United Nations GENERAL ASSEMBLY

FORTIETH SESSION

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THIRD COMMITTEE
62nd meeting
held on
Tuesday, 3 December 1985
at 6 p.m.
New York

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SUMMARY RECORD OF THE 62nd MEETING

Chairman: Mr. ZADOR (Hungary)

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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 p.m.

AGENDA ITEM 12: REPORT OF THE ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL COUNCIL (continued) (A/40/3 and Corr.1, 77, 160, 173, 201, 232 and Add.1-3, 276, 308, 320, 342, 398, 458, 489, 569, 578, 638 and Add.1-3, 647, 818, 843, 865, 874, 938; A/C.3/40/1, 6, 7, 9; A/C.3/40/L.32, L.48/Rev.1, L.54, L.59, L.64, L.66, L.67, L.72, L.75, L.76, L.77, L.78)

- 1. Mr. HOGUE (Australia) said that the forty-first session of the General Assembly would coincide with the twentieth anniversary of the promulgation of the International Covenants on Human Rights. Although international standard-setting in the field of human rights continued to build upon the Covenants, the focus in recent years had been on the implementation of human-rights standards. Procedures had evolved to a point where a complex network of United Nations human-rights machinery was currently in place. Despite that machinery, however, and the broad support enjoyed by the international principles underlying it, a number of Governments continued to refuse to co-operate with United Nations procedures, notably enquiries on human-rights issues. It was perhaps time to consider how the United Nations could consolidate its procedures, in particular the special-rapporteur mechanism, and make them more effective and whether supplementary procedures were needed.
- 2. United Nations enquiries were already covering a broader political and geographical range of countries than in the past. The addition of Afghanistan and Iran to the Third Committee's agenda had broadened the focus of the General Assembly's enquiries beyond Latin America. International human-rights diplomacy was also becoming more sophisticated. Sometimes the United Nations was the most appropriate channel for it and, on other occasions, regional or bilateral contacts were more productive. Australia had pursued an active bilateral human-rights policy and would continue to raise individual cases or broader human-rights issues with other Governments. It was also interested in developing a regional approach to human-rights activities and considered that the regional commissions should play a more active role. The establishment of regional depository centres would be a useful step in that direction. It was particularly interested in the proposal that the Social Development Division of the ESCAP secretariat should be used as a focal point for human-rights information in the Asian and Pacific region.
- 3. Australia continued to favour thematic approaches to human rights, focused on particular categories of violation. For example, the Working Group on Enforced or Involuntary Disappearances, of the Commission on Human Rights, had been remarkably successful and its work should continue, with adequate Secretariat support. The Special Rapporteur on Summary or Arbitrary Executions had also worked effectively and more should be done to support his activities.
- 4. Australia had been closely associated with the initiatives in regard to indigenous populations. It hoped that a consensus would be achieved at the current session on the establishment of a voluntary fund for indigenous populations, to assist representatives of indigenous communities and organizations to participate in the Working Group which was drafting a set of international standards to promote their rights.

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- 5. The continuing large-scale exodus of populations in many regions, and the increasingly heavy burden such movements imposed on developing countries, demanded increasing attention and closer co-ordination from the international community. The work of the group of experts on measures to avert mass flows, the various activities of the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, and the consideration by the Third Committee and the Commission on Human Rights of the link between human-rights violations and mass exoduses, were all of great importance in that connection. The work on establishing a system to alert the Secretary-General quickly to any potential mass movement should be completed as soon as possible.
- 6. Australia would shortly be signing the Convention against Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment, and had already contributed to the Voluntary Fund for Victims of Torture. The appointment of a special rapporteur on torture should help to reinforce action against that practice.
- 7. Although such thematic approaches should help in the effort to end human-rights violations, resolutions drawing international attention to violations in particular countries continued to be necessary. Australia viewed the failure of some Governments to allow visits by special rapporteurs, or to co-operate in other ways, with serious concern. The international community should exert pressure on those Governments. The special rapporteurs should also receive adequate Secretariat support and arrangements should be made to follow up their recommendations, especially if there was to be remedial action. There might be scope for improved institutional linkages within the United Nations system in that respect.
- 8. In the case of Chile, Australia welcomed the fact that the Government had at last acknowledged that human-rights issues in that country were a legitimate subject of international concern. It hoped that the Government would heed the demands of large numbers of Chileans for political reform, and would soon restore full civil and political rights.
- 9. In regard to El Salvador, Australia hoped that a balanced and constructive resolution would emerge from the current session that would help national reconciliation and the restoration of respect for human rights. There had been improvement in several areas, but abuses continued on both sides, and Australia wished to place on record its concern about the situation and its support for the Government's current efforts to deal with violations.
- 10. In Guatemala, the recent elections were encouraging but the severity of human-rights abuses was still cause for concern. Australia would support a strong call by the Assembly to the Guatemalan authorities to take steps to improve the situation.
- 11. The interim report on the situation of human rights and fundamental freedoms in Afghanistan (A/40/843) gave an account of widespread violations by the Afghan authorities. The Special Rapporteur's conclusion that there was increasing

