



SUMMARY RECORD OF THE 45th MEETING

Chairman: Mr. IRUMBA (Uganda)

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AGENDA ITEM 66: INTERNATIONAL CO-OPERATION TO AVERT NEW FLOWS OF REFUGEES (continued)

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

AGENDA ITEM 66: INTERNATIONAL CO-OPERATION TO AVERT NEW FLOWS OF REFUGEES  
(continued) (A/36/582 and Add.1 and Corr.1; A/SPC/36/L.27/Rev.1, L.29)

1. The CHAIRMAN drew the attention of the Committee to the statement submitted by the Secretary-General (A/SPC/36/L.27) on the financial implications of the draft resolution contained in document (A/SPC/36/L.27/Rev.1).

2. Mr. MAIMBO (Zambia) said that his country, which had voted for General Assembly resolution 35/124 at the previous session, was still one of the countries in southern Africa which had been heavily involved in receiving and caring for persons fleeing from their countries as a result of inhuman policies practiced by racist regimes. The policy of apartheid pursued by the Government of South Africa had forced thousands of black people to flee to neighbouring countries. Such inhuman and discriminatory policies should be condemned without reservation. There was a definite need for the international community to co-operate in order to avert new mass flows of refugees not only in Africa, but in many other parts of the world. The influx of a large number of refugees had a disrupting and destabilizing effect, both economically and socially, on the receiving country. Furthermore, the problem of refugees had a wider destabilizing effect, since the international community was burdened with heavy financial obligations in order to alleviate the plight of the suffering masses.

3. His delegation welcomed the co-operation among the international community to avert new flows of refugees. While the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees provided outstanding humanitarian assistance to refugees, Zambia welcomed any efforts by the international community to take preventive measures to help curb the escalation of the refugee problem. If no such efforts were made, the international community would in all probability experience further flows of refugees in many parts of the world on an unprecedented scale, which would endanger international peace and security. A just and lasting solution to the problem of refugees in southern Africa must be based on the granting of independence to the people of Namibia and the attainment of majority rule by the black people of South Africa.

4. The right of refugees to return voluntarily to their countries of origin, their right to compensation for the loss of property, and the right of all peoples to live in peace and security were fundamental human rights which could not be ignored. His delegation, which strongly felt that the international community should do more than provide humanitarian assistance to refugees, welcomed the

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idea of establishing a group of experts whose mandate would be to study in detail the question of international co-operation to avert new flows of refugees. Since the problem of refugees had several different causes, the group of experts should examine all aspects of that problem critically and carefully. The significant body of international law relating to the problem of refugees should be complemented in a coherent and comprehensive manner. In the final analysis, however, solutions to the refugee problem -- regardless of the causes -- could be found only if all States displayed the political will to promote genuine international co-operation.

5. Mr. KALUPALA LUKANGU (Zaire) said that in 1980 his delegation had strongly supported the inclusion in the agenda for the item now under consideration. The new and highly instructive definition of the term "refugee" contained in the OAU Convention on Refugees was of fundamental importance.

6. Zaire, which maintained good relations with neighbouring countries, had for years sheltered hundreds of thousands of refugees and knew from experience that that humanitarian duty imposed a heavy financial burden on receiving States, particularly those with limited resources. It was therefore necessary to take preventive approach which would deal with the root causes of the problem, would alert public opinion to situations which might give rise to new flows of refugees and would enable the international community to act quickly before such situations assumed alarming proportions. No State should take measures which would confront other States with the problems and the dangers arising from refugee flows, and no State should attempt to solve its own problems to the detriment of other States, particularly its neighbours.

7. With those considerations in mind, his delegation had supported General Assembly resolution 35/124 and was a sponsor of draft resolution A/SPC/36/L.27/Rev.1. He strongly supported paragraphs 4 and 5 of that draft resolution, whereby the General Assembly would decide to establish a Group of Governmental Experts to undertake a comprehensive review of the problem in all its aspects with a view to developing recommendations on appropriate means of international co-operation in that field. Lastly, he expressed the hope that all Member States would contribute to the search for more effective ways to solve the problem of refugee flows, which concerned the entire international community.

8. Mr. LOISELLE (Canada) said that every region of the world was affected by massive flows of refugees. Over 10 million persons had sought refuge in countries of first asylum, necessitating emergency relief operations on an unprecedented scale. Vast sums of money had been expended to prevent human tragedy from becoming a human catastrophe. Refugee flows had seriously undermined the social, economic and political stability of individual countries

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and entire regions. Those countries and regions could ill-afford that extra burden, which in some regions constituted a major obstacle to development.

