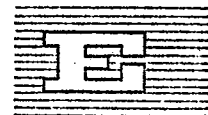


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COMMISSION ON HUMAN RIGHTS

Thirty-eighth session

SUMMARY RECORD OF THE 29th MEETING

held at the Palais des Nations, Geneva,
on Friday, 19 February 1982, at 4.30 p.m.

Chairman:

Mr. GARVALOV

(Bulgaria)

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The meeting was called to order at 4.40 p.m.

THE RIGHT OF PEOPLES TO SELF-DETERMINATION AND ITS APPLICATION TO PEOPLES UNDER COLONIAL OR ALIEN DOMINATION OR FOREIGN OCCUPATION (agenda item 9) (continued)
(E/CN.4/1477 and Add.1, 1487, 1491 and 1498; E/CN.4/1982/3, 6, 7 and 9-17;
E/CN.4/1982/L.2, L.16, L.18 and L.20; E/CN.4/1982/NGO/13.

1. Mr. SKALLI (Observer for Morocco) said that Morocco, like Algeria, was a sovereign State. It was one of the founders of the non-aligned movement and it had made non-alignment the permanent basis of its foreign policy. That was illustrated by the fact that Morocco maintained friendly relations with countries of all ideologies, irrespective of political differences. Morocco had not been responsible for the introduction of sophisticated weaponry into the Maghreb. While his delegation did not blame Algeria for constantly obtaining supplies of highly sophisticated military equipment from both East and West, it did blame Algeria for permitting such equipment to be used against Morocco, as in the case of attacks against localities situated in the north of Western Sahara. All those attacks had been launched from Algerian territory and had been carried out with weapons from Algeria. In repelling such attacks, Morocco was only acting in self-defence. Morocco had no warlike intentions; mindful of its responsibilities, it was anxious to preserve its own future, and that of sister countries. The Algerian representative had said that his delegation was concerned: it lay solely with the Algerian Government to make such concern meaningful by restoring an atmosphere of understanding and co-operation in the region.
2. He had attended the meeting in Nairobi of the Committee composed of seven Heads of African States which had been entrusted with the task of finding a solution to the problem of Western Sahara. The Committee had taken decisions relating to a cease-fire and a referendum to enable the indigenous people of the Sahara freely to decide their future. The procedure had already been agreed upon and the OAU had requested and obtained United Nations assistance. The Moroccan delegation in Nairobi had unequivocally accepted the cease-fire and the referendum. The Algerian President had stated that he relied on the Committee to establish peace and conduct the referendum. For the first time in seven years there appeared to be an encouraging consensus on a comprehensive and prompt solution of the problem.
3. It had been the Algerian Government which had brought the problem of Western Sahara before the OAU. Morocco, anxious to preserve both the unity and effectiveness of the regional organization, had willingly agreed. At the most recent summit meeting of the OAU, in June 1981, the King of Morocco had proposed a supervised referendum in Western Sahara in the knowledge that the international community attached great importance to the application of the principle of self-determination.
4. The major concern of the Commission on Human Rights, in accordance with its mandate, was that peoples should freely decide their future. That concern would be fully satisfied. It would be unprecedented for the United Nations to give the impression that it was trying to impose conditions on the OAU or dictate its behaviour. He was confident that the Commission would refrain from any initiative which might jeopardize the efforts of the Committee of African Heads of State and that all peace-loving countries would do likewise.

5. The OAU Committee had refused to regard the parties concerned as being Morocco and the self-styled Polisario. They had recognized that several parties were involved, particularly Algeria, since it was from Algerian territory that armed bands were attacking Morocco and in Algeria that they subsequently took refuge. Furthermore, the Algerian regular army had also been engaged with the Moroccan army. In February 1976, the latter had held over 3,500 Algerian soldiers on Moroccan soil; after the intervention of many Arab States, Morocco had agreed to allow them to return home. One month later, about 100 fully armed members of the Algerian army had been captured. They were still held at Rabat, treated with every consideration and visited by representatives of the International Committee of the Red Cross. When peace was once more restored, it must surely be with Algeria that their release would be negotiated.

6. A delegation of the self-styled Polisario had also been present in Nairobi. The Moroccan delegation had noted that the overwhelming majority of those persons were not from Western Sahara but were nationals of certain countries in the region. It was unthinkable that Morocco would ever agree to negotiate with persons recruited, armed, trained and led by foreigners. Morocco's attitude had been endorsed by the OAU, which had had no wish to force Morocco to negotiate with a party which the OAU did not itself recognize. His delegation had circulated to the Commission the documents missing from the series which the Algerian delegation had distributed. They showed that the decisions taken by the Committee of African Heads of State were clear and specific. They committed Morocco just as they committed Algeria and every other country.

7. The President of Kenya had appealed to both Algeria and Morocco to refrain from submitting to the General Assembly draft resolutions on Western Sahara. Morocco had complied and withdrawn its draft resolution, whereas Algeria had not. Morocco had similarly refrained from submitting a draft resolution at the current session of the Commission. His delegation wished that Algeria, which had referred the matter to the OAU in the first place, would leave the task of peace-making to that organization. It was not within the competence of the Commission to designate the parties to a dispute or to force anyone to participate in it. In any case, those truly concerned were the indigenous people of the area, who would be consulted individually and democratically in accordance with the international instruments relating to self-determination.

8. In conclusion, his delegation renewed to the Commission the undertaking which it had made to the OAU to hold a supervised referendum in Western Sahara as soon as the OAU had decided on the date and procedures.

9. Mr. BRIMAH (Observer for Nigeria) said that the rapid decolonization in the years immediately following the adoption of General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) had not been maintained. The current era was one of neo-colonialism, apartheid, racism, foreign domination and occupation. The situation in South Africa provided a vivid example of alien domination by a minority group. The blacks, who constituted four fifths of the population, had no political or civil rights and were banished to regions amounting to only 13 per cent of the area of the country. The international community was constantly shocked by news of brutal deaths which occurred as part of the South African general policy of repression. The large-scale denial of human rights had been transferred to Namibia, which in spite of the judgement of the International Court of Justice in 1966 was still occupied by South Africa, with the open co-operation of certain countries. South Africa and its collaborators were doing everything in their power to frustrate the efforts of the international community to obtain a peaceful settlement of the Namibian question by delaying implementation of Security Council resolutions 435 (1978) and 439 (1979).