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evidence of religious persecution was a disturbing new element. The authorities should be urged to heed the international expressions of concern, which were supported by countries from all geographical regions.

- 12. With regard to Iran, Australia was profoundly disturbed by the allegations of summary executions of Iranians and discrimination against minority groups such as the Baha'is. The Iranian authorities should be encouraged to co-operate with the United Nations inquiry and to allow the proposed visit of the Special Representative to proceed. Australia would support a balanced and constructive resolution aimed at an improvement in the human-rights situation in Iran.
- 13. As to the Economic and Social Council's important decision to upgrade its Sessional Working Group on the implementation of the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, Australia had long argued for greater attention to be paid to those rights. It hoped that the new Committee on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights would help to raise the level of debate on those rights within the United Nations. The new Committee was an example of the kind of development which Australia sought to emphasize. It had worked constantly to make procedures more effective and had tried to bring to light deficiencies and the need for new approaches. It had done so in the firm belief that the United Nations had a major contribution to make to the advancement of human rights.
- 14. Mr. YAKOVLEV (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) said that he wished to draw attention to the dangerous mass violations of human rights being increasingly practised against a number of newly independent States. The policy of State terrorism and the use of mercenaries against such countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America were a serious threat to international peace and security.
- 15. The South African racist régime was implementing such a policy against its own population and in attacks on neighbouring African States. An undeclared war was being waged against Nicaragua with the aid of mercenaries and terrorists. Afghanistan was a target of imperialist aggression, carried out with the use of an army of hired bandits. Terrorism and mercenaries were also being used against the People's Republic of Kampuchea and a number of other newly independent States. The armies of imperialist mercenaries were well equipped with foreign weapons, killed peaceful civilians, blew up economic targets, sowed terror, death and destruction and committed mass violations of human rights, sparing neither women, children nor the old. They were hired killers, a new tool of the policy of racism, imperialism and neo-colonialism.
- 16. A campaign was being waged against Afghanistan both in the American press and in the Committee. Its organizers were not averse to using any dishonourable means, and did not mention the undeclared war being waged against that country with the aid of a mercenary army. In his so-called report (A/40/843), Mr. Ermacora, the Special Rapporteur, had deliberately distorted the facts and made no reference to the crimes of the mercenaries. He concealed the fact that the imperialist hirelings had destroyed thousands of schools, dozens of hospitals, hundreds of peasant co-operatives, thousands of kilometres of roads and telephone lines, and

(Mr. Yakovlev, USSR)

done well over \$1 billion worth of damage. He did not hide the fact that he was on the side of the bandits and his report assisted their crimes. Some members of the Committee tried to present the mercenaries as fighters for the Muslim faith, yet it was they who had attacked various religious shrines and establishments and killed or wounded hundreds of the faithful. However, Mr. Ermacora had remained deaf, blind and dumb with regard to those and other crimes.

