

UNITED NATIONS



# SECURITY COUNCIL OFFICIAL RECORDS

TWENTY-EIGHTH YEAR

**1686<sup>th</sup>** MEETING: 26 JANUARY 1973

NEW YORK

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## 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.

The resolutions of the Security Council, numbered in accordance with a system adopted in 1964, are published in yearly volumes of *Resolutions and Decisions of the Security Council*. The new system, which has been applied retroactively to resolutions adopted before 1 January 1965, became fully operative on that date.

## SIXTEEN HUNDRED AND EIGHTY-SIXTH MEETING

Held in New York on Friday, 26 January 1973, at 11.30 a.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/1686)

1. Adoption of the agenda.
2. Request of Panama concerning the holding of meetings of the Security Council in Panama City:  
Second Report of the Security Council Committee on Council Meetings away from Headquarters (S/10868).

*The meeting was called to order at 11.55 a.m.*

### Statement by the President

1. The PRESIDENT: Before the Council proceeds with today's business, allow me to express my condolences to our African colleagues and to the people of Guinea (Bissau) and Cape Verde on the death of Mr. Amílcar Cabral, the leader of the liberation movement in Guinea (Bissau). It was with a feeling of shock, horror and deep grief that we learned about his assassination a few days ago. Though the PAIGC (Partido Africano da Independência da Guiné e Cabo Verde) and the liberation movement have lost a great leader, I am convinced that the struggle for freedom in Guinea (Bissau) and Cape Verde will continue, and that it will increase in intensity and be waged with an even greater determination to win. I am equally certain that the day of which Mr. Cabral spoke when he came to the United Nations during last year's session of the General Assembly will come, and that the struggle of the people of Guinea (Bissau) and Cape Verde will result in the freedom and independence of their country. I should like to reiterate Indonesia's continued support for that struggle.

2. I should also like to take this opportunity to express my condolences to the representative of the United States and his colleagues on the passing away of one of the great leaders of their country, former President Lyndon Baines Johnson. The world has lost a great statesman.

3. Though the Security Council has not been in a position to contribute directly to the solution of the Viet-Nam war, I am sure it is in order for me, as representative of a South-East Asian country, to express my feelings of deep

satisfaction and relief that an agreement has been reached between the Government of the United States and the Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam to end the fighting in Viet-Nam. When, tomorrow, the cease-fire becomes a fact after the signing of the agreement by the parties concerned, the fighting in Viet-Nam that has lasted for more than a generation will end at last. I sincerely hope that a cease-fire in the Khmer Republic and Laos will follow very soon.

4. The cease-fire in Viet-Nam is a very important step towards peace not only for that country but for the whole of South-East Asia. But much has still to be done if lasting peace is to return to war-ravaged Viet-Nam and the war-torn Khmer Republic and Laos. A peace conference is to be convened in a month's time. I should like to express my hope and sincere expectation that the leaders in whose hands the fate of peace lies will continue to manifest their wisdom, their statesmanship and their compassion in their negotiations, so that death, suffering and devastation will not revisit Viet-Nam and South-East Asia.

5. The countries of South-East Asia are in need of peace if their efforts in the field of economic development and reconstruction are to be successful. They need peace in order to be able to create a society where there is social justice and prosperity enough for their peoples to live a life worthy of the freedom and independence they have fought for. Peace in South-East Asia will certainly contribute to peace in the world.

6. Indonesia has the privilege of being called upon to play a role with others in the efforts to bring lasting peace to Viet-Nam and the rest of South-East Asia. Conscious of its responsibility to the region to which it belongs and to the world of which it is a part, Indonesia will endeavour to contribute to those efforts to the maximum of its modest capabilities in a positive and constructive manner.

7. As far as the Security Council is concerned, I should like to express the hope that at some stage it will be in a position to play a positive role in bringing lasting peace to Viet-Nam and South-East Asia, in the execution of the task assigned to it by the Charter as the United Nations organ primarily concerned with international peace and security, which, to my mind, has never been intended to exclude any part of the world.

### Adoption of the agenda

*The agenda was adopted.*

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

**Second Report of the Security Council Committee on  
Council Meetings away from Headquarters (S/10868)**

8. The PRESIDENT: At its 1685th meeting, on 16 January, the Security Council asked its Committee on Council Meetings away from Headquarters to consider all aspects of the necessary arrangements for the series of meetings to be held in Panama City from 15 to 21 March, and to submit its report to the Council not later than 26 January. The Committee has been working hard for ten days and has prepared the report now before the Council in document S/10868. In paragraph 22 of that report the Committee has submitted a number of recommendations to the Council, and in paragraph 23 it recommends to the Council adoption of a draft resolution.

9. If no member of the Council wishes to speak at this stage, I shall take it that the Council accepts the recommendations contained in the Committee's report and, further, in the absence of objections, wishes to adopt the draft resolution contained in paragraph 23.

*The draft resolution was adopted unanimously.*

10. Mr. BOYD (Panama) (*interpretation from Spanish*): Mr. President, although you have correctly interpreted the sorrow we have all felt at the death of leader Amílcar Cabral, and though, on 22 January in the Security Council Committee on Council Meetings away from Headquarters, we have already expressed on behalf of the delegation of Panama profound sorrow at the death of the head of the Guinea (Bissau) and Cape Verde African Independence Party, we wish today, here in the Council itself, to state that we have been deeply moved by the world-wide reaction to this brutal assassination. The statesmanlike approach of this African leader and his personality will serve as an inspiration to new leaders, who will not rest until they have achieved the full liberation of their peoples. Panama wishes to reiterate its support for the struggle of patriots who, like Cabral, are fighting against the colonialist régime of Portugal in Africa. We offer our most sincere condolences to the delegations of Guinea, Kenya and the Sudan, which share the responsibilities of the Security Council with us.

11. We also wish publicly to express to the delegation of the United States of America our deepest sympathy on the death of ex-President Lyndon Baines Johnson.

12. The delegation of Panama wishes to express its warmest thanks to all members of the Council for having decided to approve unanimously the proposal of my Government that meetings of the Security Council be held in our capital from 15 to 21 March 1973. At the same time we wish to say that we have been able to achieve this success because of the wise leadership of our President, Mr. Chaidir Anwar Saní, who led the work of the Committee with great mastery in its preparation of the report unanimously adopted and received with such pleasure by all members of the Council today.

13. Just as the meetings in Africa had wide-scale results, the mere announcement of today's agreement will also have a positive influence all over Latin America. A solution to the Latin American questions relating to peace and security has not been achieved in the last few years. In Panama we shall have a valuable opportunity to tackle those problems and find solutions to them.

14. For 10 days the Committee discussed complex administrative, financial, technical, legal and political problems linked with the holding of the meetings planned for Panama, and it did useful and helpful work in order to submit to us the important recommendations we have now formally approved. The Committee overcame many difficulties and has submitted an extremely complete report, which was arrived at thanks to the patience and goodwill shown by all and particularly the Secretary-General.