10. Israel's continued occupation of Arab lands constituted a danger to peace in the Middle East. Through its general policy in those territories and recent legislative acts, Israel had shown that it was not prepared to withdraw. However, 3 million Palestinians must be allowed to exercise their right of self-determination and the PLO, their sole representative, must accordingly be invited to participate in negotiations for a peaceful settlement.

11. His delegation welcomed the recommendations by the Committee of Heads of African States concerning the cease-fire and referendum in Western Sahara, which could form the basis of a peaceful settlement of that problem.

12. Nigeria did not believe in double standards: it would not condone any violation of Article 2, paragraph 4, of the Charter of the United Nations or Article 3 of the Charter of the OAU either in Africa or elsewhere. It deplored the replacement of Governments by the action of external forces as a violation of the right of self-determination. As a non-aligned State, itself, Nigeria supported the inviolability of the sovereignty and territorial integrity of all non-aligned States, whose neutrality must be strictly respected if the role such States had pledged in international relations was to be maintained. It was in that light that Nigeria viewed the occupation by foreign troops of certain countries in Asia and elsewhere. Concern for regional peace and security could not justify the interference by one country in the affairs of its neighbours, particularly through armed intervention. His delegation called upon all foreign occupying forces to withdraw unconditionally.

13. Mr. LOVO CASTELAR (Observer for El Salvador) said that his delegation emphatically rejected the terms which had been used to describe the junta which governed his country, particularly as they had been used by the representative of Cuba, a State which had instigated and supported terrorism in El Salvador. It was well known, and indeed evident from the fact that Cuba had large contingents of troops in foreign countries, that Cuba had long pursued a policy of intervention.

14. El Salvador was the subject of an insidious campaign of misinformation which disseminated serious and slanderous allegations and presented a biased picture of the situation there. The responsible efforts which his Government was making under very difficult circumstances were constantly and deliberately overlooked. The Government was undertaking a considerable social and economic programme on behalf of the people, directed towards peace, social justice and respect for the rule of law. It firmly upheld the principle of self-determination, which would find expression in the forthcoming election. Neither terrorism nor false propaganda would succeed in paralysing the Government's efforts or delaying the irreversible process of structural change.

15. He also rejected the fallacious and ill-considered references to the situation made by the representatives of Afghanistan and Viet Nam. It was strange that the representatives of those countries should dare to pass judgement on El Salvador when the Government of the former had agreed to foreign intervention in its own country and the Government of the latter, in flagrant violation of international law, had invaded a neighbouring country and was preventing its people from exercising their right of self-determination.

16. Mr. SOLA VILA (Cuba), speaking in exercise of the right of reply, said that throughout its history the United States of America had pursued policies of intervention and expansion, and was still doing so in El Salvador and elsewhere. Cuba, on the other hand, was traditionally a country of asylum for persecuted peoples; it did not harbour former persecutors of their own nations, in the way that the United States gave shelter to former butchers of the Nicaraguan people, for example. The record spoke for itself: the United States had befriended the Israeli and South African régimes and had defended the policies of the former French and Portuguese colonialists; Cuba had always supported the peoples of Palestine, South Africa, Namibia and other African territories which were now sovereign States. As for the reference to the training of forces for subversion in other countries, the United States press itself had carried accounts of the training, in that country, of mercenaries for attacks on legally constituted sovereign States with the consent of the United States authorities.

17. The problems of Latin America, and the part played by the United States in causing and exacerbating them, had been amply recorded. The struggle in El Salvador had begun in the 1930s, a period when some 30,000 people had been murdered -- long before the Cuban revolution had taken place. The history of bloodshed in El Salvador was being prolonged by the reigning oligarchy, supported by the United States. If revolution should not be exported, neither should counter-revolution be imported.

18. Mrs. GU (China), speaking in exercise of the right of reply, said that her delegation refuted the allegations made by the Soviet representative and the observer for Viet Nam. Firstly, it was unacceptable that the Soviet Union, which had invaded Afghanistan and supported the Vietnamese occupation of Kampuchea, should accuse China, which had not a single soldier stationed beyond its borders, of interference in the internal affairs of Afghanistan. Secondly, if conditions in Afghanistan and Kampuchea were as marvellous as had been alleged, the enormous outflows of refugees would not have taken place and the occupying forces would not need to resort to measures such as the use of chemical and other agents against the peoples of those countries. Thirdly, the Soviet Union had no grounds for asserting that China was hindering the withdrawal of the so-called limited Soviet armed forces from Afghanistan; ever since the Soviet Union had invaded Afghanistan, China and all countries which upheld justice had been firmly demanding the immediate withdrawal of Soviet forces.

19. The observer for Viet Nam had repeated the slanderous rumour about the so-called "threat from China". It was Vietnamese regional hegemony, with the backing of a super-Power, which posed a threat to south-east Asia. Viet Nam had forces in Kampuchea and Laos, and committed provocative acts against Thailand. The super-Power for which it served as a pawn had spread its Pacific fleet throughout south-east Asian waters and Viet Nam co-operated with it in providing bases and communications. No sooner had the Vietnamese war ended than the Government in Hanoi had declared Viet Nam to be the world's third strongest military Power. It had begun to carry out acts of aggression against Kampuchea and China, including the occupation of islands belonging to those countries and incessant attacks along the Chinese-Vietnamese border.

20. In contrast to Viet Nam's activities, there were no Chinese forces or bases outside China, and China in no way interfered in any country's internal or external affairs. It was quite clear, therefore, who posed a threat to peace and security in south-east Asia.
21. Mr. KHERAD (Observer for Afghanistan), speaking in exercise of the right of reply, said that the United States and its allies were in the habit of distorting events to disguise their own interference in other countries' internal affairs. He had already had occasion to refer in detail to their acts of aggression and subversion against the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan; there was no need to repeat them or to reply to the allegations made by the representative of Pakistan, which was serving as a base for that aggression. Nor did the groundless slanders uttered by the observer for the World Muslim Congress deserve a reply.
22. The remarks about Afghanistan made by the representative of China constituted an attempt to divert world public opinion from China's hegemonistic and aggressive plans in Asia. China sought to weaken its neighbours by fomenting conflicts among them. That was the reason behind its subversive activities against Afghanistan, aimed at disturbing the Afghan people's peaceful life through acts of terrorism. China should look at its own record concerning acts of aggression and subversion before it spoke about others.
23. Likewise, the United Kingdom representative should look at his own country's record regarding acts of aggression and violence against peoples striving for self-determination in various parts of the world, including Northern Ireland. The Afghan people, as the United Kingdom delegation knew, was firmly resolved to defend the freedom it had gained and would not be diverted from the path it had freely chosen. The European Community's proposal - which had never been officially communicated to the Afghan Government - was unrealistic and utterly unacceptable, as had already been pointed out. It was merely a further attempt to infringe the sovereign rights of the Afghan people and Government.
24. Internal Afghan questions were for the Afghan people alone to decide; they were not matters for debate at the international level. And in any case, no one had the right to discuss matters concerning the national interests of Afghanistan without the participation of the Afghan people's true representative, the Government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan.
25. Mr. HILALY (Pakistan), speaking in exercise of the right of reply, said that the Indian representative's contention that Jamma and Kashmir formed an integral part of India was not borne out by history, the relevant United Nations resolutions or the Simla Agreement. Pakistan's position was based on the relevant Security Council resolutions, and it was precisely the agreement between the two sides to seek a final settlement to the question as part of the process envisaged in the Simla Agreement that his delegation had previously stressed.
26. The existence of martial law in another country was no reason for failing to observe international obligations stemming from Security Council resolutions, and no election held under foreign military occupation or alien domination could be deemed a true exercise of the right to self-determination. That surely was why the international community, with certain significant exceptions, had taken its stand on the situations in Afghanistan, Palestine and Namibia. He wished to assure the

