

United Nations  
GENERAL  
ASSEMBLY

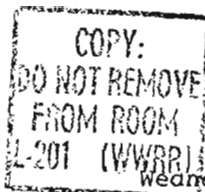
FORTIETH SESSION

Official Records\*



UN LIBRARY

DEC 20 1985



THIRD COMMITTEE  
41st meeting  
held on  
Wednesday, 13 November 1985  
at 6 p.m.  
New York

SUMMARY RECORD OF THE 41st MEETING

Chairman: Mr. ZADOR (Hungary)

later: Mr. HAMER (Netherlands)

CONTENTS

AGENDA ITEM 105: OFFICE OF THE UNITED NATIONS HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR REFUGEES  
(continued)

- (a) REPORT OF THE HIGH COMMISSIONER (continued)
- (b) ASSISTANCE TO REFUGEES IN AFRICA: REPORT OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL  
(continued)

\*This record is subject to correction. Corrections should be sent under the signature of a member of the delegation concerned within one week of the date of publication to the Chief of the Official Records Editing Section, room DC2-750, 2 United Nations Plaza, and incorporated in a copy of the record.

Corrections will be issued after the end of the session, in a separate fascicle for each Committee.

Distr. GENERAL  
A/C.3/40/SR.41  
19 November 1985

ORIGINAL: ENGLISH

The meeting was called to order at 6 p.m.

AGENDA ITEM 105: OFFICE OF THE UNITED NATIONS HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR REFUGEES (continued) (A/40/3, A/40/12 and Add.1, A/40/88, A/40/89, A/40/117, A/40/135 and Add.1, A/40/267, A/40/425, A/40/491, A/40/492, A/40/501, A/40/586, A/40/587, A/40/588, A/40/589, A/40/590, A/40/678, A/40/750)

(a) REPORT OF THE HIGH COMMISSIONER (continued)

(b) ASSISTANCE TO REFUGEES IN AFRICA: REPORT OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL (continued)

1. Mrs. KOZAKCU-MARCOULLIS (Cyprus) said that her delegation considered the role of UNHCR to be extremely valuable and the achievements of the Office to be among the most praiseworthy activities of the United Nations.

2. Her delegation fully shared the view that the High Commissioner's functions were and should remain apolitical. It was not his responsibility to redress the injustices inflicted upon people because certain Governments contemptuously flouted the Charter and the decisions of the United Nations, and continued to pursue their illegal actions with impunity.

3. She noted that refugee movements today were very different from those that occurred in the post-World War II era, because today they were generated by the displacement of people as a result of serious internal disturbances or armed conflict, aggression and military occupation. Often other factors such as famine, disease, drought or other physical hardship contributed to the creation of refugee situations. That was why, as stated in the UNHCR report (A/40/12), the General Assembly had extended the mandate of the Office to cover other categories of persons who were in a refugee-like situation. Her delegation had consistently supported that broader definition because it believed that the international community could not apathetically watch millions of uprooted people suffer and die because they did not fit the proper definition.

4. The Government and people of Cyprus shared the suffering of refugees the world over because almost 200,000 of its people had been forcibly expelled from their ancestral homes and had become destitute refugees in their own country as a result of the 1974 Turkish invasion, which culminated in the military occupation of nearly 40 per cent of the territory of Cyprus. That abhorrent crime had been coupled with the systematic looting and usurpation of the properties of the indigenous people and massive colonization of the occupied territories by settlers from the aggressor country, with the sinister aim of changing the demographic composition of Cyprus. Thus far, the invader had refused to allow the displaced persons to return to their homes, in flagrant violation of numerous United Nations resolutions. The return of the displaced persons to their homes was a matter of fundamental humanitarian, economic, political and psychological significance and an indispensable part of a just and viable solution of the problem.

(Mrs. Kozakou-Marcoullis, Cyprus)

5. Thanks to the generous assistance of the international community, channelled through UNHCR and other international organizations or directly by Governments, the people of Cyprus had survived the terrible crimes inflicted upon them. It would be absurd, however, as well as inhuman to assert that because some of the urgent economic and social needs of the refugees had been met, they had in some way lost the right to return to their homes. She reiterated that the right of return of the displaced persons in Cyprus was inalienable and sacrosanct. The firm belief in that right and the consistent support of the international community remained the foundation of the Cypriot struggle for freedom and justice and for a united country.

6. Mr. Hamer (Netherlands) took the Chair.

7. Mr. CASTELLON (Nicaragua) said that the humanitarian and apolitical principles upon which the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) was based could be effectively safeguarded only with the support of Governments. It was disturbing, therefore, that some Governments disregarded the basic humanitarian norms embodied in the 1951 United Nations Convention relating to the Status of Refugees and the 1967 Protocol, thus increasing the suffering of the refugees and their families. The financial difficulties currently facing UNHCR, which were endangering many vitally important programmes in various parts of the world cast another dark shadow on the refugees' existence. The international community must respond to the pleas of UNHCR for resources to enable it to continue its humanitarian work. He noted, however, that the burden of dealing with refugees, however, was not equitably distributed, as could be seen by the enormous numbers of refugees who had sought refuge in developing countries.

8. In the 1984 Cartagena Declaration on Refugees, the definition of refugees had been expanded to include persons who had fled their countries because their lives, safety or freedom had been threatened by generalized violence, foreign aggression, occupation or domination, internal conflicts, massive violation of human rights or other circumstances seriously disturbing to public peace. That criterion had been adopted by the Government of Nicaragua for the admission of refugees, since it largely reflected the problems being faced by the peoples of Central America.

9. The causes of instability in the region also lay in the exploitation, oppression and inequality which had victimized the Central American peoples. Throughout their history they had suffered from the consequences of the deplorable alliance between anti-democratic Governments and the Power to the north. Nicaragua, because it was following an independent path, was the victim of external aggression which had resulted in great human, political and economic cost to its population and had driven some citizens out of Nicaragua.

