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SUMMARY RECORD OF THE 60th MEETING

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(a) REPORT OF THE HIGH COMMISSIONER

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The meeting was called to order at 3.10 p.m.

AGENDA ITEM 12: REPORT OF THE ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL COUNCIL (continued) (A/36/3, chaps. II, Y, VIII, XIX, XXIII (parts I and II), XXIV, XXVII, XXVIII, XXXII (part I and Corr. 1 and 2, and part II), XXXIV (part I and II), XXXVI and XXXVII; A/36/61, 117, 136 and Add.1 and Corr.1, 138, 179, 187, 209 and Add.1, 214, 216 and Add.1, 255, 284, 354, 355, 378, 382, 421 and Corr.1, 423, 500, 524, 540, 560, 566, 584, 594, 608, 705; A/C.3/36/3, 7 and 10; A/C.3/36/L.5, L.6, L.55, L.59, L.60, L.61, L.62, L.63, L.64, L.66, L.67, L.69, L.70, L.71, L.72, L.73, L.74, L.75, L.77, L.78)

AGENDA ITEM 129: INTERNATIONAL CAMPAIGN AGAINST THE DRUG TRAFFIC (continued) (A/36/193; A/C.3/36/L.80)

AGENDA ITEM 138: NEW INTERNATIONAL HUMANITARIAN ORDER (continued) (A/36/245; A/C.3/36/L.65)

AGENDA ITEM 30: INTERNATIONAL YEAR OF DISABLED PERSONS (continued) (A/36/471 at 1 Add.1, 363 and 491; A/C.3/36/L.79)

- 1. Mr. HEGYI (Hungary), speaking on agenda item 12, observed that because the Hungarian people had suffered so much from the lack of human rights in the past and had enjoyed such rights only in recent decades, it reacted strongly to reports of mass and flagrant violations of human rights, including even the right to life, in various parts of the world.
- 2. In that connexion, he drew attention to the thorough report prepared by the Special Rapporteur on the situation of human rights in Chile (A/36/594), which had been a particularly difficult achievement since the Chilean authorities had again not offered the slightest co-operation. However, the title of the report, "Protection of human rights in Chile", was inappropriate, since human rights were not protected there; quite the contrary, mass and flagrant violations of human rights, including torture, were practised routinely, allegedly for the purpose of maintaining public order. In addition, few sectors of Chilean society were safe from such violations: if either individuals or institutions expressed disagreement with any measure taken by the authorities, they could be persecuted, and even members of the Catholic Church were subjected to harassment. In that connexion, he drew attention to the reference in the Special Rapporteur's report to the presence of professional torturers in the institutional structures of society (A/36/594, annex, para. 505). The methods described could only be compared with those of the Third Reich under Hitler.
- 3. As to the changes that had occurred in the situation in the past year, he drew attention to the Special Rapporteur's conclusion that, generally speaking, it was not possible to report any improvement. His delegation agreed that the international community should continue to give its attention to that situation and use whatever means it deemed appropriate to ensure the full restoration of human rights in Chile (para. 521).

(Mr. Hegyi, Hungary)

- 4. The Hungarian people had also expressed its consternation in connexion with the crimes committed against the Salvadorian people by the military junta in El Salvador. The Hungarian Government and people supported the people of that country, who had long suffered from political oppression imposed by successive military dictatorships. A liberation movement was currently under way in El Salvador, yet some States on the American continent were providing so-called emergency military aid to the military rulers in an attempt to maintain the current oppressive régime. In that connexion, he expressed appreciation to the Special Representative of the Commission on Human Rights, who had prepared an objective and comprehensive report on the situation of human rights and fundamental freedoms in El Salvador (A/36/608).
- 5. The latest reports from Guatemala reflected the plight of the people of that country, and the International Labour Organisation had recently called upon the Guatemalan Government to take action with a view to ending the wave of murders of trade union leaders.
- 6. Mass and flagrant violations of human rights had also been condemned in United Nations resolutions concerning the Arab territories occupied by Israel and concerning the policies and practices of the racist régime of Pretoria, which had been waging an undeclared war against Angola, killing innocent civilians. However, despite such resolutions, certain Western countries continued to provide political, economic, military and other assistance to the macists in South Africa. Moreover, Israel continued to threaten the security of its neighbours, to establish settlements in occupied Arab territories and to seek aggressively to eradicate the Palestinians as a nation.
- 7. On the Asian continent, mass and flagrant violations of human rights in South Korea were continuing under the "purification" programme. More than 1,000 people had been brutally massacred the previous year, and violence was used against people irrespective of their political views, but particularly against people suspected of communist leanings. If the two parts of Korea were reunified, such problems would probably not arise. The Democratic People's Republic of Korea had repeatedly proposed that talks should be held in that connexion. However, a just reunification must result from the free will of the peoples of both the North and the South, and an essential condition for that was the withdrawal of American troops from South Korea.
- 8. In conclusion, he observed that none of the above-mentioned countries could possibly have disregarded world public opinion had it not been for the support of certain patrons, which readily raised their voices about human rights while ignoring the appalling violations committed by Governments that enjoyed their support. Accordingly, the international community must take resolute action to ensure that the régimes committing mass and flagrant violations of human rights fully implemented the relevant decisions of the United Nations and of other international organizations concerned with human rights.