Indian representative that Pakistan's commitment to friendly relations with India was in no way lessened. Indeed, Pakistan looked forward to further consideration, at the forthcoming meetings at Islamabad, of the proposal for the exchange of mutual guarantees against aggression and the use of force. Pakistan hoped that the Simla Agreement could thereby be complemented, for the purpose of establishing peace, friendship and co-operation between India and Pakistan.

27. The Soviet representative and the observer for Afghanistan had blamed everyone but themselves for the conflict in Afghanistan, but the facts showed that Pakistan was a victim, not an instigator, of the situation. After the overthrow of President Daud in 1978, Pakistan had recognized the new Government and expressed its desire for friendly relations - a position maintained when President Amin had taken office. But the latter had been overthrown in December 1979 when foreign military forces had unilaterally entered Afghanistan and installed Babrak Karmal in power. Pakistan's position on the current situation in Afghanistan was based on its opposition to that violation of international law and the principles of the Charter.

28. If Pakistan had allowed its territory to be used for arms deliveries, as had been falsely claimed, the Afghan resistance fighters would certainly not be using primitive arms; the few relatively advanced weapons in their hands came from Afghan troops who had defected in order to join the national struggle. Nor were there "training camps" for Afghans in Pakistan; there were refugee communities, in the border areas, regularly visited by officials of UNHCR and other international organizations, and open to inspection by any impartial observer.

29. The description, by the Soviet representative and the observer for Afghanistan, of good conditions within Afghanistan was belied by the vast numbers of refugees. The latest UNHCR figures showed that the number of registered refugees alone in Pakistan was 2.3 million. And the number of Afghan refugees in Iran was reflected in the Iranian representative's statement to the UNHCR Executive Board in October 1981. Attempts to dismiss the flight of over one fifth of Afghanistan's population by references to nomads and bandits could mislead no one; the traditional flow of nomads between Afghanistan and Pakistan involved only some 60,000 persons. Nor could the flight be ascribed to disagreement with the so-called socio-economic changes in Afghanistan; the latter had been introduced in April 1978, but the sharp increase in the exodus from Afghanistan had begun after the foreign military intervention in that country in December 1979.

30. With regard to a political settlement, it was the situation in Afghanistan itself which called for one, rather than the "surrounding" situation, which was an outcome, not a cause. It was, in fact, Pakistan which had shown initiative and flexibility in seeking a political settlement. Pending the commencement of trilateral talks, Pakistan had agreed to hold talks on repatriation of refugees, withdrawal of foreign troops, guarantees of non-interference and other issues with the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan, through the Secretary-General or his personal representative. Progress towards such a settlement would come about not by threats such as that made against Pakistan by the Soviet representative, but through adherence by all parties to the principles of the Charter, respect for the Afghan peoples wishes and a spirit of compromise.

31. Mr. MORENO-SALCEDO (Philippines), speaking in exercise of the right of reply, said that there was only one issue under agenda item 9 in so far as the Kampuchean question was concerned, and that was the invasion by, and continued presence of, Vietnamese troops in Kampuchea. So long as those troops were there, they violated the human rights of the Kampuchean people to be free and to determine their own destiny.

32. In the course of his statement at the previous meeting, the observer for Viet Nam had asked certain questions which were not pertinent to the Kampuchean issue but which he would nevertheless answer because they involved the good faith and integrity of the sponsors of draft resolution E/CN.4/1982/L.2, of which his delegation was one. At a more appropriate time and in a more appropriate forum, his delegation would be prepared to discuss the 20-year fratricidal war in Viet Nam (1955-1975). At present, he would confine his statement to a reply to the four questions asked by the Vietnamese observer.

33. The first was: on which side had the sponsors and supporters of that draft resolution been in the war between the United States and Viet Nam? That question was misleading and deceptive, because it begged the issue and assumed that the 1955-1975 conflict had been a war of the United States against the Vietnamese people. That was not in fact correct; as his delegation saw it, that conflict had been a war between the Vietnamese people north of the seventeenth parallel and the Vietnamese people south of that parallel. The latter had sought the assistance of other countries in their struggle to have a Government of their own and the Philippine people had responded to their appeal. His answer to the first question was therefore that, in the war between the Vietnamese people north of the seventeenth parallel and the Vietnamese people south of that parallel, the Philippine Government and people had been on the side of the Vietnamese people. That was because the Filipinos who had gone to Viet Nam south of the seventeenth parallel, including those wearing uniform, had been physicians, nurses and construction engineers. Except for those who had had the mission of protecting them, they had been unarmed and had had the sole mission of tending the sick and the disabled regardless of their political affiliation, and of building roads and schools. Such names as Kontum, Dalat and Tay-Ninh were reminders of the thousands of Vietnamese of both camps with whom the Filipinos had shared their technical skills and their hopes, dreams and frustrations.

34. The second question was whether the sponsors of the draft resolution supported wars of liberation. So far as the Philippines was concerned, the answer was in the affirmative and that was precisely why his delegation had co-sponsored the draft resolution contained in document E/CN.4/1982/L.2. For the same reason, his delegation had supported the draft resolution contained in E/CN.4/1982/L.16 concerning the struggle of the Afghan people for their liberation.

