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**SUMMARY RECORD OF THE 36th MEETING**

**Chairman: Mr. MADAR (Somalia)**

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The meeting was called to order at 3.15 p.m.

AGENDA ITEM 100: OFFICE OF THE UNITED NATIONS HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR REFUGEES  
(A/39/92, A/39/133, A/39/165 and Corr.1, A/39/185, A/39/189 and Corr.1, A/39/204,  
A/39/212, A/39/254, A/39/352, A/39/443-447)

(a) REPORT OF THE HIGH COMMISSIONER (A/39/12 and Add.1)

(b) ASSISTANCE TO REFUGEES IN AFRICA: REPORT OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL (A/39/402)

1. Mr. HARTLING (United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees) recalled that his mandate was to provide international protection for refugees and to seek lasting solutions to their problems.

2. International protection of refugees was the subject of a number of international legal instruments, notably the 1951 Convention relating to the Status of Refugees and the 1967 Protocol relating to the Status of Refugees. It was encouraging to see that as of the present time 97 Member States had adhered to one or the other or both, and that the figure would soon reach 100. Considerable progress had also been made in the implementation of the provisions of the instruments through national legislation and improved procedures. Yet there was no room for complacency for the rights of refugees continued to be violated in many parts of the world, even in States which were parties to the international instruments. It was also true that some States, including some which were not parties to the instruments, had shown generous hospitality towards refugees, going far beyond what was called for by the Conventions. He hoped that that attitude would regain the upper hand over the recent trend towards "compassion fatigue", which was affecting even the most hospitable countries. It would seem that the disaffection was provoked in part by the fact that countries which had until then remained in relative isolation from the mainstream of massive refugee flows were increasingly being overwhelmed by the volume of asylum-seekers. Too often, those people were assimilated with the growing masses of economic migrants who competed with the local population for scarce jobs, housing and social services. That phenomenon had added fuel to the smouldering xenophobic tendencies in public opinion and might lead to more restrictive measures in the application of legislation on aliens, including refugees. While some of the persons knocking at the doors of industrialized countries facing economic and social difficulties were not really refugees, that was far from always being the case. Refugees all too often became refugees in orbit, shuttled from pillar to post by countries unwilling to admit them. Unfortunately, such practices were not confined to any one continent and measures must be taken to prevent them from spreading.

3. The High Commissioner's other task was to seek durable solutions to refugee problems, in other words, to make them independent and self-sufficient once more.

4. By durable solutions, he meant voluntary repatriation, local settlement in the country of first asylum or resettlement in a third country. The idea was to enable the refugee to begin a new life. If a normal person was kept dependent too long,

(Mr. Hartling)

his self-respect, morale and initiative were destroyed. A durable solution, in other words the re-insertion of the refugee in society, was also the most economic solution for care and maintenance of refugees were not only expensive but involved a loss of human resources. Hundreds of thousands of refugees living in camps all over the world were not contributing only receiving. That was a tremendous waste of energy, imagination and creativity.

5. There was also a political aspect to be taken into consideration. Refugees were often a result of political problems, but they could, in turn, be a political issue. Thus keeping refugees in camps for years meant running the risk of increasing those problems. Refugees could be, and often were, used for political purposes and when a country felt threatened, refugees were often made the scapegoats. Keeping refugees dependent for a long period meant adding to the unrest and insecurity of the world.

6. At the present time, UNHCR spent about one half of its total budget on the search for durable solutions to the refugee problem. The other half was still used for the necessary care and maintenance activities. UNHCR had calculated that over the last 30 years it had assisted more than 25 million people. Yet more should be done, for UNHCR - in other words Governments - was the refugees' only hope.

7. UNHCR was not satisfied that only one half of its total budget was spent on durable solutions. However, considerable progress had been made in the past year or so. Voluntary repatriation programmes where UNHCR assisted the return movement had seen tens of thousands of refugees go back to their country, notably in Africa. Refugees had also been helped through such programmes in Latin America, notably in Argentina and, although the numbers were still small, in South-East Asia. In Central America and Mexico, UNHCR had expressed its willingness to co-operate with all concerned to facilitate voluntary repatriation once conditions permitted. Naturally, the voluntary nature of the repatriation must be scrupulously adhered to. Morocco had declared its willingness to receive refugees back from Tindouf, in Algeria. If those refugees expressed a desire to return to Morocco, UNHCR would provide the necessary assistance. It had recently established a branch office in Algeria in order to be of assistance to the most vulnerable groups among the refugees and to seek a durable solution to their problems in accordance with its mandate.

8. He drew attention to the progress which had been made with respect to local settlement in the host countries, particularly to the income-generating projects being implemented in such countries as the Sudan and Somalia and in southern Africa. ILO and UNDP were co-operating in the implementation of those projects. Even in areas where long-term solutions did not immediately appear to be in sight, such projects could help lessen the burden which refugees placed on the host countries and on the international community. The project initiated in Pakistan with the world Bank was one such project.

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(Mr. Hartling)

9. Resettlement - though not the most desirable solution - was also a type of durable solution. That had been the case, in particular, for large numbers of refugees from South-East Asia for whom many receiving countries continued to fix generous immigration quotas. However, that generosity must be maintained and that was not easy when the drama of refugees was no longer front-page news. The Orderly Departure Programme from Viet Nam, which provided persons wishing to leave Viet Nam with a safe and legal way of doing so, had been very encouraging. At the present time there were 500 departures by air each week; that represented considerable progress in view of the fact that six years earlier for every 100 departures by boat there had been only one by air. UNHCR had provided the necessary facilities for that programme in Ho Chi Minh City and it was prepared to continue to expand its action if necessary.

10. In assisting refugees and returnees, the needs of the local population must also be taken into account. There was a clear link between refugee aid and development assistance, a concept that had been unanimously proclaimed by the Second International Conference on Assistance to Refugees in Africa, held at Geneva in July 1984. Refugee assistance projects and the refugees themselves were affected by the economic and social crises and natural calamities that struck the host countries. Thus, the dramatic drought affecting several African countries had also had an impact on the programmes of UNHCR and had contributed to increasing the number of persons seeking asylum or simply seeking food. UNHCR also considered it its duty to help such persons even if they were not always, in the strict sense of the word, refugees under the terms of its statute. It had, therefore, just launched an appeal for some \$8.9 million to care for refugees and returnees affected by drought and other emergencies in Ethiopia, the Sudan, Somalia and the Central African Republic. The fact that, over the past three years, UNHCR had been able to bring down its financial requirements by almost 20 per cent from the 1980-1981 level testified to the results of its efforts. In 1985, its General Programme target was \$384 million and overall voluntary fund requirements, including Special Programmes, would be in the order of \$430 million. He hoped that, at the next pledging conference, Member States would announce generous pledges for the 1985 programme.