- 9. Mr. FRAMBACH (German Democratic Republic), speaking on agenda item 12, drew attention to the position set forth in General Assembly resolution 35/188, namely, that continued vigilance with regard to the human rights situation in Chile was warranted; and said that position was still valid, as was clear from the information contained in the report of the Special Rapporteur.
- 10. Democratic world public opinion had again been deeply alarmed in July 1981 on learning that the Chilean junta intended to perpetuate its fascist régime of oppression. The junta had even affronted the United Nations by declaring that it would not permit a liberalization of political life in Chile and would never admit political parties. The régime had also stated that it would continue to act under exceptional laws, as in time of war. In fact, the junta had re-evaluated its fascist laws of oppression, as had been repeatedly demanded in resolutions adopted by the General Assembly and the Commission on Human Rights, only to change a number of so-called provisional military decrees into "official exceptional laws". The military tribunals had resumed their work of passing sentences on democrats; under repressive laws, any citizen who participated in so-called unauthorized meetings or who criticized the dictatorship in public could be arrested. In an official statement, the regime had recently declared any political movement to be unlawful, and even neighbourly help was considered to be a political action and was strictly forbidden.
- 11. As a result, there had been numerous arrests, and action had been directed in particular against members of the underground Socialist Party. Torture was practised on a mass scale, and the practice of banishment had again been enforced. To date, the junta had not provided any clarification concerning the fate of the 2,500 persons who had disappeared, and six women who had demanded information in that connexion had been arrested. The régime had repeatedly shown itself to be incompatible with the interests of the Chilean working people, as attested by a rate of unemployment exceeding 20 per cent, the dismantling of social benefits and the denial of trade union freedoms. Yet despite numerous protests, the junta continued to prolong the state of emergency every six months, thus providing a legal framework for its policy of terror.
- 12. Those few examples showed that the United Nations should continue to outlaw the Chilean régime, which was constantly committing mass and flagrant violations of human rights.
- 13. No aspect of that deplorable situation had changed since the enactment of the so-called "Constitution" in March 1981. As was stated in General Assembly resolution 35/188, that document could not be regarded as an authentic expression of the will of the Chilean people. In other words, as the report submitted by the Special Rapporteur to the Commission on Human Rights (E/CN.4/1428) had indicated, an electoral farce had produced a mock constitution which was aimed at violating human rights, not at protecting them.
- 14. The fascist terror in Chile could not have persisted without the support of outside forces which, for political reasons or for profit, were interested in maintaining it. For example, leading imperialist States had cancelled the boycotts once imposed against the Chilean régime and were even providing

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(Mr. Frambach, German Democratic Republic)

it with weapons, despite the fact that there had been no change whatever in the nature of the junta.

- 15. The same States were supporting the inhuman régime in El Salvador. The information contained in the interim report or that situation (A/36/608) described the torture and murders that had been occurring daily in that country since the junta had come to power.
- 16. Certain imperialist States were providing similar assistance to the régime in South Korea; in that connexion, his delegation fully shared the position of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, which demanded the immediate restoration of human rights in South Korea.
- 17. The imperialist policy of supporting fascist dictatorships was also reflected in the policy of threats, boycotts and interference in the internal affairs of progressive States, such as Cuba and Nicaragua. His delegation strongly condemned such policies and reiterated its unreserved support for the peoples of Latin America, Asia and Africa who were struggling for their national and social liberation.
- 18. Mr. ter HARK (Netherlands), speaking on agenda item 12 and in particular on the draft report of the Working Group on the Flaboration of an International Convention on the Protection of the Rights of All Migrant Workers and their Families (A/C.3/36/WG.1/CRP.3), in whose discussions his delegation had taken part, expressed the view that the Working Group should try at a future meeting to include provisions that would reflect the sovereign rights of States to determine and to apply immigration laws. In addition, the preamble should indicate that co-operation between States of origin and receiving States was desirable with a view to the adoption of measures to monitor and regulate the movement of migrant workers.
- 19. After considering the preamble, the Working Group had decided to deal with part II of the draft Convention before part I. As his delegation understood it, the Working Group had postponed consideration of part I, which related to the scope of the draft and definitions, because agreement on those issues was expected to be difficult. His delegation regretted that the discussion of those crucial issues had been deferred; first things should be dealt with first. Moreover, the Working Group would have facilitated its own work by fully discussing and provisionally agreeing on the scope of the draft and definitions; as matters stood, a second or third reading of those parts of the Convention provisionally agreed upon would eventually be necessary in the light of the results of the discussions on part I.
- 20. His delegation also wished to draw attention to a problem of substance concerning the first section of part II, which dealt with the civil and political rights of all migrant workers and their families. Almost all the articles in that section were, in effect, a detailed reproduction of part III of the

(Mr. ter Hark, Netherlands)

International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights. Therefore, those States that had already ratified the Covenant might encounter problems resulting from different formulations of the same rights and might be uncertain as to which formulation had legal priority. Moreover, reiterating previously codified civil and political rights seemed superfluous. In his delegation's opinion, it was highly unlikely that States which had not become parties to the Covenant would become parties to the draft Convention on Migrant Workers, especially if the latter added to the rights set forth in the Covenant.

- 21. In that connexion, he pointed out that the declaration which the Working Group on Non-Citizens was preparing more or less related to the same category of persons as the draft Convention on Migrant Workers. The Working Group on Non-Citizens had wisely decided not to reformulate the social, economic, civil and political rights of non-citizens in extenso.
- 22. Referring to the way in which the results of the deliberations of the Working Group on Migrant Workers had been presented, he explained that his delegation had reluctantly agreed to the solution whereby the texts not between square brackets were those provisionally agreed upon, whereas the texts between square brackets were those on which no agreement had been reached. Since many of the paragraphs in the report contained the words "The Working Group provisionally agreed on the following text" and since most of the relevant paragraphs included articles and subarticles between square brackets, it appeared that provisional agreement had been reached on such articles and subarticles. His delegation did not favour that presentation and would have preferred to have texts introduced by the words "the Working Group considered the following text. Those parts that are not between square brackets were provisionally agreed upon".
- 23. Mr. ADOSSAMA (International Labour Organisation) described the activities ILO had undertaken with a view to the prevention of disability and the rehabilitation of the handicapped through regional and subregional training and study programmes throughout the world. In that undertaking, ILO co-operated closely with the Centre for Social Development and Humanitarian Affairs in Vienna and was actively participating in the implementation of the International Year of Disabled Persons. His organization was sparing no effort in seeking to attain the objectives of the Year, as was shown by the emphasis which the Director-General of the International Labour Office had placed on the vocational rehabilitation of the handicapped in his report to the International Labour Conference in June 1981.
- 24. The global estimate of 450 million handicapped persons, or one-tenth of the world population, was actually modest, considering the wide range of disabilities which afflicted people throughout the world. In response to the growing concern of Governments, employers and workers, the International Labour Conference had in 1979 adopted a resolution concerning handicapped persons, and discussions had been held on the need to update ILO recommendation No. 99 concerning the vocational rehabilitation of the disabled: attention had also been focused on ILO's role in attaining the objectives of the Year. As the Director-

(Mr. Adossama, ILO)

General had stressed in his report, no organization was in a better position than ILO to further the attainment of the five main objectives of the Year. In accordance with ILO recommendation No. 99, vocational rehabilitation, through which the handicapped could achieve social and economic independence, must be available to all the disabled, whatever the origin or nature of their disability. In that connexion, he pointed out that the right of disabled person 's secure and retain employment was embodied in the Declaration on the Rights of Disabled Persons, adopted by the General Assembly in resolution 3447 (XXX). However, political will and the means to implement it were essential if the International Year of Disabled Persons was to fulfil the expectations it had engendered.