9. The refugee problem could no longer be dealt with by providing emergency relief assistance. Steps must be taken to avert new flows of refugees. Since most large flows of refugees arose from man-made disasters and political crises, the ultimate durable solution to the refugee problem must be political. Unless all aspects of the problem -- including its root causes -- were investigated, the international community would watch helplessly as each new refugee crisis developed and would be left to react after the event. Accordingly, the Canadian delegation warmly welcomed the proposal for international co-operation to avert refugee flows. A deliberate step-by-step approach was needed in order to deal successfully with the fundamental issues of the question. Such an approach would be an important first step towards constructive measures designed to avert flows of refugees. He expressed satisfaction at the progress made with regard to that proposal, and supported the establishment of a group of governmental experts to consider in greater detail the various aspects of the question. The group of experts should collate in a single document all the existing legal texts and obligations which were relevant to mass exoduses, in order to arrive at internationally agreed guidelines to prevent new refugee flows. His delegation also welcomed the proposal that the group, as part of its wider mandate, should consider the root causes of the problem. Constructive consideration of that issue could lead to an awareness among the international community of the various factors which might cause refugee flows, and it was an essential element in any attempt to reach an understanding on ways of averting future flows. His delegation was glad to note that the draft resolution called upon the group of experts to take account, inter alia, of the study to be submitted to the Commission on Human Rights at its thirty-eighth session pursuant to its resolution 29/37 (XXXVII) of 11 March 1981.

10. Canada strongly supported the general principle of the right of refugees to return to their homelands; but it thought that, in view of the size and complexity of the refugee situation, the idea of compensating refugees who did not wish to return to their homelands would require considerable study of the financial and legal implications and also of the practical aspects of its possible implementation.

11. The proposal under consideration was directed towards the future. It was always difficult to measure exactly what was gained by preventing the occurrence of a phenomenon; but, in view of the human misery and socio-economic cost of the refugee situation over the past three years, the importance of the task of averting new flows of refugees and the beneficial impact it would have on

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international peace and security -- and on the alleviation of human suffering -- should be evident to all.

12. Mr. THEODORACOPOULOS (Greece) said that his delegation fully supported the statement made by the representative of the United Kingdom on behalf of the 10 member States of the European Community. Greece was greatly concerned by the recurrent flows of refugees in many parts of the world, and by the human suffering of millions of people who fled or were forcibly expelled from their homes and lands. Such mass movements brought about political, social and economic upheavals, disrupted co-operation between States and threatened international peace and security. Joint action must be taken urgently to prevent the detrimental effects of the flows of refugees. In that regard, he shared the view that, apart from the humanitarian action already undertaken by the Office of the High Commissioner for Refugees and other United Nations agencies, adequate preventive measures should also be taken to eliminate the underlying causes of the problem.

13. Flows of refugees arose from a variety of causes, both natural and man-made. Although conflicts and violation of human rights were among the principal political situations leading to flows of refugees, other serious political situations could produce the same results and should be taken into account in considering preventive action. Such political situations, which constituted violations of the Charter of the United Nations and general international law, included aggression, foreign domination and intervention, illegal occupation of territories and the policies of oppressive and racist regimes. His delegation would do its utmost to eliminate the underlying causes of refugee flows. In that spirit, it would vote for draft resolution A/SPC/36/L.27/Rev.1, which constituted a further step in the effort to establish international co-operation in averting refugee flows. The group of experts should undertake global review of all the aspects of the problem, and should take into account the relevant suggestions made to the Committee. Special attention should be given to the right of refugees and displaced persons to return to their homes. Lastly, when drawing up a new international document containing guidelines for co-operation between States to avert new flows of refugees, the group of experts should take due account of existing legal instruments and principles relating to the question.

14. Mr. ANDRESEN (Portugal) said that international community had realized the need to deal with the general problem of massive flows of refugees and to identify ways of averting their recurrence. It was obvious that there was no instant solution to the problem, and that the 10 million refugees would not be able to return to their homes soon. Existing refugee situations required specific political solutions. Nevertheless, the international community should study all

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aspects of that question in order to find ways of averting, or at least minimizing, the future occurrence of the same situations.

