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MEETING**

Wednesday, 22 November 1972,
at 11 a.m.

NEW YORK

Chairman: Mr. Carlos GIAMBRUNO
(Uruguay).

AGENDA ITEM 56

Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (concluded) (A/8703, chap. XV, sect. A and B; A/8712 and Add.1, A/C.3/632, A/C.3/633, A/C.3/L.1970-1972):

- (a) Report of the High Commissioner;
- (b) Question of the continuation of the Office of the High Commissioner

1. Mr. EILAN (Israel) paid a tribute to the High Commissioner for his tireless efforts on behalf of refugees, the efficient manner in which he had carried out his mandate, the speed with which he had met new and sometimes unforeseen demands and the humane attitude underlying all his activities.

2. During its existence the Office of the High Commissioner had had to deal with an ever-changing stream of refugees with varying problems from different parts of the world. The High Commissioner was therefore to be congratulated on the remarkable work which had been accomplished during the previous 20 years.

3. His delegation also wished to pay a tribute to the African host countries for their noteworthy contribution to the work of rehabilitating African refugees. It congratulated various United Nations organs and the Organization of African Unity (OAU) which had provided assistance to refugees in the fields of education, training and employment.

4. His delegation had noted the need for further progress in the international protection of refugees and the fact that the representative of the High Commissioner had visited a number of countries to study protection problems, in particular, various countries in Africa where he had found a marked willingness to co-operate, despite the problems which inevitably arose in developing countries. His country had ratified the 1951 Convention and the 1967 Protocol relating to the Status of Refugees and the 1954 Convention relating to the Status of Stateless Persons.

5. As far as interagency co-operation was concerned, his delegation felt that the High Commissioner should take into account information concerning work carried out outside the United Nations system, from whatever source it might come. The participation of the High Commissioner in country programming would greatly

facilitate co-ordination between general development activities in the country concerned and his programme for refugees.

6. His delegation supported the three draft resolutions submitted to the Committee.

7. Mr. LAVETT (Australia) said that at the 1954th meeting his delegation had listened with somewhat mixed feelings to the High Commissioner's clear and thorough presentation of the report: it felt the deepest admiration for the valuable work carried out by the High Commissioner during the preceding year. In that connexion, the role played by the High Commissioner's Office in the Indian subcontinent in 1971-1972 was an outstanding example of international assistance. At the same time, his delegation could not help feeling regret that it was once again necessary for the General Assembly to consider the problem of refugees. That was an indication, in effect, that the Members of the United Nations had not yet acquired the capacity to develop the conditions of life in which that problem would no longer arise.

8. Refugees were a product of internal or international political differences. The existence of refugees in a particular area, moreover, could have political implications which went far beyond the problems arising from the unhappy condition of the refugees themselves. In those circumstances, it was better for all parties concerned that the refugees should return to their families and friends as quickly as possible. It was also important to avoid, so far as possible, raising further political problems which could have the effect of prolonging the refugees' period of exile. Goodwill, understanding and charity were required in order to solve the problems. All delegations should therefore support the humanitarian work carried out by the High Commissioner, and the Australian delegation wished him well in his endeavours.

9. Mr. ROUX (Belgium) said that his delegation also wished to pay a tribute to the work accomplished by the Office of the High Commissioner and, in particular, to the High Commissioner himself for the exemplary manner in which he carried out his duties. It might be said that in his attitude the High Commissioner came as close as was humanly possible to the ideal of the perfect diplomat, who served his country and the international community with candour and loyalty, displaying great intelligence and compassion.

10. Although involved in some extremely awkward situations, the High Commissioner had been able to stand apart from the fray, thus winning the confidence

of States involved in disputes. During the preceding year the High Commissioner had coped with distinction with the challenges which had confronted him. The rescue operation in Bangladesh was going well, thanks, in particular, to the devotion to duty displayed by the High Commissioner's staff. The international community would have to show a generous spirit of solidarity in the case of the Sudan, for the task of reconstruction was an extremely difficult and lengthy undertaking.

11. As to the strengthening of the international protection of refugees, it was perhaps still too early to adopt a firm position on the new draft international instrument guaranteeing territorial asylum. However, the question should be given serious consideration, and his delegation supported unreservedly the High Commissioner's suggestion that an approach should be made to Governments with a view to ascertaining the various opinions which they might hold on the question of territorial asylum. At a later stage, it would be necessary to carry out a detailed study and transmit the document to be prepared to the proper body for consideration and for the definitive adoption of the proposed new instrument.

