Official Welcome

On behalf of the 2011 National Model United Nations-DC Conference staff, especially your committee Director, Kristina Getty, and Assistant Director, Bea Soler, we would like to officially welcome you to the General Assembly (GA) Third Committee. Everyone at NMUN-DC is truly passionate about Model UN and the goals and objectives of this program. We firmly believe that, if you come well-prepared and eager to participate, you will find your time in Washington incredibly enriching as you interact with delegates from around the world to debate critical issues relating to human rights and international development.

As such, in order to help you with your preparations for the conference, we have prepared this background guide to help you start research on your country’s policies and to understand the committee topics. The topics before the GA Third Committee are: the Elimination of All Forms of Intolerance and of Discrimination Based on Religion or Belief, the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms While Countering Terrorism, and the Universal Realization of the Right of Peoples to Self-Determination. These topics reflect not only the goals of the GA Third Committee, but also are highly relevant topics when we consider recent events.

As a delegate in this Committee, you are responsible for properly representing the interests of your Member State while also acting with proper decorum and diplomacy to help navigate through the contentious issues before the GA Third Committee. We have no doubt that delegates in the GA Third Committee will act with regard to the general spirit of the United Nations in favor of collaboration, cooperation, and peace, and we feel privileged to play a role in your education experience here at NMUN-DC. We look forward to working with all of you.

History of The General Assembly Social, Cultural, and Humanitarian Committee (Third Committee)

The United Nations (UN) was formed in 1945 in order to achieve international co-operation on international economic, social, cultural, and humanitarian issues while also promoting and encouraging respect for human rights, and fundamental freedoms regardless of race, sex, language or religion. In order to carry out this work, the UN established six bodies including the General Assembly (GA). Chapter IV, article 13 of the UN Charter establishes that the GA should “make recommendations for the purpose of: a. promoting international co-operation in the political field and encouraging the progressive development of international law and its codification; b. promoting international co-operation in the economic, social, cultural, educational, and health fields, and assisting in the realization of human rights and fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language, or religion.” The General Assembly also has the power to create subsidiary bodies as deemed fit in order to properly achieve the goals of the United Nations and, as such, has established the GA Third Committee as the social, humanitarian, and cultural committee.

The sixty-fifth session of the GA Third Committee was chaired by H.E. Mr. Michael Tommo Monthe of Cameroon. Within its mandate to discuss social matters, humanitarian affairs, and human rights issues throughout the world, the Committee discussed topics such as the advancement of women, the protection of children, indigenous issues, the treatment of refugees, the promotion of fundamental freedoms through the elimination of racism and racial discrimination, and the promotion of the right to self-determination. The Third Committee is also tasked with the implantation of the Durban Declaration and Program of Action. The Committee is known for its ability to discuss these difficult issues and achieve agreement on broad and specific issues. For example, during the sixty-fifth session, the Third Committee was able to approve at least fifty-eight draft resolutions to be considered by the General Assembly. These draft resolutions focused on topics of social development, racial discrimination, human rights, crime prevention, self-determination, and the regulation of private security. Additionally, these drafts called for global efforts to eliminate racism, xenophobia, and other intolerances.

Ultimately, the GA Third Committee plays a crucial role within the UN as a large forum for the discussion of human rights and development issues. The Committee also continues to be a consensus building committee in everything that it does in order to reach the goals set forth by the United Nations.
I. Elimination of All Forms of Intolerance and of Discrimination Based on Religion or Belief

- What are the current threats to eliminating all forms of intolerance and discrimination and how can the international community address these? What actions should the UN and other actors prioritize?
- What role can state and nongovernmental organizations play in taking measurable steps to eliminate all forms of intolerance and of discrimination based on religion or belief? What should the UN do in instances of the abuses of human rights?

