; it was by violence that thousands of Africans had been reduced to slavery and forced to sustain the country's economy; it was by violence that the United States had seized almost 40 per cent of Mexican territory, and it was by violence that it had acquired Puerto Rico and built its present empire. Accumulated violence was also present in American society itself, and was expressed on television, in films and in the press, and in statements by the insane advocates of military supremacy and preventive, victorious tactical nuclear war. It was hardly necessary to recall the succession of coups d'états hatched by the CIA in Asia, Africa and Latin America. His delegation rejected the accusation by the United States representative that the Cubans were training terrorists, among other things to stage an attempt on the life of a little-known lackey of the Pinochet tyranny. Cuba had never resorted to terrorism against the Chilean Fascists or indeed any country or person. State terrorism offended Cubans' revolutionary dignity. On the other hand, one should consider the CIA's plans to murder President Fidel Castro, to which United States congressional records bore witness. It should not be forgotten that the CIA was responsible for the death of such patriots and revolutionaries as Augusto Sandino, Patrice Lumumba, Salvador Allende and Amilcar Cabral. Nor should it be forgotten that the Pinochet Government was the party responsible for the murders of General Carlos Pratt in Buenos Aires and Orlando Letelier in Washington, acts which revealed the savagery of the régime.

13. Nothing could be more grotesque than an attempt to compare the Cuban revolution with the filthy gaol which Salvador Allende's country had become. In Cuba more than a million armed men and women were defending the achievements of the revolution, confirming every day - in the factory, in the field, in offices and schools - their power as a people, not the power of an oligarchy, tiny monopolist cliques or military men ready to sell out their country. In Cuba the people demonstrated to defend the revolution, whereas in Pinochet's Chile the people went

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out into the streets to demand bread and justice and was met with bullets. There was no comparison between the Cuban revolution and the primitive and obscurantist fascism of Pinochet.

14. Nor could there be any comparison between the Cubans' overwhelming support of their revolution and the meagre fraction of the electorate (26 per cent) which had "democratically" elected Mr. Reagan. In Cuba there were no illiterate millionaires, grubby arms dealers and reactionary "intellectualoids". Cuba had made its revolution to prevent Batista's thieves and assassins from ever returning to power and to prevent the hired henchmen of the CIA and the AFL-CIO from ever acting as puppets for Yankee monopolies and for the Creole bourgeoisie.

15. Armando Valladares, whom United States propaganda tried to pass off as a poet and a dissident had been a member of Batista's police before the revolution. After 1959 he had been recruited by counter-revolutionary groups in the pay of the CIA and had participated in plotting an assassination attempt against the leaders of the revolution. He had been sentenced in Cuba and in prison had pretended to be an invalid. Since his release, however, he had regained the use of his legs and was going from country to country to perform his trained-seal act. He had never been a poet before 1959, and if he had become a bard, that was truly to the credit of the Cuban penal system. It was not easy to transform a hired henchman into a poet.

16. As for the alleged death sentence imposed on five trade unionists in Cuba, he explained that the persons mentioned had not been sentenced to death but were serving prison sentences for sabotage and acts endangering the lives of other Cuban citizens. They were nothing but an insignificant group, which included agents of foreign services. In any case, the trade unions had never been so free in Cuba as today, and hundreds of thousands of workers belonged to them because all power in Cuba belonged to the workers.

17. United Nations efforts to promote justice and respect for the rights of peoples were a necessary contribution and should continue to be pursued. His delegation had no doubt that they would succeed despite the opposition of those who harboured an unreasoning hatred for the concepts of social progress, against genuine equality between human beings and between nations and of justice and against the right of peoples.

18. Mr. RIACHE (Algeria) drew the Committee's attention to the increasingly difficult situation of migrant workers in their host countries. The recent resurgence of xenophobic and racist movements against those workers and their families disturbed Algeria for more than one reason. First of all, because migrations had always constituted the human aspect of international relations, and secondly because nearly 900,000 Algerian nationals were currently living abroad.

19. For the overwhelming majority of them, emigration had not been a matter of choice but rather the result of the exploitation of the manpower of colonized territories by the occupying Power and the state of underdevelopment in which it had kept them.