12. His delegation supported without reservation the three draft resolutions submitted to the Committee.

13. In conclusion, he wished to give details of the assistance which his country had decided to offer to persons expelled from Uganda: it would receive in transit for a basic period of three months 30 families with British passports; it would receive in transit for a period of six months 400 stateless persons awaiting resettlement by the High Commissioner in their final host countries; it would admit 30 stateless families as permanent residents. A grant of 5 million Belgian francs would be made available to cover the full cost of the permanent settlement of the 30 stateless families and part of the cost of receiving in transit the 400 stateless persons.

14. Mr. BELTRÁN (Uruguay) said that his delegation was grateful to the High Commissioner for the efficiency with which he carried out his difficult tasks, which often involved unforeseen and complex political, social and legal questions. The High Commissioner had been able to uncover the actual human realities of the tragedy of refugees and to bring them a measure of hope. The effective solution of the refugee problem in the Sudan and in the Indian subcontinent demonstrated that the international community had realized that nothing was more important than man himself. The High Commissioner could not, of course, attack the root causes of the problem, which were colonialism, hatred and violence, but he was trying to ease the suffering of people deprived of their homes, their possessions and their countries.

15. His delegation welcomed the draft convention on territorial asylum (A/8712, appendix, annex I), which took account of the fundamental principles, in particular, the principle of *non-refoulement*. Uruguay, together with the other countries of Latin America, had always considered the right to asylum a valuable

defence against fear and persecution. It had ratified the 1951 Convention and the 1967 Protocol relating to the Status of Refugees. His delegation, which was one of the sponsors of draft resolutions A/C.3/L.1970 and A/C.3/L.1971, would vote in favour of all the draft resolutions submitted to the Committee on the item.

16. Mr. ARÍZAGA (Ecuador) said that he wished to congratulate the High Commissioner on his presentation and on his report. The manner in which the High Commissioner's Office had acted in the Indian subcontinent and in the Sudan was tangible proof of its efficiency and its sense of responsibility.

17. The international community should spare no effort to find a solution to the refugee problem. The solution should not be an abstract one, for refugees were human beings and should be treated with consideration and respect. That society only too often condemned them to become pariahs, swelling the mass of stateless persons was eloquent testimony to the fact that man was still his own worst enemy. The international community could not remain indifferent to so much suffering and should support the thoroughly humanitarian work carried out by the High Commissioner and his colleagues. His delegation fully supported the three draft resolutions submitted to the Committee.

18. Mr. CARBERY (Ireland) said that he wished to express once again his delegation's gratitude for the valuable work accomplished by the High Commissioner and to congratulate him on his clear and objective presentation of the report (1954th meeting). The Irish delegation appreciated the High Commissioner's humane approach to the problem of refugees and the respect which he showed for them as individuals. It supported the three draft resolutions relating to agenda item 56 and hoped that they would be adopted unanimously.

19. Mrs. WARZAZI (Morocco) said her delegation was once again gratified to note the considerable work done by the High Commissioner and his staff. The increase in the number of Governments contributing to the UNHCR Programme and in the over-all amount of the contributions was a tribute to the work accomplished.

20. Her delegation had felt that it was duty-bound to act as a sponsor of the three draft resolutions concerning refugees. In sponsoring draft resolution A/C.3/L.1970, it had wished to give its support to the High Commissioner's policy, which was based fundamentally on such lofty humanitarian principles as the voluntary repatriation, rehabilitation or integration of refugees. Permanent solutions were the only real answer to the refugee problem. Unfortunately, special efforts were required in some cases, for the situation which had led to the existence of refugees did not allow of a permanent solution; she had in mind the refugees fleeing from countries dominated by colonialism and *apartheid*. In that instance, the permanent solution was independence. Obviously, the High Commissioner could not take effective action in that regard, but he

should, in the view of her delegation, be represented in any discussion of problems relating to countries under colonial domination or countries in which *apartheid* was practised. The High Commissioner should provide such refugees not only with a minimum standard of welfare but also with a maximum degree of education and training.

21. Similarly, her delegation had sponsored draft resolution A/C.3/L.1972, since it had welcomed the spirit of understanding and fraternity that had at last helped to resolve the problem of the Sudanese refugees.

