



# Economic and Social Council



Distr. GENERAL

E/CN.4/Sub.2/1989/SR.22 29 August 1989

Original: ENGLISH

Ula SA CULLIA (C)

#### COMMISSION ON HUMAN RIGHTS

SUB-COMMISSION ON PREVENTION OF DISCRIMINATION AND PROTECTION OF MINORITIES

Forty-first session

SUMMARY RECORD OF THE 22nd MEETING

Held at the Palais des Nations, Geneva, on Tuesday, 22 August 1989, at 10 a.m.

Chairman: Mr. YIMER

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Question of the violation of human rights and fundamental freedoms, including policies of racial discrimination and segregation and of <u>apartheid</u>, in all countries, with particular reference to colonial and other dependent countries and territories: report of the Sub-Commission under Commission on Human Rights resolution 8 (XXIII) (<u>continued</u>)

Organization of work (continued).

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## The meeting was called to order at 10.15 a.m.

QUESTION OF THE VIOLATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS AND FUNDAMENTAL FREEDOMS, INCLUDING POLICIES OF RACIAL DISCRIMINATION AND SEGREGATION AND OF <u>APARTHEID</u>, IN ALL COUNTRIES, WITH PARTICULAR REFERENCE TO COLONIAL AND OTHER DEPENDENT COUNTRIES AND TERRITORIES: REPORT OF THE SUB-COMMISSION UNDER COMMISSION ON HUMAN RIGHTS RESOLUTION 8 (XXIII) (agenda item 6) (continued) (E/CN.4/Sub.2/1989/11, 12, 13, 14 and Add.1, 15, 46, 48 and 52; E/CN.4/Sub.2/1989/NGO/2 and 3; E/CN.4/1989/7, 8, 23, 24, 25, 26 and 27)

- 1. Mr. RASAPUTRAM (Observer for Sri Lanka) said that a number of effective and meaningful steps to find solutions to his country's ethnic problems through devolution had been taken since the All Party Conference of 1984. Sri Lanka had amended its Constitution, enacted legislation necessary to establish Provincial Councils, and had temporarily merged the northern and eastern provinces. Both Sinhala and Tamil had been given official status.
- 2. After elections to the Provincial Councils in 1988, their Chief Ministers and Cabinet members had taken office. The Provincial Councils would receive Rs. 840 million from the Government for infrastructure and staffing. A National Police Commission had been appointed, and steps had been taken to establish provincial police commissions. Provincial high-court judges were also being appointed.
- Presidential and parliamentary elections had been held at end of 1988 and 3. the start of 1989. The citizens of Sri Lanka had not been deterred from casting their votes by threats and recourse to violence. Voter turn-out at the two elections had been 56 per cent and 60 per cent respectively, and an international team of neutral observers had praised the way in which the elections had been conducted. Determined to solve the unrest through the political process and by recourse to consultation, compromise and consensus, President Premadasa had appealed to all militant armed groups to renounce violence and enter into negotiations. The Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE), the only militant group in the north or east that had not previously joined the democratic political process, had responded to that call by entering into negotiations with the Government, and by the end of June 1989 had undertaken to renounce violence and to resolve outstanding issues through negotiation and discussion. Thus, all militant groups in the north and the east could now be involved in the democratic process. The Government had made it clear that a final political solution would be reached in consultation, not only with the LTTE, but also with all other concerned parties within Sri Lanka. Meanwhile, 13 Members of Parliament elected from the northern province had taken their seats in Parliament on 21 July 1989, and had sworn the oath of allegiance to the Constitution.
- 4. The President had indicated to India that its peace-keeping units should desist from military operations, now that the LTTE had renounced violence; and had also indicated that the withdrawal of those units could now be expedited. Those requests had been the subject of discussions between the two countries, and Sri Lanka hoped that a speedy settlement on the lines it had indicated would soon emerge. The President had also offered an amnesty to all who had been engaged in violence. He had added that he was ready to explore the possibility of giving seats in Parliament to any group that might wish to

enter the democratic electoral process. In April 1989, 228 centres had been established throughout the country, to enable militant groups to give themselves up under the amnesty.

- 5. However, the Government's repeated efforts to involve all groups on the island in negotiations had not borne fruit thus far. A major constraint was the claim that the Government was unable to ensure the withdrawal of the Indian peace-keeping force. That claim had manifested itself in violent activities that had necessitated the reintroduction of the state of emergency on 20 June 1989. Clearly, a withdrawal of the Indian army would help the Government to create conditions conducive to dialogue on an island-wide basis. The Governments of India and Sri Lanka were in close touch in that regard.
- 6. He wished to stress that the imposition of a state of emergency did not erode the efficacy of the constitutional safeguards designed to ensure the safety of the country's citizens. Furthermore, the Executive had made it clear at the very highest levels that in accordance with the rule of law any excesses by the security forces in the exercise of their duty would be severely punished.
- 7. One of the main causes for youth unrest in almost all developing countries was lack of rapid economic development. Sri Lanka was no exception. It had a relatively young population, nearly 56 per cent of whom were below 24 years of age. The employment situation had deteriorated and almost 20 per cent of the work-force were now unemployed. The International Monetary Fund and the international community had assisted Sri Lanka in restructuring its economy, but the poorest section of the population had not benefited very much from the adjustment process. Almost 30 per cent of the population were now among the poorest of the poor, with the widening gap between rich and poor resulting in added tension and unrest. The President had therefore initiated and implemented a programme of poverty alleviation. Families in the lowest income bracket would receive a transfer from the State to meet their basic human needs. Government-subsidized measures were being taken to raise employment and foster growth with equity in the short and longer run, thereby promoting peace and stability and the binding together of all national communities, as a basis for the enjoyment of peace and prosperity by all the country's citizens.
- 8. Mr. WALDEN (Observer for Israel) said that there was little new in the criticisms that had been levelled against Israel in the course of the debate, with two exceptions. Once the comments of Minority Rights Group regarding the situation of the Bedouin became available in more detailed form, he hoped to obtain full comments thereon from his authorities. Meanwhile, he wished to state that Israeli Bedouin were loyal citizens of Israel, and that they served in the Israeli army loyally and with distinction. With regard to certain draft legislation before the Knesset, he was at liberty to say that, while his country was far from discouraging the economic development of the territories, it would not permit the channelling of PLO money for the purpose of strengthening the PLO's grip there. It must not be imagined that the PLO's purposes were purely or indeed at all humanitarian.
- 9. Regarding the other criticisms, he considered that they had been levelled in an inappropriate manner, which disregarded the fact that a situation of violent conflict existed, and that in such a situation an impartial

