COMMISSION ON HUMAN RIGHTS
Forty-fourth session
SUMMARY RECORD OF THE 22nd MEETING
Held at the Palais des Nations, Geneva,
on Tuesday, 16 February 1988, at 3 p.m.

Chairman: Mr. SENE (Senegal)
later: Mr. INGLES (Philippines)

CONTENTS

Statement by the Minister of Justice of Uganda

Question of the realization in all countries of the economic, social and cultural rights contained in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and in the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, and study of special problems which the developing countries face in their efforts to achieve these human rights, including:

(a) Problems related to the right to enjoy an adequate standard of living, the right to development;

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CONTENTS (continued)

(b) The effects of the existing unjust international economic order on the economies of the developing countries, and the obstacle that this represents for the implementation of human rights and fundamental freedoms;

(c) Popular participation in its various forms as an important factor in development and in the full realization of all human rights (continued)

Status of the International Covenants on Human Rights (continued)
The meeting was called to order at 3.25 p.m.

STATEMENT BY THE MINISTER OF JUSTICE OF UGANDA

1. Mr. MULENGA (Minister of Justice of Uganda) recalled that the Commission was required, among other things, to assess measures recently taken by countries individually or collectively to promote respect for human rights, and to ensure that all countries had moved in the right direction. In particular, the Commission must once again condemn the régimes which, in defiance of world opinion, deliberately continued to violate human rights and fundamental freedoms. It must also vigorously pursue its task of ensuring that the international values proclaimed in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and other international and regional instruments were given practical meaning in all countries, including the poorest ones.

2. Because of their own bitter experience, the Ugandan people appreciated the value of human rights and, despite their limited resources, they were doing everything possible to ensure respect for them. It was commonly accepted that a person did not appreciate the real value of what he had until he had lost it. The total absence of protection of human rights in Uganda until two years ago was so well known to the Commission and other international human rights bodies that there was no need to dwell on it, but he wished to give some idea of the direction his Government's efforts had followed during the past two years to ensure the effective protection of the rights and freedoms of the Ugandan people.

3. The disturbances in Uganda had begun in 1966 when Milton Obote, the then Prime Minister, had sought to avoid a general election by imposing a new constitution giving him unlimited powers as head of State. To do so, he had used an army inherited from the colonial era and headed by his protégé, Idi Amin, which had been formed to suppress human rights rather than to protect them. For nearly 20 years, there had not only been a failure to observe the human rights of the Ugandan people, but the State machinery had deliberately been used to violate those rights. The country had been plunged into a political abyss, and during the eight years of Idi Amin's misrule, repression had been intensified. Hundreds of thousands of people had been murdered and countless others subjected to arrest, torture and inhuman and degrading treatment at the hands of members of the security forces and intelligence agencies. With the massive disappearances of persons, the régime had promulgated a decree in 1973 ostensibly to alleviate some of the social problems caused by that new phenomenon, but implicitly legalizing the status of "missing person". Far from being alleviated, the phenomenon of disappearances had gone on until the last fascist régime was removed, early in 1986.

4. The second Obote régime in the early 1980s had also been characterized by hundreds of thousands of murders and disappearances. Arbitrary arrest, detention and torture had continued. Entire families and communities had been deported on ethnic grounds or because of real or imagined political affiliations. The destruction of property had reached alarming proportions. All those atrocities had been committed by régimes that had continued to proclaim their recognition of the international instruments relating to human rights, and despite the fact that the rights and freedoms were guaranteed under chapter III of the Ugandan Constitution.
5. Throughout that tragic period, the Ugandan people had appreciated the concern demonstrated by many countries individually or collectively and the campaigns launched by various international organizations and reflected in pressure exerted on the successive repressive régimes. That had given them hope and encouragement. They had, on the other hand, been distressed at the assistance offered by some parties to those régimes, which had rendered the international pressure less effective. During the last year of the Obote régime, for example, when the country had been almost bled to death and had been crying out for help, one particular country had maintained that there was no evidence of violations of human rights in Uganda. Ugandans now knew that so long as the community of nations continued to regard the sovereignty of a nation as an end in itself or to equate it with the survival of a régime in power instead of regarding it as the sovereignty of the people, and so long as countries valued their economic and commercial interests above human dignity, the responsibility for struggling for respect for human rights would devolve upon those who had been denied them. It was that realization that had led a few Ugandans, under the leadership of Yoweri Museveni, to form the National Resistance Army (NRA) and, at risk of their lives, to start a people's war against the fascist and repressive forces that had clung to power for more than 20 years. The National Resistance Army had swelled its ranks as other Ugandan men and women, young and old, had joined it to bring a victorious end to the war against dictatorship and oppression with the overthrow of the last fascist régime on 26 January 1986.

6. The National Resistance Movement (NRM) had then taken over the leadership of the country, undertaking to restore respect for and protection of human rights and fundamental freedoms. He would take the opportunity to describe some of the steps taken to that end during the past two years. In order to achieve that objective, the security of person and property and adherence to the rule of law had to be assured. In its 10-point programme, the National Resistance Movement recognized security and the rule of law as prerequisites for the enjoyment of human rights and economic, social and cultural progress. Those were therefore his Government's two main priorities. Since the major contributor to the country's past misfortunes had been the armed forces, which had been easily manipulated to commit acts against the people, the Government had established a disciplined and politicized guerrilla force to protect the people and their rights. In 1987, that highly motivated people's army had shown that it was not only capable of providing protection against the vestiges of the defeated armies of former régimes in parts of the north and east of the country, but that it could do so without compromising its commitment to respect for human dignity and to ensuring protection for fundamental rights. Despite the time and resources lost in repelling those diversionary attempts by the so-called rebels, security in the country had been restored and the Government and Ugandan people as a whole were determined to guard it jealously and never again allow it to be breached.

7. In the meantime, action had been taken to restore the rule of law. No one in Uganda had been left in any doubt that everyone was subject to the law and no one was above it. Senior civilian or military officials could no longer trample on peoples' rights or commit other crimes openly and with complete impunity. He would not, of course, claim that the situation in Uganda was perfect, but he could say with certainty that any failure could only be the result of continuing constraints on resources and not of any lack of determination on the Government's part. The NRM Government further recognized that one of the pillars of the rule of law was respect for the
Principle of independence of the judiciary. The courts were freer than at any other time since Uganda's accession to independence to dispense justice according to the law, without fear of any Government interference in their proceedings or findings. That was a dramatic change from the situation prevailing only two years earlier when persons acquitted had openly been taken back into custody in full view of the court and when officials had openly sought to influence the course of justice, and had sometimes succeeded in doing so. It had taken the courage and professional integrity of many judges to resist the ever-menacing executive pressures of the time.