- 25. Reviewing the history of ILO's contribution to the vocational rehabilitation of the handicapped, which dated back to 1921, he drew attention to the new concept introduced in resolution IV adopted by the International Labour Conference in 1975, namely, that a high proportion of disabled persons in society was a serious drain on the national economy and could undermine the development of the prosperity of the country and therefore the welfare of the population, unless effective measures were taken to provide for vocational rehabilitation and social reintegration of disabled persons.
- 26. In its report to the forthcoming Conference in 1982, the International Labour Office would stress the role of the disabled in general and that of disabled women in particular, for the latter represented at least one third of all disabled persons. If handicapped girls were also taken into account, the total number of disabled women would be seen to represent approximately 5 per cent of the population. In that connexion, he drew attention to the two-fold discrimination which affected handicapped women, first because of their sex and second because of their disability. Such discrimination affected them in all walks of life, even in highly developed societies. Moreover, so long as the main criterion for rehabilitation was the possibility of returning to gainful employment, most women would continue to be excluded. Handicapped women, like women in general, had only a limited choice of occupations, and the difficulties they encountered in the labour market had been aggravated by the current economic recession.
- 27. In many developing countries almost all the routine, physically strenuous agricultural work was done by women and, even when mechanization was introduced, women continued to perform physically demanding tasks, in addition to their family chores.
- 28. Disabled persons had recognized the need to join together, to speak openly about their difficulties and to take their destiny in hand. Because rehabilitation services had in the past frequently been organized without consulting the disabled, emphasis was currently placed on ensuring their active participation in the organization of the activities initiated during the International Year of Disabled Persons. Disabled people wished to participate in society on an equal footing with others; moreover, they had the right to do so. However, if disabled persons were to be able to exercise their right to equal opportunities, they must be freed from society's condescension, which tended to exclude them. It was necessary to destroy the myths surrounding the disabled, who were capable

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of leading active lives, and to change attitudes, for example those based on estimates of profitability which were cited in support of the view that segregation was less costly than rehabilitation. Such arguments clearly could not withstand close scrutiny.

- 29. In conclusion, he informed the Committee that ILO technical advisers had been posted in Africa, Asia and Latin America to help different countries effectively to implement the International Year of Disabled Persons and to execute important projects, which had already produced encouraging results. It was increasingly being recognized that disabled persons were individuals, like other individuals, and that it was their aptitude, not their disability, that counted.
- 30. Sir Anthony PAPSONS (United Kingdom), speaking on the human rights aspects of the report of the Economic and Social Council on behalf of the States members of the European Economic Community, said that those States shared a commitment to protect and promote all the human rights set forth in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and to uphold the rights and principles embodied in other appropriate international instruments, including the two Human Rights Covenants. One of their most fundamental commitments was to the principle of the democratic process, as enunciated in article 21 of the Universal Declaration. They regarded that as the most important single guarantee of the protection of human rights against abuse by elites of any sort, and urged countries where open democratic processes did not exist to promote the introduction or reintroduction of measures to ensure that their peoples could enjoy that fundamental guarantee of their rights. The State's members of EEC also attached the highest importance to the other rights embodied in the Universal Declaration and other appropriate international instruments. Particularly concerned as they were at the oppression of people in various parts of the world who worked for the promotion of human rights in their own societies, they were fully committed to upholding the importance and indivisibility of all the rights provided for in those international instruments and they would continue to work for their further promotion and protection, both within their own communities and in the international community as a whole.
- 31. The States members of EEC therefore attached a particular importance to human rights activities within the United Nations system, and to those organs which were specifically charged with the responsibility to protect and promote those rights. As had been made clear in their joint statement under item 79, they were fully committed to working for the further improvement of the effectiveness of United Nations machinery in that field. Being particularly concerned at the current lack of machinery to enable the international community to respond promptly and effectively to gross and flagrant violations of human rights, they were keenly disappointed by the failure of the United Nations to agree on the implementation of any of the proposals designed to remedy that deficiency, for example that concerning the establishment of a post of United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights or that providing for intersessional activities of the Commission on Human Rights and its bureau.

(Sir Anthony Parsons, United Kingdom)

- 32. Turning to the situation in South Africa, he said that the States members of EEC had long made clear their strong condemnation of the system of apartheid and the harsh measures by which it was enforced. That system was by its very nature a gross and flagrant violation of human rights and the United Nations rightly paid particular attention to it. Other matters of deep concern were the continuing denial of self-determination to the people of Namibia and South Africa's violations of the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Angola. He welcomed and supported the renewed determination of the five western nations involved in the matter to pursue the implementation of Security Council resolution 435 (1978) beginning in 1982. The initially positive reactions which that initiative appeared to have evoked from many of those principally concerned was encouraging.
- 33. With reference to the report of the Ad Hoc Working Group of Experts of the Commission on Human Rights, he said that it was restricted to trade union rights in South Africa itself, which represented only one of the many areas of discrimination and exploitation. The States members of EEC had taken note of the changes within the South African system to which the report drew attention. However, as long as the central elements of apartheid remained unchanged, such changes could not of themselves affect the fundamental human rights abuses which were inherent in the South African system. At the same time, those States could not accept the report's criticisms of the European Community's code of conduct. That could could not be expected by itself to bring about fundamental changes in the South African political system but it represented an important means of introducing the principle of non-discrimination to the South African system and of improving the working conditions and living standards of the majority of the population. The States members of EEC were continuing their efforts to improve its effectiveness. With regard to the specific issue of trade union rights, he noted that many States failed to permit the establishment and operation of independent trade unions, as provided for in the Universal Declaration and the Human Rights Covenants.
- 34. He reiterated the deep concern of the States members of EEC at the alarming and distressing increase over recent years on the numbers of refugees, particularly at the extent to which that trend was directly attributable to gross and flagrant violations of human rights, especially the right to self-determination. They welcomed the Economic and Social Council's approval of the Commission's decision to appoint a special rapporteur to study the question of human rights and mass exoduses and the appointment of Prince Sadruddin Khan It was to be hoped that sufficient funds and other facilities would be provided from existing regular budgetary resources to enable him to carry out his task effectively.
- 35. Cambodia was a situation in which foreign intervention had caused such a mass exodus and which the Economic and Social Council had specifically addressed. Afghanistan was a close parallel. Just as the States member, of EEC had condemned the barbarities of the Pol Pot régime, they were united in deploring the invasions of Cambodia and Afhganistan, which had resulted in the denial of

(Sir Anthony Parsons, United Kingdom)

the right to self-determination of the peoples of those countries and in the infliction of misery and homelessness on millions of their innocent citizens. The totalitarian nature of the régimes in those countries was particularly obnoxious because they had been imposed by outside forces. Any form of totalitarianism, however, represented a violation of the principles of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. In the past, discussions of that subject had tended to concentrate attention on particular examples of totalitarianism, namely nazism, fascism and neo-fascism, all of which were condemned by the States members of EEC. However, they felt that the international community should be prepared to condemn equally all totalitarian ideologies which were based on or resulted in the systematic denial of human rights and fundamental freedoms, in the terms of resolutions 3 (XXXVII) of the Commission on Human Rights. He hoped that the Third Committee would follow the example of the Commission and adopt a balanced resolution on that subject at the current session.