15. With regard to draft resolution A/SPC/36/L.27/Rev.1, a consensus should be reached on the mandate of the group of governmental experts. The group and the entire international community must be guided by existing relevant norms and principles of international relations particularly the principle of non-intervention in the internal affairs of States. It was equally important to bear in mind the serious affects of certain flows of refugees on national and regional peace and stability, and to consider the incalculable human suffering which those situations invariably caused.

16. Mr. NG'ENY (Kenya) said that the age-old problem of refugees was being intensified by wars, foreign aggression, colonialism, apartheid and internal political upheavals. An international effort to reduce the flows of refugees was essential as a humanitarian act to prevent the violation of fundamental human rights. Such a programme would prevent discrimination on grounds of political, economic, religious or cultural beliefs and would thus guarantee the right of the individual to live in his country of birth or adoption.

17. Kenya, which fully co-operated in international efforts to accord refugees humane treatment, supported the 1951 Convention relating to the Status of Refugees and more recent instruments on the status of refugees, and regarded them as the basis for future General Assembly resolution. It was gratifying to note that the international community, heeding earlier resolutions, remained responsive to the needs of refugees through the commendable but limited work of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees; but Kenya welcomed the establishment of additional machinery which would promote international co-operation to reduce flows of refugees. To be successful, such efforts must respect the sovereign rights of States, which in turn had the responsibility to respect the basic human rights of their peoples. His Government, in conjunction with the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees and voluntary agencies, provided a broad range of assistance to refugee programmes.

18. Kenya was aware of the serious political, economic and social problems caused by massive flows of refugees, particularly in developing countries. Since such hardships were usually temporary, his delegation urged receiving States not to consider the States of origin as unfriendly. In order to facilitate the resumption of normal relations, the United Nations should undertake a comprehensive review of all aspects of the problem by drawing up guidelines to improve international co-operation in reducing massive flows of refugees. That task could be undertaken either on the basis of existing instruments or through the proposed group of governmental experts, provided that the review was based on

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respect for the principle of non-interference in the internal affairs of sovereign States as affirmed in the Charter of the United Nations. Such a group, whose membership should be determined in accordance with the principle of equitable geographical distribution, needed persons with a broad knowledge of refugee problems.

19. Mr. KOROMA (Sierra Leone) said that his Government continued to attach considerable importance to the refugee problem wherever it might occur. At the end of his term of office as Chairman of the Organization of African Unity, President Stevens of Sierra Leone had called attention to the denial of basic human rights as one of the root cause of the refugee problem. Another cause of massive flows of refugees was the extent of poverty in the southern hemisphere. The Brandt Commission had concluded that the rich countries had benefited from patterns of exploitation in the developing countries which had blocked or impaired their autonomous growth and had left many people in those countries uprooted and impoverished. Moreover, natural calamities such as drought and famine had swelled the tributaries leading to the flood of refugees.

20. The international community was faced with a monumental crisis brought about by the presence of large numbers of displaced persons in countries that were already encumbered with grave social and economic burdens of their own. His delegation was, therefore, grateful to the delegation of the Federal Republic of Germany for drawing the attention of the international community to other dimensions of that grave problem, apart from the humanitarian aspect, and for affording it the opportunity to consider the problem in its full context. There had been a tendency to forget that in some cases the problem could have been prevented or averted.

21. The existence of millions of refugees throughout the world had, in the past, destabilized the fragile international order and could do so again. The African countries of asylum had for long assumed the burden of caring for large groups of homeless people with relatively little outside assistance. Populations of displaced persons had a destabilizing impact on the internal economic, political, social and ethnic balance of such societies. Within the past five years, the budget of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees had increased from \$150 million to \$500 million; but, laudable as such efforts had been, their impact had been considerably minimized by the escalation of the number of refugees. The lives of over 15 million persons had been disrupted and rendered meaningless as a direct result of policies and practices which ran counter to numerous major international legal instruments. The abhorrent practices of apartheid and armed aggression by the racist regime in Pretoria against neighbouring African States had also increased the flood of refugees. It was obvious that new and massive flows of refugees could endanger domestic

order, strain bilateral and regional relations and threaten international peace and security. Member States therefore had an obligation to pay special attention to the fundamental causes of the refugee problem, and to respond to the challenge of the initiative taken by the Federal Republic of Germany in inviting them to explore the possibility of international co-operation to avert new flows of refugees.

22. His delegation welcomed the proposal for the establishment of a group of governmental experts to undertake an in-depth study of the problem and recommend a strategy to improve international co-operation to avert new flows of refugees. In that connexion, his delegation called for strict adherence to the provisions of the Charter of the United Nations, the 1951 Convention relating to the Status of Refugees and the 1967 Protocol thereto, the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination.