11. Turning to assistance to refugees in Africa, he introduced, on behalf of the Secretary-General, the report on the Second International Conference on Assistance to Refugees in Africa (A/39/402 and Add.1). Since the Conference, six additional Governments, namely those of Benin, Cameroon, the Central African Republic, Chad, Djibouti and Guinea, had requested infrastructural assistance to cope with refugee and returnee situations in their countries. The Secretary-General had decided to send a technical team to each country to help in the formulation of the needs for assistance. The team, made up of representatives of the Secretary-General, UNDP, UNHCR and OAU, had already visited several of them. The Second International Conference on Assistance to Refugees in Africa had been an eminent example of international solidarity. It had adopted, by acclamation, a Declaration and Programme of Action which endorsed an important principle, that of the complementarity of humanitarian assistance to refugees and development assistance to host countries. The Conference was, however, only a first step in the search

(Mr. Hartling)

for lasting solutions to the problems of refugees in Africa. African countries had pledged to implement policies which were conducive to solutions, and donors, for their part, had pledged to make additional resources available. It was only logical that low-income countries, faced with innumerable other difficulties, should receive assistance in order to alleviate the burden of receiving refugees in addition to assistance aimed directly at the refugees or at other development needs. UNHCR had been actively involved in the preparations for the Conference and would continue to play its role in the follow-up process.

12. It had been possible for UNHCR to help millions of refugees because it had preserved its humanitarian and non-political character. The decisions of the Executive Committee of the High Commissioner's Programme had always been taken by consensus and the report of the High Commissioner to the General Assembly had always been approved without a vote. It was indispensable that that practice should be maintained since, if refugee problems were to become politicized, there was a danger of losing the ability to act.

AGENDA ITEM 102: ALTERNATIVE APPROACHES AND WAYS AND MEANS WITHIN THE UNITED NATIONS SYSTEM FOR IMPROVING THE EFFECTIVE ENJOYMENT OF HUMAN RIGHTS AND FUNDAMENTAL FREEDOMS (continued) (A/39/556, 581, 590 and Corr.1)

(a) IMPLEMENTATION OF GENERAL ASSEMBLY RESOLUTION 38/124 (continued)

(b) NATIONAL INSTITUTIONS FOR THE PROTECTION AND PROMOTION OF HUMAN RIGHTS:  
REPORT OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL (continued)

13. Mr. OGURTSOV (Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic) said that co-operation among States for improving the effective enjoyment of human rights must be based on the principles of the Charter of the United Nations, respect for the sovereignty of States, and non-interference in their internal affairs. The efforts made by the United Nations in the field of human rights had the goal of developing such co-operation. If all States acceded to the international instruments on human rights and strictly observed their provisions, there would probably be no reason to include the item under consideration in the agenda.

14. There was at present within the United Nations an extensive system of representative bodies entrusted with human rights questions. Rather than creating new bodies, new posts or new procedures, adequate use should be made of the existing system. The creation of supranational posts, such as that of a High Commissioner for Human Rights, would be contrary to the Charter of the United Nations, would hinder the activities of existing representative bodies and would, ultimately, weaken international co-operation in the field of human rights.

15. The success of such co-operation depended on the political will of States and on the effectiveness of their national institutions for the promotion and protection of human rights. The obstinate refusal of some States to accede to the International Covenants on Human Rights and to the International Convention on the Suppression and Punishment of the Crime of Apartheid, and to halt their assistance

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(Mr. Ogurtsov, Byelorussian SSR)

to the racist régimes that were repressing the aspirations of the peoples of southern Africa and Namibia for freedom and independence, clearly showed that those States did not really wish to contribute to ensuring the effective enjoyment of human rights and fundamental freedoms.

16. The Commission on Human Rights was performing a useful task in continuing its work on the overall analysis of the alternative approaches and ways and means within the United Nations system for improving the effective enjoyment of human rights and fundamental freedoms. It was essential for the Commission and the open-ended working group it had established for that purpose to conduct their work on the basis of consensus.

17. His country was actively promoting international co-operation in the field of human rights. Respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms was embodied in its Constitution. It was a party to all the basic international instruments on human rights and strictly observed their provisions.

18. Mr. BORCHARD (Federal Republic of Germany) said that, because of the efforts of the United Nations, the individual had been given the status of a subject of international law, a status which should be respected by all Governments. International concern for violations of that status did not, as certain Governments contended, constitute an interference in internal affairs. It was, rather, that the international community had an obligation to support all efforts to give effect to the rights of the individual. The credibility of the United Nations was determined by the willingness to deal with such violations, irrespective of whether they were committed by Governments or by groups of individuals.

19. The United Nations, and the Commission on Human Rights in particular still, had to improve their machinery to deal effectively and in a non-selective and prompt manner with human rights violations. It was regrettable that the Commission's Working Group dealing with alternative approaches and ways and means within the United Nations system for improving the effective enjoyment of human rights and fundamental freedoms had so far not resolved a number of basic questions. His delegation continued to support the proposal to establish the post of a High Commissioner. The Commission should use more effectively the confidential procedures provided for in Council resolution 1503 (XLVIII) and especially paragraphs 6 (a), 6 (b) and 8. A mechanism should also be set up to deal with human rights violations between sessions of the Commission.

20. His delegation would welcome further consideration of a number of earlier proposals, such as those for the establishment of fact-finding bodies and of a reporting system to provide a detailed examination of the human rights situation by country and by subject; the strengthening of human rights institutions at the regional level; a greater exchange of information among countries on the protection of human rights; and the establishment of advisory services and measures for stimulating public interest in the promotion and protection of human rights and fundamental freedoms. The subject of advisory services, in particular, had been neglected in the Commission. All countries, and not only those emerging from a

(Mr. Borchard, Federal Republic  
of Germany)

period of human rights violations, should receive assistance enabling them to comply with and apply international human rights standards. The assistance could include general advice on the drafting of legislation and on educational programmes and reports, and the provision of fellowships and regional training programmes.