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(Mr. Riache, Algeria)

20. Migrant workers very often left their countries in their prime of life and contributed and provided the host country with an operational and efficient work force. That contribution, which required no investment by the host country, was especially useful because the new work force took unhealthful and ill-paid jobs usually refused by local workers and participated in the functioning of society by paying the required social contributions and taxes.

21. As bearers of different cultural values and a different way of life, suffering from a language handicap and frequently from a lack of incentives, the migrant workers almost never managed to assimilate. That cultural alienation led in turn to social alienation. Rejected because he was a foreigner and, above all, culturally different, because he usually lacked adequate financial resources, the migrant worker in most cases lived under extremely difficult conditions, particularly with respect to housing. At the same time, he was subject to other strains, particularly as a result of his obligations to his family, which usually remained in the home country. Bringing the family together, a desirable solution for obvious humanitarian reasons, gave rise to complicated problems for the migrant worker and his family, particularly in connection with the education and vocational training of the children.

22. His delegation realized that the host countries were sensitive to the living conditions of migrant workers and their families and adopted certain laws and regulations to improve them. It appreciated those efforts and supported any measure designed to provide those workers with decent living conditions and to guarantee strict observance of their human rights.

23. Nevertheless, the virtually periodic racist and xenophobic outbursts against migrant workers and their families could not but cause deep concern. Such outbursts, often rooted in motives which could not be admitted, had recently assumed alarming proportions. Against a background of international economic and social crisis, the migrant worker had come to be regarded as the one chiefly responsible for the evils of society and had thus become a favourite target.

24. Algeria strongly condemned the racist and xenophobic movements, as much as the authorities of the host countries, and hoped that those authorities would take new measures for effectively combating such movements, which affronted the dignity and threatened the safety of migrant workers and the members of their families.

25. Mr. ODOCH-JATO (Uganda) said that the observance of the thirtieth anniversary of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights on 9 December should be a time to recall the work accomplished by the United Nations in the field of human rights. That Declaration, together with other important instruments marked the culmination of the Organization's tireless efforts to set minimum international standards for the observance of human rights, but the task would be a prolonged one. His delegation therefore hoped that the work of the Commission on Human Rights relating to the elaboration of draft conventions on the rights of the child, on the protection of migrant workers and their families, and against torture would soon be completed. Nevertheless, as it had already stressed at the thirty-seventh session

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(Mr. Odoch-Jato, Uganda)

of the General Assembly, certain conceptual and practical obstacles delayed the development of international standards. That had been the experience of the Working Group of Governmental Experts on the Right to Development.

26. On the concept of the right to development, disagreement still obtained, even with regard to the most elementary aspects, and his delegation deplored that fact. Clearly, the right to development was a human right and, as such, inalienable. It was the logical extension of the economic and social rights embodied in the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights. The exercise of those rights required a certain level of development.

27. His delegation was aware that the question of how far the right to development would benefit not only individual human beings but societies as well presented a major difficulty. In that connection it felt that the object of the right to development must be to ensure decent and dignified standards of living for all human beings. In that context the conflict, with ideological connotations, between a collective right to development and an individual right seemed relatively unimportant. His delegation hoped that the Working Group would continue, in its work, to stress the indivisibility of all human rights - civil, political, economic, social and cultural.

28. He fully concurred with the view expressed by other delegations to the effect that the United Nations must consider all situations of human rights violations wherever they occurred. However, in addressing itself globally to the non-observance of human rights the Organization should not de-emphasize situations of the most flagrant and systematic violations.

29. In South Africa and in Namibia, in particular, grave violations of human rights continued to occur as a result of the perpetuation of the most abhorrent form of racism and racial discrimination and the stubborn denial of the right to self-determination. In the report submitted to the Commission on Human Rights at its thirty-ninth session (A/CN.4/1983/10), the Ad Hoc Working Group of Experts on southern Africa pointed to the continuing gravity of the situation in that region (as exemplified by murders, executions, arbitrary arrests, torture, forced labour and banishment). More recently, the execution of three members of the African National Congress, in spite of appeals from the international community, and the arrest of 32 leaders of the Asiatic community on the grounds that they opposed the "power sharing" system had aroused Uganda's indignation.