With the fact that religion and beliefs represent deeply personal and cultural issues, the international community has come to a firm agreement to protect them by eliminating all forms of intolerance and discrimination directed towards it. This commitment is inscribed in numerous overarching United Nation (UN) texts including the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR) as well as Article 18 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR). The Declaration on the Elimination of All Forms of Intolerance and of Discrimination Based on Religion or Belief (DROB or Religion Declaration) also directly addresses what is meant by the right to not face intolerance and discrimination based on religion or belief as well as the duties of different actors towards achievement and enforcement. Such a consensus has emerged because the right to be free from intolerance and discrimination based on religion or belief is seen as fundamental in securing other human rights and supporting human development. As a report from the nongovernmental organization the Bahá’í International Community eloquently states, “The freedom to hold beliefs of one’s choosing and to change them is central to human development as it makes possible the individual’s search for meaning -- a distinguishing impulse of the human conscience.”

Though most governments have agreed to and recognized both the ICCPR and the UDHR and many have recognized the Religion Declaration, the realization of the elimination of all forms of intolerance and of discrimination based on religion or belief faces countless threats and challenges. The least of these threats is the fact that UN documents remain nonbinding and that, aside from the emerging principle of the Responsibility to Protect, there is no clear framework or mechanism for external involvement in cases of rights abuses. Instead, the greatest threats to eliminating all forms of violence have emerged in a post-September 11th world and are demonstrated by recent events across the globe such as in Norway and the Middle East. These challenges come in the form of globalization, changing immigration patterns, and religious radicalism. These phenomena create situations in which individuals of different religions are more likely to come into contact with one another, and in which there is an easy tendency to stereotype and scapegoat religious and ethnic groups. In particular, Islamophobia is often combined with anti-immigrant rhetoric, which demonstrates, as the Committee on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination concluded in 2009, that there is an intersection between racial and religious discrimination that is impossible to divide. Such conclusions have also been supported by the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination (Article 18), the Declaration on the Rights of Persons Belonging to National or Ethnic, Religious and Linguistic Minorities, and work by the Special Rapporteur on freedom of religion or belief; these issues have also been debated at forums such as the Durban Review Conference and annual meetings of the General Assembly (GA) Third Committee.

As a response to growing Islamophobia and as a way to prevent intolerance and discrimination, the Organization of Islamic Cooperation (OIC) has put forth many proposals condemning defamation of religion. The OIC has argued that the international community must act to condemn the defamation of religion, be it through verbal statements or cartoons, because such vilification has unintended consequences as defamation further fuels discrimination, fosters extremism, and skews perceptions. However, a majority of human rights groups and western countries oppose condemning the defamation of religion because international action on the issue can strengthen domestic anti-blasphemy laws and lead to the imprisonment of dissidents like journalists and students. Moreover, led by the European Union, many actors argue that condemning the defamation of religion wrongly places the focus on protecting religions as opposed to protecting the rights of individuals to exercise not only their freedom of religion or belief, but more fundamentally their freedom of expression.

In order to overcome this divide, the UN has recently sought to reframe the debate and focus on implementable steps to eliminate intolerance and discrimination. Overall, the UN has stressed that, while freedom of religion or belief and freedom of expression are interdependent, they are also interrelated and mutually reinforcing and can play a role
in fighting all forms of intolerance and discrimination. Additionally, the UN has also strongly stressed that no
religion should be equated with terrorism. The Human Rights Council has also focused its efforts on the protection
of believers in resolutions as opposed to the protection of beliefs. Additionally, to avoid conflicts over where a line
exists between protecting beliefs and believers, experts and countries have turned to focus on instances in which
actions lead to the incitement of religious hatred. The Special Rapporteur on Freedom of Religion or Belief has also
called for governments to take a more active role in leading intercultural discussions and creating education systems
that support diversity and tolerance. While these actions have moved the UN closer to achieving its goal of
eliminating all forms of intolerance and of discrimination based on religion or belief, none of these steps provide a
clear answer to the issue of when and what the international community ought to do in cases where governments fail
to protect basic religious rights and the freedom of expression. Resolving this issue will become all the more
pressing as religious radicalism increases; anti-Semitic, anti-Christian, and Islamophobic ideas spread; immigrants
and minority groups continue to face indirect discrimination; and societies at large face acts of hatred, violence, and
domestic political upheaval. In order to prevent such events from escalating into destabilized state-to-state relations
and threats to international peace, the UN as whole, the GA Third, and other actors must act now.

II. Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms While Countering Terrorism

- By what means or in what ways do the protection of human rights and fundamental freedoms and efforts to
counter terrorism conflict? How can the UN prioritize and alleviate this problem?
- While there are already current steps to be taken in order to decrease the violation of human rights and
fundamental freedoms, what are other ways address this issue?

Member States of the United Nations (UN) and citizens of these states have long faced the threat of terrorism, such
that citizens in states or parts of states such as Israel, Spain, the United Kingdom, and other various places may
know nothing more than the terrorism that plagues their lives. Though the intent of acts of violence is often to bring
about political change, in actuality, it is usually the innocent that suffer the most from any attack. Addressing these
attacks has led, however, to human rights violations. As declared in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights
(UDHR), Article 7, “All are equal before the law and are entitled without discrimination to equal protection of the
law. All are entitled to equal protection against any discrimination in violation of this Declaration and against any
incitement to such discrimination.” Because of this, the UN needs to consider the issue of the protection of human
rights and fundamental freedoms while countering terrorism.

Since the establishment of the Counter Terrorism Committee (CTC) in 2001, this issue of the protection human
rights while countering terrorism has received notable interest worldwide. Security Council Resolution 1373 created
the committee and principally asks states to “take appropriate measures in conformity with the relevant provisions of
national and international law, including international standards of human rights, before granting refugee status, for
the purpose of ensuring that the asylum seeker has not planned, facilitated or participated in the commission of
terrorist acts.” Since its creation, the CTC has taken further steps towards a more pro-active policy approach on
human rights by working with the Office of the UN High Commissioner for Human Rights (OHCHR). Through this
collaboration, Resolution 1373 was unanimously adopted, which asks Member States to implement measures in
order to ensure protection of human rights and fundamental freedoms. Proper steps include: criminalizing the
financial backing of terrorism, the sharing of information with other governments or groups with intentions of
terroristic acts, and criminalizing any assistance for terrorism with domestic law. In order to meet these steps, the
CTC will provide country visits per request to monitor progress; assist countries to connect technical, financial, and
regulatory programs; provide reports for each country as a resource for CTC and Member States; and encourage
countries to utilize practices and codes specialized for each country in order to help with programs and meetings that
allow inter-global communication between governments and organizations to better utilize forces countering
terrorism.

Outside the CTC, many other important actions have been taken within the UN framework in order to address this
issue. The sixty-fifth session, as stated in the Third Committee’s report to the Secretary General, discussed the
agenda item “Promotion and protection of human rights: human rights questions, including alternative approaches
for improving the effective enjoyment of human rights and fundamental freedoms.” The report addressed and
stressed the issue of regional arrangements for the promotion and protection of human rights. Resolution
A/HRC/RES/12/15 passed by the Human Rights Council creates a workshop held by the High Commissioner in
order to share and update ways to strengthen and protect fundamental freedoms and human rights. Additionally, UN document A/65/258 talks specifically of the promotion and protection of human rights and fundamental freedoms while countering terrorism. Within these reports, the GA Third Committee has made the recommendation to the Security Council to replace Resolutions 1373(2001), 1624(2005) and 1267(1999) with a single resolution to consolidate the entire framework into unified document. The United Nations Global Counter-Terrorism Strategy was adopted by the General Assembly in which became the first international comprehensive framework that addresses the issue of terrorism globally. In the creation of this strategy, one of the main measures was to ensure respect for human rights throughout all pillars. It identifies the main principle to combat against terrorism with long-term structural conditions to cease the spread of terrorism in all forms.

The UN is required to take proper action in order to uphold international peace and security as stated in the UN Charter. Protection of human rights is crucial to maintain as it is a basic right in the UDHR. Further actions must be taken to ensure that these basic rights are upheld.

III. Universal Realization of the Right of Peoples to Self-Determination

- What barriers exist to the universal realization of the right of peoples to self-determination? How can the international community overcome or agree upon a universally acceptable definition?
- How should the international community and the UN seek to help peoples realize the right to self-determination? Should it prioritize certain peoples above others or interact with certain peoples differently?
- How can lessons learned protecting the rights of minorities be applied to achieving the universal realization of the right of peoples to self-determination?

