

UNITED NATIONS
ECONOMIC
AND
SOCIAL COUNCIL



Distr.
GENERAL

E/CN.4/1985/SR.25
28 February 1985

Original: ENGLISH

COMMISSION ON HUMAN RIGHTS

Forty-first session

SUMMARY RECORD OF THE 25th MEETING

Held at the Palais des Nations, Geneva,
on Thursday, 21 February 1985, at 10 a.m.

Chairman: Mr. CHOUDHURY (Bangladesh)

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GE.85-15367

The meeting was called to order at 10.45 a.m.

MEASURES TO BE TAKEN AGAINST ALL TOTALITARIAN OR OTHER IDEOLOGIES AND PRACTICES, INCLUDING NAZI, FASCIST AND NEO-FASCIST, BASED ON RACIAL OR ETHNIC EXCLUSIVENESS OR INTOLERANCE, HATRED, TERROR, SYSTEMATIC DENIAL OF HUMAN RIGHTS AND FUNDAMENTAL FREEDOMS, OR WHICH HAVE SUCH CONSEQUENCES (agenda item 21) (continued)
(E/CN.4/1985/52)

1. Mr. SAKER (Syrian Arab Republic) said that the forthcoming commemoration of the fortieth anniversary of the victory over nazism and fascism in the Second World War was a time for remembering with gratitude the sacrifice made by so many to achieve that victory, which had eroded the colonial system and enhanced progress towards a more widespread exercise of human rights and fundamental freedoms, symbolized by the founding of the United Nations. The Organization's record revealed its prodigious efforts in opposing all totalitarian and other ideologies and practices, including nazism, fascism and neo-fascism, based on the principles of the Charter of the United Nations, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the International Covenants and the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. Those and other instruments, to all of which the Syrian Arab Republic was a signatory, were an important aid in the struggle against those totalitarian entities, based on notions of ethnic or racial purity and privilege, whose flagrant violations of human rights and opposition to social progress and friendly relations among peoples were all too well known.
2. His delegation welcomed General Assembly resolution 39/114, including the decision to observe 8 and 9 May 1985 as the commemoration of the fortieth anniversary of victory over nazism and fascism in the Second World War. But the memory of the untold victims was made even more painful by the knowledge that colonialist and racist regimes still existed as heirs of nazism and fascism in certain regions, whose peoples were still being deprived, at times by means of bloody repression, of their right to self-determination and independence. As the Commission's debate on agenda item 4 had shown, the Zionists were meting out to the inhabitants of the occupied Arab territories similar treatment to the Nazis' practices against Jews, Slavs, gypsies and other races. Indeed, zionism was akin to nazism; Hitler himself, giving reasons for his persecution of the Jews, had said that there could not be two chosen people at the same time. It was significant, too, that the Nazi Rosenberg had stated, during his trial, that some of his ideas had stemmed from zionism. It had been made abundantly clear, however, that some five sixths of the Jews in western Europe had utterly rejected zionism - a proportion which refuted the assertions made by the observer for Israel. Zionism was, in fact, a racist and political movement which the General Assembly had condemned.
3. Totalitarianism and racism existed in other forms also. A glaring example was the apartheid regime in South Africa, where a minority carried out a constant policy of hatred against the majority of a different race.
4. On the occasion of the forthcoming commemorations, his delegation urged all Governments, intergovernmental and non-governmental organizations, as well as other appropriate bodies, to do their utmost to mobilize world public opinion towards promoting peace and ending the arms race. It also urged all States which had not yet done so to accede to the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination, the International Convention on the Suppression and Punishment of the Crime of Apartheid and similar international instruments. The spirit and letter of such instruments should be fully observed, and means should be sought to punish any contravention of them.

5. Mr. KLENNER (German Democratic Republic) said that the defeat of the Nazi-Fascist German State by the States of the anti-Hitler coalition had destroyed the totalitarian theory of an Aryan master race. The death of 50 million people, including 20 million Soviet, 6 million Polish, 1.7 million Yugoslav, 600,000 French, 400,000 United States and 375,000 United Kingdom citizens, as well as over 6 million Germans and the 11 million victims of concentration camps had been the consequence of the denial, on racist ideological grounds of the right to self-determination.