35. The third question was whether the sponsors of the draft resolution in document E/CN.4/1982/L.2 had not participated in the massacre of the Vietnamese people. The answer was obviously in the negative. As he had already pointed out, his country's only participation in the Vietnamese war had been to lend non-discriminatory humanitarian assistance to the people of that country, especially the civilians.

36. As to the fourth question by the Vietnamese observer, namely, whether the sponsors of draft resolution E/CN.4/1982/L.2 had raised their voices in the Commission to denounce the crimes against the people of Viet Nam and Kampuchea, the fact of the matter was that no crimes had been committed by any of the sponsors against the people

of Viet Nam. As for the people of Kampuchea, it should be recalled that the attempt by the United Kingdom delegation to raise the question of the genocide in that country had been blocked by the opposition of the representative of Viet Nam.

37. Lastly, the Vietnamese observer appeared to hold against the people of the Philippines its friendship with the American people. On that point, the United States delegation could speak for itself. He would speak for his country: the reason why the Philippine people were friendly with the people of the United States was that, with all their faults, the American people believed in freedom. Both peoples believed in the rights of man and in equality. So long as the people of the United States continued to believe in freedom, the people of the Philippines would remain their steadfast friends.

38. Mr. HOWADT (Observer for Austria), speaking in exercise of the right of reply, said that the observer for Viet Nam had asked whether Austria was "neutral" or a "hypocrite". He could well understand the attitude of that observer in view of the weight which was usually attached to any declarations by a neutral State. In response, he could not but stress that Austria had never hesitated to denounce violations of human rights wherever they might take place. Observance of human rights was an obligation incumbent upon all States and, as far as human rights were concerned, neutrality did not exist.

39. Mr. SABZALIAN (Observer for Iran), speaking in exercise of the right of reply, said that there were more than 1.5 million Afghan refugees in Iran without any international assistance whatsoever. The influx of those refugees had started with the coup d'état of 1978 in Afghanistan and had dramatically increased after the military intervention of the USSR. The total number of Afghan refugees was now estimated at over 4 million, including some 2.5 million in Pakistan.

40. His delegation firmly believed that the Muslim people of Afghanistan were the victims of USSR military intervention. They were being subjected to immense suffering simply because they had chosen the path of self-determination and independence rather than submission.

41. Certain delegations had referred to the bilateral treaty between Afghanistan and the USSR as a pretext to legitimize the infamous military intervention. His delegation rejected that interpretation of the treaty, which had served as an instrument for creating the present Afghan régime and bringing about the flight of over 4 million refugees.

42. The military invasion of Afghanistan by a super-power, and the imposition on the Afghan people of an unpopular régime, not only constituted a violation of independence and territorial integrity but also trampled upon the Afghan nation's dignity, honour, traditions, culture, history and, above all, its religious faith and beliefs.

43. The Islamic Republic of Iran, whose people shared common cultural, traditional and historical ties and, above all, a common religion with the oppressed nation of Afghanistan, could not remain silent in the face of such an aggression. For that reason, his country had been the first to condemn the military invasion of Afghanistan by the Soviet Union and to demand the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of the Soviet occupying forces from Afghan territory.

44. His delegation had regrettably to add that United States imperialism was trying to justify its widespread presence in the Indian Ocean, and in certain countries in the area with reactionary régimes, on the pretext of the Soviet presence in Afghanistan. His delegation felt certain that the withdrawal of Soviet forces from Afghanistan would deprive the United States of a pretext for its presence in the region and, at the same time, disarm the American puppet régimes of that region, which implicitly supported the Zionist non-entity, by depriving those reactionary régimes of their best demagogic scarecrow, namely, "the danger of Communism". If the USSR was truly anti-imperialist, it would not deliberately facilitate the expansion of imperialism in the region.

45. The Government of his country considered the withdrawal of the foreign occupying forces from Afghanistan and the recognition of the right to self-determination for the Afghan nation as the only solution to the problem and rejected any negotiations conducted in the absence of the true representatives of the people of Afghanistan.

46. Unfortunately, the tragedy of the denial of self-determination for oppressed peoples was not limited to the Afghan Muslims. In the Middle East, the brutal régime occupying Palestine, the Zionist non-entity, was with the help of the United States imperialists viciously blocking the inevitable destiny of self-determination for the Palestinian people.

47. As to the question of Western Sahara, in the light of the implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, his Government considered the situation in that territory as a matter of great concern, deserving priority attention. His delegation reaffirmed its support for the struggle of the people of Western Sahara, under the leadership of the Polisario.

48. Mr. KABARITTI (Jordan), speaking in exercise of the right to reply, said that at a previous meeting the observer for Israel had asserted once again that the Palestinians already had a home in Jordan. That was part of a well-designed campaign by Israel - which had now lasted some 14 months and involved the spreading of baseless rumours by the Israeli mass media, as well as lobbying in Congress and in the United Nations - to promote the so-called "Palestinian State" in Jordan.

49. In order to refute that baseless argument, it was not necessary to go far back in the history of the Middle East and the 33 year-old Arab-Israeli conflict. All he wished to say to the observer for Israel was that there was a great difference between self-deception and wishful thinking, on the one hand, and political and historical realities, on the other. The Palestinian people had a homeland, and that was Palestine, from which they had been uprooted and to which they would one day return because that was the inevitable course of history.

50. The Palestinians were bound to go back and establish their own State under the leadership of the PLO, which now had greater credibility in the international arena than Israel itself and enjoyed the recognition of the vast majority of States.

51. Lastly, he wished to make it patently clear to the Israeli observer that Jordan would continue to carry out its national responsibilities, and would always constitute the backbone of the Arab-Israeli conflict, until the Israeli Government bowed to the international will for the establishment of a just and lasting peace. Aside from that, the Israeli Government could entertain whatever illusions it liked, but it would be committing a grave mistake if it continued to confuse dreams with the realities of life.

52. Mr. TUAN (Observer for Viet Nam), speaking in exercise of the right of reply, said that his delegation categorically rejected the slanderous allegations made against his country by the representative of China. It was well known that, in order to deceive public opinion and to achieve their aims, the Chinese hegemonists pursued a State policy of telling lies and shifting the responsibility for their own actions on to others. For example, the Chinese Government had sent troops to attack Viet Nam, but claimed that it was the countries in the region which had attacked China. The Chinese representative had said that there were no Chinese soldiers outside her country's borders. However, on the occasion of the Lunar New Year, Vietnamese authorities had handed back to China Chinese soldiers captured within the territory of Viet Nam.