23. It was paradoxical and disquieting that, in spite of the advanced technology available in the modern world, poverty should remain a cause for massive flows of refugees. The Brandt Commission had concluded that there was nothing inevitable about that poverty, and that it could be eliminated by responsible and ethnically motivated international and national policies and programmes. International technical and economic assistance would enable the developing countries to develop their infrastructure and become self-sufficient in food production and thereby eliminate a major cause of massive flows of refugees. His delegation was optimistic and remained confident that a start could be made on finding a solution to that grave international problem.

24. Mr. GONZALEZ (Mexico) said that his country had always been deeply concerned at the plight of refugees, political exiles and displaced persons. It had tried to uphold not only the principle of respect for the human rights of the individual, but also the right of all States to preserve their sovereignty intact. While no reason of state should violate human rights, such rights could not be given priority in order to distort social processes arising for specific historical reasons within a State's national frontiers; and still less could they be used to encourage spurious or partial solutions involving any form of outside intervention.

25. His delegation understood the need to protect the rights of refugees, especially when a refugee problem assumed alarming proportions; but the problem must be defined as clearly as possible. Refugee flows could have various causes; and he wondered whether, when the causes were political, a group of experts would be able to make recommendations on averting refugee flows without referring to their political nature and whether it would be able to reach general agreement in such situations. Obviously, it was the task of the Security Council and other

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appropriate organs to deal with political conflicts which went beyond national boundaries and threatened international peace and security, while the response to refugee flows caused by strictly economic or natural problems should be humanitarian and should seek to prevent or remedy the situation. His delegation understood the wish of the sponsors of the draft resolution to deal with the problem on a strictly humanitarian basis: but it believed that their objectives would be better served by strengthening existing legal instruments and United Nations organs, rather than by measures that would cause confusion and duplication of work. Until the problem of massive new flows of refugees was more clearly defined, his delegation would confine itself to the role of onlooker.

26. Mr. THARMARATNAM (Malaysia) said that, in spite of its mounting seriousness, the refugee problem continued to be handled exclusively as a humanitarian issue. Prior to the adoption of General Assembly resolution 35/124, there had been no attempt to examine the root cause of the problem, and there was therefore every reason to appreciate the initiative taken by the delegation of the Federal Republic of Germany. As a country which continued to feel the destabilizing effects of a massive flow of refugees from Indochina, Malaysia supported the efforts undertaken in the Committee.

27. There were 12 million refugees in the world today, five million of them in Africa. While increased efforts should be made to assist those unfortunate people through the strengthening of existing relief machinery, international co-operation was also necessary to avert new flows of refugees. Among the factors leading to massive flows of refugees were persecution, oppression, foreign aggression and domination. Unlike other factors, such as economic hardship and natural calamities, those factors could be controlled if States were prepared to observe certain standards of behaviour. His delegation therefore welcomed the proposal to establish a group of governmental experts to undertake a comprehensive review of the refugee problem in all its aspects with a view to making recommendations on appropriate means of international co-operation to avert new flows of refugees. The provisions of the draft resolution before the Committee, of which his delegation was a sponsor, provided a clear basis for the group to carry out its work without any risk of undue interference in the internal affairs of States or any infringement on the prerogatives of existing international organizations and institutions.

28. His delegation attached great importance to the right of refugees to return to their homes, and wished to see that principle taken into account by the group of governmental experts. The factors which compelled people to leave their countries in large numbers were of two kinds; the "push" and the "pull" factors including propaganda, incitement and other forms of encouragement through the mass media. His delegation was hopeful that the group's recommendations would deal, inter alia, with the obligation of States not to set such factors in motion.

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29. Mr. CHOWDHURY (Bangladesh) said that, while the problem of refugees was not new to the United Nations, the Committee was now engaged in considering the fundamental aspect of the issue. His delegation had joined in the strong condemnation expressed in operative paragraph 1 of General Assembly resolution 35/124, because it shared the international community's awareness of the gravity of the problem and its desire for the adoption of appropriate measures to avert new flows of refugees. Massive flows of refugees constituted a great threat to peace and security in the regions concerned and in the world as a whole, and also imposed heavy social and economic burdens on receiving States. The interest of his delegation in that question was not merely academic or humanitarian, since Bangladesh had itself been a victim of the refugee problem. The problem should not be viewed in isolation but as part of a wider and deeper malaise resulting from the present unjust and iniquitous world order.

