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THIRTY-SIXTH SESSION



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SUMMARY RECORD OF THE 43rd MEETING

Chairman: Mr. SHERIFIS (Cyprus)

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The meeting was called to order at 10.50 a.m.

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

- Mr. KA (Senegal)*, introducing draft resolution A/SPC/36/L.27 on behalf of 1. its 25 sponsors, said that, in doing so, his delegation wished to draw the attention of the General Assembly to a subject which was of the very greatest concern to Africa and the international community. Flows of refugees had now attained proportions larger than at any time since the period immediately following the Second World War. According to the latest estimates, the number of refugees in the world was now more than 12.6 million, excluding refugees considered as temporarily resettled. Africa alone had to provide food and shelter for more than half of that number. In Africa, one person in every 75 was a refugee; and, of the 10 States which had the greatest number of refugees in proportion to the local population, 6 were African States. A growing number of States Members of the United Nations, in particular developing countries, were gravely affected by those enormous movements of refugees. It was, moreover, greatly to be feared that the increase in refugee flows would continue and become more pronounced. If nothing was done, it could unfortunately be expected that the 1980s would really become the "refugee decade".
- 2. Translated into terms of everyday life, the figures had had given reflected human suffering on an almost unimaginable scale, affecting millions of men, women and children; and it was often the youngest, the oldest, the sick and the most impoverished who suffered most. Also, refugee flows imposed on countries of asylum, which were often developing countries, enormous political, economic and social burdens which not only disturbed the internal stability and order of those countries but also jeopardized the stability of entire regions, and therefore raised serious problems for the maintenance of peace and friendly relations between States. His delegation believed, therefore, that refugee flows should be treated as matters of international concern and that co-operation between States should be encouraged within the framework of the United Nations with a view to containing the problem.
- 3. His delegation was increasingly convinced that the initiative taken by the Federal Republic of Germany at the thirty-fifth session of the General Assembly had been taken precisely with that point in mind. That initiative had come at a time of growing realization that the international community could no longer accept the fact that millions of innocent people should suffer and that the countries which gave them asylum, in particular developing countries, should be obliged to assume burdens far beyond their means. It had been all the more timely in that it had enlarged earlier concept of the refugee problem, which had concentrated on the provision of aid and protection after the event; and it had

^{*} In accordance with the decision taken by the Committee during the meeting, the full text of this statement will be issued under the symbol A/SPC/36/PV.43.

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foreseen the need to take preventive measures through political co-operation between States, in order to avert new flows of refugees.

- 4. His Government paid a tribute to the activities of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees and of all other institutions and organizations which provided aid to refugees; and it would continue to give them its full support. However, all those efforts were being made under the terms of existing statutes and provisions on the subject and, consequently, tended to be limited to a posteriori aid and protection.
- 5. The draft resolution before the Committee was designed to open the way for a more far-reaching discussion on possible measures of a preventive and political nature, which might prevent the problem from arising at all. In his delegation's view, the international community was now ready to engage in such a discussion. An impressive majority of Member States - including Senegal - had supported General Assembly resolution 35/124; and that clearly showed that the need for political action and for a preventive approach to the refugee problem was, in large measure, recognized by the international community. His delegation would be glad if countries which had remained aloof at the last session would now take the opportunity to reconsider their positions. The draft resolution was not intended to isolate anyone, since it related to a highly humanitarian undertaking to which no State could remain indifferent. Its objective was to maintain and enlarge the degree of consensus obtained at the previous session; and his delegation hoped that all Member States could associate themselves with the common effort.
- 6. The observations received from Governments and from United Nations organs and specialized agencies, and reproduced in the report of the Secretary-General (A/36/582 and Add.1 and Corr.1), should provide the proposed group of governmental experts with useful points of reference for its future work. Information and experience concerning the refugee problem was to be found not only in the United Nations but also at the regional level. For example, the Organization of African Unity had, on 10 September 1969, adopted the Convention Governing the Specific Aspects of Refugee Problems in Africa. His delegation hoped that the group of governmental experts would also take into account such regional experience.
- 7. The most important new element in the draft resolution, by comparison with resolution 35/124, was the proposal to establish the group of governmental experts to undertake a comprehensive review of the refugee problem in all its aspects, with a view to developing recommendations on appropriate means of international co-operation to avert new flows of refugees, keeping in mind the principle of non-intervention in the internal affairs of sovereign States. The General Assembly in resolution 35/124 hadinvited all Member States to comment on the problem, the establishment of the group would be in keeping with the procedure followed in similar cases within the Organization. The group could be based in New York in order to emphasize its special relationship with the Special Political Committee; and, in the exercise of its functions, it should

(Mr. Ka, Senegal)

benefit from the support of the office of the Under-Secretaries-General for Special Political Affairs.