53. It was regrettable that the representative of the Philippines remained on the side of those who had committed acts of aggression against the Vietnamese people and that his arguments were the same as those of the United States aggressors. The Philippine representative had said that soldiers from the Philippines and the United States had gone to Viet Nam to save that country. He was convinced that that was the Philippine representative's personal opinion and did not reflect the current position of the Government of the Philippines.

54. With regard to the statement by the Austrian representative, the Vietnamese delegation maintained the views which it had expressed previously, since it judged individuals by their deeds, not their words.

55. Mr. ZORIN (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics), referring to the remarks made by a number of delegations concerning his Government's actions in Afghanistan, drew attention to his earlier statement in which he had said that the fraternal assistance granted by the USSR had represented a response to the request of the Government of Afghanistan and had been consistent with the provisions of the Charter. The facts were known to the entire world and could not be distorted by slanderous allegations.

56. The statement by the delegation of Pakistan ignored the facts which he had mentioned in his earlier statement and which could not be refuted, i.e., that bands armed by the United States, China and Pakistan were sent regularly into Afghanistan and must be dealt with by the people and Government of that country. The delegation of Pakistan had denied that those gangs were being trained in camps in Pakistan, but that was contrary to the facts. The Pakistan delegation had further said that there were refugee camps which were visited by the Red Cross; that was an obvious attempt to conceal the true state of affairs. Consequently, the specific facts mentioned in his earlier statement had not been refuted by the delegation of Pakistan.

57. It was unfortunate that the Government of Pakistan was participating in an undeclared war against Afghanistan. Pakistan had openly admitted that it wished to hold negotiations not on the area around Afghanistan but on Afghanistan itself; in other words, it wished to interfere in the internal affairs of that country. On that basis there could, of course, be no political settlement and hence no withdrawal of the Soviet forces. He stressed that his Government posed no threat to Pakistan, although it was of course concerned about security in the region.

58. He noted that the representative of China had not refuted his remarks concerning the imperialist policy pursued by China and the United States and their attacks against Kampuchea. China supplied Pakistan with weapons, which were being used in the undeclared war against Afghanistan. The Chinese representative had said that China had no foreign troops outside its frontiers and never interfered in the internal affairs of any country. In that connection, he recalled the statement by the observer for Viet Nam that China had sent troops to Viet Nam and that part of India continued to be occupied by Chinese forces and to be regarded as Chinese territory.

59. Mr. LOVO CASTELAR (Observer for El Salvador), speaking in exercise of the right of reply, said that the Cuban representative had, in his statement, adopted a simplistic approach to the question of the origins and characteristics of the critical situation in El Salvador. For the time being it was sufficient to refute that erroneous approach in so far as it concerned the position of the people of El Salvador and the political solution which the Cuban representative claimed to support.

60. The reference made by the Cuban representative to the events of 1932 was particularly unfortunate. The present conflict was completely different in nature from the conflict which had taken place at that time; of course, Cuba had not taken any part in the events of 1932.

61. The present bloodshed in El Salvador was the result of the misguided views held in certain quarters concerning the revolutionary structural changes which were at present being carried out in the country. The organizations which permitted the use of violence did not constitute the people of El Salvador; that people consisted of 5 million hard-working inhabitants who believed in peace, freedom and justice and to whose welfare the Salvadorian Government was devoting its best efforts.

62. The people of El Salvador were hoping that a peaceful solution would be arrived at and that was precisely the road on which the revolutionary junta was engaged. To that end, it had offered an amnesty and had invited all the violent organizations to participate in the political elections to be held in March 1982. That was the road to peace and to a political solution. The importance of those elections had been stressed in a resolution adopted by the General Assembly of the Organization of American States, which had endorsed them by an overwhelming majority.

63. Mr. KHERAD (Observer for Afghanistan), speaking in the exercise of the right of reply, said it was not the first time that the representative of the military régime of Pakistan had tried to mislead public opinion by making a fuss about the alleged problem of Afghan refugees. On that question, the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan had already made its position clear in its statements published in documents A/35/154, A/35/238, S/139 and A/36/77. His delegation deplored the fact that the number of refugees mentioned by Pakistan had been so greatly exaggerated, and again stressed the fact that the majority of the persons registered as refugees in Pakistan were actually Kochi nomads or could not be considered as refugees in the sense claimed by the enemies of the Afghan revolution.

64. As for those who, as a result of the propaganda of the enemies of the revolution, were still outside Afghan territory, his delegation repeated the invitation extended by the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan to those Afghans who had left the country

to return to their homes and families and take advantage of the general amnesty which his Government had granted. His Government had also guaranteed that those who returned would be physically safe and free to choose their place of residence and occupation; they would enjoy equal rights and be able to participate in a patriotic spirit in the political life of the country. All the conditions necessary to enable them to lead an honourable existence and perform an activity in society would be guaranteed to them for the good of Afghanistan.

65. More and more Afghans were returning home. Unfortunately, the fallacious propaganda of the enemies of the Afghan revolution and the obstacles created by Pakistan had resulted in a certain number of Afghans remaining outside the frontiers of the country. His Government invited the neighbouring countries, and in particular Pakistan, to put an end to anti-Afghan activities and to avoid creating obstacles which prevented the Kochis from moving and Afghans from returning home. Such action would not only help to solve the refugee problem but would also contribute to the establishment of normal relations between those countries and Afghanistan and to the consolidation of peace in the region.

66. Mr. BHAGAT (India), speaking in exercise of the right of reply, expressed regret at the fact that the delegation of Pakistan should have made yet another unwarranted reference to the territory of Jammu and Kashmir, which formed an integral part of India, both historically and constitutionally. He had no intention of engaging in a debate on that point, but wished to state categorically that the only issue remaining to be settled with regard to Kashmir was that of Pakistan-occupied Kashmir. The question which arose was simply that of determining when Pakistan would end its occupation of one third of the territory of Jammu and Kashmir and enable its people to rejoin their brothers and sisters in freedom in India. It was hardly necessary to stress that India was committed to the process of bilateral and peaceful negotiations under the Simla Agreement with a view to the settlement of the question of Pakistan-occupied Kashmir.

67. The delegation of Pakistan had referred to elections in Kashmir. The whole world knew what elections in India were like; they were free and fair. Naturally, the delegation of Pakistan could not understand that; after all, how often did one hear of elections in Pakistan? The human rights records of India and Pakistan were both well known. His country did not need any lessons from Pakistan on that point.