22. Lastly, it had co-sponsored draft resolution A/C.3/L.1971 because it wished to reaffirm its faith in the High Commissioner's Office which had assumed its responsibilities even in the most difficult cases.

23. Miss CAO-PINNA (Italy) associated herself with the congratulations addressed to the High Commissioner by other delegations and expressed her delegation's support for the humanitarian work he had carried out in such a remarkable manner, particularly over the preceding year, in dealing with the problem of Bengali and Sudanese refugees. Her delegation would support all three draft resolutions on the item.

24. Mr. WANG (China) said that his delegation took exception to paragraphs 130 to 136 and 139 to 141 of the report of the High Commissioner (A/8712) and to certain parts of the UNHCR Programme. For that reason, his delegation would not participate in the vote on part A of draft resolution A/C.3/L.1970.

25. The CHAIRMAN, concluding the discussion, observed that on the question of territorial asylum, having heard the statement of the High Commissioner and the comments made by delegations, he proposed to summarize the discussion along the following lines, if he heard no objection:

"On the subject of territorial asylum several delegations had commented on the High Commissioner's statement and on the position reflected in his report to the General Assembly. In the course of the debate, the Committee had felt that it was desirable that a convention on territorial asylum should be adopted under the aegis of the United Nations. It was therefore agreed that the High Commissioner would consult with Governments on the matter and report to the next session of the General Assembly, with a view to paving the way for the convening by the Assembly of a conference of plenipotentiaries."

It was so decided.

26. The CHAIRMAN asked whether the members of the Committee wished to adopt the three draft resolutions unanimously.

Draft resolutions A/C.3/L.1970, A/C.3/L.1971 and A/C.3/L.1972 were adopted unanimously.

27. Mr. BREITENSTEIN (Finland), speaking on behalf of the sponsors of draft resolutions

A/C.3/L.1970 and A/C.3/L.1971, thanked the members of the Committee for their unanimous vote, which should be interpreted as an expression of confidence in, and support for, the High Commissioner and his staff.

28. Prince Sadruddin KHAN (United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees) thanked delegations for supporting the Office's activities and, in particular, those that had made statements in connexion with the item under discussion. The Committee's encouragement and unanimity were of very great importance both to him and to his colleagues.

29. He was also gratified by the support shown by members of the Committee to his co-ordinating role in humanitarian activities undertaken on behalf of the United Nations that went beyond his regular programme. The fact that it had been possible to organize major large-scale relief operations and develop suitable co-ordination machinery was of great significance for the future, and he had noted the approval shown by the Committee in that regard.

30. A number of delegations had also mentioned voluntary repatriation, which was the best means of resolving refugee problems. He would continue the efforts already made in that connexion as he had helped the East Bengali and Sudanese refugees. Naturally, assistance would still be offered to all those who could not currently return to the homes, particularly refugees from Non-Self-Governing Territories, and he would remain in close contact with the United Nations organs dealing with decolonization. He particularly welcomed the adoption of draft resolution A/C.3/L.1972, which would be of considerable help in raising further funds for the effort being made in the southern Sudan following the Addis Ababa Agreement.

31. As to the regular programme, the importance of which could not be overlooked, it was his hope that the Committee's encouragement would be given concrete expression the following week, when Governments would announce their pledges for 1973. If activities under the regular programme could not be financed with the help of government contributions, he would obviously face great difficulties in performing his task. He welcomed the decision of the Committee in regard to allocations from the Emergency Fund, which would give him great flexibility.

32. With regard to the international protection of refugees, a number of speakers had emphasized the importance of the basic international instruments, namely, the 1951 Convention and the 1967 Protocol relating to the Status of Refugees; he would, for his part, continue to urge Governments to accede to those instruments. Mention had also been made of the need for further accessions to the 1961 Convention on the Reduction of Statelessness and to the 1954 Convention for Stateless Persons, and he hoped that they would be forthcoming. He had noted the summary by the Chairman on the question of a convention on territorial asylum and would follow the procedure indicated.

33. In conclusion, he wished to thank the Chairman, the officers of the Committee and the sponsors of the draft resolutions, particularly the representatives of Finland and Sweden. He stated that his Office was ready to assume any responsibility on behalf of refugees or persons in analogous situations and he assured the Committee that he would pursue his task in a spirit of humanitarian endeavour, without regard to any considerations of a political nature. He was gratified that the Committee had recognized the objectivity of the efforts made and he hoped that the unanimity of its approach towards alleviating the sufferings of refugees would one day be displayed in eliminating the causes which gave rise to refugee problems.