30. His delegation renewed its unequivocal condemnation of the blatant oppression of the people of South Africa and Namibia by the apartheid régime. By denying them the right to self-determination the régime had flouted the most elementary principles of morality and international law. The United Nations must act accordingly: only the imposition of comprehensive and mandatory sanctions against South Africa could bring it to put an end to the apartheid system and to the illegal occupation of Namibia.

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(Mr. Odoch-Jato, Uganda)

31. He was also greatly concerned by the situation in the Middle East. The Arab and Palestinian populations continued to be subjected to human rights violations in the occupied territories. The latest report of the Economic and Social Council cited numerous examples of such violations: arrests without trial, maltreatment of detainees, destruction of property and the dismantling of small democratic institutions in those territories. In short, Israel was practicing the policy traditionally practised by those who had annexed and occupied land and, above all, it was persisting in its unrelenting denial of the right of the Palestinian people to a homeland and to self-determination. It was the duty of the United Nations to take all steps necessary to enforce its resolutions on the question of Palestine and the situation in the Middle East, especially those relating to the withdrawal of Israel from the occupied territories and the full restoration of the rights of the Palestinian people.

32. The Committee also had before it reports on the human rights situation in Chile, Guatemala and El Salvador (A/38/385 and Add.1, A/38/485 and A/38/503 respectively). His delegation reaffirmed its solidarity with the people of Latin America and especially the peoples of Chile, Guatemala and El Salvador in their search for social justice and for the freedom to shape their own political destiny without foreign interference or aggression. For that endeavour to succeed all parties to internal conflicts must exercise the necessary political will and engage in dialogue. Furthermore, co-operation between the Governments of those countries and the United Nations in the field of human rights could promote national reconciliation as had occurred in Bolivia. He therefore urged the Governments and peoples of Chile, Guatemala and El Salvador to embark on the same path.

33. In conclusion, he recalled that Uganda was committed to working towards the full guarantee of human rights and fundamental freedoms and adhering to the rule of law. After a decade of fascist dictatorship the task was immense. However, significant progress had already been made.

34. Mr. SOKALSKI (Poland), speaking in right of reply, said that the statement by the representative of the United States of America was fully in line with the tradition of United States diplomacy which was not bothered by moral scruples. The representatives of that country came to the Third Committee to deliver lectures to the other delegations. They oozed venom and used Orwellian double talk. Fontenelle had been wont to say that he could persuade all his readers that the sun gave neither light nor heat and that all he needed in order to do so was to find six philosophers who would support him. The United States delegation had been satisfied with five subservient voices in the Commission on Human Rights, in March that year, when it had sought to make a similar demonstration concerning Poland. That was why Poland had rejected the so-called "resolution" on Poland (1983/30) which it considered a mockery and a gross interference in its internal affairs.

35. For some years the United States administration had been making that type of slanderous statement and not only about Poland. At the thirty-seventh session of the General Assembly the United States representative had referred, in the Third Committee, to alleged reports of the International Committee of the Red Cross on

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(Mr. Sokalski, Poland)

its activities in Poland. A few days later, the President of that body had sent a special memorandum to the Polish and United States Governments and to the Secretary-General of the United Nations stating that the Committee had had no knowledge of the United States statement, which had misrepresented the Committee's activities in Poland. If the United States delegation used such methods to force its policy through it was not surprising that it should seek to accuse the communist countries of responsibility for yellow rain.

36. He refuted both the substance and the form of the arguments used by the representative of the United States. The latter had merely produced a rhetorical rehash of obsessional anti-communism. It could not make its views triumph in that manner. The current United States administration was taking it upon itself to lecture to other countries, setting itself up as judge of their internal and external affairs, believing that in that way it could impose an American system of values on all peoples of the world, a totalitarian pax Americana which would be the basis for a new order in international relations.

37. Mrs. Kirkpatrick had spoken of the principles of democracy. To her that meant that all countries with socialist leanings should disappear and make way for régimes which conformed to the American mould. Thus the United States had installed its "democracy" by force of bayonets in Grenada, South Africa, South Korea, El Salvador and Chile. It was keeping tyrants and tottering dictators in power. But the theory that the United States had a world-wide mission to spread a particular view of democracy was wearing thin. At present, in the complex modern world, the major Powers should be cautious and realistic, in other words they should opt for respect rather than risk in international relations.

