

59. Mrs. HEANEY (Ireland) said her delegation had been pleased to vote for the draft resolution as a whole, but had abstained on paragraph 5, because it had not had sufficient time to study its financial implications. Her delegation had some doubt as to whether operative paragraph 4 was justified under article 9 of the International Convention.

60. Like the delegations of Sweden and Italy, her delegation had had some difficulty in casting its vote, especially in view of some of the provisions of the draft resolution, which were controversial. She had not sought to postpone the vote by invoking the relevant rules of procedure because she wished to help the Chairman expedite the work of the Committee.

61. The CHAIRMAN assured the representatives of Sweden, Italy and Ireland that they would have an opportunity to rectify their votes, if necessary, when the draft resolution was considered at a plenary meeting of the General Assembly.

62. Mr. ROUX (Belgium) said his delegation had voted in favour of the draft resolution as a whole, but had abstained in the vote on paragraph 5. It had not had time to seek instructions from its Government.

63. Miss ILIĆ (Yugoslavia) expressed appreciation to the fellow sponsors of the draft and to all those who had participated in consultations and made suggestions relating to the draft resolution that had been adopted.

64. The CHAIRMAN announced that the Committee had completed its consideration of agenda item 53 (c).

AGENDA ITEM 63

Human rights and scientific and technological developments: report of the Secretary-General (*continued*)
(A/9075, A/9227, A/C.3/L.2050/Rev.1, A/C.3/

L.2060 and Corr.1, A/C.3/L.2074, A/C.3/L.2076, A/C.3/L.2077)

65. Mr. LOSHCHININ (Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic), introducing draft resolution A/C.3/L.2076, said that the draft related to a very important aspect of the scientific and technological revolution. It was aimed at ensuring that States co-operated in making use of the achievements of science and technology to strengthen international peace and security and promote social development. He would not embark on a detailed discussion of the draft resolution at the current stage, but stressed his delegation's readiness to consider any proposal which was aimed at strengthening it.

66. Mr. BAROODY (Saudi Arabia) warned against the technological phenomenon of "bugging", which invaded the privacy of the individual and could lead to the blackmail of political opponents; the loss of the human touch and the cohesiveness of the family unit—the corner-stone of society—which could lead to alienation and drug addiction; the invention of chemical products such as food additives, whose possible carcinogenic properties were greatly feared, and defoliants, by means of which certain countries brought democracy to other peoples; and, lastly, widespread brainwashing through the repetition of falsehoods in the mass media.

67. A return to the pastoral life was neither practicable nor desirable. Some happy medium would therefore have to be found between the total rejection of technology and the undoubted benefits it could provide, on the one hand, and uncritical acceptance of it, which had led to a belief in superiority based on technological achievements and, paradoxically, to misery: some of the most unhappy people he had ever known had been members of "highly civilized" societies.

The meeting rose at 12.50 p.m.

2038th meeting

Monday, 26 November 1973, at 3.15 p.m.

Chairman: Mr. Yahya MAHMASSANI (Lebanon).

A/C.3/SR.2038

AGENDA ITEM 67

Report of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (A/9003 and Corr.1, chap. XXIV, sect. C; A/9012 and Corr.1 and Add.1 and 2, A/C.3/L.2080)

1. Prince SADRUDIN AGA KHAN (United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees) recalled that, 25 years earlier, the General Assembly had adopted the Universal Declaration of Human Rights in Paris—an event that would shortly be commemorated—and he wished to underline what the Third Committee, charged with humanitarian and social responsibilities, would be the first to recognize: it was not the words, but the continuing observance that counted. The functions entrusted to his Office were organically linked to the observance of the Declaration and to work that the

Committee had undertaken on such issues as racial equality, political and religious tolerance, and minority rights, to mention a few. To the extent that the international community made progress in those fields, the problem of refugees would be eclipsed. However, the facts as they were pointed to the existence of a fourth world peopled by millions: the displaced and often stateless and others in similar circumstances on whom he reported each year to the Third Committee. Looking back on the chain of resolutions on the question, the Committee would see in perspective some of the tensions that had divided nations and peoples in the preceding quarter century; it would also see the growing conviction among Governments that those tensions must be solved speedily and in civilized consensus. Through the resolutions adopted, his Office had been able to widen the range of Governments with which it

had productive contacts and also to chart relevant areas of endeavour.

2. He went on to give an account of the special functions assigned to his Office in accordance with General Assembly resolution 2956 A (XXVII). Referring to the populations in the South Asian subcontinent, he mentioned the multilateral assistance given to the Bengali refugees, and the transfer of persons as a result of the New Delhi Agreement of August 1973. The Governments of Bangladesh and Pakistan had requested United Nations assistance for the movement of over 200,000 persons. The costs of repatriation were estimated at some \$14.3 million, towards which cash pledges totalling \$6.2 million had been received to date. In addition four aircraft and a ship had been made available. Whether provided multilaterally or bilaterally, they had been woven into an integrated operation.

3. With regard to the Asians of undertermined nationality who had had to leave Uganda at the end of 1972, he informed the Committee that, of approximately 8,000 Asians who had left Uganda, only 111 still awaited resettlement opportunities; the others had been resettled in 19 different countries, to whose Governments he expressed gratitude. Yet, scattered through the world, there were still more than 1,500 Asians from Uganda, their families divided, seeking to be reunited, and he hoped that Governments would interpret their immigration laws compassionately when dealing with such cases.

4. Then there was the question of the repatriation of thousands of Sudanese refugees from four neighbouring countries and many others scattered in the bush. His Office had had to facilitate the voluntary repatriation of the refugees by assisting within the country of origin. He recalled the decision by the Secretary-General, and the resolutions of the Economic and Social Council and the General Assembly, which had made it possible to carry out the operation, thus helping the Government of the Sudan to nurse a miracle: 150,000 refugees were now back from the Central African Republic, Ethiopia, Uganda and Zaire, and many more from the bush. About \$20 million, channelled through UNHCR, had been well spent. At the end of October 1973 the emergency phase of the operation had been concluded through the transfer of responsibilities to UNDP.