AGENDA ITEM 51

Importance of the universal realization of the right of peoples to self-determination and of the speedy granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples for the effective guarantee and observance of human rights (continued)* (A/8778 and Add.1 and 2, A/C.3/631, A/C.3/L.1973)

34. Mr. NDIMBIE (Cameroon) said that his delegation attached great importance to the item under consideration. The principle of self-determination of peoples embodied in the Charter, together with the adoption of General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV), had raised high hopes among the colonized peoples of the world. Unfortunately, while some progress had been made in the field of decolonization, the results were still far from satisfactory.

35. Despite the efforts of the United Nations, minority and racist régimes persisted in Africa. The situation in southern Africa had deteriorated as a result of the continued implementation of the policy of *apartheid*. In South Africa millions of people were languishing in gaol, and the number of executions was the highest in the world. South Africa had extended its Nazi-type system beyond its frontiers, and to Namibia in particular, in spite of the appeals of the General Assembly and the advisory opinion of 21 June 1971 handed down by the International Court of Justice.¹ It was surprising that those who claimed to have vivid memories of nazism and fascism were either reluctant to act against such a state of affairs or even condoned the conditions existing in southern Africa.

36. The colonial and racist régimes in southern Africa had not been without solid or tacit support from certain Western Powers. That was only too obvious in the case of Portugal, a poor and comparatively backward country. Without the support of its allies in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), it would not have been able to continue its repression of African peoples. The NATO Powers provided military aid under the pretext of fighting communism in Africa and, in exchange, they secured various military bases. However, the partners in the domination in the col-

onized Territories knew only too well that their actions were not justified by any threat to Africa and its political ideologies.

37. The people of Zimbabwe were still suffering injustice and humiliation and Ian Smith's racist régime had already lasted for seven years. Far from improving, the situation continued to deteriorate. The United Kingdom, which had offered so many examples of its devotion to liberty and the rights of peoples, should accept its responsibilities towards the people of Zimbabwe and take effective measures to ensure that the people of Zimbabwe could exercise their inalienable right of sovereignty. The measures in question had been spelled out by the Organization of African Unity (OAU) and the United Nations. It was imperative to restore fundamental freedoms, to liberate African militants, to undertake direct negotiations with the nationalist leaders representing the majority of the people of Zimbabwe, to organize a referendum under United Nations supervision so that the whole population could vote on any agreement emerging from such negotiations and, lastly, to establish a democratically elected government.

38. The liberation movements were carrying on a heroic struggle within the Territories occupied by Portugal. The leaders of those movements had been recognized by OAU, the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration of the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, the Fourth Committee and the General Assembly as the legitimate representatives of the African people in Guinea (Bissau), Angola and Mozambique. The United Nations, and particularly the Security Council, should therefore take the necessary measures to compel the Government of Portugal to recognize their right to self-determination and draw up a time-table for the peaceful transfer of power to those accredited representatives of the African peoples.

39. Cameroon had never advocated violence for the sake of violence, but only when all peaceful means had been exhausted. The recalcitrant régimes of southern Africa had been deaf to the appeal of the African leaders contained in the Lusaka Manifesto. At an international seminar on the evils of racial discrimination held at Yaoundé in June 1971, on the initiative of the Cameroon Government, Cameroon had encouraged dialogue between the conflicting parties, but all its efforts had failed. Under the Declaration on Principles of International Law concerning Friendly Relations and Co-operation among States in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations, such a situation justified invoking the right of self-defence against oppression. In accordance with that Declaration, moreover, the people were not only entitled to seek aid, they were entitled to receive it. For that reason, all States Members of the United Nations were in duty bound to give all possible support to that legitimate struggle and his delegation appealed to them to go beyond mere rhetoric and take positive action. He welcomed the recent declarations by certain Western Powers and non-governmental organizations which had decided to give

* Resumed from the 1953rd meeting.

¹ See *Legal Consequences for States of the Continued Presence of South Africa in Namibia (South West Africa) notwithstanding Security Council Resolution 276 (1970)*, Advisory Opinion, I.C.J. Reports 1971, p. 16.

humanitarian and material assistance to the liberation movements in Africa. He mentioned in particular the laudable example of the World Council of Churches, which had decided not to make any investments in corporations directly or indirectly involved in investment or trade with South Africa, Rhodesia, Angola, Mozambique or Guinea (Bissau) and not to deposit any of its funds in banks that maintained direct banking operations in those countries, and which urged all member churches and individual Christians to use all their influence to press corporations to withdraw from, and cease trading with, those countries.

