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NOTE

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SEVENTEEN HUNDREDTH MEETING

Held in the Legislative Palace, Panama City, on Monday, 19 March 1973, at 3 p.m.

President: Mr. Aquilino E. BOYD (Panama).

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/1700)

1. Adoption of the agenda.
2. Consideration of measures for the maintenance and strengthening of international peace and security in Latin American in conformity with the provisions and principles of the Charter.

The meeting was called to order at 3.35 p.m.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

Consideration of measures for the maintenance and strengthening of international peace and security in Latin America in conformity with the provisions and principles of the Charter

1. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): In accordance with the decisions previously taken by the Council [1696th-1699th meetings], and with its consent, I invite the representatives of Algeria, Argentina, Bolivia, Canada, Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, Cuba, the Dominican Republic, Ecuador, El Salvador, Guatemala, Guyana, Haiti, Honduras, Jamaica, Mauritania, Mexico, Trinidad and Tobago, Uruguay, Venezuela, Zaire and Zambia to take the places reserved for them in the Council chamber.

2. I should like to draw the attention of the Council to document S/10933 containing a letter dated 19 March 1973 to the President of the Security Council from the Permanent Representative of the Sudan. In that letter the representative of the Sudan requests that the Council, under rule 39 of the provisional rules of procedure of the Council, extend an invitation to Mr. Talib El-Shibib, Permanent Observer of the League of Arab States to the United Nations, to deliver a message to the Council on behalf of the League. As I hear no objection, I take it that the Council agrees to extend an invitation to Mr. Talib

El-Shibib, under its provisional rules of procedure. At the appropriate time I shall invite him to make his statement.

It was so decided.

3. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): The first name on the list of speakers is that of Mr. Armando Oscar Pacheco, representative of the Dominican Republic. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

4. Mr. PACHECO (Dominican Republic) (*interpretation from Spanish*): The delegation of the Dominican Republic to this important meeting of the Security Council wishes to state, on behalf of its Government, some views on the questions of which the Council is seized.

5. Since the very dawn of American independence, Panama, because of its willingness generously to offer its soil, has had particular significance when the most important hemispheric matters have been discussed. The Congress held here in 1826 gave birth to the idea of harmonious unity among the brother peoples of our continent to which Panama has paid tribute at all times.

6. These meetings of the Council, in this noble land of Panama, beyond any doubt focus world attention on Latin America. It is here that we seek to settle divergencies which might affect the effectiveness of international co-operation, as it is understood in countries like ours which believe in the need to make more effective the instruments and methods with which we are involved as members of international organizations.

7. In this conviction, our Government wished to attend the meetings of the Council in Panama with the intention of making a moral contribution, within the measure of our possibilities, to the attainment of the legitimate aspirations of Panama. We are convinced that only by means of a frank, open and sincere dialogue can viable, permanent and acceptable solutions be found to disagreements between States.

8. In the course of the meetings which have been held we have heard the views of the countries which have wished to make a contribution with their statements in order that a just and practicable solution shall be reached, which we all—absolutely all—trust will occur.

9. The Dominican Republic joins in these wishes and these hopes of the brother countries which have faith that, both in the regional system as well as in the United Nations,

there do exist the instruments which, when used with goodwill and legally, can reconcile the most delicate and profound divergencies. We also believe that no country of America can be indifferent to the purposes based on the principles which we have all defended since the far-away days of American independence.

10. The task which unites us in this hospitable city has had a beginning of a solution since the time when both sovereign States have frankly discussed their own problems and their reciprocal problems. In the Joint Declaration¹ which was signed in April 1964 at the Council of the Organization of American States, the idea emerged that a just and equitable treaty could be the key to the solution of the matter brought before the Security Council.

11. This can surely be so because we are bound to hope that the parties in their negotiations, carried out on the same level of friendship, respect and co-operation of which they have always given proof, will in the end, as we hope, give their own example of what can be expected among States which have fought for common ideals in honour of the necessary human solidarity.

12. Mr. ODERO-JOWI (Kenya): Mr. President, allow me first to express my delegation's gratitude and thanks for the hospitality and friendship which has been extended to us in your beautiful city. It is through your wise leadership, Mr. President, that the current series of meetings away from Headquarters has fulfilled the expectations of many delegations, including my own, when we accepted your invitation to meet here.

13. The peoples of Latin America, who are descended from various continents, cultures and ethnic origins, have managed to settle in this continent and have built a new society based on equality and devoid of racialism, and they have thus laid the foundation of a new civilization based on human dignity, high moral values, and respect for law. This is so characteristic of the Republic of Panama, which by its very geographical nature forms the vital bridge between the two great continents of the western hemisphere as well as the link between the East and the West. We wish, therefore, to extend our congratulations to your eminent President, the Government, and the people of Panama for making it possible for the Security Council to hold this historic session in Latin America. On behalf of our President, Mr. Mzee Jomo Kenyatta, and on behalf of the Government and people of Kenya, my delegation extends its congratulations to the Government and people of Panama and expresses the hope that these meetings of the Council will meet with unqualified success.

14. As a small and young developing country, the Republic of Kenya has a vital stake in world peace, international order and security, because it is only in the atmosphere of peace and international co-operation that the yearnings and aspirations of our people for freedom, prosperity and human dignity can be realized. It is only within the context of peace that small countries like my own can hope to preserve and protect their hard-earned independence and

concentrate on peaceful pursuits of national development for the realization of their people's potential, both in material and spiritual spheres. It is only by strict adherence to the basic principles and purposes enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations that we can hope to continue playing an active role in the community of nations.

15. It is this basic philosophy which the Kenya Government, under the wise leadership of our President, Mzee Jomo Kenyatta, has followed since independence. That is why Kenya has taken its membership in the United Nations seriously, and has observed to the letter all the basic provisions of the Charter. In this same spirit, we have become members of the Organization of African Unity and the non-aligned movement, which seek to implement the same basic principles within the regional context of Africa, and the world.

16. Kenya emerged from colonial rule through a unique revolution in which many of my countrymen lost their lives and during which untold human suffering and destruction occurred. Through sacrifice, and under the leadership of one of Africa's greatest patriots, a man who indeed is cherished and recognized not only in Africa but also in the world as a whole, the forces of justice triumphed over injustice, over oppression and over colonialism and racialism in our part of Africa. It is this philosophy of universal justice, which has guided Mzee Jomo Kenyatta through his life-long struggle, that now forms the cornerstone of Kenya's foreign policy. It is in pursuance of this philosophy and the objectives of our revolution that my country is unflinchingly opposed to colonialism, racialism, *apartheid* and exploitation of one people by another.

17. While these meetings of the Security Council away from Headquarters are devoted to the problems of Latin America, we cannot afford to ignore the problems facing the peoples of our great continent of Africa: the untold sufferings, misery and indignity imposed upon millions of Africans under Portuguese colonial domination in Angola, Mozambique and Guinea (Bissau), the racist minority régime of South Africa and the illegal minority régime of Ian Smith in Southern Rhodesia. International peace and security is basically indivisible. Therefore, so long as these régimes which have totally rejected the trend of liberation and independence and the noble concept of human equality and justice continue to subsist, international peace and security shall always remain illusory.

18. It is in that light that we wish to draw the attention of the peoples and nations of Latin America, in the context of our deliberations here, to the evils and inequities of Portuguese colonial domination in Africa; to the scourge of racialism and *apartheid* in South Africa; and to the existence of the illegal racist minority régime in Southern Rhodesia so that the conscience of the valiant peoples of Latin America that have always been in the forefront of the struggle for human dignity can be aroused, and their unflinching solidarity be solicited.

19. The peoples and Governments of Latin America have a particular responsibility to use their influence to persuade the diehard colonialist régime of Portugal to mend its ways and comply with the General Assembly resolutions on the

¹ See *The Department of State Bulletin*, vol. L, No. 1296 (Washington, D.C., U.S. Government Printing Office, 1964), p. 656.

granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples, since the Portuguese have some common ties and historic connexions with some Latin American countries. It is only in freedom that mutual respect and healthy relationships such as exist between the Portuguese Government and some Latin American countries can thrive. We must therefore in this context appeal to our brothers in Latin America to do all in their power to persuade the Portuguese régime to abandon its present posture of a colonialist overlord over its African Territories.

