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TWENTY-EIGHTH YEAR

1685th MEETING: 16 JANUARY 1973

NEW YORK

CONTENTS

	<i>Page</i>
Provisional agenda (S/Agenda/1685)	1
Adoption of the agenda	1
Request of Panama concerning the holding of meetings of the Security Council in Panama City: Letter dated 9 January 1973 from the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Panama to the President of the Security Council (S/10858)	1

NOTE

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Documents of the Security Council (symbol S/. . .) are normally published in quarterly *Supplements of the Official Records of the Security Council*. The date of the document indicates the supplement in which it appears or in which information about it is given.

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SIXTEEN HUNDRED AND EIGHTY-FIFTH MEETING

Held in New York on Tuesday, 16 January 1973, at 3 p.m.

President: Mr. Chaidir ANWAR SANI (Indonesia).

Present: The representatives of the following States: Australia, Austria, China, France, Guinea, India, Indonesia, Kenya, Panama, Peru, Sudan, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America and Yugoslavia.

Provisional agenda (S/Agenda/1685)

1. Adoption of the agenda.
2. Request of Panama concerning the holding of meetings of the Security Council in Panama City:
Letter dated 9 January 1973 from the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Panama to the President of the Security Council (S/10858).

The meeting was called to order at 3.25 p.m.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

Request of Panama concerning the holding of meetings of the Security Council in Panama City

Letter dated 9 January 1973 from the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Panama to the President of the Security Council (S/10858)

1. Mr. MALIK (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*translation from Russian*): The Security Council has been convened today for its first meeting of the year 1973. This is clearly an appropriate occasion to pause to consider some of the achievements of the United Nations in 1972. First of all, let us recall the recently concluded twenty-seventh session of the General Assembly which took place in an atmosphere of relaxed international tension, the result of the tireless efforts of the countries of the socialist community and all peace-loving forces in the world.

2. We can say, without exaggeration, that the United Nations made a valuable contribution at this twenty-seventh session, to the general trend towards relaxation of tension in the world. The calm, business-like atmosphere prevailing during the session and the constructive and realistic approach taken by the majority of delegations to the most important international problems enabled the General Assembly to adopt a number of important decisions aimed at strengthening peace and international security, the non-use of force in international relations and permanent prohibition of the use of nuclear weapons, and

the development of comprehensive co-operation between peoples. The overwhelming majority of delegations that took part in the general debate welcomed the relaxation of tension in the world and firmly demanded the elimination of the hot-beds of war in Viet-Nam and the Middle East.

3. The main decision taken at the twenty-seventh session, a decision that will be of permanent political import, was the adoption of the declaration on the non-use of force in international relations and permanent prohibition of the use of nuclear weapons [resolution 2936 (XXVII)], proposed by the Soviet Union and supported by the overwhelming majority of socialist and "third world" States. In that resolution the Assembly recommended that the Security Council, as the principal organ of the United Nations for the maintenance of peace and security, should take, as soon as possible, appropriate measures for the full implementation of that declaration so that its provisions would become a norm of international life and relations between States. The Council must deal with this matter very soon.

4. This decision of the Assembly is in keeping with the fundamental interests of all States and peoples, both large and small. It meets the vitally important requirements of maintaining peace and saving mankind from the threat of nuclear war, and it is an important contribution by the United Nations to the strengthening of peace and international security. The peoples of the world are weary of the tension created by the late architects of the cold war and their former and present-day followers who try to settle international problems from a "position of strength".

5. Another positive step forward in the struggle for disarmament and the limitation of the arms race was the adoption by the General Assembly of a resolution on the World Disarmament Conference [2930 (XXVII)]. Before it was adopted many obstacles and considerable opposition from those who do not want disarmament and who, on various pretexts, favour the continuation of the arms race had to be overcome. This resolution marks the beginning of practical preparations for the convening of the World Disarmament Conference.

6. The supporters of disarmament succeeded in winning a victory—105 votes were cast in the General Assembly in favour of the Disarmament Conference. But those who opposed the preparations for, and the convening of, the Conference, including even some of those who under pressure from the "third world" were obliged to vote in favour of the resolution, are continuing their subversive activities against the preparations for and convening of, the Conference. Having suffered a crushing defeat in the Assembly, they are now counting on hindering the start of the work of the Special Committee established by the

Assembly to examine all the suggestions made by States on the convening of the Conference and to prepare a report on that question for submission at the twenty-eighth session. We are quite convinced that the forces of disarmament and peace within the United Nations will triumph over the forces favouring the arms race and war preparations. The just cause of preparing for, and convening, the Conference will prevail.

7. In this connexion the USSR delegation would like to refer to the recent Soviet-French communiqué issued in connexion with the visit by the President of the French Republic, Mr. Pompidou, to the USSR and his meetings and talks with the General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, Mr. Leonid Ilyich Brezhnev. The talks concentrated on European affairs and other important international problems. With respect to the situation in Europe, the joint communiqué stated that "the Soviet Union and France will continue to contribute actively to the continuation and development of the policy of détente in Europe and throughout the world". On the question of disarmament and the Disarmament Conference, the communiqué stated as follows:

"The two sides agree that in order to achieve general and complete disarmament under effective international control, which is the final objective of all disarmament measures, it is essential first of all to consider questions relating to nuclear disarmament. The USSR and France think it desirable that the Powers who are directly concerned should be able to agree on their positions on this question. Both sides have already expressed their support for the convening of the World Disarmament Conference. They express the hope that it will be possible to create the conditions necessary for its success in the near future.

"Reaffirming their loyalty to the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations, the Soviet Union and France stress the importance they attach to the United Nations for the maintenance of peace and for ensuring international security."