15. It is only just to recognize the considerable work and valuable assistance provided by the Office of General Services, the Office of Financial Services, the Office of Conference Services, the Office of Public Information and the Office of Legal Affairs. The delegation of Panama wishes to express its appreciation to all those offices. It also extends personal thanks and appreciation to the Under-Secretaries-General who co-operated with us in our work. The officials of the Secretariat and the Council must now very rapidly complete the preparations so that the meetings in Panama can be carried out as planned.

16. Politically speaking, the Committee has effectively and wisely managed to prepare an agenda that is a splendid synthesis of the matters originally proposed by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Panama, which appeared in document S/10858. Under the general heading we suggested, in Panama, and from a Latin American standpoint, we shall be able to deal with all matters touching on the maintenance of peace and to contribute to the strengthening of peace in our region and in the world as a whole.

17. Financially speaking, the expenditures on the part of the United Nations are considered reasonable, and it is the general view that they can be absorbed without creating budgetary difficulties of any significance. In the course of the debates of the Committee, Panama, supported by the large majority of members, stated very clearly the principle that its Government proceeded correctly when it invoked Article 28, paragraph 3, of the Charter as the legal precept applicable to this case. We are convinced that because of the efficiency of the Secretariat and the experience gained in Addis Ababa, the expenditures resulting from this series of meetings will be reduced as much as possible. My country repeats its readiness to contribute adequately to defray the expenses that may be incurred.

18. The solidarity, the sympathy and the unanimous support—I repeat, the unanimous support—of all the countries of Latin America for the holding of the series of meetings of the Council in Panama deserve to be stressed yet again, since they create optimism in our mind regarding the positive results that can be derived from this series of meetings.

19. We have been deeply moved to note the noble, wholehearted and spontaneous gesture of the African group

<sup>1</sup> See resolution 325(1973).

in supporting their Latin American brothers so that the series of meetings to be held by the Security Council in Panama will be successful.

20. To the countries of the Asian Group and of the third world, and in general to all those that have encouraged us and displayed faith in the results to be achieved by our efforts, we address our sincere thanks on behalf of the Government and people I represent. Panama intends to hold consultations and to exchange views in order to find a common denominator in all those matters that unite us in our endeavours to achieve a world where peace and security can be enjoyed by all. We shall endeavour to find a common position with Latin America for the benefit of the entire continent.

21. With respect to the problems of Panama, we should like the Council, within the framework of the Charter, to try to find formulas that will tend to defuse the explosive situation existing in my country because of the colonialist type of enclave called the Panama Canal Zone, which bisects our territory and stands in the way of our territorial, political, economic and social integration.

22. It is perfectly obvious that since the United Nations was created to save humanity from the scourge of war, its main purpose must be the maintenance of peace, and therefore among the purposes and principles which the Charter sets forth we find first the purpose "to maintain international peace and security" by effective measures so that the settlement of controversies likely to lead to breaches of the peace may take place in accordance with the principles of justice and international law. But to implement that principle the Charter itself in Article 24 sets forth that "its Members confer on the Security Council primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security".

23. The experience gained in a world that had been involved in numerous conflicts led the founders of the Organization to link the concept of peace indissolubly with that of security. The peace ensured by the Charter must obviously be based upon the purposes and principles, such as the sovereign equality of States, respect for the sovereignty of States and the condemnation of the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any State.

24. International peace and security, the maintenance of which the Charter has placed in the hands of the Security Council, necessarily implies respect for those purposes and principles. For that reason self-determination, which constitutes the very essence of sovereignty, must be jealously defended, as must the right of all States to establish their own domestic system and the right of all peoples under colonial status to achieve a final status as free and independent States.

25. It is for that reason that my delegation believes that the problems of peace and security must be approached not only when a situation or a breach of the international juridical order has occurred, but must be approached and considered from a wider standpoint, since the duties of the Council include that of preventing situations likely to lead to international friction.

26. Today the threat implicit in the profound gap which exists between the rich and the poor States is as great as the threat of the gigantic nuclear arsenals. The economic and social abyss which exists between the developed and the developing countries is one of the most serious potential dangers to world peace. That danger becomes accentuated because the distance separating those two great groups of States, far from being narrowed, has been progressively widened. Thus today it is more than ever indispensable that we scrupulously respect the sovereign right of each State freely to dispose of its natural resources for the benefit of the economic development and welfare of its people, whether those resources are found in its territory, on its continental shelf, in its territorial seas or in any other area of its territory. The violation of the permanent sovereignty of peoples over their natural resources is a matter which cannot be alien to an organ to which the Charter has entrusted the primary responsibility for the maintenance of peace, namely the Security Council.

27. Tomorrow, 27 January 1973, the agreement will be signed by which peace will be achieved in Viet-Nam. We pray to God that it will be a lasting peace so that that part of mankind inhabiting the Indo-China peninsula will be able, after so much suffering and brutal cruelty, freely to plan its development and progress and therefore achieve the happiness to which it has a right.

28. We set forth for Panama with a full awareness of history and with our minds set on the idea that something positive can be done so that in Latin America the purposes and principles of the Charter will prevail and another tragedy like that of Viet-Nam will not occur.

29. The PRESIDENT: I thank the representative of Panama for the kind words that he addressed to me.

30. Mr. ABDULLA (Sudan): I do not wish to take up much of the Council's time, and I have asked to speak mainly in order to convey to the Council the decision which has just been taken by the Arab Group with respect to the meeting of the Council in Panama. However, before doing that, I should like to join the President in expressing mixed feelings of sadness and pleasure at events which have taken place during the last few days. We share his sadness at the death of the former President of the United States, Lyndon Johnson. My delegation would like to offer its sincere condolences to the delegation of the United States. We also share his joy at the agreement which is to be signed tomorrow, and we hope and pray that it will bring lasting peace not only to Viet-Nam but also to South-East Asia as a whole and that it will end the misery which has been going on for over a quarter of a century.

31. I come now to the last of the events, which is a big and a very sad one. I refer to the treacherous assassination of Amílcar Cabral of Guinea (Bissau) and Cape Verde.

32. Cabral was a man whom this Council had known during its meetings in Addis Ababa. We had known him in the corridors and in the Fourth Committee, as an observer, during the last session of the General Assembly. I think that everybody will share with me the view that Cabral was a human being *par excellence*. He was a hero and a fighter,

and a man who gave great respect to revolutions as revolutions through the way in which he deported himself in his fighting against Portuguese colonization in Africa. For that reason I do not think that Africa has to mourn or to be sad at the death of Amílcar Cabral.

33. Amílcar Cabral, over and above having been a very respectable and fine person, was the leader of a mission, a very great mission, and therefore his treacherous assassination, carried out by circles we can all think about, just raises him to the place of a martyr, and the spirit of martyrs never dies. Consequently, the mission which he had undertaken at the risk of his life—for he was sure that one day he was going to be treacherously killed—continues, and the aim for which he worked, the freedom and liberty of his country and his people, is bound to come.