20. As a member of the Non-aligned Group, Kenya believes in the principles which the non-aligned movement in its outlook on major issues affecting international affairs have adopted. These principles, as recently formulated in the Lusaka Declaration of 1970 at the time of the Third Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, are: the right of the peoples who are not yet free to self-determination and independence; respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of all States; the right of all States to equality and active participation in international affairs; the right of all sovereign nations to determine, in full freedom, the paths of their internal political, economic, social and cultural development; the right of all peoples to the benefit of economic development and the fruits of the scientific and technological revolution; refraining from the threat or use of force, and the principle of peaceful settlement of disputes. During the same Conference, the leaders of the non-aligned countries reaffirmed the central meaning of non-alignment in the Lusaka Declaration on Peace, Independence, Development, Co-operation and Democratization of International Relations as follows:

"The policy of non-alignment has emerged from the determination of independent countries to safeguard their national independence and the legitimate rights of their peoples. The growth of non-alignment into a broad international movement cutting across racial, regional and other barriers, is an integral part of significant changes in the structure of the entire international community. It is the result of the world anti-colonial revolution and of the emergence of a large number of newly liberated countries which, opting for an independent political orientation and development, have refused to accept the replacement of centuries-old forms of subordination by new ones. At the root of these changes lies the ever more clearly expressed aspiration of member nations for freedom, independence and equality, and their determination to resist all forms of oppression and exploitation. This has been the substance and meaning of our strivings and actions . . .".

21. We believe that the positive policy of the non-aligned movement which has a wide following not only in Asia and Africa but also in Europe and Latin America, has direct relevance to the solution of many of the problems of the Latin American region, as is evident from the pronouncements of a number of Latin American delegations which have spoken at this series of meetings of the Council. The Foreign Minister of Guyana, for example, outlined very clearly and logically some of the problems the countries of this hemisphere face. In his brilliant statement he brought out the cardinal fact that these issues can be resolved only

through positive efforts to bring the nations and peoples of Latin America together even where they have adopted different social systems. He said:

"What is needed if international peace and security in Latin America is to be maintained and strengthened in conformity with the provisions and principles of the Charter is for all States within the region, and for all States in the hemisphere and beyond in their relations with Latin America, to elevate the principles of respect for the sovereignty of other States, for their territorial integrity, for the security of their boundaries settled on the basis of treaties solemnly concluded, for their right to determine and pursue the patterns of their social, political and economic systems; for freedom from interference through intervention, pressure or intrigue—to elevate these principles to the level of a national ethos—to move them from the level of public asseverations to that of guiding rules of national conduct." [1696th meeting, para. 63.]

22. We cannot hope to unite if we allow ourselves to be divided by the whims and designs of outside forces. In order to establish co-operation and peaceful coexistence in this hemisphere, the peoples of Latin America and the Caribbean, as neighbours, must come together and work together to determine their own future in terms of political relations, economic development and co-operation, relations with other regions and so on. Furthermore, as the logic of peace and security dictates that the peoples of Latin America reach new and more fruitful accommodations with their northern neighbours, it is imperative that efforts be made now to forge these new pan-American links and solidarity. It is not possible to build peace in a spirit of negative confrontation; but, on the other hand, real accommodation can be possible only where sovereign equality of States and respect for the territorial integrity of all States are respected by all the States in the area. That is the philosophy behind the non-aligned movement. Of course, peace knows no boundaries, and those who desire peace must not deny peaceful coexistence to others, irrespective of ideological or philosophical differences.

23. Therefore, in order to build peace in this part of the world, as indeed in other regions of the world, we must be partisans of peace and progress rather than enemies or allies of this or that country, ideology or philosophy. It is not sufficient to desire peace. To vindicate peace, we must work for it; we must pledge that those who are our adversaries today will, ultimately, be our friends and good neighbours in the years to come.

24. The peoples of Latin America have demonstrated their concrete desire for international peace and security, through the conclusion of the Treaty for the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons in Latin America, by which they have wilfully imposed an obligation upon themselves to exclude nuclear weapons entirely from the Latin American region. This is indeed the first step, a first step in the right direction towards the goal of complete and total disarmament to which my delegation, among many, is committed. The Council should commend the Latin Americans for this practical step at regional level towards the maintenance of international peace and security. We express the hope that

the other regions will gradually emulate the Latin American example. It is our hope also that the anomalies in the Treaty which were pointed out by the Foreign Minister of Guyana will be removed and that the Treaty will thus become universal within this region.

25. Mr. President, let me turn now to one other major problem in the area which deeply concerns your country: the problem of the Panama Canal and the Zone. I have already pointed out that, as a non-aligned country, Kenya is a partisan of peace. We believe in building bridges of peace and regional understanding and we have no desire to create or stimulate hatred between nations. As a developing country, we want our aspirations to be understood. We also are keen to understand and learn the perspectives and concerns of other countries and regions. During the short time we have stayed in your beautiful country we have seen and witnessed deep feelings and preoccupations over the issue of the Panama Canal and the Zone. We have been impressed and positively struck by the determination of the people of Panama to have the Convention provisions, under which the Zone was created and the Canal constructed, changed so as to create more equitable and just arrangements.

26. My delegation is of the view that the question of the Panama Canal is basically a bilateral issue to be resolved between the Republic of Panama and the United States of America. We should like to see the two countries resolve their differences equitably on the basis of the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations. We are encouraged that the two parties have indeed initiated negotiations for that purpose. We in the Council wish to give full support and extend every assistance to ensure that peaceful and just solutions will be arrived at which will fully respect the national sovereignty of the States in question and ensure full and effective realization of the legitimate desire of the Government and people of Panama to exercise full sovereignty over their natural resources in conformity with the spirit and principles of the Charter and in accordance with the various General Assembly resolutions on the subject, such as resolutions 523 (VI) of 12 January 1952, 626 (VII) of 21 December 1952, 1314 (XIII) of 12 December 1958, 1515 (XV) of 15 December 1960, 1803 (XVII) of 14 December 1962, 2158 (XXI) of 25 November 1966, 2626 (XXV) of 24 October 1970, and 2692 (XXV) of 11 December 1970.

27. As was pointed out by the Kenya delegation in its paper on the subject of permanent sovereignty over natural resources presented to the Conference of Foreign Ministers of Non-Aligned Countries in Georgetown in August 1972:

"Sovereignty over natural resources is inherent in the quality of statehood and is part and parcel of territorial sovereignty—that is, the power of a State to exercise supreme authority over all persons and things within its territory. Sovereignty over natural resources, which is essential to economic independence, is functionally linked to political independence, and consolidation of the former inevitably strengthens the latter. Since it excludes allegiance or subordination to any authority, sovereignty over natural resources implies complete freedom of action for a State in determining the use of those resources."

28. We believe that within these principles a just and equitable solution is possible. It is true that the relationships between the United States and Panama over the Panama Canal and the Zone are governed by existing treaties between the two countries, and particularly by the Convention of 1903.² It is, however, accepted by both the United States and Panama that the conditions applicable when that Convention was signed have drastically changed over the years, and that a far-reaching revision of it is now overdue. What we should like to see the parties do is renegotiate their treaty relations in a spirit of mutual accommodation and good faith so as to effect just and long-lasting arrangements.

29. Finally, I want to underscore the intrinsic unity between the peoples of Latin America and the peoples of Asia and Africa as members of the third world. While the Latin American peoples naturally must consolidate co-operation and understanding among themselves first, it is vital that this co-operation be extended to other countries, particularly to their brothers in Asia and Africa, who face similar problems. While this co-operation is not founded on antagonism to any other group of countries in the world, it has proved in the past to be of great value. One has only to mention the common problems faced by the third world countries in trade negotiations in the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development or the current negotiations in the Committee on the Peaceful Uses of the Sea-Bed and the Ocean Floor beyond the Limits of National Jurisdiction to realize how vital this unity is. My delegation is convinced that these Security Council meetings will serve to consolidate that unity between the peoples and Governments of the third world, which in turn will enhance international peace and security.

30. Mr. JANKOWITSCH (Austria) (*interpretation from Spanish*): Mr. President, may I, at the outset, express my delegation's appreciation and gratitude to you and, through you, to your Government and to the people of Panama for the kindness and most generous hospitality with which we have been received in your country. From the moment we arrived, your Government and people have succeeded in creating an atmosphere of personal warmth and friendship which should prove to be conducive to the successful completion of the work the Security Council is called upon to do at its meetings here in Panama City.

31. General Omar Torrijos, in his most impressive opening statement [*1695th meeting*] set forth Panama's case in clear and unequivocal terms. Subsequently, Latin American statesmen have put before us the political, economic and social panorama of this continent. Those declarations, in themselves, provide ample justification for the decision to hold these meetings of the Council in the beautiful capital of your country, Sir.