68. He noted the statement of the Pakistan delegation that it wished to find solutions to outstanding questions in accordance with the Simla Agreement, which provided for bilateral negotiations. It was therefore surprising to hear that delegation make propaganda statements such as the one to which he had been obliged to respond.

69. Mr. SOLA VILA (Cuba), speaking in exercise of the right of reply and referring to the remarks made by the observer for El Salvador, said that he could agree only with the number of inhabitants mentioned. However, the figure of 30,000 should be subtracted from that number in order to account for those who had been killed by the junta.

70. Mr. HILALY (Pakistan) said that there was no need to respond to the USSR representative's remarks concerning training camps in Pakistan since no facts had been cited and no evidence presented. The Pakistan delegation had already made it clear that they were refugee camps and open to international inspection. In that connection, he referred to an article in The Guardian of 11 November 1981 which stated that an Afghan instructor in the Panjshir Valley 40 miles north of Kabul had trained more than 5,000 Mojahadin (freedom fighters) in the art of modern guerrilla warfare.

71. What his Government wanted was negotiations on the withdrawal of foreign forces from Afghanistan. Those forces were within Afghanistan and not around it, and his Government's wishes could not be regarded as interference in the internal affairs of other countries. The interference stemmed from the intervention of foreign military forces in Afghanistan.

72. With regard to the "fraternal assistance" granted by the Soviet Union, he noted that on 3 November 1981, a USSR diplomat and former official of UNESCO had said that no one believed a word about such assistance and that everyone knew it was a lie.

73. The observer for Afghanistan had tried once again to conceal the real situation in that country. In that connection, he drew the Commission's attention to a document informally circulated by the Association of Afghans in Switzerland which contained first-hand reports on what was really happening in Afghanistan, such as the destruction of entire villages, the use of chemical weapons and the bombing of hospitals.

74. His delegation had already stated its position on the international dispute over Jammu and Kashmir. It would therefore refrain from making any further comment on the matter.

75. Mrs. GU (China), speaking in exercise of the right of reply, said that the border issue between China and India was a left-over of history and that her Government was now holding negotiations with a view to reaching a settlement. She regretted that the USSR and Viet Nam were trying to create discord between China and its neighbours.

HUMAN RIGHTS AND SCIENTIFIC AND TECHNOLOGICAL DEVELOPMENTS (agenda item 15)
(continued) (E/CN.4/1982/L.7, L.12, L.14 and L.15/Rev.1)

76. Mr. OGURTSOV (Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic), speaking on behalf of the sponsors, introduced the draft resolution contained in document E/CN.4/1982/L.7 and said that its purpose was to draw the attention of States to the importance of the Declaration on the Use of Scientific and Technological Progress in the Interests of Peace and for the Benefit of Mankind. As was well known, in resolution 38 (XXXVII), the Commission had instructed the Sub-Commission on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities to undertake a study of the use of the results of scientific and technological progress for the realization of the rights to work and to development. Unfortunately, the Sub-Commission had not yet carried out the study, and the draft resolution therefore repeated that request in operative paragraph 3.

77. In preparing the draft resolution, the sponsors had been guided by General Assembly resolution 36/56 A, which had requested the Commission to give special attention to the question of the implementation of the provisions of the Declaration. Referring to paragraphs 1, 2 and 5 of the Declaration, he said that in view of their importance it was essential that the Declaration should be implemented in practice. The sponsors therefore appealed to all members of the Commission to support the draft resolution.

78. Viscount COLVILLE OF CULROSS (United Kingdom), speaking on behalf of the sponsors, introduced the draft resolution contained in document E/CN.4/1982/L.14. The text, which was procedural in nature, had been submitted pursuant to General Assembly resolution 36/56 B, which the Assembly had adopted by consensus, and was couched in terms similar to that resolution. The sponsors hoped that the Commission, too, would adopt the draft resolution by consensus.

79. Mr. SOLA VILA (Cuba), speaking on behalf of the sponsors, introduced the draft resolution contained in document E/CN.4/1982/L.12 and said that it was designed to supplement the action taken by the Security Council and the General Assembly in connection with the Israeli act of aggression against the Iraqi nuclear installation. They hoped that it would receive the support of the Commission.

80. Mr. ZORIN (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics), speaking on behalf of the sponsors, introduced the draft resolution contained in document E/CN.4/1982/L.15/Rev.1 and said that the text was self-explanatory. In the course of the debate on the item, members of the Commission had unanimously reaffirmed the inherent right of all peoples and all individuals to life. In view of the current threat of nuclear war, it was essential to prevent a nuclear catastrophe and to do everything possible to guarantee the right of all peoples to life, a right which was enshrined in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

81. The text took account of the relevant provisions of the Charter and other United Nations documents. The sponsors had consulted other delegations, particularly those of Western countries, and the revised text included modifications based on the proposals of various delegations. He expressed the hope that the draft resolution would be adopted unanimously.

82. Mr. SOFFER (Observer for Israel) said that his delegation strongly objected to draft resolution E/CN.4/1982/L.12 because it damaged the prospects for peace in the Middle East and undermined the integrity and fundamental principles of the United Nations. In addition, the text was seriously flawed because it assigned to the Commission responsibilities which far exceeded the scope of the Commission's mandate. The Commission was not the appropriate forum for discussion of a sensitive issue with complex political and security ramifications, especially since both the Security Council and the General Assembly had recently acted upon the matter. Moreover, operative paragraph 3 of the text called for the implementation of sanctions, a demand which not only lacked any moral basis or justification but also contradicted the mandate of the Commission.