6. The victory of the anti-Hitler coalition had led to the founding of the German Democratic Republic. His country therefore, felt deeply indebted to those who had fought and sacrificed themselves to defeat Hitlerite fascism, and in particular to the Soviet Union, which had borne the brunt of the struggle and liberated most of the territory that had later become the German Democratic Republic.

7. The victory in Europe had been a pre-condition for the emergence of the current international order, which aimed at universality and co-operation among States with different social systems, none of them having the right to impose on others its own legal order. For his Government, therefore, 8 May 1945 was a day to be commemorated not in mourning but in hope, since it had opened up the way for a new anti-fascist, democratic society as well as for an anti-colonialist and anti-racist order of peace for the peoples of the world, in which the equal right to self-determination of every people prevailed and the equal rights of each individual precluded any claim to supremacy by one race over another.

8. The General Assembly, in resolution 39/114, had indicated that the fortieth anniversary of the victory over nazism and fascism should serve to mobilize efforts of the world community in its struggle against Nazi, Fascist and neo-Fascist and all other totalitarian ideologies and practices. His delegation wished to mention a few instances of such practices.

9. Certain States, contrary to article 20 of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights and article 2 of the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination, did not reject forcefully enough propaganda for war and any advocacy of national, racial or religious hatred that constituted incitement to discrimination, hostility or violence. There was also the journalistic glorification or belittlement of crimes committed by the Hitler regime, the toleration of fascist military associations under the pretext of cultivating military traditions, or the funding of organizations that sought to revise the situation in Europe resulting from the end of the Second World War. There was the treatment of those guilty of war crimes and crimes against humanity by courts in a way inconsistent with international law - not to mention the terrorist repression exercised by regimes such as that in Chile. Finally, there was the dissemination and preaching of theories of racial supremacy to justify institutionalized racism, seen at its most brutal in the apartheid system, which had long since assumed the characteristic features of genocide.

10. His delegation was well aware that not everyone would accept the teachings of the past as guidance for the future; the eminent German anti-fascist poet Berthold Brecht, on returning to his homeland, had warned that it was too early to triumph because of Hitler's death. Just as 40 years ago, only a coalition of States, of different social orders and ideologies, had been able to overcome German fascism, today only a coalition could ensure the right of peoples and individuals everywhere to peace. The current struggle must be won not by waging war but by preventing it; indeed, nuclear warfare would render human rights meaningless.

11. Anti-fascism and anti-totalitarianism were not obsolescent but part of the current international legal order and essential to the survival of mankind in dignity and freedom. There must be co-operation within the United Nations in the human rights field, for all who rejected nazism, totalitarianism and claims to world domination. The German Democratic Republic advocated the upholding, by all States, of peaceful coexistence.

12. Sir Anthony WILLIAMS (United Kingdom) said that three strands of thought had rightly been developed in the debate on measures to be taken against all totalitarian ideologies.

13. The first strand was that of recollection, so that the tragic totalitarian abuses of the 1930s and 1940s would stand as a perpetual warning that the price of freedom was perpetual vigilance. Such recollection was particularly appropriate in 1985, the fortieth anniversary of the ending of the Second World War. The reaction to the horrors of that war had led to the decision to create the institution of the United Nations; the Organization reflected the international community's determination that totalitarian regimes, which showed no respect for the rights of neighbouring peoples, should never again be allowed to devastate the world. The United Kingdom had fought against those totalitarian regimes for longer than most - indeed for six long years - and, like a number of other countries, had suffered most grievously in the process. A terrible proportion of its people had been killed or injured, and the material damage had been appalling. It could only regard it an impertinence if others, who had entered the struggle later, sought to teach it lessons in the evils of those regimes or the tragic suffering they had inflicted on mankind.