21. The Secretary-General had made commendable efforts in the field of human rights. His good-offices function should be strengthened.

22. The Federal Republic Government had not opposed any new conceptual approaches, among which the right to development figured prominently. It therefore welcomed the decision to set up a working group to define with precision the scope and contents of the right to development. In so doing, it should, however, not give the impression that the right to development or the establishment of a new international economic order were preconditions for guaranteeing human rights. General Assembly resolution 32/130 had very clearly stated that attention should be given equally to civil and political rights and to economic, social and cultural rights. The two categories of rights were inseparable. People who enjoyed freedom of expression but lived under bad economic and social conditions were no freer than those who lived in secure economic and social conditions but were denied freedom of speech or the freedom to choose their place of residence. The fact that a State protected one category of rights should never exempt it from the obligation to protect the other. Nor could the absence of peace or development ever serve as a pretext for a State to fail to meet that obligation. There must be co-operation, under United Nations auspices, in creating conditions whereby all States could ensure that their citizens exercised their human rights.

23. It was regrettable that the first informal draft resolution on the right to development being circulated was drafted in such a way that it could not be adopted by consensus. His delegation was, however, ready to join in consultations and negotiations to find a common ground.

24. Ms. O'FLAHERTY (Ireland) said that it was possible to recognize the existence of collective rights, if the collectivity was understood as a community of individuals and not as an abstraction. The right to development was the human right to participate in a political, social and economic order in which all human rights could be fully exercised. Her delegation was following with interest the work being done on a declaration on the right to development by the Working Group of the Commission on Human Rights, but regretted that the result of that work was being prejudged in other forums.

25. A relationship undoubtedly existed between human rights and development, but while the implementation of economic, social and cultural rights depended largely on each State's level of development, the implementation of civil and political rights depended exclusively on the political will of Governments. Clearly the current international economic order constituted an obstacle to the exercise of human rights and fundamental freedoms, in particular the right to an adequate standard of living. Ireland itself was, within the limit of its resources, striving to assist developing countries to improve the standard of living of their

(Ms. O'Flaherty, Ireland)

populations and was very conscious of the need for greater efforts by the international community.

26. As the title of the agenda item indicated, the United Nations had a role to play in the protection of human rights. Thus, his delegation had not supported General Assembly resolution 38/124 precisely because it did not include an unqualified statement that violations of human rights wherever they occurred were of concern to the United Nations and failed to reflect adequately the Commission's studies on human rights violations.

27. Ireland favoured the exploring of new procedures or mechanisms for dealing with human rights questions within the United Nations system. The information provided by Governments on national institutions for the promotion and protection of human rights (A/39/556) reflected an awareness of the need for national and local mechanisms in that area. Ireland, through its participation in the human rights work of the Council of Europe, was conscious of the value of regional arrangements for the purpose. The proposal to establish a system of regional advisers on international human rights standards to advise and assist Governments should be discussed further.

28. Mr. KALINOWSKI (Poland) said that, despite all efforts by the international community, the situation of human rights and fundamental freedoms in many parts of the world continued to cause serious concern. Some Member States were even attempting to exploit the issue of human rights for strictly political purposes, as a pretext for interfering in the internal affairs of other Member States. There were also attempts to establish supranational organs within the United Nations to deal with human rights issues, which contravened the principles of international co-operation set forth in the Charter. Only if Member States made an effort to adhere strictly to the principles of the Charter would there be a real possibility of improving the enjoyment of human rights and fundamental freedoms.

29. Undeniably, the United Nations had already made great progress in standard-setting with regard to those rights. Important legal instruments had been adopted, such as the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the International Covenants on Human Rights, the International Convention on the Suppression and Punishment of the Crime of Apartheid and the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women. The General Assembly was considering the draft Convention against Torture and other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment, a document of great importance in the general framework of the international human rights law. Unfortunately, some important instruments, such as the International Convention on the Suppression and Punishment of the Crime of Apartheid, had so far been ratified by only a small number of Member States. Those which had not yet ratified it included many which often posed as the champions of human rights when it suited their political interests.

30. In order to make the United Nations more effective in the promotion and protection of human rights it was necessary to respect the guidelines in General Assembly resolution 32/130, which recommended the international community to accord



(Mr. Kalinowski, Poland)

priority to the search for solutions to the mass and flagrant violations of human rights of peoples and persons affected by situations such as those resulting from apartheid and all forms of racial discrimination.

31. His delegation regretted the proposal of some Member States to establish an Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights. The establishment of a supranational organ of that kind, far from helping to improve the enjoyment of human rights and fundamental freedoms, would aggravate the situation because it would emphasize instead of reducing differences of opinion among countries on human rights. Accordingly, instead of establishing new organs, the United Nations should seek to ensure the universal ratification of the existing international instruments, which was a basic condition for ensuring the effective enjoyment of human rights and fundamental freedoms. It should also take into account the grave threat posed to human rights, especially the most basic, the right to life, by the nuclear arms race.

32. He stressed the important role played in Poland by national institutions for the protection and promotion of human rights, rights which were explicitly guaranteed by the Constitution and actively defended by the courts, especially in respect of employment and social security. There were also many organizations in Poland whose obligation it was to consider complaints and report on the results.

33. Mr. FRAMBACH (German Democratic Republic) said that, like all socialist countries, the German Democratic Republic was convinced that peace was the prime prerequisite for the exercise of all human rights, and that the right to peace, on behalf of which forces were mobilizing everywhere to ward off the danger of nuclear war, was the first among those rights. International co-operation for the promotion of human rights would have a positive outcome only if the fundamental principles of international law, in particular the sovereign equality of States and the principle of non-interference in their internal affairs, were strictly applied. In the circumstances, using human rights for purposes of anti-communist propaganda against the socialist States, as the imperialist States were doing, was not only contrary to the Charter but adversely affected the enjoyment of those rights.

34. Human rights ceased to be an internal affair when they were so seriously and systematically violated that peaceful relations with other States were jeopardized. The behaviour of the apartheid régime was a good illustration of the direct connection between oppression within a State and an aggressive foreign policy towards other States.

35. The interdependence of civil, political, economic, social and cultural rights, though largely recognized in theory, was often negated in practice, as was shown by the increase in unemployment in the Western States, which sharply restricted the enjoyment of all other human rights.