38. The representative of the United States had deplored the dissolution of a so-called trade union. Had she been equally moved when her own Government had destroyed the free air traffic controllers union two years previously? Supposing the so-called union had been what it claimed to be, was there no equally perfect organization in the United States?

39. The former Secretary of State, Alexander Haig, had rightly stated, on French television, that a dialogue between long-standing friends could be started only in a climate of normal relations not by creating paranoia. His delegation was convinced that, notwithstanding their political differences, Poland and the United States were also long-standing friends. Poland was not responsible for the paranoia. Never in the history of the relations between the two countries had United States policy been as hostile to Poland as during the past two years. And yet, right from the beginning Poland had let the United States administration know that its anti-communist crusade and open interference in Poland's domestic affairs would be fruitless. The policy of diktat would not be accepted. On 3 November 1983 the Polish Government had sent a note to the United States Government, informing it of its position on the subject. And yet, the latter continued to put pressure on Poland in order to try to make it lose face. One thing should be clear: Poland would never accept any infringement of its national sovereignty and dignity.

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40. Mr. INFANTE (Chile), speaking in exercise of the right of reply, said that the statements of some delegations had reminded him of the situation of the Chilean peasants, as perceived by most people in his country. The farmer worked the land, calling on all his intelligence and all his skill, two qualities characteristic of the Chilean people. In return, it was from the land that he got his proverbs, his experience and his way of life. If there was one thing that he feared above all, it was that, after he had sown the land, the crops would be destroyed by herds trampling on everything as they passed through. Listening to the statements of some delegations and thinking of the economic, political and ideological situation of the countries that they represented, his delegation could not but think of those Chilean peasants who struggled to prevent the destruction of their crops. At previous meetings, Chile had already answered the leaders of what might by analogy be called the "herd".

41. Mr. FELDMAN (United States of America), speaking in exercise of his right of reply, said that when the representative of Poland alleged that the United States was exerting pressure on his country to force it to give up its dignity, he was no doubt thinking of the appeals made by the United States to the Polish Government to end its repression of its own people. As far as the Polish representative's comments on the Commission on Human Rights were concerned, his delegation wondered what that representative's reaction would have been if a Government - say, the Government of Guatemala - had refused to let in the Commission's Rapporteur, as that representative's own country had done. Lastly, he had referred to a so-called trade union. In that connection, his delegation would merely point out that the so-called Nobel Committee had awarded a so-called prize to the so-called leader of that so-called union.

42. Regretting that the Cuban representative was absent, he said that the United States delegation wished to note, in connection with that representative's statement, that Valladares was indeed a poet. His writings had been published in several languages and he had been adopted by the French PEN CLUB as a political prisoner who was a writer, while he was serving his sentence in Cuban prisons. Moreover, Valladares had been neither a murderer nor a police officer under Batista. At the time of his arrest he had been 19 years old and had held a minor office job.

43. Lastly, in reply to the representative of the Soviet Union, his delegation noted that a large number of American sources had been quoted in an attempt to prove that the United States was a totalitarian country. There seemed to be a paradox there. What amazed his delegation most, however, was to see how belatedly the Soviet Union had become aware of the real danger of nazism and fascism. If it had been conscious of that danger in 1939, the course of history might have been different. Instead, a pact had been concluded with Hitler's Germany and shortly after the Baltic countries had been annexed and Poland invaded and subsequently partitioned. Only in June 1941 had the Soviet Union discovered the evils of nazism and fascism. The cost had been very heavy.

44. Mr. DERESSA (Ethiopia), after stressing the importance attached by his delegation to the work of the Third Committee and of the Commission on Human Rights

(Mr. Deressa, Ethiopia)

and its working group in the field of human rights, and its pride at having participated in the progressive development of international law in that respect, turned to the question of mass exoduses and displacements of population, the subject of draft resolution A/C.3/38/L.61 before the Committee. In order to prevent future mass exoduses, it was important to identify their multiple causes, as the Special Rapporteur of the Commission on Human Rights had sought to do in his study on the subject.