14. But one should not look back only on the sufferings inflicted by Nazi and Fascist regimes. There were other varieties of totalitarian regimes that had inflicted tragic suffering; one could look back as far as Ivan the Terrible or as near in the past as Pol Pot. Lessons from history should not be selective; they should be learnt from all totalitarian abuses - all the concentration camps, show trials, purges, seizures of territory and suppressions of formerly free people. It was sufficient to say that nazism and fascism were not the only ideologies that prompted such excesses.

15. The second strand was the wary regard in which any nostalgic attempts to revive the evil and intellectually bankrupt totalitarian ideologies of those years should be held. His delegation wondered if the real importance of such nostalgic attempts was not sometimes exaggerated in the Commission. Neo-nazism and neo-fascism were indeed unattractive - as also was neo-Stalinism. In the United Kingdom, the overwhelming majority regarded such philosophies as utterly repugnant, and its sound, sensible society did all it could, by social and educational means, to discourage their spread; in addition, specific laws prohibited deliberate incitement to racial hatred and associated threats to cause breaches of the peace. But it was considered that to proscribe the tiny groups that adhered to such repugnant philosophies would be contrary to the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the International Covenants and the principles of freedom of speech and association on which his country's society was based. The results of that contemptuous disregard for such groups, usually described as the "lunatic fringe", had justified the confidence placed in the people of the United Kingdom - a confidence which other States could well emulate. They had no significant or even perceptible support in society at large, as the results of recent elections clearly showed. However, one should certainly be wary of the lunatic fringe and resolutely condemn its ideologies.

16. The third strand was the most important. As the Commission, in resolution 1984/42, had rightly noted, there continued to exist in the contemporary world various forms not only of totalitarian ideologies but of totalitarian practices, which entailed contempt for the individual or a denial of the intrinsic dignity and equality of all human beings. Those totalitarian practices must, above all, be watched and resisted,

as operative paragraph 2 of that resolution had emphasized; totalitarian ideologies only did harm and oppressed human beings when translated into totalitarian practices and in particular when exercised by totalitarian regimes in a position to impose their will on their peoples. Today such regimes came in a spectrum of colours. Some were of the right. Some were of the left. Some were on the worst possible terms with each other. Perhaps their most significant common trait was the refusal to acknowledge that their citizens - or, as in South Africa a part of their citizens - had human rights, or even a separate existence, as individuals. Such regimes regarded them as merely part of the corporate, disposable identity and justified their actions by reference to some vague corporate objective such as state security, the pursuit of a political ideology or the fulfilment of a national mission. Whilst perhaps asserting that their citizens shared that objective, they did not regard it as necessary to allow any opportunity for audible dissent. Their citizens must be deprived of the free flow of information, which would enable them to make up their minds for themselves. Accordingly, newspapers, magazines, books, films and plays were censored and foreign radio broadcasts were jammed, contrary to article 19 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and to the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, which provided for the right to seek, receive and impart information and ideas through any medium and across any frontier. It was not hard to identify the rulers of the States concerned. Not all were evil; a few might be violent megalomaniacs, some might be crude self-seekers; many were merely time-servers, concerned chiefly to maintain their shoddy privileges.

17. The self-destroying trait of totalitarianism was that it precluded the ruling class from adapting itself to changing circumstances and blinded it to new views. No one person, hierarchy or ideology could be trusted with absolute power in any society. Even Oliver Cromwell, who had been almost a totalitarian ruler at one time, had said: "Consider, in the bowels of Christ, that yee might be mistaken" - a phrase which should be pondered by every totalitarian ideologist, since it was surely the unjustifiable presumption of infallibility which persuaded totalitarian regimes to continue their appalling excesses against their own citizens, and to disregard them and their rights to individual existence and dignity. A speaker at a previous meeting had stated that the Baha'i community in his country was not a religion but a conspiracy forming part of an imperialist plot; such a statement was reminiscent of Dr. Goebbels and unworthy to be uttered in the Commission.