32. As you are well aware, Mr. President, Austria, from the very moment it became a member of the Security Council, gave full support to Panama's initiative to convene

² Isthmian Canal Convention. For the text, see *Treaties and Other International Agreements of the United States of America, 1776-1949*, vol. 10, Department of State publication 8642 (Washington, D.C., U.S. Government Printing Office, 1972), p. 663.

meetings of the Council on Latin American soil. At the meeting of this body on 16 January last [1684th meeting] I explained the reasons which had led Austria to take this position. We are convinced that holding meetings of the Council away from Headquarters at the appropriate time can play a positive role in focusing attention on specific regions of the world, as was demonstrated by the Council's meetings in Addis Ababa last year, which brought about important results for the future work of the United Nations on problems related to the situation in southern Africa.

33. The present series of meetings, which has been honoured by the presence of so many illustrious representatives of Latin American countries, is a further reason to express to you, Mr. President, our gratitude and satisfaction. Speakers before me have pointed out the most fortunate combination of elements which provide a propitious atmosphere for Council meetings in a country so fittingly described as "the bridge of the world". We are fully conscious of these qualities of your country which make it not only a privileged meeting ground between the north and the south of a great hemisphere, but also one of the centres of world communications.

34. It was not difficult for the Austrian delegation to accept the invitation to visit a country and a continent to which my country is linked by many centuries of friendly and cordial relations. Latin America has occupied a firm place in Austrian history ever since the historic event described as the "discovery of America". Undoubtedly, that term does not do full justice to the true significance and historic dimensions of that event, for it marked, both for the western hemisphere and for Europe, the beginning of a new era of common historical experience and exchanges whose impact became increasingly felt on both sides of the Atlantic.

35. I do not think that this is either the time or the place to describe in all its manifold aspects the process of cross-fertilization between Europe and the Americas in the centuries since the heroic deed of Christopher Columbus. Yet I should like to say a few words about the relations of my country—which lies in the centre of Europe—with the nations of South America and emphasize the immensely rich political, economic, cultural and human links we have come to value so highly.

36. It is difficult to resist the temptation to describe here the nature and mutual benefits of the relations which the Austria of previous centuries enjoyed with Latin America, especially since the time when independent States arose from colonial domination under the leadership of such great and enlightened statesmen as Simón Bolívar, Toussaint Louverture, San Martín and José Martí. Friendship and mutual esteem between the nations of Latin America and Austria have stood the test of time and the upheavals of history. When Austria was subjected to a most difficult period of trial in 1938, resulting in a temporary loss of independence, the Latin American countries admirably demonstrated their strong feelings of solidarity. The Austrian people will never forget, in particular, that it was Mexico which formally protested, in 1938, against the occupation of our country. Neither will we forget the humanitarian assistance extended by many Latin American

States to Austrian refugees who had to flee the country after 1938. After the liberation of Austria in 1945, strong support for the speedy restoration of our independence and sovereignty was expressed on numerous occasions by Latin American countries. In this context, special mention should be made of the initiative of the Government of Brazil of 29 August 1952³ concerning the speedy conclusion of the Austrian State Treaty, which led to the inclusion of a corresponding item on the agenda of the seventh session of the General Assembly. On the basis of a draft resolution submitted by Brazil, Lebanon, Mexico and the Netherlands, the General Assembly subsequently adopted resolution 613 (VII) of 20 December 1952. Today, two decades after the conclusion of the Austrian State Treaty and the adoption by Austria of a status of permanent neutrality, new possibilities for the creation of an active partnership with the countries of Latin America have evolved.

37. The desire for sovereignty and independence, in the full meaning of these terms, as voiced by the nations of Latin America, is well understood by Austria. But the classical exercise of sovereignty and independence in the political field must find its contemporary complement in the economic field. Only thus can a measure of international justice and a balance between the interests of large and small nations alike be attained.

38. Another link in the relations between Austria and Latin America is our admiration for the cultural values of this continent, marked by a mixture of the great American civilizations with the cultural heritage of the European peoples, a continent which has thus developed its own unmistakable style of life. The high degree of cultural identity which characterizes the peoples of Latin America is a sound and strong basis for developing cultural partnerships with other continents.

39. Today Austria maintains friendly and cordial relations with all the countries of Latin America and the Caribbean area, without any discrimination or exception. The increase in trade and technical co-operation will evidently constitute a further important element in expanding and intensifying the old and new relations between Austria and Latin America.

40. In this way we are trying to express our belief in the common ideal of international co-operation and the friendly meeting between nations, to which Latin American nations and statesmen have contributed in such brilliant and constructive ways. It was the Latin American States which played an outstanding role in the creation, and subsequently in the work, of the League of Nations. And it would be virtually impossible in the short time available to give even a limited account of the invaluable role of Latin America and its distinguished statesmen in the history of the United Nations. As only one example, let me recall that as many as six of the past sessions of the General Assembly chose Presidents from Latin America, Presidents whose experience and skill helped to steer the Organization through many a difficult moment. May I at this point also recall with gratitude that it was a Latin American President

³ Official Records of the General Assembly, Seventh Session, Annexes, agenda item 63, document A/2166.

who presided over the session of the General Assembly which admitted Austria as a Member State in December 1955.

41. Let me mention only two areas of international co-operation which have greatly benefited from Latin American initiatives.

42. The idea of economic co-operation between developing and industrialized countries through the United Nations has been greatly enhanced by the dynamic leadership of Latin American statesmen. The creation of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development is a case in point, as it owes so much to the creative intellect of its first Secretary-General, Mr. Raúl Prebisch, who has made it a singular instrument in fighting for greater economic justice.

43. In another field, namely, disarmament, the work of the United Nations has been inseparably linked with the stimulating ideas and untiring efforts of Latin American statesmen. The conclusion of the Treaty of Tlatelolco, to which many of the preceding speakers have referred, is one of those initiatives opening wide and most promising perspectives. The fact that the Treaty provides for the creation of a nuclear-free zone in Latin America, a zone which, as the Secretary of External Relations of Mexico pointed out [*1696th meeting*], covers an area of 8 million square kilometers populated by well over 140 million people, demonstrates in itself the validity of such efforts.

44. It is in this positive context and in this atmosphere dedicated to peace, justice and international co-operation, that we should view the importance of the meeting of one of the principal organs of the United Nations on Latin American soil. Yet, beyond the rightful acknowledgement of Latin America's contribution to the maintenance of international peace and security in the world, I am convinced that this series of meetings of the Security Council will give new momentum to the promotion of international co-operation, peace and security not only in the western hemisphere but also in the world at large. We believe that the time is most auspicious and promising for such initiatives. Now that the conflict in South-East Asia is on the way to a peaceful settlement, we hope that the forces and energies liberated by this process will lead to an improvement of the situation in other parts of the world.

45. The speakers from Latin America who have addressed this Council have, without exception, highlighted the specific problems awaiting solution, and all have pointed to the wave of change which is gaining momentum throughout the entire Latin American continent. We have been made aware of the persistence of political and economic problems with which the continent as a whole and individual countries are confronted. We are conscious of the urgency to find adequate solutions.

46. In this context, I should like to address myself to two particular questions which have been dealt with by almost all the speakers who preceded me.

47. Because of its unique geographical situation, Panama has become one of the most important centres of world

communications. The fascinating possibilities offered by this geographical position have long challenged the imagination of statesmen and engineers, and it is thus that a great international effort, initiated by the technical genius of Ferdinand de Lesseps, led to the construction of one of the finest works of human engineering, the Panama Canal. These singular possibilities which have so greatly favoured Panama, are, however, also a source of serious preoccupation and concern. We have been alerted to the wide range of problems facing Panama in this respect and we are aware also of the immense complexity of the questions involved. Any solution should, in our view, be based on a number of principles. The principle of territorial integrity and sovereignty is certainly one of them, as is the consideration that developing countries should be able to benefit from the advantages which nature and geographical position have offered them. But in an independent world there is also interdependence between national and international interests, between the legitimate rights and aspirations of one people and the legitimate rights and aspirations of the international community as a whole. This interdependence is obvious in an area so intimately linked to world trade and communication. We are confident that the two countries actively involved in the Canal, Panama and the United States, are the first to be fully aware of these special responsibilities. We hope that future negotiations between Panama and the United States will create the basis for new friendship and confidence between these two countries.

48. As far as the existence of colonial situations is concerned, the position of Austria has been expressed on numerous occasions in the various organs of the United Nations. In the world of today there is certainly no place for the continued existence of colonial and dependent Territories. That is all the more true for the continent of America, which has led the anti-colonial struggle since the end of the eighteenth century. Nevertheless, as several speakers have pointed out, the situation of some of the remaining dependent Territories is not exclusively of a colonial nature.