investigation should concern itself with the conduct of both sides of the conflict and not one side only. Members and observers alike had failed to do Thus, Israel had been accused of using excessive force, but the conduct of those against whom the force was used was disregarded. Without taking such conduct into account, how could it be determined whether the use of force was excessive? Was not the throwing of rocks and petrol bombs which killed and maimed civilians a breach of human rights? The previous month, 16 passengers, including foreign tourists, had been killed and many others injured in an attack on a civilian bus by an Arab terrorist. Did those victims have no Why had no one mentioned that occurrence? During the past year human rights? and a half, nearly 100 Palestinian Arabs had been murdered by the organizers of the so-called intifada for alleged "collaboration with Israel" - in other words, failure to obey the leaders' orders. Yet not one word of condemnation of those acts had been heard in the Sub-Commission. The action of the intifada leaders in involving children in the forefront of their fight was a clear violation of article 38 of the draft Convention on the Rights of the Child. Yet members of the Sub-Commission appeared indifferent to such a violation of a code promulgated by its parent body.

- 10. The Sub-Commission had been one-sided in its discussion of the alleged violations. There was a tendency to assume that the obligation to respect human rights was incumbent only on States. Surely such an approach was inadequate at a time when so many of the actors on the international scene were groupings other than States.
- Turning to a different aspect of the situation, he pointed to the glaring contrast between the way in which the situation in the territories had been discussed and the extremely muted discussion of the tragedy taking place in Lebanon. Despite an assault by Syria on a capital city and its civilian population that had been described, not by Israel but by the Pope, as genocide, the Sub-Commission had decided that the right approach was a call for reconciliation which did not mention Syria by name, and which contained not a hint of condemnation. Those speakers who had criticized Syria had frequently found it necessary to balance their remarks by a criticism of Israel, as though the situation in South Lebanon were remotely comparable to that in Beirut. Others had even referred to the situation in southern Lebanon only, and had completely disregarded the events in Beirut. He wished to know why there was such a difference of approach. If the situation in Beirut called for an effort of conciliation, why did the situation in the territories call for one-sided partisanship? Thus far, only one member of the Sub-Commission had shown awareness of the need for a resolution of the conflict, but he, too, had spoken only in terms which criticized Israel, claiming that it had not responded adequately to the changed policy of the PLO. But there had been no change of policy. When the 16 passengers on the bus had been murdered, the PLO had praised the murderer. The recent Fatah Conference had insisted on the continuation of "armed struggle" - in other words, terrorism. Yet one need look no further than the Sub-Commission: not a single one of the speeches by the Arab members and observers had breathed a new spirit of conciliation or a wish to find a peaceful settlement. not the slightest detectable difference in tone between the speeches of 1989 and those made by Arab representatives at any time in the last 40 years.
- 12. He also wondered why the Israeli peace plan was deemed inadequate. As well as a proposal for negotiations with the Arab States, it had included a proposal for holding elections in the territories in order to choose

representatives of the Palestinians, with whom Israel could negotiate. That was a serious offer, seriously meant. Once it was accepted in principle, modalities could be established for holding them which would set any doubts at rest. For third parties to dismiss every offer that came from Israel as "inadequate" was a grave disservice to the interests of the Palestinians themselves. Third parties had a heavy responsibility not to encourage rejectionism and extremism, which could only prolong the conflict. Was it too much to ask that, if a resolution on the subject was adopted at all, it would be one seeking the path of reconciliation, and not one that perpetuated the sterile triumphalist language of the past?

- 13. Before concluding, he felt obliged to draw attention to the plight of the Jewish minority in Syria, numbering not more than 4,000 people, which was still subjected to discrimination and was thus in dire need of protection. It was harassed and intimidated by the Syrian intelligence service. Even temporary stays abroad, for whatever reason, were subject to restrictions that led to cruel separations of families. Another consequence was the problem of the young girls who were unable to find Jewish spouses and were therefore unable to marry. Further, Jews had been incarcerated without the possibility of visits from relatives. Among other forms of discrimination, they were obliged to denote their religion on their identity cards and passports, they were subject to restrictions in disposing of their property, they were barred from employment in government offices and above all, they were seriously impeded in handing on their own religious heritage. He called upon the Sub-Commission to use its influence on the Syrian Government to alleviate the plight of that minority.
- 14. Ms. SINEGIORGIS (Observer for Ethiopia), speaking in exercise of the right of reply, regretted that the discussion under item 6 was often used as an occasion for unnecessary politicization and for diatribes. Once again, all manner of allegations by certain non-governmental organizations, characterized by their shameless distortion of historical facts and slanderous fabrications, had been made against her country.
- 15. The attempt to distort and rewrite Ethiopian history was a gross, politically motivated crime against the nation and its people, perpetrated in the name of human rights by certain non-governmental organizations. It was high time that the Sub-Commission learned to draw a distinction between those non-governmental organizations that addressed its meetings out of a genuine concern for the respect for and protection of human rights, and those that came with the sole intention of venting their hatred against certain Governments, and whose statements were not worthy of a reply.
- 16. She nevertheless considered it her duty to comment on one issue which continued to be of paramount importance to her Government and to the people of Ethiopia. Before doing so, she wished to stress that the problem experienced by her country in its northern administrative region was an internal one, which the Ethiopian people could and would resolve in the manner they deemed appropriate. From the outset, her Government had attached the highest priority to resolving that problem peacefully. It had made numerous peace overtures to the dissident groups over the years, which had unfortunately not been heeded. Now at last there was a ray of hope. On 5 June 1989 the Ethiopian Parliament, meeting at its First Extraordinary Congress, had launched a new six-point peace initiative, amply demonstrating her Government's total and unambiguous commitment to resolving the problem by

peaceful means. The reaction of the international community to the initiative had been positive and encouraging. The first meeting on the new peace initiative was scheduled to take place on 7 September 1989 in Atlanta, Georgia. In the interests of objectivity, some acknowledgement should have been made of those encouraging developments. Yet no reference had been made to them by the non-governmental organizations who had chosen to speak on the subject. Their decision to ignore the recent developments abundantly demonstrated that their concern was not to see a peaceful resolution of the problem, but rather to use the issue to further their destructive political aims. However, her delegation was encouraged by the good will and support of the international community, and her Government was determined to do everything in its power to ensure the success of its peace initiative.