30. In order to achieve a permanent and comprehensive solution to the refugee problem, the international community must ensure respect for self-determination and independence, co-operation and development based on equality and justice and human rights in both the political and economic spheres. The elimination of the racist policies of apartheid and zionism and the establishment of a new international economic order would greatly help the situation. If the problem were not addressed in such a comprehensive and integrated manner, only a partial solution would be possible.

31. The United Nations system was well provided with mechanisms for dealing with the fundamental causes of the refugee problem. There were, in addition, a number of declarations, legal instruments and United Nations resolutions of direct relevance to that problem. Full account must be taken of all of them in examining the question of international co-operation to avert new flows of refugees, and particularly in examining suggestions for the establishment of a new organ for that purpose within the United Nations system. In view of the magnitude of the refugee problem, it was quite possible to feel dissatisfied with the machinery presently available within the system; but such a judgement could lead to the adoption of measures which might duplicate existing mechanisms. Those mechanisms should therefore be closely and objectively reviewed before arriving at a decision; and an attempt should be made to determine whether their improvement could solve the problem.

33. With regard to the proposal for the establishment of a group of governmental experts to undertake a comprehensive review of the refugee problem, his delegation believed that such a group could serve a useful purpose. He would, however, strongly prefer the emergence of a consensus on that proposal. Such a group should scrupulously honour the relevant provisions of the Charter concerning the inadmissibility of interference in the internal affairs of States. Whatever the

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mechanism or international instrument employed, a just, appropriate and permanent solution to the refugee problem could not be brought about without the necessary political will on the part of all Member States.

33. Mr. DESTA (Ethiopia) said that an understanding of the underlying causes that forced people to move out of their countries as refugees, or to move from one part of their country to another as displaced persons, would help in the search for solutions to the problem. One of the major factors had been the subjugation, oppression and exploitation of indigenous populations by colonial Powers. Particularly in cases where a country had chosen an independent path to development, enemy propaganda and psychological warfare, wars of aggression and expansion by external Powers and the infiltration of counter-revolutionary forces had created chaos and caused people to flee their country. Through such means, refugees and displaced persons were deliberately manipulated for political ends. Other reasons for such movements of populations included the search for better economic opportunities.

34. The problem of refugee flows could hardly be discussed in isolation from that of displaced persons, since the two issues were directly inter-related. Aggression, identified as one of the root causes for new flows of refugees in the fifth preambular paragraph of draft resolution A/SPC/36/L.27/Rev.1, created two kinds of population movement -- one in which persons crossed international boundaries and became refugees, and another in which persons were displaced from one part of the same country to another. Unless assistance was rendered to displaced persons, they might cross international frontiers and thereby qualify as new refugees. Since there were 17 million displaced persons in the world as compared to 10 million refugees, the international community must concern itself with the plight of displaced persons also since they, like the refugees, were victims of man-made and natural disasters. No satisfactory solution to the problem of flows of refugees could be envisaged without simultaneous effort to seek a solution to the problem of displaced persons.

35. The report of the Secretary-General (A/36/582 and Add.1 and Corr.1) contained the observations of only 26 Governments and a small number of United Nations organs and specialized agencies; and it added nothing to previous knowledge of the refugee problem. In the view of his delegation, meaningful action could be taken only after the views of a majority of Member States had been received. The General Assembly should therefore request the Secretary-General to make further efforts to obtain comments from States which had not yet responded.

36. His delegation was particularly concerned by the main thrust of the draft resolution before the Committee -- namely, the proposal to establish a new organ

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which would have far-reaching political implications. The establishment of such an organ would be superfluous, since existing United Nations institutions were capable of dealing with the problem of refugee flows. The current trend in the General Assembly was to avoid creating new bodies, since there were enough subsidiary organs already in existence. It had been stated in paragraph 37 of General Assembly decision 34/401 that a moratorium for a fixed period on the establishment of additional subsidiary organs should be considered by the General Assembly at its thirty-fifth session. If his memory served him right, the General Assembly had, at that session, decided that there should be a moratorium for two years. Since that period had not yet expired, his delegation felt that it was contrary to the decisions of the General Assembly to consider setting up a new subsidiary organ. Existing institutions should be strengthened, to make them more effective in tackling the tasks assigned to them. The international community must also continue to urge all Member States to adhere scrupulously to the principles of the Charter in order to avert new flows of refugees. UNHCR could be requested to continue its efforts to encourage voluntary repatriation of refugees or resettlement of refugees in their countries of asylum. Conventions elaborated by regional organizations and relating specifically to refugees should also be complied with, since they supplemented the efforts of the United Nations in regulating the refugee problem.