45. Mass exoduses and displacements of population were an age-old phenomenon. As in the past, those movements were caused by natural phenomena, such as climatic conditions, by social and political factors or by man's cruelty to man. In all cases, there was a yearning for freedom which touched the international community and impelled it to action.

46. His delegation was therefore gratified that the study of the Special Rapporteur of the Commission on Human Rights and the work of the group of governmental experts on international co-operation to avert new flows of refugees were directed towards preventive measures. To be successful, however, such actions must take into account the experience of all countries and enlist the support of the international community. In putting that integrated approach into effect, there was no need for additional United Nations machinery or for appointing special representatives for humanitarian questions, since the Secretary-General, in fulfilling the responsibilities entrusted to him under the Charter, played a very effective role in encouraging international understanding and co-operation.

47. The study of the Special Rapporteur, while interesting, was limited, chiefly because only a handful of countries had transmitted their comments and points of view. Accordingly, the course of action envisaged in document A/C.3/38/L.61 seemed premature. It would be more prudent to continue discussions in the Commission on Human Rights and the Third Committee with a view to achieving the wide co-operation needed to tackle a problem of such magnitude. Valid conclusions on the action to be taken could not be reached in the space of two or three sessions of the Assembly and the Commission on Human Rights.

48. Lastly, the same attention and treatment must be accorded to all victims of massive uprooting: refugees, displaced persons and migrants. The problem was particularly acute in his own region where problems of economic and social underdevelopment were compounded by alternating droughts and floods, a situation which the inequitable distribution of international humanitarian assistance, based on narrow political considerations, often hindered rather than helped. The solution to those problems lay in the application of the results of science and technology to the detection and control of natural disasters, and in the elimination of the colonial past, in particular the racist régime of South Africa which impelled millions of people to flee to neighbouring States.

49. The longer the delay in dealing with the real causes of the problem, the more tragic its consequences would be and the longer it would continue to haunt the conscience of mankind.

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50. Mrs. WARZAZI (Morocco), speaking on a point of order, proposed that the vote on the draft resolutions should be postponed until the following day's meeting.

51. The CHAIRMAN said that if he heard no objection, he would take it that the Moroccan representative's proposal was adopted.

52. It was so decided.

53. Mr. ICAZA GALLARD (Nicaragua) said that the exercise of human rights was more than ever before inextricably linked to that of political, civil, economic, social, religious and cultural rights, which accordingly deserved the same attention. Given the current situation, with the gap between the developed North and the underdeveloped South growing day by day, it was essential to undertake global negotiations immediately in order to establish a new, more just and humane, international economic order.

54. Among all the questions of concern to his delegation, some of those dealt with by the Commission on Human Rights called for comment. He found the report of the Special Rapporteur on summary or arbitrary executions profoundly disquieting. The question of enforced disappearances should be addressed in a study which would define the crime and make it subject to international censure. The Working Group on Enforced or Involuntary Disappearances should be enlarged, and there should be a vigorous appeal to the international community to induce the countries involved to provide all necessary information. His delegation also condemned the systematic violation for more than 30 years of the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people and called for the implementation of United Nations resolutions on that question. It also condemned the occupation of Namibia and crimes committed against the Namibian people by the racist South African régime.

55. His delegation was particularly concerned about the human rights situation in Latin America, a region which had traditionally been under the sway of dictatorships and military régimes and in which the most fundamental human rights were systematically violated. Those régimes remained in power only because of the support that they received from the United States Government. His delegation therefore deemed unacceptable any manoeuvring aimed at preventing the human rights situation in certain Latin American countries from being considered by the Commission on Human Rights. It had to be borne in mind in that connection, that all States Members of the United Nations had the obligation to report mass and flagrant violations of human rights wherever they occurred; by remaining silent, they became accomplices in those crimes.