- It was well known that the members of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), at a meeting in the United States in 1978, had decided to use a large army of Afghan mercenaries and terrorists to start the undeclared war against Afghanistan. It was those same NATO countries that were currently promoting the draft resolution against Afghanistan (A/C.3/40/L.48/Rev.1) in a hypocritical action which made a mockery of the very concept of human rights. The American newspaper Washington Post had stated that the assistance to the Afghan rebels provided by the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) had become the largest covert United States operation since the Viet Nam war. A special group had been set up in the United States Congress to supervise the distribution of American aid to terrorists who were committing bloody crimes against the Afghan people daily. Such terrorists were being trained not only in neighbouring countries but also in the United States, and the possibility of using the United States Air Force to supply arms direct to the mercenaries in Afghanistan was being considered. In the coming financial year, it was planned to provide the bandits with more than \$500 million worth of arms and ammunition. In addition, the CIA and other United States organizations were using spy satellites and other advanced techniques to co-ordinate and direct the operations of the terrorists in Afghanistan.
- 18. Such were the true facts about the crimes of the mercenaries and their transatlantic protectors. However, Mr. Ermacora did not wish to recognize them; he was serving the aims of the undeclared war. However, the Committee should not allow itself to be drawn into the criminal act of encouraging the terrorists in Afghanistan.
- 19. A similar undeclared war was being waged in Nicaragua, where gangs of hired killers who had served the dictator Somoza and later acquired the support of the United States secret services were committing monstrous crimes in an effort to sow fear among the population, undermine the economy and prepare the way for foreign intervention. Hundreds of thousands of people had already been killed or wounded as a result. The mercenaries were recruited, financed and trained by the United States at special camps in countries adjacent to Nicaragua.
- 20. The South African racist régime was also using bands of mercenaries as a strike force for its policy of terror and mass violations of human rights in Namibia, Angola and Mozambique. The hallmark of the mercenaries was the same as in Afghanistan and Nicaragua.
- 21. The policy of creating and using armies of imperialist and racist mercenaries was threatening the freedom and independence of several young countries and was a gross violation of human rights. It aimed to undermine their political integrity,

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destroy their economies and deprive their peoples of freedom and independence. It therefore represented one of the most dangerous mass violations of human rights. The Committee could not allow itself to be misled when whole armies of mercenaries were being equipped and used as an instrument of mass murder, destruction and terror. It was its duty to condemn such violations and take steps to end them.

- 22. Mr. GARVALOV (Bulgaria) said that Bulgaria was proud to have contributed to the range of achievements that had resulted from the concerted efforts of Member States in the field of human rights. Nevertheless, flagrant violations were still occurring. The problem of mass violations of human rights in the occupied Arab territories, for example, was as serious as ever. Israel was still pursuing a course which had turned the Middle East into a hotbed of tension. There must be a complete withdrawal of Israeli forces from Arab territories occupied since 1967 and the Arab people of Palestine must be allowed to exercise their right to self-determination, including their right to establish an independent State of their own. An international conference on the Middle East under United Nations auspices, with the participation of all parties concerned, including the Palestine Liberation Organization, would be a practical way to bring about a just and lasting solution.
- 23. The grave human-rights situation in South Africa was also of great concern. Apartheid was still a reality and was claiming an increasing number of victims. The overwhelming majority of Member States and the people of South Africa had rejected apartheid and pointed the way towards its elimination. Huge profits of foreign economic interests were at stake, however, resulting in desperate efforts to prevent positive changes in South Africa. That was why the racist régime continued to receive all-round assistance and protection from its allies. It was also why apartheid was still flourishing.
- 24. There were other examples of grave human-rights situations where the real state of affairs was distorted by those anxious to preserve the status quo. El Salvador and Guatemala were two such cases. The reports in documents A/40/818 and A/40/865 could not be relied upon for a complete and truthful picture. In future, the United Nations should take into account all the relevant information, which was abundantly available.
- 25. The elimination of massive and flagrant violations of human rights was one of the highest priorities of the United Nations. Why, then, after so many years of effort, had so little been achieved? The answer was that a "Red scare" element had been forced into the human-rights debate by a certain delegation. Its function was to reconcile real policies at home and abroad with a self-proclaimed devotion to democracy, self-determination and human rights in general.
- 26. Such a self-serving rationalization had great propaganda value, but what was the real position taken on human rights by those who loudly proclaimed their full commitment to them? First, there was that country's non-accession to, non-ratification of, and, in terms of international law, full possibility of non-compliance with, the Covenants on Human Rights, the Convention on the