37. Since economic disparities between nations also constituted a factor in the flow of refugees, the international community should take concrete measures to establish the new international economic order. Such a step would minimize the movement of people in search of better economic opportunities elsewhere. The creation of a new organ such as that envisaged in the draft resolution would contribute little to the solution of the problem, would provide an additional instrument for interference in the internal affairs of States and would lead to more flows of refugees. An international effort to implement the relevant provisions of existing international instruments would go far in eliminating the causes of massive flows of refugees. His delegation urged the sponsors of the draft resolution to reconsider the text in order to accommodate the views of all delegations.

38. Mr. SALONEN (Finland) said that the proposal by the delegation of the Federal Republic of Germany for the inclusion of the question of international co-operation to avert new flows of refugees in the agenda of the thirty-fifth session of the General Assembly had been timely. There were now approximately 12 million refugees in the world, and the problem was assuming ever more alarming proportions.

39. The Minister for Foreign Affairs of Finland had said in his statement to the 8th plenary meeting of the General Assembly on 22 September 1981 that the

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international community had been able to alleviate to some extent the suffering of refugees and displaced persons. The International Conference on Assistance to Refugees in Africa held in May 1981 had been evidence of that. Since most of the great human tragedies of our time were deeply rooted in political and military developments, their underlying causes must be removed while humanitarian assistance to refugees must continue.

40. The concept of international responsibility must not be seen as absolving the States that had created the problem, since refugees were usually the product either of external aggression or of internal oppression. More often than not the causes of new flows of refugees were man-made. Mass movements of people seeking refuge in other countries could have serious repercussions on the economic and social stability of receiving countries. Such movements could create difficulties in maintaining friendly relations among countries, and could even endanger international peace and security. The problem, therefore, was not merely humanitarian but political. A fresh approach to the problem was called for in order to establish international guidelines of a preventive nature in order to avoid situations likely to produce massive flows of refugees. The international community should now take a further step in the direction of developing appropriate means of international co-operation to tackle the many grave problems related to massive flows of refugees.

41. Mr. KUBA (Iraq), speaking in exercise of the right of reply, said that the representative of Iran had said that the Government of Iraq had expelled large numbers of Iraqi citizens from Iraq and had confiscated their property "because of their racial and ancestral ties with Iranians". The representative of Iran had himself been unable to conceal the true nature of the matter, which was not new to the United Nations. It had been raised in the past; and Iraq had, at that time, explained its view of the matter and the facts relating to it. The statement of the representative of Iran made it clear that the persons expelled from Iraq were not Iraqis but Iranians who had entered Iraq in an unlawful manner and had been removed from Iraq in accordance with the laws of force. The term "refugees" did not, therefore, apply to them. Consequently, the raising of the subject in the context of agenda item 66 was entirely unwarranted.

42. It was strange to hear the representative of Iran speaking of the treatment of minorities in Iraq and in the world as whole, while everyone was well aware of the treatment meted out to ethnic groups in Iran, and to the overwhelming majority of the Iranian people. The comment by the representative of Iran concerning Iraqi soldiers deserved no response. Events in the war more than a year previously sufficed as a reply to that statement. The same applied to the Iranian representative's remarks on executions and bloodshed in Iraq. What was happening in Iran was no mystery to those members of the Committee who followed events there. Finally, the Iranian representative's observations on help and

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support for the Palestinian people had not been in keeping with the published facts on military co-operation between Iran and the Zionist entity.

43. The CHAIRMAN announced that Canada had joined the sponsors of draft resolution A/SPC/36/L.27/Rev.1.

44. Mr. KA (Senegal), speaking on behalf of the sponsors of the draft resolution, said that in order to ensure that due account was taken of the importance of the principle of non-intervention, particularly in relation to the future work of the proposed group of governmental experts, the sponsors had decided to replace the words "keeping in mind" in the penultimate line of operative paragraph 5 by the words "having due regard to".