- 36. The situation in Chile, El Salvador and Guatemala were three other human rights situations which were before the Committee. While they were not the only countries in the world where human rights were being seriously violated, the States members of EEC felt that the situations in those three countries were cause for very serious concern. They appreciated the efforts of the Special Rapporteur on the situation in Chile and regretted that the Chilean authorities had continued to refuse to co-operate with him. The States members of EEC were deeply disturbed by the conclusions about cases of torture, and renewed their appeals to the Chilean authorities to pay heed to the wide-spread international concert, which those practices continued to arouse and urgently to review their policies with a view to enhancing the opportunities of the Chilean people to enjoy their fundamental human rights in every respect.
- 37. The States members of EEC welcomed the co-operation which the Government of El Salvador had extended to the special representative of the Commission on Human Rights and hoped that that spirit of co-operation would be maintained. They were deeply concerned at the violence and killing which were occuring in El Salvador, and condemned all those responsible for the continuing atrocities and violations of human rights. The people of El Salvador had the right to determine their own future in a democratic way, free from outside interference and the threat or use of violence and intimidation. Peace could be achieved only through a political solution. Therefore, the States members of EEC favoured a dialogue between the Government and all parties, including the opposition in preparation for elections to be held as soon as possible in conditions which would ensure an impartial and fair result and, accordingly, they called upon all parties involved in the fighting to foresake violence and to bring an end to the conflict, as well as to promote and respect the free and fair functioning of the democratic process.
- 38. The States members of EEC were also appreciative of the efforts of the Secretary-General and his representative to establish direct contacts with the Government of Guatemala and present an interim report to the General Assembly

(Sir Anthony Parsons, United Kingdom)

in pursu nce of resolution 33 (XXXVII) of the Commission on Human Rights. They were concerned at the high level of violence in Guatemala and the misery inflicted on the people of the country. The violent actions committed by both sides were a source of equal concern. He urged the Government of Guatemala to do its utmost to encourage a spirit of peace and reconciliation and thereby bring relief to the Guatemalan people.

- 39. The States members of EEC were keenly aware of the development problems faced by developing countries. They remained committed to the task of development, including the official development assistance target of 0.7 per cent of gross national product. They looked for a similar commitment from others, and welcomed the aid already given by OPEC countries. With reference to the second meeting of the working group on the right to development, established by the Commission on Human Rights, and the Seminar on the Relations that exist between Human Rights, Peace and Development, they noted with satisfaction the constructive spirit of co-operation and consensus which had characterized them. Such discussions were an important element in the United Nations approach to those issues.
- 40. They also welcomed the extension of the mandate of the Working Group on Enforced or Involuntary Disappearances, which had shown a strong sense of purpose, responsibility and discretion in the conduct of its business. They noted the co-operation which certain States had accorded to the Group and regretted that others had not been so forthcoming. It was to be hoped that its work would receive the unanimous support of the international community.
- 41. Turning to the draft resolution recommended by the Economic and Social Council on the redesignation of the United Nations Trust Fund for Chile as a Voluntary Fund for the Victims of Torture, he said that torture was one of the worst violations of human rights cutlawed under the Universal Declaration on Human Rights and the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights. He hoped that the Third Committee would support the provision of humanitarian assistance to victims of torture and relatives of such victims by adopting that resolution.
- 42. Even though in many cases those responsible for violations of human rights had been unresponsive to the international concern aroused by their actions, the international community should not abandon its efforts to influence national Governments just because the effectiveness of those efforts might in some cases be limited. On the contrary, it was essential for that very reason that the international community should maximize its ability to exert such influence and pressure. The States members of EEC were firmly committed to working with others towards that objective. Co-operation with others was central to their approach to that as to other issues. They believed that human rights were of universal application and they would not retreat from asserting and upholding the human rights values and principles which underpinned their own

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(Sir Anthony Parsons, United Kingdom)

societies. They did not expect all other delegations to share their views on all issues but they would listen sympathetically to the concerns of others and would expect others to listen to their concerns. They hoped and believed that they could thus make a real contribution with others to fulfilling their solemn obligation as States Members of the United Notions to the promotion and protection of all human rights everywhere.

- 43. Mrs. KIRKPATRICK (United States of America) said that her Government had been founded on the belief that the most basic function of a government was to protect the rights of its citizens. The notions embodied in the United States Declaration of Independence - that the individual had rights which were prior to government, that the protection of those rights was the very purpose of the existence of government, and that those powers of governments depended on the consent of the governed - were the essence of the American creed. Her delegation therefore believed that United Nations had no more important duty than the protection and expansion of the rights of persons. The Charter committed the United Nations to that task and several bodies in the Organization were explicitly devoted to it. Her Government was always ready to join other nations in any serious effort that would expand liberty, law and opportunity. The rights of individuals were best promoted and expanded by and through democratic political institutions, where governments were elected through periodic competitive elections that featured a freedom to criticize government, to publish criticism and to organize an opposition that competed for power.
- 44. Human rights violations might occur in such systems but they were few and readily corrected. Indeed, there would be no serious human rights abuses if all people enjoyed self-government and democracy. The dynamics of freedom and political competition worked reliably to protect minorities, dissenters and critics against the arbitrary use of government powers against them. Unfortunately, many, perhaps most, people did not live in democracies but lived instead under rulers whom they had not chosen and who did not respect their rights. Governments, moreover, were not the only source of oppression and tyranny. Human rights violations existed independently of governments and could arise through private violence as well as public coercion. Laws protected and expanded rights by protecting individuals against private violence. The protection of human rights must, therefore, have a double focus and take account of violations by governments and by private violence, especially organized private violence.
- 45. It was not enough for the partisans of freedom to define the character and identify the source of human rights violations. A serious commitment to human rights also required that one's judgements should be fair and reasonable. Fair judgement of country's human rights practices judged all by the same moral standards, while "reasonableness" required that a nation should be judged by criteria relevant to its specific character and situation. It was certainly neither fair nor reasonable to judge the human rights violations of some nations harshly while ignoring entirely the gross abuses of other nations. Although

(Mrs. Kirkpatrick, United States)

such principles would appear to be almost self-evident, some curious practices had grown up in recent years as some persons and Governments had attempted to use human rights as a political weapon. An effort had been made to deprive the concept of human rights of specific meaning by pretending that all objects of human desire were "rights". The proliferation of "rights" - to a happy childhood, to self-fulfilment, to development - had proceeded at the same time as their application had grown more distorted and cynical.