40. His Government was firmly convinced that the situation in southern Africa constituted a threat to international peace and security and therefore supported all actions intended to bring about racial equality, respect for human dignity and liberation from the colonial yoke.

41. Mr. PORTALES (Chile) said that the principle of self-determination for peoples was embodied in the Charter of the United Nations and its realization was one of the most important tasks devolving on the Organization. The General Assembly had made repeated declarations on that subject, in particular in resolutions 1514 (XV), 1803 (XVII), 2625 (XXV) and 2734 (XXV). Article 1 of the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights and the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, also contained provisions on that question. The international community had established in law that human rights could not be effectively observed throughout the world without universal respect for the right of peoples to self-determination and consequently their right to dispose of their natural wealth and resources. Non-observance of that principle in practice involved serious violations of human rights and constituted a standing threat to international peace and security.

42. Despite numerous appeals and condemnations by the United Nations, the white minority régimes and the colonial Powers continued to hold the peoples of southern Africa in subjugation by a combination of colonialism and racism. South Africa continued to pursue its criminal policy of *apartheid* and to occupy the Territory of Namibia illegally; the Portuguese Government pursued its colonialist policy in Angola, Mozambique and Guinea (Bissau); the illegal régime in Southern Rhodesia kept the people of Zimbabwe under oppression. Not content with pursuing their colonialist and racist policies, the régimes of Pretoria, Salisbury and Lisbon were united in defying the resolutions of the United Nations but they were not alone: they were supported by imperialist interests which had penetrated deep into the African continent. In that connexion he referred to chapter V of the report of the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples (A/8723 (part III)), which contained a detailed account of the activities of foreign economic and other interests in Southern Rhodesia, Namibia, the Territories under Portuguese domination and all other colonial Territories.

43. The resolutions of the United Nations would have no effect as long as certain Member States persisted in supplying economic and military aid to the colonial and racist Powers. The international community should take firm measures to see that those resolutions were implemented. The General Assembly had itself recognized the legitimacy of the people's struggle to free themselves from colonial and foreign domination and to achieve independence.

44. Imperialist aggression and foreign intervention were also contrary to the right of peoples to self-determination and were a source of flagrant violations of human rights. The people of the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam saw all their fundamental rights violated by the aggression of which they were the victims, but that had not prevented them from concentrating on some aspects of human rights such as education and health and from obtaining remarkable results in spite of the circumstances. The peoples of Viet-Nam, Laos and Cambodia would succeed in winning their right to self-determination and national sovereignty and his delegation hoped that a lasting agreement would be reached with all speed so that the human rights which had for so long been violated through colonialism and imperialism would be respected in those countries.

45. The solution to many of the current problems of violations of human rights in the Middle East lay in the implementation of Security Council resolution 242 (1967) and the General Assembly resolutions and in respect for the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people.

46. His delegation wished to emphasize the essential economic aspect of the right to self-determination. Colonialism and racism were not the only issues: in most cases they covered imperialist interests. For example, efforts were being made to restrict the right of peoples to dispose freely of their wealth and natural resources, or even to prevent people from exercising that right. The problem was an extremely serious one for all the countries of the third world. Imperialism was exerting economic pressure, through transnational enterprises, on countries which had exercised their sovereignty by nationalizing their wealth and basic resources. Such action was carried out through international credit bodies or through intervention in the marketing of nationalized resources or bloc measures against countries which had exercised rights that were recognized by the international community. That kind of neo-colonialism might be less flagrant than colonialism itself, but it was still very serious, for it concerned all the developing countries of the third world, and it impeded the universal realization of the right of peoples to self-determination by depriving them of their means of subsistence. Chile itself was a victim of aggression by one such enterprise, the Kennecott Copper Corporation, which had for years exploited the copper which was Chile's principal source of natural wealth. Following its nationalization by Chile in accordance with the latter's internal legislation and with international law, that enterprise had contested the decision of the competent tribunal, refused to recognize Chile's sovereign rights over its natural resources and was

obstructing the marketing of copper. To deprive a people of their means of subsistence in such a way was a flagrant violation of the provisions of article 1 of the International Covenants on Human Rights; the denial of the sovereignty of the people of Chile over their natural resources was a violation of their right of self-determination. The Committee should give some consideration to the imperialist activities of such enterprises.