36. The difficulties of the developing countries, whose natural resources and population were exploited by the imperialist States and transnational corporations, showed, if further proof were needed, that the democratization of international

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(Mr. Frambach, German Democratic Republic)

economic relations was imperative for the implementation of human rights. The right to development, in the process of being codified, should give rise not only to duties of States towards their citizens but also to obligations on the part of the international community as a whole towards the developing countries.

37. It was regrettable that the possibilities for intergovernmental co-operation offered by the United Nations system could not be fully utilized, in the case of the campaign against apartheid for example, because of the destructive attitude of the imperialist States which were hardly qualified to call for more effective mechanisms for the protection of human rights. The creation of a post of High Commissioner for Human Rights was contrary to the provisions of the Charter and, since it was no consensus on the subject, could not replace intergovernmental co-operation. In carrying out his mandate, a high commissioner would be very likely to interfere in the internal affairs of States and thus make co-operation impossible.

38. Mr. FRAZAO (Brazil) said that concern for the enjoyment of human rights and fundamental freedoms was the main purpose of the United Nations and had been at the core of its work since its establishment. Agenda item 102 was concerned with improving existing mechanisms rather than creating new structures. The Commission on Human Rights, the most important of those mechanisms, should be supported and made more effective. The Commission's methods of work had been under discussion since 1978 by an open-ended Working Group, whose deliberations had led to the adoption by consensus of its resolution 1984/59. That resolution, which stressed the need to improve the functions of the existing organs and to take major decisions concerning the concepts, organization and operation of the United Nations system for the promotion of human rights on the basis of the widest possible agreement, should serve as the guide to any future search for alternative approaches for improving the enjoyment of those rights.

39. The Commission and its working party had, in accordance with the relevant resolutions of the General Assembly, taken action to improve co-ordination in the field of human rights, redesignated the Division of Human Rights the Centre for Human Rights, upgraded the post of Director of the Centre to the level of Assistant Secretary-General, improved the management of the time available to the Commission, and rationalized its agenda.

40. Establishing a post of High Commissioner for Human Rights would not improve the system in any way and might, on the contrary, by personalizing functions that should be taken care of collectively, reduce its effectiveness. Though it was desirable for the Commission to give careful consideration to all relevant proposals, the fact that, after so many years, no decision had been reached on the matter indicated that the proposal was unwise.

41. The Commission on Human Rights had made considerable progress in 1984 with its conclusion of a draft convention against torture and other cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment, which, it was hoped, would soon be submitted to the General Assembly for adoption, and its continued work on the draft convention

(Mr. Frazao, Brazil)

on the rights of the child and on a draft declaration on the rights of persons belonging to national, ethnic, religious and linguistic minorities. The Commission had also dealt with a myriad of other questions concerning human rights.

42. His delegation had, in 1983, supported General Assembly resolution 38/124, which recognized the right to development, and regretted that the Working Group of Governmental Experts on the Right to Development had not been able, despite commendable efforts, to submit a draft declaration on the right to development to the Commission on Human Rights. By adopting a very broad outlook, the Working Group had lost sight of its primary task of defining the scope and content of that right and the means for its implementation. Unlike some delegations, his delegation considered that the right to development was an inalienable right because, in the final analysis, the ultimate aim of development was none other than to raise the standards of living of human beings and guarantee them the right to life.

43. Mr. RANDHAWA (India) said that the United Nations, which had been initially established to maintain international peace and security, increasingly played a role in the development of human societies and, more specifically, in the definition of international human rights standards. In its resolution 32/130, the General Assembly had recognized that civil and political rights and economic, social and cultural rights were interrelated and indivisible. As stressed at the International Conference on Human Rights held at Teheran in 1968, the enjoyment of economic and social rights was inherently linked to any exercise of civil and political rights, and, in speaking of individual freedoms, it was impossible to overlook the loss of human dignity experienced as a result of the daily deprivations suffered by millions of individuals. The drafting of a declaration on the right to development, which had begun in 1981, was therefore, in spite of the controversies inevitably raised by all things new, an essential step towards the establishment of the new international economic order, which alone would guarantee the enjoyment of human rights and fundamental freedoms for all.

44. While the international community had made progress in the protection and promotion of human rights, it must be recognized that the human rights situation was still far from satisfactory. Experience demonstrated that the existence of instruments and institutions was not sufficient, and there was no reason to believe that the establishment of a post of United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights would be an exception to that rule. Because mass and flagrant violations of human rights took place as a result of policies encouraged or tolerated by Member States or of conditions they perpetuated, no institutional mechanism could replace the political will of those States. It would therefore be preferable to strengthen the role of the Commission on Human Rights and improve the effectiveness of existing mechanisms rather than to set up a new body of questionable value.

45. The United Nations, in particular the advisory services of the Centre for Human Rights, had an essential role to play in increasing public awareness of the question of human rights and disseminating and applying universal human rights standards. National institutions for the protection and promotion of human rights

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(Mr. Randhawa, India)

could, in collaboration with Governments, non-governmental organizations, educational institutions and the media, establish co-operation between Governments and peoples in that area, advocate the cause of human rights, organize groups specialized in the defence of human rights and inform public opinion of its rights and the recourses available to it. Those institutions could be set up in ways which were most consistent with the culture and national aspirations of each Member State. In that connection, the proposal of the Under-Secretary-General for Political and General Assembly Affairs to collate in a single report all replies from Governments concerning their national institutions would allow an exchange of views of great benefit to all countries.

46. Mr. ALBORNOZ (Ecuador) said that the principle of universality should govern all aspects of the human rights question: the collection of information, the investigation of specific situations or the search for solutions to problems which arose in that area. Pursuant to that principle, his delegation had, on several occasions, recommended that the United Nations should submit an annual survey on the human rights situation in all countries. That survey, like the one submitted each year on the world economy, would help to reinforce the Organization's objectivity and impartiality. Moreover, countries participating in the debate on human rights would enhance the value of their statements if, first of all, they informed world public opinion of how those rights were respected in their own countries.

47. His country, which enjoyed a democratic system, scrupulously respected human rights. Elections took place in a climate of complete freedom, nothing obstructed the activities of political parties or Parliament and freedom of expression was total. Article 19 of the Ecuadorian Constitution guaranteed individual rights and integrity and prohibited all types of discrimination for any reason whatsoever. Under the law, citizens had not only freedom to engage in the activity of their choice but also the right to a standard of living guaranteeing the enjoyment of such basic assets as health, food, clothing, housing, medical care and social services. Moreover, there were numerous institutions in Ecuador for the protection and promotion of human rights. They included the National Committee on Human Rights, whose role was to denounce any situation which might jeopardize strict respect for those rights, juvenile courts and the National Institute for Children and the Family, which was concerned with the most disadvantaged urban and rural groups and acted in conjunction with such international organizations as the United Nations Fund for Population Activities, UNICEF and the World Food Programme.