- 17. Mr. TREJOS (Observer for Costa Rica) extended his condolences to and solidarity with the Government of Colombia in connection with the recent assassination of Mr. Luis Carlos Galán, a leading presidential candidate.
- One of the major achievements of the United Nations in the field of human rights was the recognition of the universal applicability of those rights and the obligation imposed on all States to respect them, set forth in the International Bill of Human Rights, to all of whose instruments Costa Rica was a party. Costa Rica was uncompromising in its commitment to respect for human rights. But it was also generous in its acknowledgement of the competence of the international community to investigate and judge its behaviour in that field. Consequently, it welcomed scrutiny by the international community as a way of ensuring that flagrant violations of human rights would not take place with the complicity or connivance of the Government. He did not wish to imply thereby that violations of human rights could not occur in Costa Rica. What he was saying was that due reparation would be made for any such violations. His country was one of a small number that acknowledged the competence of six different international bodies to study its behaviour with regard to respect for human rights. Its position as a defender of human rights was thus no mere rhetorical stance. It recognized that, just as human rights must be enjoyed without distinction as to race, colour, sex, language, religion, political or any other form of opinion, violations of those rights, too, must be universalized. In other words, those violations could not be judged differently according to the political or ideological position of the violator. Just as the International Bill of Human Rights made no distinction between persons in the enjoyment of their rights, so, too, the organs called upon to ensure respect for human rights could not distinguish or discriminate against or in favour of alleged offenders. His country did not accept political or ideological complexion as grounds for indulgence with regard to violations of human rights.
- 19. His Government was concerned that that rule was not always heeded in international forums. His delegation noted that, under item 6, in addition to human rights problems in Palestine and other occupied territories and apartheid, the Sub-Commission was studying human rights violations in Haiti, El Salvador, Albania and Chile. The list, and also that of the cases being considered by the working groups, placed undue emphasis on Latin America. That was not consistent with the information received daily through the media, television, and reports from such highly respected non-governmental organizations as Amnesty International and the International Commission of

Jurists, which gave prominence to the recent events in the People's Republic of China, involving the violent suppression of peaceful demonstrations, the unnecessary massacre of students in Tiananmen Square, and the execution of their alleged leaders after summary trials by military courts.

- He agreed that investigations of alleged violations of human rights in neighbouring Latin American countries could be beneficial both for Governments and peoples. Governments could take the necessary measures to prevent future violations and the people would also benefit because of the greater protection thus afforded to their fundamental rights. Such investigations should, however, be balanced so that at the same time as acts that were violations of human rights were being scrutinized, account would also be taken of the circumstances which had culminated in such violations, including political-military conflicts and guerrilla activities. The reports should also take note of the efforts made by Governments to prevent human rights violations which continued to take place notwithstanding such efforts. His Government would like the Sub-Commission to continue its investigation of alleged violations of human rights without distinction as to geographical, ideological or political considerations. Debates which had already taken place in other bodies should not however be repeated and instead attention should be devoted to new items such as those recommended in paragraph 5 of the working document submitted by Mr. van Boven and Mr. Eide (E/CN.4/Sub.2/1989/47).
- 21. Mr. JOINET expressed regret at the language used by the observer for one non-governmental organization regarding the Philippines. He greatly regretted the situation in Colombia, particularly the assassination of judges, and hoped that the Government of Colombia could cope with the situation in that country. The international community must however help as what happened in Colombia was important to all. The country was becoming a dictatorship of the drug cartel. The international community should make every effort to stop the drug traffic which was in fact a crime against humanity.
- 22. Reference had been made to a report prepared for the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) by Mr. Yakiar which allegedly reflected favourably on the efforts of the Government of Romania to change the urban and rural fabric of the country. The report had not yet been submitted for approval to the Executive Board of UNESCO however and should not therefore be referred to by the Sub-Commission until the whole report was available.
- 23. In Iraq the constitutional reform as well as the amnesty were welcome developments and further progress towards the liberalization of political life should be encouraged. The Sub-Commission should however remain vigilant to ensure that those moves would have the ultimate effect of transforming rather than merely legitimizing the current political régime.
- 24. Violations of human rights had been justified on the grounds that a country at war could not have the democratic flexibility of a country at peace. The armistice had however already been in force for one year and, although some detainees had been freed, vigilance must be maintained to ensure further progress.

- 25. What was beyond doubt however was that two Special Rapporteurs had noted cases of extrajudicial executions, disappearances and arbitrary arrests. In particular, the report of the Working Group on Enforced or Involuntary Disappearances had listed a number of such cases in paragraphs 177-189 of its report (E/CN.4/1989/18).
- 26. On the issue of population transfers, it was true that a country at war must ensure the security of its population by withdrawing them from the vicinity of the frontiers. Again, however, that argument was a little thin bearing in mind the period during which the armistice had been in effect.
- 27. The latest news from Guatemala was very disturbing. The Sub-Commission could not remain indifferent to the fact that recent targets of violations of human rights had been human rights defenders and the Mutual Support Group.
- 28. The overall situation in East Timor continued to be of concern as was evident from testimony submitted to the Sub-Commission both in regard to the continuing state of war on the territory and to grave violations of human rights. He wished to draw particular attention to violations involving persons seeking or disseminating information on violations of human rights. While the Sub-Commission welcomed the measures taken by the Government of Indonesia regarding the opening of East Timor, it noted that access remained restricted. In particular, human rights organizations had not been permitted to visit the territory. He would suggest that a member of the Sub-Commission should visit the territory with a view to confirming the veracity of the various allegations which had been made. It was however essential that the people of East Timor should be enabled to express themselves freely.
- 29. Mr. Khalifa had made an excellent analysis of the situation in Bulgaria and he was in agreement with its findings.
- 30. In conclusion, he expressed the hope that the dialogue in Ethiopia would continue to a successful conclusion.
- 31. Mrs. DAES said that she had read with particular concern the letter submitted by the Government of Albania (E/CN.4/Sub.2/1989/48). She appreciated that efforts had been made to improve Albania's relations with a large number of States world-wide; there had, however, been no attempt to implement the resolutions of the Sub-Commission and the Commission on Human Rights, in particular Commission resolution 1989/69 relating to freedom of thought, conscience and religion and to the protection of minorities in general. It was clear from the letter that Albania's approach differed from that stipulated in international human rights instruments relating to the survival and protection of ethnic, religious and linguistic minorities. She shared what she believed was the prevailing view, namely that States were obliged to adopt specific legislative and administrative measures to guarantee persons belonging to those minorities the enjoyment of their own culture, respect for and the practice of their own religion and education and the use of their own language.
- 32. According to reliable information, hundreds of people of Hungarian origin had left Romania and sought asylum in Hungary. A new refugee drama had thus been created in Hungary because of the persecution of a minority in a neighbouring country.