8. Current debate, however, centred not on whether the rule of law should be restored, but on how to strengthen it and how to reform the law and the judicial system to offer better protection for fundamental human rights against excesses by the State machinery, against abuses committed by criminal elements in society and against the denial of due redress by debased institutions. In the running down of Uganda's institutions by the previous regimes, the judiciary and the police had obviously been among the institutions hit most hard. The denial to the judiciary of the minimum essentials for its work, had led to a feeling of frustration, particularly in the lower levels of the magistracy, resulting in turn in excessive delays in dealing with cases. Despite its limited resources, the existing Government was sparing no effort to raise the standards and efficiency of the judiciary.

9. The Government had inherited a dilapidated police force infested with personnel that had been used by the repressive regimes for committing abuses of power. Following a screening exercise to rid it of those elements as well as of "dead wood", the police force stood at only 3,000 officers for an estimated population of 17 million people. A large-scale recruitment and training operation had therefore been launched with a view to improving and enlarging the police force. For the first time, university graduates were entering the force. As results began to materialize, the army, which had been deployed to fill the vacuum, was being withdrawn from police work. Within another year or so, Uganda should have an adequate, well-equipped and well-trained, police force, capable of maintaining law and order throughout the country.

10. There were other measures worthy of mention. The office of Inspector-General of Government had been established; it would not only act as an ombudsman, but would also watch over human rights and inquire into any form of violation or denial of the fundamental rights and freedoms of any person. He read out the legislative provision on the subject.

11. The system of resistance committees established at village level throughout the country had also greatly enhanced the protection of human rights, since the best protector of peoples' rights were the people themselves. The committees were empowered, inter alia, to maintain order in their respective areas of jurisdiction and to prevent or report on abuse of power by any Government official. The system had helped to educate people about their rights, and indisciplined security personnel had been apprehended by the resistance committees.

12. Its concern for respect for human rights had led the NRM Government, towards the end of 1986, to appoint a Commission of Inquiry which was currently engaged in collecting evidence on the manner in which human rights
had been violated under previous régimes, in the period from 9 October 1962 to 25 January 1986, and on the perpetrators of those abuses. The Commission was also required to recommend possible ways of preventing the recurrence of such violations of human rights and breaches of the rule of law.

13. Through its inquiries, the authors of crimes committed against the Ugandan people would be traced and punished according to the law. Some of them had already been brought before the courts. Plans were in hand to organize an international workshop in Kampala in 1988 in which members of the Commission would exchange ideas on ways of preventing the recurrence of any massive violation of human rights with international experts in the field of protection of human rights. Those efforts were not exhaustive, however, and the search for permanent solutions was continuing.

14. The report of the Working Group on Enforced or Involuntary Disappearances (E/CN.4/1988/19) confirmed the progress made in Uganda: the disappearances, occurring on a daily basis, of the past were no longer occurring. The Government would continue its investigations into the disappearances during the period 1981–1985, before it assumed office. Amnesty International, which had closely followed events over the years and with which his Government had co-operated unreservedly, had observed that, in the areas it had visited in April 1987, there was an atmosphere of general respect for human rights, in marked contrast with what it had seen in previous years. It had nevertheless expressed concern about specific cases of alleged abuses of human rights reported to it.

15. Similarly, the Special Rapporteur on summary or arbitrary executions had indicated in his report that he had asked for information on the alleged killing of six "non-combatants" during counter-insurgency operations by members of the National Resistance Army. It was his Government's principle not to condone any violation of human rights in any way, and any such allegation brought to its attention would be investigated. If the alleged facts were confirmed, the Government would unhesitatingly institute criminal proceedings against the persons responsible.

16. Although it was all too well aware that it had not reached perfection, his Government was confident that it had achieved significant results and that it was on the right track. It welcomed constructive criticism and advice from anyone who viewed its struggle objectively. With particular reference to agenda item 11, he emphasized the need at the national level for an infrastructure focusing on the promotion and protection of human rights to enable the problem of violation of those rights to be tackled effectively. International assistance should seek to augment national efforts, and it should be channelled through or in liaison with national institutions.

17. On agenda item 22, he welcomed the programme of advisory services and expressed appreciation to all countries and organizations which, directly or through the Centre for Human Rights, had indicated their desire to assist Uganda, and assured them that their assistance would be welcome. The programme would be of real benefit, however, only to countries with a genuine will to promote human rights, whose progress in that field had been hindered by lack of resources.
18. Regrettably, there were still areas in which regimes continued to violate the fundamental human rights and freedoms of their people on purely racial, religious or other grounds, in defiance of repeated international appeals. The legitimate struggle of the black peoples of southern Africa would assuredly triumph in the long run, but the international community had a moral obligation to help in bringing to a speedy end the oppression of those peoples and to avert a catastrophe in southern Africa. It was common knowledge that numerous attempts had been made in the past to make the Pretoria régime realize that it would be in the interest of all if it voluntarily abolished its policy, but those efforts had come to naught. It was all the more surprising, therefore, to hear yet again the argument that there was still a possibility of achieving useful results from a dialogue with that régime or from an awakening on its part, or its disintegration. In some quarters, the contacts that had taken place between some white South African businessmen and ANC leaders had been regarded as an indication of some improvement in the situation. In fact, those contacts had simply shown that there were some pragmatic white businessmen in South Africa who realized that their interests were in danger unless a solution was soon found. It was not within their power, however, to find that solution. His Government therefore renewed its appeal to Governments that still refused to apply economic sanctions against South Africa to reconsider their stand, because their delaying tactics only hardened the Pretoria régime and prolonged the oppression of the black peoples of southern Africa, while increasing the risk of a greater tragedy in the future. The sacrifice that that might entail for those countries was not too high a price to pay for restoring the human dignity of the black peoples of southern Africa and transforming society there into one that respected and protected the fundamental human rights and freedoms of all persons, irrespective of their race or belief.