47. If man was to be free and freed from fear and poverty, conditions would have to be created that would enable every person to enjoy his economic, social and cultural, as well as his civic and political, rights. Those conditions could never exist as long as others denied, or sought to deny, people their right to self-determination, by colonialism, by intervention in their domestic affairs, or by the use of new forms of pressure which ran counter to their right to dispose of their natural resources and wealth.

48. Mr. DAMMERT (Peru) said that the international community had for many years been concerning itself with the question of the self-determination of peoples and their speedy accession to independence for the purposes of the effective guarantee and observance of fundamental human rights. Since the adoption of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples at the fifteenth session of the General Assembly, many resolutions and decisions had been adopted by both the Assembly and the Security Council. Certainly results had been obtained, for since then a large number of countries had gained independence. However, the Peruvian Government and people were concerned because in the preceding few years the progress made in that field had been much slower. There were still many peoples in the world, particularly in southern Africa, who were the victims of imperialist practices: colonialism, neo-colonialism, foreign occupation, racism and *apartheid*. The Revolutionary Government of Peru, faithful to its humanist principles and its policy of independence, recognized the legitimacy of the struggle which was being waged by the peoples, particularly those of Zimbabwe, Namibia, Angola, Mozambique and Guinea (Bissau), to compel respect for their right to self-determination, freedom and equality. It also found disturbing the policies adopted by certain NATO Powers which, through their economic and military co-operation, were enabling the racist and colonialist régimes of southern Africa to continue to apply their policy of oppression by means of practices which were contrary to the principle of the self-determination of peoples, to the promotion of friendly relations among States and to respect for fundamental human rights as defined in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the International Covenants on Human Rights. Those practices were a threat to the peace and security of the free and independent nations of Africa and to the world as a whole. Indeed, many African nations had been obliged to complain to the Security Council concerning violations of their territorial integrity.

49. His delegation reiterated its anti-colonialist position and would support any measure aimed at ensuring

the effective application of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples.

50. Mr. BEASSOUM (Chad) said that the dispossessed peoples of South Africa, Mozambique, Angola, Guinea (Bissau) and Zimbabwe were martyrs to the cause of freedom and that the liberation movements which were struggling in Africa and Palestine were its heroes. In its resolution 2787 (XXVI), the General Assembly had urged the Security Council as well as States Members of the United Nations or members of specialized agencies to take effective steps to ensure the implementation of the relevant United Nations resolutions on the elimination of colonialism and racism. Responding to that appeal, Chad, which recognized the right of all peoples to self-determination, offered its political, moral and material assistance to the liberation movements and strongly supported their legitimate struggle for independence. In addition, it would continue to refuse to maintain relations with South Africa and Portugal until those countries abandoned their racial policies. Accordingly, Chad wished to appeal to the States members of NATO to discontinue the support which they were giving to South Africa and Portugal and to participate effectively in the implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples.

51. Chad, which was an advocate of dialogue, felt that Pretoria, Salisbury and Lisbon should, under the auspices of the United Nations, engage in a true dialogue with the African liberation movements with a view to reaching decisions which would be in conformity with the will of the majority. That, in the opinion of his delegation, was the only possible solution, in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations, since the policy of sanctions had proved unsuccessful. He also thought that the Security Council, pursuant to General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV), should take effective measures during the Decade for Action to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination to enable colonial countries and peoples to exercise their right to self-determination and accede to independence.

52. Mr. LEHTIHET (Algeria) said that the persistence of colonialism 12 years after the adoption of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples constituted a violation of the principles of the Charter. It was inconceivable that the right of self-determination should continue to be denied to millions of people in southern Africa, Mozambique, Angola, Guinea (Bissau) and occupied Arab Palestine. Since the adoption of General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) many resolutions concerning the right of self-determination of subject peoples had been adopted. Those resolutions had been flagrantly violated by the colonialist countries and the administering Powers, which had only served to strengthen the minority and racist régimes of Salisbury, Pretoria and Lisbon. The independent African countries had drawn the inevitable conclusion and were firmly resolved to assist the national liberation movements by every possible means.