34. Africa will not mourn the death of Cabral because his death, as I say, makes him a martyr, and that in itself brings new strength to the movement of liberation in his country. It will also give more power and more force and more vigour to the realization of the aims which he had always pursued with great vigour and great courage. Therefore, Cabral will not be mourned by Africa.

35. I have already had the opportunity to convey the condolences of my delegation to his family, to the PAIGC and to the African Group during its meeting. But this is just an occasion to pay homage to a man who was held in great respect in this Organization as well as in the world.

36. Now, I come to the agenda of today's meeting and I should like, first of all, to pay a tribute to the Secretariat for the efficiency and speed with which it was able to produce this report within a very short and limited period. We learned a great deal through its counsel and advice during the meeting of the Security Council Committee on Council Meetings away from Headquarters.

37. This brings me to my main point, the message that I convey from a meeting of the Arab Group, which is still continuing. The Arab Group has authorized me to convey to the Council and, through the Council, to the Government and delegation of Panama and to the Latin American Group, its full and unanimous support of the request of the Government of Panama concerning the holding of Council meetings in Panama City between 15 and 21 March. That completes the authorization which I had—that is, to convey some time ago the African Group's support of the request of Panama, and today the Arab Group's unanimous support. My delegation looks forward to enjoying the hospitality and kindness of the Panamanian people in their capital.

38. Mr. KOMATINA (Yugoslavia): I also should like to be brief, but in recent days such has been the march of extraordinary and important events that concern us all and our general peace and security, that my delegation, like others, feels it both fitting and proper to state our views on these events at this meeting of the Security Council which gives us an opportunity to do so, before making a few brief remarks on the matter on the agenda.

39. I am very glad indeed that we can state here that the Government of Yugoslavia and all the Yugoslav people

welcomed the initialling of the agreement on the ending of the war and establishing the peace in Viet-Nam, which, indeed, the whole peace-loving world has received with great relief and hopes. With that agreement, which is to be signed tomorrow, there will continue the realization of the legitimate rights of the Viet-Namense people to decide on its fate in peace, alone and without interference from outside. This is in the interests not only of the people of Viet-Nam but also of all the peoples of the world, particularly those of Asia. We believe that this will lead to the establishment of lasting peace in other countries of Indo-China too, and that the peoples of that region will be enabled independently to select the road of their development.

40. The heroic Viet-Namense people has won the admiration of the whole world for its long struggle for independence, freedom and unity, at the cost of enormous sufferings. That is why it is our firm conviction that the people of Viet-Nam rightly expects the broadest possible international support in the practical implementation of the agreement for the ensuring of the full realization of its sovereign rights, since that is a component part of the struggle of peace-loving and freedom-loving mankind for the defence of independence and peace in the world. Consistent in its conviction that the freedom and independence of one people is inseparable from the right to freedom and independence of all, Yugoslavia will continue resolutely to support the full realization of the goals of the struggle of the people of Viet-Nam.

41. While the important positive developments in relation to Viet-Nam gave much reason for relief and hope, in another part of the world—in Africa—there was tragedy and increased danger in the dastardly assassination of Amílcar Cabral, Secretary-General of the African Independence Party of Guinea (Bissau) and Cape Verde, and in the crisis and explosive situation on the Zambian border created by the blockade and the military moves of the illegal racist régime of Ian Smith.

42. The people and the Government of Yugoslavia received the news of the cruel assassination of Amílcar Cabral, with deep indignation and a feeling of great mourning. His death is a great loss for his movement and all liberation movements of Africa, to which his life and work will be an enduring and inspiring example of the struggle against colonialism and racism and for freedom and independence.

43. His assassination is another link in the chain of the nefarious efforts of the racists and colonialists to slow down the pace of history and preserve their domination. But we know the lessons of history—that removing a leader does not slow down and stop a movement and its struggle if and when they are rooted in the people, as Amílcar Cabral's struggle so impressively was. In sharply condemning that criminal act we, together with all the peoples of Africa and all those who support them for the sake not only of Africa but of the freedom and peace of all humanity, express deep faith in the just struggle of the peoples of Guinea (Bissau) and Africa and dedicate ourselves once more to our direct support and assistance to them.

44. I have the sad duty to extend the condolences and sympathy of my delegation to the Government and people

of the United States at the passing of their former President, Lyndon Baines Johnson.

45. Now, let me address myself to today's decision of the Security Council to adopt by consensus the report of the Committee on Council Meetings away from Headquarters concerning our forthcoming meetings in Panama City. I shall be very brief as my delegation has already stated its considered positive views and recommendations on our meeting in Panama at the meeting of the Council on 16 January [1685th meeting]. We welcome very much the fact that the Committee has been able to produce a unanimous report. In that connexion, I should like to express the appreciation of my delegation for the work which the Committee carried out under your able and energetic leadership and prompting, Mr. President.

46. We are very mindful of the importance of our series of meetings in Panama, in Latin America, for everybody concerned. The Council has made a timely and significant decision that does credit to it. Taking into account fully the serious political and psychological circumstances and aspects of our going there, my delegation is prepared to work most closely with our Latin American friends, and with all the members, to make the Council's Latin American series of meetings as historic and successful as the one we held in Africa.

47. As we stated earlier, we welcomed the spirit of holding this series of meetings in Panama not to score points 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. The agenda that we have adopted for Panama will, we are sure, enable us to deal with all the problems relevant to that.

48. My delegation, with others, is grateful to the Government of Panama for inviting the Council, for making a generous contribution towards meeting an important part of the overall costs, and we are satisfied that in the matter of finances, as in others, we have followed the sound example of our good Addis Ababa experience.

49. We, for our part, are looking forward to the Panama meetings for an additional reason: namely, we look at them as another, new development in the Council's work and role in keeping with the requirements of the contemporary world in the basic trends and needs that have to be attended to if we are to fulfil our role of the primary organ of the United Nations entrusted with the maintenance of international peace and security.

50. Mr. PHILLIPS (United States of America): Mr. President, may I first express to you and to each member of this Council who has spoken this morning our sincere appreciation for the condolences and the warm tributes which have been expressed on the death of the late President Lyndon Baines Johnson. I assure you that those sentiments and those tributes will be conveyed to Mrs. Johnson and to the members of the Johnson family.

51. May I say also that we share with all members of the Council—and indeed I think one could say the whole world—a deep sense of relief and satisfaction that the long conflict in Viet-Nam is about to end. We earnestly hope that the end of hostilities there will lead to a quick cessation of hostilities and a permanent peace for all the peoples of Indo-China.

52. Finally, I should like to join others who have spoken in expressing, personally and officially on behalf of my delegation, regrets over the sad and untimely death of Mr. Amílcar Cabral. I should like to bring to the attention of my colleagues the word of the official spokesman of the Department of State which were issued at a press conference on 22 January:

"It goes without saying that Mr. Cabral was an important figure on the African scene and widely known in the United States. The United States Government deeply regrets, indeed must deplore, acts of violence of this kind."