19. His Government was also seriously concerned about the violation of human rights in the occupied Arab territories. The current wave of violence was no more than a reaction of an oppressed people demanding their legitimate rights. No show of force would weaken the determination of the people of the territories to resist oppression, or lessen the legitimacy of their struggle to regain their rights and freedoms. Israel must put an end to the violence, which was reported to have gone so far as the killing of young children, and restore respect for the human rights and fundamental freedoms of the population in the occupied Arab territories.

20. Lastly, he noted with satisfaction that the Commission was continuing to consider, under agenda item 8, the realization of economic, social and cultural rights. His Government was convinced that the efforts to protect human rights and fundamental freedoms would come to naught if no efforts were made to create the appropriate environment for the enjoyment of such rights and freedoms, whose promotion must go hand in hand with economic, social and cultural progress. His Government was committed to raising the quality of life of the Ugandan people, and it called upon the developed countries to assist it and other developing countries in that regard. It would be futile to promote a person's right to life without ensuring that he had enough to eat or that he would not contract preventable diseases. Similarly, no one could enjoy his rights and freedoms if he was deprived of education, shelter, clothing, means of communication or the other necessities of life. The issue of the right of peoples to economic, social and cultural development was no longer one of defining the rights or even identifying the problems: it was rather a matter of finding practical solutions to the problems which continued to beset the developing countries.
QUESTION OF THE REALIZATION IN ALL COUNTRIES OF THE ECONOMIC, SOCIAL AND CULTURAL RIGHTS CONTAINED IN THE UNIVERSAL DECLARATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS AND IN THE INTERNATIONAL COVENANT ON ECONOMIC, SOCIAL AND CULTURAL RIGHTS, AND STUDY OF SPECIAL PROBLEMS WHICH THE DEVELOPING COUNTRIES FACE IN THEIR EFFORTS TO ACHIEVE THESE HUMAN RIGHTS, INCLUDING:

(a) PROBLEMS RELATED TO THE RIGHT TO ENJOY AN ADEQUATE STANDARD OF LIVING; THE RIGHT TO DEVELOPMENT;

(b) THE EFFECTS OF THE EXISTING UNJUST INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC ORDER ON THE ECONOMIES OF THE DEVELOPING COUNTRIES, AND THE OBSTACLE THAT THIS REPRESENTS FOR THE IMPLEMENTATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS AND FUNDAMENTAL FREEDOMS;

(c) POPULAR PARTICIPATION IN ITS VARIOUS FORMS AS AN IMPORTANT FACTOR IN DEVELOPMENT AND IN THE FULL REALIZATION OF ALL HUMAN RIGHTS

STATUS OF THE INTERNATIONAL CONVENTIONS ON HUMAN RIGHTS (agenda item 18)

21. Mr. KOLBY (Norway) recalled that, in its resolutions 41/32 and 41/119, the General Assembly had appealed to all States which had not yet done so to become parties to the International Covenants on Human Rights adopted 22 years previously, so that the instruments would acquire genuine universality. The General Assembly had also requested those States to consider acceding to the Optional Protocol to the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights and to make the declaration provided for in article 41 of the Covenant. The Commission on Human Rights had made similar appeals. His delegation was planning to submit again, at the present session, a draft resolution on the status of the Covenants, stressing the need to increase the number of ratifications and accessions to them, since they constituted, together with the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the foundation of the human rights programme in the United Nations system. The Secretary-General's report on the status of the Covenants (A/42/450) showed that adherence to them was far from universal, and the Under-Secretary-General for Human Rights had indicated at the previous meeting that 91 States had acceded to the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights and 87 to the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights. Only two States had ratified the Covenants in 1987, and only 39 States in all had acceded to the Optional Protocol to the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights.

22. In view of those disappointing results, it would be advisable to provide more information on the Covenants to States which had not yet ratified or acceded to them and to try, within the United Nations and at the country level, to make the Covenants and the Optional Protocol better known among individuals seeking justice. Wider publicity should also be given to the work of the bodies which supervised the implementation of the Covenants. Norway hoped that the necessary funds would continue to be allocated to those important bodies to enable them to fulfil their function satisfactorily.
23. Furthermore, the failure of a considerable number of States parties to comply with their reporting obligations might undermine the status of the Covenants. It seemed desirable, for example, to give more help to Governments, through the programme of advisory services, to enable them to discharge their obligations in that respect. Norway also approved of the idea of organizing a meeting of chairmen of the human rights bodies, as had been done in 1984, to improve reporting procedures and methods.

24. Norway was not opposed to the idea of supplementing the existing Covenants by new instruments, provided that the rights already recognized were not restricted in the new texts. Although it was clearly desirable that the draft convention on the rights of the child, for example, should be completed in 1989, care must be taken to ensure that the preparation of new instruments for specific categories of persons and problems did not lead to a harmful inflation of texts. In order to ensure that new rules were compatible with the rules already in force, full recourse should be had to the existing machinery for co-ordination within the United Nations and between the United Nations and the specialized agencies. Particular account should be taken of the guidelines laid down by the General Assembly in its resolution 41/120 on setting international standards in the field of human rights, and that aspect of the problem could be considered at the meeting of chairmen of the human rights bodies. It was also essential that the different bodies established under international instruments should uniformly apply the same rules.

25. Norway had always been in favour of adding a second optional protocol, on the abolition of the death penalty, to the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights. Efforts to prepare an international instrument for that purpose must not be compromised by the attitude of Governments which asserted that they were not in a position to abolish the death penalty in their own territories.

26. Mr. DITCHEV (Bulgaria), speaking on behalf of the Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Czechoslovakia, the German Democratic Republic, Poland, Romania, the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and his own country, pointed out that 10 December every year was International Human Rights Day in the United Nations calendar of activities. The commemoration would be all the more important in 1988, which was the fortieth anniversary of the adoption of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights by the General Assembly. The Declaration, drawn up shortly after the Second World War, had been inspired by the progressive spirit of the struggle against racism and colonialism, faith in human rights and the dignity of the human person, the principles of equality of rights among individuals and among nations, and the desire to preserve and develop co-operation among States - in other words, by the triumph of humanitarian and democratic principles over Nazism and Fascism. It had constituted the basis upon which the International Covenants on Human Rights had been drawn up and offered a universally recognized legal foundation for the development of relations of co-operation among States for the promotion of human rights.