- 33. In the context of the views expressed on future action which the Sub-Commission might take for the effective international protection of minorities, she would suggest that consideration should be given to updating the monumental study by Mr. Capotorti in the light of recent events in several parts of the world.
- 34. Many references had been made to violations of the human rights of indigenous peoples. As Chairman-Rapporteur of the Working Group on Indigenous Populations, she expressed regret that systematic violations of the human rights of such peoples continued to take place in a number of countries. One of the gravest problems faced by indigenous peoples currently was the suicide of indigenous children in certain countries. She hoped that the Sub-Commission would consider that urgent aspect of the problem under item 15 (b).
- 35. It had to be recognized that in certain countries some progress had been made towards improving the living conditions of indigenous populations by legislative and administrative measures at the national level. Moreover, certain States were co-operating with the competent United Nations agencies with a view to the amelioration of the human rights situation of indigenous peoples. She appealed to Governments to redouble their efforts in that field.
- 36. Disturbing reports had been received concerning the oppression, persecution and ill-treatment of the indigenous people in East Timor; the Government concerned should respect the relevant United Nations resolutions and implement the standards of contemporary human rights law.
- 37. She appealed to the wisdom of the Chinese people, who over the centuries had developed one of the most important civilizations of the world, to consider granting amnesty and clemency for all and to re-establish democracy and freedom throughout the country in which the rule of law should prevail.
- 38. She strongly condemned the large number of summary or arbitrary executions, including extra-legal executions, which continued to take place in various parts of the world. Such executions constituted flagrant violations of the right to life, liberty and security of the person. She welcomed the proposed close co-operation between the Centre for Human Rights, the Crime Prevention and Criminal Branch of the Centre for Social Development and Humanitarian Affairs and the Committee on Crime Prevention and Control in connection with the elaboration of principles on the effective prevention and investigation of arbitrary and summary executions, including extra-legal executions. The Sub-Commission should contribute to that work.
- 39. She was also greatly concerned by the gross and systematic violations of the human rights of journalists in certain parts of the world community. The International Federation of Journalists had raised the problem of violations of basic human rights and fundamental freedoms before the Commission on Human Rights at its recent session. Many journalists and others who worked for the mass media in good faith had been arrested by military or police forces and subjected to torture and ill-treatment. In her view, the Sub-Commission should examine the problem, as the freedom of the press and information was an indispensable factor for the promotion and protection of human rights in a democratic and free society. In order to achieve that goal special protection must be given to journalists and others working for the mass media.

- 40. Mr. EIDE expressed the view that the Sub-Commission was not required to discuss the elaboration of new standards but to investigate whether existing standards were being adhered to in practice.
- 41. Unprecedented changes were taking place involving, in particular, the accelerating evolution of the international rule of law, the process of confidence-building, and the realization of human rights worldwide.
- The main features of the evolution of the international rule of law were the consolidation of the principle of non-intervention and the withdrawal of armed forces and other forms of military interference; Afghanistan, Kampuchea and Angola as well as the dismantling of the Contras were current examples. He was confident that there would be a substantial reduction of military bases and other forms of armed presence abroad. Interventionism was being replaced by co-operation in many fields, including the economic, scientific and technical, social and environmental, and the process was characterized by another essential feature, namely, confidence-building. Above all, confidence-building had come to focus on human rights performance. development went hand in hand with awareness that development was impossible without openness or glasnost. The Sub-Commission should be very concerned with the realization of economic and social rights; poverty and, in particular, gross inequality were among the root causes of human rights problems. Poverty could only be eliminated by development and development was only possible through openness, freedom of expression and freedom of participation. The new trend towards the rule of law and confidence-building in international relations was linked to expanding co-operation and improvement in the field of human rights.
- 43. Confidence-building was essential not only in international relations but also at the national level and that was what the implementation of human rights was all about. At the national level, there was an obvious need for reciprocal confidence between the different sections of society, between different ethnic groups and between the people and the government. Confidence-building was achieved through non-discrimination, social justice, equal possibilities of participation, openness and respect for the cultural and religious heritage of the different groups that composed the society. The role of the State was to ensure that confidence to everyone, by the impartial protection of human rights and a policy of development which benefited all and, in particular, those most in need.
- 44. On the other hand, confidence was destroyed by intolerance, discrimination, social injustice and lack of respect for the particularities of different groups. It was not always easy to achieve full confidence from all but acts which were obviously confidence-destroying should be avoided.
- 45. When severe conflicts existed in a society, it was of particular importance that the Government should seek to provide equal protection for all; that its law enforcement agencies did not turn a blind eye to terrorist activities of right-wing death squads while engaging in relentless action against left-wing violent elements in society or vice versa. The same applied to ethnic conflicts.
- 46. One area where significant confidence-building measures were currently being taken and where substantial progress appeared to have been made was in Central America through the Esquipalos II Peace Accord, the dismantling of the

Contras and Nicaragua's acceptance of autonomy for the Indians and others on the Atlantic Coast. Free elections were one of the better ways to ensure that the government had the confidence of the people, but it was not enough. The impartial and effective administration of justice must be ensured so that everyone, was equally protected. The second essential element was the realization of human rights for all and, in particular, for those most in need.

- 47. In Guatemela, although security forces were present in large numbers throughout the country, they did not seem to provide effective security against right-wing killers and abductors. Equal and effective security for all was essential and the Sub-Commission should follow further developments in Guatemala closely. Hitherto, the Guatemalan authorities had not given proper recognition to the ethnic and cultural identity of their indigenous peoples, but had treated them as simple peasants. That had been extremely confidence-destroying as had been the initial attitude of the Sandenista Government towards the Indians. Fortunately Nicaragua had later initiated the autonomy plan for the Atlantic coast, which benefited the Indians and others. Something of that kind would eventually have to be done also in Guatemala if confidence was to be built up in its large Indian community.
- 48. If it was the choice of the people, expressed through genuine and free elections, that there should be a right-wing Government in El Salvador and a left-wing Government in Nicaragua, the outside world had no right to interfere. But, whether right-wing or left-wing, such Governments were bound by international human rights law and must take the necessary steps, within available resources, to secure the basic needs of all the inhabitants of the country; equally important, they were obliged to maintain law and order, to ensure the right to life, freedom from disappearance and torture, and freedom of speech for all.
- 49. The case of Colombia showed that the problem did not rest mainly with the Government. The intransigence of the warring parties to the left and the right and the unwillingness of parts of the armed forces to accept certain confidence-building measures, had left the Government rather helpless.
- 50. Sri Lanka represented an extreme case. There were currently at least five or six parties, all of whom from time to time engaged in their own forms of confidence-destruction, while at other times trying to make confidence-building moves. All parties were reported to have engaged in actions which could be seen as human rights violations. The Sub-Commission should insist that all Sri Lankan groups stop using violence and re-enter the democratic process, accepting the Peace Accords as a basis and agreeing that whatever modification should be made, must be achieved by normal, democratic non-violent means.
- 51. The most extreme example of confidence-destruction was to be found in Lebanon where the country had become a slaughterhouse. It was essential that all foreign armed forces, particularly those of Israel and Syria, should be withdrawn and that an end should be put to exploitation by external actors of the religious differences. A stable solution would not be found unless a Palestinian State was formed with the full recognition by all States in the region of the rights of Israel, Palestine and Jordan to exist peacefully side by side.