18. Totalitarian regimes, whilst varying in political colour, were sickeningly alike in method: dawn arrests without warrant by anonymous thugs in or out of uniform; disappearance or detention without charge or access to defence counsel; the electric goad, the unheated cell, punishment by semi-starvation and the denial of medical attention. Himmler and Beria were dead, but their practices had not been eliminated; indeed, in some areas they were still common and perhaps even more current than in the heyday of nazism and fascism.

19. Likewise, although much of the suppression, during the 1930s and the 1940s, of previously free peoples' rights to self-determination and independence had since been righted, there were tragic exceptions, not least in Europe, which must be recognized also as a survival of the evils of totalitarianism.

20. The Commission had a duty to alert the conscience of the United Nations wherever it found evidence that Member States' human rights obligations were breached. Its primary concern, under the current agenda item, must be to identify such breaches when they derived from the type of totalitarian Government which denied its subjects control over the exercise of their rights. It was not in the currently free, democratic States where nazism and fascism had begun that totalitarian practices were observed; it was elsewhere, in other States, to which the Commission's appeals should be directed.

21. Mr. SYTENKO (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) said that all the nations which had fought against fascism had contributed to the victory over that inhuman evil, but the Soviet Union's role had been incontrovertibly decisive. Hitler's racist hordes had thrown their main strength against the Soviet Union, and 20 million of its people had given their lives in the struggle. That figure was much higher than the 300,000 or so fatalities of another country, which claimed to have suffered more than any other nation. Over 50 million people in all had died during the Second World War, and it was out of the victory over fascism that the United Nations had been created.
22. The General Assembly, in resolution 39/114, had unanimously decided to commemorate the fortieth anniversary of the ending of the Second World War. The Commission had a fundamental responsibility to take steps to implement that important resolution: it should adopt a special resolution of its own appealing to all States and international and national organizations to commemorate the anniversary, help prevent a new nuclear war and work to strengthen international peace and security.
23. Neo-Fascist and neo-Nazi organizations represented a growing threat in a number of countries. Some actively and openly proclaimed Hitlerite slogans, used Nazi emblems, advocated racial and national hatred, advanced territorial claims concerning their neighbours or hid behind religious slogans. Despite the wide variety of the organizations and of their ideological shadings, they were all motivated by hatred and violence and were moving towards increased international co-ordination.
24. The exacerbation of international tension, "psychological warfare" and the arms race were fertile ground for neo-Fascist and neo-Nazi organizations, while those organizations, in turn, injected poison into the international political climate. Their goals were those of destabilizing their countries, undermining existing democratic institutions, facilitating the installation of repressive regimes and suppressing progressive movements. The so-called ideology by which they were governed was in fact only one step away from criminality. Their actions, far from being obstructed, were sometimes directly or indirectly encouraged, and references to freedom of expression and conviction were used to justify that support. The idea of unfettered freedom of expression had never been internationally accepted, however - it was a travesty, especially when illustrated by the appeals in certain German-language publications for the release of Rudolf Hess, and by the recent reunion in Marktheidenfeld of former SS officers who had been responsible for the murder of hundreds of Greek citizens, including elderly people, women and children. In the light of those twisted interpretations of freedom of expression, it was especially ironic that peaceful demonstrations against the installation of missiles were often dispersed by the police.
25. States which harboured Nazi criminals continued to refuse to extradite them under various flimsy pretexts. Even in cases where war criminals were brought to justice, investigations and trials dragged on, sentences were always light and sometimes the accused were not even prosecuted. For example, the Nazi criminal A. Rudolf, who was personally responsible for the deaths of thousands in a concentration camp, had simply left a country where he had lived for many years when it had become impossible to conceal his past.

26. The Soviet Union scrupulously fulfilled its international obligation to expose and punish Nazi criminals and their accomplices. Hitlerites must be hunted down not just because of their past crimes, but because they continued to recruit supporters among young people. It should not be forgotten that Fascist and neo-Fascist regimes were in power in some countries. Fascism was becoming a good mimic: nowadays, it even accommodated itself to parliamentary forms of Government, as could be observed in the South African apartheid system and the Zionist regime of Israel. As a matter of fact, the Zionists had been co-operating with the Nazis long before the start of the Second World War. In 1933, much of the capital of a supposedly Anglo-Palestinian bank, which was actually owned by the German-Jewish bourgeoisie, had been invested in Zionist enterprises in Palestine, and by 1938, Hitler's Germany had gained nearly \$50 million from the deal. In an attempt to save themselves, some Zionists had become Gestapo agents, and many thousands of Jews murdered by Hitler were on their consciences.