48. Ecuador, which was a party to the international instruments on human rights, welcomed the completion of work on the draft convention against torture and expressed the hope that it would be adopted by the General Assembly. It also welcomed the work done by the Working Group of Governmental Experts on the Right to Development - a new concept which his country fully endorsed, in view of the close link between development and the full attainment of human rights.

49. Mr. AZZAROUK (Libyan Arab Jamahiriya) said that respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms was enshrined in the Preamble to the Charter of the United

(Mr. Azzarouk, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya)

Nations and its Article 1 and that the United Nations had been able to achieve significant results in that area, in particular as a result of the work of the Commission on Human Rights. The most outstanding of the Organization's achievements concerned the elimination of colonialism, which had enabled many peoples to exercise their right to self-determination and accede to independence and had allowed small and poor countries to set up political, economic and social structures and exercise sovereignty over their resources, which they exploited for the well-being and development of their peoples.

50. Since human rights were God-given, they could not be the subject of fallacious interpretations, threats, blackmail or bargaining. Moreover, they were interrelated and indivisible. The right to education and work and to food, health care and housing were thus linked to the right to vote and to freedom of expression; there was likewise a reciprocal relationship between freedom of individuals and freedom of the community, in other words, the right of peoples to take their own decisions, select their political, economic and social régimes, manage their natural resources as well as to grow, develop and make progress.

51. The rights of peoples and of individuals to progress should be put on an equal footing. The right to development was primarily a right of the individual because it influenced his everyday life - and a collective right because it was tied up with the right of peoples to self-determination. The aim of development was ultimately to improve the well-being of populations by means of their full participation in development and the equitable distribution of the benefits which resulted from it.

52. Current circumstances did not favour development. The international economic order rested on unfair and unequal economic and social relations which were based on spoliation and exploitation of the wealth of the peoples of the third world, even after they had attained independence. The use of economic measures by certain developed countries as means of bringing economic and political pressure to bear on developing countries amounted to a serious violation of human rights, as well as of the international instruments which guaranteed all peoples the right to choose their own political, economic and social system.

53. As his country's representative on the Commission on Human Rights had recalled, talking about human freedom would remain a luxury so long as two thirds of the world were destitute, the world was divided between rich and poor, billions of human beings had to struggle to survive and millions died of hunger and lack of care: although freedom of the individual in some countries meant freedom of expression, for millions of human beings in other countries it consisted simply of ensuring daily subsistence. Human rights, which were inseparable from one another, should be exercised by all.

54. It was to be hoped that the efforts of the Commission on Human Rights and other competent organs of the United Nations would bear fruit. Consideration of ways of better ensuring the effective enjoyment of human rights and fundamental freedoms should be continued. The Commission should take the necessary steps to

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(Mr. Azzarouk, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya)

promote the right to development by following up the work of the Working Group of Governmental Experts on the Right to Development, which ought to submit a draft declaration as soon as possible. His country welcomed the statement by the Under-Secretary-General for Political and General Assembly Affairs concerning the decision to reprint all instruments dealing with human rights in all languages so that they would be better known to the people at large.

55. There would be no effective enjoyment of human rights so long as many peoples were denied their right to self-determination, suffered apartheid and racism, and were victims of persecution, repression and foreign domination. Moreover, transnational corporations were continuing to despoil States and the arms race was intensifying, all of which imposed a heavy burden on the economies of many States which, because they had to protect their peoples against the greed of the imperialist States, were forced to waste on military purposes resources which could otherwise be allocated to economic and social development programmes.

56. One of the means of promoting the enjoyment of human rights and fundamental freedoms would be effective implementation of the United Nations instruments on human rights. His own country was a party to the two International Covenants on Human Rights, to the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination and to the International Convention on the Suppression and Punishment of the Crime of Apartheid. It spared no effort in helping other peoples of the world to exercise their basic rights. It was a member of the Commission on Human Rights and worked side by side in that regard with all peace-loving countries. All States should strive to achieve the objectives of the Second Decade to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination and help the liberation movements in their struggle against imperialism and foreign domination, thus encouraging the effective enjoyment of human rights.

57. Mr. RAHARDJO (Indonesia) reaffirmed his country's profound attachment to the universal promotion of human rights. However, he noted that the situation in which those rights were exercised differed from one country to another and that the steps taken by Governments to promote them and rectify their possible violation were not necessarily identical. Far from causing friction among Member States, such differences should broaden their view of the means which existed to eliminate violations of human rights.

58. The many countries which had become parties to existing international instruments on human rights were bound to adhere to their provisions. As for States which had not become parties to any of those instruments, they should nevertheless share their objectives out of concern at gross violations of human rights. Incidentally, the record showed that there were no significant differences between the behaviour of States which were parties and those which were not so far as observance of those rights was concerned.

59. The politicization of debates on human rights was regrettable. Considerations of a political or ideological kind had no place in such discussions, any more than had slander hiding behind humanitarian concern or interference in the internal affairs of States.

(Mr. Rahardjo, Indonesia)

60. With regard to supposed violations of human rights, his delegation emphasized the need to tackle the roots of the evil and to strive to understand the political, economic and social conditions of the countries where it arose, in order to combat it.

61. In view of the growing politicization of discussions on human rights, Indonesia was against establishing the post of a High Commissioner for Human Rights and advocated the strengthening of existing machinery instead. As for the right to development, his delegation believed that its explicit recognition as a right both of individuals and of peoples would crown the work of the Organization in the field of human rights.

62. Mr. BOUFFANDEAU (France) said that almost 60 conventions or declarations on human rights had been adopted by the international community since 1945. In addition to the codification work which would soon be completed by the adoption of a draft convention against torture, he mentioned the use of special rapporteurs on human rights in specific areas, the adoption of a thematic approach with regard to such matters as summary executions and enforced or involuntary disappearances, and the consideration of particular situations under the confidential procedure of the Commission on Human Rights in accordance with Economic and Social Council resolution 1503 (XLVIII). In spite of the immense work of codification already completed, the promises made and the commitments undertaken, violations of human rights continued to occur in the world. That proved, if proof was necessary, that the international community should continue to be active and vigilant everywhere.