- 46. No aspect of United Nations affairs had been more perverted by the politicization of the previous decade than its human rights activities. Human rights had become a bludgeon to be wielded by the strong against the weak, by the majority against the isolated, by the blocs against the unorganized. South Africa, Israel and the non-communist nations of South America had been the principal targets of United Nations human rights condemnation South Africa on the grounds of apartheid, Israel on the grounds of inhuman practices in the territories occupied in the 1967 war and assorted non-communist Latin American countries because, in addition to being non-democratic, they had been unorganized and unprotected in an organization where moral outrage was distributed much like violence in a protection racket.
- 47. Her Government believed that apartheid was a morally repugnant system which violated the rights of blacks and coloureds living under it. It was a system through which inhabitants of a country were denied access to freedom, economic opportunity and equal protection of laws. It was a system by which a ruling minority refused to share power and profits from its possession of monopoly power. As such it was reprehensible and could not be condoned by those who believed in government based on the consent of the governed, freely expressed in competitive elections in which all citizens were permitted to participate. Apartheid, however, was only one such system. There were other grounds on which other regimes had in the previous decade denied their citizens such rights and other régimes that had more cruelly repressed and slaughtered their citizens.
- 48. It was entirely appropriate that the United Nations should condemn apartheid and deplore its human consequences, provided that it also demonstrated a serious concern for freedom, equality and law. However, the United Nations record on human rights belied the claim to moral seriousness that would justify its judgements. Its human rights agencies had been silent while 3 million Cambodians had died in Pol Pot's "Utopia", while a quarter of a million Ugandans had died at the hands of Idi Amin, and when tens of thousands of Soviet citizens were being denied equal rights, equal protection of the law, and the right to think, write, publish, work freely or emigrate. The United Nations had said nothing about the fate of Andrei Sakharov, one of the world's most distinguished physicists, who, in exile in Gorky, had entered upon a hunger strike to protest against the refusal of the Soviet Government to allow his daughter-in-law to emigrate.

(Mrs. Kirkpatrick, United States)

- 49. The activities of the United Nations with respect to Latin America offered a particularly egregious example of moral hypocrisy. Four countries of Latin America had been condemned for human rights violations during the thirty-fifth session of the General Assembly. Resolutions condemning El Salvador, Guatemala, Chile and Bolivia had been adopted at the latest session of the Commission on Human Rights. Doubtless some of those countries were guilty as charged, but the moral standing of their judges was utterly undermined by their studious lack of concern for the much larger violations of human liberty by the Government of Cuba, which had driven out a million of its citizens into exile, had incarcerated more political prisoners than all other Latin nations combined and had repressed freedom, denied equality and deprived its citizens of what was termed the right to development, a talent for which Cubans had demonstrated a large capacity prior to Fidel Castro's "liberating" revolution.
- 50. An especially instructive example of the quality of human rights in Cuba was the fate of Cuba's poets, virtually all of whom were in exile or in gaol. Among those in exile were such distinguished poets as Herberto Padilla, Reinaldo Arenas, Rogelio Llopis, Edmundo Desnoes, Antonio Benitez Rojo, and Jose Triana. Less fortunate were those poets in gaol, two notable cases being those of Angel Cuadra and Armando Valladares. Mr. Cuadra, an internationally celebrated poet, had been arrested and charged with conduct "against the security of the State" after unsuccessfully seeking permission to emigrate from Cuba in 1967. He had been paroled in 1976 but, after the publication in the United States of an anthology of his poetry, which was apolitical in content, his parole was revoked.
- 51. After participating in prison "rehabilitation programmes", Mr. Cuadra had been due to be released again in July 1979. However, when the authorities had learned that he had managed to smuggle out a new collection of his poetry, he had been transferred to Beniato prison instead of being released. Under a constitutional provision giving retroactive effect to penal laws favouring prisoners, he was entitled to be set free. None the less, his attempts to secure a court order for his release had failed.
- Mr. Valladares, whose case had been described at length in <u>Le Monde</u> of 13 November 1981, had earned international renown for the poems he had written in rison, where he had been since 1960. In the late 1950s, he had been a leader of the student movement allied with Fidel Castro's revolutionary movement. Later, however, he had broken with Mr. Castro and, as a consequence, he had been arrested in 1960 and, in January 1961, he had been sentenced by a military court to 30 years' imprisonment as a counterrevolutionary. No specific charges had been brought against him and he had not violated any of Cuba's laws or regulations. The sole reason for his imprisonment was that he had not shared the Cuban Government's ideology, which testified to the fact that his freedom of opinion and expression had been arbitrarily violated.
- 53. As a result of being deprived of food for 49 days in 1974, because of his refusal to submit to the Government's rehabilitation programmes, Mr. Valladares had become a total invalid. He had not been given proper medical

(Mrs. Kirkpatrick, United States)

treatment and had since been confined to a wheelchair. Physical therapy equipment and a wheelchair sent to Mr. Valladares had not been given to him.

- 54. Since 1981 was the International Year of Disabled Persons, her delegation believed that it was particularly important that the Executive Board of UNESCO should use its good offices to have Mr. Valladares freed from the remainder of his sentence. Ke had been officially adopted by Amnesty International as a prisoner of conscience and Amnesty had submitted numerous appeals on his behalf. Despite those appeals, and the efforts of writers' organizations and the Venezuelan Government, all atempts to secure his release had been thwarted.
- 35. She asked what one should think of defenders of human rights who ignored the victims of major tyrants and focused all their ferocity on the victims of minor ones. It was absolutely essential for the United Nations to affirm and to adhere to a single standard; otherwise, its resolutions were merely tendentious political statements without moral content. The United Nations should either consistently uphold the right of all people to be free regardless of the system under which they lived or it would not have the right to talk about human rights and to make recommendations that it expected others to follow. Nothing less than the moral integrity of the United Nations was at stake, nothing less than the commitment of the Organization to its own reason for being.