83. The text did not pertain to agenda item 15, and in fact, had no relevance whatever to human rights questions. The forces which remained hostile to Israel were abusing the Commission by taking advantage of every item on the agenda to vilify Israel. The Commission was being manipulated for reasons of political expediency, and flagrant violations of human rights in Iraq and many other parts of the world were being neglected. Ever since the establishment of Israel, Iraq had been openly committed to the forcible elimination of his country and had directed all its economic, military and scientific efforts towards that goal. It had never ceased to foment and support Arab acts of terrorism against Israel. In addition, it had rejected all United Nations efforts to obtain a peaceful settlement of the Arab-Israeli conflict.
84. In 1974, Iraq had added a new and dangerous dimension to its hostility towards Israel by taking steps to acquire military nuclear capability. In that year, it had sought to acquire a nuclear reactor designed to produce large quantities of plutonium for military use.
85. Mr. KABARITI (Jordan), speaking on a point of order, said that the observer for Israel was trying to re-open the discussion of the question and requested the Chairman to apply the rules of procedure.
86. The CHAIRMAN said that delegations should address themselves to the substance of the draft resolution under consideration and not discuss matters which might be regarded as extraneous.
87. Mr. SOFFER (Observer for Israel) said that since 1974 Iraq had procured and developed the technologies, installations and materials necessary to manufacture nuclear weapons. The specific type of uranium on which Iraq had based its nuclear programme was exactly the same as that used to produce the bomb dropped on Hiroshima. In addition, Iraq had purchased plutonium separation technology and equipment which had no application whatever as an energy source.
88. The Government of Iran contended that it was developing nuclear energy for peaceful purposes, arguing that IAEA monitored its nuclear programme and that co-operation between Iraq and the Agency proved that its nuclear programme had no military application. The facts, however, indicated otherwise. It had been demonstrated by authorities on the subject that the IAEA safeguards were not comprehensive enough to detect clandestine nuclear installations or weapons development. IAEA merely conducted an accounting system and had no authority to look for evidence of undeclared materials, facilities or clandestine operations. In fact, the Director-General of IAEA had recently stated that his organization's limitations rendered it unable to provide reliable assurances that nuclear materials were not diverted by member States. In the case of Iraq, it was important to note that several of the most sensitive Iraqi nuclear facilities were not under any international safeguards. Moreover, under its agreement with IAEA, Iraq could at any time refuse IAEA inspections, which it had in fact done in November 1980 at a time when a large amount of weapons-grade uranium had been stored in that country. It should also be pointed out that any member Government had the right to object to the nationality of proposed IAEA inspectors. Iraq had regularly exercised that right, and since 1976 only USSR and Hungarian inspectors had visited that country.

89. The prospect of the production of an atomic bomb by Iraq was extremely alarming to his country, as it would certainly be the first victim of an Iraqi nuclear attack. In that connection, he recalled that following an unsuccessful attempt by the Iranian air force to destroy the Iraqi nuclear installations in 1980, the Iraqi President had said that the Iranian people need not fear the Iraqi nuclear reactor, which was not intended to be used against Iran but against the Zionist enemy. All those facts served to dispel the myth that Iraq was developing nuclear energy for peaceful purposes.

90. His Government, aware of the true nature of Iraq's nuclear programme, had endeavoured over a period of six years of intensive diplomatic and public efforts to bring about its cessation. Unfortunately, all those efforts had proved futile and Iraq had refused to discontinue its nuclear weapons development programme. Israel had taken the decision to neutralize the Iraqi nuclear installations only when it had become certain that Iraq was close to possessing the capability of producing nuclear bombs. According to the principles of international law, Israel's attack on the Iraqi nuclear installations in June 1981 had been a necessary and legitimate act of self-defence. His Government had been reacting to a set of circumstances which posed an intolerable threat to its security.

91. It was clear why Iraq had sponsored the draft resolution. It was attempting to prevent its systematic violations of human rights from being revealed in the Commission. Iraq and its consorts had managed to prevent the Commission from considering Iraq's inhuman activities by unleashing a tirade of false accusations against Israel.

92. In response to a point of order raised by Mr. SOLA VILA (Cuba), the CHAIRMAN requested the observer for Israel to confine his remarks to the subject of the draft resolution.

93. Mr. SOFFER (Observer for Israel) said the fact of the matter was that there was a long list of crimes and flagrant violations of human rights committed by the Iraqi régime. Repression and cruelty instituted in Iraq had prompted Amnesty International to publish a report entitled Iraq, Evidence of Torture on the systematic use of torture by the Iraqi authorities. How then could the Iraqi Government reconcile its support of the right to pursue scientific and social development with its own systematic suppression of fundamental human rights?

94. In response to a point of order raised by Mr. KABARITI (Jordan), supported by Mr. SALAH-BEY (Algeria), the CHAIRMAN once again requested the observer for Israel to confine his remarks to the substance of draft resolution E/CN.4/1982/L.12.

95. Mr. SOFFER (Observer for Israel) said it was clear why some delegations from Arab countries did not wish the voice of Israel to be heard. However, his delegation would like to ask the members of the Commission why no objections were raised to the repetitious charade of statements by the Arab camp and its supporters who spared no effort to manipulate the Commission and to waste its time with extraneous matters that were neither related to the agenda items nor compatible with the competence or mandate of the Commission.

96. Mr. SABZALIAN (Observer for Iran) said that the implication by the Zionist representative that the Iranian air force had attacked the Iraqi nuclear installation in 1980 was entirely without foundation.

97. The Government of Iran condemned the Zionist act of aggression against the Iraqi nuclear reactor because it strictly adhered to the principles of the Charter concerning respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of States and the non-use of force in international relations. He wished to point out that Iraq had taken advantage of the preoccupation of the Iranian people with its post-revolutionary difficulties and had sent its forces of aggression into Iran, thus blatantly disregarding the internationally recognized boundaries of Iran.

98. Mr. KABARITI (Jordan), speaking on a point of order, said that the observer for Iran was out of order since he was discussing a matter extraneous to the item under consideration.

99. The CHAIRMAN requested the observer for Iran to confine his statement to the subject of the draft resolutions under consideration.

100. Mr. SABZALIAN (Observer for Iran) said that Iraq had ignored every international humanitarian principle governing the treatment of civilians in time of war and prohibiting the destruction of civilian institutions and economic resources of occupied territories. The indiscriminate bombing by Iraq of villages and towns had caused massive destruction resulting in thousands of civilian casualties. The use of chemical weapons, in violation of the provisions of the 1925 Geneva Protocol, was another example of the criminal deeds of the Iraqi régime in Iran. In conclusion, he said that for all its gravity, the Israeli aggression against Iraq was equivalent to but a small fraction of the inhuman crimes which Iraq had been committing in Iran.

101. Mr. SALAH-BEY (Algeria) said in response to the question raised by the observer for Israel that that country had been the focus of accusations since the beginning of the Commission's work because it was Israel which had violated the rights of the Palestinian people and prevented it from exercising its right of self-determination. In addition, Israel's attack against Iraqi nuclear installations had been regarded as an act of international banditry because it had violated the air space of several sovereign countries. Furthermore, many countries considered that the Israeli act of aggression against the Iraqi nuclear facility constituted a violation of the inalienable sovereign right of States to scientific and technological progress. It should also be noted that the act had been unanimously condemned by the Security Council, the General Assembly and IAEA.

102. There was, of course, no need to stress that the Israeli act of aggression would not have been possible without the complicity of certain States.