- 8. His delegation was of the view that political co-operation to avert new flows of refugees came under the heading of peaceful and friendly co-operation between States, and should therefore be based primarily on existing international instruments governing relations between States, such as the Charter of the United Nations, and not on norms or principles relating to rights and duties of other kinds which were the concern of other United Nations bodies. The statutes of the regional organizations, such as the Organization of African Unity, should be studied with the aim of determining their importance for international co-operation in averting new flows of refugees.
- 9. All reasonable efforts should be made to ensure that the work of the group was conducted by consensus and with the participation of representatives of all regional groups. The present distribution of functions and responsibilities within the United Nations system should not be affected. His delegation would be prepared in future to consider any proposal resulting from the work of the Group including, if necessary, a proposal for establishing a special United Nations organ competent to deal with questions concerning the limitation of new flows of refugees; but it nevertheless adhered to the principle that any institutional recommendations must necessarily take into account existing functions and responsibilities as specified in the Charter of the United Nations.
- 10. His country, which had received several thousand African refugees and was a member of the OAU Special Committee for assistance to african refugees, had always contributed actively to the elaboration of specific legal instruments governing the status of African refugees. It had contributed to the alleviation of the suffering of refugees who had chosen to establish themsleves in Senegal during their wars of national liberation; and it believed that it had wide experience of that distressing. On a previous occasion, it had, on behalf of the States members of the African Group, introduced a draft resolution on the International Conference on Assistance to Refugees in Africa (A/C.3/35/L.51). Now, once again it had the honour of introducing a draft resolution aimed at promoting international co-operation on the same matter.
- 11. The draft resolution before the Committee proposed, inter alia, that the group of governmental experts should be composed of 17 members. The expenses occasioned by the meetings of the group would be borne by Member States which sent experts from t¹ ir capitals or their Permanent Missions to the United Nations. He wished, on behalf of the sponsors, to draw the attention of delegations to a minor change in operation paragraph 4 of the draft resolution; the words "as a rule" should be inserted in the paragraph so that it should now read: "Decides to establish a Group of Governmental Experts of 17 members whose expenses as a rule shall be borne by each nominating State for its expert to be appointed, upon nomination by the Member State, by the Secretary-General after appropriate consultation with the regional groups and with due regard to equitable geographical distribution".

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- 12. The draft resolution, once adopted, would constitute an important reference document for the group of governmental experts; and he hoped that it would receive the support of all delegations.
- 13. The CHAIRMAN announced that the delegations of Austria, Belgium and the Netherlands had joined the sponsors of draft resolution A/SPC/36/L.27.
- 14. Mr. HAMDI (Saudi Arabia) and Mr. GEWAILY (Qatar) requested that their delegations also should be added to the list of sponsors of draft resolution A/SPC/36/L.27.
- 15. Mr. VAN WELL (Federal Republic of Germany) requested that the statement made by the representative of Senegal in introducing the draft resolution should be reproduced in extenso.
- 16. The CHAIRMAN said that, if he heard no objection, he would take it that the Committee agreed that the statement of the representative of Senegal should be reproduced in extenso.
- 17. It was so decided.
- 18. Mrs. NOWOTNY (Austria) said that there were now millions of refugees in the world—more than at any other time in modern history—seeking refuge from war, persecution, drought and famine. The symbol of the refugee was no longer the brave and defiant individual but a mass of anonymous people, a vast underprivileged new class.
- 18a. The efforts of the international community had so far been concentrated on alleviating the tragic plight of refugees and providing humanitarian assistance. Her country welcomed the public recognition of the invaluable work performed by the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees on the occasion of its being awarded the Nobel Peace Prize for the second time; but recognition was also due to other international, governmental and non-governmental organizations. Issues concerning migration and refugees might prove to be among the most important and troubling world problems of the coming decades, directly affecting the concept of the modern nation State and of relations between States.
- 19. Her country had welcomed the proposal of the Federal Republic of Germany to include in the agenda of the thirty-fifth session of the General Assembly an item devoted solely to massive flows of refugees. As the problem was an international one, the United Nations would have to assume a leadership role and work towards meaningful and effective solutions. Her country's approval of the initiative of the Federal Republic of Germany was based on Austria's traditional role as a country of first asylum, and also on its deep and unconditional commitment to the promotion and protection of human rights as an indispensable prerequisite for peace, development, security and the reduction of tensions. Austria firmly believed that full respect for human rights could contribute largely towards the elimination of mass exoduses. Recent history had shown that racial discrimination

(Mrs. Nowotny, Austria)

religious intolerance and the denial of basic political, civil, social, economic and cultural rights had compelled large numbers of people to leave their countries of origin. The economic causes of mass exoduses could not be overlooked; and it was essential also to remember that many recipient countries were themselves poor countries whose social and political structures could easily be endangered by the additional burden placed on them by a massive influx of refugees.