27. The ideas which underlay the criminal activities of racist, Fascist and neo-Nazi organizations had earned the name of totalitarianism, which was the dictatorship of reactionary financial circles through the use of the State apparatus to gain sovereignty in all areas of social and personal life. The international community's duty to the victims of fascism, nazism and today's totalitarian regimes was to do everything to eradicate those evils. Although the United Nations had been in existence for 40 years, one could not say that the threats to peace and security which it had been established to combat had been eliminated. Indeed, the terrible threat of nuclear war now hung over mankind and there were powers in the world which saw an interest in capitalizing on that threat. But how could the proclamation of the gospel of nuclear war be reconciled with statements about respect for human rights? What sort of human rights could there be if mankind's annihilation was being envisaged? It was for those very reasons that concepts and doctrines which inspired disputes among peoples and Governments or condoned nuclear war and the use of other weapons of mass destruction represented threats to human rights, and above all, to the right to life. All Governments had a special responsibility to create conditions which would enable everyone to live in peace and security. The commemoration of the fortieth anniversary of the ending of the Second World War should give new life to the struggle to avert a military confrontation and to consolidate human rights, particularly the right to life. The Soviet Union called for effective measures at the international and national levels to eradicate Fascist, Nazi and other totalitarian theories and practices and believed that the Commission could and should play an important role in that process.

28. Mr. LABRADOR (Venezuela) said that his country had acceded to the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights and adopted a position of firm support for the principles contained in that instrument, based on its historical and philosophical traditions as reflected in its Constitution. Venezuela greatly cherished and practised democracy and rejected any form of totalitarianism.

29. The Venezuelan people sincerely believed in and defended human dignity in a concrete and specific manner because they were a democratic people and opposed to totalitarianism. Venezuelans had adopted the democratic ideal because they believed that government by all the people was the best and only reliable means of guaranteeing protection for the dignity of each and every person. Since their country's accession to independence, Venezuelans had been subjected to long and oppressive dictatorships. However, despite brute force, prison bars and torture, the Venezuelan people had always risen against those dictatorships. That reaction

was based on a deep collective conviction that no philosophy based on power for power's sake was capable of providing an acceptable form of government, that if society was to have some degree of uniformity and consensus, it should be the outcome of a collective feeling and should not be imposed in an authoritarian manner, and that the only acceptable ethics of power recognized that, in the final analysis, men were dominated not by violence but by the wisdom of those who appealed to the common desire of mankind for happiness, internal and external peace and an understanding in the world in which men had to live.

30. A constitutional provision called on Venezuelans to co-operate with other nations and to promote the extension of the democratic order. His Government therefore welcomed the initiative taken by the Economic and Social Council to commemorate in a solemn ceremony in May 1985 the importance of the victory of the democratic forces over totalitarianism.

31. That victory was all the more important since all the nations of the world had joined together to create a new international organization to bring to an end once and for all such forms of collective barbarism. The United Nations had thus come into being and it offered the best existing system for establishing peace, freedom and social justice.

32. His delegation would therefore take part in commemorating the struggle against Hitlerism as well as in celebrating the fortieth anniversary of the founding of the United Nations. In its opinion, the best way that mankind could mark those two important dates would be to eradicate any form of totalitarianism in its national and international relations.

33. Reflecting on the current situation in Latin America, his delegation noted with optimism the rebirth of democracy which, like the process initiated at the end of the Second World War, was producing a new society. Dictatorial regimes were being eliminated. It was his delegation's firm conviction that Latin America would be capable of resolving the problems which were holding up the final process of entering into a more completely civilized life.