63. The Sub-Commission on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities, as a body which existed to consider problems and make proposals, could operate usefully and effectively between sessions of the Commission on Human Rights to complete the Commission's tasks. The latter body was in fact unable to take any decision during 10 months out of 12, or to ensure that its decisions were followed up. Unfortunately the discussions which had taken place on that subject had been marking time for two years.

64. His delegation also regretted that the Commission on Human Rights had not been able to give appropriate consideration to the proposal to establish a post of United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights. On a different matter, it hoped that the Commission's working group charged with drafting a declaration on the right to development would make further progress toward the goal set for it.

65. It would be possible to consolidate and extend the progress made over the past year in defending and protecting human rights only by respecting four basic ideas to which his delegation attached the greatest importance: rejection of any precondition for the enjoyment of civil and political rights; constant concern to promote economic, social and cultural rights, whose implementation was inseparable from the really complete enjoyment of human rights as a whole; pursuit of a fair balance between individual and collective rights; and, finally, the pursuit of a fair balance between civil and political rights, on the one hand, and economic and social rights on the other.

66. Mrs. KOLAROVA (Bulgaria) noted with satisfaction that the Organization had recorded major achievements in the codification of human rights, as was clear from the numerous international agreements which had been adopted in that area. The next objective should be the harmonization of those instruments and the withdrawal of the reservations made by some countries with respect to those instruments, particularly concerning the right of peoples to self-determination.

67. Resolution 32/130 should form the basis for any development of international law on human rights and fundamental freedoms. The resolution had established five cardinal principles which should be the golden rule in the promotion of human rights: first, human rights and fundamental freedoms were indivisible; secondly, the enjoyment of economic, social and cultural rights was an essential condition for the full exercise of civil and political rights; thirdly, priority should be given to the consideration of mass violations of human rights, particularly when they resulted from the policy of apartheid, racism, racial discrimination, colonialism, foreign occupation, denial of the right of colonial peoples to self-determination and independence and denial of the sovereignty of nations over their own natural resources. Fourthly, the establishment of a new international economic order was an important prerequisite for the effective promotion of human rights and fundamental freedoms. Fifthly, international co-operation in encouraging respect for human rights could be promoted only on the basis of the principles of the Charter of the United Nations.

68. Bulgaria had not resigned itself to considering the current human rights situation as inevitable and emphasized that efforts must be made to enhance the capacity of the Organization to ensure respect for those rights. Her delegation was convinced that co-operation among States must be strengthened within the framework of existing organs and mechanisms for the promotion and protection of human rights, particularly those in which all States participated on an equal footing, namely, the General Assembly, the Economic and Social Council and the open-ended working group specifically entrusted with the task of considering ways and means of improving the effectiveness of the organization's work in the field of human rights. In that connection her delegation welcomed the fact that the working group was studying the possibility of increasing the membership of the Commission on Human Rights which would be a truly democratic solution.

69. Bulgaria was totally opposed to the creation of a post of United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights because some of the tasks which would be entrusted to the High Commissioner were already being performed by the Secretary-General or by an official authorized by him, or by an existing United Nations organ, or an organ established in compliance with an international instrument in force. It would be harmful to duplicate the efforts of the Organization. Moreover, the proposed High Commissioner would certainly not be in a position to deal with mass violations of human rights such as those resulting from apartheid. Lastly, the creation of the post might result in interference in the internal affairs of sovereign States.

70. Bulgaria was ready to consider any constructive proposal such as the affirmation of the right to life, the right to peace and the right to development. In that connection it attached particular importance to the Declaration on the



(Mrs. Kolarova, Bulgaria)

Right to Development, to be elaborated by a working group of the Commission on Human Rights set up specifically for that purpose. It was to be regretted that the group had for three years been prevented from carrying out the mandate entrusted to it by the Commission on Human Rights because of the obstructionist position of some members. Those tactics were particularly deplorable as the adoption of a declaration on the right to development would be an eloquent example of the capacity of the United Nations to contribute in practice to the promotion of human rights and fundamental freedoms.

71. Mrs. ESCOBAR (Spain) welcomed the remarkable progress achieved, both in the codification and exercise of human rights, through the United Nations. She also welcomed the work done by the Commission on Human Rights and by the General Assembly in their efforts to find practical ways of improving the situation in that field. Much however remained to be done, particularly in order to eliminate torture. Efforts should be made to sensitize Governments to the problem of human rights and to make them aware of the possibilities offered by the United Nations system in that field.

72. Human rights were indivisible: it was useless to proclaim the existence of fundamental freedoms if the standard of living was so low that the full enjoyment of those freedoms was impossible. Even more intolerable, regardless of the economic progress achieved, was the practice of torturing and exiling those who rejected official doctrines. The right to life should be interpreted as the right to live freely and in dignity.

73. The Spanish Government was convinced that flagrant violations of human rights transcended frontiers and represented a threat to international peace. No country should be able to take advantage of Article II, paragraph 7, of the Charter to prevent an investigation of alleged human rights violations from being conducted in its territory.

74. Her delegation supported the strengthening of the means available in the United Nations system to deal with cases of violations and it therefore supported the institution of a United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights.

75. On the issue of public information, she was happy to announce the forthcoming establishment in Madrid of an information centre which would be responsible inter alia for informing citizens of their rights.

76. In the constitutional field, the Spanish Parliament had in recent years adopted a series of laws designed to guarantee the effective exercise of the rights of citizens and to protect those rights if they were threatened. Furthermore, institutions responsible for protecting human rights included the constitutional court, the regular courts and the "Defensor del Pueblo". Lastly, any Spanish national who considered that he had been prevented from exercising his fundamental rights and who had exhausted all domestic remedies could appeal to the European Commission on Human Rights and the European Court.