- 20. In her capacity as Vice-Chairman of the Committee, she had had the honour to preside over an open-ended working group of the Committee on the item under discussion, in which a frank and constructive exchange of views had taken place on draft resolution A/SPC/36/L.27. A number of important suggestions and ideas had been incorporated in the draft, and existing differences had been narrowed. The group of governmental experts, whose establishment was proposed in operative paragraph 4 of the draft resolution, should, in her delegation's view, undertake as its first task an analytical review of relevant existing international law, giving particular attention to the 1951 Convention relating to the Status of Refugees and the 1967 Protocol, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the International Covenants on human rights, the State of the Office of the United Nations Commissioner for Refugees, the Declaration on Principles of International Law concerning Friendly Relations and Co-operation among States in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations and the Charter of the United Nations itself. Due regard should also be given to regional international instruments such as the 1969 OAU Convention Governing the Specific Aspects of Refugee Problems in Africa and the various inter-American conventions relating to asylum. In identifying appropriate means of international co-operation, special attention should be given to the full implementation of human rights as laid down in the relevant international instruments.
- 21. Existing international machinery should be examined with regard to its adequacy for the task of averting or handling mass flows of refugees, and with a view to adapting it for that purpose. Account should be taken of the prerogatives of the Security Council and of the wide possibilities for the exercise of the good offices of the Secretary-General. In her country's view, all consideration of that wide range of problems would have to be based on irrevocable respect for the dignity of man and for human rights.
- 22. Mr. SHAMMA (Jordan) said that his country attached great importance to the subject under discussion, since it had lived with the refugee problem for three decades. Mass flows of refugees had taken place in 1948 and 1967; and there had been a daily flow of groups and individuals expelled by the Israeli occupying authorities in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip. For that reason, his delegation had participated actively in formulating the draft resolution before the Committee. It was fully confident that the resolution would be adopted, and that international co-operation would be of great assistance in averting new flows of refugees.
- 23. Mr. SUBRAMANIAM (Singapore) said that the unprecedented magnitude of the refugee problem in the world was a sad reflection on modern times, which were marked by political instability, violence and cruelty. It was estimated that there were now 12 million refugees throughout the world. In recent years, almost

(Mr. Subramaniam, Singapore)

all refugee flows had come from developing countries; and despite the generous help provided by the developed countries of the West, they had made great demands on the neighbouring developing countries, particularly in South-East Asia and Africa, which received the refugees.

- 24. In order to avert new flows of refugees, it was essential first to try to understand the root causes of the refugee problem. There were three possible reasons for mass refugee movements. First, conditions at home were inimical. People were discriminated against on grounds of race, religion or political beliefs; they were deprived of their means of livelihood and social support; their very lives were endangered and they were obliged to flee in order to survive. Secondly, they were forcibly expelled or deported. Thirdly, they were forced into exile by national and regional instability and conflict. In order to ensure that Governments did not act in ways which were objectionable and which led to flows of refugees. It was essential first that all Governments should abide by their international responsibilities, which included observance of the United Nations Charter, respect for fundamental human rights, the maintenance of a policy of good neighbourliness, respect for the sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of States, the adoption and implementation of just and non-discriminatory policies towards all communities within their jurisdiction and recourse to the existing machinery for the peaceful settlement of disputes.
- 25. The international community unfortunately had no ready means, beyond exhortation, to force States to behave in accordance with their international obligations. The activities of the existing international agencies both in and outside the United Nations system were beneficial, and not to be neglected; but they were purely curative in nature. What was needed now was a search for preventive remedies and a better understanding of how to prevent the future occurrence of refugee flows. At present, the international community was at a loss when Governments wilfully made life unbearable for individuals and whole communities on grounds unacceptable by international standards of human decency and justice.
- 26. In spite of the wealth of international law and customs relating to the rights and protection of refugees, nothing was known of possible ways of averting new flows of refugees. Singapore therefore strongly supported the proposal of the representative of the Federal Republic of Germany that a group of governmental experts should be established to develop appropriate guidelines to avert new massive flows of refugees. That would be a significant and essential step in the efforts of the international community to arrest the problem before it developed. In view of the nature and the gravity of the refugee problem, it was essential for the international community to muster sufficient political will to promote international co-operation to avert new massive flows of refugees.
- 27. Mr. PHAM DUONG (Viet Nam) said that his delegation shared the deep concern felt by the international community regarding the increasing flow of refugees and displaced persons. At the thirty-fifth session of the General Assembly, it had voted against resolution 35/124, not because it opposed international co-operation to avert new flows of refugees, but because it objected to the simplistic and