5. He deplored the fact that in many parts of the globe the Convention relating to the Status of Refugees of 1951 and the Protocol relating to the Status of Refugees of 1967 were being disregarded and that there were cases of arbitrary arrest, deportation and *refoulement*, and denial of opportunities to refugees to legalize their status. He again stressed how important it was for more countries to accede to the 1951 Convention and the 1967 Protocol, pointing out that to date 64 Governments had ratified the former and 55 the latter. He was happy to report, however, that the Convention Governing the Specific Aspects of Refugee Problems in Africa of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) would very soon come into force, as only one more accession was required. He recalled that, at the previous session, the Committee had felt it desirable that a convention on territorial asylum should be adopted, under the aegis of the United Nations, on the basis of the draft elaborated by a group of jurists in Bellagio, and that UNHCR had been asked to consult with Governments on the matter. His

report on those consultations was to be found in addendum 2 to document A/9012. He proposed to continue his contacts with Governments in that regard.

6. The largest concentration of UNHCR manpower and resources from the regular programme continued to be directed towards the legal and material assistance of over a million refugees in Africa. Referring to refugees from Burundi, he felt that a solution to that problem should be worked out within the framework of African unity. That was why he had attended the summit meeting held at Addis Ababa in May 1973 and maintained close contacts with the Governments in the area and OAU. The overwhelming majority of African refugees of concern to UNHCR came from Territories under colonial administration, and he assured the Committee that, in accordance with the various General Assembly resolutions, his Office would continue to give them the maximum possible help so that they could, on return home, face the future with confidence.

7. Referring to the new refugee problem resulting from recent events in Chile, he said that the Government of that country had indicated that it would honour the commitments it had assumed in ratifying the relevant conventions and legal instruments. In consultation with the Government and with the help of religious groups and voluntary agencies and members of the diplomatic corps at Santiago, UNHCR representatives in Chile had undertaken various measures to deal with the situation. Some 2,600 foreign refugees living in Chile might have to leave that country and only 1,500 places had thus far been offered for their permanent resettlement elsewhere. He appealed for further offers for those refugees.

8. In conclusion, he expressed the hope that the Third Committee would sponsor international action that would enable a further step to be taken towards meeting the needs of the fourth world—that of the uprooted.

9. Mr. ALI (Pakistan) said that, in his report to the General Assembly (A/9012 and Corr.1 and Add.1 and 2), the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees had described in detail the problems involved in the humanitarian task that his Office had been called upon to perform, both within the framework of UNHCR's regular activities and in the form of special programmes initiated at the request of the Secretary-General. He congratulated the High Commissioner on the excellent work accomplished and wished to make special mention of the education and training programme for refugees—a programme which, despite its very limited resources, had provided scholarships to some 1,500 students.

10. Although it did not form part of the report under consideration, he wished to refer to the special assignment which the Secretary-General had given to UNHCR in 1973, in co-ordinating assistance for the repatriation of a large number of persons in the South Asian subcontinent. Following the Agreement between India and Pakistan, signed at New Delhi on 28 August 1973, urgent arrangements had been made to meet the logistic requirements that flowed from the Agreement, and he wished to draw attention to the large number of persons repatriated from Pakistan to Bangladesh and from Bangladesh to Pakistan, and the repatriation of Pakistani prisoners of war and civilian internees in India, who thus far numbered 26,637.

11. The transport facilities provided by UNHCR had been improving continuously. In paragraph 3 (IV), the New Delhi Agreement provided for simultaneity in the movement of the three categories of persons to be repatriated. While UNHCR was not directly concerned with the return of the prisoners of war, his delegation expressed its hope that the rate of repatriation would be increased, to enable the entire three-way movement to be completed simultaneously by February 1974, thus accelerating the process of stabilization and reconciliation in the South Asian subcontinent. At its twenty-third session, the Executive Committee of UNHCR had adopted a financial target of \$7,839,400 for the 1973 programme, but the task of moving over 200,000 persons was well beyond the financial resources available to the Office for its regular programme. Nevertheless, his delegation was gratified at the response of the international community to the appeal launched for funds in that regard.

12. Lastly, he congratulated the High Commissioner and his staff on their untiring efforts to ensure the success of the largest airlift in the history of mankind. He also announced that Pakistan had become a sponsor of draft resolution A/C.3/L.2080.

13. Mr. HOVEYDA (Iran) said, with reference to the High Commissioner's report, that it was remarkable how the international community had reacted to the new problems that had arisen. It was comforting to note that both States and non-governmental organizations responded swiftly to humanitarian appeals and were quick to assist human beings in need of help. Moreover, the admirable work performed by the High Commissioner's Office deserved special mention because it was dedicated to a great humanitarian cause of the era. Indeed, within the political and constitutional limitations of its terms of reference, the High Commissioner's Office had performed miracles in carrying out the difficult and delicate task entrusted to it. That task consisted in remedying the problems of refugees and, as far as possible, finding lasting solutions to them. However, the underlying cause of those problems obviously lay outside its sphere of competence, as it mostly related to political issues.

14. However, it was encouraging to find that the High Commissioner's efforts had borne fruit, as could be seen from the amount of material contributions and the large number of refugees settled in countries which had sufficiently flexible laws to permit their integration. Not all countries had such laws, however, and increasing support should be given to the High Commissioner's efforts to bring about a strengthening of juridical structures to ensure international protection, and encourage Governments to adopt the necessary legal and administrative measures not only to accommodate refugees but also to integrate them fully into social and economic life. Attention should also be drawn to the importance of the education and training programmes which constituted a substantial part of UNHCR's regular programme, especially in Africa.

15. He expressed his delegation's gratification at the co-operation existing between UNHCR and the United Nations Volunteers programme and said it was obvious that the best solution to the refugee problem consisted in voluntary repatriation which, according to the report, had played an important role in the programme for Africa.

16. Another noteworthy factor was UNHCR's relations with other organizations inside and outside the United Nations system. His country expressed its appreciation to all States and organizations, and particularly to Australia, Canada, Finland, the Federal Republic of Germany, Norway and New Zealand, which had made it possible to finance UNHCR's entire material assistance programme for 1972. His delegation also warmly thanked the High Commissioner and his staff and assured them of its full co-operation.