53. If I may turn to the business before us, the United States has accepted the report, the recommendations and the draft resolution contained in document S/10868, in a sincere effort to contribute to an effective and harmonious series of meetings of the Council in Panama. But I would be less than candid if I did not say that we continue to have reservations about the appropriateness of those meetings. Ambassador Bush, in his statement to the Council on 16 January [1685th meeting], enumerated the serious reservations we have concerning these meetings or indeed any meetings of the Council away from Headquarters which fails to meet the criteria for serious, substantial and constructive work in accordance with the responsibilities of the Council under the Charter, especially the provision that such meetings should facilitate its work. Nothing which has happened since then leads us to believe that the proposed meetings fully meet those criteria. As Ambassador Bush predicted in that statement, we have a proposed agenda item so general and so vague that it opens the door to the kind of general debate which is the function of the General Assembly rather than the Security Council. And it is doubtful that that kind of debate will enhance the prestige of this body. There has also been no development which leads us to believe that the Council will be able to avoid discussion of bilateral issues which are not before the Council, many of which could conceivably be raised within such a generally worded agenda and I might add that Ambassador Boyd's comments this morning clearly underscore this fact.

54. My delegation has participated actively in the deliberations of the Security Council Committee on Council Meetings away from Headquarters, and in particular we have been persistent in our efforts to ensure that the meeting in Panama will proceed on an efficient and economical basis and that the present decision to meet away from Headquarters, despite our strong reservations, will be carried out with a minimum of derogation from the ability of this institution to fulfil its Charter responsibilities. I know that my colleagues in this chamber understand, as I am sure my colleague from Panama does, that the position of the United States on these questions of finance and

sound administration reflects our genuine concern for the effectiveness of this Organization and has had no political motivation. Our views have been consistently expressed in the Committee meetings last year as well as this.

55. As we now prepare for these actual meetings in Panama and the substantive discussions we shall have there, I should like to emphasize the view of my delegation that we should bear in mind the duties of the Security Council, the organ of the United Nations upon which the Charter confers primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security. Let me assure my colleagues that whatever our reservations, whatever our doubts the United States delegation will go to Panama with the positive aim of making a useful and constructive contribution, an aim which I am sure is shared by everyone around this table.

56. Mr. ODERO-JOWI (Kenya): Mr. President, allow me to convey through you to the representative of the United States my delegation's most sincere condolences on the recent death of ex-President Lyndon Johnson. Lyndon Johnson was a great leader of his country. He was a leader who knew his people and respected their aspirations. He was a leader who responded positively to the aspirations of the less fortunate citizens of his country. The country mourns his death. My delegation sincerely joins in the hope that what the ex-President stood for and strove for in the name of his country will be upheld by those who are now shouldering the responsibility of running the affairs of the State. May his soul rest in peace.

57. The impending cease-fire in Viet-Nam has been greeted all over the world with approval and my delegation joins in the wish that with the cease-fire in Viet-Nam peace will come to the whole of Indo-China. We also wish it to be a permanent peace. We hope that with the advent of peace in Indo-China the people of Indo-China will now turn their efforts to the work of reconstruction and social and economic development.

58. This week the African people received a shock. The news of the assassination of our hero Amílcar Cabral came to us as a rude shock. He was one of our leading nationalists; he was a cultured man, a man of genial personality. Only a few weeks ago he was with us here at the United Nations. He addressed the Council and the Fourth Committee and shared with us African representatives the task of speaking for and representing the African people. His brutal assassination only reveals the bankruptcy and lack of moral basis of the colonial system of Portugal. His assassination constitutes a permanent indictment of the Portuguese colonial system in Africa. If the assassination of Amílcar Cabral was planned and executed in order to stem the tide of the nationalist movement in Guinea (Bissau) and Cape Verde, in Angola and Mozambique, I can assure the Council that it will not be stemmed. This is only a lesson of history. History shows clearly that when a people is determined to surge forward for freedom and human dignity, no amount of oppression will stop them. And so will it be with the people of Guinea (Bissau) and Cape Verde, whose leader and hero has just been assassinated.

59. Mr. President, we heartily thank you for the sentiments of sympathy and condolence which you have

expressed. The people of Guinea (Bissau) will get the message and it will help to strengthen their moral fibre to continue the struggle in order to free Guinea (Bissau), if need be before the end of this year.

60. Turning now to the question on the agenda I should like to say that the Security Council Committee on Council Meetings away from Headquarters has done a good job. Its recommendations are in line with our expectations. The Council must involve itself in a more meaningful way in the task of working for peace and security all over the world. My delegation is convinced that this cannot be done effectively from New York on all occasions. We are grateful that the door is not closed to future meetings away from Headquarters, as is shown in paragraph 13 of the report. We heartily thank the Secretariat for preparing a very comprehensive and most helpful working paper for the Committee's consideration. We support the recommendations of the Committee.

61. Mr. CHUANG Yen (China) (*translation from Chinese*): The Chinese delegation is shocked to learn of the assassination of Amílcar Cabral and expresses deep sorrow at his unfortunate death. Amílcar Cabral was a fine son of the people of Guinea (Bissau) and Africa and a good friend of the Chinese people. He devoted his life to the national liberation struggle of the African people. Although the enemies of the people of Guinea (Bissau) and Africa have murdered Mr. Cabral by despicable means, they can never strangle the liberation cause of the people of Guinea (Bissau) and Africa. On the contrary, this can only arouse the people of Guinea (Bissau) and Africa to further resolute struggles until they win complete national liberation.

62. The Security Council Committee on Council Meetings away from Headquarters has seriously studied the question of holding a series of meetings in Panama and, as a result of its efforts, has now presented a report on the basis of a consensus reached through consultations. The Chinese delegation would like to take this opportunity to congratulate the Committee on its achievement, and we are pleased that the Council has unanimously adopted the Committee's report and the draft resolution contained therein.

63. This is the first time that the Security Council will be meeting in Latin America. According to the agenda worked out by the Committee, the coming meetings will concentrate on discussions of some urgent questions facing Latin America. We hope that the meetings will contribute towards supporting the Latin American countries in their struggle to safeguard state sovereignty, national independence and economic resources and oppose super-Power aggression, interference, subversion and control. The Chinese delegation is ready to do its utmost to work for the success of these meetings.

64. Sir Colin CROWE (United Kingdom): The deep sorrow felt in my country at the death of President Johnson has already been conveyed to his family and to the United States Government and people in messages from the Queen and from members of my Government. It only remains for me to express to our colleagues here the United States delegation the deepest sympathy which we in the British delegation feel for them and for their fellow countrymen in their loss.



65. At the same time, I should like to take this opportunity to add my delegation's tribute to those which other members of the Council have paid to Mr. Amílcar Cabral. We fully share the sentiments of shock and horror which his death has evoked. While my delegation did not perhaps have the close contacts with him of which others have spoken, he had become a familiar figure to us in recent years and we had developed a high respect for him as a man. My delegation has consistently deplored resort to violence for political ends, which is as self-defeating as it is inhuman, and we have nothing but condemnation for this latest act of murder. Our sympathy goes out to Mr. Cabral's family and his fellow countrymen.