56. Special attention should be accorded to the human rights situation in Latin America, where United States imperialism was constantly coming into play to curb the legitimate aspirations of peoples to peace, justice, independence, economic progress, freedom and dignity. The United States policy of provocation and interference could trigger a regional conflict of inestimable proportions. In that regard, the report of the Special Representative on the situation of human rights in El Salvador should arouse the conscience of mankind. The repressive Salvadorian troops did not respect the guarantees laid down in article 4 of Protocol II and,

(Mr. Icaza Gallard, Nicaragua)

protected by the United States Green Berets, were practising the scorched-earth policy which had been used in Viet Nam. The strategy consisted of indiscriminately attacking with infantry, artillery or aerial bombings villages inhabited primarily by civilians. The Archbishop of San Salvador had repeatedly denounced those massacres in his Sunday homilies. In the spring of 1982, the United States Government had shipped weapons of mass destruction to the Salvadorian army. One might ask what the origin of the situation was and how it could be resolved. Apart from structural problems, due to the systematic exploitation of the Central American peoples, maintained in a state of underdevelopment and subjection, the situation had its root causes in the expansionist policy of the United States, currently being exacerbated by Reagan's policy of covert action, which led to conflicts between traditionally friendly countries. Since 1855, United States Administrations had repeatedly established brutal régimes in the region and used them as an instrument of domination. The triumph of his country's revolution had been merely the culmination of a long struggle against imperialist domination, which had begun in 1855 and succeeded on 19 January 1979 with the fall of Somoza. Since taking power, Reagan had tried to destabilize the country and overthrow the Sandinist People's Revolution - in other words, to destroy any hope for change and maintain a situation of injustice and subjugation.

57. His Government warned the international community that the situation of conflict prevailing in Central America, aggravated by the attitude of the current United States Administration, was endangering international peace and security. Negotiations must be undertaken to end the armed conflict in El Salvador and to lay the foundations for a system guaranteeing respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms.

58. That was not to say that human rights problems did not exist in his own country, but the Government was co-operating with all on-the-spot investigations which the international bodies responsible for defending human rights wished to carry out. It had, for example, invited the Inter-American Commission on Human Rights to the country four times and had received three missions from Amnesty International, one from the International Commission of Jurists and one from Pax Christi International, as well as visits from numerous human rights bodies, parliamentary delegations, etc. Such openness should lead to useful dialogue between the State receiving the missions and the delegations visiting the country, as was the case in Nicaragua.

59. The problem of the Miskito ethnic minority had thus been dealt with by means of generous co-operation and ongoing dialogue with the specialized bodies. The population groups in question, which had to be displaced because of the war of aggression fostered by the United States on the country's borders, were currently enjoying not only security but also the many benefits which the revolution had brought to the country's marginal population groups. There was definitely no question of a violation of human rights, as was alleged by the enemies of the revolution. The amnesty which had been granted to the citizens implicated in counter-revolutionary activities bore witness to the deep humanism inspiring the Nicaraguan revolution and the efforts that it was prepared to make.

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(Mr. Icaza Gallard, Nicaragua)

60. Finally, he condemned two cases of flagrant violations of human rights whose principal perpetrator was the so-called champion of freedom and democracy in the Western world: the United States of America. He was referring to the United States military intervention in Grenada, in violation of the most basic norms of international law and the principles of the Charter, and the covert operations and other criminal activities of the United States against the Nicaraguan people for the sole purpose of imposing its imperialist designs on the country and preventing it from exercising its right to independence and self-determination. A country which violated human rights so systematically clearly deserved the severe condemnation of the international community.

61. Mr. ANDINO SALAZAR (El Salvador), speaking in exercise of the right of reply, said that the insulting references to his country made by the representatives of the Soviet Union and its satellites accurately reflected the Committee's ideological tone in considering the question of respect for human rights and were a clear manifestation of the East-West conflict.

62. Soviet imperialism was the factor chiefly responsible for the crisis that Central America was experiencing. Nicaragua, aided by Cuba, was the major source of subversion in the region. It was the Nicaraguans and Cubans who were showing the Salvadorian guerilla fighters how to sabotage the Salvadorian economy. Moreover, Nicaragua was the pivot for arms traffic into El Salvador. The totalitarian Sandinist régime had betrayed the Nicaraguan people and the international community, through its constant human rights violations. In El Salvador, on the other hand, in March 1984 free elections would take place for the second time in five years. He wondered when democracy and pluralism would be given due respect in Nicaragua and when the Nicaraguan people would be able to voice their aspirations through elections.