AGENDA ITEM 88: UNITED NATIONS DECADE FOR WOMEN: EQUALITY, DEVELOPMENT AND PEACE (conminued) (A/C.3/36/L.53)

- (a) WORLD CONFERENCE OF THE UNITED NATIONS DECADE FOR WOMEN: REPORT OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL (A/C.3/36/1.47, L.57)
- (b) VOLUNTARY FUND FOR THE UNITED NATIONS DECADE FOR WOMEN: REPORTS OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL
- (c) DRAFT DECLARATION ON THE PARTICIPATION OF WOMEN IN THE STRUGGLE FOR THE STRENGTHENING OF INTERNATIONAL PEACE AND SECURITY AND AGAINST COLONIALISM, APARTHEID, ALL FORMS OF RACISM AND RACIAL DISCR MINATION, FOREIGN AGGRESSION, OCCUPATION AND ALL FORMS OF FOREIGN DOMINATION: REPORT OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL (A/C.3/36/L.48/Rev.1)
- 56. Mr. JOHNSON (United States of America), referring to agenda item 88 (c) and the draft Declaration in document A/C.3/36/L.48/Rev.1, said that the debate had shown that many delegations had significant procedural and substantive difficulties with the text of the draft Declaration and the manner in which it had been presented to the Committee. Those difficulties should be of grave concern to every delegation in the Third Committee which took a serious, professional approach to its work. The Committee had traditionally been entrusted with the elaboration and thorough consideration of draft international human rights instruments, either by reviewing work done in working groups of other bodies, such as the Commission on Human Rights, or through its own working groups. Another option, mentioned at the previous meeting, was the establishment of a joint drafting group with the Sixth Committee.

(Mr. Johnson, United States)

- 57. Previous speakers had given numerous reasons why the draft Declaration should not be voted on or adopted at the current session, and those reasons should be re-emphasized and amplified because there seemed to be some confusion in the Committee about the draft Declaration and its nature. In the view of his delegation, its nature was different from that claimed by its sponsors, who had chosen not to discuss in a useful way certain facts concerning it.
- 58. First, the Committee was dealing with a proposed declaration, not a mere draft resolution. The proposed procedure, namely, the drafting of the text by a group of sponsors, and their unilateral acceptance or rejection of amendments and comments by Member States, followed by a vote on the text, might be an acceptable procedure for dealing with draft resolutions. That procedure was not, however, appropriate for international humar rights conventions and declarations, which were intended to be proclaimed by the General Assembly and published by the United Nations, as in the case of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the International Covenants on Human Rights, and other such instruments, of which the Committee could rightly be proud. The draft Declaration in document A/C.3/36/L.48/Rev.1 did not belong in that company.
- 59. Secondly, contrary to assertions by some of the sponsors, the draft Declaration had never been substantially considered in any international forum, nor had the text been dealt with in any drafting group in the Third Committee or elsewhere. The sponsors had unilaterally accepted or rejected proposed amendments from delegations and comments from Member States, without an opportunity for those amendments and comments to be considered in open debate. The draft Declaration was the result of closed bilateral negotiations, rather than multilateral consultation and debate. If the sponsors believed that their text could stand up to detailed scrutiny by every delegation present, they should have no objection to its being evaluated by the appropriate functional commission, the Commission on the Status of Women, as proposed by the United Kingdom, or in a joint Third and Sixth Committee body, as suggested by Ghana.
- 60. Thirdly, a number of speakers had mentioned the totally unacceptable precedent that would be established by the Committee if the draft Declaration were forced through by vote before its merits had been thoroughly discussed in an appropriate body. No such thorough discussion had ever taken place, no matter what the sponsors might say in attempting to influence members of the Committee.
- 61. Lastly, the draft Declaration was not what its sponsors claimed it to be. It was not really about women, peace or disarmament, although it could be revised to make it so. The problems facing women throughout the world and the issues of peace and security were vital matters which his delegation took very seriously, but the draft Declaration was neither a serious nor a meritorious way of dealing with those matters.
- 62. In addition to the procedural defects which he had mentioned, the representatives of Pakistan and Australia, among others, had drawn attention to

(Mr. Johnson, United States)

substantive shortcomings, namely its omissions and its highly selective approach to the real problems facing women and people in general in many parts of the world. For example, it failed to mention the problems posed for women by the threat or use of force, the imposition of régimes contrary to the will of the people, the systematic denial of human rights and fundamental freedoms, foreign military presences, mass flows of refugees, cruel, inhuman and degrading treatment, chemical and biological warfare, totalitarianism, genocide, political domination and religious intolerance. He agreed with the representative of Australia that article 4 combined poor drafting and poor legal analysis.

- 63. However, a detailed review of the defects of the draft Declaration was a task for a drafting or working group or other body set up by the Commission on the Status of Women or the Coneral Assembly. The point was that an international human rights instrument, such as a multilateral convention or declaration, could not be drafted responsibly in the Third Committee itself or in bilateral consultations.
- 64. The mere possibility that the draft Declaration might be forced to a vote, as threatened by its sponsors, adopted in its existing form and published as a product of the Third Committee should be a matter of acute concern to every delegation. The time taken to elaborate other human rights instruments had almost invariably proved worthwhile. The draft Declaration was obviously not ready for adoption and his delegation would support either of the compromise solutions proposed at the previous meeting to help the Committee out of its dilemma. The sponsors had a responsibility to ensure that the text was the product of thorough debate in the appropriate body before it was considered for adoption. They could discharge that responsibility by agreeing to one of the two procedures proposed.
- 65. Mr. DERESSA (Ethiopia) said that the reasons advanced in favour of postponing the adoption of the draft Declaration (A/C.3/36/L.48/Rev.1) were essentially concerned with the need for sufficient deliberation and care which documents of that nature deserved. The Ghanaian representative had rightly emphasized the importance of consensus.
- 66. A document of such importance deserved close scrutiny, due deliberation and careful drafting. However, that exercise should not be an endless process. In 1980 the Committee had discussed the draft Declaration at great length and had decided to recommend that it should be submitted to Member States for comment and thereafter considered by the General Assembly at its thirty-sixth session "with a view to its adoption".
- 67. It was his considered opinion that the draft Declaration reflected the views expressed by a large number of States both in writing and by virtue of the analysis and improvements it had undergone since it had first been submitted to the Committee. Consensus was an important principle but should not be interpreted as being a veto by any group of a draft which clearly represented a wide cross-section of views. The process of consensus would have been further

(Mr. Deressa, Ethiopia)

enhanced had those delegations which energetically advocated postponement of a decision devoted their efforts to improving the text on the lines of the amendments submitted by the representative of Morocco - which the sponsors, including his own delegation, had accepted and incorporated - instead of engaging in a procedural debate. While it was important to aim at the best, perfection was virtually unattainable. There was scarcely any document, declaration or instrument which was completely satisfactory.