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Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination, the International Convention on the Suppression and Punishment of the Crime of Apartheid, and the Convention against Genocide. Second, there was its boycott of the United Nations Decade to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination, perhaps intended to make up for a refusal to boycott apartheid. Third, there was its consistently negative voting record on most resolutions or parts of resolutions of various United Nations organs, including the Third Committee, dealing with measures to combat racism and apartheid, national liberation struggles, the promotion and protection of the right to life and peace, measures to achieve social progress and development, sovereignty of peoples over their natural resources and many similar topics. Fourth, there was also the claim that such vital matters as development and peace were extraneous to the United Nations bodies dealing with human rights and should not be discussed there at all. Fifth, there were repeated and thinly-disguised attempts to exclude economic, social and cultural rights from the human-rights agenda altogether, combined with a dismal record at home of racial discrimination and social inequality. Sixth, slanderous campaigns, tantamount to psychological warfare, were instigated against whole peoples. Seventh, the attempt to depict other countries in terms of satellites, clients, evil empires and so on, revealed attitudes and practices that had changed little over the years.

27. He would stop the list there and would leave it to the Committee to decide why the efforts of the international community to achieve international co-operation in the field of human rights had met so many difficulties.

Rights of reply

- 28. Mr. DAMM (Chile) said that the representative of the legal fiction known as the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, instead of looking after the interests of the Ukrainian people, who were in a situation of such dependency that they might well figure among the Non-Self-Governing Territories to which General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) should be applied, had seen fit to attack a country which, though small, was free and sovereign. Before intervening on human rights in Chile, he should have examined his own conscience.
- 29. He might have thought of the 7 to 10 million Ukrainians who had starved to death under Stalin between 1932 and 1935. He might have reflected on the Non-Agression Pact signed between the USSR and Nazi Germany which had torn the western Ukraine away from Poland. He might also have remembered the persecution of the Catholic Church in the Ukraine in the 1940s and the many priests and members of religious orders who had been imprisoned and executed. He might also reflect on why the Russification of the Ukraine should have meant the abandonment of the Ukrainian language, and on the fact that the Helsinki Group of the Ukraine had asked that the human-rights provisions of the Helsinki Act should be applied to the Ukrainian SSR. His delegation totally rejected all the allegations made against Chile by the delegation of the Ukrainian USSR.

- 30. Mr. AMSELEM (United States of America) said that the length of the Kabul representative's statement had been exceeded only by its absurdity. He had shown respect neither for the truth nor for the Committee's intelligence. The Kabul Government's puppet masters had decreed a policy of slander against Professor Ermacora, but the vicious attacks made on him and on his report merely reflected the accuracy and the impact of that most recent evidence of Soviet violations of human rights in Afghanistan.
- 31. The Kabul representative had alleged that the NATO countries were behind the debate on the situation in Afghanistan. The 122 States which had recently voted to condemn USSR involvement there would no doubt be surprised to learn that they were members of NATO. Although it was the leading exporter of refugees, the Kabul régime sought to escape all responsibility for the tragedy that had befallen Afghanistan. It was true that the small band of puppets allegedly governing the country was responsible for nothing, save shameless subservience to the USSR. In fact, nothing was done in Afghanistan, including the gross violations of human rights there, without the express permission of the Soviet masters. The Kabul representative had tried to hide the real situation behind a fog of insults and lies.
- 32. The representatives of the Byelorussian SSR, the Ukrainian SSR and the USSR had expressed great concern over the human-rights situation in El Salvador and the policies of the United States towards that country. To hear the three Soviet delegations talking of democracy, self-determination and human rights was ludicrous. He wondered whether the concern expressed by the Ukrainian and Byelorussian delegations about foreign bayonets imposing solutions on small countries might presage a change in their vote on Afghanistan at the next session, but thought it unlikely. The representative of the Byelorussian SSR had described the resolution and the report on human rights in Afghanistan as having been "cooked up" by Western imperialism. The 3 to 4 million Afghan refugees would no doubt be surprised to learn that they had lost their homes and their country because of reports and resolutions adopted by the United Nations.
- 33. The representative of the USSR had launched a lengthy attack on Chile, Guatemala and El Salvador and on United States policies towards them. In doing so, he had cited a number of United States-based human-rights organizations and newspapers. He had not quoted any Soviet source, but then, to do so he would have had to visit the prisons, labour camps and mental hospitals where most members of Soviet human-rights organizations currently resided. He had made no reference to the Soviet role in Afghanistan, which had been repeatedly condemned by the United Nations and fought against by the Afghan people, resorting instead to selective distortion of articles from the United Kingdom and United States press.
- 34. The representative of Viet Nam had expressed her Government's great concern over the emergence in certain countries of groups promoting totalitarian ideologies. Such a group had actually emerged in Viet Nam, but there it went by the name of the Government. Few régimes were more totalitarian in nature than that of Viet Nam. She had also referred to refugee flows, without once acknowledging that her own Government's policies had caused one of the most massive flows of all