27. Over the past 40 years very extensive machinery for international co-operation in human rights matters had been established through the adoption of 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, the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide, the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women, and the Convention against Torture and other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment. The socialist States had participated in the preparation of those instruments and had made constructive suggestions with a view to securing the integration of human rights and fundamental freedoms. Universality of the instruments was absolutely essential in order to ensure the implementation of civil, political, economic, social and cultural rights and to prevent them from being violated by racism, apartheid, colonialism, neo-colonialism or foreign aggression or occupation.

28. At present, the survival of mankind and respect for human rights were linked to the problems of disarmament, economic development and protection of the environment. New political thinking was needed to break down stereotypes, eliminate mistrust and prevent the cause of human rights from being deliberately misused for political purposes. The fortieth anniversary of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights provided an opportunity for the socialist States to reaffirm their interest in co-operating for the promotion of international peace and human rights.

29. In its resolutions 41/150 and 42/131, the United Nations General Assembly had urged States Members of the United Nations and international organizations, governmental and non-governmental, to make arrangements to commemorate the anniversary. The socialist States approved of the proposed measures, which were in keeping with their own practice of providing for the direct participation of the population in social, economic and political life, although the list of measures envisaged might usefully be supplemented at the national, regional and international levels. In conclusion, the delegations of the socialist countries hoped that the text of their statement would be published as an official document of the forty-second session of the Commission.

30. Mr. SCHWANDT (Federal Republic of Germany) stressed the importance of the fortieth anniversary of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. On 10 December 1948 the process initiated with the Magna Carta in 1215 had been completed and a new era in keeping with human values and aspirations had dawned. The idea that recognition of the dignity inherent in all members of the human family and of their equal and inalienable rights was the foundation of peace, justice and freedom now formed part of the heritage of mankind. Respect for human rights was a precondition for peace, and recent history had shown that democracies which protected human rights did not go to war with one another. All conflicts since the end of the First World War had been conflicts between dictatorships, or acts of aggression perpetrated by dictatorships against democracies.

31. That idea was embodied in the practice of the Federal Republic of Germany, where article 1 of the Basic Law in force since 23 May 1949 provided that commitment to human rights was the basis of every community, of peace and of justice in the world. As a State party to the two Covenants, the Federal Republic of Germany adhered to that principle and recognized the obligations stemming from the Covenants, along with almost 90 other sovereign States. It was, however, still essential that all States should accede to the Covenants.
32. Only too often there was a gap between reality and the spirit of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the Covenants - a situation fraught with consequences. All peoples, all States and all governments must jointly assume their responsibility in that respect, in accordance with the Charter, and must fully recognize the inalienable rights of the individual as the basis of freedom, justice and peace in the world.

33. It was not sufficient, however, to draw up new instruments to protect individuals; such an effort was meaningful only if it increased the effectiveness of the protection afforded by the principles set forth in the Covenants. That was the case, for example, with the Convention against Torture and other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment, which his Government had signed, and with the efforts being made to prepare a second optional protocol, aiming at the abolition of the death penalty, to the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights. It was regrettable that the Sub-Commission had not yet taken a decision on the excellent report submitted by its Special Rapporteur on the subject. It ought to give priority to that issue.

34. On the other hand, the proliferation of human rights texts which did not improve effectiveness merely devalued the existing Covenants. It was therefore essential that all States should be urged to implement the rights set forth in the Covenants and to guarantee their protection by independent courts and other bodies. The machinery established to secure the effective implementation of human rights at the international level and to enable the United Nations to inquire, under article 56 of the Charter, into cases of flagrant violation of human rights and to secure the protection of the persons concerned by direct negotiations with Governments must also be strengthened. That entailed that the work of the bodies responsible for supervising the implementation of the Covenants must first of all be intensified. The public must be made aware of the work done by the Human Rights Committee and by the Committee on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights in examining the reports submitted by States, bearing particularly in mind the right of the populations of the countries concerned to be fully informed of how those Committees assessed the human rights situation in their countries. Consideration could also be given to developing the system of special rapporteurs. It was fallacious to speak of interference in internal affairs, as certain States did in order to conceal the real human rights situation in their territory. Human rights were inalienable rights of all individuals, granted to them neither by society nor by the State; their universal character was not restricted by national frontiers. Protection of human rights went beyond the domain of national sovereignty and concern to respect them could never constitute interference in internal affairs. The International Court of Justice had taken the view that human rights obligations were obligations which a State had to the international community as a whole and, by their very nature, a legitimate concern of all States. The Court had added that, in view of the importance of human rights, it could be considered that all States had a legal interest in their protection and that human rights obligations were ergo omnes.

35. International law therefore offered a framework for provisions whose potential was, however, rarely utilized in full. Accordingly, his country had been recommending for years the establishment of a post of high commissioner
for human rights and of an international court of justice for human rights, whose daily violation led to considerable suffering. Courageous action must be taken to ensure that every individual could exercise his inalienable rights and fundamental freedoms.

36. Mr. KHERAD (Observer for Afghanistan) said that the fact that the Commission had been considering for over 10 years the question entered under item 8 of its agenda illustrated the growing interest which it accorded to the effective implementation of the right to development as an inalienable human right and bore witness to an almost universal awareness of the interdependence of all rights. The fact that the right to development had been proclaimed in international instruments such as the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights testified to its recognition as a human right by the international community.

37. The adoption of resolution 41/128 entitled "Declaration on the right to development" by the General Assembly had marked a decisive stage in the implementation of human rights. The Declaration, despite the limits inherent in any compromise text, was a fundamental instrument in the development of the conception and codification of international humanitarian law; it completed the range of international legal instruments and must be accepted as a universal point of reference. All the elements in the Declaration were indivisible and of equal importance, since development was a comprehensive process in which political, economic, civil and social rights had to be considered on the same level. The selective priority accorded to individual human rights over collective rights had not served the cause of human rights. The latter could not really be promoted unless they were considered as indivisible and interdependent and unless account was taken of internal and external factors that could promote or hinder their implementation.

38. The process of preparing and implementing the right to development was a long-term undertaking. The full implementation and progressive strengthening of the right, of which all aspects should be considered in an overall perspective, required sustained efforts by States at the national and international levels. That was envisaged in article 3 of the Declaration, while the principal means of giving effect to the right to development were set forth in articles 3 to 8.