- 68. The draft Declaration was a simple text which called upon States to promote the equal participation of women in the political affairs of society and to take the necessary measures for their participation in the struggle against the arms race; and called for the elimination of colonization, apartheid, racism and foreign aggression and occupation as important obstacles to peace, happiness and welfare for women and for the democratic restructuring of economic relations with a view to creating conditions for women's free development. Those were aims to which everyone was committed.
- 69. Obviously, a declaration should not be unduly lengthy and it was not possible to include everything that might be desired. However, it should be possible in a spirit of compromise for the Declaration to be adopted without a vote, since although it did not reflect all views, it contained common ground and embodied principles which everyone supported. Any omissions were probably covered by other international instruments or could be incorporated later. The development of international law was a continuing process and it should not be assumed that the present draft text was the last word on the important question of equal rights for women.
- 70. He therefore urged those in favour of postponement not to insist on undue delay. The draft Declaration must be adopted at the current session. What was needed in order to produce a consensus was a meeting of minds, an end to the current procedural debate, and use of the remaining time to iron out differences on the substance of the draft. He supported the proposal of the representative of the German Democratic Republic to that end.
- 71. Mr. NAGY (Hungary) noted that the draft Declaration had been discussed over a long period: delegations had all had ample opportunity to express their views and submit comments, recommendations or amendments, and the sponsors had shown great readiness to accept them or take them into account in a spirit of compromise, in the hope of achieving a consensus. His delegation, which was one of the sponsors, felt that certain delegations wished only to postpone a decision on a draft declaration which virtually every delegation recognized as important. He urged that it should be adopted at the current session as scheduled, if necessary by a vote.
- 72. Mr. ABAVI (Afghanistan), speaking as one of the sponsors of the draft Declaration, said that his delegation was in favour of adopting it at the current session, as a practical measure in removing the obstacles to full and effective

(Mr. Abawi, Afghanistan)

participation of women in the struggle for equality, development and peace and the strengthening of international co-operation to that end. The sponsors had been open-minded in respect of the proposals submitted by a number of delegations and the draft text was a synthesis of amendments, proposals and initiatives, which it should be possible to adopt without a vote. He supported the proposal by the representative of the German Democratic Republic.

73. The CHAIRMAN said that he would postpone further discussion until a later meeting, so that the delegations concerned would have time to submit amendments and if necessary consult the sponsors of the draft Declaration.

Draft resolution A/C.3/36/L.53

- 74. Mr. NORDENFELT (Sweden) introduced the following changes which had been agreed upon during informal consultations: in paragraph 3, the words "in some countries" should be inserted after the words "Noting that", the word "seriously" should be deleted, and the words "pursue a career" should be replaced by the word "work"; paragraph 4 should be deleted; in paragraph 5, the words "favourably applications for" to be replaced by the words "granting, when appropriate and to the extent possible,"; and in the title of the draft resolution, the words "pursue a career" should be replaced by the word "work".
- 75. He apologized to those sponsors with whom he had been unable to discuss the revisions in detail and trusted that the draft resolution could now be adopted without a vote.
- 76. Mr. DERESSA (Ethiopia) said that he had expressed his delegation's views when the draft resolution had first been considered. Since then, however, the Swedish delegation and other sponsors had tried to revise it with a view to meeting the concern expressed by his own and other delegations. He had no serious objections to the preambular paragraphs but the operative paragraph would have been easier for host countries to accept if, instead of the amendment just read out, it had provided that working permits should be subject to domestic administrative regulations. However, since it seemed apparent that a consensus would be reached, he would not press his point, on the understanding that his views would be placed on record.
- 77. Mrs. WARZAZI (Morocco) said that, during the consultations on draft resolution A/C.3/36/L.53, her delegation hd been informed that it would be amended to include two operative paragraphs. Furthermore, she had been informed that the fourth preambular paragraph would not be deleted. If the sponsors insisted on deleting that paragraph, her delegation would propose an amendment whereby the fourth preambular paragraph would be reinserted and the words "and are not always exempt from discrimination when they are recruited" added at the end of the paragraph.

- 78. Mr. NORDENFELT (Sweden) said that such an amendment would place the sponsors in a difficult position with regard to commitments they had made to other delegations. The sponsors had reached agreement that the ideas expressed in the fourth preambular paragraph would be more appropriately addressed to the Fifth Committee. If the representative of Morocco insisted on her amendment, then a separate vote might have to be taken on it.
- 79. Mrs. WARZAZI (Morocco) said it appeared that the only course left was for the Committee to resort to a vote.
- 80. Mr. DERESSA (Ethiopia) said that perhaps a postponement of a decision with a view to holding consultations might enable the Committee to adopt the draft at a later date without a vote.
- 81. The CHAIRMAN said that, if there was no objection, he would take it that the Committee agreed to postpone consideration of draft resolution A/C.3/36/L.53.
- 82. It was so decided.

Draft resolution A/C.3/36/L.47

- 83. Mr. BOUYOUCEF (Algeria) drew attention to the amendments to draft resolution A/C.3/36/L.47 that he had submitted at the 59th meeting and said that the Group of 77 now hoped that the Committee could adopt the draft resolution without a vote.
- 84. The CHAIRMAN said that, if there was no objection, he would take it that the Committee agreed to adopt draft resolution A/C.3/36/L.47 without a vote.
- 85. It was so decided.
- 86. Miss FRANCO (Portugal) said that, in agreeing to the adoption of draft resolution A/C.3/36/L.47 without a vote, her delegation wished to reiterate the reservations expressed by Portugal concerning the Programme of Action for the Second Half of the Decade, namely, to paragraphs 5, 76-82, 37 and 243.
- 87. Mr. FERGUSON (Australia) said that his delegation welcomed the practical orientation of the draft resolution and attached particular importance to paragraph 4. While agreeing to the consensus, his delegation objected to certain aspects of the Programme of Action which it had not supported at the Copenhagen Conference, because it did not believe that extraneous political issues should have been introduced therein, particularly the reference to the elimination crainism and linking it to racism. He hoped that, in future discussions, political issues would be avoided.
- 88. Miss FAWTHORPE (New Zealand) said that her delegation was happy to support the consensus and believed that the draft resolution would be useful in ensuring the success of the Decade. Her delegation had abstained in the vote on General Assembly resolution 35/136 and its affirmative vote at the current session in no

(Miss Fawthorpe, New Zealand)

way signified a change of attitude towards the Programme of Action and those paragraphs that had not been accepted by consensus, particularly paragraph 5, against which her delegation had voted at Copenhagen.