77. Mr. YAKOVLEV (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) agreed with those delegations which had pointed out that the issue was not to set up arbitrary systems unconnected with United Nations realities but rather to concentrate on ways and means within the United Nations system which would contribute to the effective promotion of human rights. It was, however, to be regretted that certain representatives with narrow and manifestly politicized views were seeking to weaken the fundamental role of the Charter and the international instruments defining the duties of States in the field of human rights. The statements of those representatives led one to believe that a solution must be found to replace the Charter and the principal international agreements. Their views were aimed directly and indirectly at undermining the Charter and basic international instruments. The old proposal to create a post of United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights was fundamentally flawed as it ran counter to the Charter and was designed to undermine the activities of the United Nations in the field of human rights. The supporters of the concept refused to accept that it was inspired by a desire to interfere in the internal affairs of sovereign States, which had nothing to do with the defence of human rights. Moreover, such an attempt to sabotage international co-operation was at the same time designed to cover up violations of the principles of international law and the rules for the protection of human rights. The Soviet Union was therefore firmly opposed to the creation of a post of United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights.

78. Besides, there was no reason to set the rights of the individual against the rights of the community since human rights had been proclaimed in the Charter of the United Nations and in international instruments on human rights. First of all, that idea was contrary to the legal principles on which the protection of human rights was based. Secondly, it tended to replace the active struggle against inequality and discrimination with declarations on the rights of the individual. Thirdly, it inhibited against proper guarantees of socio-economic and political rights to the whole population of the country. The Soviet Union, on the contrary, resolutely supported the principles and norms, as formulated in the Charter, relating to the protection of human rights, the struggle against the mass and flagrant violations of those rights and the struggle against inequality and discrimination. In that context, the rights of the individual did not conflict with the rights of the population. That was the reason why the Charter of the United Nations and other international instruments attached importance to the elimination of all forms of discrimination. It was necessary to promote, by means of legal, political and socio-economic measures, the rights of all men and all populations.

79. In the view of the Soviet Union, a citizen could not feel truly free unless he was protected against all economic exploitation and all social oppression and was able to participate actively in the affairs of the State and of society. A genuinely free person was one who could look to the future with confidence and be certain that his means of subsistence would never be taken away and that his rights and freedoms rested on a firm material basis and were protected by the State.

80. In the Charter of the United Nations, the peoples of the United Nations had proclaimed their "faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of

(Mr. Yakovlev, USSR)

the human person, in the equal rights of men and women and of nations large and small", and had decided to "promote social progress and better standards of life in larger freedom". One of the principal objectives of the common struggle against nazism had been to restore the freedom and independence and fundamental human rights of the peoples oppressed by racism.

81. Nearly 40 years later, mankind was on the brink of a nuclear catastrophe and its most basic right - the right to life - was being threatened. It was therefore essential that that right should be resolutely reaffirmed within the United Nations and, in particular, in the Third Committee, especially in view of the fact that there had been attempts to diminish the role of the principal international instruments on human rights, which were based on the Charter of the United Nations, and to declare invalid all the achievements of the United Nations, including in particular the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. With the adoption and entry into force of conventions against genocide, apartheid, racial discrimination and discrimination against women as well as the covenants on human rights, important principles of international law had been established. It was necessary that all States should accede to those instruments and implement them properly, thereby giving them universal significance. That should be the Third Committee's foremost concern. It would be a serious error to devise other measures parallel to those instruments.

82. It might also be useful to complete work on new instruments of international law, in particular the draft conventions on the rights of the child and of migrant workers, and the draft declaration on the right to development. The Soviet Union supported the latter right and was taking an active part in the editing of the text, within a group of experts established by the Commission on Human Rights. The right to development must be based on existing instruments, such as the Declaration on the Establishment of a New International Economic Order and the Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of States. Indeed, all States and peoples had the right to peaceful, free and independent development and should be able to guarantee that all members of society enjoyed all rights, in particular political and socio-economic rights.

83. In its resolution 32/130, the General Assembly had set forth certain norms and guidelines for future work with respect to human rights questions: all human rights - political, civil, economic, social and cultural - were indivisible and interdependent, and priority should be accorded to the struggle against the mass and flagrant violations of human rights resulting from apartheid, all forms of racial discrimination, colonialism, foreign domination and occupation, aggression and threats against national sovereignty, national unity and territorial integrity, as well as from the refusal to recognize the fundamental rights of peoples to self-determination and of every nation to the exercise of full sovereignty over its wealth and natural resources. That resolution should be strictly implemented.

84. The Charter of the United Nations and the principal instruments of international law were aimed at preventing totalitarianism and the oppression of the masses by the government apparatus of the ruling elite. Those instruments

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required States to follow a policy which guaranteed full rights to the entire population and permitted all peoples to develop in equality and freedom. The United Nations must follow the same path.

85. Mrs. QIZILBASH (Pakistan) said that the protection of human rights in Pakistan was a matter of religious conviction. Besides, the Constitution of Pakistan contained specific provisions guaranteeing to citizens the enjoyment of fundamental freedoms, in particular those of religion, assembly and association. It also ensured all citizens equal rights before the law, and outlawed discrimination for any reason whatsoever. Lastly, there was in Pakistan an ombudsman whose role was to protect the rights of individuals and to make sure that the Government acted strictly in accordance with the law.

86. Her delegation believed that human rights were indivisible. In that context, it was clear that one could speak of civil and political liberties when only basic human needs had been met. It was not surprising that the developing countries, which had to struggle against hunger, disease and ignorance, placed a lower priority on civil and political liberties. There was such inequality in the world that it was often hard to determine what truly constituted the enjoyment of human rights, and it was unfair to ask societies subjected to an inequitable international economic order, which perpetuated their poverty and threatened their survival, to implement the entire range of human rights. Therefore, the protection of those rights could best be achieved in a world free from hunger, poverty, illiteracy, aggression and interference in the domestic affairs of States.

87. Besides, Pakistan was convinced that the proliferation of bodies for the promotion of human rights would not serve any useful purpose. Any effort to create a body parallel to the Commission on Human Rights would only erode the Commission's authority and result in further division among the international community instead of promoting international co-operation.

88. Finally, her delegation attached great importance to the efforts of the Working Group on the Elaboration of a Draft Declaration on the Right to Development. It also stressed the need for an integrated and common approach in the study of human rights because that issue required, above all, mutual co-operation and understanding.

89. Mrs. FLORES (Cuba), referring to the study on international conditions and human rights which had been issued in 1983 under the symbol A/38/511, considered it important to emphasize, in that study, which should be updated every two years, the importance of safeguarding world peace as a condition for the full enjoyment of human rights. The basic objective of the work of the United Nations must be to put an end to the unrestrained arms race, since it was only by allocating to development the immense material resources which were being currently used for military purposes that it would be possible, on the one hand, to guarantee that the most important right of all, namely, the right to life, and, on the other, to ensure the prosperity of mankind. That study should also expose the real causes of mass violations of human rights, such as those that were taking place in the occupied Arab territories, Palestine, South Africa, Namibia and other parts of the world.