17. Mr. ÅGÅRD (Norway) said that recent armed conflicts and political upheavals in different parts of the world were a reminder of the urgent need for concerted efforts to strengthen and consolidate the humanitarian endeavours of the High Commissioner. The fact that new groups of people were seeking refuge on foreign soil, apparently a recurrent phenomenon in human relations, pointed to the need to find solutions to the new situations before they became permanent. The High Commissioner was not endowed with a magical ability to solve refugee problems; he was constantly faced with difficult obstacles in his work of protecting and helping refugees. It was generally recognized that in seeking permanent solutions to refugee problems and the peaceful and lasting settlement of groups of refugees, their legal rights must be safeguarded. Accession to the relevant intergovernmental legal instruments was accordingly of vital importance. His country attached great importance to further accessions to the 1951 Convention and the 1967 Protocol relating to the Status of Refugees and to other relevant legal instruments defining, on the one hand, the responsibilities of Governments and, on the other, the High Commissioner's field of action. The full implementation of the provisions of those instruments—the translation of words into deeds—was, of course, even more important than accessions.

18. His delegation endorsed all the humanitarian activities undertaken by the High Commissioner in recent years in accordance with the relevant General Assembly resolutions, which had provided him with the flexibility and support he needed in carrying out his work, not only in relation to traditional problems but also in new emergencies. It was also encouraging that an increasing number of Governments were contributing to the UNHCR programme, although more substantial contributions were needed to meet demands on his Office. Furthermore, it should be noted that the High Commissioner had taken the necessary steps to ensure interagency co-operation, particularly with UNDP, thereby facilitating the optimum use of his limited resources.

19. He expressed his delegation's appreciation of the High Commissioner's efforts with regard to the voluntary repatriation of refugees, particularly his exceptional work in the Sudan and the South Asian subcontinent. He drew attention to the fact that new refugee problems continued to arise in areas as far apart as Burundi and Chile, and he urged the international community to support the High Commissioner's work in those situations.

20. Introducing draft resolution A/C.3/L.2080 on behalf of the 30 sponsors, he said that the sponsors' intention had been to depart as little as possible from previous similar texts. The preambular part followed, in spirit and in broad terms, the 1972 text (General Assem-

bly resolution 2956 A (XXVII)) and earlier resolutions, quoting from them and consolidating them. The operative part, particularly paragraphs 2 and 3, also consolidated previous resolutions relating to UNHCR in the light of what had been accomplished and on the understanding that the reiteration and consolidation of those resolutions would help the High Commissioner in his work of assistance and rehabilitation.

21. His delegation hoped that the Committee would adopt the draft resolution unanimously, as had been the case in previous years, thereby demonstrating to the world that the work of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees was humanitarian and non-political and outside the sphere of political disagreements. He conveyed to the High Commissioner and his staff his delegation's profound admiration for their devoted and successful efforts to alleviate human suffering both in the traditional field of protecting and assisting refugees and with regard to emergency action.

22. Mr. ABDULLA (Sudan) said that the High Commissioner's report was always short, precise and clear, unlike the immense amount of work which it represented. Every chapter of the report illustrated the labours of all the members of the Office of the High Commissioner; he wished to mention in particular Mr. Thomas Jamieson, Director of Operations, whose tireless work in Bangladesh and the Sudan had affected his health.

23. In the past the High Commissioner had dealt with large-scale human calamities in Bangladesh and the Sudan. Recently UNHCR had been faced with similar challenges, such as the consequences of the coup d'état in Chile, which added to the chronic refugee problems and demanded immediate attention. It was common knowledge that refugees needed shelter, medical care, training and all the assistance which could be given them. Fortunately, the Office of the High Commissioner had acquired so much experience in that field that it had become the most effective body for rendering such assistance to refugees, as the Sudan could testify. In May 1973 his Government had obtained an extension of UNHCR services. At the personal level, both the people and the Government of the Sudan had already expressed their gratitude to the High Commissioner.

24. Accordingly his country supported the report and hoped that the High Commissioner would find it possible to continue in office for a further period.

25. Mr. FERGUSON (United States of America) commended the High Commissioner on his excellent report and on the humanitarian work he was doing throughout the world. The High Commissioner's primary task was to inspire refugees with new hope and to try to restore to them many of the rights set forth in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, of which refugees, more than any other group, had been almost completely deprived. The High Commissioner had made his influence felt in the lives of refugees the world over and his humanitarian work had contributed significantly to the stability of the countries of asylum.

26. His Government had consistently stressed the overriding importance among UNHCR activities of the function of international protection of refugees. Although the provision of asylum was a function and a duty of the countries to which the refugees had fled, the High Commissioner had to maintain close co-

ordination with the Governments of those countries with a view to ensuring that the refugees were not compelled to return to their countries of origin. Indeed the 1951 Convention and the 1967 Protocol relating to the Status of Refugees conferred on the High Commissioner a supervisory function in that respect. Both treaties recognized the priority need to provide actual safety for refugees. In view of the fact that roughly half of the countries of the world had accepted neither of those important international instruments, his Government welcomed the unrelenting efforts of the High Commissioner to secure more ratifications.

27. His Government found it disturbing that cases of *refoulement* continued to occur. It deplored the fact that some countries did not observe the time-honoured United Nations principle that the repatriation of refugees must be voluntary and it fully supported the persistent efforts of the High Commissioner to put an end to *refoulement*.

28. The two treaties also contained provisions guaranteeing a number of rights which, taken as a whole, enabled a refugee to cease being a refugee and, through his own efforts, to take his place in the community which had received him and live with dignity and self-respect. UNHCR had taken steps to ensure that the contracting parties put the treaties fully into effect in the territories concerned.

29. He was pleased to point out that the World Peace Through Law Centre, at its sixth Biennial World Conference, held at Abidjan in August 1973, had devoted much attention to the question of the international protection of refugees and had stressed the direct link between the achievement of world peace and the attainment of human rights for refugees. His Government would watch with great interest the action taken by the Centre as a result of the Conference.

