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at 10.30 a.m.
New York

SUMMARY RECORD OF THE 8th MEETING

Chairman: Mr. DIALLO (Guinea)

CONTENTS

AGENDA ITEM 73: COMPREHENSIVE REVIEW OF THE WHOLE QUESTION OF PEACE-KEEPING
OPERATIONS IN ALL THEIR ASPECTS: REPORT OF THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE ON PEACE-KEEPING
OPERATIONS (continued)

AGENDA ITEM 76: INTERNATIONAL CO-OPERATION TO AVERT NEW FLOWS OF REFUGEES: REPORT
OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL

AGENDA ITEM 31: POLICIES OF APARTHEID OF THE GOVERNMENT OF SOUTH AFRICA

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

AGENDA ITEM 73: COMPREHENSIVE REVIEW OF THE WHOLE QUESTION OF PEACE-KEEPING OPERATIONS IN ALL THEIR ASPECTS: REPORT OF THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE ON PEACE-KEEPING OPERATIONS (continued) (A/SPC/39/L.5)

1. The CHAIRMAN invited the Committee to vote on draft resolution A/SPC/39/L.5.
2. Draft resolution A/SPC/39/L.5 was adopted without a vote.
3. The CHAIRMAN announced that the Committee had concluded its consideration of item 73.

AGENDA ITEM 76: INTERNATIONAL CO-OPERATION TO AVERT NEW FLOWS OF REFUGEES: REPORT OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL (A/39/327; A/SPC/39/L.4)

4. The CHAIRMAN announced that Italy, Lesotho, Senegal and Sudan had become sponsors of draft resolution A/SPC/39/L.4.
5. Mr. ADJOYI (Togo) welcomed the initiative of the Federal Republic of Germany which, four years earlier, had drawn the international community's attention to the seriousness of the refugee problem, which was a major factor in the disruption of international peace and security. The action of the Government of the Federal Republic had led to the establishment, pursuant to General Assembly resolution A/36/148, of the Group of Governmental Experts on International Co-operation to Avert New Flows of Refugees.
6. The refugee phenomenon had assumed alarming proportions as the factors causing it had multiplied. The situation of those refugees had always aroused the sympathy of the international community, which tried to respond to their needs through various agencies. In that connection, he wished to pay tribute to the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East and the Office of the United Nations Disaster Relief Co-ordinator for their activities to help refugees, and also to thank Governments and non-governmental organizations for the assistance they provided to those agencies.
7. Unfortunately, such assistance was unable to prevent the growth of the refugee problem. It was therefore necessary to adopt the preventive approach recommended by the General Assembly, namely, international co-operation to avert new flows of refugees, which had been echoed by the Second International Conference on Assistance to Refugees in Africa when it had emphasized, in its Declaration, that international co-operation to avert new flows of refugees must be strengthened. One could thus measure the heavy responsibility of the Group of Experts, which had been requested to undertake as soon as possible a comprehensive review of the problem in all its aspects.

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(Mr. Adjoyi, Togo)

8. In 1983, the experts had held their first two sessions which had been the subject of a report (A/38/273), containing a programme of work. By its resolution 38/84, the General Assembly had extended the Group's mandate and had requested the Group to submit another report to it at its thirty-ninth session.

9. In the work done at their two sessions in 1984, the experts had shown acute awareness of their responsibilities, understanding and a spirit of compromise, which had enabled them to complete a first reading of chapters I and II and to make progress on the first reading of chapter III. In that connection, the Group wished to thank the Secretariat, without whose assistance it would not have achieved that result.

10. The report (A/39/327) described the progress of the Group's work and made certain recommendations. The Group hoped that the General Assembly would renew its mandate so that it could continue its work and was of the view that it would require at least two further sessions of two weeks' duration each in 1985. Although it was fully aware of the financial constraints facing the Organization, it considered it indispensable that all the experts be able to participate in the 1985 sessions and hoped that the Secretariat would take appropriate action to help the experts from the least developed countries to do so, as it had the previous year. Finally, it hoped that the vacant seat allocated to the Asian region would be taken up at the beginning of the first session in 1985.