- 52. The annexation of East Timor by Indonesia had led to an unending series of human rights problems. East Timor had never been part of Indonesia so that, for all practical purposes, the Indonesians functioned as an occupation army. Full withdrawal by the Indonesian forces and a very high degree of self-government would create confidence and make it possible for the people to control their own pace of development.
- 53. In Africa, the Sub-Commission's main concern was with South Africa but there were other African problems. Human rights bodies had continued to neglect the tragic situation in Uganda. In Ethiopia, internal confidence had been seriously shaken and the international community should seek to help Ethiopia and its various peoples on the road towards confidence-building and constructive development. That would include a substantial degree of internal autonomy for Eritrea.
- 54. Conflicts in Africa revolved around nation-building and ethnic tension and the inability to maintain confidence; the use of governmental armed forces on one side and armed opposition on the other further destroyed confidence.
- 55. Europe was far from being free from human rights problems and there had been an upsurge of xenophobia in Western Europe. In other parts of Europe there were serious minority and ethnic problems. Mr. Khalifa had made a very thoughtful intervention on that point. In Bulgaria, it would be helpful if the Government announced clearly that it would not object to the use, by its Muslim inhabitants, of their traditional names and language and the free exercise of their culture. A similar statement by the Turkish authorities in regard to its Kurdish population would also greatly help the building of confidence.
- 56. There were problems in Romania, too, the most distressing being the lack of co-operation with the United Nations, and its Special Rapporteur.
- 57. Probably the most serious of all human rights violators was the Islamic Republic of Iran. Its effectiveness in confidence-destroying, both internally and internationally, had been admitted by its observer at the previous meeting. Its policies had generated very strong internal opposition. It had further aggravated the lack of confidence by an exceptionally high number of executions, one of the clearest illustrations of mutual lack of confidence between Government and people. The observer had stated that it was necessary to take into account the extraordinary situation in the country since the revolution 10 years earlier, apparently failing to recognize that the extraordinary situation was due to extraordinary policies. The observer had also expressed strong negative views on the report by the Special Representative (E/CN.4/1989/26). There appeared to have been more executions in the past year alone than in the history of his own country, Norway. Obviously such a rash of executions meant that something was fundamentally wrong.
- 58. With regard to Iraq, there was an extreme credibility-gap on facts. The use of chemical weapons had been denied, but reference had been made to a press release issued in December 1988 at the time of a visit to north-west Iran by representatives of the International Committee of the Red Cross and the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, to the effect that the persons they had met did not have wounds caused by chemical weapons.

That gave no indication of whether chemical weapons were being used, and the ICRC had not investigated the matter. He would strongly encourage the Government of Iraq to accept an invitation to investigate the situation.

- 59. The observer for China had underlined his country's continued interest in the protection and promotion of human rights. Among the many issues that had attracted international attention were excessive use of force by law enforcement officials and the lack of legal safeguards for those facing the possibility of the death penalty. If China was genuinely interested in co-operation, there were several steps that could be taken including the establishment of a committee of investigation, preferably with the participation of international experts, to review the facts concerning the military action taken during June to quell the demonstrations. If it was found that there had been excessive use of force by members of the armed forces, the persons responsible should be prosecuted. Immediate steps should be taken to ensure that internationally recognized standards for the administration of justice were applied in all pending and future penal action against anyone involved in demonstrations or other actions, and particular care should be taken to apply safeguards for persons facing the death penalty.
- The Sub-Commission had been told that a comprehensive programme of analysis and discussion of the issues that had led to the events in May and June would be carried out in China. Some had called it a programme of indoctrination; that was a very negative concept and he hoped the programme would entail a free and critical discussion of all aspects of the events. Since the present Sub-Commission session was the first international meeting at which the recent events in China had been examined in great detail and at which conflicting information had been presented by non-governmental organizations and by the observer for China, he assumed that the summary records of the meetings, which would be of particular interest, would be made available in Chinese. He suggested that an unabridged version of the summary records should form part of the curriculum for the intended study programme in China, so that students and others taking part would be better able to judge what had happened. The matter was vitally important, not least for the people of Hong Kong. Only if the Chinese Government discontinued the executions and took action against those responsible for excessive use of force by the army could the people of Hong Kong feel confident about their future. Otherwise, there might be one of the most serious mass exoduses the world had witnessed.
- 61. The Chinese Government should also take immediate steps to restore the confidence of the people of Tibet, by halting the transfer of non-Tibetan people to Tibet and recognizing a high level of local autonomy for Tibet on the lines indicated by the Dalai Lama.
- 62. The meaning of the internationalization of human rights was twofold: to develop and expand international co-operation in the protection and promotion of human rights and to overcome the opposition that some States might have to such international co-operation. The growing intensity of international co-operation in human rights was reflected in the growing number of ratifications of the main covenants and the growing number of acceptances of systems of individual complaints. When there was a climate of co-operation, the international monitoring systems worked well. Where an individual complaint led to a finding that a violation had occurred, a co-operative Government took steps to prevent it happening in the future possibly by

changing the legislation, issuing new instructions to security forces, or ensuring better discipline. Similarly, the examination of reports under the reporting procedure could be very effective if the Government concerned were co-operative.