8. The General Assembly once again devoted much attention to the situation in the Middle East which is still a threat to peace. This is an important international political problem in which the Security Council is directly concerned. In the resolution adopted by the Assembly on this question [2949 (XXVII)], Israel was once again, in effect, the subject of international condemnation, as an aggressor. The principle of the inadmissibility of the acquisition of territory by war was confirmed as a rule of modern international law. The Assembly once again proclaimed the need for the unconditional withdrawal of Israeli forces from the occupied Arab territories. We can only express regret that two permanent members of the Security Council abstained in the vote on that resolution which contained such important provisions in support of the Arab countries which are the victims of Israeli aggression; but they thereby, no doubt, delighted the aggressor.

9. In connexion with the Middle East question, it would seem appropriate to inform the Council of the following

position taken by the USSR and France as set forth in the aforementioned Soviet-French joint communiqué:

"The Soviet Union and France express their deep concern over the fact that the situation in the Middle East is still dangerous. They reaffirm that the resolution of the Security Council of 22 November 1967 [242 (1967)] must be implemented. They believe that, in accordance with that resolution, the Special Representative of the Secretary-General, Mr. Gunnar Jarring, who has been entrusted by the Security Council with the task of promoting a settlement, should continue his mission with a view to establishing a just and lasting peace, providing for the withdrawal of Israeli forces from all occupied territories and recognition of the sovereignty, political independence and territorial integrity of all the countries of this region by every country concerned, and respect for the rights and interests of all peoples of this region, including the Arab population of Palestine."

10. The Assembly took important decisions relating to the struggle against colonialism, racism and apartheid. For the first time, the Assembly officially recognized the national liberation movements as the genuine voices of the aspirations and hopes of the peoples struggling for their freedom and independence, and it reaffirmed the legitimacy of the struggle of the colonial peoples for their liberation. We congratulate our African friends on the successful discussion at the Assembly of the problem of the decolonization of the African continent. We are fully justified in calling the twenty-seventh session of the General Assembly "the Assembly of Africa, of the non-use of force, of the prohibition of the use of nuclear weapons, the Assembly of peace and disarmament".

11. The Assembly discussed and took a number of decisions on questions concerning the world economic situation, international trade, development, assistance to developing countries and international co-operation in the field of the human environment.

12. Lastly, the Assembly took a new and important step forward towards implementing the principle of the universality of the United Nations which is embodied in the Charter. The policy of political discrimination within the United Nations system against the German Democratic Republic, which has prevailed for over 20 years, ended. The German Democratic Republic has achieved the status of permanent observer at the United Nations and has been elected a member of some United Nations bodies. This gives grounds for hoping that very soon the two German States, the German Democratic Republic and the Federal Republic of Germany, will be admitted to membership in the United Nations.

13. Those are the main decisions that were taken by the General Assembly at its twenty-seventh session and, in the view of the Soviet delegation, they can, if they are strictly observed by all States Members of the United Nations, undoubtedly contribute to the strengthening of peace and security, to the solution of the problem of disarmament and the non-use of nuclear weapons to the development of friendship and co-operation between peoples.

14. The only cause for regret is that the press of our host country has been silent with regard to the positive achievements of the Assembly aimed at strengthening peace and international security.

15. Mr. President, please accept the warm congratulations of the delegation of the USSR in connexion with the election of your country to the Security Council and your accession to the office of President of the Council for the month of January. May I wish you every success in carrying out your high and difficult duties as President of the Council and may I also assure you of the readiness of the Soviet delegation to co-operate with you. Your fruitful activities in the United Nations in your capacity as Permanent Representative of Indonesia and your skilful conduct of consultations with members of the Council show that in you we have a talented and experienced diplomat. May I say that I am convinced that under your able guidance the Council will achieve fruitful results and make a good start with its work in 1973.

16. The Soviet delegation would also like to express its thanks and its most sincere congratulations to the President of the Security Council for December 1972, the Permanent Representative of India to the United Nations, Mr. Sen, who, while he occupied this office, did much to make the work of the Council productive.

17. I am also very pleased to congratulate, on behalf of the delegation of the Soviet Union, the delegations of the four other new members of the Security Council, Australia, Austria, Kenya and Peru, on their election to the Council, to offer our very best wishes to their representatives in the Council and to express the hope that our joint and fruitful co-operation in the Council will help to strengthen peace and international security. We are convinced that the delegations of the five new members of the Council will make a valuable contribution to its work. We have already had an opportunity to congratulate them at one of last year's meetings, in their absence, so to speak, and more recently this year at the USSR Mission. We are pleased to congratulate them once again.

18. The USSR delegation would also like to express its thanks to the representatives of the five members, Argentina, Belgium, Italy, Japan and Somalia, whose term of office in the Council has come to an end and with whom we co-operated most sincerely in the Council.

19. Turning now to the question on the agenda for today's meeting of the Council, the Soviet delegation would like to make the following observations.

20. We listened closely to the interesting and substantive statement made by our distinguished colleague in the Council, the Permanent Representative of Panama to the United Nations, Mr. Boyd, regarding the proposal by his Government that the Council should hold meetings away from United Nations Headquarters, in Panama City.

21. The Soviet Union has always been, and still is, in favour of greater activity on the part of the Council in order to guarantee and strengthen peace and international security and solve the key problems of our day.

22. The USSR was one of the first to support the idea of holding Council meetings away from United Nations Headquarters in accordance with Article 28, paragraph 3, of the Charter. We feel that on-the-spot meetings will contribute to a more successful solution of the urgent problems of any given region that might complicate the present situation and relations between the States of a specific region. As had already been noted here, the holding of such meetings is fully in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations and the Council's provisional rules of procedure.

23. At the time, the Soviet Union actively supported the proposal made by the African States Members that the Council should hold a series of meetings in Africa in January and February of last year.

24. That series of Council meetings in Africa convincingly demonstrated the usefulness and advisability of the practice of holding meetings away from Headquarters. During the above-mentioned series of meetings, the Council considered the most urgent problems of Africa, problems relating to the elimination of colonialism, neo-colonialism and the struggle against racism and *apartheid*, which are a threat to peace, security and stability on the African continent.