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(Mrs. Flores, Cuba)

90. Currently, the principal obstacles to the full enjoyment of human rights were neo-colonialism, which had replaced older forms of exploitation, the existence of an unjust international economic order and racial discrimination in all its forms.

91. Since the adoption of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights in 1948, the international community had made great strides in analysing questions relating to human rights. In particular, General Assembly resolution 32/130 had, by recognizing the indivisibility and interdependence of all rights, economic, social and cultural as well as civil and political, made it possible to approach the whole question of human rights in a new light. It was absurd to try to isolate the rights of individuals from their collective rights, as some delegations wished. Collective rights, such as the right to self-determination, the right to territorial integrity (including the right of a people to choose its own economic and social system) and, of course, the right to development, were the very foundations of the rights of individuals.

92. Her delegation believed that development was as essential as peace to the full enjoyment of human rights and fundamental freedoms. Furthermore, several documents of the movement of non-aligned countries saw in it an inalienable collective right. Thus her delegation could only welcome the work of the Working Group of Governmental Experts entrusted with preparing a draft declaration on that subject.

93. Furthermore, her delegation believed it was useless to establish organs or mechanisms of a supranational nature to consider those questions. It would be better to strengthen existing procedures and monitor the implementation of existing international instruments to ensure that it was effective.

94. Ms. LOEMBAN TOBING-KLEIN (Suriname) told the Committee that the Commission for Information and Guidance that had been created in Suriname, as mentioned in the report of the Secretary-General on national institutions for the promotion and protection of human rights (A/39/556), had been inaugurated on 20 June 1983 by the Prime Minister of Suriname. The Commission's role was to act as a liaison with organizations that visited the country to collect information on the human rights situation there. The Commission had already received requests from the United Nations Commission on Human Rights and the Inter-American Commission on Human Rights of the Organization of American States and had assisted delegations from various intergovernmental organizations which had visited Suriname in 1983 and 1984. The Inter-American Commission on Human Rights had been invited to visit Suriname in June 1985 to conduct an on-site study of the progress achieved in the observance of human rights. In addition, the Government of Suriname planned to create, in accordance with General Assembly resolution 38/123, a national institution for the promotion and protection of human rights whose activities would supplement those of the National Commission which had just been inaugurated. The national institution for the promotion and protection of human rights would be responsible for increasing society's awareness of human rights, formulating recommendations aimed at bringing national law more into line with international human rights instruments, and promoting co-operation with intergovernmental organizations dealing with those questions.

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(Ms. Loemban Tobing-Klein, Suriname)

95. Her delegation welcomed the suggestion made by the Under-Secretary-General for Political and General Assembly Affairs regarding the preparation of a manual on the various models of national and local institutions existing in the area of human rights. Finally, with regard to education concerning human rights, another subject raised by the Under-Secretary-General, the Government of Suriname had already begun its activities in that field by sending a Surinamese national to the International Institute of Human Rights at Strasbourg to attend the 1983 course.

96. Mr. FERNANDO (Sri Lanka) said that there was little point in debating whether human rights applied to the individual or to groups of individuals. In discussing society, one could not treat the human beings who made up society as an abstraction any more than one could treat the individual in isolation from the society in which he lived. What was clear was that human rights should not become a source of confrontation between States. It was also clear to his delegation that it was impossible to speak of human rights without condemning the flagrant violations of those rights from which entire peoples suffered under apartheid, racial discrimination, colonialism and all other forms of foreign domination and occupation. In developing countries which faced extremely difficult economic situations, the rights of the individual human being must clearly include the inalienable right to well-being, or at least survival. There was no doubt, therefore, that the right to development was an inalienable right. His delegation wished to stress the indivisibility and interdependence of all human rights, whether they were civil, political, economic, social or cultural.

97. The enjoyment of human rights, particularly in the developing countries, would be ensured only to the extent that progress was made towards the establishment of the new international economic order. In the case of a country, the right to development meant the right to self-determination and the right to conduct its affairs in accordance with its own perceptions. For individuals, the right to development meant the right to freedom of thought, the right to education, the right to work and the right to participate in political life. His delegation looked forward to the completion of the report of the Working Group of Governmental Experts of the Commission on Human Rights on the right to development, a right which applied to the individual as well as to collective entities.

98. Much had been done within the United Nations system to promote and protect human rights without there having been any need to create new arrangements or institutions. However, much more could be done at the national level, particularly by stressing education. That was in fact the goal which Sri Lanka had set for itself in establishing at Colombo a Centre for Human Rights which had undertaken extensive programmes to promote human rights in the country's schools.

99. His delegation planned to pursue the initiative which had prompted General Assembly resolution 35/197 and which had resulted in the holding of a seminar at Colombo in 1981 on the relations existing between human rights, peace and development. His delegation was convinced that the strengthening of existing national institutions could contribute a great deal to the establishment of regional arrangements for the promotion and protection of human rights and that the exchange of information among countries would be most helpful in that regard. His delegation would therefore hold consultations on the matter.

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100. Miss EMARA (Egypt) said that her country attached highest priority to agenda item 102, since the protection of human rights should be the ultimate goal of all countries. It was the international community's responsibility to promote total respect for those rights, which were indivisible and interdependent, including the right to development. It should be recalled that man was ultimately the raison d'être of all activities undertaken at the international, regional and local levels. International co-operation was extremely important in that area. Any progress towards general and complete disarmament, the establishment of a new international order, the abolition of foreign occupation, racism and colonialism, the ending of massive violations of human rights and the realization of the right of peoples to self-determination constituted a step forward in the field of human rights. It went without saying that the United Nations had an important role to play in all those fields. However, a recapitulation of all the proposals that had been made and all the procedures that had been adopted in recent years to solve problems arising in that regard, particularly in the occupied Arab territories and southern Africa, revealed that only a change of attitude on the part of the parties responsible for those violations could enhance the effectiveness of the United Nations. If there were greater collaboration between the United Nations and the parties in question, the Organization would be in a better position to carry out its task. That was why an appeal must be made to the parties concerned to demonstrate the necessary commitment before a decision was taken to create new posts or organs.

The meeting rose at 7.30 p.m.