10. In that connection, he noted that Nicaragua was participating actively in international forums which were seeking peaceful solutions to the problem of refugees in Central America. He stressed his Government's excellent co-operative relations with UNHCR in its programme in Nicaragua. Approximately 23,000 refugees had entered Nicaragua during the past five years, 5,000 of whom had received direct attention from the National Refugee Office; with the help of UNHCR, that number had been gradually decreasing. The remaining 18,000 refugees had been incorporated into the productive mainstream without the need for international aid. He noted

(Mr. Castellon, Nicaragua)

that, although the figures might seem modest, the population of Nicaragua was only 3,500,000. The treatment of refugees in Nicaragua contrasted with their treatment in other countries, where they were discriminated against in employment, denied the right to work, or subjected to all types of pressures, including abductions and forced recruitment.

11. The Government of Nicaragua, in its search for durable solutions to the refugee problem, guaranteed every facility for those who sought voluntary repatriation. It understood the institution of asylum as being of a peaceful, apolitical and entirely humanitarian nature, and not as a hostile act towards the country of origin. However, his Government was concerned that, in neighbouring countries, Nicaraguan refugees were forced to escape from the camps at the risk of their lives, in order to return to their country. Moreover, the number of refugees was exaggerated and was being used to apply political pressure. His delegation felt that the principles of asylum should be respected and that the Governments concerned should co-operate with UNHCR through tripartite commissions, as recommended in the Cartagena declaration and the relevant section of the Contadora Act on Peace and Co-operation in Central America.

12. The Government of Nicaragua, by extending the amnesty decree until 19 July 1986, was encouraging, with the participation of UNHCR, the return of those Nicaraguans who, because of external aggression, had been forced to emigrate or had been abducted by bands of mercenaries and taken to neighbouring countries.

13. The Government was also involved in a process of consultation with the indigenous peoples of its Atlantic coast with a view to the elaboration of a statute granting autonomy to that region, so that those peoples could resettle in their original communities. Most of the refugees from those ethnic groups, who were currently in Honduras, had expressed the desire to return to their former communities and to participate in the consultation. The Nicaraguan Government estimated that some 500,000 persons would return in the next few months. To guard the security of those communities, his Government had established peace negotiations with two Miskito organizations. A cease-fire had been agreed to, and it was hoped that peace would soon be achieved in the region, although the interventionist policy of the United States was still the principal obstacle. His Government expressed the hope that the Government of Honduras would be increasingly co-operative and understanding in the repatriation process and that a Nicaragua-Honduras-UNHCR tripartite commission would be formed.

14. Lastly, his Government expressed concern at the lack of consensus at the thirty-sixth session of UNHCR on the preparation of a statement of draft principles to prevent and/or condemn military and armed attacks on refugee camps and settlements, in view of the continuation of such acts in various parts of the world.

15. Mr. AGUILAR (Guatemala) said that his delegation was concerned at the increasing number of refugees and displaced persons throughout the world. Large numbers of people had been displaced from Guatemala, for example, by the subversive violence which had affected a number of areas in the high plateau and forced to seek refuge in Mexico, where a number of refugee camps had been established near the border with Guatemala.

(Mr. Aguilar, Guatemala)

16. His country wished to thank the Government of Mexico, the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, and the many other international humanitarian organizations which had assisted Guatemalan refugees, most of whom were women, children and old people, who wished only to live in peace, freedom and safety.

17. Guatemala would be happy to welcome back those of its citizens who were now living outside the national territory, and urged them to return voluntarily to their native communities. His Government was collaborating with the Government of Mexico, the Mexican Red Cross, the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees and the League of Red Cross Societies, in co-ordination with the Red Cross of Guatemala, to put into place procedures which would facilitate the voluntary and orderly return of Guatemalans, by providing them with the necessary facilities and guarantees of protection, and by creating the conditions enabling them to resume their normal activities.

18. The peace and stability which had returned to the areas affected by violence had enabled the Government to provide refugees and displaced persons with the necessary infrastructure and services, including assistance in the areas of food, housing, health services and training in productive occupations, particularly in agriculture. He hoped that in the near future, the talks which were currently taking place would lead to the definitive return of all Guatemalan refugees abroad.

19. According to information received from the Guatemalan Red Cross, approximately 12,500 refugees had voluntarily returned to their country. He hoped that those numbers would increase with the creation of the necessary conditions of security, opportunities for development and a stable political environment.

20. It was very important for communities of refugees to be kept adequately informed of the measures and policies adopted by their countries of origin to provide a stable and secure climate, thus encouraging them to give consideration to returning home as soon as possible under conditions which would guarantee them a life of dignity, justice, security and the enjoyment of human rights and fundamental freedoms.

21. Mr. SEIFU (Ethiopia) paid a tribute to the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees for his efforts, during his term of office, to alleviate the plight of refugees everywhere. His delegation endorsed the High Commissioner's view that the Office's humanitarian work would be entirely destroyed if it was politicized. Ethiopia had itself been a target of efforts to use the plight of refugees as a pretext for interference in its internal affairs and the furtherance of territorial ambitions. But it would continue to care for the refugees from neighbouring countries, pursuant to the provisions of the relevant international and regional instruments; it had always extended a welcome to those of its compatriots who wished to return, as well as to refugees from elsewhere.

22. Ethiopia had not only become a party to the 1951 United Nations Convention on the 1967 Protocol on Refugees but had ratified the 1969 OAU Convention governing the specific aspects of the refugee problems in Africa. It hoped that neighbouring States would accede to those instruments and strictly observe their provisions.

(Mr. Seifu, Ethiopia)

23. Although resettlement and local integration provided viable long-term solutions for many situations, voluntary repatriation remained the most desirable and feasible, particularly in Africa. One instance was the successful repatriation of tens of thousands of Ethiopians who had fled to Somalia as a result of the war of aggression imposed on Ethiopia. The success was due to the Ethiopian Government's amnesty and the Somali Government's co-operation, as well as to the moral and material help provided by UNHCR. For such situations, the conclusions on voluntary repatriation adopted by the Executive Committee of the UNHCR Programme at its thirty-sixth session were very useful.