25. When the question of holding a series of Council meetings in Africa was being discussed, some delegations expressed a number of doubts and even fears regarding the difficulties of holding Council meetings away from New York. The successful and productive meetings held by the Council in Addis Ababa have dispelled those doubts and fears.

26. The consideration today of the Panamanian proposal, which has the unanimous support of all the countries of Latin America, confirms that that Security Council practice is gaining recognition and support among a wide circle of States Members of the United Nations. Moreover, the fact that the whole regional group of countries in Latin America in the United Nations has unanimously supported this Panamanian proposal is proof that the usefulness and necessity of holding Security Council meetings in that region has been generally recognized and supported by the countries in the Latin American continent.

27. The Soviet delegation takes due account of, and understands, the reasons that have led the Government of Panama to submit to the Security Council its proposal that the Council should hold a series of meetings in Panama City. During the consultations which took place last week we expressed our support for the proposal that the Council should hold a series of meetings in Panama City from 15 to 21 March this year.

28. The holding of a series of Security Council meetings in Latin America would, in the view of the Soviet delegation, provide the Council with an opportunity to become better acquainted with the problems which are a cause of concern for the peoples of that continent. We were pleased to hear the statement by our distinguished colleague the representative of Panama, Mr. Boyd, that the ministers for foreign affairs of several Latin American countries had declared their readiness to take an active part in that series

of meetings and to put forward their views on ways of solving the problems facing Latin America which are related to the question of the maintenance and strengthening of international peace and security.

29. For these reasons, the Soviet delegation shares the view of many members of the Council on this question and supports the proposal that the invitation of the Government of Panama for holding a series of meetings in Panama City from 15 to 21 March should be approved in principle and transmitted to the Security Council Committee on Council Meetings away from Headquarters which should be asked to consider all the practical aspects and submit a report and recommendations to the Council.

30. Such a procedure would be in keeping with the precedent and with the positive practice already established in the preparations for the Council's meetings in Africa in January and February of last year. As you know, the Council agreed at its meeting on 11 January 1972 [*1625th meeting*] to accede in principle to the request of the African countries that the Council should hold meetings in Africa. Thereafter, it established the Security Council Committee on Council Meetings away from Headquarters and transmitted to that Committee the proposal of the African countries for consideration of all its practical aspects. At the same meeting the Council also reached a unanimous understanding that the basic guidelines relating to the holding of a series of Security Council meetings in Africa could be applied in other similar situations. This was stressed, in particular, in the closing words spoken by the representative of Somalia, Mr. Farah, who was President of the Security Council at that time, when he summed up the Council's decision. No objections or observations were made by members of the Council to the President's summing up at that time. Accordingly, his summing up of the situation in effect reflects the Council's unanimous decision.

31. May I assure you, Mr. President, that the Soviet delegation is fully prepared to co-operate constructively with other delegations in the Security Council Committee with a view to studying all the practical aspects of the implementation of the proposal of the Government of Panama and in preparing the necessary report and practical recommendations for the Council.

32. The PRESIDENT: I thank the representative of the Soviet Union for the very warm words in which he welcomed my delegation to the Security Council.

33. Mr. BUSH (United States of America): Mr. President, first, may I join in the words of welcome from many delegations—welcome to you individually as President of the Council, welcome to your delegation and welcome to the others who are here for the first time.

34. Last year, when we discussed holding Council meetings in Africa [*1624th meeting*], my delegation enumerated certain factors which should be given the most serious consideration by the members of the Council when discussing the question of holding occasional meetings away from Headquarters. Most Council members would agree that when one examines those factors closely the invitation

that we are now discussing is not directly analogous to that of last year, which does not constitute a precedent.

35. First, as we all know, the Security Council is designed to convene at any time on matters of urgent concern to the maintenance of international peace and security. When we met in Addis Ababa last year we considered items of current interest on the Council agenda—items, in fact, on which the Council spends a large proportion of its time. Those were items of some degree of urgency. My delegation is not aware of any comparable items concerning the Latin American region of which the Council is actively seized that would justify a meeting away from Headquarters, which the Charter provides may be held in such places as in the Council's judgement "will best facilitate its work". There certainly are no items requiring urgent consideration since we are invited for two months hence.

36. What then is the purpose of this proposed meeting in Panama—a meeting that Ambassador Boyd and I have discussed at length? Normally, in our procedures, one or more Members of the United Nations or the Secretary-General requests a meeting of the Council to discuss an urgent and current problem, dispute or situation. We do not decide to hold a meeting and then decide what we are going to be talking about—a kind of a concept of a meeting seeking an agenda. That is putting the cart before the horse.

37. Since there are no Latin American issues currently under Council consideration, the holding of this meeting is likely to appear capricious and based more on the particular interests and the special considerations of an individual member rather than on concern for the work of the Council. The agenda, of necessity, would be vague, general and contrived. It was not intended in the Charter that the Council be turned into a smaller version of the General Assembly. Moreover, it is not likely to prove feasible to confine Council discussions to generalities. Special issues would be almost certain to be raised, and the net effect would be the artificial stimulation of debate on subjects not requiring Council consideration at this time.

38. Neither an exchange on generalities nor an unnecessary debate on specifics would redound to the prestige and stature of the Council, or indeed to the prestige and stature of the United Nations itself. The invitation to this Council from the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Panama expresses the desire that the meetings in Panama make "a positive contribution to the search for solutions to the problems of Latin America" [*S/10858*]. It is essential for such a positive contribution and for the proper functioning of the Council that the meetings not be conceived of as a means for bringing pressure on bilateral issues not currently before the Council. If there are bilateral problems, the best way and the traditional way to proceed would be through bilateral negotiations and thereafter, should the need arise, through the existing regional system, utilizing the instrumentalities of that system as provided under Chapter VIII and other relevant articles of the Charter. Ambassador Boyd has raised just such an issue in mentioning the Panama Canal, the status of which is under active bilateral negotiation. With due reference to the history of the area and the issue, we, of course, do not accept the contention that the Canal Zone is a colonialist enclave.