11. The experts must realize that, at the very moment when they were deliberating, sometimes wasting precious time, thousands of men, women and children might be being forced to flee their country. The Group's future work must no longer be an occasion for evoking past or present refugee situations but rather a forward-looking exchange of views conducted in a spirit conducive to the establishment of friendly relations and close co-operation among Member States.

12. In order to perform his task to the best of his abilities, each expert should regard himself as a citizen of the world and elevate his thinking from the individual to the universal level. The Group's approach should be to reach beyond the borders of its members' respective countries and the political considerations being discussed in other forums and to concentrate on averting situations where people, having become refugees, sometimes ceased to be able to exercise their fundamental rights. If it approached its task from that standpoint, the Group would be able to complete its work very rapidly and thus be deserving of the trust which the international community had placed in it.

13. Count YORK (Federal Republic of Germany) welcomed the emergence of a far-reaching consensus on the concept and the objectives of a preventive approach to the refugee problem, aimed at complementing remedial action. He was gratified at the progress achieved the previous year, which gave grounds for cautious optimism concerning the future. That the Group of Experts had thus far been able to make progress as its report (A/39/327) showed, while preserving the consensus among its members - especially with regard to chapter III which touched on the very substance of its work - was no small achievement. He hoped that such a convergence

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(Count York, Federal Republic of Germany)

of views would also be achieved with regard to appropriate means of improving international co-operation to avert new flows of refugees.

14. Two important arrangements decided on by the Committee and the General Assembly had enabled the Group to achieve those positive results. Firstly, the Group had been authorized to hold two sessions of two weeks' duration each. Secondly, the Secretary-General had made it possible for experts from the least developed countries to participate in the Group's sessions and those experts had made a valuable contribution in the form of expertise, objectivity and dedication. It was essential to the speedy fulfilment of the Group's work that those two arrangements be continued when its mandate was extended. He wished to pay tribute to the Chairman of the Group, whose diligence and firmness had made it possible to overcome many obstacles, as well as to the Secretariat, which had served the Group with dedication and efficiency.

15. He was also gratified at the positive outcome of the Second International Conference on Assistance to Refugees in Africa, which had dealt with a particularly grave problem. As the Secretary-General had said in his opening speech to the Conference, no other refugee situation had demanded that people beset with so many problems and having so little themselves should share the little they had with so many. At the Conference, general agreement had been reached on the assessment of the causes of the refugee problem in Africa and on possible solutions. The Declaration, which had been adopted by consensus, had stressed that everything possible must be done to prevent the causes of refugee flows.

16. The Committee could be proud that its annual debate on the item had contributed to the growing international awareness that, in order to develop lasting solutions to the global refugee problem, the causes rather than the consequences of that problem must be urgently addressed by means of specific measures of international co-operation. In Africa, as elsewhere, the refugee problem had unfortunately lost none of its urgency, as the report of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees showed. From that standpoint, he called on Member States to enable the Group of Governmental Experts to continue its important work with a view to submitting to the General Assembly recommendations on appropriate means of international co-operation in that field.

17. Mr. AOKI (Japan) noted that the total number of refugees was now approximately 10 million - one refugee for every 450 persons in the world. The Indo-Chinese refugee problem was of most immediate concern to Japan. Some 4,000 refugees were entering the countries of South-East Asia each month, and in Thailand there were some 130,000 refugees, of whom 100,000 had been there for more than three years and 90,000 for more than four years. Refugee camps were targets for armed attacks. Refugees from the countries of Indo-China constituted a political, economic and social burden not only for Thailand but also for other neighbouring countries. Japan's financial co-operation for the Indo-Chinese refugees through the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees amounted to approximately \$270 million, making Japan the largest donor. Other financial co-operation provided by Japan through international organizations such as the World Food Programme (WFP), the

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(Mr. Aoki, Japan)

International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) and the Office of the United Nations Disaster Relief Co-ordinator (UNDRO), and bilateral co-operation for Thailand and the Philippines, amounted to approximately \$180 million.