66. Those have been sad events, but this week has also produced a development which has gladdened our hearts. I refer, of course, to the Viet-Nam cease-fire. I should like to associate myself with the sentiments that you, Mr. President, have expressed about this development, for which we had all hoped and prayed for so long. We share the overwhelming sense of thankfulness that has swept the world, and we assure the Governments concerned and the people of Indo-China of our goodwill and our support for them in the task that now lies ahead of achieving a peace of reconciliation.

67. Mr. JAIN (India): Since the Council last met, the world has witnessed important developments, some comforting and others disturbing. Before I address myself to the question on the agenda, I deem it appropriate to refer briefly to them.

68. The Government and people of India have welcomed with great relief the news of the initialling of the peace agreement on Viet-Nam; we welcome this end of the Viet-Nam war. India has all along supported negotiated settlement as the only way towards a durable peace, and we have therefore expressed our appreciation for the persistent efforts made by the two sides towards a negotiated settlement. We hope sincerely that it will be a step towards lasting peace not only in Viet-Nam but also in the whole of Indo-China. As this tragic war at last comes to an end we should all turn to the twofold task of consolidating peace and co-operating in the economic reconstruction of that war-ravaged region, and in the rehabilitation of its many suffering people.

69. The brutal assassination of Mr. Amílcar Cabral, the distinguished leader of the people of Guinea (Bissau) and Cape Verde and valiant fighter for the freedom of that country, has deeply disturbed the Government and people of India. In other forums of the United Nations my delegation has already had occasion to express its shock and horror at the news of this tragic occurrence. My delegation would, however, once again like to offer our heartfelt sympathy and condolences to our African friends, and particularly to the people of Guinea (Bissau) and Cape Verde, on their loss at a crucial juncture in the struggle for freedom in their continent. We are, however, convinced that, though Mr. Cabral is no more, the manner of his tragic removal from the scene of the liberation struggle will give it added impetus. We are sure that the struggle will go on and that the cause for which Mr. Cabral laid down his life in the prime of his youth will triumph in the end.

70. My delegation also takes this opportunity to express to the delegation of the United States our profound condolences on the demise of their former President, Lyndon Baines Johnson. He will be long remembered as a distinguished statesman and a dedicated leader who has left his mark on the history of his country and of the world.

71. May I now turn to the agenda item before us. My delegation has noted with great satisfaction that the draft resolution recommended by the Security Council Committee on Council Meetings away from Headquarters has been unanimously adopted. On behalf of my delegation I wish to congratulate you, Mr. President, on the efficient, skilful and persuasive manner in which you conducted the deliberations of the Committee and enabled it to produce a clear and comprehensive report so smoothly and swiftly. The report speaks for itself. The Committee was able to examine all aspects—technical, administrative, financial, legal and political—relating to the holding of meetings of the Council in Panama, on which the Council had already decided in principle. The Secretariat provided valuable information in the course of that detailed examination, following which the Committee put forward agreed recommendations to the Council, including a recommendation on the agenda. We are glad that all these recommendations have been unanimously accepted by the Council.

72. We should also like to underline once again in this connexion some of the considerations which have determined our attitude in the discussions on this subject.

73. In the first place, the proposal of Panama was unanimously endorsed by the Latin American Group; we therefore considered it as reflecting the desires and aspirations of all the countries of an important region. In accepting the proposal in principle at its last meeting, the Council has already underscored the necessity and desirability of the Council's responding speedily and positively to the unanimous wishes of an important group of United Nations Members. We have also noted that many Member States from different parts of the world have already welcomed the Council's decision in principle to hold meetings in the very near future in Panama City.

74. Secondly, it must be emphasized that while the occasion for the Council's decision has been provided by the proposal of Panama, the meetings in Panama will take place as a result of the decision of the Council. This decision can be based only on the powers entrusted to it by the Charter. We believe, therefore, that the Council is proceeding under Article 28, paragraph 3, of the Charter, which authorizes it to "hold meetings at such places other than the seat of the Organization as in its judgement will best facilitate its work".

75. Thirdly, my delegation is glad that our deliberations at the Committee stage itself have resulted in an agreement on a broad and general agenda which on the one hand, provides for flexibility and, on the other, gives an opportunity to address ourselves to the problems of the Latin American region as a whole. The attitude of flexibility and pragmatism displayed by the representative of Panama on this matter has undoubtedly facilitated considerably the task of Council members in reaching a consensus on an agreed formulation of the agenda for our meetings in Panama.

76. As will be seen from the report of the Committee, the financial implications of the decision we have taken today have been examined in detail and discussed at length. The Secretariat has carefully prepared estimates of the likely expenditure in the light of last year's experience of meetings of the Council in Addis Ababa and keeping constantly in view the need to effect economies consistent with efficiency.

77. We are grateful that on the financial and organizational side our task was considerably facilitated by the generosity of the Government of Panama and the facilities offered by it. We extend our warm congratulations to the representative of Panama on the expeditious translation of his Government's request into a decision of the Council—a process in which his own imaginative handling of various issues and an attitude of flexibility and co-operation have played a notable part. We hope that with the preparations which have already taken place a proper groundwork has already been prepared for our meetings in Panama. We are confident that the constructive spirit which has facilitated the smoothness of our preparations will also ensure the success of our meetings in Panama.

78. The PRESIDENT: I thank our colleague from India for the kind words he has addressed to me. I should like to pass on his tribute to all the members of the Security Council Committee on Council Meetings away from Headquarters, including our colleague himself, and to the Secretariat.

79. Mr. MADDY (Guinea) (*Interpretation from French*): I should like first to thank representatives for their statements in tribute to our lamented brother and friend Amílcar Cabral, Secretary-General of PAIGC, assassinated in Conakry with the complicity of the fascist Government of Portugal. We should also like to thank all the peoples of the world who share this painful moment with the fighting people of Guinea (Bissau) in particular and Africa in general. The end of Cabral will not mean the end of the struggle of the people of Guinea (Bissau); on the contrary, it will stimulate the PAIGC fighters in their determination to free their country as soon as possible. The people of the Republic of Guinea will continue, as in the past, to grant full material and moral support to PAIGC until the final victory.

80. To the American people the delegation of Guinea would like to express its condolences on the demise of former President Lyndon Johnson.

81. The people, the Government and the Democratic Party of Guinea welcome the peace agreement in Viet-Nam and congratulate the American and Viet-Namese people who spared no effort to put an end to this atrocious war which has caused so much suffering and hatred.

82. With regard to the forthcoming series of meetings of the Security Council in Panama City, the delegation of Guinea is gratified at the understanding shown by members which will make it possible to convene that series of meetings. We hope that it will benefit the people of that area and mankind as a whole.