49. May I, then, in conclusion sum up my delegation's position as follows: Faced with the necessity to accommodate a variety of conflicting interests, no set formulas can exist. Rather, imaginative efforts and continuous and patient search will surely provide a safer basis for the attainment of satisfactory solutions. It is our firm belief that such solutions will have to take into account the legitimate aspirations of the peoples concerned as laid down in the Charter of the United Nations. Those principles include the right of nations to sovereignty and territorial integrity, and they also include the achievement of the goals of economic and social justice, freedom and human dignity.

50. As we participate in these meetings of the Security Council we are confident of the success of our deliberations, and we stand ready to take part in any initiative and to discuss any proposal which corresponds to the goals we have set ourselves.

51. Mrs. Jeanne Martin CISSÉ (Guinea) (*interpretation from French*): The exceptional nature of the Security Council meetings in Panama bears out in many respects the

similarity of the problems confronting Latin America and Africa, two continents marked by the tireless struggle of their peoples against foreign occupation and under-development, just as in Addis Ababa a little over a year ago our meetings away from Headquarters were testimony to the growing influence of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America on the international political scene.

52. The invitation by the Government of Panama is clearly consonant with the interest our Organization should take in the legitimate aspirations of our peoples and their Governments to free themselves of all foreign domination. My delegation is grateful to the Government of President Torrijos for taking the initiative of inviting the Security Council to come to this hospitable city of Panama. The warmth of the welcome, the spontaneity of the Panamanian people and the facilities that have been made available to us are a reflection of the generosity and gaiety characteristic of South America. Those feelings remind me of Africa, from which I come, for Africa too extends to any stranger setting foot on its soil the same hospitality, which for the settler who came from elsewhere was the basis of the policy of domination and subjugation of our peoples.

53. Once again we should like to thank the Government of Panama and take this solemn opportunity to convey to it a message of fraternal solidarity from the people and Government of Guinea. Under the leadership of President Ahmed Sekou Toure since 2 October 1958 when our independence was proclaimed, they have been carrying on an unrelenting struggle against colonialism and imperialism. The struggle has been waged on the political, economic, social and cultural levels, continuously thwarting the subversive plots which seek to call into question the fundamental options of our people. Their determination to remain masters of their destiny has succeeded in foiling all the plots hatched by imperialism down to the Portuguese colonialist aggression of 22 November 1970. Experience has taught us that a people determined to defend its freedom and the integrity of its territory can be vanquished by no force, even one equipped with the greatest military means of destruction. The peace that has just returned to Viet-Nam after more than 25 years of murderous and devastating war with the United States is the most recent proof of that.

54. A common past marked by colonialism and the similarity of the heroic struggle waged by our peoples to throw off that foreign domination binds our continents—Africa, Asia and Latin America. The same wind of peace that has just spread over the valiant people of Viet-Nam, which is the appendage of no country or group of countries, must necessarily in the same way sweep across Africa and Latin America. The time has come for our peoples of the so-called third world to unite their efforts and to multiply the contacts among our States, strengthening and diversifying our co-operation in order to overcome our respective problems.

55. In this struggle which our countries of the third world must undertake the problem of unity and solidarity is of capital importance. It is because we of the third world are not united and do not stand shoulder to shoulder that Cuba continues to be isolated from the other States of Latin America, to which it is bound by a common history and

destiny and has been so bound since the very beginnings of colonization by the European empires. For the same reason, it has been subjected to an economic blockade inadmissible in a period when détente is developing among the great Powers and when intense co-operation of every kind is being developed between them. It is that lack of solidarity that is deepening the division among our States and rejecting some from a community to which they would like to belong. It is also that want of unity and solidarity that lies behind the tragedy of the Palestinian people deprived of their homeland and has allowed the continued arbitrary occupation of Arab territories by Israel. Since 1967, indeed, a “no war, no peace” situation has characterized the crisis between the Arab countries and Israel. Security Council resolution 242 (1967) remains without effect because of the inertia of the international community and more particularly that of certain great Powers. My delegation has every reason to think that the efforts of our various Governments will be conducive to bringing about the restoration of peace in the Middle East which has become an imperative for the strengthening of international security and the détente that our States so badly need for the development of their economic and human resources.

56. Latin America, for its own development and in order to develop its relations of co-operation and friendship with Africa, should also come to know the tribulations of that continent. Only a few days ago I communicated to the Council, at its meeting of 9 March [1693rd meeting], information concerning a suspicious vessel, the *Albatross*, which was carrying white and black mercenaries in order to mount a further act of aggression against my people. There is a general tendency to regard such information as unfounded, because it comes from a State of the third world. But on the very next day [1694th meeting] the Council was to learn, through a statement by the representative of Spain—and I should like here once again to thank him for the objectivity of the information supplied—that the communication I had made was accurate. There was indeed a criminal enterprise afoot to launch an invasion against an African State, Equatorial Guinea, and to overthrow its head of State, President Macías and his principal aides. However, there is still a mystery surrounding the *Albatross*, which sails under the British flag, and until such time as that piratical vessel has been halted in its criminal enterprise our peoples will continue to stress the danger of aggression that hovers over them, the responsibility for which must be pinpointed.

57. The special series of meetings held by the Security Council in Addis Ababa during January and February 1972 also demonstrated the determination of the independent States of Africa, in the Organization of African Unity, to mobilize all their material and financial resources to liberate their brothers in Angola, Mozambique, Guinea (Bissau), Cape Verde, Namibia, South Africa and Zimbabwe.

58. Portuguese fascism, in steady retreat in its colonial war and also on the diplomatic level, is pursuing a policy of genocide against the African peoples which it is in most cases now incapable of administering. In Guinea (Bissau), where two-thirds of the territory has been proclaimed liberated zones, Portugal's tactic of genocide has been turned into a policy of individual assassinations of leaders

of the African Party for the Independence of Guinea Bissau and Cape Verde, the PAIGC. The treacherous assassination of Amílcar Cabral, the Secretary-General of that Party, was the most obvious token of the inability of the Lisbon authorities to overcome that valiant people. But in committing the crime Portugal, at the same time, galvanized the revolutionary forces of Guinea (Bissau) and Cape Verde in their march towards ineluctable victory whose impact in Angola and Mozambique will certainly speed the accession to independence and freedom of the peoples of southern Africa. My delegation feels in duty bound to draw the attention of the representatives of the States of Latin America present at the meetings to a fact of great importance to Africa. While we were preparing to come to Panama we learned that Portugal, a small country which is itself under-developed but, thanks to its powerful allies continues to dominate our peoples, is seeking observer status with the Organization of American States. We are sure that Africa can count on the solidarity of Latin America—the solidarity we were speaking of earlier—to reject this request, which is an affront to Africa.

59. A few weeks ago, our Council welcomed back the Special Mission that had just visited Zambia, Zambia having once again been a victim of the machinations and criminal acts of South Africa and Southern Rhodesia—two countries which have made racism and *apartheid* their doctrine of government. The unanimous adoption by the Council of resolution 329 (1973) calling on the international community to help Zambia so that it may overcome its difficulties gives us reason to hope that the administering Power of Southern Rhodesia, the United Kingdom, will take adequate measures against its rebel colony which presents a constant threat to international peace and security in that part of southern Africa.

60. The role of the Security Council in preserving international peace and security should allow us to set forth principles without which the détente initiated in Europe would be no more than an illusion for Asia, Africa or Latin America. The Council must endeavour to secure respect for the principles to which States have subscribed. Thus, in 1965, the General Assembly adopted resolution 2065 (XX) which invited the Governments of Argentina and the United Kingdom to begin negotiations without delay in order to find a peaceful solution to the problem of the Falkland Islands (Malvinas). We regret that the interruption of those talks in 1971 allowed other threats to international peace and security to subsist in this part of Latin America. At a time when negotiations are coming to the fore as a means of resolving international conflicts, my delegation would welcome with relief a resumption of the bilateral negotiations between the United Kingdom and Argentina for a peaceful solution to their problems.

61. We continue to reaffirm that the United Nations, in order to exercise the moral force that it represents for present and future generations, must succeed in applying the moral precepts it has proclaimed, precepts to which Member States subscribed when they signed the Charter: the exercise of the right of peoples to self-determination and national independence; the permanent sovereignty of States over their natural resources; respect for the integrity, unity and sovereignty of States; and the elimination of all

foreign military bases on national territory. It must unfortunately be recognized that certain Powers, despite the fact that they bear the main responsibility for the maintenance of peace and security in the world, are all too far from strictly applying to our peoples these same principles on which the Government of the Republic of Guinea bases all its anti-colonialist and anti-imperialist activity.