24. Ethiopia, in addition to having extended a general amnesty, was ready to provide all possible material help for the refugees' rehabilitation. The countries of asylum should make clear to refugees that they had the option of rehabilitation. Not all such countries were doing so; some were using refugee situations to solicit international contributions which they use to support their national economies and to promote their political designs. However, as shown in the report contained in document A/40/587, cases of spontaneous and voluntary return to the country of origin had exposed the fallacy of the frequent allegations made against Ethiopia and, more importantly, had frustrated dangerous ambitions of their authors.

25. Successful repatriation also required adequate material and financial assistance from UNHCR and the world community. The hundreds of thousands of refugees in eastern Ethiopia registered by the League of Red Cross Societies urgently needed help on a scale which UNHCR's efforts, valuable as they were, could not provide. The problem again underscored the link between relief aid and development assistance stressed at the Second International Conference on Assistance to Refugees in Africa (ICARA II). His delegation urged the donor community to do its utmost to fund the various projects presented to that conference.

26. His country fully upheld, as a matter of principle, the General Assembly's condemnation, in resolution 39/140, of all violations of the rights and safety of refugees and asylum-seekers. It therefore condemned the South African racist regime's acts against innocent civilian refugees, including freedom fighters, in the front-line States.

27. UNHCR had a special responsibility to prevent the use of refugee camps as bases for subversion and sabotage against neighbouring States. The relevant OAU Convention imposed clear obligations in that regard, which must be assumed by all countries of asylum.

28. His delegation agreed with the High Commissioner that UNHCR must remain entirely non-political, be guided solely by genuine humanitarian principles and earn the confidence of all States, donor or recipient; it hoped that those aims would continue to guide UNHCR and the new High Commissioner.

29. Mr. AMED (Afghanistan) said that his delegation was prepared to work in a constructive and responsible manner in the Committee. However, it regretted that its attitude was not reciprocated by all delegations, some of which had repeatedly tried to introduce issues that were totally irrelevant to the item under consideration.

30. The Government of Afghanistan had always remained a staunch supporter of United Nations humanitarian activities, including the work of UNHCR. However, his delegation believed that a distinction should be made between people who were truly displaced and politically-motivated saboteurs and criminals who had fled justice. The deliberate policy of provoking the illegal departure of people from some countries and using refugees as a means of destabilizing economic, social and political life in other nations had contributed to aggravating the refugee problem.

31. In pursuance of the aims of its popular revolution, the Government of Afghanistan had taken major steps towards emancipating the toiling masses from the yoke of unjust feudal relationships that had prevailed in the country. Now Afghan men and women had equality of rights before the law in all spheres of life and extensive revolutionary measures had been taken to abolish illiteracy. Since those reforms were not in line with the predatory interests of the exploiting classes and international imperialism, following the revolution, internal reaction and world imperialism had begun counter-revolutionary plots against Afghanistan.

32. The evidence showed that some ringleaders of the present counter-revolutionary bands had lived in Pakistan even before the victory of the Afghan revolution. Lies, coercion and terror by the counter-revolutionaries had temporarily forced many duped Afghans into exile where they entered so-called "refugee camps". The counter-revolutionary groups, through a network established with the direct consent and assistance of the military rulers of Pakistan, had enlisted newcomers only after they had registered them as refugees. They were provided with money, arms, equipment and facilities and assisted by the propaganda machine of world imperialism headed by the United States.

33. In recent years there seemed to be a new and dangerous trend towards undermining the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of newly independent countries. The Government of Afghanistan viewed with concern the measures being taken by the United States and certain other countries that had recognized a number of mercenaries as the leaders of the so-called "freedom fighters" in Afghanistan and were providing them with financial and military support and training. That training was supervised and conducted by instructors from Pakistan, the United States and other countries.

34. In a statement at a previous meeting, the representative of Pakistan had said that an astronomical number of Afghans had fled to that country. That number had been grossly exaggerated. There were migrant workers who had left the country long before the revolution, seeking jobs. Hundreds of thousands of Afghan nomads who for centuries had travelled to and from Pakistan during seasonal migrations were now being prevented from returning to Afghanistan and were registered as "refugees". There was also double registration, over-registration, fraud and embezzlement and registration of local inhabitants as refugees. The Government of

(Mr. Amed, Afghanistan)

Pakistan was also trying to squeeze funds out of different sources in the name of "Afghan refugees". It was therefore only natural that both the counter-revolutionary ringleaders in Peshawar and the military rulers of Pakistan were falsifying the number of fugitives. Moreover, the former were recruiting soldiers from among them.

35. The Government of Afghanistan viewed with concern the financial and military support being provided to Afghan counter-revolutionaries. It was convinced that such assistance, instead of helping to stabilize the situation and consolidate peace in the region, caused the further intensification of hostility and bloodshed and therefore created an alarming atmosphere of continuous confrontation and dangerous tension which might have a perilous impact on the general international situation.

36. His delegation hoped that any international assistance which might be provided to help in the repatriation of the deceived fugitives and their rehabilitation would be channelled through the Government of Afghanistan. The General Amnesty Decree of the Revolutionary Council of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, dated 18 June 1981, had paved the way for the return of thousands of deceived individuals and groups to their homeland. Despite the obstacles created by Pakistan authorities, every day armed groups and individuals, availing themselves of the General Amnesty, were laying down their arms. The Government of Afghanistan believed that the problem of the return of Afghan fugitives to their homeland should be solved in the general context of political stabilization of the situation around Afghanistan.

37. Mrs. NHLABITSI (Swaziland) said that her country worked in close co-operation with UNHCR and greatly appreciated its efforts. Her delegation also appreciated the generosity of the donor countries and hoped that, despite their economic difficulties, they would continue to provide such support.