39. The right to development offered all individuals and all peoples the possibility of realizing their creative potential. States must take the necessary steps to that end and must not relax their endeavours to improve the well-being of the population as a whole and of all individuals.

40. The implementation of all aspects of the right to development depended primarily upon action taken at the national level, but external factors hindering implementation of the right, and the fact that its implementation was affected by the international situation and by certain phenomena fraught with consequences for the developing countries, could not be overlooked.

41. The developing countries were at present experiencing serious economic difficulties, with inevitable repercussions on the implementation of the right to development. Their massive indebtedness was holding up their development, since they were forced to restrict their plans and programmes, with the result that a substantial portion of the population remained below
the poverty line. The most affected were the least advanced countries, whose growth rate in recent years had been nil, and even negative in some cases. It was clear that the current international economic order was no longer capable of securing the continuous and harmonious development of the international economy or of offering adequate solutions to socio-economic problems; it was therefore an obstacle to the exercise and enjoyment of human rights and fundamental freedoms.

42. Since enjoyment of the right to development for all went hand-in-hand with the establishment of a new international economic order, it was essential that measures should be taken immediately to institute the new order, guaranteeing equity and the equality of rights of all States, as well as their full and permanent sovereignty over their natural resources, thus eliminating the present injustices and disparities. Furthermore, the right to development was closely linked to specific measures that could be taken in the field of disarmament, which would free huge amounts of resources that could be used to solve socio-economic problems, to alleviate the suffering of millions of hungry persons and to speed up the development process.

43. There was a need for joint action by all States members of the international community to restore peace and security with a view to ensuring that the rights and freedoms of peoples and individuals were fully implemented. For that purpose, it was necessary to adopt an overall and dynamic approach to development problems and to initiate economic co-operation based on scrupulous respect for the principles and provisions of the Charter. The Working Group of Governmental Experts on the Right to Development should concern itself with all aspects of that right, including individual and collective development in the political, economic, social and cultural fields. It should examine the principal obstacles to the implementation of the provisions of the Declaration on the Right to Development, as well as the measures to be taken to eliminate them.

44. The United Nations had an important role to play in the conception and codification of human rights. The exchange of experience between countries could help to implement the Declaration on the Right to Development. In support of that right, international action should be taken to encourage all States which had not yet done so to become parties to the existing international instruments and to the machinery for implementing them.

45. Mr. BERG (Observer for Sweden), speaking first of all on agenda item 18, noted that all human rights, economic, social and cultural rights on the one hand and, civil and political rights, on the other, were interacting and mutually reinforcing. Sweden believed that the implementation of one set of rights did not presuppose the implementation of another set of rights. It could therefore not agree that certain economic and social rights had to be implemented before civil and political rights could be envisaged. Lack of social and economic development could not justify the suppression of basic civil and political rights. It was true, however, that both sets of rights were different in nature and therefore required different approaches by States parties in securing their implementation.

46. It was vital that the two Covenants should be effectively implemented, and Sweden urged those States which had not yet done so to ratify or accede to the Covenants and to the Optional Protocol to the International Covenant on
Civil and Political Rights. The programme of advisory services should, inter alia, aim at assisting States to accede to the Covenants and to comply with the reporting obligations under them. The work of the United Nations in the human rights field should give priority to monitoring and implementation of the standards laid down in international instruments. States parties to the human rights instruments must comply strictly with their obligations and endeavour to submit their reports on time. States parties to the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination should meet their financial obligations without delay.

47. The United Nations implementation machinery in the human rights field must be able to fulfil its monitoring functions in a satisfactory manner. Every effort should therefore be made to avoid cancelling the sessions of the various committees for financial reasons. The treaty monitoring bodies should also continue their efforts to rationalize their work in order to make up the delay in the consideration of reports; there was in effect a considerable backlog. The meeting scheduled in 1988 to be attended by the chairmen of the five different implementation bodies was important since it would make for an exchange of views that was essential for achieving more efficient implementation machinery.

48. The activities for the promotion and protection of human rights were based largely on information. The texts of the Universal Declaration, the two Covenants, and other human rights instruments should therefore be disseminated widely in all countries.

49. The Convention against Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment had entered into force in June 1987, and Sweden strongly appealed to all countries to take appropriate measures to accede to it. The Swedish delegation had noted with concern a declaration made by one State, at the time of ratification, concerning the expenditures of the Committee against Torture to the effect that it would defray only that proportion of expenditures arising from those activities which it considered to come within the Committee's competence. There was no basis in the Convention for a limitation of the joint responsibility of the States Parties in respect of the Committee's expenses. Sweden therefore hoped that the State in question would reconsider its position.

50. The Convention against Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment constituted a necessary elaboration and extension of the rights laid down in the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights. Sweden had supported the proposal for a second optional protocol to the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights aiming at the abolition of the death penalty. The Swedish Government considered that capital punishment should be abolished because it was inhuman and irreversible, and it hoped that the report prepared on the question by the Special Rapporteur of the Sub-Commission would be forwarded to the Commission without delay, since the issue was both crucial and pressing.

51. Children were often the target of human rights violations and the rights of the child needed special protection. Sweden therefore attached great importance to the elaboration of a convention on the rights of the child. At its recent meeting, the Working Group responsible for drawing up a convention had been able to conclude the first reading of the draft and had taken the
welcome initiative of submitting the text to a technical review in order to compare it with existing human rights instruments and international humanitarian law. It was of fundamental importance that the rights of the child, as laid down in the convention, in no way undermined existing standards. It was therefore important to review certain provisions in the course of the second reading. The protection of children in armed conflicts should be improved and no effort should be spared to ensure that the second reading of the draft text was completed expeditiously, so that the convention might be adopted in 1989.

52. Mr. GALLINER (International Press Institute) said that the IPI wished to draw attention to the continued human rights violations directed against the press. While channels of communications should know no frontiers, it was a fact that many Governments erected barriers against them. The Institute would like the Commission on Human Rights to consider the idea of including each year on its agenda an item on the freedom of the media, in order to be able to consider the problems encountered by the media, since they too formed part of the human rights picture.