(Mr. Pham Duong, Viet Nam)

tendentious approach to the problem adopted by the principal sponsors of that resolution. Its reservations were in fact shared by a large number of other countries, some of which had specified in the observations they had conveyed to the Secretary-General (A/36/582 and Add.1) that they had voted for resolution 35/124 because they considered it to be of a purely procedural nature. Careful scrutiny of the observations of Governments reproduced in the report of the Secretary-General showed, moreover, that several countries had serious reservations with regard to the proposed organizational and institutional measures, and were unanimous in stating that the causes of the exodus of refugees were so numerous and complex that any measures aimed at creating new machinery or developing new guidelines were superfluous.

- 28. His delegation considered that the political causes of the refugee problem were too numerous and diverse to be attributed solely to the conduct of Governments of the countries of origin, except in cases where exoduses were provoked by racism, racial discrimination, apartheid, zionism and other forms of repression and genocide. In most cases, such exoduses were caused by a variety of factors beyond the control of the Government of the country of origin, such as wars of aggression, foreign intervention, incitement to exodus for political and military purposes, economic blackades, political and military coercion, economic inequalities between countries and regions due to colonialist and neo-colonialist exploitation, and the stranglehold maintained by transnational companies over the natural resources of developing countries. The true responsibility for the flows of refugees and displaced persons all over the world and particularly in developing countries, must therefore be laid at the door of countries which exercised such pressures.
- 29. The genuine solution to the problem must therefore be sought not in the establishment of new machinery or guidelines but in international efforts to eliminate colonialism, neo-colonialism, racism, zionism, apartheid, major-Power expansionism and hegemonism, the use and threat of the use of force in international relations, aggression, and intervention in the internal affairs of other States, and also in efforts to establish the new international economic order.
- 30. Furthermore, in view of the great diversity of the reasons for flows of refugees and displaced persons, each specific case must be judged on its merits; and the existing international machinery and instruments should be made more effective in order to promote bilateral or multilateral co-operation in order to find the most appropriate solution through the conclusion of bilateral agreements between the countries and international organizations concerned agreements based on respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the countries in question.
- 31. With regard to the specific issue of international co-operation to solve the problem of Vietnamese refugees and displaced persons, Viet Nam had in May 1979 signed a seven-point Memorandum of Agreement with the Office of the High Commissioner for Refugees, and had participated actively in the conference on refugees held at Geneva in 1979 and 1980. On the occasion of the meetings

(Mr. Pham Duong, Viet Nam)

between the Vietnamese Vice-Minister for Foreign Affairs and the High Commissioner for Refugees held in October 1981, both parties had expressed their satisfaction with the progress recently made in organizing the legal and orderly departure of Vietnamese citizens wishing to settle in other countries (A/36/640). By September 1981, 14,320 persons had left Viet Nam under the programme of legal departure. Also, the Government of Viet Nam had taken strong measures to reduce and put an end to illegal departures.