38. The High Commissioner had rightly referred to the difficulties stemming from political causes in some cases as well as from the scale of recent natural disasters in Africa, with which UNHCR's limited resources could not cope. The political problem related to the fact that UNHCR's action was limited by the laws of the States concerned. That fact had, for example, made voluntary repatriation impossible in southern Africa. The associated problems in the countries of asylum were exacerbated by the growing violence in South Africa and the resultant new influx of refugees into Swaziland and other neighbouring States. Her delegation called on the international community to urge the South African Government to recognize the value of negotiating with all racial groups in the country in order to solve its political problems peacefully.

39. The countries of southern Africa were committed, despite their meagre resources, to rehabilitating refugees. Her country had made substantial efforts to protect South African refugees, including a Government donation of 6,000 acres as part of a scheme to resettle them, promote their self-sufficiency and integrate them in the country's development. Unfortunately, much of the hard work had been undone by heavy storms and must be begun afresh with limited resources.



(Mrs. Nhlabitsi, Swaziland)

40. The latest refugee influx caused by South Africa's destabilization of Mozambique consisted for the most part of children and young persons, having only lower primary education on average and suffering seriously, in many cases, from malnutrition and other health hazards. During their stay at the centre built by UNHCR, they were provided with food, clothing and medical care before being transferred to a rural refugee settlement, where a total of 2,200 refugees in August 1985 was growing at a rate of over 20 persons per day. A small, land-locked country such as hers found it increasingly difficult to cope with such a situation. Assistance was provided through UNHCR and the Lutheran World Federation, but the constant influx inevitably posed a burden impossible to sustain, particularly in view of the additional strain caused by thousands of illegal refugees.

41. The problems of basic necessities, education and law and order had assumed alarming proportions. Figures on the infrastructure requirements could be made available to any interested delegation. She appealed to the United Nations system, the international donor community and non-governmental organizations to continue their support for refugees in her country, which would maintain its efforts to abide by the Geneva Protocol in all matters relating to genuine refugees.

42. Mrs. WARZAZI (Morocco) said that her country had long been a supporter of the work of UNHCR. Shortly after gaining independence, it had itself faced a considerable influx of refugees and it was therefore able to understand and appreciate the difficulties of the countries of asylum. She was grateful to them for their courageous acceptance of a financial and material burden that weighed heavily on their own development objectives and hopes of a better life for their peoples. The support of the international community, channelled through the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner, was being provided from resources that seemed increasingly modest when compared with the continued and growing flood of refugees.

43. Where the efforts of the High Commissioner to bring about a solution of the refugee problem had been successful, he should be encouraged to continue along those lines with a view to arriving at the lasting solutions of which the Committee had always been in favour, including voluntary repatriation. The blow to UNHCR's efforts to stabilize its financial situation that had resulted from the famine in Africa made permanent solutions more necessary than ever. She paid a tribute to the active solidarity that had been displayed not only by Governments, intergovernmental and non-governmental organizations, but also by millions of private persons throughout the world in assembling aid for Africa. Morocco itself had adopted a series of measures of technical and material assistance to African Governments, including a substantial donation to the Permanent Inter-State Committee on Drought Control in the Sahel.

44. Although such emergency situations justified emergency solutions, UNHCR must devote itself more than ever to seeking lasting solutions in accordance with article 1 of its Statute which must not be allowed to become the object of bargaining or political manipulations. She stressed that point because, in some cases, Governments, for their own undisclosed purposes, were unwilling to envisage

(Mrs. Warzazi, Morocco)

permanent solutions. The High Commissioner should be able to report frankly on such circumstances to his Executive Committee. The limited funds available to it made it essential for UNHCR to eliminate assistance to refugees whose status and authenticity the High Commissioner had never been able to verify.

45. The High Commissioner's efforts to protect refugees deserved full support. The steps taken by a number of States to strengthen their legal status and the fact that many Asian and African countries were continuing to shelter hundreds of thousands of refugees despite their own chronic difficulties, gave grounds for satisfaction. Nevertheless, the restrictions imposed in some countries and trends towards refoulement were cause for anxiety.

46. The holding of refugees and displaced persons in camps for years on end, waiting for asylum or a permanent solution, threatened their well-being and led to conditions of insecurity in certain regions. Armed attacks had been carried out on some camps and refugee zones. An example was the recent barbarous attack on installations in Tunisia. Such attacks were a serious violation of existing instruments on the protection of refugees and of the fundamental principles of humanitarian law.

47. She concluded by thanking the host countries and the donor countries for their humanitarian efforts on behalf of refugees. She urged the former to continue to be patient, and the latter to increase their assistance so as to lighten the heavy burden on the countries of first refuge. She congratulated the High Commissioner on the admirable work done by his Office, and thanked him personally for years he had devoted to the noble cause of the refugees.

48. Mrs. REBONG (Philippines) said that her delegation was gratified that in the 35 years of its operation, UNHCR had maintained its non-political and humanitarian character so vital to the successful fulfilment of its mandate. Clearly, politics had no place in the task of providing assistance to refugees; the problem was international in character and her delegation firmly believed that all Member States must bear the responsibility of extending assistance to those unfortunate people. Her delegation therefore called on non-traditional donors to contribute to the funds of UNHCR and on countries whose economic and financial situation permitted them to do so to offer assistance.

49. It was heartening to note that in Asia, Africa and Latin America, small countries with very limited resources continued to host large numbers of refugees, providing them with every possible assistance they could afford; humanitarian considerations prevailed, even in the face of acute internal economic difficulties.

50. For its part, the Philippines had opened its doors to refugees in South-East Asia, and with the assistance of UNHCR and some donor countries, maintained refugee processing centres where refugees were economically, socially and politically prepared for a new life in their countries of final settlement. In addition, the Philippines contributed to the General Programmes fund of UNHCR and she was pleased to state that despite the present tight financial situation, her Government had authorized her delegation to make a pledge for 1986.