53. In 1987, the persecution of journalists had continued unabated and there had been many violations of human rights in the sector of the media. The Institute had made 63 protests to 31 countries. More specifically, the facts were as follows: 25 journalists had been killed, another 10 had been kidnapped or were missing, 188 had been arrested, 51 expelled, 436 harassed or persecuted, 29 beaten or clubbed, 90 newspapers and radio stations banned, 14 media plants had been bombed and 28 had been raided by the police or had had their equipment impounded.

54. There had, of course, been some good news to lighten the gloom, such as the initiative taken by President Arias of Costa Rica or the new spirit of openness in the Soviet Union. The Soviet authorities had even announced that an international conference on human rights would be held in Moscow in 1989, and the IPI hoped that the agenda would cover violations of the rights of journalists, particularly arrests and imprisonment, the closing down of publications, the expulsion of foreign journalists, censorship, etc. The Institute hoped that the spirit of glasnost would spread to the other Eastern European countries; some positive developments had already been seen in Hungary, Poland and Czechoslovakia.

55. Today, in an era of great technological change, information was becoming a basic tool for change and growth, which were in turn indispensable for the consolidation of human rights. If the press itself was not free, it became almost impossible to raise issues of human rights at the national level. It could only be hoped that by bringing such problems to the attention of Governments and peoples, the media would promote an awareness of the need to protect those rights. The media should be the guardians of human rights.

56. The International Press Institute invited the members of the Commission to study its annual report on the freedom of the press in the world. Insufficient information prevented it from being exhaustive, but it focused on 78 countries. The Institute wished to draw specific attention to the situation of the press in South Africa in 1987. A statement would be made by Mr. Louw, who had been editor of the Rand Daily Mail for many years and who had been forthright in his criticism of the apartheid policy of the South African Government.
57. Mr. IDUW (International Press Institute) said that accurate and credible information was threatened with extinction in South Africa, due to the rigorous censorship laws and the way in which they were applied by officials. The officials in question were unidentified and armed with extremely wide powers under the emergency regulations and they operated as the Directorate of Media Relations in secret. They had the power to recommend the closure of publications for three months or the installation of censors in their offices. Four alternative newspapers and one specialist magazine dealing with current affairs and labour issues had received warnings but had filed an appeal with the Supreme Court.

58. All too often, journalists were harassed and even assaulted and were subjected to pressure exerted by various groups and factions with opposing interests. Finally, some publishers, through fear, misguided patriotism or plain mercenary motives discouraged the publication of information.

59. With regard to South Africa, he named five journalists in detention under various security laws, some of them since June 1986. Two dozen journalists had been held for varying periods. A large number, particularly reporters and photographers on assignment, had been held for brief periods, sometimes interrogated, sometimes threatened but usually merely held and then released. In recent years, two journalists had died in South Africa, one during his detention, in circumstances not yet elucidated and under investigation, and another who had been hacked to death in a black township by black vigilantes at the instigation of the police.

60. Other forms of harassment were aimed at journalists in South Africa. They were required to reveal their sources under a law that envisaged a two-year prison term for failure to comply; they were arrested and tried on charges of breaking the censorship laws, a charge which could either be accepted or thrown out of court. It was worth noting that half of the country's editors had had convictions of one kind or another for breaches of censorship laws. Telephone tapping and interception of mail were commonplace. The fact of compelling journalists to reveal their sources had also had the effect of cutting off flows of valuable information.

61. The so-called independent and autonomous homelands of southern Africa were notorious for their rough treatment of members of the press. Recently, two black journalists and their driver had been held for three days in appalling conditions. They had witnessed numerous assaults on prisoners, but they themselves had not been harmed. It was commonplace in those territories for journalists to be arrested before they had written a single line and they were therefore reluctant to go on assignment to the homelands. During the events at Pietermaritzburg, where more than 400 people had been killed, there had been additional pressures on journalists. The "normal" emergency restrictions required them to absent themselves from areas of unrest and to keep out of camera and sound tape range. In addition, the warring factions demanded, under threat, that events should be reported in terms favourable to them. Black journalists were the main victims.

62. A recent ruling required newspapers to refrain from promoting the image of a banned organization, such as the African National Congress (ANC), even when it called for peace, or from promoting a "revolutionary climate", although the Government had admitted that it was unable to define that term. The many
restrictions on information in South Africa related to defence matters, the activities of the police, strategic installation, occurrences in prisons, the treatment of detainees, the statements of banned persons, to mention only the worst. In the near future, an even more far-reaching measure would allow the State, in the "public interest", to ban the publication of information concerning commodities, goods or services.

63. Those measures should be seen against the background of a sustained disinformation campaign conducted by the Government, increasing authoritarianism by the authorities, increasing militancy by black journalists and the departure of many qualified journalists. The deportation of foreign correspondents for unspecified "offences" was not uncommon, since representatives of the BBC, ITN and several important foreign newspapers had been expelled in 1987. Finally, the Home Affairs Minister had recently announced that his door, which he had said was open to the press to discuss problems, was now closed.

64. Mrs. SELIGSOHN (International Federation of Newspaper Publishers) said that violations of the right to freedom of expression and of the right to seek information were so widespread today that no part of the world could boast of being irreproachable. That being so, the International Federation of Newspaper Publishers had chosen to focus on the situation in the Soviet Union and in Central and Eastern Europe, not in order to take a political stand, but to defend the principles it had set itself and which were also laid down in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, and specifically in article 19.

65. The phenomenon of Glasnost and the hope to which it had given rise everywhere should not conceal the otherwise sombre picture of the daily reality of life in the region. That reality was one of totalitarian censorship in flagrant breach of the human rights instruments. With one or two exceptions, all authorized media were owned and run by the State for their own ideological purposes and any attempt to spread and interpret information was fiercely repressed. A few examples selected from the various countries should enable one to form an opinion.

66. On 23 October 1987, the Soviet Council of Ministers had decided to outlaw the creation of independent publishing and printing co-operatives, although several co-operatives had already been formed in a number of Soviet towns, under the legislation promoting private businesses. Their purpose had been to produce limited additions of publications not accepted by the State Publishing Committee. In Georgia, for instance, two works on Georgian history had been prepared for publication and submitted for approval to the local authorities. The Soviet Government's decision had not initially been published in the unofficial press. A copy of the order had been published by an unofficial magazine called Glasnost, which had been a target for harassment since its foundation in 1987.