53. As the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Algeria had said when addressing the 2063rd plenary meeting of the General Assembly, the meetings of the Security Council at Addis Ababa, in January and February 1972, had aroused hopes on the African continent and the interest shown by the United Nations in the problems of Africa was encouraging to the liberation movements, whose leaders had been able to draw attention to the situation prevailing in their respective countries and to the progress which was being made in the just struggle of their peoples. The change which had taken place since those meetings of the Security Council in Africa had been brought home to him in particular by the fact that representatives of the national liberation movements, including PAIGC (Partido Africano da Independência da Guiné e Cabo Verde), FRELIMO (Frente de Libertação de Moçambique) and the movement in Zimbabwe, had been given the opportunity, in their capacity as observers, to address the members of the Fourth Committee, while the representative of the Palestine Liberation Organization had been heard by the Special Political Committee. Those representatives had spoken of the struggle which they were waging against colonial and foreign oppression to liberate their countries and had proved that they had the complete confidence of their peoples, as could be seen from the report of the Special Mission of the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples (A/8723/Add.3, annex I). That mission had gathered information about the struggle of the people of Guinea (Bissau) and Cape Verde, the administration of the areas liberated by PAIGC and the aggression perpetrated by Lisbon's armed forces which bore witness to the march of the revolution in Africa and the political blindness of the Portuguese authorities. The Special Committee would consider sending other special missions to Angola, Mozambique and elsewhere and he thought that encouragement should be given to such initiatives, which would also make it possible to expose false propaganda on the pseudo-pacification and integration of the masses of the African people.

54. Algeria was pleased that on 13 April 1972, at its 854th meeting, the Special Committee had adopted a resolution recognizing that PAIGC controlled the greater part of the territory of Guinea (Bissau) and Cape Verde; it thought that the Special Committee should also recognize the representative character of the revolutionary movements of Mozambique and Angola. For the African peoples, Portugal's aggression and the odious practice of *apartheid* and racial discrimination were a matter of constant concern, as had been indicated at the twenty-sixth session of the General Assembly (1938th plenary meeting) by the President of the eighth ordinary session of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of OAU, as well as by the ninth ordinary session of the OAU Assembly, held at Rabat in June 1972, when it had unanimously adopted a resolution reaffirming the legitimacy of the struggle

of the national liberation movements and the moral, financial and diplomatic support offered by the peoples of Africa to the freedom fighters.

55. He could not fail to mention the unequal struggle being waged by the Palestinian people who had been deprived of their national territory by foreign usurpers. That people, contrary to what the Zionist authorities tried to make everyone believe, was a people with a past and a history and was fighting to recover its territory which had been occupied by a foreign army made up of persons from all parts of Europe and the world. Supported by the great Powers, Israel showed the most arrogant contempt for anything which was not compatible with the objectives of its policy, oppressing a people and perpetrating aggressive acts against the neighbouring Arab countries on the pretext that they were helping the fighters of the Palestine Liberation Organization. In conclusion, he said that there could be no real *détente* or lasting co-operation as long as millions of peoples continued to suffer under the policy of *apartheid* in South Africa and Rhodesia and as long as the freedom fighters in Angola, Mozambique, Guinea (Bissau) and Palestine were denied the right to self-determination and national independence.

56. Mrs. QUIJANO (Panama) said that after 27 years of effort impressive results had been obtained, for a large number of countries had acceded to independence, thanks to the vigorous action of the United Nations, in which the countries of Latin America were proud to have participated. Unfortunately, much remained to be done and many peoples were still under colonial domination. The 132 countries which enjoyed independence should redouble their efforts and join forces to bring to a successful conclusion the struggle against colonialism which had been undertaken in 1945 by the 51 States signatories to the Charter.

57. However, it should be emphasized that colonialism had more than one form and that, in deceptive guises, it controlled the life and the activities of many peoples. Recently that disguised form of colonialism seemed to have been increasing.

58. She wished to take the opportunity offered by the debate on colonialism to reaffirm the position of her country, frequently expressed in the past, with regard to the colonial enclave which constituted a violation of the territorial integrity of the Republic of Panama. It was well known that a foreign Government was preventing the Panamanian Government from exercising its sovereignty over a part of its territory, the so-called Canal Zone. She wondered if Panama might not one day be obliged to ask the United Nations to assist it in recovering its rights.

59. Her delegation would support any measure which the United Nations might propose on behalf of peoples oppressed by a colonial régime.

The meeting rose at 1.05 p.m.