(Mrs. Rebong, Philippines)

51. The Philippines commended the efforts of UNHCR in seeking durable solutions to the refugee problem. While voluntary repatriation was a most desirable solution, it should be resorted to only if there were full guarantees that the refugees could return to their homes in safety and with dignity. In addition, the factors that had led the refugees to flee their home country should have been remedied by the time they were repatriated. With regard to the second durable solution, integration or settlement in the society of the country of first refuge, a careful and thorough study should be conducted before that solution was implemented, taking into consideration the political, economic and social conditions in the countries concerned. There was a need for international support and co-operation with both the refugees and their host countries to avoid a situation that would defeat the purpose of integration.

52. In South-East Asia, UNHCR had confirmed that resettlement in third countries was still the most acceptable and practical solution to the refugee problem. Her delegation therefore expressed serious concern that many refugees had remained in refugee centres and camps for quite a number of years, waiting to be resettled permanently. It therefore supported the High Commissioner in his call for resettlement countries to speed up their admission of Indo-Chinese refugees to enable them to achieve a more meaningful existence.

53. Finally, her delegation welcomed the decisions adopted by the Executive Committee of the Programme of UNHCR during its thirty-sixth session as contained in document A/40/12/Add.1.

54. Mr. HARTLING (United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees) thanked the unusually large number of Governments which had unanimously expressed strong support for the work of the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees. He had been deeply moved by the kind words addressed to him personally. He had also been particularly gratified by the number of statements echoing his own view that UNHCR was, and must remain, entirely non-political. Such statements were a source of encouragement to him and would serve as an inspiration to his successor. He was also gratified by the praise directed to the staff of UNHCR at Headquarters and in the field. He was grateful to all those Governments which had committed themselves to continuing and even augmenting their moral, political and financial support for the work of UNHCR. Without such support, nothing could be done for UNHCR could only achieve what Governments made possible. The debate in the Third Committee had shown that its work was regarded by all as a vital United Nations activity.

55. There had, however, been some criticism of the management of UNHCR and suggestions that it might be made more efficient and cost-effective. While he welcomed all advice and constructive criticism, he felt that such comments were not fair to the able, honest and dedicated staff at Headquarters and in the field. There was, of course, always room for improvement and UNHCR was ready to admit shortcomings. The sudden expansion of its activities in a few short years from a budget of under \$100 million to \$500 million disbursed in almost 100 countries had been bound to cause problems. He felt, however, that efficiency and cost-effectiveness had become modern catchwords applied to international agencies

(Mr. Hartling)

almost automatically. UNHCR's total administrative costs over the years had been limited to between 9 and 11 per cent of its budget, which was hardly a sign of weak administration. He did not think that the results he had reported could have been achieved if UNHCR's management was truly inefficient.

56. The statement of the representative of the Joint Inspection Unit in connection with the UNHCR report had been somewhat surprising, both because of its content and in being made at all. The partial picture he had presented was unacceptable. The JIU report had been transmitted to the General Assembly by the Secretary-General together with UNHCR's comments on it (A/40/135 and Add.1). Since those comments had not appeared in his oral statement to the Committee he urged representatives to read them in order to obtain a balanced picture of the real situation.

57. In conclusion, he thanked the members of the Third Committee for their steadfast support of UNHCR. He looked forward to seeing the result of the work now underway on a draft resolution on the item, which he was sure would be adopted by consensus as in previous years.

58. The CHAIRMAN thanked the High Commissioner for his contribution to the Committee's debate and for his many years of devoted and tireless work on behalf of all refugees.

Rights of reply

59. Miss AL-TURAIHI (Iraq) said that the representative of Iran had referred to questions that had nothing to do with the item under discussion and had sought to bring politics into what he himself had called a humanitarian question. He had referred to the war between Iraq and Iran as one that had been forced on Iran, but that was untrue. Iraq had responded to all the peace initiatives of the United Nations, the Islamic Conference and the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, while Iran had refused to accept any. The displaced persons he had referred to were Iranians who had abused the generosity of Iraq and co-operated with Iran. Iraq had accordingly reacted on the basis of national sovereignty and law, as any State would have done.

60. Mrs. LAOHAPHAN (Thailand) said that her delegation had made a statement welcoming the resumption of the UNHCR programme for the voluntary repatriation of Lao displaced persons from Thailand. It had therefore been surprised by the Lao delegation's gross distortion of the facts concerning the repatriation. Nevertheless, her Government continued to feel that voluntary repatriation was in the best interests of the refugees' country of origin also. The Lao People's Democratic Republic should concentrate on facilitating the return of its nationals and on rectifying the conditions that had led to their exodus in the first place. Thailand, already overburdened with Lao refugees, naturally wished to see them safely repatriated as soon as possible. It was for the Lao authorities to create conditions conducive to greater co-operation with Thailand and the UNHCR in that matter.

61. Mr. AKRAM (Pakistan) said that the representative of the Kabul régime had departed from the item under discussion in order to attack Pakistan. He had subjected the Committee to the same fantasies as had recently been heard in the plenary Assembly on the Afghanistan item, concoctions which the Assembly had just rejected overwhelmingly. The aspersions he had cast on the Government of Pakistan came strangely from a coterie of persons brought in by Soviet tanks and kept in power by a foreign army of occupation.

62. The flow of Afghan refugees into Pakistan that had started in 1978 following the imposition of an alien ideology had turned into a flood after the Soviet invasion of 1979. Ultimately, the entire nation had risen up against the puppet régime installed by Soviet troops. It was the resistance of the Afghan people and its repression by the foreign army of occupation that had caused the outflow of refugees into Pakistan and Iran. The Kabul representative had tried to discredit the figures for the number of refugees in Pakistan but the 2.8 million registered and 200,000 unregistered refugees could be checked with UNHCR. The migrants to whom he had referred had never been more than 70,000.