63. Mr. MONTANO (Mexico), speaking in exercise of the right of reply, said that the representative of the Chilean military junta had overlooked the fact that the Committee had before it the Special Rapporteur's report, whose objectivity and high quality were recognized by all. The statements made by the representative of Chile were being constantly belied by the reality of the murders and cases of detention described by the Special Rapporteur. The military junta was claiming that it had established a dialogue and brought about a political opening. It was true that, for a despotic, repressive régime, merely attempting to establish a dialogue represented a certain amount of progress. However, the junta had been responsible for the deaths of almost 100 people in recent months, to say nothing of thousands of arrests, which showed that the supposed opening had not improved the human rights situation in Chile.

64. The representative of the military junta had also presented the return of Chilean exiles to their country as progress. However, he had failed to refer to the selective and restrictive approach taken to the exiles' return, the purpose of which was in fact to prevent most of the exiles from returning to their native land.

(Mr. Montano, Mexico)

65. The remarks made by the representative of the military junta concerning Mexico were prompted by the Chilean régime's deep-seated resentment towards that country, which had been a land of asylum for thousands of Chileans driven out of the democratic paradise established by Pinochet.

66. Mr. BYKOV (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics), speaking in exercise of the right of reply, said that the representative of the United States had been unable to provide any substantive refutation of the many facts referred to in his delegation's statement. Moreover, that same representative of the United States had expressed astonishment at hearing the Soviet delegation quote the United States press in denouncing United States totalitarianism. That was one of the characteristics of the United States, where ostensible freedom existed side by side with repression. To quote just one example, it had just become known that, although he had passed the necessary examinations, a United States citizen had been denied access to the civil service for over 40 years and that he had been subject to surveillance throughout that time. It was no accident that an American lawyer had said that in the United States more files were kept on the population than in any other country in the world, which was a clear symptom of totalitarianism.

67. He found the account given by the representative of the United States of the unleashing of the Second World War particularly distressing, since he had himself fought against Nazi Germany. As soon as the Nazis had come to power the Soviet Union had attempted to reach agreement with the Western democracies in the interest of collective defence against Hitler's acts of aggression, but there had been no response to its proposals. What the representative of the United States referred to as a pact with Nazi Germany had in fact been an agreement, whose purpose had been to give the Soviet Union two years' respite in which to prepare itself to ward off Nazi aggression, which had claimed the lives of 20 million Soviet citizens. Moreover, the United States must surely be aware that the Soviet Union's resistance had assisted the Western democracies.

68. Mrs. DE TARRALES (Nicaragua), speaking in exercise of the right of reply, said that her delegation would not respond to the remarks made by the illegal representative of El Salvador, since the international community would do so, in adopting a decision on draft resolution A/C.3/38/L.62.

69. Mrs. FLOREZ (Cuba), speaking in exercise of the right of reply, said that the lies uttered by the representative of the United States were not surprising to anyone familiar with the personality of the President of that country, with reference to whom Mr. O'Neill, the Speaker of the House of Representatives, had recently said that it was regrettable that someone so ignorant of international affairs should be President of the United States.

70. As far as respect for human rights was concerned, it was astonishing that the representative of the United States should have made no reference to the recent case of the young black, who, it had been established, had died as a result of maltreatment at the hands of members of the New York police force. With regard to Cuba, the United States was unable to accept that, despite the activities of the

(Mrs. Florez, Cuba)

CIA and all the means, particularly technical means, it had at its disposal, the Cuban revolution was enduring just a few miles from its shores.

71. Mr. ANDINO SALAZAR (El Salvador), speaking in exercise of the right of reply for the second time, said that the interventionist policies of Cuba and Nicaragua in El Salvador were policies bringing destruction and death, which those two countries were carrying out on the basis of hypocrisy and lies.

72. Mr. INFANTE (Chile), speaking in exercise of the right of reply for the second time, said that it was a historical fact that the Mexican police had killed 200 students at the Square of the Three Cultures at Mexico City.

73. As for democracy, Chile fortunately had no intention of following the Mexican example and was instead practising political pluralism.

The meeting rose at 9.25 p.m.