- Thus there was a continuing slow but progressive development of human rights throughout the world, through constant interaction between the international community and the national authorities. Problems arose only when a Government did not want or was unable to co-operate fully with the international community. There could be several reasons for that, and particular attention should be given to such cases. In some situations, the problems appeared to be too great to to be manageable. In other cases, the policy of a Government had brought about a situation which it could not resolve without fundamentally changing its policy and there were sometimes deep political and social reasons why it did not wish to do so. There were many situations, however, where responsible elements in a Government wanted to secure human rights for all, but were confronted by elements on all sides, internal and external, bent on the relentless pursuit of their own interests. In that connection, the observer for the Philippines had made a remarkable statement on the manipulation of human rights information. It was important to be aware of that danger, which was also a danger for the Sub-Commission. The response was not to halt the flow of information, but to use it constructively so as to contribute to confidence-building rather than to confidence-destroying. That was the task on which the Sub-Commission had embarked, and it had a long way to go before it devised procedures which would lead to constructive solutions.
- 64. He agreed with Mrs. Ksentini that economic and social rights should be included in the matters of concern for the Sub-Commission. The most serious violations of those rights occurred in the context of internal conflicts. First, the normal production system broke down. Second, expenses and manpower focused on armed forces or insurgency forces. Third, parties often sought deliberately to prevent access by starving groups to food from outside. Last, many people were uprooted and became internal or external refugees living on the verge of starvation.
- 65. Regarding confidence-building at the global level, in the North-South context, the North would have to contribute to a meaningful transformation of world economic relations, but that would be of little benefit unless in the South each nation was willing to move from conflict to confidence-building internally. Concern for human rights was the best and probably the only guide to the content of confidence-building. That was why the Sub-Commission's discussions were so essential, however difficult they might be.
- 66. Mr. ALFONSO MARTINEZ said that the proliferation of statements was explained by the situation: agenda item 6 was being discussed at a crucial moment, a turning-point in the Sub-Commission's history.
- 67. There had been many developments during the present session. For example, there were the valuable suggestions made by Mr. Eide and Mr. van Boven, concerning the public and confidential procedures. There had been a proliferation of ideas on how to discuss the item, such as Mrs. Palley's proposal for an omnibus resolution on situations of possible concern to the Sub-Commission. Mr. Chernichenko had made a proposal that

merited consideration, namely, that some of the issues raised in pre-sessional working groups, such as those on slavery and on indigenous peoples, should be discussed in plenary in the Sub-Commission. The Sub-Commission had received a legal opinion to the effect that all countries could refer to all situations, including those in other countries; accordingly, the observer for Costa Rica had spoken of other Latin American countries, including Colombia, and the observer for Israel had referred to Syria. That opinion would have a profound impact on the Sub-Commission's future work.

- 68. He wondered whether the Sub-Commission should continue to maintain the present item on its agenda for future sessions. It was not a question of eliminating analysis, discussion and decisions in respect of situations or allegations of human rights violations in any part of the world, but rather that all the debates could easily take place under other agenda items. It was a question of rationalizing, not avoiding, discussion. The pressure that the item imposed on all the members of the Sub-Commission must prompt them to give the matter serious thought. In his opinion, the solution was not be found in Mrs. Palley's proposal, which he would oppose. Nor was the report on trends and criteria by Mr. Eide and Mr. van Boven in document E/CN.4/Sub.2/1989/47 a solution. So what was the Sub-Commission to do?
- 69. There were various reasons for the Sub-Commission's difficulties with the item. In the first place, its content, as originally conceived, had changed. As Mrs. Warzazi had explained on the previous day, the item was based on General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) whose title Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples made the subject clear, and the Sub-Commission must decide whether, 22 years later, it was still discussing it in the same terms as in 1967. Clearly, the Sub-Commission was selective, but that was not the fault of the experts. Items had been studied from the point of view of violation of political rights. He agreed with Mrs. Ksentini that there had been an almost total lack of action on massive and flagrant violations of economic, social and cultural rights. In his opinion that was because of the Sub-Commission's failure to recognize the interdependence of civil and political rights on the one hand, and economic, social and cultural rights, on the other.
- 70. There was also the problem of information. The Sub-Commission had access to information in the media and from written sources, but some manipulation was inevitable and while information might seem wide ranging, it was in fact limited. For example, nothing was news not even the most flagrant violations of human rights unless a television camera was on the spot.
- 71. The information fed to members of the Sub-Commission lacked balance. The proliferation of information on agenda item 6 at the current session was putting tremendous pressure on all members of the Sub-Commission.
- 72. There were other practical problems. The Sub-Commission might sometimes take decisions which could affect the delicate internal or external balance in a country, yet the Charter of the United Nations called for the promotion of friendly relations and co-operation between member countries. Now, as a result of the legal opinion, anyone had <u>carte blanche</u> to refer to any situation in the world.

- 73. As for what could be done about the situation, it could not be changed overnight, but members should at least be given time to study and reflect. He suggested that, as a start, a working group might be set up at the forty-second session working during the session to discuss how to deal with the problem. No possibility should be excluded. Agenda item 6 could be left as it was, changed, split up under existing and new agenda items, or the problems it covered decentralized.
- In his opinion, the question should be looked at selectively. Members of the Sub-Commission, coming from different regions, would be better informed and better able to understand certain areas. Regarding his own region, there was reason for a measure of optimism in respect of countries, such as Paraguay or Chile, where there was a possibility of a return to precarious democracy. The Esquipulas II Peace Agreements in Central America were also a positive element, and might help to prevent further human rights violations in Nicaragua by the Contras. His main concern was El Salvador, where the situation was deteriorating, without hope of improvement. He was concerned about the Government's inability to evacuate casualties and war injured, the continued presence and action of paramilitary groups, and the fact that the murderers of Monsignor Romero were still unpunished. Negotiation was essential, to achieve a settlement and put an end to the human rights violations in El Salvador. Honduras, where there had been cases of assassination of particularly active trade union and student leaders, also gave rise to concern.
- 75. In Chile, the transition towards a democracy of form was still beset with difficulties. Paragraphs 65 and 67 of the report of the Special Rapporteur (E/CN.4/1989/7) referred to torture. In July the Government of Chile had said that it was unable to continue its co-operation with the Special Rapporteur following the extension of his mandate by the Commission on Human Rights for a further year. The situation in Chile was therefore of grave concern.
- 76. The case of Guatemala was a special one. The present Government had done good work in seeking a negotiated solution to the problems of Central America, but there were still situations affecting the population in general and the indigenous population in particular to which the Sub-Commission could not remain indifferent. It could be argued that there were elements that were not controlled by the Government, but he wondered to what extent they would be given a free hand if the Sub-Commission remained inactive. Members must think about that matter when adopting their draft resolution on Guatemala.
- 77. There were also irreducible cases in which there was no possibility of the peoples concerned exercising their right to self-determination. The case of Northern Ireland fell into that category. Mrs. Palley had argued that there was no generalized pattern of violation of human rights in that case, but that was to ignore the opinion of the people and of international bodies. In Gibraltar, three IRA activists had been shot dead in cold blood without the least possibility of taking any aggressive action against the British forces of repression.
- 78. The case of Namibia also fell into that category. In that connection, Mrs. Palley had mentioned a possible military intervention by Cuba in southern Africa which she believed should be a matter of concern to the Sub-Commission. According to Mrs. Palley, Cuba was the instrument of the USSR. He would have thought that such arguments were outdated. He would

have hoped for some acknowledgement of Cuba's modest contribution in enabling Namibia to attain its independence. South Africa's severe defeat in Angola had encouraged it to come to the negotiating table. It was absurd that allegations that Cuba was an agent of another Power should continue to be made after the decisions by the Organization of African Unity on the Cuban military presence.