After World War II, the world witnessed a period of decolonization and rising nationalism, which was based, not only on the changing political landscape, but also on renewed belief in the right of all peoples to self-determination. The United Nations (UN) is both reflective and encompassing of these ideals, and the principle of self-determination is at the core of the UN Charter. The Charter states the purpose of the United Nations is: “To develop friendly relations among nations based on respect for the principle of equal rights and self-determination of peoples, and to take other appropriate measures to strengthen universal peace.” Today, this principle continues to define the UN’s work and remains highly relevant. Its achievement, however, is overshadowed by the issue’s complexity, especially regarding its politicization and vagueness.

The complicated nature of the universal realization of the right of peoples to self-determination arises first and foremost out of a conflict between rights recognized by the UN. Achieving universal realization of the right of peoples to self-determination is seen as a priority for the UN because it is a prerequisite for the attainment, observance, guarantee, protection, and further promotion and strengthening of human rights. It is also a recognized fact that upholding the right leads to a strengthening of cooperation and international peace. Moreover, though not directly stated within the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR), the primacy of the right of peoples to self-determination is evidenced by the fact that it is included in the first article of both the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR) and the International Covenant on Economic and Cultural Rights (ICECR), which with the UDHR make up the International Bill of Human Rights. Additionally, Article 15 of the UDHR also recognizes that all peoples have the inalienable right to a nationality. This means that, while most states do not recognize the right of peoples to self-determination, they have agreed to observe the UN Charter and have ratified both the ICCPR and the ICECR and agreed to respect, protect, and implement this right. The UN, however, also recognizes the sovereignty of the state and a state’s right to territorial integrity. Because of this, as explained by the report *The Right of Peoples to Self-Determination* by Melik Özden and Christophe Golay, “The only hypothetical case of recognition of a right to secession envisaged by international law is that of ‘remedial secession’, to wit a secession that corresponds to a flagrant violation of the ‘internal’ right to self-determination.” Lack of a clear international mechanism and numerous failed interventions have shown, however, just how hypothetical this case may be, and how difficult such secession is to achieve.

Secondly, the universal realization of the right of peoples to self-determination is hindered by theoretical and practical debates about its meaning. This debate centers chiefly on the meaning of “peoples” and the criteria for defining nationhood. The right of peoples to self-determination also brings about conflict between rights of individuals and rights of groups, which has been at the center of debate on human rights since the creation of the
UDHR. Additional complications arise in the realization of this right because its implementation encompasses much more than what a simple understanding of the definition (control over political affiliation) would imply. Article 1 of both the ICCPR and the ICERD, for example, states that, "All peoples have the right of self-determination. By virtue of that right they freely determine their political status and freely pursue their economic, social and cultural development." This recognizes that it is not enough for groups to attain political autonomy if they have no control over their own resources. This understanding has also presented different interpretations of ways to achieve the universal right of peoples to self-determination. Through the UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples, for example, many peoples in South America have achieved self-determination with states as they have fought for control over natural resources. Still, the ICCPR and ICERD and the principle of self-determination in general do not explain when a call for self-determination is justified, how the process is to function, and how the need for universal realization can be resolved: for example, should independence be granted? A federation created? Only special protections given? Should it be done through a treaty? Through protest movements? International action? All these questions and more must be answered for the universal realization of the right of peoples of self-determination.

Ultimately, today there are approximately 26 ongoing-armed self-determination conflicts. So, while some peoples have effectively and peacefully realized self-determination through secession or greater autonomy, many others, still face blatant oppression. Others lack a complete realization of the right of peoples to self-determination as they lack absolute control of their political affiliation and cultural, economic, and social resources. These groups of peoples fighting for the right to self-determination exist in developed and developing states ranging from Kurds throughout the Middle East, to the Catalan Counties and Basque regions of Spain, Taiwan, Abkhazia, Sri Lanka, South America, and—as frequently acknowledged by the General Assembly Third Committee—the Palestinian peoples. The process of overcoming barriers to achieving the universal realization of the right of peoples to self-determination must focus not only on clarifying the meaning of the right, but, also especially on achieving its implementation. This is because, as the peoples of South Sudan and Kosovo are all too familiar, the achievement of the right to self-determination is not over with the creation of a state. As such, the international community must continue to debate the universal realization of the rights of all peoples to self-determination and must consider what is in the best interest of the peoples concerned.