103. Mr. AKRAM (Pakistan) said that his delegation fully endorsed the contents of draft resolution E/CN.4/1982/L.12. The Israeli act of aggression had been contrary to the provisions of the Geneva Conventions and the principles of the relevant General Assembly resolutions. With regard to the provisions of the draft resolution, he drew attention to the fact that the language of the second preambular paragraph was taken from General Assembly resolution 36/27 and hoped that the sponsors would agree to add the words "and nuclear" after the words "develop technological".

104. His delegation fully supported draft resolution E/CN.4/1982/L.15/Rev.1, but thought that it could be improved by the following two amendments. Firstly, the following words should be added at the end of the seventh preambular paragraph: "and by violations of the principles of the United Nations Charter regarding the sovereignty and territorial integrity of States and self-determination of peoples". Secondly, in operative paragraph 5 the focus of the study should be further clarified. He therefore proposed the addition, after the words "economic, social, cultural", of the words "rights, including the implementation of the new international economic order". He hoped that the sponsors would accept those proposals.

105. Mr. YOUSEF (Observer for Iraq) said that Israel's insults against the international community were not new. What was new was that both Iran and the Zionist entity had reaffirmed their alliance against Iraq. The Iranian régime should be the last to speak of human rights in view of the massacres it had been perpetrating against its own people.

106. With regard to the question of the mandate of the Commission, he drew attention to the statement in General Assembly resolution 32/130 that aggression and threats against national sovereignty constituted situations which in themselves were and generated mass and flagrant violations of all human rights and fundamental freedoms of peoples as well as of individuals. That resolution had requested the Commission on Human Rights to undertake as a matter of priority an over-all analysis of the alternative approaches and ways and means for improving the effective enjoyment of human rights and fundamental freedoms. That was why it was the duty of the Commission to examine acts of aggression and to adopt the relevant resolutions. In his delegation's opinion, therefore, draft resolution E/CN.4/1982/L.12 came within the competence of the Commission.

107. The Israeli raid was considered an act of aggression under the terms of General Assembly resolution 36/27 (XXXVI) and the resolution adopted by IAEA on 26 September 1981. The Iraqi installations had been intended for peaceful purposes and scientific research. In that connection, he referred to article 13, paragraph 1, of the Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of States, which provided that every State had the right to benefit from advances and developments in science and technology for the acceleration of its economic and social development. It could be said, therefore, that the Israeli act of aggression against Iraq had been in itself a flagrant violation of human rights, in particular, the right to benefit from advances and developments in science and technology. The Commission should therefore condemn the Israeli act and reaffirm the right of Iraq and other States to use science and technology for the realization of human rights.

108. Mr. SOLA VILA (Cuba) announced that the sponsors of draft resolution E/CN.4/1982/L.12 accepted the amendment proposed by the representative of Pakistan.

109. The CHAIRMAN invited the Commission to vote on draft resolution E/CN.4/1982/L.7.

110. Draft resolution E/CN.4/1982/L.7 was adopted by 31 votes to none, with 12 abstentions.

111. The CHAIRMAN invited the Commission to vote on draft resolution E/CN.4/1982/L.12, as amended.

112. Mr. ALVAREZ VITA (Peru) said that his delegation would not participate in the vote for reasons which it would explain at a later stage.
113. At the request of the representative of Jordan the vote was taken by roll-call.
114. Jordan, having been drawn by lot by the Chairman, was called upon to vote first.
- In favour: Algeria, Argentina, Brazil, Bulgaria, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, China, Cuba, Cyprus, Ethiopia, Gambia, Ghana, Greece, India, Jordan, Mexico, Pakistan, Panama, Philippines, Poland, Rwanda, Senegal, Syrian Arab Republic, Togo, Uganda, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, Uruguay, Yugoslavia, Zaire, Zambia, Zimbabwe.
- Against: United States of America.
- Abstaining: Australia, Canada, Costa Rica, Denmark, Fiji, France, Germany, Federal Republic of Italy, Japan, Netherlands, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland.
115. Draft resolution E/CN.4/1982/L.12, as amended, was adopted by 30 votes to 1, with 11 abstentions.
116. The CHAIRMAN invited the Commission to consider draft resolution E/CN.4/1982/L.14.
117. Draft resolution E/CN.4/1982/L.14 was adopted without a vote.
118. The CHAIRMAN invited the Commission to consider draft resolution E/CN.4/1982/L.15/Rev.1.
119. Mr. BYKOV (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) said that the sponsors could accept the proposals made by the Pakistani representative, with some minor modifications. Firstly, in the seventh preambular paragraph, after the word "aspects", the following words should be added: "as well as by violations of the principles of the United Nations Charter regarding the sovereignty and territorial integrity of States and self-determination of peoples". Secondly, in operative paragraph 5, after the words "political rights", the words "the establishment of the new international economic order" should be inserted.
120. The sponsors hoped that the draft resolution would be adopted unanimously.
121. Mr. MA (China), speaking in explanation of vote before the vote, said that his delegation would abstain in the vote on the draft resolution, which was mainly concerned with the question of disarmament. His Government had always been in favour of genuine disarmament which would contribute to a relaxation of tension in international relations and eliminate the threat to international peace. In his delegation's opinion, disarmament must begin with the super-Powers which had the largest stocks of nuclear weapons in the world. There was a vast gap between those Powers and other countries, and if the latter were called upon to carry out disarmament, that would serve only to perpetuate the capacity of the super-Powers. It must be pointed out that one super-Power, which continually stressed the issue of disarmament and talked at length of the right to survival, had a vast nuclear weapon capacity and was continuing to develop such weapons.
122. At the request of the representative of Cuba, a vote was taken by roll-call.

123. Argentina, having been drawn by lot by the Chairman, was called upon to vote first.

In favour: Algeria, Argentina, Brazil, Bulgaria, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Costa Rica, Cuba, Cyprus, Ethiopia, Fiji, Gambia, Ghana, Greece, India, Jordan, Mexico, Pakistan, Panama, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Rwanda, Senegal, Syrian Arab Republic, Togo, Uganda, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, Uruguay, Yugoslavia, Zaire, Zambia, Zimbabwe.

Against: None.

Abstaining: Australia, Canada, China, Denmark, France, Germany, Federal Republic of, Italy, Japan, Netherlands, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America.

124. Draft resolution E/CN.4/1982/L.15/Rev.1. as amended, was adopted by 32 votes to none, with 11 abstentions.

The meeting rose at 8.55 p.m.