83. Sir Laurence McINTYRE (Australia): Let me first of all echo and complement what other speakers have said in extending condolences to the American people on the tragic death of former President Johnson. In paying a tribute to the former President, on behalf of my delegation, I think I can do no better than to repeat the words of a statement made by the Prime Minister of Australia, Mr. Whitlam, only two days ago. He said:

"Lyndon Johnson will be remembered as one of the greatest reforming Presidents of the United States. Nothing should be allowed to diminish the memory of his achievement. He came to office in the most difficult and tragic circumstances and he assumed his great responsibilities with valour and distinction. He went on to secure, in the Presidential election in 1964, the greatest plurality in the history of the Republic. Under his administration, the 90th Congress was among the most active in his country's history with a record of achievement and innovation in social and welfare legislation unmatched in our generation. In all such domestic matters he was the greatest President since Franklin D. Roosevelt. President Johnson involved his country more deeply in the Viet-Nam war than his predecessors. He was, in a real sense, a victim of this disastrous conflict. Yet no one would have welcomed more warmly the present steps towards a peaceful settlement.

"Australians have vivid and cordial memories of his visits to Australia in 1942, in October 1966 and in December 1967. He was the only American President to have visited this country while in office, and he visited it twice in office. His presence at the memorial service for the late Prime Minister Harold Holt was a signal demonstration of his affection for the Australian people and his own high estimation of the value of the Australian-American alliance. On behalf of the Australian Government I extend to his family and to the American people our profound sympathy in the loss they have sustained."

84. I should also like to say a few words about the tragic assassination of Mr. Amílcar Cabral, which my delegation, like other delegations, learned of with considerable shock.

85. Although I did not myself have the opportunity of meeting Mr. Cabral in person when he was in New York last year, members of my delegation who did so were considerably impressed by his sincerity and dedication, by his modesty and by his obvious abilities, by his moderation and his strong desire to achieve a settlement which would give his people control over their own destinies but which would be achieved by goodwill and by negotiation and would contribute to a rebirth of harmony, friendship and co-operation between Portugal and Africa—and we deeply believe that this was Mr. Cabral's main and lasting purpose. Those responsible for his murder have, we believe, done a great disservice to Africa as a whole and to the people of Guinea (Bissau) and the Cape Verde Islands. They have done a great disservice to the causes of freedom and dignity which Amílcar Cabral represented. Let us at least hope that through revulsion at this senseless act of violence, he may in his death, as he did in his life, contribute to the worthy ends that he sought.

86. Mr. President, I should like to refer also to what you said about the cease-fire in Viet-Nam and to echo your own deep satisfaction and relief that an agreement has been reached, an agreement which we all greatly hope will lead to a final settlement, which will enable the peoples of both halves of Viet-Nam to determine their own future and to live according to their own desires, free from outside influences and pressures. We also very strongly share your hope that a cease-fire in the Khmer Republic and in Laos will follow very soon. You noted the need for peace in South-East Asia so that the countries of that region might succeed in their efforts at reconstruction and that they might be able to create societies based on social justice and prosperity. You underlined the contribution that Indonesia itself would make through the role that it is to undertake in the Viet-Nam settlement towards the maintenance of lasting peace in South-East Asia--and we warmly welcome your words.

87. Coming to the question on our agenda, I want to do no more at this time than to express satisfaction that the Security Council Committee on Council Meetings away from Headquarters has been able to agree on and to produce for us a report and recommendations which we have found no difficulty in accepting here this morning without discussion. The Committee was faced with some problems, but it is a tribute to your own patience and understanding, Mr. President, as well as to the willingness of members of the Committee to meet each other's point of view, that all difficulties were ultimately overcome in a spirit of compromise.

88. In my earlier statement in the Council [1684th meeting], I said that my delegation had some reservations about the desirability of holding meetings of the Council away from Headquarters, and I am not going to repeat those reservations here now. I wish only to assure the representative of Panama of the goodwill and respect of my delegation with regard to him and his country and of our intention to co-operate fully and wholeheartedly in making the Council meetings in Panama City a success.

89. The PRESIDENT: I thank the representative of Australia for the very kind words he addressed to me.

90. Mr. JANKOWITSCH (Austria): Mr. President, first of all I should like to associate myself with you and with all the previous speakers in this chamber who have expressed a profound sense of relief and satisfaction at the news of the imminent conclusion of a cease-fire agreement in Viet-Nam. Over the past years my Government on repeated occasions, especially in the General Assembly, has expressed its deep concern over the persistence of armed conflict and the immense human suffering in South-East Asia. The signing of an agreement to end hostilities in Viet-Nam tomorrow is certainly, therefore, a historic event of dimensions still difficult to grasp. We sincerely hope that this agreement will open the way to a long-lasting era of peace and stability for all countries of South-East Asia.

91. I should now like to address myself to the delegation of the United States in the chamber and associate myself with those delegations that have already spoken on a tragic event which has struck the American people. On behalf of

the Austrian delegation, I should like to offer our friends in the United States delegation our most sincere and heartfelt condolences on the death of President Lyndon Baines Johnson. In the death of President Johnson the American people loses a great leader, a man of courage and conviction, whose life was entirely given to his people. During his time in office President Johnson was widely known and respected in my country, and therefore the Austrian people share the loss and grief the American people now feel.

92. Allow me also to address the African delegations in this Council and express to them our deep feelings of grief at the tragic and untimely death of Mr. Amílcar Cabral, a truly great leader of Africa whose high qualities of statesmanship and political foresight have always been a source of profound admiration to me personally, who had the privilege of knowing him, and to all those who knew him in his lifetime. Our sense of loss at his tragic disappearance is made more acute by our knowledge that Mr. Cabral, who was so dedicated to the cause of self-determination and national independence, never failed to advocate settlement of disputes by negotiated, peaceful means and, as the representative of Australia has so fittingly put it, the re-establishment of a sense of harmony in a truly Lusitanian spirit between the peoples of Portugal and Africa. It is our hope that the progress of decolonization by peaceful, non-violent means, of which Mr. Cabral was such an eloquent advocate, will not suffer an irreversible setback because of his loss.

93. Finally and briefly, let me also address myself in a few words to the business of the day. On a previous occasion my delegation had the opportunity to welcome the proposal of Panama inviting the Council to meet in its capital city. My delegation also welcomes the decision in principle to that effect which the Council took on 16 January of this year [1685th meeting]. Consequently my delegation wishes to associate itself at this stage with the feelings of satisfaction which have been expressed in the Council today at the decision just taken to convene the Council in Panama City from 15 to 21 March 1973.

94. In the course of the preparatory talks which have been conducted in the Security Council Committee on Council Meetings away from Headquarters and in numerous informal discussions we have had since 16 January, a number of questions have been dealt with and resolved in a manner entirely satisfactory to my delegation, so as to enable the Council to arrive at today's decision. We have been highly impressed, Mr. President, by your own qualities of leadership, skill and patience shown during these deliberations and by the generous spirit of accommodation and co-operation shown by all delegations in this work, as well as by the excellent and efficient manner in which the Secretariat and its various departments have contributed to the preparation of our report.