Annotated Bibliography

**History of the General Assembly Third Committee**


Fasulo writes a detailed informational book about the workings of the United Nations. Not only does she give an overview, but each chapter breaks down UN documents, for example about the Security Council and General Assembly. This book also touches upon issues that are plaguing our world today. In addition, there are documents within the book that may be utilized for research such as basic founding documents.


The Third Committee Web site gives a brief update of what has previously occurred and what the Committee hopes to achieved within upcoming sessions. It states which topics were discussed and gives a short synopsis of what is expected from the Third Committee. Within this page, there are tabs that will assist in finding any UN documents that are made public within the Third Committee. The allocation of agenda items from the sixty-fourth session as well as current press releases may also be found.


The main committees’ page explains the six main branches of the General Assembly and the responsibilities of each. Within this Web site, there are tabs that lead to a more detailed description of each subsidiary organ. In addition, it provides distinct links to the Credentials Committee and the General Committee, giving a small composition of both.
This press release provides insight into draft resolutions that were recently approved by the Third Committee. It provides some detail about issues such as the Durban Commemorative meeting and the regulation of private security. In addition, it yields numbers of votes each for, against or with abstentions for each of the eight additional draft resolutions.

I. Elimination of All Forms of Intolerance and of Discrimination Based on Religion or Belief

This statement by an internationally non-governmental organization made up of representatives of the Bahá’í Faith provides an overview of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. In particular, this document explains why protecting the freedom from discrimination or intolerance is so important and situates the issue in terms of human development. Additionally, this statement is useful because it explains many of the limitations to the realization of the right and specifically addresses the right to teach one’s religion or beliefs, issues of marginalized religious minorities, and the role of religious leaders before providing several clear recommendations.

This report is submitted by the Special Rapporteurs on freedom of religion or belief; on the promotion and protection of the right to freedom of opinion and expression; on contemporary forms of racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance. Within this highly detailed report, the Rapporteurs explain the basis of and relationships between the right to the freedom of expression and the right to freedom of religion of belief and stress that domestic legislation protecting these beliefs is necessary. The authors delve into the complex relationship between race, belief, and religion, and discuss new trends and challenges to the elimination of intolerance and discrimination. Specifically, they discuss implications and questions arising out of international law and discuss the focus on, and importance of addressing incitement to hatred.

This article provides a detailed analysis on the relationship and intersection between ethnic and religious identities because Islamophobia is often linked to anti-immigrant rhetoric. Specifically, the author looks at the Committee on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination and its 2009 statements about the intersection between racial and religious discrimination. Considering examples of Muslim immigrants in Western Europe and in an effort to protect such groups, the author concludes that it is possible to address the needs of these groups under the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination, though not for Muslims who lack a clear link to an ethnic identity associated with Islam. Other methods such as analysis of indirect discrimination may also help protect these groups.

This report on the elimination of all forms of religious intolerance was submitted by the Secretary General to the General Assembly as an interim report on the issue prior to the sixty-sixth session of the General Assembly. Above all else, the report stresses that freedom of religion or belief can only thrive in climate of open public discourse. As such, alongside expressed concern over allegations of rights abuses to religious
minority and belief communities, the report stresses the need to consider gender-specific abuses and the need of many actors to foster intercultural dialogue and support multiculturalism.

This resolution is one of the most recent resolutions on the topic of the elimination of all forms of intolerance and of discrimination based on religion or belief. In the first place it reiterates many of the key points on the Declaration on the Elimination of All Forms of Intolerance and of Discrimination Based on Religion or Belief with particular attention to the World Conference against Racism, Racial Discrimination, Xenophobia and Related Intolerance, as well as at the Durban Review Conference. This resolution also provides clear recommendations about the role of different actors such as the media and constitutional and legislative systems as well as recommendations on the need for education towards greater tolerance.

II. Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms While Countering Terrorism

The Universal Declaration of Human Rights was created by the United Nations in order to promote international peace and security by enumerating the rights due to each individual. This is the online version of the entire declaration from the United Nations website and is a staple document for research. Delegates ought to be familiarize themselves with the Declaration.