39. Members of the Council will recall that concern has been expressed earlier about holding meetings where public opinion could affect the work of the Council. In this case it is already evident that the prospect of these meetings is stimulating a heated propaganda campaign in Panama, which will not be conducive to the kind of atmosphere needed for Council meetings, or indeed helpful for the future course of bilateral negotiations. With the plethora of serious bilateral problems around the world, none of us would want to encourage interested parties to believe that they can invite the Council to meet on their territories not for the benefit of the United Nations generally but for their own purposes on specific issues.

40. The meetings in Addis Ababa came about as a result of an invitation from the Organization of African Unity, which was solemnly concurred in by the General Assembly in its resolution 2863 (XXVI), inviting the Security Council to consider holding meetings in Africa. In this case, however, we have an invitation from a single country, in this instance a member of the Council. My delegation wonders whether any member of the Security Council or indeed any Member of the United Nations should be allowed to expect to have the Security Council meet in its capital by simply inviting it to do so, perhaps because of the fortuitous circumstance that that Member happens to hold the presidency of the Council during a particular month. Anything that leads to the possibility of further meetings of this kind would, in our opinion, erode support for the concept of holding occasional meetings away from Headquarters, a concept that we have endorsed. In other words, while conceivably a good case might be made in the future for meeting away from Headquarters, a meeting in Panama under the circumstances I have outlined would tend to discredit the very concept, the very idea, of such meetings for the future.

41. Finally, we should not forget that practical questions, about which we have heard something here today, arise in connexion with meetings away from Headquarters—such questions as finances and availability of communications.

42. With regard to finances, fortunately we have had one recent example, in Addis Ababa, on which to base our consideration of the cost of such meetings. In this connexion I wish to recall the words of Ambassador Baroody during the debate last year regarding the meetings in Africa. He said:

“the series of Council meetings away from New York, whether in Africa or elsewhere, should not constitute a precedent, unless the country or group of countries that demands another such session will foot the bill *in toto*” [1625th meeting, para. 74].

It would be in accordance with standard United Nations practice that the host country pay the difference in the cost of holding a meeting or conference in that country rather than at the Headquarters site.

43. Nor should the question of communications be minimized. Last year, in discussing alternative sites for meetings in Africa, the Security Council Committee on Council

Meetings away from Headquarters drew attention to the importance of immediate access to the Council by all Members of the United Nations at all times, the necessity of having rapid communications readily available at all times and the possibility of the occurrence of unforeseen emergencies that might oblige the Council to return urgently to Headquarters. Since 11 of the 15 members of the Council do not maintain diplomatic missions in Panama, we must consider whether quickly improvised communication facilities would suffice to meet unexpected crises.

44. The members of the Council, we think, would be well advised to consider seriously the reservations that I have enumerated and the consequences of the example we could set for the future if we were indeed to accept this invitation. The United States values deeply its close, historic and cordial relations with Panama. The considerations we have enunciated here are not directed towards that friendly Government. Indeed, it is not easy to point out the reservations that we feel, because of our historic relationship with Panama. Rather our aim is to prevent further weakening of the United Nations itself at a time when we should concentrate our efforts on strengthening it. That should be our goal, and I would ask that all members around this table keep it firmly in mind as we discuss this question in the important Committee meetings that will follow.

45. The PRESIDENT: I thank the representative of the United States for the words of welcome addressed to the new members of the Security Council, including my country. I think this will be the last time we shall have the opportunity to have Ambassador Bush among us and I should like to take this opportunity to say that I personally am very sorry that I shall not have the opportunity to work with him in the Council. I know that the Council will certainly miss his contribution to its work, and I am sure that I am speaking on behalf of the Council in wishing him every success in the new functions he is going to assume in his country's political life.

46. Mr. MOISOV (Yugoslavia): Mr. President, it gives us double pleasure both to greet you and your delegation as one of the five new members of the Council and to congratulate you on assuming the responsible post of President of the Council for the month of January. The traditionally friendly relations between our two countries and Governments, strengthened by their dedication to and co-operation for the advancement of the movement of non-alignment to which they have belonged from its inception, and the close co-operation and understanding that have always existed between our two delegations in the United Nations make us particularly happy in doing so. The significant and extensive role that your country continues to play in Asian and world affairs is reflected in the broad vision that you have been personally contributing to our work in the United Nations. It is not often that a new member is immediately, from the very beginning almost without any breathing space, saddled with the responsibilities of the presidency; but the energy, skill and speed with which you have started to discharge your duties only confirm that we are in good hands. My delegation offers you its wholehearted co-operation.

47. Let me take this opportunity to extend greetings also to the Ambassadors and delegations of Australia, Austria, Kenya and Peru, new members of the Council. We are very much looking forward to working with them. With each one of them, we have good and friendly relations in general, and with their countries, as well as here in the United Nations. At the last meeting of the Council we had the opportunity to express our feelings in connexion with the departure of Argentina, Belgium, Italy, Japan and Somalia at the end of last year.

48. While obviously we never have reason to say farewell to the delegations of the permanent members, we still have to face those moments when their permanent representatives, our colleagues, leave us. My delegation and I personally are indeed sad at hearing what you just said, Mr. President, that this is the last Council meeting which will be attended by the Permanent Representative of the United States, our good friend George Bush. His personal dedication to the causes of the United Nations, and to the work of the Council was one of the mainstays in our joint efforts. His personal charm and good humour often delighted and helped us all. We always enjoyed co-operating with Ambassador Bush, a worthy and able representative of a country with which my country traditionally and continuously has had good and friendly relations, tested in some of the most trying moments of modern history. We are glad that we can at the same time congratulate George Bush on proceeding to assume a very high and responsible position in the political life of his country, but we shall certainly miss him here. We, are of course, looking forward to establishing the same co-operation and close relationship with his successor when he comes.