34. Finally, Latin Americans had preferred to put into effect what they believed to offer the best protection against any type of totalitarianism; namely, the belief in and practice of democracy.

35. Mr. SCHIFTER (United States of America) said that the spectre of totalitarianism had haunted much of mankind for a large part of the century. Not only had a totalitarian government unleashed the Second World War, but totalitarian systems had both in peace and war been responsible for millions of deaths and for enormous human suffering. The phenomenon of twentieth century totalitarianism was the product of the marriage of tyrannical government, as practised since ancient times, with modern technology, by which the tyrant could exercise total control over his subjects.

36. He wished to set forth his delegation's views on the distinction that could and should be made between authoritarianism and totalitarianism and the treatment of such phenomena in the United Nations system.

37. Authoritarian systems acted in violation of article 21 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights by depriving their subjects of the right to choose their Governments in free elections, by imposing on them a government not of their choice, either by a coup or through rigged elections, or both. Those systems also imposed other limitations on freedom of speech, of the press, or of assembly so as to inhibit criticism of the Government and prevent any concerted activity to change it. Inevitably, opposition movements formed and engaged the ruling group in a struggle for power. Depending on the nature of the authoritarian system and the character of the struggle, the rulers retaliated with various forms of punishment, which could even include killing opponents of the regime, either under cover of law or extra-legally. Generally, authoritarian rulers did not seek to interfere in the life of the citizen who decided not to intervene actively in governmental affairs. Private lives and private institutions could exist side by side with the rigidly controlled authoritarian Government and could remain substantially unaffected by it.

38. The situation was, however, radically different in a totalitarian State. Totalitarian systems went far beyond the deprivations of human rights that characterized authoritarian systems. Governments claimed the right to and sought to affect all aspects of life. Not only was the economy placed under total governmental control but also all other social institutions, all aspects of culture and most aspects of the interrelationship between individuals. To make the system function in that manner, the totalitarian Government relied on a vast secret police apparatus, augmented by volunteer spies and informers, to monitor the population and, in order to simplify the task, to instil fear.

39. Fear was one of the significant hallmarks of life in a totalitarian system, fear of being denounced for committing an act of disloyalty against the regime, which could result in various forms of punishment, ranging from demotion or loss of employment to imprisonment and possibly death. Alexander Solzhenitsyn, in his novel "The First Circle", vividly described the cycle of fear that existed under one specific totalitarian system. Fear was the all-pervasive emotion that paralysed the people's political will in a totalitarian State. It established an attitude of self-control and self-censorship that required the secret police to subject the general population only to occasional surveillance in order to reinforce the feeling of fear, allowing the secret police to concentrate on the few hardy souls who were willing to speak up in spite of the inevitably harsh consequences which would follow their assertion of their human rights.

40. Adolf Hitler and Joseph Stalin, the twin scourges of the century, had been dead for decades. The peculiar totalitarian systems of despotism which they had spawned and driven by the cult of personality were no more. But the scheme of governmental organization which had made their rise to total power possible lived on. Millions of people continued to be deprived of liberty and often of human dignity through the assertion of power by an all-controlling State apparatus. That was why it was appropriate for the Commission to deal in a generic manner with the phenomenon of totalitarianism and the whole range of human rights violations engendered by it.

41. All that was needed in order to determine whether a State was totalitarian or merely authoritarian, was to examine the responsibilities of its border guards as they related to the action taken against their fellow countrymen. If the guards' function was to keep some of their fellow citizens from returning to their homeland, the country was merely authoritarian. If the guards' responsibility was also to keep fellow citizens from leaving their country, it was totalitarian. The question to be determined in each case was whether the State sought to fence people out or to fence them in.