30. UNHCR had extended vital assistance to hundreds of thousands of refugees through its material assistance programme, in the form of projects designed to lead ultimately to the complete rehabilitation of the refugees. His Government also applauded the High Commissioner's constant efforts to facilitate the naturalization of refugees. In that respect the High Commissioner had used his material assistance programme as an essential complement to his international protection function, with the ultimate aim of ensuring that refugees should cease to be dependent on international assistance and be assimilated into their new communities with all the rights enjoyed by nationals.

31. Turning to the special duties assigned to UNHCR by the Secretary-General, he commended the High Commissioner for his efforts in providing care and maintenance for the stateless Asians from Uganda and in helping them to resettle in other countries; his own country had undertaken to accept 1,500 of them. He also congratulated UNHCR on the efficiency with which it had, at the request of the Secretary-General, carried out its relief programme in the Sudan up to October 1973. Since 1972 his country had contributed a very substantial proportion of the UNHCR budgets for the Uganda Asian and the Sudanese relief programmes.

32. His Government was confident that UNHCR would be successful in carrying out its assignment as executing agency in co-ordinating the exchange of persons in southern Asia; his Government was making

initial contributions of \$2,150,000 to that special programme.

33. Finally, he welcomed the fact that the High Commissioner had achieved such a large measure of success in both his regular and his special assignments and that he was pressing so insistently towards the goals not yet attained. The fact that he had maintained all his activities on a completely non-political basis was one of the key reasons for his great success.

34. Mr. RYDBECK (Sweden) thanked the High Commissioner and reiterated Sweden's firm support for his work. The activities of the Office of the High Commissioner were a practical expression of the concern for humanitarian problems which was one of the principal tasks of the United Nations. Accordingly his delegation was happy to be a sponsor of draft resolution A/C.3/L.2080.

35. Among all the achievements of the Office of the High Commissioner, he would like to draw particular attention to the fact that the relief programme in the southern Sudan was being brought to a successful end as a result, primarily, of the efforts of the High Commissioner, the co-operation given him by the Governments concerned and the financial support of other countries. Another very important task of the Office had been that of facilitating the repatriation of a large number of persons between Bangladesh and Pakistan. That undertaking had helped to relieve tensions in the region.

36. The humanitarian problems which had arisen in Chile were a source of great concern to the Swedish Government and people. Accordingly, he had noted with satisfaction the steps taken by the High Commissioner to safeguard the rights and interests of refugees in that country, in particular his action in addressing an appropriate communication to the Government of Chile and in establishing a national committee to assist refugees. Much remained to be done, however. Several embassies in Santiago, including his own, were still harbouring large numbers of refugees.

37. In that connexion the incident reported in *The New York Times* of 26 November illustrated the situation in which the refugees found themselves. His Government had already presented an emphatic protest to the Government of Chile concerning that incident, and he wished to stress a number of its serious aspects: first of all, the removal of a person who had recently undergone an operation—Miss Consuelo Alonso Freiria, a Uruguayan citizen under the protection of the Swedish Embassy—was an act of amazing callousness and contrary to the promises made by the Chilean authorities, who had given her a safe-conduct pass. It should also be pointed out that the doctors had prescribed several days' rest after the operation. Secondly, the use of force against the Ambassadors of Sweden and France and the UNHCR representative was a breach of the fundamental rules of inviolability of diplomatic representatives, who had, moreover, acted solely out of humanitarian concern. The Swedish Ambassador in Santiago had received instructions to request the Chilean Government to return Miss Alonso Freiria immediately to the Swedish Embassy, whose protection she enjoyed.

38. He fervently hoped that the problem of the refugees under the protection of various embassies in

Santiago would be solved at an early date. Other countries would have to make efforts to receive all those refugees. The most important task of the Office of the High Commissioner would therefore be to find countries which were willing to receive more refugees. Sweden had received some 500, but unfortunately had exhausted its capacity; for that reason, he appealed to other countries, since that humanitarian problem could be solved only through international solidarity.

39. Mr. VON KYAW (Federal Republic of Germany) congratulated the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees and his staff for the work they had done during the period covered by the High Commissioner's report. Their activities had undoubtedly produced excellent results thanks to their untiring efforts to create conditions which guaranteed the best possible treatment of refugees. However, his delegation regretted the fact that some States had not yet acceded to the 1951 Convention and the 1967 Protocol, which formed the legal framework for the protection of refugees, and urgently requested all States which had not yet done so to adhere to those instruments so as to give them a truly universal validity.

40. His country had had to cope with an enormous influx of refugees some 20 years previously and was acutely aware of the situation of refugees wherever they were. For that reason, the refugees in his country were treated as German citizens and enjoyed the right to work and the benefits of social security. Moreover, his Government had almost completed the necessary preparations for its accession to the 1954 Convention relating to the Status of Stateless Persons and the 1961 Convention on the Reduction of Statelessness. His Government had also given a positive reply to the High Commissioner's question concerning the desirability of concluding a convention on territorial asylum.

41. The report of the High Commissioner on his activities in the field of material assistance to refugees was an excellent one. Bearing in mind the fact that during 1972-1973 his activities had been concentrated mainly on the African continent and had reached about 230,000 refugees, it could truly be said that he had done admirable work, especially in southern Sudan and in connexion with the provision of assistance to the people of Asian origin who had had to leave Uganda. The Federal Republic of Germany had supported those activities with special contributions in addition to its annual contribution to the relief programme.

42. He praised the swift and energetic action taken by the High Commissioner in Chile where, immediately after the recent change of Government, he had contacted the new authorities to protect the rights of refugees which had been recognized by the former Government. Many of them had found refuge in other countries in South America and Europe, and the Federal Republic of Germany had offered to accept a certain number of them. In conclusion, he said that the report of UNHCR was satisfactory and that his delegation hoped that draft resolution A/C.3/L.2080, of which it was a sponsor, would be adopted unanimously.