49. In placing on today's agenda the invitation of the Government of the Republic of Panama to the Security Council to meet in Panama City in March of this year, we are responding once again to an important initiative enabling the Council to avail itself of the prerogative given to it by the Charter in Article 28, paragraph 3, namely, to "hold meetings at such places other than the seat of the Organization as in its judgment will best facilitate its work".

50. In our consultations with you, Mr. President, we have already indicated our strong and unqualified support for holding a session of the Council in Panama, for accepting its Government's invitation. I should now like to state briefly some of the reasons for my delegation's positive stand on this, and for its urging the Council to agree unanimously to go to Panama, as we urged it last year to respond unanimously to the call of African States.

51. Firstly, indeed, the success, the importance, the work accomplished by and the results of our historic meetings in Addis Ababa would by themselves be enough to justify turning similar attention to the problems of peace, international security and co-operation of another great region and continent, problems which affect the world.

52. There is no need today to prove in any detail what the Addis Ababa meetings accomplished and meant for Africa, for the United Nations, for the Security Council, for the whole of the international community. Some doubts were

raised, before we embarked on that major undertaking, about the wisdom and propriety of such a venture and the available means and ability of all concerned to make it substantive and useful. But all of us together, with the greatest contribution from the host country and other African States, made it a conspicuous success.

53. The meetings of the Security Council in Africa actually opened a new chapter in its work and constituted an effective utilization of the possibility that the Charter, in its wisdom, has provided for the Council. There is a further need for the Council to apply again and develop this valuable new practice, particularly at a time when it is more widely recognized that general peace cannot rest securely on unsettled regional crises and local wars, that all regions might equally affect and be affected by the general trend towards international peace and security—all that in a world which has really become one, with all countries, regions and continents being equally important elements in the universal structure of international co-operation.

54. Secondly, the Government of Panama has now invited us to meet in its capital from 15 to 21 March to consider an agenda whose general theme makes it possible to engage in a very useful debate and to take adequate decisions for the strengthening of peace and international security in Latin America. The Government of Panama hopes that such a series of meetings will be—and I quote from the letter of the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Panama, His Excellency Mr. Juan Antonio Tack:

"a positive contribution to the search for solutions to the problems of Latin America, which are linked to the strengthening of international peace and security and the promotion of international co-operation" [see S/10858].

55. It is particularly significant that the Latin American Group in the United Nations has unanimously expressed its sympathy and solidarity with this decision of the Panamanian Government. The very wide support that its initiative has already gathered among the members of the Council indicates that we are all conscious of the great importance and immediate attention that must be accorded to the wishes and needs of a large region of the world, of a large group of sovereign States, whose role and contribution to the United Nations from its inception have been second to none, whose collective and individual contributions to the affairs of the progressing international community have been and are admired by all.

56. It was wisely said, in the consultations we had, that the problems of Latin America relating to the maintenance and promotion of international peace, security and co-operation have perhaps been somewhat neglected here in more recent times. Therefore, this is one more reason for our tackling these problems in a more focused, concentrated manner. In doing so, in going to Panama, this Council will once again demonstrate that it does realize that peace is indivisible.

57. It is being said that while our African series of meetings was a valuable achievement it does not necessarily constitute a precedent for other situations. Some say that problems in the two regions are dissimilar, that some of the

African problems that were on the agenda were and are of great urgency. But, here, we should like to state how impressed we were by the point made by the representative of Panama, my good friend Mr. Boyd, when he said that dealing with the relevant problems of his country and those of Latin America would constitute an exercise in so-called preventive diplomacy, which the world needs so much. We should not wait for a problem to be escalated into a crisis, and a crisis into an armed conflict before dealing with it. Very often, the absence of escalation today does not mean that a flare-up will not occur tomorrow. We all have an idea what the relevant problems in the area are. This should and will become clearer as a result of our work in the Council Committee on meetings away from Headquarters and elsewhere before our meetings take place. We welcomed the spirit of the remarks by some representatives that we would be going to Panama not to score points or to indulge in unproductive inflammatory rhetoric for its own sake, but to try to persuade; to defuse, if we can, potential conflicts; to show concern; to suggest principles, bases and ways for solutions; to focus the attention of the international community on what is being done and what should be done to meet the just demands of the peoples and their legitimate rights.

58. Thirdly, Yugoslavia—for which, as for many other countries, the general interest of the United Nations has always been close to the centre of its foreign policy—is particularly grateful to Panama and all the Latin American countries which, in inviting the Council to help them deal with the great problems that affect them and the whole world, have shown their undiminished confidence in the United Nations, in the Security Council and in their role and possibilities. This is particularly valuable at a time when we hear from various sides, so often and so insistently, lamentations over the so-called decrease in prestige and in the esteem in which the United Nations and this Council also are held. Last year the African countries and this year the Latin American countries have disagreed with this view by wanting this Council to come and help them with some of the thorniest problems with which they are faced.

59. In conclusion, let me just say that my delegation is most grateful to the Government of Panama not only for inviting us and offering us a great opportunity to perform our duties and tasks in an imaginative way, but also for offering to do everything it can, and very generously, to create the best possible physical and logistic conditions for our work in Panama City and in reducing the cost for the Organization by offering a contribution to meet a substantial part of the expense.

60. My delegation, together with all the others, will, if necessary, make detailed comments on arrangements and other related issues in the Committee and subsequently.

61. As for the exact drafting of the agenda for the meeting in Panama City and other political matters of a substantive nature, we welcome the spirit of flexibility that has been indicated by many members here. We are sure that we can jointly find solutions for those questions too, without impairing our main goal in this worthy undertaking: promotion of the legitimate interests of the peoples of Latin America, related to peace, security and co-operation in that region and in the world.