62. There is no doubt that the Government of Panama, of whose most legitimate aspirations we are well aware, is doing its best to ensure respect for these same principles, which constitute the true guarantee of its sovereignty and territorial integrity. The representative of Panama in the Security Council, Ambassador Aquilino Boyd, in conveying to us the invitation to hold these special meetings of the Council on Panamanian soil [1684th meeting], did not conceal his Government's determination to exercise its full sovereignty and its national jurisdiction over the Canal Zone. This determination of the people and the Government of Panama was brilliantly described by General Omar Torrijos in his opening address here:

"I come to speak to you now on behalf of a people that does not feed on hatred and whose simple hearts have led us to forgive and forget offences and to guide our future toward the achievement of our own identity. For he who is right need not resort to insults.

"...

"From this high rostrum, Panama states that we cannot accept the economic subjection of one country by another or political, economic or cultural penetration, since that is nothing more than neo-colonialism. That is only a veiled and disguised colonialism which appears in our people in the form of economic assistance with conditions, assistance that is aimed not at the development of our country but at control over our people." [1695th meeting, paras. 5 and 9.]

63. We need to remember that Panama is enduring a situation that since the construction of the Canal, an international waterway, has been a standing potential threat to world peace and security. The claims of the Panamanian Government, which, in any case, are justified in the light of the above-mentioned principles, aim at putting an end to the colonial status of the Canal Zone which constitutes for its people a permanent source of trouble and insecurity. It is indeed hard to credit the situation—anomalous in our day—of this colonial enclave which is the result of a now anachronistic agreement between the Governments of the United States and Panama. No one doubts that the meetings of the Security Council in this country will underline the need to settle this question in order to remove all the causes of a conflict which it is our duty to expunge. By so doing we shall have contributed, through so-called preventive diplomacy, to promoting a real climate of peace in Panama and, consequently, in all Latin America, a continent whose democratic traditions and determination to contribute to the peace efforts of our Organization will be strengthened.

64. My delegation remains optimistic as to the outcome of these special meetings of the Security Council held in the

City of Panama, which has hosted so many historic conferences, the first of which bore the illustrious name of Bolívar, the Liberator of this continent.

65. General Torrijos said:

"I say to the representatives of the United States that it is more noble to redress an injustice than to perpetuate an error. From the world which is represented here today, we ask for moral support in this struggle engaged in by the weak. This struggle can triumph only when it is assisted by the conscience of the world and our people is already reaching the limit of its patience." [*Ibid.*, para. 20.]

We hope that more intensive bilateral negotiations will be instituted between the Governments of the United States and Panama and that the political situation will be stabilized with the restoration of Panamanian sovereignty over its territory without restriction. We have no doubt that, given the efforts of the Governments of the United States and Panama to arrive at a revision of the Central Convention, Washington will succeed in resuming negotiations with the Government of Panama in order to restore to it its jurisdiction over the totality of its territory. It goes without saying that the peaceful settlement of this question will be in accordance with the principles of the Charter of the United Nations and will serve the best interests of the Government and the people of Panama. Our meetings here will thus have helped to create better conditions of co-operation for the peoples of this hemisphere and, all in all, will have helped to establish a climate of peace and security without which the developing countries cannot proceed to construct their young nations in happiness, freedom and economic progress.

66. Everyone will agree with my delegation that the climate of co-operation which has marked our special meetings, thanks to efficient organization and unfailing hospitality—a reflection of the warm tropical sun—is, above all, the work of the Government of Panama. The success of our proceedings will unquestionably be due to the host people and Government, but also to the Latin American continent, which at these meetings will have laid sure foundations for lasting co-operation with Africa and the rest of the world.

67. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): The next name on the list of speakers is that of the representative of Algeria, Mr. Abdellatif Rahal. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

68. Mr. RAHAL (Algeria) (*interpretation from French*): Mr. President, by allowing me to participate today in the debate of the Council, you give me an opportunity to have the voice of Algeria heard in this beautiful capital in Latin America, which has welcomed us following the well-known traditions of its warm and generous hospitality. It was fitting that the presidency of the Council for this particular session be entrusted to you, Sir, as a tribute to your country, a tribute with which we wish to be associated in congratulating you and in wishing you complete success in your tasks.

69. We are among those who believe that the Security Council did well in accepting the invitation of the Republic of Panama to meet in its capital. The Council, having primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace, should naturally open itself up to the outside world, go to the very heart of the problems which arise, and thus bear witness to its concern for independence and realism by periodically departing from its permanent Headquarters with its routine atmosphere, which is also often restrictive.

70. Last year the Council attempted the same experiment by holding a series of meetings at Addis Ababa. The presence of the Council on African soil brought to the forefront of the news the problems of that continent, which can be best explained and understood in their natural context. The Africans have not failed to express their wholehearted gratitude to the Council for the solicitude it thus showed for their concerns and for the renewed interest which international opinion was thus led to accord them.

71. Latin America has its concerns too, which we share; and its difficulties, which we know. In many of their aspects the problems of Latin America are identical to those of Africa. Furthermore, they are characteristic of what one calls the third world. The conditions under which they arise in different places may conceal the similarity of their nature, but they cannot conceal the need for all those countries to unite their efforts and to close ranks, so that in unison they can do away with the threats directed against their independence, the dangers which affect their security, and the barriers to their development.

72. Accordingly, we consider that the present series of meetings of the Security Council in Panama must be interpreted as a new manifestation of the interest of the international community in the problems of the third world. While this gives us satisfaction, without however causing us to harbour unreasonable illusions, the meetings here also give the Council and the international institutions an opportunity to regain among our peoples the prestige and confidence which a quarter of a century of disappointed hopes and unfulfilled expectations have, it must be said, considerably weakened.

73. Speaking today in the Council's debate, the delegation of the People's Democratic Republic of Algeria wishes, first of all, to convey its feeling of sympathy and friendship to the Republic of Panama, with which we have just established diplomatic relations reflecting a long tradition of cordiality and understanding. Through the Security Council, the people of Algeria wish to transmit to the people and leaders of Panama the greetings of our people and Government, to assure them of the solidarity of Algeria in their admirable task of reaffirming and consolidating their national independence, and to express to them our brotherly wishes for the success of their struggle, for the well-being of their people and for the greatness of their country.

74. The participation of the delegation of Algeria is also an indication of the interest of Algeria in Latin America and its problems, in the context of the ties of friendship which we have with the countries of this continent and a struggle in which, on several occasions already, we have

been on their side in the pursuit of common objectives, which underline how alike are our concerns.

75. Finally, the role of our delegation in this debate must be considered as a contribution to the defence of the cause of the countries of the third world, an appeal to international opinion, so that it becomes aware of our problems and the dangers which the persistence of our problems represent for world peace. The future of mankind is doubtless less threatened by the dangers of a nuclear conflagration than by those which would result from the development of an explosive situation in the countries of the third world.

76. The contemporary world has its chronic ills. It has become accustomed to live with them, and indeed sometimes forgets them, but regularly, insidiously, they undermine and erode it, preparing the inevitable crisis which might be fatal to it. Only the parties to this great body, directly exposed to the evils, feel the painful effects and measure their progress with anguish. The chronic ills result from the growing inequality of peoples, from the unjust order which governs international relations, from the will to power and domination which the stronger show in regard to the weaker. These are, no doubt, the original sins of human society. But the consciousness which all peoples are acquiring of their place in the international community breaks their resignation to their fate and prompts them to fight against a situation of inferiority to which they can no longer be reconciled. The aspirations to freedom and to well-being is today shared by all nations and inevitably determines the evolution of the world in which we live.

77. While regions of Africa continue to suffer from colonial domination, foreign intervention appears in the most diverse forms in Africa as well as in Asia and Latin America. In the pursuit of political as well as economic objectives, this intervention has the support of the most powerful means and does not hesitate to make use of the most brutal methods. The example of Viet-Nam is still fresh in our minds and will so remain for a long time, no doubt, despite the cessation of fighting which has been welcomed throughout the world with readily understood relief.

78. The blockade of Cuba imposed by the United States falls within this same trend to deny a small people the freedom to make its economic and political choices, choices which the great Powers claim for themselves. Pillage and exploitation of the natural resources of the countries of the third world constitute another, and not the least dangerous form of foreign intervention since the great period of colonial expansion, and while this is now carried out by less ostensible methods, nevertheless this is a grave attack against our interests which our peoples will not tolerate for very much longer.

79. The struggle against these attempts at political subjection and economic exploitation is not an easy one and we know it well; it imposes on our countries the heaviest sacrifices, permanent vigilance and a sometimes inhuman perseverance in our efforts. Our will to devote all our energies to this vital struggle should leave no room for doubt and should convince the international conscience of the primary importance which we attach to the final outcome.