63. The Kabul representative had shown truly remarkable callousness in urging UNHCR not to help his own countrymen. Pakistan had no desire to keep 3 million refugees in its territory any longer than necessary. They constituted a heavy burden, but it was unmistakable, from the hurts they had suffered, that they would not return until the country was free of the fear resulting from the presence of 120,000 foreign troops waging bloody war on the people. One third of the population of Afghanistan had fled. Once the Soviet troops had withdrawn, they would be able to return in safety and honour, with the help of the international community.

64. The Kabul representative had expressed a desire for negotiation. Pakistan had already engaged in indirect negotiations on a number of the points in contention, but it refused to engage in direct talks - as the Kabul régime demanded - on the question of the Soviet withdrawal with a régime installed and maintained by foreign troops.

65. Mr. AKYOL (Turkey) said he regretted the attempt made to engage in sterile propaganda on the question of Cyprus. He was obliged, however, to correct some of the inaccuracies in the Greek delegation's statement. After the events of 1974, Turkey had had no alternative but to attempt to protect the security of Turkish Cypriots. Between 1963 and 1974 their living standards had steadily declined and they had been subjected to gross discrimination. The Greek Cypriots had been unable, however, to dislodge the Turkish community altogether.

66. The de facto situation that existed now in Northern Cyprus, though displeasing to some quarters, enabled the Turkish Cypriots to enjoy freedom and democratic institutions in an atmosphere of calm. They had no wish to return to their earlier suffering and, having set up their own administration, looked forward to a peaceful solution within the framework of a bi-zonal, bi-communal Federal State. The situation had been accepted by the Greeks of Cyprus and the nostalgic reminiscences of the Greek delegation were mere useless rhetoric.

67. Mr. AMSELEM (United States of America) said that the representative of Viet Nam had spoken at length of his Government's support for UNHCR and had accused the United States of aggravating the problem of refugees fleeing his country. Nowhere, however, had there been any hint of the suffering inflicted on Indo-China by Vietnamese troops or the fact that Vietnamese repression was responsible for the departure of hundreds of thousands of refugees.

68. The representative of Nicaragua had also attempted to lay the blame for his country's problems on other Governments. While the President of Nicaragua was using the credit card issued to his mission to purchase expensive sunglasses, the few remaining civil liberties in Nicaragua were being swept away in a mass government crack-down. The causes of Nicaragua's sufferings were the policies of the Nicaraguan Government.

69. The representative of Kabul had once again shown that the régime he represented had no shame. Given the topic of the discussion, and the recent vote on the question of Afghanistan in the plenary Assembly, he might have been expected to remain silent. No one who had seen the sufferings of the Afghan refugees in Pakistan would give the slightest credence to any statement from the Kabul régime.

70. Mr. ZARIF-KHONSARI (Iran) said that he had at first refrained from exercising his right of reply in the hope of inducing the delegation of Iraq not to divert the Committee's attention. The fact was that hundreds of thousands of Iraqi citizens had been expelled from Iraq simply for being of Iranian origin. It was a tactic historically used by Iraq to put pressure on the Iranian authorities. The majority of those expelled had been living in Iraq for at least a generation. To describe them as subversives sent to engage in sabotage in Iraq was an attempt to justify racist policies.

71. It was Iraq's practice to abuse innocent civilians in order to promote its ends. The continuous bombardment of civilians in Iranian cities was another example. It was well known that it was the Iraqi régime which had initiated the war of aggression in the vain hope of overthrowing the Iranian Government. He quoted a number of official Iraqi statements and news reports from before the invasion showing the Iraqi Government's deliberate intention to attack. In the course of the war it had used chemical weapons and bombarded civilian targets. Its actions and attitude demonstrated that its gestures in favour of peace, prompted by the desperate situation in which it now found itself, could not be taken seriously.

72. Mrs. KOZAKOU-MARCOULLIS (Cyprus) said that Turkey's claim that the 1974 invasion had been a "peace operation" had been repeatedly rejected by numerous international forums, which had condemned that operation as an invasion. Its claim that the invasion had been pursuant to its obligations under the treaty of guarantee, was an affront to the Organization. By its invasion and its occupation of 40 per cent of Cyprus, Turkey had violated the very independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity which it had promised, by its signature, to protect. The representative of Turkey had claimed that the invasion had been intended to protect Turkish Cypriots. Under the treaty of guarantee, however, Turkey had guaranteed to protect the constitutional order on behalf of the entire population of Cyprus, not the rights of any specific community. None of the three States concerned had guaranteed such rights.

(Mrs. Kozakou-Marcoullis, Cyprus)

73. Turkey's allegations of the oppression of the Turkish Cypriot community were pure political propaganda, which had been used by Turkey to pave the way for the invasion. After the crime had been committed, those allegations continued to be used as a smokescreen to justify Turkey's continuing military presence in Cyprus.
74. For centuries, all Cypriots, whether Greeks, Turks, Armenians, Maronites or others, had lived and worked together peacefully in mixed villages and towns. That was clear proof of the historical links that had been forged among them. Turkey's policy of partition had destroyed that peaceful coexistence. The reports of the then Secretary-General, U Thant, had demolished Turkey's claims that the Turkish Cypriot community had been mistreated.
75. The representative of Turkey had referred to the population-exchange agreement of 1975 ...
76. Mr. AKYOL (Turkey), interrupting on a point of order, said that, in exercising his right of reply, he had not dwelt on the political aspects of the problem and had merely responded to the accusations of the representative of Cyprus regarding the Turkish "occupation". He was therefore requesting the Chairman to ask the representative of the Greek administration to revert to the subject under discussion.
77. The CHAIRMAN said that, while it would be good for all delegations to speak as broadly as they wished, in view of the pressure of time, he would appeal to them to keep to the subject under discussion.
78. Mrs. KOZAKOU-MARCOULLIS (Cyprus), resuming her statement, said she wished to remind the representative of Turkey that in the Third Committee, she represented the Government of the Republic of Cyprus.
79. The representative of Turkey had referred to the population-exchange agreement as if he were invoking a bilateral treaty. That phantom of an agreement had been the creation of the sick mind of Turkey in its futile attempt to find an excuse for its refusal to comply with numerous United Nations resolutions. It would be ironic to say that more than 200,000 Greek Cypriot refugees had moved to the free areas of the Republic voluntarily. It was the threat of massacre that had forced the population to flee. The representative of Turkey had really referred to a humanitarian agreement which had been the subject of a press communiqué issued in August 1975. Turkey had immediately begun violating that agreement in many ways.
80. Her delegation had been astonished at the Turkish representative's remarks on human rights. The human rights record of Turkey was well known and Turkey had taken the place it deserved as an international outlaw alongside other countries which arrogantly defied the United Nations. The destruction wrought on Cyprus in pursuant of Ankara's expansionist designs constituted one of the most abhorrent crimes in modern times.