62. For all these reasons my delegation will support the decision of the Council in principle to hold a series of meetings in Panama City, as proposed by the Government of Panama.

63. The PRESIDENT: I thank the representative of Yugoslavia for the very warm words which he addressed to me and to the new members of the Council, a group to which Indonesia also belongs.

64. Mr. SEN (India): Mr. President, this is the first meeting of the Council in 1973 and I should like to express to you and to all members of the Council, and to the Secretary-General and his staff of all ranks and ages, our best wishes for the New Year and for the work of the Council. Close and friendly ties link India with Indonesia. My delegation holds you personally in high esteem. We congratulate you warmly on your Presidency of the Council for January and we can assure you of our fullest co-operation. We also welcome your delegation to membership of the Council, together with the delegations of Australia, Austria, Kenya and Peru. We have close and cordial relations with all those countries, and we also look forward to co-operating with them in every possible way in the work of the Council, as indeed elsewhere. We are confident that they will be worthy successors to Argentina, Belgium, Italy, Japan and Somalia, to which we had the painful privilege of saying good-bye a few weeks ago.

65. Lastly, I have been deeply touched by the personal compliments paid by you, Mr. President, and others to me as the President of the Council for December. While these emotional sentiments and expressions are worthy and worthwhile we cannot in this context forget that between the time we last met and now a great natural calamity has befallen a small country in the region with which we are concerned today, and I should like to express our sincerest condolences to the people and Government of Nicaragua for what they have suffered.

66. It is pleasant to be back to work and business after a lull of a rather dull period of about a month, and we shall now turn to the business at hand which is the proposal of the Government of Panama for a series of meetings of the Council in Panama in March. We have heard with utmost attention the statement by the representative of Panama [1684th meeting] and the comments made on it by previous speakers. The proposal for holding meetings of the Council in Panama City from 15 to 21 March is not a new or sudden one. The delegation of Panama had spoken about it both formally and informally, especially on a number of occasions over the last few months. We have therefore had adequate notice to consider the question in principle. Now, in his statement, the representative of Panama has sought to make clear the objectives of the proposal, the attitude of the countries of the region to it, the availability of technical facilities at Panama City, which would be necessary for a meeting of the Council away from Headquarters, and its financial implications.

67. We welcome this offer of the Government of Panama and we greatly look forward to a most satisfactory organization of our meetings in its capital. Our own attitude towards this proposal has been based, after careful

thought, on several considerations. First, this proposal has received the unanimous support of the Latin American Group of countries. This endorsement of the Latin American Group means that the Panamanian proposal reflects the desires and aspirations of all the countries of an important region. We believe that it is necessary and indeed desirable--as indeed it was necessary and desirable last year when we met at Addis Ababa--for the Council to respond positively and speedily to the unanimous wishes of a large and significant group of the United Nations. In spite of the reservations of some delegations on practical grounds and on their interpretation of some provisions of the Charter, we believe that this is the most important consideration and are glad to note that even those, or some of those, who have expressed--legitimately if I may say so--their reservations, appear to have accepted the force of the argument that all Latin American countries wish to have a series of meetings in Panama City.

68. Secondly, we have noted that the suggested theme for consideration as the agenda for the proposed meetings has been framed in general and broad but nevertheless important terms. Moreover, the delegation of Panama has indicated a flexible approach to its actual wording. We consider that the strengthening of international peace and security and the promotion of international co-operation in any region are legitimate matters for the Council's concern. Very few will question that, in the context of Latin America, an agreed Latin American capital would be an appropriate--indeed, we would hope, a fruitful--venue for such a discussion. Naturally, it would be the prerogative of the Council to discuss in detail the contents of the agenda it should consider.

69. Thirdly, we think that, while too much emphasis on the regionalization of the world may not always be desirable, we also have to take into account that different regions face problems which are peculiar to them. For the Council to consider these problems as a whole in the context of the maintenance of international peace and security and the promotion of international co-operation is a worthy end and should be pursued. Here again we cannot ignore the useful result the Council obtained during our meetings in Ethiopia last year, both in its work towards finding solutions to some specific African problems, and, perhaps more importantly, in bringing the United Nations, and all it stands for, nearer the people of Africa. It achieved, as I said before, a most important result. In this connexion, we have particularly noted from the statement of Panama that one of the intentions is to discuss the problems of the Latin American region as a whole.

70. Those of us who work in the United Nations are quite often criticized as living in an exotic atmosphere away from the rough and tumble of daily life in different countries. Would it not be better, even for our own education, to go to some other countries and see how the people there live, how they feel and how they look on our problems and, therefore, come back wiser and better equipped to solve the problems which we face here in the Council? I think that was one of the important lessons all the members of the Council learned while we were in Addis Ababa, and I look forward to a repetition of such a lesson when we go to Panama City.

71. Finally, with regard to procedures through which the proposal before us can be implemented, we are fortunate that some groundwork has already been done. There should not be any difficulty in following the same pattern we adopted last February. The practical consideration of expense to the United Nations is, of course, of some importance in the present circumstances. For that also the procedures of last year provide a guideline which the Government of Panama has already taken into account in making its own generous offer of a financial contribution.

72. In the light of these considerations my delegation will support the proposal of Panama for the holding of a series of meetings of the Council at Panama City. At the same time we are fully conscious that important details of substance and procedure will require to be worked out in advance if the success of the meetings is to be ensured. The proper forum for discussing these details will naturally be the Council's Committee on meetings away from Headquarters. It would be sufficient if at this stage the Council were to take a decision in principle to support the Panamanian request and refer the discussion of further details to the Committee, which could also be instructed to report back to the Council within a suitable period of time. No doubt, during the Committee's discussions other considerations which are not yet fully clear will be analysed and firm recommendations will be made. The Council can take all the necessary decisions on receiving the Committee's report.