45. With regard to the administrative and financial implications of the draft resolution, as set forth in document A/SPC/36/L.29, the sponsors had reached the following conclusions:

(a) since the views of Member States and the specialized agencies had already been printed and circulated and since the Department of Conference Services had already made provision for producing the documentation relating to the Special Political Committee's work on the item at the current session, the figures of \$216,300 given for pre-session documentation (item I in paragraph 4) appeared to be excessive and should be revised; (b) since the meetings scheduled for the Group of Experts from 10 through 14 May and from 2 through 6 August would take place at a time when conference services were available and would not therefore give rise to additional costs, the figure of \$64,000 given for meeting servicing item II should be revised or eliminated; (c) the figure of \$65,200 given for in-session documentation (item III) was also too high and should be substantially reduced; (d) since it was impossible for the Secretariat to make assumptions at the present stage as to how many countries would not be in a position to meet the expenses of their experts, the word "two" in the third line of paragraph 5 should be deleted and the figure of \$10,000 should be revised; (e) the overall figure of \$424,600 given in paragraph 6 should be completely revised in the light of the changes proposed in paragraphs 4 and 5, since reductions in items I, II and III alone would substantially alter the overall figure.

46. Mr. RAHAMATALLA (Sudan) expressed deep appreciation to the Federal Republic of Germany, and to all the sponsors of the draft resolution for their spirit of co-operation and accommodation. In the light of the amendments to operative

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paragraph 5 of the draft resolution and paragraph 5 of the statement of financial implications, his delegation was now able to join the sponsors of the draft resolution, and hoped that it would be adopted by consensus.

47. The CHAIRMAN said that, if he heard no objections, he would take it that the Committee wished to adopt the draft resolution without a vote.

48. Draft resolution A/SPC/36/L.27/Rev.1, as orally amended, was adopted without a vote.

49. Mr. RAMIN (Israel), speaking in explanation of vote, said that his delegation had supported the draft resolution on the understanding that, where there was an anomalous relationship, including a state of war, between countries concerned in refugee flows, the so-called right of return of refugees and displaced persons and the question of compensation required an appropriate approach. In such cases, both issues would be among the components of negotiations on a comprehensive settlement and peace agreement between the States concerned.

50. Mr. SMIRNOV (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics), speaking in explanation of vote, said that it was his delegation's understanding that the question of improving international co-operation to avert new massive flows of refugees would be the main subject of future consideration. Such consideration must be based on existing and generally accepted treaties, on the principle affirmed in the Charter of the United Nations concerning the inadmissibility of interference by States in the internal affairs of other States and also on the provisions of the Charter concerning the inadmissibility of United Nations interference in matters falling within the internal competence of any State. Care must also be taken to avoid duplicating the work of existing United Nations organs.

51. In view of the complexity of the problem of refugee flows, the views of different States must be taken fully into account in considering the problem; and the outcome of such consideration must reflect only agreed views. A business-like approach rather than an abstract or theoretical approach must be adopted; and in the search for ways of averting new refugee flows, it must be remembered that their main sources would probably be South Africa and the territories occupied by Israel. Since consideration of the question must be conducted in a calm and business-like manner, his delegation welcomed the statement by the representative of the Federal Republic of Germany that such consideration must not provide an occasion for settling past political scores but rather for trying to create a better situation in the future. The question of refugee flows must not be studied for political, propagandist or other similar purposes but with a view to improving international co-operation in that area.

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52. His delegation endorsed the comments made by the representative of Senegal with regard to the financial implications of the draft resolution. It believed that, in the light of those comments, items I, II and III in paragraph 4 of document A/SPC/36/L.29 should be altogether deleted and item IV should be revised with a view to substantially reducing the figure given. He hoped that the Secretariat would make such changes in the light of the comments he had just made.

3. Mr. TAHINDRO (Madagascar), speaking in explanation of vote, said that although his delegation had been prepared to join in the consensus on the draft resolution, it was not totally satisfied with many of its provisions. In particular, it regretted that the draft attempted to mitigate the consequences rather than tackle the causes of the refugee problem which, as everyone knew, included the existing unjust international economic order, colonialism, the plundering of the natural resources of developing countries by transnational corporations, and apartheid.

54. His delegation was therefore opposed the establishment of a group of governmental experts, especially since that group might duplicate the work of existing organs. The mandate of the group, as set out in operative paragraph 5, seemed to be the product of intellectual theorizing, whereas the causes of the problem were perfectly real and visible. If the sponsors of the resolution wanted to improve international co-operation to avert refugee flows, all they had to do was to encourage the establishment of the new international economic order and take positive action to eliminate apartheid and colonialism. For the above reasons, his delegation would have abstained had the draft resolution been put to a vote.