81. Mrs. ZACHAROPOULOS (Greece), referring to Turkey's so-called peace operation of 1974, said she fully supported the arguments of the representative of Cyprus. The representative of Turkey sought to conceal the indisputable fact that the Turkish army, for 11 years, had been occupying Cyprus in violation of the norms of civilized conduct and international law. As to the so-called agreement of 1975, which Turkey claimed had solved the problem of refugees and displaced persons in Cyprus, she wished to refer to the UNHCR report (A/40/12). According to paragraph 178 of that report, "in Cyprus, UNHCR also continued in 1984 its role as the co-ordinator of United Nations humanitarian assistance for Cyprus, which provided aid to displaced persons within the island as a result of the events of 1974". If the representative of Turkey was claiming that that report was inaccurate, he would not delude the Third Committee.

82. Mr. CASTELLON (Nicaragua) replying to the United States representative, said that the CIA, which was so efficient, surely knew to whom the credit card in question belonged. The so-called purchases had been a gift from a citizen of the United States. He wished, however, to congratulate the United States representative on his mastery of Spanish and hoped that he would understand the problems of the people of Nicaragua.

83. Mr. AMED (Afghanistan) said that Pakistan played a major role in the undeclared war against Afghanistan: it acted as a springboard for aggression and for attacks by counter-revolutionaries against the peaceful inhabitants of his country.

84. Over the years, in discussions in the Third Committee on the question of refugees, Pakistan had shed "crocodile tears" in the hope of convincing the Committee of its concern for those Afghans who, for different reasons, were temporarily out of their country. The enemies of the revolution in Afghanistan had taken great pains to avoid a discussion of the legitimate right of each country to take individual and collective measures in its own defence; they had, instead, resorted to the falsification of facts.

85. The facts, however, showed that interference and armed intervention in the internal affairs of Afghanistan from the territory of Pakistan had been taking place even before the revolution. Some of the current leaders of the counter-revolutionaries had been living in Pakistan prior to the revolution. Pakistan's so-called assistance to refugees was an instrument for forcing refugee families to join one of the dozen or so pseudo-religious Afghan counter-revolutionary organizations.

86. Pakistan's incitement of the refugees appeared to have begun in 1979 when armies comprising thousands of persons had attacked Afghanistan from the tribal areas of Pakistan. The Government of Pakistan, at that time, had rejected Afghanistan's protest, claiming that it lacked the authority to prevent such activities. There was no evidence, however, that Islamabad had tried to use its powers to prevent such attacks. In fact, reports from Pakistan indicated that the Pakistan army supported the rebels.



(Mr. Amed, Afghanistan)

87. The truth was that the Pakistan military junta was using the issue of the so-called Afghan refugees for propaganda purposes and to extract hundreds of millions of dollars from Governments and international relief agencies. It also sought to divert the attention of the people of Pakistan from their own problems and to justify its complicity in the imperialist strategy of the United States. The continuation of tension with Afghanistan was a major justification for maintaining martial law and for making massive purchases of sophisticated offensive weapons.

88. With regard to the so-called constructive stance of Pakistan on the question of negotiations between the two countries, he wished to draw attention to the provocative remarks made by the representative of Pakistan during the current debate. The debate should not be used as an occasion to increase the hysteria over the situation in Afghanistan and to undermine the negotiations being held through the intermediary of the representative of the Secretary-General. An atmosphere of trust was required. In the view of his delegation, the deeds of Pakistan contradicted its words. The international community would judge for itself Pakistan's claims of sincerity.

89. The secret aid provided to the insurgents in Afghanistan by the CIA had mushroomed into the largest covert operation mounted by the United States since the era of the Vietnam war and currently accounted for 80 per cent of the CIA's annual expenditure on covert operations.

90. The existence of millions of refugees throughout the world was a direct result of the aggressive policy of world imperialism, aided by the United States, aimed at stirring up conflicts in various parts of the world.

91. Mrs. NGUYEN BINH THANH (Viet Nam) said that members of the Third Committee were inspired by the same desire to work together to alleviate the plight of refugees the world over. Her Government had supported the humanitarian objectives of UNHCR and, in her statement before the Committee, she had stressed the humanitarian character of the work of UNHCR. The remarks directed against her Government by the representative of the United States were therefore entirely out of place. Her reference to the United States had been made within the context of the implementation of the orderly-departure programme by her Government and UNHCR, which was aimed at facilitating the reunion of families and in the course of which Viet Nam had demonstrated a spirit of co-operation. She did not wish to recall the untold suffering and destruction caused by the war of aggression waged by the United States against Viet Nam, which had made of Viet Nam a whole people of refugees. She would merely appeal to the United States representative for restraint and for the co-operation of his Government in assisting Viet Nam to resolve the serious problem of Vietnamese refugees.

92. Mr. KITTIKHOUN (Lao People's Democratic Republic) said that he had sought in his statement merely to clarify the distortions contained in the statements of a number of other delegations, particularly that of Thailand. As the victim of a devastating war of imperialist aggression, his country now aspired to nothing more than peace and a chance to rebuild its economy. As a result of propaganda from a

(Mr. Kittikhoun, Lao People's Democratic Republic)

neighbouring country - which enjoyed the blessing of imperialist and hegemonist forces - and post-war economic hardships, a part of the population had left his country despite the efforts of his Government to prevent that exodus. Those who wished to return were free to do so without fear for their safety. As a result of that policy, more than 15,000 persons had already returned, either officially or unofficially, from refugee camps in Thailand.