- 79. He was also concerned at the continuation of colonial situations in the Caribbean, Africa, the South Pacific and elsewhere in the world.
- 80. Turning to the question of Palestine, he said that as a result of the situation in the occupied territories, the people of Palestine had launched their glorious <u>intifada</u>. The observer for Israel had said that the <u>intifada</u> might be in conflict with the law or with the draft Convention on the Rights of the Child, but it should not be forgotten that the preamble to the Universal Declaration of Human Rights recognized the right of man to have recourse, as a last resort, to rebellion against tyranny and oppression. There could be no clearer example of such rebellion than the sticks and stones thrown by youngsters against the Israeli army. The occupation of Palestine and the Arab territories impeded the exercise of all political economic, cultural and social rights in those territories.
- 81. The case of Cyprus had given rise to concern for 15 years. There too there was no possibility of exercising human rights in the occupied part of the island. He hoped that the negotiations now being conducted between the communities would lead to a solution, but for the time being the issue continued to be a cause of anxiety.
- 82. He had had to be selective in his focus because of the way in which the agenda item was structured, but that did not mean that he was not disturbed about situations in other parts of the world. He would speak of those situations when the relevant texts were before the Sub-Commission.
- 83. Mr. DIACONU said that the discussion had shown the need for a very balanced approach to the question. The Sub-Commission must look at constant models of serious and flagrant violations of human rights, which was not always easy because of the vast amount of information submitted to it. The Sub-Commission also had to look at the whole range of human rights under item 6. In the area of economic, social and cultural rights, for instance, there were also constant serious violations such as unemployment, lack of housing, illiteracy. However, the Sub-Commission should not launch into a crusade, nor must it look at the world selectively, for that would reduce its work to a political exercise.
- 84. He shared the view of Mr. Varela Quirós that the Sub-Commission must not look only at one continent, but he saw no global approach in the pairs of countries he had chosen. Why were the socialist countries coupled with Latin America?
- 85. Mrs. Palley had avoided any mention of Eastern Europe and had only referred to English-speaking countries in so far as indigenous peoples were concerned. She had referred to the past in speaking of Northern Ireland, but an armed conflict had been going on in Northern Ireland for 20 years which had

caused the death of almost 3,000 people, and which was continuing. He did not agree with the experts and an observer for a non-governmental organization who had described that conflict as a religious war.

- 86. Several experts had drawn attention to the fact that human rights campaigns tended to fan discontent among minorities, particularly in the USSR and China, in order to weaken them and interfere in the solution of their problems. That was a very serious tendency and one clearly contrary to the principles of international law. It could result in conflicts and reactions which would in no way help to promote human rights and might even threaten peace and security throughout the world.
- 87. There was no single model of democracy in the world that should be adopted by all countries. The more that that was understood and accepted, the better things would be for international co-operation, including human rights.
- 88. On the question of suggested or imposed models, Galbraith had said in his book A View from the Stands, that in such cases a remedy was chosen and justified rather than the real causes being diagnosed and a remedy sought.
- 89. Economic, social, historic and national realities differed, as did societies, the form of democracy depending upon the type of society involved. It was on that basis that common ground in the field of human rights should be sought.
- 90. There were problems of minorities not only in Eastern Europe but also in Western Europe and in North America, where questions of teaching in minority languages arose. That matter had to be dealt with carefully: the Sub-Commission must not become involved in campaigns designed to serve interests other than those of human rights. It must not set peoples and nationalities against each other and arouse hatred and conflicts.
- 91. The Sub-Commission might agree on questions of principle such as equality of rights and participation in economic and social life and the protection of the identity of persons. Account must be taken of the situation in every country, particularly in the Balkans and Eastern Europe where there were minority populations. Care must be taken not to arouse the old demons that had led to the First World War, to the dismemberment of Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia and Romania, the disappearance of Poland and finally to the Second World War. Challenges to the validity of peace treaties and European frontiers had been made, but each people and each State had the right to make its choice and freely to develop its economic and social system.
- 92. It was true that human rights formed the subject of a growing number of legal instruments to which a large number of States were parties, albeit with notable exceptions. International co-operation, too, in that field had more and more facets, including machinery for monitoring the implementation of commitments. There, too, there were notable exceptions, for some States had never submitted a single report to an international body in that field. But the questions of the guarantee, exercise of and respect for human rights were bound up with the political, economic and social system, the organization of politics and the State, the legislative, administrative and judicial system of each State, in fact, with all the measures taken on the territory of a State

to regulate human relations. All those elements were dependent on the national jurisdiction of the State. Thus, while human rights problems were increasingly the subject of international regulation and co-operation, they remained internal problems, for only the State could take the appropriate action. It might be said that human rights were a national matter but with international aspects.

- 93. The Sub-Commission must not lose sight of the principle of non-interference in the affairs of States, which was one of the fundamental principles governing international relations. A happy medium must be found between international co-operation in a particular domaine and non-interference in the internal affairs of States.
- 94. A great deal had been said about how to deal with agenda item 6 and Mr. Chernichenko had put forward a number of good ideas. The matter was extremely important and must be given further thought. Unless some method and a reasonable balance were found, the present session might become the battleground to the detriment of its results.
- 95. Ms. CHALLAN (Observer for the Syrian Arab Republic), speaking in exercise of the right of reply, said that it was laughable to hear the observer for the Zionist entity describe Palestinian children as terrorists because they threw stones at the Israeli occupying forces, while the Palestinian people had been deprived of everything in 40 years of occupation, humiliation and genocide.
- 96. The observer had forgotten that the right to fight against violations of human rights and against occupation was a legitimate right recognized by international legislation. He had forgotten that Israel had used cluster and fragmentation bombs against the Arab population and had not hesitated to break the bones of children in front of television cameras.
- 97. The observer of the Zionist entity had forgotten that it was Israel that had started an expansionist war of aggression against the Arab States, and that it was Israel that was occupying Arab and Palestinian territories. She recalled that the barbaric action of Israel in the Syrian Golan had prompted the General Assembly to equate zionism with racism and racial discrimination in resolution 3379 (XXX). The Israeli observer had forgotten that it was Israel that continued to be an obstacle to peace, for it did not want peace but wished to realize its aim of creating an empire stretching from the Nile to the Euphrates.
- 98. In his allegations concerning the bombing of civilians in Beirut, the observer for the Zionist entity had forgotten that those events were the consequence of the continued Israeli occupation of South Lebanon and its continued attempts to break up that country. He had forgotten that Israeli forces had that very morning swept through a South Lebanese village and had attacked a number of villages in the Western Bekaa. He had forgotten the acts of piracy committed by Israel against Lebanese and Palestinians, the most recent of which was the kidnapping of Sheikh Obeid.
- 99. Syria had spared no effort to reduce tension, reconcile the points of view of the conflicting Lebanese parties, and preserve the unity and territorial integrity of Lebanon.