43. Lord GAINFORD (United Kingdom) thanked the High Commissioner for introducing his report (A/9012 and Corr.1 and Add.1 and 2), and expressed appreciation for the effective manner in which he carried out his difficult duties. It was sad to read in the report that refugee problems continued to exist and, indeed, that

new problems had developed over the preceding year, but it should also be remembered that hundreds of thousands of people would have suffered terrible privations had it not been for the assistance of the Office of the High Commissioner. As an example of the High Commissioner's work, particular mention should be made of the co-ordination of the urgent, complex and delicate international efforts outlined in chapter III of the report, and he expressed appreciation for the contributions of those countries which had supplied funds or places of permanent settlement for the persons concerned. Mention should also be made of the successful repatriation of some 44,000 Sudanese refugees, as well as the voluntary repatriation of 20,000 Malawi nationals. With regard to two situations which had arisen after the report had been prepared—the exchange of citizens between Pakistan and Bangladesh, and the problem of refugees in Chile—he was convinced that the same success would attend the High Commissioner's work in Chile as had been the case on the subcontinent.

44. He pointed out that only a small number of countries had acceded to the 1961 Convention on the Reduction of Statelessness, which would enable refugees to become citizens of the countries in which they settled, and in that connexion, he welcomed the High Commissioner's proposal in paragraph 17 of the report. With regard to the question of territorial asylum and the proposed convention, he confirmed the view of his delegation which was expressed in paragraph 4 of document A/9012/Add.2, and stressed the desirability of considering whether the issues raised in the Convention could not be covered by rigorous implementation of the previous instruments relating to refugees. Nevertheless, his delegation would participate in any deliberations on that subject, although it considered that the conference of plenipotentiaries should be held in 1975 rather than in 1974, since the United Nations conference calendar for 1974 was heavily committed. In conclusion, he said that his delegation was a sponsor of draft resolution A/C.3/L.2080 and hoped that it would be adopted unanimously.

45. Mr. PETHERBRIDGE (Australia) congratulated the High Commissioner on his report and on the humanitarian work which he and his Office carried out, and expressed regret that refugee situations continued to exist in the world; in that connexion, he mentioned the new situations which had arisen on the South Asian subcontinent, in Burundi, the Sudan and Uganda, and most recently in Chile.

46. During the preceding year his country had reviewed its position with regard to the refugee conventions; in April 1973 it had acceded to the Hague Agreement relating to Refugee Seamen and expected to become a party in 1974 to the Protocol relating to the Status of Refugees and the Convention relating to the Status of Stateless Persons; the question of accession to the Convention on the Reduction of Statelessness was also under consideration, and the draft convention on territorial asylum circulated by the High Commissioner¹ was being studied. There were some questions in those instruments which Australia was studying in collaboration with the Government of Papua New Guinea, which would achieve autonomy within a few days.

47. Since the report covered the period up to March 1973—although an addendum to it had just been circulated—the High Commissioner's presence was very useful for the purpose of providing additional information, because he had been able to refer to the delicate tasks he had been carrying out in Chile. He concluded by saying that his delegation was a sponsor of draft resolution A/C.3/L.2080.

48. Mrs. BONENFANT (Canada) said that her delegation felt it was very important to continue providing maximum assistance to the High Commissioner so that his Office could carry out the duties that had been entrusted to it. Briefly reviewing those duties, she pointed out the repatriation agreement concluded between India and Pakistan, the transport of persons between Pakistan and Bangladesh and the action of the High Commissioner's Office with regard to the problem of the Sudan were evidence of the effectiveness with which that Office fulfilled its mandate. Canada had made substantial contributions to those efforts, motivated by its deep concern that the problems of refugees should be solved. Mention should also be made of the work of assistance to the refugees of southern Africa, and in particular the liaison that had been established between the Office of the High Commissioner and the United Nations Educational and Training Programme for Southern Africa, which had made it possible to institutionalize the provisions relating to the education of refugees, who received primary and secondary education in the countries neighbouring the territories dominated by minorities in southern Africa.

49. In September 1973, the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Canada had told the Secretary-General that his Government was prepared to give favourable consideration to the requests of people in Chile, and particularly refugees who wished to emigrate to Canada. In that connexion, she mentioned the role played by the Office of the High Commissioner in Chile, with which the Canadian Embassy had collaborated closely; the representatives of Canada in Geneva and New York had also concerned themselves with the problem.

50. Her Government had formulated observations on the draft convention on territorial asylum in Geneva, and although it had expressed certain reservations with regard to that text, it hoped to participate in future deliberations on the draft convention in the United Nations. Canada would continue to support the humanitarian activities of the High Commissioner, and her delegation was a sponsor of draft resolution A/C.3/L.2080.

51. The CHAIRMAN announced that the delegations of Cyprus, the Gambia, Ghana, Greece, Liberia, and Yemen had become sponsors of draft resolution A/C.3/L.2080.

52. Mr. DE GUIRINGAUD (France) congratulated the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees and his staff for the excellent work done during the year. The French delegation unreservedly approved the report in document A/9012 and Corr.1, and was one of the sponsors of draft resolution A/C.3/L.2080.

53. With respect to his traditional work of international protection, the High Commissioner had succeeded during the period under review in obtaining the accession of additional countries to the Convention of 1951 and to the 1967 Protocol, which guaranteed ref-

¹ See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-seventh Session, Supplement No. 12*, appendix, annex I.

ugees the exercise of their fundamental rights and freedoms. He had also reorganized and extended the network of Branch Offices throughout the world, in the light of the problems to be solved, and despite the limited resources available had assisted a considerable number of refugees, especially in Africa.

54. In addition, the High Commissioner and his staff had carried out in an exemplary fashion the additional tasks of a special character entrusted to him by the Secretary-General, including the activities resulting from the New Delhi Agreement, which represented the largest repatriation operation ever undertaken under United Nations auspices. Another large-scale operation was the return home to the southern Sudan of some 180,000 refugees and half a million displaced persons. Similarly, action by the High Commissioner had solved an even more difficult problem, that of the 4,500 Asians expelled from Uganda who did not have the protection of any government, and whom a number of countries, notably Canada, had agreed to accept.