93. His country and Thailand shared the same culture and traditions. They must therefore work together sincerely and with humanity. The Lao People's Democratic Republic was already working in that direction to the best of its ability, and hoped that Thailand would prove its sincerity.

94. Mr. GEVORGIAN (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) said that his delegation categorically refuted the statement made by the representative of Pakistan; it was from that country, in fact, that an undeclared war against the peaceful people of Afghanistan was being waged. As had been repeatedly stressed, the limited contingent of Soviet troops present in Afghanistan pursuant to an agreement between two sovereign Governments would be withdrawn as soon as the undeclared war and related acts of outside intervention - activities funded on a massive scale by the United States as part of its aggressive policies - had been stopped.

95. Miss AL-TURAIHI (Iraq) said that the remarks made by the Iranian representative could not mask the truth about his régime's nature and intentions, revealed inter alia by United Nations documentation, Iran's oppression of intellectuals and other progressive elements of its society, and its rejection of the peace overtures put forward. That country's President had himself declared that Iraq was an Iranian province and had advocated the export of revolution.

96. She reiterated that Iraq had deported only subversive elements who had threatened the nation's security, particularly in front-line cities such as Basra.

97. Mr. ZARIF-KHONSARI (Islamic Republic of Iran) reiterated that his statement about the situation imposed on his country had been made only in connection with the refugees from Afghanistan; further details could be provided by impartial observers such as ICRC. However, he felt constrained to point out that it was Iraq, not his country, whose policies were expansionist. Articles printed in Iraq prior to the conflict between the two countries testified to Iraq's designs on Iranian territory. Moreover, as official Iranian statements had many times made clear, the term "exporting revolution" meant simply that the spread of ideas could not be prevented.

98. Mr. AKYOL (Turkey) said that the representatives of Cyprus and Greece were seeking to distort history by implying that the troubles in Cyprus had begun only in 1974. It sufficed to cite two press articles. One, dating back to 1964, referred to continuing acts of terrorism and oppression against the Turkish Cypriot community and the resultant exodus; in the other, appearing in France Soir in 1974, just prior to Turkey's action, an eyewitness had reported the destruction by Greek Cypriots of Turkish Cypriot houses and mosques.

(Mr. Akyol, Turkey)

99. There was no justification for accusing Turkish Cypriots of refusing to negotiate, when it was the accusers who had imposed insurmountable barriers.

100. Mr. AKRAM (Pakistan) said it had been abundantly clear throughout that Pakistan had not the slightest interest in interfering in Afghanistan's internal affairs. Nor was Pakistan finding a pretext for tension in the traditional nomadic movements across an extensive common frontier that was difficult to patrol. The amount of \$200 million mentioned in regard to direct assistance for refugees represented mainly food and materials; Pakistan's own expenditure on refugees exceeded that amount - not to mention some \$400 million in indirect costs. Government purchases of military equipment were on a commercial basis and formed no part of military assistance from anyone.

101. The so-called mercenaries were in fact Afghan patriots operating in their own country, not from Pakistan, and the struggle they waged was no undeclared war but a clearly avowed jihad. The only obstacles to talks had stemmed from the Kabul régime; Pakistan stood ready at any time to engage in indirect talks under the Secretary-General's auspices, based on the withdrawal of foreign troops from Afghanistan.

102. Mr. AMSELEM (United States of America) said that the representative of the Soviet Union had referred to the United States specifically in his remarks, although the United States delegation had not mentioned the Soviet Union. Nevertheless, it was clear which country the General Assembly had had in mind in its call for the withdrawal of foreign troops from Afghanistan.

103. Mrs. ZACHAROPOULOS (Greece) said that the distortion of truth by means of carefully selected press quotations could be countered by the presentation of reliable documentation, including the report of the UNHCR, whose contents the Turkish delegation could not refute.

104. Mrs. KOZAKOU-MARCOULLIS (Cyprus) said that the Turkish Cypriots' undoubted sufferings had been caused by their own leaders' policy of confrontation. Their policy and practices had been evidenced, inter alia, in a Secretary-General's report (S/6426, para. 106), which had shown how Turkish Cypriots had been forced by their leaders into conditions of isolation from the rest of the community. Instances of Turkish Cypriot violations of human rights had also been recorded by the European Commission of Human Rights, whose findings had been based on testimony of large-scale killings and rape.

105. The Turkish Minister for Foreign Affairs, speaking on 20 July 1980, had said that Cyprus was to be viewed as a "right arm" for Turkey's defence or expansion, and the situation there in terms of metropolitan Turkey's interests.

106. Mr. AMED (Afghanistan) said there was no need to comment on Pakistan's claim to have a freely elected Government or on its claim of non-interference in Afghanistan's internal affairs. The abundant testimony to the true situation included an article by a United States foreign-policy specialist, which noted that some 100,000 Moslem fundamentalists had been induced to flee from Afghanistan to Pakistan, where they had been forced to collaborate with the Government.

/...

(Mr. Amed, Afghanistan)

107. Moreover, the Government of Pakistan was paying for the training of mercenaries. The United States Secretary of Defense himself had said that without Pakistan the counter-revolution and the forces opposing Afghanistan would cease to exist. Neither Pakistan nor the United States, therefore, could claim that its hands were clean in the matter.

108. The policies pursued by the Government of Pakistan were at variance, moreover, with its own people's true feelings; all national political parties advocated recognition of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan and the establishment of normal relations with it. Afghanistan could not be forced back into its feudal past.

109. The CHAIRMAN said that the Committee had thus concluded its consideration of item 105.

The meeting rose at 9.40 p.m.