55. Mr. NGUYEN (Viet Nam), speaking in explanation of vote, said that, although the text of the resolution had been substantially improved, it was still very unbalanced and ambiguous. His delegation would therefore have abstained had the draft been put to a vote.

56. Mr. DE MOURA (Brazil), speaking in explanation of vote, said that his Government's views on item 66 were to be found on pages 10-11 of the Secretary-General's report (A/36/582). Above all, his Government believed that a proliferation of new organs must be avoided, and that the work of existing organs must be concentrated on the humanitarian and social aspects of the problem of massive refugee flows,

57. With regard to the resolution just adopted, his delegation had some reservations concerning the mandate of the future group of governmental experts and believed that its mandate should be more specific.

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58. Mr. SHERIFIS (Cyprus), speaking in explanation of vote, said that his delegation had supported the draft resolution because of its humanitarian value. It believed, however, that the international community should concern itself with all those who had been made destitute and forced to leave their homes and land, irrespective of whether they had been forced to cross the borders of their country -- thereby qualifying as refugees -- or had been made destitute within their own country and therefore qualified as displaced persons. His delegation's participation in the consensus had been subject to that reservation; and he wished to request that the resolution should be regarded as covering both refugees and displaced persons.

59. Mr. SASORIT (Lao People's Democratic Republic), speaking in explanation of vote, said that, if a separate vote had been taken on operative paragraph 3 of the draft resolution, his delegation would have abstained. It would have preferred paragraph 3 to have been better worded so that it left no room for any misunderstanding of the rights of refugees.

60. The fact that his delegation had joined in the consensus on the draft resolution did not in any way affect the sovereign rights of his country which, within the limits of its possibilities and under very special conditions, was pursuing a profoundly humane policy towards all its citizens.

61. Mr. DESTA (Ethiopia), speaking in explanation of vote, said that, had the draft resolution had been put to a vote, his delegation would have abstained for reasons given in his statement earlier in the meeting.

62. Mr. BLANCO (Cuba), speaking in explanation of vote, said that his country's position on the item under consideration could be found in the report of the Secretary-General (A/36/582/Add.1). His delegation was one of those that believed that only the establishment of a new system of international relations based on respect for the independence, sovereignty and self-determination of peoples and on international co-operation for development would avert massive flows of refugees in the future. Colonialism, apartheid, wars of aggression, foreign occupation, racism, the exploitation of underdeveloped countries and the present unjust international economic order did not constitute an appropriate setting for a solution to the tragedy faced by refugees the world over; and as long as they persisted, the number of refugees and displaced persons would only increase.

63. The Cuban delegation believed that United Nations already had the necessary organs -- namely, the General Assembly, the Security Council, the Economic and Social Council and the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees -- to tackle the roots of the refugee problem. It also thought that

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there were already enough rules and principles in the Charter of the United Nations and other major international instruments which, if effectively applied, were more than adequate to help prevent situations which might result in flows of refugees.

64. However, as his delegation was genuinely concerned at the tragedy suffered by millions of refugees throughout the world, it would not obstruct any legitimate effort to prevent or alleviate their suffering. Cuba had received thousands of refugees and exiles from Latin America, Africa, Palestine and elsewhere, many of whom still lived in Cuba where they enjoyed the same treatment and benefits as Cubans. Insofar as the present initiative represented a genuine humanitarian measure rather than an instrument for demographic protection, cold war or interference in the internal affairs of States, his delegation would support it. Similarly, as long as the group of governmental experts did not attempt to take over the work of official United Nations organs or to become such an organ itself, his delegation would be prepared to participate in it directly and hoped that its work would be pursued in the same spirit as that which had prevailed in the Committee during consideration of the item.

65. Mr. CAMARA (Guinea), speaking in explanation of vote, said that his delegation was not opposed to international co-operation to avert new flows of refugees but believed that the causes of such flows had not been adequately reflected in the resolution. If future international co-operation was to be based only on that resolution, and in particular on the fifth preambular paragraph, it would probably prove somewhat superficial. His delegation would therefore have abstained if the draft resolution had been put to a vote.

66. Mr. MUSA (Somalia) observed that the resolution made no mention of displaced persons, and that the statement by the representative of Cyprus accordingly reflected the position of the delegation of Cyprus only.

67. The CHAIRMAN declared that the Committee had concluded its consideration of agenda item 66.

The meeting rose at 12.55 p.m.