73. In conclusion I should like to say that in supporting the present proposal for a series of meetings of the Council in Panama City my delegation has no particular issue in mind as the only or main subject of discussion. Our support for the proposal is essentially indicative of our concern for the region as a whole and of our desire that the aspirations of its people should be respected and that co-operation, peace and security among its States be promoted for the greater good of us all.

74. Before I conclude I have a few personal words to address to Ambassador Bush, whom we may not see again in the Council after today's meeting. I have already paid my official compliments at the last meeting of the Council, but I should like to add that personally I shall indeed be very sorry to see him go. He has been a good friend, cheerful company and a constant source of inspiration for many of us, and we shall miss him. We look forward to continued co-operation with the United States delegation when his successor heads that delegation.

75. The PRESIDENT: I thank the representative of India for the very warm words of welcome which he addressed to me.

76. Mr. ODERO-JOWI (Kenya): At this first meeting of the Security Council in 1973 my delegation is gratified to be able to participate in its deliberations as a member for the first time since my country won independence. We wish to thank the members of the African Group for their unanimous support of our candidature for membership in the Council. We also thank all the other delegations whose support enabled my country to become a member of this auspicious body. I wish to assure you, Mr. President, that

my delegation will do its utmost, in collaboration with all other members of the Council, to contribute fully to ensuring that the Council meets its primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security. Let me also express my delegation's gratitude to you and to all the other members who have expressed kind words of welcome to my delegation as a new member of the Council.

77. Turning now to the question under discussion, namely, the request by Panama concerning the holding of meetings of the Security Council in Panama City, I wish to express my delegation's whole-hearted support for the proposal so ably presented this morning by the representative of Panama. Our two continents do indeed share many common problems and our two countries enjoy the happiest of relations, and, consequently, we have no hesitation in giving our fraternal support to the holding of meetings of the Council in Panama City some time this year.

78. Apart from the expression of solidarity, however, our support for this proposal is based on certain basic principles and considerations. Article 28, paragraph 3, of the Charter of the United Nations provides that "the Security Council may hold meetings at such places other than the seat of the Organization as in its judgment will best facilitate its work". The criterion for holding meetings outside Headquarters is whether or not such a decision would best facilitate the work of the Council. Last year the Council decided, at the invitation of the Organization of African Unity, to hold some of its meetings in Africa to deal with African problems. The success of those meetings of the Council which were held in Addis Ababa fully justified that decision and, in the opinion of my delegation, showed the need to consider holding meetings away from Headquarters from time to time when this is justified by the nature of the problems that have to be dealt with. No one can deny that problems that were referred to this morning by the representative of Panama are relevant to the continent of Latin America, even though they might not all be peculiar to that continent.

79. As the United Nations organ on which members have conferred the "primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security" in order to secure the pacific settlement of disputes, the taking of action with respect to threats to the peace, breaches of the peace and acts of aggression and the harmonization of regional actions to ensure pacific settlements of disputes, the Council is enjoined not only to develop a global presence and capability in the interests of peace and security but also systematically to increase and globally to assert its presence. This demands that the Council maintain a posture of preparedness to deal with all issues and all developments which are likely to constitute threats to the peace in the most effective, equitable and timely manner. This in turn demands the full and intimate involvement of the Council in these issues.

80. In the opinion of my delegation, the presence of the Council in Panama City will greatly assist the Council in the full appreciation of the problems of Latin America. We also believe that the absence of the Council from Headquarters will in no way diminish its capability to deal with any

unforeseen situation and to ensure prompt and effective action in discharging its primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security. With modern means of communication the Council can and shall indeed be able to function continuously, as required by the Charter, whether it be at Headquarters or in Panama City.

81. Finally, my delegation is in full agreement that the same procedure as was followed when the Council decided to hold a series of meetings in Africa should be followed in this case as well.

82. Mr. ABDULLA (Sudan): Allow me, Mr. President, first of all to congratulate you most warmly on your accession to the presidency of the Council for January, and also on the membership of your country in the Council. Because of the long-standing, intimate and friendly relations which exist between our two countries and peoples, and also because of the role your great country has played and continues to play as one of the initiators and promoters of the principles of non-alignment and peaceful coexistence, in which we strongly believe, I am happy to assure you that my delegation will be delighted to co-operate fully with you and your delegation. And through you I wish also to extend the warmest welcome and best wishes to the delegations of Australia, Austria, Kenya and Peru, which have joined the Council with your delegation.

83. As for the outgoing members, my delegation has happy memories of the co-operation and friendship which it has shared with the delegations of Argentina, Belgium, Italy, Japan and Somalia. We recall with great admiration and appreciation the active and dynamic role and sympathy which Ambassador Ortiz de Rozas and the delegation of Argentina have manifested in the Council towards African problems. We also have no doubt that the delegations of both Panama and Peru, as the representatives of Latin America, will continue to maintain the same level of interest and support which their delegations have hitherto accorded to African questions.

84. Now turning to the second item on the agenda of this morning's meeting [*1684th meeting*], my delegation presents its thanks to each member of the Council for the confidence they showed in my delegation and the responsibility they placed upon it by approving its membership in the group of three on Namibia established by the Council.

85. My delegation has considered the request of Panama concerning the holding of meetings of the Security Council in Panama City, as contained in document S/10853 and as unanimously supported by the delegations of the countries of Latin America in document S/10859, and as further explained today by Ambassador Boyd [*ibid.*], the Permanent Representative of Panama. I am happy to say from the start that my delegation welcomes the proposal of Panama and supports the holding of meetings of the Council in Panama City between 15 and 21 March.

86. We believe that the success and experience gained from the holding of the meetings of the Council at the beginning of last year in Addis Ababa will contribute to the success of the Panama meetings. The Council will have an opportunity to acquire on-the-spot knowledge and, there-

fore, better understanding of the aspirations and problems of Latin America, as it did in Africa with regard to the problems of that continent.