- 100. As to the question of the Syrian Jewish citizens, the truth was that they enjoyed all the rights guaranteed to Syrians and that they were protected by the Syrian authorities to prevent Israel from again committing crimes like the blowing up by Mossad of a synagogue in Baghdad in 1950 to encourage Iraqi Jews to emigrate.
- 101. Mr. URRUELA (Observer for Guatemala), speaking in exercise of the right of reply, expressed his Government's condemnation and concern at the recent attacks on the Mutual Support Group (GAM) and the international peace brigades in his country. Those and other actions, such as the recent assassination of the Guatemalan Ambassador in Spain reminded all Guatemalans that the country's tragic political past was all too recent and that the current democratic experiment might never become a national reality.
- 102. A return to the past would mean the polarization of the country's political and social forces, with its deadly train of outrages and assassinations. What was at stake was not just respect for and maintenance of human rights and fundamental freedoms, but the very survival of democracy.
- 103. His delegation had noticed a tendency on the part of some non-governmental organizations to blacken situations and criticize negative aspects. Such an attitude distorted the achievements of the years of civilian Government, making the international community believe that structural situations were the result of the Government's inefficiency or lack of political will, which was far from true. On the contrary, despite structural limitations, the Government of Guatemala had demonstrated to the non-governmental organizations and the international community its concern to clarify the situation regarding disappeared persons in Guatemala.
- 104. In July 1989, the Government had started an investigation into disappearances and the preliminary results were already in the possession of Amnesty International. The Government hoped to complete its investigation as soon as possible.
- 105. With regard to the reference by a non-governmental organization to the disappearance of Judge Vasquez de Lara, he wished to make it clear that Mrs. Maria Estella Bonilla Barco de Lara had been arrested on a charge of murdering the judge, the motive, according to the judge's husband, being a problem of land inheritance.
- 106. Regarding accusations by another non-governmental organziation that the Government's response to the teachers' strike had been the murder of the teacher Mr. Mis Morales, it was not certain that Mr. Mis Morales was dead. He had unfortunately been wounded by a policeman when the latter broke into the place where Mr. Mis Morales and other persons were holding the teacher Cetina Puga hostage. The strike had ended satisfactorily and without any teachers being murdered or disappearing. Surely that showed an improvement on the political situation in Guatemala before the present Government came to power.
- 107. Certain non-governmental organizations were obviously trying to mislead the Sub-Commission by accusing the Government of acts of violence, many of which had really been acts of ordinary crime. For example, one non-governmental organization had suggested that the Government had been

responsible for the murder of five people in Camotan, Chiquemula, when in fact the murder had been motivated by personal revenge; the murderers had been identified and were being sought.

- 108. Isolated cases of human rights violations did occur in Guatemala, but not as a result of governmental action as in the past. Many non-governmental organizations seemed to think that nothing was being done to improve standards of respect for and maintenance of human rights in Guatemala. But the fact was that in spite of structural and institutional limitations and lack of resources, the Government was making every effort to set up the necessary machinery to that end. Establishing an effective democracy in a situation such as that in Guatemala was no mean task, in the face of efforts at destabilization and disruption of democracy by extremists. Building up a democratic and human rights culture based on negotiation and agreement was a long and arduous process of education and the responsibility of each and every Guatemalan.
- 109. Mr. WALDEN (Observer for Israel), speaking in exercise of the right of reply, said that it was almost unnecessary to reply to the observer for the Syrian Arab Republic since she had condemned herself out of her own mouth by the intemperance of her words and her total disregard of her own country's activities.
- 110. He had not called the unfortunate Palestinian children "terrorists". He had said that the exploitation of those children by the leaders of the so-called <u>intifada</u> for the purpose of conducting hostilities against Israel was a clear breach of the human rights of those children. Attempts by experts or representatives of observer States to say otherwise were mere sophistry.
- 111. He requested the Chairman to ask that his country should be referred to by its own name and not by imaginary ones.

### ORGANIZATION OF WORK (continued)

- 112. Mrs. WARZAZI said that since the Sub-Commission had lost four meetings she proposed that, to make up the time lost, it should meet either at 9 a.m. or until 7 p.m. from the following day.
- 113. She also proposed that the Sub-Commission should dispense with one of the meetings allocated to agenda item 9 since the observers for many non-governmental organizations had already spoken on the issue of detention.
- 114. Further, she suggested that the Chairman should ask non-governmental organizations to group together by affinity and to choose a single speaker. That had already been done successfully.
- 115. She considered that each expert should exercise restraint, make a single statement and perhaps also a right of reply, and observe the time-limits set by the Sub-Commission at the outset.
- 116. The principle of equality of treatment for all members had proved very detrimental to the Sub-Commission's work. She requested the Chairman to remind speakers of the time-limit one minute before the end of their allotted time.

- 117. Lastly, she suggested that the observers from the countries concerned should wait until the end of the discussion on an agenda item to exercise the right of reply.
- 118. The CHAIRMAN agreed that members of the Sub-Commission had not exercised self-restraint. The Bureau would meet the following day to review the progress of work in the Sub-Commission and make appropriate recommendations. Extended meetings would certainly be necessary.
- 119. Mr. JOINET agreed with all Mrs. Warzazi's proposals except the one concerning the grouping of non-governmental organizations by affinity, which might cause difficulty.
- 120. He had tried hard not to exceed his time-limit for speaking and had not made statements on two agenda items. He wondered, however, what was the point of making statements if the experts did not have the time to develop them sufficiently.
- 121. Having recalled the time-limits set by the Bureau, he pointed out that conscientious experts spoke for only 15 minutes while others spoke for 25 minutes or even longer. He did not wish the Bureau's decision to be reviewed but appealed to all members not to exceed their time, which should not be more than 20 minutes.
- 122. The CHAIRMAN said that he would try to be stricter in applying the time-limits for all speakers including the experts.

The meeting rose at 1 p.m.