67. Glasnost carried articles on political, social and economic subjects not yet covered or not completely covered by the official press, and it provided information on the activities of unofficial clubs and associations. Its editor had initially hoped that his magazine would become an official publication, and its aim had been to provide a necessary complement to the existing press. Without actually banning Glasnost, the authorities had consistently refused to give it legal status or grant it permission to be
printed according to the rules. The magazine had always been condemned to use makeshift methods of publishing and distribution. The homes of its staff had been searched by the police, and two members of the editorial board had been detained for questioning. Fifty copies of the magazine had been confiscated from them and, in October 1987, the editor and his co-editor, who had both served long terms in labour camps for underground publishing, had been arrested at their homes and taken to a police station. A few hours later, they had been released without being charged. Glasnost continued to appear, but its editor had been warned that he might find himself back in prison as a result of his activities. It was clear that despite the current climate of détente, the Soviet Union had no intention of permitting the publication of independent newspapers or magazines for the general public.

68. The situation in Poland was somewhat different, since it was the only country in the region to have authorized independent publications. Two of them were closely linked to the Catholic Church and permission had recently been given for a third publication independent of Communist control. It was a privately owned magazine called Res Publica and was the first Polish underground journal to be given official status. However, there was a price to pay for that recognition; the new magazine was allowed to print articles critical of official policy, but it had been compelled to relinquish its complete freedom and to submit to government censorship. Thus, reviews of two books published in the West by Polish dissidents in exile had not been approved for publication.

69. In Bulgaria and the German Democratic Republic, there was such tight control of information that attempts to counter the official press had been shortlived.

70. Like Poland, Hungary had a flourishing underground press which had frequently been the target of police action in 1987, including house searches and confiscation of material. One of the editors of a quarterly review critical of government policy had been sentenced to a 20-day prison term for refusing to pay a fine imposed on him for being in possession of a duplicating machine. The charges had been dropped following action by Amnesty International.

71. In Czechoslovakia, a former journalist from Prague had been sentenced in 1986 to three years' imprisonment for criticizing Czechoslovakian politics with two firemen colleagues. All three had also been accused of listening to Voice of America and Radio Free Europe broadcasts. As a signatory of Charter 77, the former journalist had received the heaviest sentence.

72. Foreign journalists enjoyed little more liberty in those countries. Accredited journalists could travel freely in most circumstances in Poland and Czechoslovakia, unlike other neighbouring countries, but an interview with a dissident might lead to questioning, at least for verification of identity. Thus, on 23 April 1987, the correspondent of the French daily Le Monde had been held for questioning by the Czechoslovak security police because he had met several representatives of Charter 77, the human rights organization, during his stay.
73. Journalists wishing to visit Romania were required to indicate their itinerary in advance, but that did not guarantee their admission to the country. In May 1987, during the visit of the Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev to Bucharest, 10 Western journalists, including correspondents of the *Washington Post*, the *London Daily Telegraph* and *Reuters News Agency*, had been told that they were undesirable and denied entry. Already in 1986, the Director of the Vienna Bureau of *Agence France Presse* had been refused entry for five years because his reporting had been considered unfavourable to the country.

74. The Bulgarian authorities were exercising strict control over the movements of foreign journalists in the area inhabited by persons of Turkish origin.

75. Through those few significant examples, the Federation hoped to induce the Commission to give serious thought to examining that type of violation of the right to freedom of expression at each session. Like the Under-Secretary-General for Human Rights, it believed that the dissemination of knowledge was a prerequisite for the universal enjoyment of human rights.

76. **Mr. Lozano** (Inter-American Press Association) said that the primary objective of his Association, which represented almost 1,400 publications in the Western hemisphere, was to defend the freedom of the press, without any political or ideological bias. The largely moral force of the Association sometimes seemed powerless in the short term although, in the longer perspective, it was an effective vehicle for the judgement of mankind and history.

77. For almost 30 years, it had been impossible to exercise freedom of expression in Cuba, where there was no independent press. In a country whose Constitution expressly stipulated that freedom of expression and of the press could be exercised only if the aims of a socialist society were respected, all the information media were subservient to the Government and the party in power.

78. Although the situation of the press had recently improved in Nicaragua under the Peace Plan drawn up by the President of Costa Rica, the legislation in force in that country made the future uncertain, and the incipient liberalization had yet to be confirmed.

79. In Paraguay, the newspapers *ABC Color* and *El Pueblo* had been banned and journalists were constantly being harassed. Even the authorized publications were subject to extremely strict control.

80. In Chile, the freedom of the press was impeded by more than 30 special legal provisions. Newspapers could not be published without government permission and could be and were closed down. Several journalists had been arrested and about 30 cases were pending against journalists for alleged infringements of one or other of the special provisions. The circumstances surrounding the murder of the editor of an important newspaper remained unsolved.

81. The Government of Panama had lifted its arbitrary ban on three newspapers, one magazine and two radio stations. Meanwhile, however, it
had promulgated a libel law that was so Draconian as to leave almost no scope for freedom of expression. Several journalists were living abroad, in fear of their lives.

82. The Inter-American Press Association was closely observing the situation in Suriname, where a civilian president had recently taken office after eight years of military dictatorship under which the press had been muffled. In Haiti, where the press had never been free during all the years of the Duvalier family dictatorship, the election of a president under dubious circumstances had cast a shadow over the future of the information media.

83. Although all those violations of freedom of the press were attributable to dictatorial régimes, no one could claim that the record of the democracies was unblemished. For example, it was becoming an increasingly common practice to force journalists, sometimes at their own request, to belong to a "colegio" or guild, which gave the Government or a small group of government-approved journalists or professionals the power to decide who had the right to work as a journalist and, ultimately, the power to determine the type of information and opinion that would be published. In a judgement delivered in 1985, the Inter-American Court of Human Rights had ruled that any laws requiring the licensing of journalists were incompatible with the Inter-American Convention on Human Rights. Governments also had other means of restricting the freedom of the press, ranging from intimidation to the withholding of official advertising or the creation of newsprint monopolies as in Mexico, for example. Finally, in some countries, the public authorities failed to guarantee law and order and the protection needed for a free press.

84. In spite of the numerous obstacles to freedom of the press, the spirit of resistance and solidarity that had been shown by many journalists and information media were encouraging. It was essential that the Commission on Human Rights should provide the support needed to defend that freedom.