- 89. Miss LORANGER (Canada) said that her delegation wished to thank the Group of 77, particularly the delegation of Algeria, for the dialogue and consultations carried out with respect to the draft resolution just adopted. She hoped that its adoption would enable the Committee to put behind it the divisiveness that had arisen at Copenhagen as a result of the introduction of elements that did not assist efforts to achieve progress for women.
- 90. Mr. FURSLAND (United Kingdom), speaking on behalf of the 10 States members of the European Economic Community, said that the draft resolution was an improvement over that of the year before, and the 10 States appreciated the sponsors' efforts. They wished, however, to recall the reservations they had expressed at the Copenhagen Conference with regard to the Programme of Action. They regretted that political issues had been introduced into that text, particularly the reference to zionism in paragraph 5, which was unacceptable to them. The reservations they had expressed at Copenhagen on other paragraphs also remained valid. However, the Ten felt that the Programme of Action contained practical proposals for the advancement of women and good policy guidelines which would assist efforts to ensure the full equality of women in all fields and their full integration in all aspects of development.
- 91. Mr. TREHOLT (Norway), speaking also on behalf of the delegations of Denmark, Finland, Iceland and Sweden, said that the Nordic delegations reiterated the reservations they had made at the time of the adoption of General Assembly resolution 35/136 and at Copenhagen. Their reservations regarding the Programme of Action remained valid; in particular, the suggestion that zionism was a form of racism was not acceptable to the Nordic Governments and to public opinion in those countries. However, the Nordic countries had joined in the consensus with a view to assisting in the achievement of full equality for women.
- 92. Mr. ALMOSLECHNER (Austria) said that his delegation was satisfied with the adoption of the draft resolution without a vote and the efforts to improve the text. While Austria was committed to the goals of the Decade, his delegation wished to emphasize that its position remained unchanged with regard to the extraneous elements introduced into the Programme of Action, because it could not associate itself with the assertion that zionism was a form of racism. The draft resolution was action-oriented and should go a long way towards improving the status of women.
- 93. Miss RITTERHOFF (United States of America) said that, with respect to draft resolution A/C.3/36/L.47, the United States wished to emphasize that its position should in no way be interpreted as a change in its attitude towards the Programme of Action adopted at Copenhagen. The United States continued to regret that the inclusion of extraneous political issues concerning the Middle East in the Programme of Action had prevented its adoption by consensus and had subverted the efforts of those delegations at the Copenhager Conference

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(Miss Ritterhoff, United States)

that had wished to deal in good faith with the genuine problem facing women in the world. In particular, the United States continued emphatically to reject and, indeed, to abhor the call in the Programme of Action for the elimination of zionism, because it utterly rejected the equation of zionism with racism. Consistent with its position on those matters, the United States would of course continue to support genuine efforts to improve the status of women and to promote the real goals of the Decade, which were equality, development and peace.

- 94. Mr. MORATT (Israel) said that his delegation had explained its views on the Mexico City and Copenhagen Conferences in the course of the debate on items 88 and 89. Consequently, his delegation dissociated itself from the consensus on draft resolution A/C.3/36/L.47 as well as other draft resolutions under those items, because they were based on the Programme of Action for the Second Half of the Decade.
- 95. The call for the elimination of zionism, the movement of national liberation of the Jewish people, which was injected into the Programme of Action together with other political propaganda, had nothing to do with the advancement of women. It was as outrageous as it was contemptible and it had been repudiated by a number of countries which stood in the forefront of endeavours to attain the full equality of women. Israel would continue its national efforts to achieve the full equality of women and to co-operate with other countries towards that end. If the basic unity behind the real purpose of the Decade had been impaired, it was the responsibility of those who had besmirched a great and just cause by misusing it for their narrow partisan manoeuvres.
- 96. Mrs. AKAMATSU (Japan) said that her delegation had voted in favour of General Assembly resolution 35/136 and had now joined in the adoption of draft resolution A/C.3/35/L.47. As her delegation had stated at the time of the adoption of resolution 35/136, it had difficulties with paragraph 5 of the Programme of Action. However, it hoped that the resolutions adopted by the General Assembly on the item would contribute towards the advancement of women.
- 97. Mr. FONT (Spain) said that, while his delegation had been pleased to join in the adoption of the draft resolution without a vote, the reservations which it had expressed at Copenhagen remained valid.

AGENDA ITEM 83: OFFICE OF THE UNITED NATIONS HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR REFUGEES (continued)

- (a) REPORT OF THE HIGH COMMISSIONER (A/C.3/36/L.58/Rev.1)
- 98. Mr. TREHOLT (Norway) said that, in the light of comments made by various delegations, the sponsors had revised draft resolution A/C.3/36/L.58 and, as a result, several other delegations had become sponsors.

(Mr. Treholt, Norway)

- 99. There were, however, a few further changes to be made to the revised text: in paragraph 3, the phrase "taking into the account the economic and demographic absorptive capacity of the host countries" should be added at the end of the sentence; in paragraph 6, the words "to co-operate in the repression" should be replaced by the words "to join in greater international efforts in the suppression"; and in paragraph 13, the words "and resettlement" should be added after the word "disembarkation". The sponsors hoped that the text, as further revised, would be the basis for a consensus resolution.
- 100. Mr. DERESSA (Ethiopia) said that the draft resolution had accommodated the views of all interested delegations. It was exemplary of the spirit of compromise and co-operation and accorded with the humane traditions of the principal sponsors. His delegation hoped that the sponsors would agree to replace the words "host countries" by the words "countries concerned" in the revised version of paragraph 3.
- 101. The CHAIRMAN said that the indication was that the sponsors accepted the amendment proposed by the representative of Ethiopia. If there was no objection, he would take it that the Committee agreed to adopt the draft resolution without a vote.
- 102. It was so decided.
- 103. The CHAIRMAN said that the Committee had thus concluded its consideration of agends item 83.

The meeting rose at 6.30 p.m.