80. The countries of the third world, like the others, and perhaps more than the others, are anxious to have international peace and security strengthened. They know from experience the dangers which would weigh on them were there to be an international conflagration even if they were not directly involved in it. They know that they would be threatened with the same catastrophe which would precipitate all of mankind into a generalized holocaust in which they would not be spared. They know that whenever peace is threatened, their efforts to consolidate their independence and ensure their development are jeopardized. Thus they are the first to be interested in establishing an international order based on relations of confidence between peoples and free of suspicion, misgivings and apprehensions which create tensions and engender conflicts.

81. But the international community would do well to realize that world stability and balance may also be endangered by the situation which prevails in the countries of the third world because of the dissatisfaction of their peoples, because of the feelings of frustration and the injustices they suffer. We applaud the peaceful coexistence which seems to be extending between the greatest Powers; we rejoice that confrontation has yielded to co-operation, which frees us from the fear that their opposition would, in spite of ourselves, sweep us into a confrontation where our very existence would be at stake. But this peaceful coexistence cannot dispel our apprehensions if it is not applied equally to the relations which these great Powers maintain with our countries, if understanding between the mighty is not achieved to the detriment of our freedom and our interests, and if it does not lead to a division of the world into zones of influence where each of them would reserve for itself the possibility of exercising its domination. We do not believe in an international balance which would be based on a division of the world between the great Powers and which would entrust exclusively to them responsibility for watching over the maintenance of world peace.

82. The contemporary world is certainly made up of great Powers and small countries which cannot play the same role in the maintenance of a satisfactory international balance, but which all contribute to it within the measure of their means and by virtue of a solidarity which may seem to be negligible to some but which is none the less imperative and which it would be dangerous to ignore. International security is in the final analysis a matter for all peoples and cannot exist otherwise.

83. Of course we recognize the special role, the preponderant role of the great Powers which their means enable them to exercise in the maintenance of international peace and security. Power obviously does not entail privileges alone; it also generates duties and obligations respect for which is essential for the harmonious development of international life.

84. The unique role of the great Powers in being responsible for the maintenance of peace is expressly and rightly recognized as theirs in the Charter of the United Nations and in the organs entrusted with its application, in particular in the Security Council. The permanent seats

given them in the Council establish the importance and continuity of their responsibilities for maintaining world order and confirm their role as vigilant guardians of international peace. The right of the veto is an undeniable privilege which compensates in some manner for the particular burden placed on them.

85. However, in the same manner as power can be used to pursue selfish objectives and to defend unfair privileges, the right of veto can also serve to cover abuses, to mount a facade of legality to conceal situations which are contrary to the law of peoples and, ultimately, supply yet another weapon to serve the will for domination. When thus used, the right of veto is tainted with immorality, which makes it reprehensible and which deflects it from its initial purpose flowing from the very principles of the Charter. We believe that it should be inadmissible for a great Power to exercise its right of veto in a matter in which it is involved and when by that abusive use of a privilege which has been recognized to it because of the very fact of its power it would thus remove itself from the normal application of the rules of the laws which should be imposed uniformly on all nations, without regard to their size, their means or their place in the international community. This use of the right of veto is even more reprehensible when a great Power has recourse to it in a conflict it has with a small country and where it already has the advantage given it by its material superiority and particularly the advantage of its military means. In that case the right of veto makes international law the right of the mightiest, which deprives it of its moral foundation, the very bed rock of international justice.

86. International justice is what even today we are claiming in the Council. And this claim acquires a particular resonance when the Council is meeting in Panama, in one of those regions of the world where precisely there is a conflict between the interests of a great Power and the aspirations of a small country to its independence and to the preservation of its sovereignty over its territory and over its resources. There is nothing that could justify the prevalence of the interests of the great Power over those of the country where they are situated, just as security considerations can in no case ignore the legitimate concerns of that country regarding its protection against any foreign attack.

87. In the final analysis, this is one of the main causes for the lack of understanding which increasingly separates the countries of the third world from certain great Powers and which are the reasons for our concern in regard to the maintenance of peace in the world. The great Powers consider that peace consists above all in the preservation of their own security; in this they are right, but this security can be real only when it is extended also to the countries of the third world. The tendency of certain great Powers to place the frontiers of their security in the regions of the world where they exercise their influence is extremely dangerous, and we shall never accept it or submit to it. It constitutes at any rate a manifestation of the spirit of domination which we have already condemned, and the peoples of the third world will always find in themselves sufficient force and determination to have their will for independence respected and to resist an interference which now more than ever they are determined to tolerate no longer.

88. This attitude on the part of the countries of the third world would doubtless be misunderstood if it were to be interpreted as systematic hostility towards the great Powers, uniting their conduct on the international scene in the same disapproval. The distribution of forces throughout the world is beyond control, and we accept it with realism, just as we objectively measure the contribution each country can make to our common pursuit in building a world based on a justice which is equal for all. However, in relations among nations, as in relations among men, there is no justification for force unless it is placed at the service of the law. The future of mankind concerns us all equally, and all the peoples of the world have their share in the responsibility for its preservation and its direction towards a better understanding among men and a better life for future generations.

89. This is an act of faith which we base on the wisdom of men and the goodwill of Governments, despite present difficulties and tensions which here and there characterize international relations. In proclaiming it here, in Panama, and amid these people of Panama whose aspirations and hopes we share, we wish at the same time to pay a tribute to all those who throughout the world have placed their lives at the service of justice and freedom and who give us reason for hope even in the difficult times in which we are now living.

90. Mr. MALIK (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*translation from Russian*): The delegation of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics would like first of all to express its gratitude to the Government and people of Panama for the hospitable reception and the attention shown to the Security Council and its members who have come here, in response to the kind invitation of the Panamanian Government, to attend this session of the Council at Panama City, and for creating favourable conditions for the work of the Council in this beautiful city. We have already had the pleasure of greeting you in New York, at United Nations Headquarters. Now we take great pleasure in greeting you, Mr. President, here in your homeland, on your native soil, in the capital of your country, whose generous hospitality we are all enjoying and which has provided the Security Council with the splendid opportunity to meet in Latin America for the first time in the history of the United Nations, in order to consider the strengthening of international peace and security in this important region of the world and examine an urgent problem which is of concern to your country and your people.

91. We were profoundly saddened by your announcement of the death of Mr. Chacko, and we wish to express our deepest sympathy on the occasion of his untimely demise. He was a distinguished, active, experienced and responsible member of the United Nations Secretariat, a citizen of India, a country to which we are bound by ties of friendship. We knew him as a man who was deeply committed to the high ideals of the United Nations and devoted all his strength, knowledge and experience to serving the noble cause of strengthening international peace and security and of developing and strengthening co-operation between States and peoples. We request the Secretary-General and the Under-Secretary-General under whose immediate direction Mr. Chacko worked to convey to the

family of the deceased our sincere condolences and deepest sympathy.

92. The strengthening of peace and security is, as we all realize, the most important problem of our time for every region of the earth and for the world as a whole. It is the duty of the United Nations to keep this question under continuous review, since it is the centre for uniting the efforts of all States and their peoples to maintain and strengthen international peace and security, and its main purpose is to save the present and succeeding generations from the scourge of war. The members of the Security Council are in duty bound to devote their attention to the question of peace and security in their statements on the item on the Council's agenda concerning measures for the maintenance and strengthening of international peace and security in Latin America.

93. The Security Council is holding its meetings in Panama in accordance with a decision which it took at the initiative of the Government of Panama and which was supported by all the Latin American countries and by many other States Members of the United Nations. The very fact that the Council has been convened here is of historical import not only for the development of international relations throughout the American continent but also for the enhancement of the role played by the States of Latin America in international relations and the intensification of their participation in the activities of the international community and in the work of the United Nations. This is proof of the desire of the Latin American countries to play an increasing part in resolving the problems connected with the maintenance and strengthening of peace and security, to consolidate their own national sovereignty and independence, to oppose resolutely any imperialist interference in the internal affairs of Latin America, to bring about a renunciation of the use or threat of force in all its forms and manifestations in relations between States, and to participate actively in solving the problem of disarmament.

94. The significance of the Security Council meetings in Panama to consider the question of peace and security in Latin America is not confined to Latin America alone. Following the initiative of the African States Members of the United Nations, which resulted in the successful anti-imperialist and anti-colonialist Council meetings in Africa early last year, this initiative of the Latin American countries once again confirms that the developing countries—or the “third world” countries, as they are called at the United Nations—are concerned with enhancing the effectiveness of the United Nations as an international organization whose mission it is to promote, in accordance with its Charter, the strengthening of peace and security and the development of friendly relations between peoples on the basis of complete equality, non-interference and friendly co-operation.