55. In the autumn another tragic problem had arisen, that of the political refugees in Chile, condemned to exile by political disturbances in their own country. As early as 13 September, UNHCR had asked the new Government in Santiago to respect the international commitments undertaken, especially those deriving from the 1951 Convention. At the same time, the UNHCR representative in Latin America had approached the new Chilean leaders along the same lines, and a former senior official of the High Commissioner's Office had gone to Chile to assist in the work. Those actions, which had earned the full approval of the French Government, had made possible the establishment of a National Committee for Aid to Refugees, which had the support of the ecclesiastical authorities, the International Committee of the Red Cross and the diplomatic representatives of various countries in Santiago. During the twenty-fourth session of the Executive Committee of UNHCR, held in October 1973, the French representative had approved the activities of the High Commissioner's Office in Chile, and had said that France would assume its share of responsibility for the international support for UNHCR action in that country. The French delegation hoped that the Chilean authorities would take firm action to ensure that no obstacle of any kind would be placed in the way of the humanitarian activity of the Committee referred to or of the persons who were assisting its work. In that connexion, there should be full recognition and respect for the responsibilities and traditional privileges of the diplomatic missions.

56. The continuing concern of the High Commissioner to strengthen international protection of refugees was illustrated by the draft convention on asylum which had been submitted to Governments with the suggestion that a conference of plenipotentiaries might be convened to draw up a final text. The French Constitution made reference to the right of asylum, and France supported that initiative by the High Commissioner, although it had suggested some amendments to the text drafted by an expert committee.

57. France was the fourth largest contributor to the financing of the Office of the High Commissioner, and would continue to provide moral and material support. The French delegation was pleased to be one of the sponsors of draft resolution A/C.3/L.2080.

58. Mr. CATO (Ghana) said that the High Commissioner and his staff had carried out their work with great devotion, and their efforts to achieve permanent settlement of displaced persons were of the highest importance. Nevertheless, his delegation was disheartened by the fact that the refugee population in Africa had risen to a million people, most of whom came from territories under Portuguese administration, from the occupied Republic of Guinea-Bissau, and from Southern Rhodesia, Namibia, and South Africa. The permanent settlement of those refugees should be closely linked with the elimination of the policies of racial discrimination and colonialism. In addition the assistance of the various countries should also be directed to dealing with the colonial situation, racism and racial discrimination, which generated most of the refugee problems in Africa.

59. His delegation fully supported the High Commissioner's report, and was one of the sponsors of draft resolution A/C.3/L.2080. He joined the Federal Republic of Germany in proposing that the draft resolution should be adopted unanimously.

60. Mr. JAIN (India) said that the High Commissioner had been successful in co-ordinating the efforts of Governments, local populations, non-governmental and intergovernmental organizations, and different agencies and organizations of the United Nations system in alleviating the plight of uprooted human beings in different parts of the world. During the preceding year UNHCR had contributed to the repatriation and resettlement of Sudanese refugees, had extended assistance to refugees in other parts of Africa, and had done valuable work for Uganda Asians.

61. His delegation associated itself with previous speakers in paying a tribute to the dynamic leadership of the High Commissioner, and to his staff, for the humanitarian work done for refugees from Bangladesh. In recent months UNHCR had been entrusted with the task of helping to repatriate Pakistani nationals from Bangladesh to Pakistan, and Bengalis from Pakistan to Bangladesh. The Indian delegation welcomed the help extended by UNHCR in implementing the provisions of the New Delhi Agreement concerning the repatriation of nationals to their countries of origin. There had been references to the numbers already repatriated, but the Indian delegation wished to emphasize that the important point was to repatriate even larger numbers by full use of the airlift facilities that UNHCR had placed at the disposal of the Governments concerned. With respect to the repatriation of prisoners of war and civilians from India, he said that thus far India had fully and consistently adhered to the principle of simultaneity, and would continue to do so.

62. He was pleased to note that, despite all the attendant difficulties, and limitations of resources and staff, UNHCR had carried out the tasks entrusted to it, particularly in Africa. The Indian delegation had noted with satisfaction that the considerable demands on emergency relief for new refugees had not deterred the Office from its basic objectives of seeking to help refugees to become self-supporting and of consolidating their economic and social position. He noted that a number of United Nations agencies had introduced greater flexibility into their procedural arrangements for refugee assistance, and had been able to increase their support. It was noteworthy that UNHCR had

continued its co-operation with the United Nations Trust Fund for South Africa, the United Nations Council for Namibia, the Department of Political Affairs, Trusteeship and Decolonization, and other bodies. The education and training of refugees, undertaken in co-operation with UNESCO, should be further continued and expanded.

63. He drew attention also to the effectiveness of the public information services of UNHCR, which were concerned with informing the public in various parts of the world, securing the necessary support, and obtaining contributions in cash and in kind.

64. The Indian delegation reaffirmed its support for the activities of UNHCR, and expressed the hope that every effort would be made not only to solve the existing problems, but also to prevent new problems from emerging. He also hoped that draft resolution A/C.3/L.2080 would be adopted unanimously.

65. Mr. BAZAN (Chile) said his delegation had taken note of the report of the High Commissioner, which revealed the magnitude of the task being carried out by his Office, wherever a refugee problem existed. For example, the report showed that there were approximately 1,020,000 refugees in Africa. As for Asia, there were approximately 10,280 refugees in India alone, to which must be added the refugees of Macao, Nepal, the People's Republic of China, and Hong Kong. For Europe, the report referred to some 615,000 refugees, and to more than 15,000 new refugees that had arrived in 1972, including 12,000 from the Caribbean area who had gone to Spain. The report indicated that there were about 11,000 refugees in the Middle East. Lastly, there were the refugees in Latin America, whose number had remained virtually unchanged at about 105,000, of which 37,000 were living in Brazil and 33,000 in Argentina. It was stated that most of those refugees were of European origin. Thus the figures were very clear: the High Commissioner's report referred to a total of about 1,800,000 refugees. If to that number were added the Palestine refugees, amounting to some 1,200,000 and the other refugees not of concern to UNHCR, estimated at about 1,000,000, the conclusion must be that there were approximately 4,000,000 refugees in the world.