- 32. His Government was willing to co-operate with the Office of the High Commissioner for Refugees and with Western countries in finding ways of putting an end to illegal exoduses. Certain Western Governments had in fact already shown their willingness to co-operate in the realization of that positive programme: but, unfortunately, not all Governments were genuinely willing to contribute to a radical solution to the problem. The Governments of two major Powers, pursuing policies hostile to Viet Nam, were continuing their deliberate policy of incitement to illegal departures by means of intensive propaganda campaigns, economic blockades, military pressure, the threat of the use of force, psychological warfare, etc., under their joint strategy of "bleeding Viet Nam". The ultimate purpose of that strategy was to destabilize the three countries of Indo-China which were currently in a phase of political and social consolidation and economic reconstruction after the total liberation of their countries, to provoke a brain drain at a time when those countries had the greatest need for qualified personnel and to use refugees and displaced persons as a source for the recruitment of mercenaries to carry out activities of sabotage and subversion against their countries of origin.
- 33. In addition, the United States immigration services had effectively discouraged legal and orderly departures by imposing a large number of formalities unacceptable to any sovereign country, and by readily granting immigration permits to persons leaving their country illegally. Out of the 62,255 candidates for legal departure to the United States whose names were included on the lists drawn up by the UNHCR and the Government of Viet Nam, only 2,400 had been accepted by the United States authorities.
- 34. His delegation was convinced that the problem of the refugees and displaced persons could be solved through genuine co-operation devoid of any ulterior political motive and on the basis of due respect for the principles governing relations between States. Accordingly, it wished to propose that: (1) the Powers hostile to countries of origin should discontinue their policies of incitement to exodus, and of using refugees to destablize countries of origin; (2) those Powers should lift their economic blockade and refrain from making threats of war or exercising military and economic pressures against countries of origin; (3) the countries of asylum should scrupulously follow international practices and should refrain from using refugees for political and military purposes against countries of origin; (4) the countries of asylum should co-operate with the competent international organizations and with the countries of origin to promote legal and orderly departures and to put an end to the illegal departure of refugees and persons wishing to settle in another country.

- 35. Mr. FUENTES (Spain) observed that, 36 years after the end of the Second World War, the political, social and family crises brought about by the massive movements of refugees in Europe had still not been solved. Even in Europe, where levels of economic development were among the highest in the world, the problem was difficult to solve; so what was to happen to the 10 million refugees now existing in the world, 90 per cent of whom had left countries with limited economic resources and had taken refuge in countries which were no further developed? In one particular instance, 2.5 million citizens of one country had left behind them a per capita income of \$86 and had taken refuge in another country, which generously shared its marginally higher per capita income of \$163 with the new arrivals. It was indeed difficult to tell what the future would hold for the refugee settlements established on the borders of so many African and Asian countries, and the problem of the Palestinian refugees who had been living in hardship for three decades, far from improving with the passage of time, had become one of the major sources of potential conflict in the world.
- 36. In view of the urgent need for a solution to the refugee problem, his delegation welcomed the initiative taken by the Federal Republic of Germany and trusted that the text proposed would be adopted by consensus.
- 37. The contacts hitherto established and the diversity of the suggestions made on the original text had broadened the perspective of the problem to such an extent that they might weaken the focus on a matter which was not solely nor principally humanitarian nor aimed at solving the problem of refugee flows produced by economic, labour or climatic conditions, all of which were being dealt with by the Office of the High Commissioner for Refugees or by the Food and Agriculture Organization. It was significant in that respect that, in document A/36/582, UNHCR had stated that it was not able to provide any relevant information, since its mandate was non-political and purely humanitarian. His delegation nevertheless considered that the document prepared for adoption at the present session was a valuable one and that efforts to broaden its base would not have been wasted if they were to result in a consensus.
- 38. In pursuance of resolution 35/124, it was now essential to take a step forward by establishing a group of governmental experts to develop general guidelines and to outline concrete measures to improve international co-operation in averting new massive flows of refugees. That task would not be easy, since it would involve studying long-standing problems from a fresh angle, and finding political solutions to questions which had not always been political at the outset. In its work, the group must always bear in mind the principles of non-interference in the internal affairs of States and the respect for national sovereignty.
- 39. The group of experts would fortunately find a sound basis for valuable and constructive work in the comments reproduced in document A/36/582, particularly the 10 guidelines proposed by the Federal Republic of Germany and the sections on the obligations of States and the measures proposed by the United States of America to ensure observance of obligations.
- 40. Mr. MUSA (Somalia) said that his delegation had whole-heartedly welcomed the adoption of resolution 35/124 at the last session of the General Assembly by an

(Mr. Musa, Somalia)

overwhelming majority of Member States, since the problem of mass movements of refugees was an international responsibility which would continue to tax the resources of States, regions and the world community so long as peoples were denied their right to self-determination and so long as colonial, political and racist oppression and foreign intervention, armed aggression and military occupation remained prevalent in the world.