95. The Security Council's consideration of measures for the maintenance and strengthening of peace and international security in Latin America comes at a time when in other regions and throughout the world the beneficial influence of the important changes for the better in the international situation that have been achieved in recent years is becoming more tangible and more evident.

96. In world-wide relations the trend towards normalization of the international situation, relaxation of tension and the peaceful settlement of urgent problems is beginning to prevail; there is a growing realization of the need to develop relations between States on the basis of the principle of peaceful co-operation between States with different social systems and the non-use of force in relations between States.

97. The most outstanding international event of the recent past was the end of the war in Viet-Nam. The international conference on Viet-Nam, held recently in Paris, confirmed the agreements reached between the parties; now the task is to ensure that the agreements are implemented and that the freedom-loving Viet-Nameese people, which has heroically defended its national dignity, freedom and independence in the struggle against oppression, should be able to achieve its national aspirations in conditions of peace and without external intervention and to decide its own destiny.

98. There has been noticeable relaxation of tension and a significant improvement in the political climate in Europe. At the initiative of the Soviet Union and all the countries of the socialist community, a start has been made towards helping the world turn sharply away from the tension, hostility and confrontation of the “cold war” years towards business-like co-operation between States with different social systems in conditions of peace and mutual understanding.

99. It was in Europe, during the first half of this century, that two bloody wars, which became world wars, began. It is enough to recall—and we of the Soviet Union never forget this—that 50 million people perished in the Second World War. The heaviest loss was suffered by the Soviet people. Our country lost over 20 million sons and daughters. No other country in the whole history of mankind has suffered such enormous loss from aggression and war. We know what war is, and we do not want it for ourselves or for other peoples. That is why Soviet citizens are such steadfast and passionate supporters of peace throughout the world.

100. The developments in Europe and Indo-China show it is possible to find a peaceful and just solution to other situations of conflict as well, to reach a settlement in the Middle East and eliminate that dangerous hotbed of war and the threat of war. Achieving this will require great efforts by the Security Council, especially by its permanent members.

101. The positive changes that have taken place in the international situation are the embodiment of the objectives for which the Soviet Union and all the countries of the socialist community are tirelessly and consistently struggling. These objectives, proclaimed over half a century ago by the great Lenin, founder of the Soviet State, still define the basic directions of the Soviet Union's foreign policy even today. The greatest of these objectives is to strengthen peace and international security. The USSR has always opposed, and it will continue to oppose, the policy of aggression and arbitrary action in international affairs. The goal of USSR foreign policy is to help all peoples to enjoy their inalienable rights, and above all, their right to independence and independent development without any external interference or pressure.

102. This Leninist policy pursued by the Soviet Union in foreign affairs was once again confirmed and given tangible expression in the programme for peace and international co-operation adopted at the Twenty-fourth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. Its main objective is to improve the climate of international relations, to ensure the non-use of force, to liberate the colonial peoples and to institute business-like co-operation between States irrespective of their social systems.

103. The Soviet peace programme is aimed at eliminating any hotbeds of war that still exist in the various regions of the world and helping to foster the political settlement of conflicts in those regions, on the basis of respect for the legitimate rights of States and peoples that have been subjected to or are threatened with aggression. It is based on the thesis that any act of aggression and any arbitrary action in international affairs should always be firmly repulsed. In order to achieve this, it is essential to make full use of the potential of the United Nations.

104. The Soviet peace programme provides that the renunciation of the use or threat of force, including of course the permanent prohibition of the use of nuclear weapons, should become a norm of international life and inter-State relations. We were very pleased to note that on this important question of today's world, the USSR position is identical with the position held by the "third world" countries.

105. At its twenty-seventh session, the General Assembly, in accordance with this position of the "third world" countries on the question of the non-use of force and at the initiative of the Soviet Union, adopted by a significant majority a resolution in which the Assembly solemnly declares on behalf of the States Members of the United Nations, their renunciation of the use of force in international relations and the permanent prohibition of the use of nuclear weapons [2936 (XXVII)]. As L. I. Brezhnev, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, said in his report on the fiftieth anniversary of the founding of the Soviet Union, that resolution was a major event in international life. Comrade L. I. Brezhnev stressed that the Soviet Union was willing, in implementation of that resolution, to make agreements and formulate appropriate mutual commitments with any nuclear Power on the non-use of force, including the prohibition of the use of nuclear weapons against one another.

106. We are deeply convinced that renunciation of the use of force in international relations and the permanent prohibition of the use of nuclear weapons are in the interest of both large and small States and their peoples, irrespective of their social system, the size of their territory or population, or their military strength.

107. During the discussion of this item in the General Assembly, a significant majority of States Members also supported the proposal that the Security Council should take appropriate measures as soon as possible for the full implementation of this solemn declaration by the Assembly. It is therefore essential for the Council to take a decision requiring all States to be guided in their international relations by this declaration.

108. The position taken by those who in words call for a complete ban on nuclear weapons but indeed oppose and vote against a General Assembly resolution on the non-use of force in international relations and permanent prohibition of nuclear weapons is therefore particularly invidious.

109. Problems connected with the strengthening of international security occupy an important place in the Soviet Union's policy. Guided by the principles of peace, good-neighbourliness and friendship between peoples, the Soviet Union, in addition to submitting a proposal for convening an all-European conference on questions of security, also advanced the idea of establishing a system of collective security in Asia, with equal participation by all countries of that region and subject to the condition that such a system should not be directed against any individual State.

110. The Soviet Union proceeds from the premise that any system of regional security that is in keeping with the requirements of the Charter of the United Nations should not serve the one-sided interests of any particular Powers or narrow group of countries but should be based on respect for the rights and interests of all States of the region, irrespective of differences in their social and political systems, and on co-operation between them without any discrimination whatsoever.

111. The Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security, adopted at the twenty-fifth session of the General Assembly [resolution 2734 (XXV)] at the initiative of the USSR, confirms and strengthens the principles concerning relations among States; unless those principles are strictly adhered to, it will be impossible to maintain world peace and ensure international security. Now, when the Security Council is considering the question of the maintenance and strengthening of international peace and security in Latin America, it is particularly satisfying to observe that the countries of Latin America themselves made a significant contribution to the preparation of that Declaration and its adoption by the Assembly. We are also deeply appreciative of the fact that it was at the initiative of the Latin American countries that the Assembly adopted the principle of the inadmissibility of the acquisition of territory by force or by war, a principle which has now become a norm of international law.

112. From the very first days of its existence the Soviet State has been consistently and tirelessly struggling for disarmament. In this matter we are guided by the precepts of Lenin. V. I. Lenin, the founder and leader of the Soviet State, said that disarmament is the ideal of socialism. Since then the USSR has always been in the vanguard of the struggle for disarmament. Over the last decade a number of important treaties have been concluded on such matters as the ban on nuclear weapon tests in three environments, the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons and the prohibition of bacteriological weapons. But this is only a modest beginning.

113. In an attempt to stimulate more vigorous action in the struggle to halt the arms race covering weapons of every kind, the Soviet Government proposed at the twenty-sixth session of the General Assembly that a World Disarmament Conference should be convened. That proposal, which is

completely in agreement with the decisions taken at a number of conferences of the non-aligned countries, from the Cairo conference to the Georgetown conference, was supported by the overwhelming majority of States Members of the United Nations. At the twenty-seventh session of the General Assembly a resolution [2930 (XXVII)] establishing a Special Committee to make preparations for convening the Conference was adopted. That resolution must be implemented. The Committee should begin its work. It is essential to overcome the opposition and resistance of those who voted in favour of the resolution or abstained, but are now interfering with the preparations for the convening of this most important international conference, which was called for by 105 States at the twenty-seventh session of the General Assembly.

114. Today's improvements in the international situation offer particularly favourable opportunities for the start of preparations for the World Disarmament Conference. The holding of such a conference will, in turn, promote the further normalization of international relations and will reduce and halt the arms race, which is devouring over \$220,000 million every year.

115. The position taken by the Soviet Union in calling for the elimination of foreign military bases is well known. After the creation of the United Nations, the Soviet Union was the first to propose the removal of all military bases established in foreign territory.

116. The Soviet Union's relations with the Latin American countries, like its relations with the other countries of the world, are based on the principles formulated by Lenin, the founder and leader of the Soviet State. These principles are equality, respect for territorial integrity, non-interference in internal affairs and the development of mutually advantageous co-operation.