95. These various exchanges and this highly rewarding experience have confirmed my delegation's hopes that the Council meetings in Panama City will be fruitful and co-operative. We trust that these meetings will contribute in a positive manner and in a way consistent with the problems of the region to the performance of the principal

task of this organ, the strengthening and maintenance of international peace and security. It is also our hope that the work that the Council is expected to do in Panama can be appropriately prepared in discussions over the coming weeks, so that our deliberations may prove to be helpful, conducive to solutions and characterized by the customary spirit of understanding and co-operation so often found—happily—in this chamber.

96. My delegation is convinced that the Government of Panama for its part will do everything to contribute to this goal—last but not least by providing all the technical and administrative facilities—and I wish to take this opportunity to express once more our profound gratitude to the Government of Panama for everything it is doing in this respect to facilitate the work of the Council and of delegations in Panama City.

97. Mr. de GUIRINGAUD (France) (*interpretation from French*): For 12 years Africa has shown us how rich it is in personalities able to conceive of large-scale political plans and to tackle in a most concrete manner the more matter-of-fact tasks of daily administration. Mr. Amílcar Cabral, assassinated last week in circumstances which remain obscure, belonged to that category of men. In his statement less than a year ago, during the meetings of the Council in Addis Ababa [1632nd meeting], he spoke to us with great talent of his hopes and ambitions for the territory from which he originated, as well as of measures taken or planned to allay the misery of the population, and in an exchange of conversations with him my delegation saw in this fighter a clear sense of humour which we know reflects a certain ability to understand others. This passionate militant, this ardent man who was never a sectarian, combined a determination to accomplish what he saw as his mission with a constant desire to know and understand the views of others and to profit from that understanding. Peace has nothing to gain from the murder of one of the participants in a conflict and it is highly regrettable that we should today be lamenting not only the disappearance of Amílcar Cabral but also his brutal death by the bullets of an assassin. Once again the French delegation deplores and condemns in the firmest manner this unleashing of violence. My delegation would like to express the hope that this loss of somebody who is to a certain extent irreplaceable will lead everyone to seek with renewed determination means appropriate for installing harmony in that part of Africa, which, like the rest of the continent, must devote itself exclusively to the difficult task of development.

98. I should now like to express my condolences to the delegation of the United States on the occasion of the demise of that great American, President Lyndon B. Johnson. Having achieved the Presidency under dramatic circumstances, Lyndon Johnson had to take over a most perilous and heavy burden in foreign affairs. Aware of the scope of his mission and the responsibilities of his country, he certainly wanted to bend every effort to put an end to the painful conflict in Viet-Nam. He passed away on the very eve of the cease-fire. Let us hope he was able to see that the peace he had so fervently sought was near. History will assess his role in that connexion much more serenely than we can. But all seem agreed that he made a major contribution to the evolution of his country in the social

and civil-rights fields. Without attempting to assess an aspect of President Johnson's activities which is entirely within the purview of the American people, I salute the spirit which moved him when he conceived his "Great Society". For French public opinion, Lyndon Johnson will remain the generous man for whom these matters, which are of particular concern to us, were paramount.

99. And now I should like to say how happy my country is at learning of the imminent conclusion of a cease-fire in Viet-Nam. France, which has always come out in favour of a negotiated solution for the long, painful conflict in Indo-China, is exceedingly pleased at seeing the happy results of the Paris conference, and we hope that the provisions of the agreement will be applied by all parties concerned in a spirit of sincerity and understanding. Our thoughts go especially to the Viet-Namese people itself, so cruelly struck by war. The international community is in duty bound to help it recover normal conditions of life after so many years of suffering.

100. I should now like to turn to the topic on today's agenda. As I was unable personally to attend the meeting of the Council on 16 January at which a decision of principle was taken in favour of accepting the invitation extended to us by the Government of Panama, I should like briefly to clarify my delegation's position on the forthcoming meetings of the Council in Panama City.

101. The sympathy with which from the very beginning we greeted the proposal of the Panamanian authorities guided us during the preparatory work recently undertaken by the Security Council Committee on Council Meetings away from Headquarters. Assurances given us by the representative of Panama concerning the material organization of the forthcoming meetings and measures to be taken by the Secretariat led us unreservedly to support the recommendations contained in the Committee's report and to support the resolution just adopted.

102. This positive attitude of my delegation is due to the fact that we understand full well that the Latin American countries wish to draw the attention of the Council to the problems of their area, which, if happily not matters of open crisis today, could none the less give rise to situations threatening international peace and security. If there was any need for it they have again proved their wisdom, and by meeting in a Latin American capital, Panama City, we shall show our appreciation. We shall do so even better by seeking positive solutions to the questions with which we shall be seized. My delegation for one will approach the meetings in the positive and constructive spirit that has always guided it.

103. As we stressed on 16 January [1684th meeting], the success of our meetings, if they are to answer the wishes of the countries of the area, is also predicated upon serious preparatory work. We think that conviction is shared by the Latin American delegations and that in the weeks immediately ahead they will undertake that task.

104. Mr. President, I think it would be a good idea to have the working group of the whole of the Committee meet when you feel it appropriate so that, in the light of the

results achieved by the Latin American Group, it may be able to pinpoint the main prospects for our own work once we meet in Panama. It seems to us essential that the meetings in Panama be crowned with success. The exceptional nature of a series of meetings away from Headquarters dictates that, and it is thus our duty to be worthy of the confidence placed in us by the Latin American States in asking us to consider their problems within the framework of our main responsibility, the maintenance of peace and security.

105. Mr. PEREZ DE CUELLAR (Peru) (*interpretation from Spanish*): Since I represent a country born 150 years ago after a war of independence, may I express my deep sorrow at the cowardly assassination of Amílcar Cabral, valiant leader of the liberation movement of Guinea (Bissau). He will be recorded in African history as one of the outstanding figures in the struggle against colonialism on the African continent, whose total independence is the fraternal aspiration of all the peoples of the American continent.

106. May I add the condolences of my delegation to those already expressed to the delegation of the United States on the death of ex-President Lyndon B. Johnson, a brilliant statesman who as a senator, Vice-President and, later, President of his country had a decisive influence on the course of the foreign policy of his country and of the world in the last decade.

107. The long-awaited cease-fire agreement on Viet-Nam has been received by my people and my Government with great relief and joy and with the hope that it will lead to a lasting peace to be enjoyed by the people that has suffered most intensely and longest from the scourge of war in this century.

108. I now turn to the question on our agenda. I shall be very brief in doing so because today's unanimous decision by the Council fully reflects the warm desire I myself expressed [1684th meeting] on behalf of my country when I enthusiastically supported the proposal of Panama that the Council agree to meet in Panama City. Once again, on behalf of my Government, I express the hope that the meetings in Panama will be successful. It is a noble country and will once again open windows for America. It will give us another opportunity to take steps towards the diplomatic renewal of the United Nations. We have noted with particular appreciation the support of the African and Arab Groups for this initiative, support which strengthens the solidarity of the peoples of the third world in their endeavour to solve their common problems.