This source links directly from Security Council Web site and provides basis history and information on the creation of the CTC. As the committee page, it provides history and goals that ought to be accomplished by the CTC to assist countries in programs and help establish programs to combat terrorism. Third sentence.

From the Human Rights Council, this document asks the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights to create a study that will assist in monitoring the Convention of Rights. It also discusses the promotion of human rights such as political, civil, economic, and social rights. Another mentioned issue is the rights of persons with disabilities.

This Web site gives the entire mandate of the CTC and details specific steps that must be taken to combat terrorism. It continues into specifications of what methods the CTC will use in order to adhere to its goals as stated in Resolution 1373 that was adopted in 2001. It provides a list of steps that are taken by the CTC to assist countries.

This document provides delegates with an up-to-date summary of work done by the CTC and CTED programs. The committee continues to go forth with a more strategic transparent approach within the counter-terrorism community. It provides in-depth summaries and reports of what was accomplished within the 2011 year.

This report to the Secretary-General discusses the regional arrangements for the promotion and protection of human rights that falls under item 69 in the provisional agenda. It focuses on the implementation of an international workshop that will enhance cooperation between international and regional human rights
mechanisms which would be implemented by the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights.


Noted by the Secretary-General, this document reports about the Promotion and Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms while countering terrorism. It summarizes the actions done by the General Assembly Third Committee on this matter. It discusses the GA Third’s recommendations and any means of improving existing accountability of human rights within the United Nations field operations such as the United Nations Global Counter-Terrorism Strategy.

III. Universal Realization of the Right of Peoples to Self-Determination

The authors of this journal article focus on the issue of self-determination for indigenous groups after providing a general overview to the topic and the role of the United Nations and International Labour Organization. The authors highlight numerous issue areas related to the intersection of indigenous groups and the right to self-determination, paying particular attention to the current debate on the issue of who “peoples” are and how far the right extends. The authors also focus on tensions within the right such as between the right of peoples to achieve this right, yet the fact that the UN Charter does not encourage action against the integrity of the state. However, as the authors conclude, states have an obligation to promote tolerance and understanding, and the resolution of the issue can be achieved through linking human rights precepts like the right to self-determination, autonomy, and cultural integrity.

The authors of this educational brochure provide a highly detailed overview of the key documents and issues surrounding the right to self-determination. This they accomplish through a focus on all major relevant documents on the subject matter at different levels with particular attention towards indigenous groups. Within descriptions of these documents, the authors also provide relevant case studies for analysis. Ultimately the goal of the authors is to show that the right to self-determination is highly linked to the right of peoples to sovereignty over natural resources. The document is also very useful for research because the authors identify elements shown in many documents that the right to self-determination depends upon.

Though writing from a very legal perspective, the author of this article provides a great introduction to the history of the right to self-determination. Additionally, for those seeking a greater understanding of the subject, the author delves into the different modes of the right to self-determination and explores the relationship of self-determination with unilateral secession. In terms of development, the article is also noteworthy for its dealing with the topic of democratic disobedience and democratization, both at the state and international level.

This is a must read resource in which the author focuses on conflict caused by peoples attempt to realize self-determination, especially arising from the right of the peoples versus the threat to territorial integrity. The author explores this issue by looking at numerous cases and examples through the lens of regional human rights instruments. Overall, the author stresses the differences between secession claims in Africa versus from indigenous groups and how the right to self-determination has become a norm, especially as relates to property rights in indigenous areas. These differences are well worth reading in order to understand better how self-determination may be achieved.

This piece by Marc Weller is a starting point for many other authors on the subject of realizing the universal right of peoples to self-determination. The author starts with analyzing over 40 settlements and draft settlements with the goal of identifying patterns of practice in terms of settling self-determination disputes. Considering attempts to achieve self-determination are seldom peacefully achieved, this article explains norms towards achieving that end goal. The author covers not only how disputes are resolved, but also why the international community does not easily become involved in such disputes and more nuanced definitions of self-determination, including simple democratic participation. Overall, the author stresses that "all-or-nothing" self-determination attempts rarely achieve peace and instead lead to conflict and harm the groups they are trying to protect.