18. In Africa, 3 or 4 million refugees, whose situation was made even worse by persistent drought, were suffering from starvation and disease: all members of the international community had a duty to assist them. The second International Conference on Assistance to Refugees in Africa (ICARA II), held in July 1984, had stressed the need for humanitarian relief for the refugees as well as for development aid which would also benefit the inhabitants of first-asylum countries in Africa. At the Conference, the donor countries had responded positively to the idea of that kind of aid, and some countries had immediately declared their support in principle for the projects presented to the Conference. Such projects were important as a means of finding durable solutions to the refugee problem. At the Conference, the Japanese delegation had announced a contribution of approximately \$6 million to the UNHCR African Refugee Relief Programme and undertaken to provide food aid amounting to approximately \$6.5 million through the WFP, in addition to some \$7.3 million already provided in March. It had also stated that among the projects presented to the Conference by the African countries, it attached particular importance to projects relating to water supply and health and hygiene.

19. In south Asia, some 2.9 million Afghan refugees were living in Pakistan - the largest concentration of refugees in the world - constituting a heavy burden for Pakistan, since there seemed to be no immediate solution to the Afghan problem and repatriation of those refugees to their homeland was unlikely in the immediate future. The Prime Minister of Japan had visited the refugee camps in Peshawar during his visit to Pakistan, and had been able to see the seriousness of the situation on the ground. He had given the Government of Pakistan an undertaking that Japan would contribute some \$6 million to the UNHCR Afghan Refugee Relief Programme, and provide, as food aid, wheat to the value of some \$8.9 million; early in 1984, it had already contributed approximately \$1.5 million to the UNHCR Programme and dairy product food aid of some \$1.7 million through WFP.

20. Unhappily, there were a great many refugees in many other parts of the world, and the resources which could be diverted to refugee relief activities were strictly limited. While it was the urgent task of the international community to come to their aid, it was necessary at the same time to analyse the root causes of that serious problem and to solve it once and for all. In that connection, the Japanese delegation had fully supported the initiative taken by the General Assembly in its resolutions 36/148, 37/121 and 38/84, and had actively participated in the deliberations of the Group of Governmental Experts. Although the Group had not yet concluded its work, which inevitably was slowed down by the complexity of the problem as well as its political and other implications, it was to be hoped that the Group would produce a meaningful recommendation for the General Assembly in the nearest future. That was why the Japanese delegation supported resolution A/SPC/39/L.4 and, as one of its sponsors, urged the Special Political Committee to adopt it by consensus. It also wished to draw attention to the phrase, "by way of exception", in paragraph 4 of the resolution: it supported the Secretary-General's

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(Mr. Aoki, Japan)

assistance to experts from the least developed countries, solely because those countries were often the victims of a massive refugee influx and their participation was thus essential to the success of the work of the Group of Governmental Experts.

21. Mr. CHOWDHURY (Bangladesh) said that since the General Assembly had begun to consider the item at its thirty-fifth session, Bangladesh had taken an active interest in it, and fully shared the concern expressed by the international community about the problems engendered by the increasing number of refugees, both in the Assembly and elsewhere. He believed that international co-operation and understanding did much to avert future occurrences of refugee flows. This was why the delegation of Bangladesh had not only voted for the resolutions on that subject but had always been among their sponsors.

22. The refugee problem could not be dissociated from the deeper malaise resulting from the present unjust and inequitable world order. If a permanent and satisfactory solution to the problem was to be found, the global system should ensure respect for self-determination and independence, co-operation and development based on equity and justice, and the full realization of human rights, both political and economic. The Group of Experts should therefore bear in mind, particularly when working out, in the final phases of its work, the chapter on appropriate means to improve international co-operation to avert new flows of refugees, and the conclusions and recommendations, that it was essential to address the root causes of the problem in a comprehensive and integrated manner in order to eliminate them.