87. The agenda, which concerns the strengthening of international peace and security and international co-operation in Latin America, is closely interconnected with the problems of peace and security in Africa and elsewhere, and the Panama meetings will help the Council to formulate a wider view and better understanding of the problems which is its responsibility to solve.

88. With all due respect to the arguments put forward for holding meetings of the Council as a rule at Headquarters, we cannot overlook the fact that once in a while the Council should go to meet the peoples of the world and acquaint them with it and its work. Fortunately, this activity is facilitated by the frequency and rapidity of communications between Headquarters and any capital in the world. In such favourable conditions and in rapidly changing world conditions, it would be most unfortunate if the Council should remain aloof and detached from the very peoples of the world whose peace and security it stands to guarantee.

89. In this particular case, we are encouraged by the fact that the Latin American countries themselves welcome the convening of the Council in Panama City, and by the assurances of the representative of Panama himself that his Government firmly undertakes to provide all facilities and security and to make an appreciable financial contribution in order to ensure the success of the meetings.

90. My delegation agrees with the delegation of Panama, following these assurances, that the Council may follow the same procedure as in the case of the meetings in Africa: namely, accepting the invitation in principle and authorizing the Committee of the Council on meetings away from Headquarters to report to it at the end of next week on the Committee's study.

91. Finally, and on the basis of my preceding arguments, I wish to reaffirm the support of my delegation for the request of Panama for the holding of meetings of the Security Council in Panama City next March.

92. Before I conclude, I wish to say a few words on the departure of Ambassador Bush of the United States, whose appointment will soon terminate. I must say that he has endeared himself to all of us through his friendly spirit and his frank and open dealing with everybody. In spite of differences, Ambassador Bush has the quality of always maintaining friendship with everyone. I must say, on a personal level, that we shall miss him very much, but my delegation would wish him all success in his new job.

93. The PRESIDENT: I thank the representative of Sudan for the very kind words he has addressed to me and to my delegation.

94. I should like now to speak as representative of INDONESIA.

95. I do not feel the need to repeat views already expressed by the very large majority of members, who have responded favourably to the proposal of the Government of Panama that meetings of the Security Council be held in Panama City. For many of the same reasons which have been given by the supporters of the Panamanian proposal, I am happy to state my Government's grateful support for the kind invitation extended by the Government of Panama to the Council to meet in its capital city from 15 to 21 March 1973.

96. My delegation also agrees with the view that the same procedure should be followed as during the preparations for the Council meetings in Africa, and that the matter be referred to the Security Council Committee on Council Meetings away from Headquarters for further consideration of all its aspects. The Committee will submit its findings and recommendations to the Council.

97. Speaking now as PRESIDENT of the Council, I would say that as no other member of the Council appears to wish to speak at this stage it seems that we have reached the conclusion of our discussion. I shall therefore sum up the results of our consultations and the discussion we have just held in order that we may arrive at the decisions which flow from the action taken so far.

98. The Security Council has been considering the proposal made by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Panama in his letter dated 9 January 1973 [S/10858] to the effect that the Council meet at Panama City from 15 to 21 March 1973 in order to consider an agenda having the general theme suggested in his letter. From my consultations with the members of the Council, and from the statements that have been made, it appears to me that members of the Council are prepared to accept the proposal of Panama. It further appears that members are agreed to follow the same procedure followed last year in preparing for the meetings of the Council in Africa, and that the Security Council Committee on Council Meetings away from Headquarters established on 11 January 1972 should be reconvened and requested to consider all aspects of the Council's requirements in carrying out its agreement to meet in Panama City. As before, the Committee would be requested to make recommendations on technical, administrative, financial, legal, political and other aspects of the question, including the precise formulation of an agreed agenda for our discussions.

99. If no member of the Council wishes to comment on the two propositions I have just outlined and in the absence of objections, I shall consider that the Council agrees with both—that is, that it accepts in principle the invitation to meet in Panama City from 15 to 21 March 1973 and that the Committee will be asked to consider all aspects of the necessary arrangements. I would add that the Committee should be requested to conclude its work and report to the Council by not later than the end of next week.

It was so decided.

100. Mr. BOYD (Panama) (*interpretation from Spanish*): In connexion with the invitation of Panama, my delegation

is so pleased with the affirmative statements made by the representatives of Peru, France, Guinea, China, Austria, the Soviet Union, Yugoslavia, India, Kenya, the Sudan and Indonesia that we would prefer to reply at a more appropriate time to the ideas expressed by the representative of the United States.

101. Mr. President, you have given us a very clear and accurate summary of the consensus achieved in our debate today, whereby the Council has decided to agree in principle to the request made by the Government of Panama with the unanimous support of the Latin American Group to hold meetings in Panama from 15 March to 21 March 1973. On behalf of the Government and people of Panama I express deep gratitude to you as well as the members of the Council and our brother Latin American countries, for today's decision and for their generous support.

102. My country will closely co-operate with the Council's Committee on meetings away from Headquarters and the Secretariat on all the technical, administrative, financial, legal, political and other aspects, so that the meetings of the Council in Panama will constitute an historic event and a positive contribution to the strengthening of international peace and security and to the promotion of international

co-operation at the international, regional, sub-regional and bilateral levels in accordance with the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations.

103. Mr. BUSH (United States of America): I hesitate at this late hour to inject a personal note into these solemn proceedings, but I was called away from the chamber and I have learned that while I was absent several representatives here made very warm personal comments about me and my service at the United Nations. Also, I remember that at previous meetings others whom I have not had a chance to thank expressed themselves similarly. Therefore, I wish to thank present and past members of the Council and tell each of them that when I am back in the political world in the United States I shall have happy memories of the exchanges we have had in this Council, and I will think with friendship and gratitude of each of the members of the Council. At this time I want to thank my colleagues for the warm attention and consideration they have shown me over the last two years.

104. The PRESIDENT: I thank the representative of the United States for his words of farewell. We wish him all the best and every success in his new functions.

The meeting rose at 5 p.m.

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