- 41. Mass influxes of refugees placed intolerable burdens on the receiving countries, particularly when they were among the least developed countries; and refugee influxes also affected the political, economic and social stability of regions and States to the extent that they often threatened international peace and security. His Government welcomed the constructive initiative launched by the Federal Republic of Germany in 1980, since Somalia sheltered one of the largest refugee populations in the world and was part of a continent in which almost half the estimated world refugee population of 10 to 12 million was struggling to survive. The debate held by the General Assembly at its thirty-fifth session and the observations of Member States and specialized agencies reproduced in the report of the Secretary-General (A/36/582) had served to identify some of the major issues; and he hoped that further progress would be made towards increasing the effectiveness of existing legal instruments regarding refugee situations and establishing the practical machinery to avert or deal with such situations.
- 42. Although many existing instruments, such as the United Nations Charter. the Declaration on Principles of International Law Concerning Friendly Relations and Co-operation among States, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the 1951 Convention relating to the Status of Refugees and the related Protocol of 1967, contained many relevant clauses and principles and provided essential safeguards for refugees as individuals, his delegation believed that the growing scale of mass flows of refugees required a more structured and specific approach to the problem, in terms both of the application of principles and of the establishment of machinery. The obligations of States in respect of refugee situations called for the establishment of an international system of preventive measures for the protection of refugees. In the preamble to the 1951 Convention it was stated that "all States, recognizing the social and humanitarian nature of the problem of refugees, will do everything within their power to prevent this problem from becoming a cause of tension between States." Now, the refugee problem had become the source of international tension; and that made it all the more necessary for the world community to tackle its root causes.
- 43. His delegation wished in that context to emphasize the importance of article 13 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, which proclaimed the right of everyone to leave and to return to his own country, and it also stressed the importance of the right to self-determination and national independence affirmed in the United Nations Charter and the International Covenants. The denial of those rights, inasmuch as it gave rise to massive flows of refugees, posed grave threats to regional and international peace and security. The unimaginable suffering recently caused by foreign military intervention in certain countries also called for application of the principles of non-aggression and non-interference in the internal affairs of States.

(Mr. Musa, Somalia)

- 44. With regard to preventive machinery to avert new flows of refugees, there was undoubtedly a gap to be filled. His delegation firmly believed that the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees must continue to be strictly non-political; and it felt that consideration should be given to the possibility of setting up a special body to monitor and investigate potential or actual refugee situations. The findings of such a bodywould serve as a basis for action by the General Assembly, the Security Council or any other appropriate United Nations organ; and its effectiveness would be increased by close association with the good offices of the Secretary-General.
- 45. The refugee problem was so complex as to warrant a comprehensive review. His delegation therefore welcomed the proposal to establish a group of governmental experts to undertake such a study and report to the General Assembly at its thirty-seventh session. The group of experts should also take account of the report on human rights and mass exoduses currently being prepared by the Special Rapporteur of the Commission on Human Rights. All the ramifications of the refugee problem must be investigated as a matter of urgency, and there must be no delay in taking decisions on practical measures. His delegation thus fully supported the view expressed by Sweden (A/36/582/Add.1, p. 4), that under no circumstances should the efforts for assistance to refugees be weakened while the search for political means to avert mass flows of refugees was under way; and, as a sponsor of draft resolution A/SPC/36/L.27, it noted that the text would be adopted by consensus.
- 46. Mr. CARRASCALAO (Indonesia) said that his delegation fully supported the proposals by the Federal Republic of Germany and urged the international community to give its undivided attention to the issue now under discussion. The working out of a set of guidelines should be pursued with prudence and care and with a step-by-step approach. Also, in order to ensure their effectiveness, the guidelines must be adopted by consensus.
- 47. Although there were grounds for misgivings in the widely differing views of Governments as reproduced in the report of the Secretary-General (A/36/582 and Add.1), it was encouraging to note the growing awareness of the importance of the question, particularly in the light of tragic past experience. There was now a continuing determination on the part of all States to view the issue on its own merits and in the proper perspective. An accommodation reached through a spirit of co-operation and recognition of the interests of others, far from implying weakness, implied recognition of the principle of shared responsibility for a common endeavour to achieve mutually beneficial goals.
- 48. In that spirit, his delegation would support a draft resolution which took account of his opening remarks. The flow of refugees not only created burdens for neighbouring countries but also placed the Governments responsible for causing such flows in difficult circumstances both internally and internationally. His delegation considered that the proposal to set up a group consisting of experts from various regional groups was the only feasible way of enhancing international

(Mr. Carrascalao, Indonesia)

co-operation in averting new flows of refugees; and it trusted that such a concrete step would be supported by all States in a common resolve to avoid any unwanted tragedy which might strain relations between States.

49. Mr. KELLEHER (Ireland) said that Ireland wished to join the sponsors of draft resolution A/SPC/36/L.27.

The meeting rose at 12.15 p.m.