23. The Group had made progress in going through the earlier chapters of its study. The delegation of Bangladesh agreed with the recommendations contained in the Group's last report (A/39/327), which recommended that in view of the magnitude and complexity of the task before the Group, the General Assembly should extend its mandate, and that it should meet for two additional sessions of two weeks' duration each in 1985 with the participation of all the experts; the delegation of Bangladesh therefore urged the Governments concerned to ensure the availability of their appointed experts. The Secretary-General should also continue to assist experts from the least developed countries to participate in the work of the Group, which he hoped would, under the enlightened leadership of its Chairman, be able to complete its task by 1985.

24. Mr. FARRELL (Ireland), speaking on behalf of the 10 member States of the European Community, remarked that the international community was concerned by the sufferings of millions of men, women and children who fled or were forcibly expelled from their homelands. In that connection, the Ten wished once again to commend the action of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees for his efforts on behalf of refugees in all parts of the world. In recent years, humanitarian concerns had been reinforced by an awareness of the heavy burden placed on the receiving countries, giving rise to tensions between neighbouring States which could lead to situations endangering peace and security in the areas concerned. In view of the complexity and scale of the problem, the international

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(Mr. Farrell, Ireland)

community should not restrict itself to dealing only with the destabilizing effects of massive flows of refugees, but should address also their causes, with a view to averting new flows.

25. The Ten had strongly supported the Group of Governmental Experts since its establishment in accordance with resolution 36/148. They noted that, under the terms of that resolution, the Group of Experts was mandated to take into account in its work the study carried out by the Special Rapporteur for the Commission on Human Rights, published in 1981. General Assembly resolution 38/84 had reaffirmed and extended the Group's mandate, and had welcomed its programme of work as a constructive step towards fulfilling its mandate. The Ten noted with satisfaction that the Group had been allocated increased meeting time in 1984, which had enabled it, as indicated in its report (A/39/327) to complete a first reading of chapters I and II of its study, and to make progress on a first reading of chapter III.

26. The Ten supported the request for a renewal of the Group's mandate. They strongly encouraged the Group to make every effort to conclude its work in 1985. The implementation of concrete measures conducive to averting new flows of refugees would contribute significantly to the strengthening of international peace and security, and would relieve the burdens imposed on receiving countries. Those measures must be rooted in the system of rules agreed upon by the international community to govern behaviour among nations and peoples, since among the principle causes of massive flows of refugees was the denial of human rights and fundamental freedoms. The Charter of the United Nations, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the International Covenants were basic instruments containing provisions and obligations relevant to the question of averting new flows of refugees. The observance of those obligations should be examined and further encouraged within the framework created by the relevant resolutions.

27. Mr. VORA HUY KANTHOUL (Democratic Kampuchea) recalled that at its thirty-fifth session, the General Assembly had adopted a resolution strongly condemning "all policies and practices of oppressive and racist régimes as well as aggression, alien domination and foreign occupation, which are primarily responsible for the massive flows of refugees throughout the world and which result in inhuman suffering". Although similar resolutions had been passed since, many countries continued to ignore the calls of the majority of the members of the international community, and the situation of the refugees, far from improving, was deteriorating further. As the Committee was considering means of improving international co-operation in order to avert new flows of refugees, millions of men, women and children throughout the world continued to suffer needlessly. He wished to commend the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees and other United Nations-related agencies for their assistance to uprooted people.

28. The root causes of the problem remained. In fact they were often the result of deliberate government policies. In South-East Asia, the Government of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam was responsible for the flow of refugees to neighbouring countries, thus imposing a heavy burden on them: since 1975, several million persons had either fled that country voluntarily or had been forced to

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(Mr. Vora Huy Kanthoul,
Democratic Kampuchea)

flee, often under inhuman conditions. The "boat people" continued their desperate attempts to reach foreign countries, in hardly seaworthy vessels: half of them were believed to have never arrived.