66. He had cited those figures to show that the refugee problem was universal in character; for that reason, Chile supported the High Commissioner's efforts and had ratified the Convention and the Protocol relating to the Status of Refugees. In addition to discharging its obligations under those instruments and despite its financial situation, Chile would continue to make an annual contribution to the budget of UNHCR.

67. The High Commissioner had referred to the work performed in Chile following the change of Government. It should be pointed out that UNHCR's efforts had been successful because of the co-operation afforded to it by the Chilean authorities. The Government of Chile had attempted to find a solution for the problem of the refugees who, by meddling in the internal policies of the country, had become a threat to national security and public order and, consequently, must leave Chile. Although they were only few in number by comparison with the figures given in the report, the Chilean authorities had taken the trouble to seek a viable solution to the problem of those refugees. As soon as the High Commissioner's first cable had been received in Chile,

he had been given every assurance that Chile would meet its obligations. In addition, certain rumours which, as the High Commissioner had subsequently confirmed, were unfounded, had been refuted and every facility had been afforded to the High Commissioner's representatives. In order to facilitate refugee traffic, safe havens had been established which enjoyed virtually extra-territorial status. A short while previously, it had been disclosed that the representative of the High Commissioner in Chile had thanked the Government for all the facilities which it had afforded him. Having regard to all those considerations, his delegation would give its unreserved support to draft resolution A/C.3/L.2080.

68. With regard to the comments which had been made regarding refugees in Chile, he believed it necessary to point out that, in order to understand that problem, it was essential to view the situation which had developed in the proper perspective. No persecution campaign against refugees had been launched in Chile: there were many refugees in the country, all living in peace. About 9,000 of the refugees who had arrived during the previous three years—some 10,000 in all—would be able to remain in the country, but some 1,500 of them had failed to comply with their fundamental obligations: some had committed offences under general law, and others had carried out subversive activities endangering the security of the State. In that connexion, it should be made clear that it was for the authorities of the country alone to determine whether certain activities represented a threat to internal security and public order. What the Third Committee and UNHCR could do was to make refugees understand that they should respect the laws of the countries which received them and not seek to undermine their national security.

69. It was obvious that the problem of refugees could be solved only if the maximum number of countries were prepared to accept them. If, however, when a problem such as that in Chile arose, the spirit and letter of the Convention relating to the Status of Refugees, in which reasons of State took precedence over the interests of the refugee, were flouted, if the international community ranged itself against the host State and its right to prosecute or expel refugees guilty of violating the law or conspiring against its security, no country would want to receive refugees. For that reason, he had listened with concern to the comments made by a number of speakers, in particular the representative of Sweden, regarding events in Chile. He was concerned by those comments, which were unfounded although doubtless well intentioned, since to continue acting in that manner would dissuade States from co-operating in that sphere, and that would not help to solve the problem.

70. With regard to the remarks made by the representative of France, he wished to make it clear, firstly, that it had not been the efforts of the High Commissioner that had induced the Government of Chile to comply with its international commitments—it had always done so. The organization of hospitality centres for refugees pending their departure from the country was a further humanitarian gesture made by the Government of Chile.

71. With regard to the regrettable incident which had occurred following the arrest of a woman refugee who

had been operated upon at a Santiago hospital and in which the Swedish Ambassador to Chile had been involved, he said that an official version of that incident would be issued that same day and that he had thus far been able to obtain only partial information. He therefore believed that other delegations could not possibly have further background knowledge and that it was premature to express any opinion. According to the partial information available to him, the person in question had been transferred from one hospital to another hospital in a convent. She was in a satisfactory state of health; she was to have been discharged two days after the date on which the incident had occurred. In that connexion, he read out a cable from the Chilean Ministry of Foreign Affairs to the High Commissioner indicating that the matter of the departure from the country of the person concerned would be facilitated and that she had not been the victim of any bodily assault.

72. Another aspect of the problem was the participation in the events which had occurred of the Swedish Ambassador, who looked after Cuban interests in Chile. The sick person concerned had taken asylum in the Cuban Embassy, and the Swedish Ambassador should have requested a safe-conduct pass in advance in order to take her to hospital. In a similar case involving the Mexican Embassy, the appropriate safe-conduct pass had been requested and any possible problems had thus been avoided. He wished to make it clear that the inviolability enjoyed by the Ambassador had not extended to the sick person merely because the Ambassador had accompanied her and that the Chilean authorities had been within their rights to arrest her in the hospital. The incident had been made odious by the Swedish Ambassador's attempt physically to prevent the arrest warrant from being carried out—an act of disrespect for authority which no sovereign country could accept. By his action, the Swedish Ambassador had exposed himself to the application of physical force for the purpose of carrying out a lawfully issued arrest warrant; that was unfortunate but inevitable. It had not been a case of protecting the life of the person arrested, which was not threatened, but of obstructing the course of justice. He reiterated that if the factors involved in the problem were completely twisted about in such a manner, no country would feel inspired to receive refugees.

73. Mr. CABRERA MUÑOZ LEDO (Mexico) said that, in the view of his delegation, the High Commissioner and his Office had discharged more fully their mission towards refugees; for two successive years they had been faced with emergency situations in respect of which heartening, although in some cases partial, results had been obtained.

74. With regard to the information concerning the refugee problem in Chile provided by the High Commissioner, he believed that the attitude of the Mexican Government was internationally known and did not need repetition. However, he read out a passage from the address of the Mexican Minister for Foreign Affairs at the 2139th plenary meeting of the General Assembly which emphasized Mexico's respect for the right of asylum, irrespective of the ideology or political tendencies of the persecuted individual, and indicated that, because of that position, the Mexican Embassy at Santiago had received all persons who had felt threatened and that some of them were already on Mexican soil. In

that passage, it was also stated that the situation remained serious, despite the efforts made by the Secretary-General of the United Nations and other prominent international figures and the official assurances given by the Chilean Ministry of Foreign Affairs. He wished to emphasize the topicality of that comment in view of the information provided at the current meeting by the representative of Sweden.