42. Other characteristics of a totalitarian regime were the following:

First, total control by the State of all information media. As distinct from the authoritarian State, the totalitarian State did not depend on censorship of the media, but saw to it that all those involved in media work were agents of the State;

Second, severe punishment of verbal or written politically dissenting views. While the authoritarian State sought to inhibit organized activity by groups that sought to express criticism of the Government, the totalitarian State would punish a single person, even though he acted in an individual capacity and not in concert with anyone else, for the expression of political dissent. It was Lenin who, in urging revolutionary propaganda instead of terrorism, had said that "Words are more powerful than bombs";

Third, rigid control not only over travel abroad but also over domestic travel;

Fourth, rigid control over the right to work, with severe limitations on the right to move from job to job;

Fifth, State control of scientific endeavour. That could have significant long-range implications, reaching far beyond the laboratory. Ironically, Hitler's decision not to authorize nuclear research had proved to be a boon for humankind. By the same token, Stalin's support of Trofim Lysenko had severely retarded Soviet progress in genetic research for many years;

Sixth, State control of art, literature and all other forms of cultural endeavour;

Seventh, toleration of only a single State ideology. That ideology, erected as a State religion, was preached incessantly and was paid lip-service at all public occasions, often by leaders who had long ago lost faith in that or any other ideology;

Eighth, falsification of history. Where historical facts might disprove the validity of the authorized State ideology, or for any other reason deemed suitable by the leadership, history was simply rewritten to fit the ideology;

Ninth, use of schools in support of the State ideology. The totalitarian State, through its control over teachers and school curricula, made every effort to use the schools to inculcate State-authorized thinking in young people;

Tenth, incitement of hatred of a specific enemy. To unify the people and to raise their emotions to a fever pitch of frenzy, the totalitarian State selected an enemy, to whom all evil was ascribed and against whose machinations the loyal citizen must at all times be on the alert.

43. The totalitarian State employed a pattern of consistent and massive violations of human rights in a deliberate attempt to turn human beings into subservient automatons. However, the totalitarians had not succeeded in remoulding human nature and extinguishing the spark of freedom. The regimes of Hitler and Mussolini had collapsed as soon as their leaders had died. Stalingrad, Stalinsk and other Soviet cities named after Joseph Stalin had been renamed and Stalin's remains had long ago been removed from the Lenin Mausoleum on Red Square. The cult of personality had been abandoned.

44. Although those totalitarian systems were now part of a bygone age, while they lasted they had caused a great deal of suffering. Totalitarian features of governments wherever they existed today should not be ignored. The Commission should deal with totalitarianism in all its aspects and consider the serious human rights violations in States with totalitarian forms of government.

45. Mrs. SISANTE-BATACLAN (Philippines), speaking in exercise of the right of reply, said that the statement by the observer for Christian Democratic International had been a stale repetition of unfounded allegations. While acknowledging the acceptance by the Philippines of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights and the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, the observer for Christian Democratic International had proceeded to describe the country as "Nazi, Fascist and totalitarian". He had accused the Philippine military of human rights violations, especially against civilians. Nobody denied that there had been such excesses, but between 8,000 and 10,000 soldiers had been disciplined or dismissed for such offences since 1972. A special committee had been recently established to investigate allegations of human rights violations. The findings of Mr. Ross Munro of Time magazine suggested that many of the civilian casualties had, in fact, fallen victim to guerrilla attacks, which were not reported for fear of reprisals, whereas the victims of counter-insurgency measures were invariably reported to the authorities, church activists and civil rights lawyers by the insurgents.

46. For 400 years, the Philippine Muslims had clung to their inherited traditions and sense of identity. The Philippine Government had granted Muslim regions some autonomy and had helped them in their efforts at modernization efforts. Allegations of denial of human rights and intimidation on racial and ethnic grounds made by the observer for Christian Democratic International were completely untrue. Such attempts to drive a wedge between the Christian and Muslim Philippine populations were, to say the least, unfortunate. There was no and could never be racial, ethnic or religious persecution in the Philippines since such persecution would be contrary to the Constitution and fundamental laws but also to the moral and spiritual values of the people.

47. The observer for Christian Democratic International had made allegations of strafing and napalm bombings on the Pata Island of Tawi-tawi but had given no details. In 1982, reports of the use of napalm and chemical bombs in Lanao had been categorically denied, and a widely publicized investigation into alleged use of napalm or chemical weapons in 1984 in Lanao del Sur had proved that the allegations were completely unjustified.