29. In Kampuchea, the crimes and violence committed by the Vietnamese aggression and occupation forces had caused hundreds of thousands of people to be uprooted and had forced them to take refuge in other parts of the country, or in third countries. The invasion of Kampuchea by the armed forces of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam in late 1978 and early 1979 had ended in occupation, followed by the installation of a puppet régime in Phnom Penh. Almost six years later, Viet Nam still occupied the country with 200,000 troops, despite repeated calls by the General Assembly for a total withdrawal. Viet Nam had turned a deaf ear to every resolution adopted by the General Assembly and, in fact, had consolidated its hold through a process commonly known as the "Vietnamization" of Kampuchea, by changing the ethnic composition of the country. At the thirty-eighth session, the representative of Kampuchea had spoken of a well-planned scheme by the Vietnamese Government to force the Kampucheans from their homes. New evidence had since confirmed the Kampuchean delegation's conviction of the insatiable annexationist and expansionist drive of Viet Nam. In accordance with their plan to implement the wish of President Ho Chi Minh to see the establishment of a "Federation of Indo-China" under the direct rule of Hanoi, the Vietnamese authorities had gone a step further. Not content with emptying Kampuchea of its wealth and its natural resources, and destroying its culture and civilization, they had begun to force children and Government officials to learn Vietnamese, to force Khmers and Vietnamese to intermarry, to force all Khmer males to join the puppet army to fight other Khmers, etc. They had even forced the puppet leader in Phnom Penh to sign a "friendship treaty" which condemned the Khmers to live under Vietnamese domination for 25 years. In the circumstances the population had no choice but to move en masse towards zones under the administration of the Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea to seek the protection of its armed forces - or towards the Khmer-Thai border in the hope of being able to resettle in a third country. In either case, they would leave behind a vacuum which would be filled by 700,000 Vietnamese civilians, according to a carefully elaborated plan to repopulate Kampuchea with ethnic Vietnamese citizens, in flagrant violation of the 1949 Geneva Convention relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War.

30. The Vietnamese were not satisfied with having uprooted whole populations. Many villages in liberated areas and virtually all refugee camps along the border between Thailand and Kampuchea were being attacked by Vietnamese forces. In April 1984, the Vietnamese had attacked population centres in the areas administered by the Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea, forcing some 80,000 men, women and children to flee to Thai territory and killing and wounding many people, including several Thai. Everyone was aware that the refugee situation in Kampuchea, besides constituting a burden for other countries, had a destabilizing effect on the South-East Asian region as a whole. The main factor in that situation was the invasion, occupation and colonization of Kampuchea by Vietnamese forces, in defiance of all the rules and principles of international law

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(Mr. Vora Huy Kanthoul,
Democratic Kampuchea)

and in flagrant violation of the Charter of the United Nations. Since 1979, Viet Nam had ignored the repeated calls of the international community to withdraw its forces from Kampuchea and to negotiate a peaceful settlement of the problem within the framework of the International Conference on Kampuchea and relevant resolutions of the General Assembly. Only a complete withdrawal of all Vietnamese forces, followed by a general election under international supervision to enable the Khmer people to exercise their inalienable right to self-determination, would lead to peace and stability in Kampuchea, a situation which would undoubtedly help to avert new flows of refugees from that country.

31. The CHAIRMAN announced that Brunei Darussalam had become a sponsor of draft resolution A/SPC/39/L.4.

AGENDA ITEM 31: POLICIES OF APARTHEID OF THE GOVERNMENT OF SOUTH AFRICA

32. The CHAIRMAN recalled that, at its second meeting, the Committee had decided to devote three meetings to hearings in connection with item 31, entitled "Policies of Apartheid of the Government of South Africa". Written requests for hearings should reach the Chairman no later than 26 October and would be considered by the Committee before the dates set for the hearings.

The meeting rose at 12.55 p.m.