85. Free information media could make an extremely active contribution to popular participation, which the Commission on Human Rights regarded as an important factor in development and in the full realization of all human rights. Although violations of freedom of the press were not, in themselves, as serious as the violation of some other rights, it was obvious that a free and inquisitive press could do much to draw international public attention to other violations.

86. Mr. GILBERT (World Union for Progressive Judaism) recalled that, at the forty-third session of the Commission, his organization had expressed concern about the fate of 11 Jews in labour camps in the Soviet Union, as well as other Jews who had been refused permission to leave that country for Israel. Following a remarkable change in policy, all of them had since been released and, of the 24 persons named in 1987, 21 were already or would soon be in Israel, with their families. The fact that a total of 8,000 Jews had been allowed to leave the Soviet Union in 1987 was a sure sign of progress in the human rights situation and of the need to demand such progress. However, there were Jews who had not benefited from that welcome change. Exit visas were still being denied to three former detainees (Evgeni Lein, Raoul Zelichenok and Kim Fridman), who were seeking merely to exercise the right of every person to leave any country, including his own, as stated in article 13 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and article 12 of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights. The "refuseniks", who
had been waiting for more than a decade, were in the same situation. In view of the remarkable progress that had been made in 1987, it should not be difficult to allow those families to leave. On 16 February 1988, at the British Embassy in Moscow, the British Foreign Secretary met Yuly Kosharovsky, Natasha Khasmina and Tanya Ziman, whose visa applications had been systematically rejected for 17 years in one case and 11 years in the other two. The "refuseniks" were too numerous to be named individually. However, nine had specifically appealed to the World Union to represent them in the Commission; they were the Dashevsky, Tsitverblit, Keiss-Kuna, Genis, Kelman, Kislik, Uspensky, Cherniak and Grechanovsky families.

87. The new Soviet exit visa regulations, which had entered into force on 1 January 1988, should facilitate rather than hinder departures and should enable any Jew wishing to leave the Soviet Union to do so with the minimum of delay. To that end, a bilateral exit visit agreement could be negotiated between the USSR and, for example, the United States or Israel.

88. He called upon the Soviet Government, through that country's delegation, to authorize the departure of the Jews who had been waiting so long and, thereby, to remove that obstacle to the establishment of a constructive dialogue.

89. Mrs. FATIO (Baha'i International Community) said that the right to development, which concerned all individuals and all countries of the world, required the full utilization of all human and material resources. That was why the Baha'i International Community had welcomed the adoption in 1986 of the Declaration on the Right to Development, as well as the endeavours of the Commission and its Working Group of Governmental Experts to identify practical measures for the implementation of that Declaration. She would like to offer a few suggestions in that respect.

90. First of all, the Bahá'í International Community was convinced that all individuals and all countries of the world should contribute towards the exercise of the right to development since, in fact, all belonged to a single world community and should make their talents available to everyone. In that connection, international co-operation was particularly important and there was an imperative need to co-ordinate all the activities of international organizations in the field of human rights and development. Accordingly, she welcomed the decision taken by the Sub-Commission on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities to recommend the appointment of a Special Rapporteur to study those questions.

91. The Bahá'í International Community was convinced that education was a vital means for encouraging everyone to participate in development. Educational programmes could help young people to develop personal confidence and acquire the necessary skills needed for contributing to development. It was especially important to help disadvantaged groups, such as indigenous populations, to participate on a completely equal footing in the adoption of decisions and the implementation of development measures. Moreover, education could help to foster an awareness of the interdependence of human society and to promote a feeling of mutual solidarity.

92. The Bahá'í International Community believed that women also had a crucial role to play. In most societies they had been relegated to an inferior role and, in many developing countries, it was they who bore responsibility for
ensuring the survival of the family and the community without, however, having
the right of equal participation in the planning and implementation of the
development efforts affecting them. Women should be allowed to play a
prominent role in the quest for solutions to the problems facing their
community, and development programmes should therefore aim to improve the
status of women. Particularly in cases in which it was imperative to
establish a scale of priorities in fields such as education, extremely high
priority should be accorded to the education of women and girls, since it was
through mothers that knowledge was transmitted most effectively in any
society. Efforts must be made to ensure the implementation of article 8 of
the Declaration on the Right to Development and, in that connection, the
 adoption, by the Sub-Commission at its thirty-ninth session, of
 resolution 1987/26, concerning the role and equal participation of women in
development was welcome.

93. The Bahá'í International Community was convinced that the right to
development could become a global reality, and local Bahá'í communities were
engaged in a multitude of development activities at the grass-roots level,
particularly in regard to the formulation of primary and secondary education
programmes, in which both men and women were participating actively. Bahá'í
communities throughout the world were endeavouring to promote a new global
order based on popular participation, co-operation and economic and social
justice.

94. Mr. Ingles (Philippines) took the Chair.

95. Mrs. Rodrigues (Observer for Cuba), speaking in exercise of the right of
reply, said that she had not been surprised at the attacks on Cuba by the
Inter-American Press Association, which had joined all the enemies who had
been attacking the Cuban people at home and abroad since the triumph of the
nationalist revolution. Inside the country, those enemies had been the
representatives of the Batista dictatorship, who had granted freedom of the
press solely to those who obeyed the régime, which had been responsible for
the death of more than 20,000 citizens. At that time, the Inter-American
Press Association, far from protesting against the dictatorship, had sided
with publications such as the Diario de la Marina, which supported it.

96. It was pointless to ask that Association why it had never mentioned that
Cuba was currently the only country in Latin America to have completely
eradicated illiteracy, or why it had never denounced the crimes of Batista or
condemned the blockade, attacks, acts of espionage, destabilization plans and
invasions to which Cuba had been subjected by the largest super-Power.
Everyone knew who managed its resources and dictated its line of conduct.

97. If, by freedom of the press, the Inter-American Press Association meant
the freedom which had prevailed under the tyranny of Batista, it could abandon
all hope of re-establishing that type of "freedom" in Cuba. Today, freedom of
the press was enjoyed by all those who had not had access to the information
media under the dictatorship; namely, peasants, students and workers. The
large landowners and the friends and henchmen of the Inter-American Press
Association, who had formerly controlled information, had information networks
at Miami but would never again have them in Cuba.

The meeting rose at 5.55 p.m.