75. With regard to the regular activities of UNHCR, the progress made in strengthening the legal framework for the protection of refugees, both through the accession by additional States to the basic international instruments and through the adoption of appropriate national measures, was worthy of emphasis. He was gratified by the phrase used by the High Commissioner to define the objective of his programme—"to help a refugee to cease being a refugee"—indicating that the first solution was voluntary repatriation and that, failing that, the second was the integration of the refugee into the receiving country. He also commended the High Commissioner for the co-ordination which he had established with related special programmes and with specialized agencies of the United Nations and other international organizations.

76. In conclusion, he said that Mexico was a sponsor of draft resolution A/C.3/L.2080. The Mexican Government had already remitted its contribution to the UNHCR programme for 1973, and it intended to make a contribution of \$10,000—which was still in the process of being approved by the Senate of the Republic—for the 1974 programme.

77. Mr. FØNS BUHL (Denmark) said that during the preceding year the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees had been faced with new problems of considerable gravity in terms of their scope and of the range of measures required. The report gave an excellent description of the effectiveness and dedication with which the High Commissioner and his staff had carried out their task during the year, especially with regard to the South Asian subcontinent and Africa. It was shameful that human beings were still being persecuted and forced to leave their homes because of their race, religion or convictions. The recent events in Chile provided yet another example of the need for humanitarian action to alleviate the suffering of the refugees. His delegation considered it important to underline the fact that the granting of asylum should never be regarded as an unfriendly act towards the country from which the refugee had come. Denmark, within its capabilities, had responded favourably to requests for assistance from the High Commissioner and felt that the international community should be prepared to support the humanitarian activities of UNHCR whenever necessary.

78. The primary aim of the High Commissioner's Office was to establish legal protection of refugees; in other words, to ensure them internationally accepted rights. His delegation welcomed the fact that during the preceding year several countries had acceded to or ratified the principal international conventions relating to the status of refugees, in keeping with their universal character. There had also been new accessions to the OAU Convention of 1969, which covered the specific aspects of the refugee problem in Africa; he hoped that the ratifications necessary to bring the convention into force would soon be forthcoming. He also noted with

satisfaction that wider acceptance by the international community of the concept of good offices had provided the High Commissioner with greater flexibility of action. His delegation was interested in the endeavours made by the High Commissioner to strengthen and develop international rules relating to asylum and was looking forward to the outcome of the inquiry made by UNHCR on the desirability of concluding a convention on territorial asylum.

79. The concrete task of UNHCR was to promote permanent solutions by which refugees ceased to be refugees and became self-supporting citizens. That could be achieved primarily through voluntary repatriation; his delegation had noted with interest the results obtained in the repatriation of refugees in the Sudan and in the repatriation programme which was being carried out in Bangladesh and Pakistan.

80. It was evident that many countries of first asylum could not shoulder the financial burdens resulting from a large influx of refugees, especially if those countries possessed limited resources, and Denmark considered that the international community should accept responsibility to provide assistance in that connexion. The problems of aged and handicapped refugees deserved special attention. As could be seen from the High Commissioner's report, Denmark had accepted a certain number of handicapped persons from Uganda as part of its assistance to the Asians of that country. His delegation noted with appreciation that an increasing number of Governments were contributing to the financing of the High Commissioner's Programme. The Danish Government was prepared to continue its financial contribution to the Programme for 1974.

81. His delegation was pleased to co-sponsor draft resolution A/C.3/L.2080 concerning the report of the High Commissioner and hoped that, in view of its purely humanitarian nature, it would meet with the unanimous approval of the Committee.

82. Mr. KARHILO (Finland) said that the report of the High Commissioner for Refugees showed encouraging trends in the valuable work which he and his staff were performing. His Government viewed the humanitarian work of the High Commissioner in the wider context of general development policy. It therefore welcomed the increased co-operation between the Office of the High Commissioner and other international agencies, in particular UNDP, IBRD and WFP. His Government had always considered that an effective use of scarce resources could only be guaranteed through the co-ordination of United Nations machinery as a whole.

83. Moreover, it was encouraging that a growing number of Governments had given increased assistance to the High Commissioner's Programme. According to the report, such contributions represented a 14 per cent increase over the previous financial year. That trend, however, encouraging as it was, must be viewed against the immense needs and thus there was no reason to be satisfied with the results. On the contrary, still further efforts were required by Governments. His Government, for its part, intended to make a substantially increased pledge for the 1974 programme.

84. It must also be noted with satisfaction that an increasing number of Governments had become parties to the basic legal instruments governing the status of refugees. The fact that approximately half the Members of the United Nations had acceded to the 1951 Convention relating to the Status of Refugees was a guarantee of a clearer definition of the High Commissioner's field of action and of the responsibilities of Governments.

85. With reference to operative paragraph 2 of draft resolution A/C.3/L.2080, his delegation fully agreed that a wider acceptance by the international community of the concept of good offices had provided the High Commissioner with greater flexibility of action vis-à-vis those refugees whose status had not yet been specifically determined. It was, of course, extremely unfair that an international agency should be unable to provide immediate humanitarian assistance to certain refugees because from a legal point of view they did not fall within the mandate of that agency. Such a situation arose, for example, in the case of the Uganda Asians. That broadened perception of the High Commissioner's mandate had made it possible for him to act more speedily in emergency cases in compliance with General Assembly and Economic and Social Council resolutions.

86. Although it was highly desirable that the Office of the High Commissioner for Refugees should become unnecessary, the fact was that its services were still required, as was shown by recent events in Chile. His delegation wished to avail itself of the opportunity to commend the High Commissioner for his action in Chile. The Government of Finland had tried to respond to the call addressed to Governments for the granting of resettlement facilities for refugees and had decided on 24 October to receive 100 Chilean refugees. But the assistance given by the High Commissioner's Programme in Chile, laudable as it was, should be only temporary. His Government earnestly hoped that the evolution of the situation in that country would enable the High Commissioner to cease his work there as soon as possible.

The meeting rose at 6.15 p.m.