(Mr. Amselem, United States)

time. Her criticism of human-rights situations in Chile, El Salvador and Guatemala bordered on the lunatic. He advised her to look for human-rights violations at home. She had also protested that the United Nations human-rights machinery had not taken up the problem of unemployment in the developed countries. He would like to protest that another major human-rights tragedy had not been dealt with: the situation in Viet Nam. Her concern about the objectivity of the report on Afghanistan would be better directed to the Kabul régime, which had refused to co-operate in any way with Professor Ermacora.

- 35. Mr. ZARIF (Afghanistan) thanked the representative of the United States for having demonstrated the truth of his own delegation's assertion that the current exercise against Afghanistan was totally politically motivated. In an attempt to deceive the Committee regarding the main force behind it, the name of the United States did not appear on the draft resolution, but the United States representative had now made it clear that his country was the source of the report and of the whole propaganda campaign against Afghanistan, the Soviet Union and all progressive forces. His delegation would deal with the substance of the United States intervention at a later stage.
- 36. Mr. YAKOVLEV (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) said that the United States had taken Mr. Ermacora under its wing. The latter was performing a definite political and ideological function and his protector had naturally had to make a suitable speech. However, the unseemly language used by the representative of the United States did not change the argument or the facts, about which he had said precisely nothing. Such methods were not convincing and he would not himself resort to similar tactics.
- 37. The United States representative had taken it on himself to defend dictatorial régimes and thereby shown where he stood on the question of human rights. But he did not read his sources carefully and did not know his facts. The Washington Post had described the manual on psychological operations in guerrilla warfare prepared by the CIA for Nicaraguan mercenaries as tantamount to an admission that the only hope of separating the Nicaraguans from their Government was by using lies and terror. It had further stated that, if it had become necessary to lie to the Nicaraguan population, kill officials, recruit criminals for that purpose, brainwash the population and defend the murder of innocent people as a means of creating martyrs for the cause, then, as in Viet Nam, the United States was again waging an unjust war for unjust ends. In drawing attention to that comment, he wished only to add that the representative of the United States was using the same methods of psychological warfare in the Committee as the CIA manual advocated in Nicaragua.
- 38. Mr. AMSELEM (United States of America) said that he had not understood anything that the representative of the USSR had said, but could assure him that he had not been reading from the CIA manual on psychological warfare. He had also not fully understood what the representative of Afghanistan had said. However, it was not only the United States but also 121 other countries that opposed what was happening in Afghanistan.

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39. Mr. YAKOVLEY (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) said for the benefit of the representative of the United States, that he had been referring to the guidance on psychological warfare given by the CIA to mercenaries trying to undermine the Government of Nicaragua and other independent sovereign States. He had not said that the representative of the United States was reading from the CIA manual but that he was following CIA guidance on psychological warfare operations. If the representative of the United States wished to pursue the matter in more detail, he would be glad to oblige him.

The meeting rose at 7.25 p.m.