48. The Philippine Government did not discourage, suppress or prohibit the work of nuns, priests and lay church workers. Religious buildings and residences were not the targets of raids and surveillance. She would like to have names and details of the 50 priests and nuns who had allegedly been arrested and tortured. Such cases had been investigated in the past, and it had been found that the persons concerned had been arrested for illegal acts, and not because of their religious work.

49. The observer for Christian Democratic International had urged industrialized and developed countries to cease all forms of aid and assistance to the Philippines. The unspoken motivation behind his statement was self-evident. The people of the Philippines were grateful to their friends who had rendered assistance at a time of economic crisis and natural disaster.

50. He had also referred to the murder of former Senator Benigno Aquino Jr. The facts of the case had been duly established by an independent commission and 26 persons (3 generals, 22 officers and soldiers and a civilian) were to be tried before a constitutional court (Sandiganbayan). The vitality and integrity of the judicial process and the effective rule of law in the Philippines demonstrated that her country was not a Nazi, Fascist or totalitarian State.

51. Mr. SYTENKO (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics), speaking in exercise of the right of reply, said that he would not dwell on the totalitarianism of Cromwell, Queen Victoria or Churchill when modern totalitarianism was obvious, for instance in Ulster. In his remarks on totalitarianism, the representative of the United States of America had passed over the totalitarian character of the American State machinery. The policies and practices of the United States Government were intended to maintain the dominance of reactionary monopolistic and financial circles based on discrimination and enslavement at home and abroad. American totalitarianism held the world on the brink of nuclear catastrophe and threatened to enslave the peoples of Central America and the Middle East. The tendency of the United States of America to declare certain parts of the world, such as the Persian Gulf, "zones of vital interest" bore obvious resemblances to the Nazi doctrine of Lebensraum. In both cases, the declaration has been backed up by armed force and intervention.
52. Since some manifestations of United States totalitarianism at home were the Government's interference with the private life of citizens, and abuse of their rights and freedoms. According to official statistics, between 1969, when electronic surveillance had become legal, the conversations of some 350,000 Americans had been recorded. Five thousand electronic listening devices had been installed in 22 American States. The FBI's fingerprint files had covered 180 million people by the end of the 1970s.
53. Large corporations were an example of totalitarianism in the United States of America. They used shadowing and tests of loyalty and trustworthiness. In 1978 alone, 400,000 persons had taken lie detector tests. In more than 30 States, employers were not obliged to employ persons who refused to answer questions on their private lives, political views and state of health.
54. The militaristic and chauvinistic atmosphere of the United States of America proved a fertile breeding ground for racist and Fascist groups such as the American Nazi Party, National Socialist Party of America, John Birch Society, Klu Klux Klan, etc. Terrorist Zionist organizations such as the Jewish Defence League and terrorist groups such as Omega were also active in the United States of America. A confederation of the racist groups of North America had been set up in the State of Georgia with the approval of the authorities. The above-mentioned organizations possessed arms depots and military training camps. Members of such neo-Nazi groups openly recruited new members and terrorized the non-White population and all progressively-minded Americans. In Mobile, Alabama, a 19 year old black youth, Michael Donald, had recently been hanged in front of his parents' house. Only one of those responsible had been arrested, although the authorities knew the names of the others. A member of the National Socialist Party of America, had killed three innocent people and had declared at his trial that he had only done his duty. The leader of the Party had said that the members had been obeying the Party's order to kill all Negroes and Jews. The United States of America should cease its criminal policy of encouraging neo-Nazi and racist organizations.
55. Mr. SCHIFTER (United States of America), speaking in exercise of the right of reply, said that any remarks he had made about totalitarianism in the USSR had referred to the Stalin era. The representative of the USSR had obviously considered that the description also applied to the present day Soviet Union, or the Soviet statement in exercise of the right of reply would not have been necessary.
56. He did not need to answer the allegations made by the representative of the USSR. Many members of the Commission had visited the United States of America and were aware of its limitations and failings, but also of its beauties, the greatest of which was freedom.