109. Finally, may I add my congratulations to you, Mr. President, for the determination, tact and patience with which you have presided over the work of the Security Council Committee on Council Meetings away from Headquarters.

110. The PRESIDENT: I thank the representative of Peru for the very kind words he addressed to me.

111. Mr. ISSRAELYAN (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*translation from Russian*): The news of the

initialling of the agreement on the cease-fire and the restoration of peace in Viet-Nam was greeted with feelings of deep satisfaction in the Soviet Union. This event is considered first and foremost as a victory for the heroic Viet-Nameese people, a victory for the militant fraternal solidarity of the socialist countries which give assistance and support of all kinds to the courageous Viet-Nameese people, an important success for the forces of peace and freedom.

112. The consistent and firm position of principle of the Soviet Union, which has invariably come out on the side of the Viet-Nameese people, is well known to all. In his report on the fiftieth anniversary of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics on 21 December last year, the General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, Comrade Brezhnev, stated:

"We have always considered the elimination of the hotbed of war in Indo-China to be one of the central tasks of the foreign policy of the Soviet Union. For that reason we actively help our Viet-Nameese friends in their efforts to achieve a just and peaceful settlement."

113. Mr. President, allow me to touch on other questions mentioned in your introductory statement.

114. The news of the tragic death of that eminent leader of the national liberation movement in Africa, the Secretary-General of the PAIGC, Amílcar Cabral occasioned feelings of profound sorrow in the Soviet Union. Amílcar Cabral won for himself respect not only in Africa, but throughout the world, as a talented organizer of the struggle of the people of Guinea (Bissau) and the Cape Verde Islands for freedom and independence, as a courageous fighter against Portuguese colonialism and its protectors. For the peoples of the socialist countries, the name of Amílcar Cabral was a symbol of the heroic struggle of the people of Guinea (Bissau) and the Cape Verde Islands for their liberation. In the Soviet Union, Cabral was known as a friend of our country. I should like to inform you that relatively recently, in December last year, Amílcar Cabral took part in the celebration of the fiftieth anniversary of the USSR and his statement at a solemn meeting—which was, as always, brilliant—will long be remembered by the Soviet people. The wicked assassination of that great son of Africa, Cabral, is one of those criminal acts carried out by colonialism and imperialism to stifle the national liberation struggle of the African peoples. We express our heartfelt condolences to the people of Guinea (Bissau) and the Cape Verde Islands, to the family of Amílcar Cabral and to all our African friends on his death.

115. The Soviet delegation also expresses its condolences to the United States delegation on the death of the former President of the United States, Lyndon Johnson, and would ask the United States delegation to transmit its condolences to the American people and the family of the deceased.

116. Mr. President, may I now turn to the question on the agenda. I shall be brief.

117. As a result of the constructive co-operation of delegations under the skilful chairmanship of the represen-

tative of Indonesia, our distinguished President, the Security Council Committee on Council Meetings away from Headquarters managed to formulate recommendations the implementation of which, in the view of the Soviet delegation, will make it possible to hold a fruitful series of meetings of the Council in Panama City. The Soviet delegation would like to take this opportunity to note the great contribution made by the delegation of Panama, and in particular by our distinguished colleague, Ambassador Boyd, to the formulation of the recommendations. The considerable amount of preparatory work done by the Council and the Committee, to which the report submitted for approval by the Council testifies, gives us reason to expect the series of Council meetings in Panama City to be successful.

118. The unanimous support of the Latin American countries for the proposal of Panama shows that a series of meetings will be in the interests of all countries of Latin America. The decision of the regional group of African countries and, as we have heard today from our distinguished colleague, the representative of the Sudan, of the Arab countries to support this series of meetings, as well as the consideration of this question in the Council and the Committee, show that this proposal in effect enjoys the support of an absolute majority of States Members of the United Nations.

119. The Soviet delegation actively supported the proposal of the Government of Panama regarding the holding of such meetings. It is a well known fact that the Soviet Union consistently supports an intensification of the activities of the Security Council as the principal, the main organ of the United Nations for the maintenance of international peace and security. We should like once again to emphasize that this is a sovereign organ of the United Nations which itself decides how best to carry out the extremely important tasks entrusted to it in the maintenance of international peace and security. In adopting decisions on the substance of questions before it and on the procedure for their consideration, the Council proceeds entirely on the basis of its primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security which was entrusted to it under the Charter.

120. In conclusion, the Soviet delegation expresses the conviction that the forthcoming series of Security Council meetings in Panama will contribute towards the successful solution of those problems of Latin America which are related to the maintenance and strengthening of peace and security and the development of international co-operation in that continent.

121. The Soviet delegation is ready to take an active part in the work of this series of meetings and to make its contribution to the search for constructive solutions to the problems facing the countries of Latin America in accordance with the provisions and principles of the Charter.

122. The PRESIDENT: I thank the representative of the Soviet Union for the kind words he addressed to me.

123. As representative of INDONESIA, I should like to speak very briefly on today's business. There may, of course, be some disadvantages in holding meetings away from Headquarters. On the other hand, however, it is difficult to deny that there are also advantages in holding such meetings which, in the opinion of my delegation, outweigh the disadvantages.

124. Apart from considerations based upon its substantive work, the Security Council, through meetings away from Headquarters, will be in a position to project itself more directly to the peoples of the region where such meetings are held. Through such meetings also the members of the Council will have the opportunity not only to obtain first-hand knowledge of the problems of the region but also to acquire a sense of involvement in those problems. It is with these considerations in mind that my delegation accepts the invitation of the Government of Panama with gratitude and supports the proposal to hold a series of Council meetings in Panama City from 15 to 21 March 1973.

125. Allow me now to express my sincere thanks and great appreciation to all the members of the Committee for Council Meetings away from Headquarters and to the representatives of the Secretariat who have made it possible for the Committee to finalize its work within the term fixed by the Council.

126. Finally, as a representative of an Asian country, I should like to express the hope that if—and I repeat, if—in the future an invitation is extended by an Asian country to the Council to hold meetings in its capital such a proposal will meet with the same sympathetic consideration and understanding.

127. Mr. BOYD (Panama) (*interpretation from Spanish*): Although in the next few days we will do so more directly and with more formality, may I, on behalf of the Government of Panama and my delegation, express my warmest thanks to the Arab Group for the message transmitted to us by them through the representative of the Sudan, namely that that important group of States unanimously supports the idea of holding Security Council meetings in Panama City from 15 to 21 March of this year.

128. At the conclusion of our discussion, may I express on behalf of the delegation of Panama our warmest thanks to all those who voiced warm words of support for the proposal to hold Council meetings in Panama City.

*The meeting rose at 1.45 p.m.*

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