117. Next year will mark 50 years—a half-century—since the first occasion when the Soviet Union, acting on the basis of these very principles, established international relations of equality and mutual advantage with a Latin American country. That country was Mexico, whose President, Mr. Echeverría, will, as you know, visit the Soviet Union in the very near future. Fraternal friendship and co-operation between the Soviet Union and the Republic of Cuba is being successfully developed and consolidated. We are also developing relations and co-operation with Chile, Peru and other Latin American countries which have demonstrated a desire for co-operation with the Soviet Union. The President of Chile recently made an official visit to our country.

118. True to the Leninist principles of peace, freedom and the independence of peoples, the Soviet Union always supports the just claims made by the countries of Latin America to defend and strengthen their national sovereignty, including those relating to the question of their sovereign rights over natural resources. During the present debate in the Council almost all the representatives of the countries of Latin America have touched upon this problem in their statements.

119. The Latin American continent is one of the richest regions of the world from the point of view of natural

resources. It would seem that this should long ago have turned the continent into one of the most highly developed and flourishing regions of the world. Many wonder how it can be that the economic development of the Latin American countries, which have such vast natural resources, still is not so high as it should be. They correctly conclude that the main reason for the situation is that the countries of Latin America have been fettered by the international imperialist monopolies which exploit their natural resources, derive vast profits and leave almost nothing for the economic and social development of the countries at whose expense they are prospering.

120. In this connexion it is appropriate to recall the brilliant statement made at the twenty-seventh session of the United Nations General Assembly last year⁴ by Mr. Allende, President of the Republic of Chile. He said that the profits of the international monopolies operating in Chile amounted in some years to over 200 per cent and that they derived thousands of millions of dollars in profits from the exploitation of the copper deposits alone, to the detriment of the country's economic and social development.

121. It is therefore perfectly natural that the Latin American peoples should aspire to become masters of their own countries and their own wealth. The growing liberationist trends against domination by the international imperialist monopolies have been the mainspring of events in this part of the world in recent years.

122. We of the Soviet Union can well understand these legitimate aspirations. In October 1917 our country won liberation from the Tzarist régime and also from domination by foreign capital. The Soviet Union supports the just claims of the countries of Latin America in matters relating to the defence of their national sovereignty over their natural resources. In accordance with this position of principle, the USSR delegation supports and will vote in favor of draft resolution S/10932 on this question, submitted today by the Panamanian, Peruvian and Yugoslav delegations.

123. The United Nations has taken many decisions recognizing the sovereign right of every country to dispose of its natural resources and its wealth for the benefit of its people. However, as soon as a start is made towards implementing this sovereign right in a developing country, that country immediately becomes the target and victim of threats and pressures from international monopolies. Nowadays this policy of coercion, whose purpose is to prevent the developing countries from implementing their legitimate sovereign rights, is being pursued in a more sophisticated and, one might say, more insidious way. Such countries are subjected to economic and financial blockade, credit is denied them, and the terms of their already disadvantageous trade are made even harsher.

124. The economic and social measures that any country takes to recover control of its national wealth in order to ensure its economic and political independence are, of

⁴ *Ibid.*, Twenty-seventh Session, Plenary Meetings, 2096th meeting.

course, completely legitimate and just and consistent with the Charter and many decisions of the United Nations. It is therefore the duty of the United Nations to promote by every means at its disposal the strengthening of the national sovereignty and independence of States.

125. We strongly condemn the imperialistic practice of reprisals designed to prolong the exploitation and oppression of the peoples of developing countries.

126. The Soviet Union firmly opposes any attempt to exert pressure, direct or indirect, on States whose peoples have won by a hard struggle their right to independent development and are building their national economy, making progressive social and economic changes and defending their sovereign right to control of their own natural resources. In that connexion, it is clear to everyone that the policy of pressuring, blockading and isolating the Republic of Cuba is a flagrant violation of the principles and purposes of the Charter of the United Nations.

127. Imperialism and colonialism have long been condemned by the world community and by history. They are considered intolerable in the modern world. Nevertheless, instances of colonialism and neo-colonialism still exist in Latin America. In the interest of world peace and in the interest of the peoples of Latin America, this imperialist policy should be condemned by the Security Council. A number of representatives from Latin American countries have, in their statements in the Council, raised specific questions about colonial territories in Latin America, in respect of which the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples should be implemented. In this connexion, the United Nations must take steps to ensure that the method of negotiation concerning the problems of colonial territories in Latin America is not used to maintain and prolong what is in essence colonial and neo-colonial domination or to delay the resolution of the colonial problem.

128. A number of statements in the Security Council have touched upon the question of a nuclear-free zone in Latin America, and the USSR delegation wishes to make the following comments in that connexion.

129. For many years now the Soviet Union has been supporting the establishment of nuclear-free zones in various parts of the world. We proceed from the premise that the establishment of nuclear-free zones should effectively and genuinely restrict the scope of, and the opportunities for, the installation of nuclear weapons and should fully meet the need for prohibiting their direct or indirect proliferation. Commitments to establish nuclear-free zones may be undertaken not only by groups of States covering whole continents or large geographical areas but also by smaller groups of States and even by individual countries.

130. As everyone knows, the Soviet Union favours the noble idea of establishing a nuclear-free zone in Latin America, provided, of course, that it is a zone which is really free from nuclear weapons and does not entail any reservations in writing or any tacit loop-holes for violation of its nuclear-free status.

131. Our approach to this important international problem is honest, open and principled. We do not wish to be hypocritical and give the Latin American countries and their peoples false impressions, unlike some others whose words support an agreement for a nuclear-free zone but who in deed have invented pretexts for not becoming a party to it. Unlike some others, we do not want to close our eyes to the truth and overlook the fact that one major nuclear Power—and I mean one, not two, and I emphasize this for the benefit of those who like to speculate on the contrived expression “one or two major Powers”—I repeat, one major Power still retains the option to transport nuclear weapons in Latin America and has many military bases at its disposal there.

132. Turning the territory of the Latin American countries into a zone which is completely free from nuclear weapons would undoubtedly be an important factor in strengthening peace and international security on the Latin American continent and throughout the world. The efforts of the Latin American States to keep their territory forever free from nuclear weapons therefore deserve all possible support. This is completely in keeping with the spirit and the letter of the resolution taken at the twenty-seventh session of the General Assembly, at the initiative of the Soviet Union, concerning the non-use of force in international relations and the permanent prohibition of the use of nuclear weapons.

133. As everyone knows, the Soviet Government has declared its willingness to undertake to respect the status of Mexico as a zone completely free from nuclear weapons, in the expectation that other nuclear Powers will make similar commitments.

134. If other Latin American countries do in fact make their territory into zones completely free from nuclear weapons, the Soviet Union will be ready to accept the status of those countries as nuclear-free zones. And, of course, the transit or transport of nuclear weapons through the territory of States which are members of the zone must be prohibited, as must nuclear explosions for peaceful purposes as well, if they are contrary to the provisions of the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons. However, an agreement on a nuclear-free zone should not be extended to the limitless expanses of the open sea in the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans.

135. The Soviet Union reserves the right to review its commitment to observe the status of nuclear-free zones if any State with regard to which the Soviet Union has accepted such a commitment should commit aggression or become party to aggression.

136. The USSR delegation has listened with great care to the convincing statement made by Mr. Torrijos, the distinguished head of Government of Panama, in which he raised the question of Panama's sovereignty over the Panama Canal [1695th meeting]. Surely no one can deny the extraordinary importance of this problem to Panama, whose Government has frequently called it to the attention of the United Nations.

137. The Council has heard the statements and comments of many representatives of Latin American countries

concerning the Panama Canal. The Council cannot disregard the fact that the just proposals made by Panama on this question have, as the debate in the Council has shown, won the broad support of Latin American States and aroused sympathy and understanding throughout the world. First of all, it was noteworthy that not one of the ministers for foreign affairs or other representatives of Latin American countries who have spoken here has questioned the fact that the Panama Canal and the Canal Zone are Panamanian territory. They have unanimously held that sovereignty over the Canal and the Canal Zone belongs to the Republic of Panama.

138. The geographical position of Panama made it possible to construct in its territory a navigable canal linking the two oceans by the shortest possible route, and that position is a most important, if not the most important, natural resource of Panama. We therefore support the aspiration of the people and Government of Panama to re-establish their sovereignty over this natural resource and to use it for the benefit of the people and the development of the country. We also support the aspiration of the Government of Panama to restore the country's territorial integrity. No people could acquiesce in an unnatural situation in which the territory of its country is cut in two by a strip of territory held by another State. The Canal Zone, which from a geographical, political, and economic and social point of view belongs to the Republic of Panama, is an inalienable part of its national territory. The restoration of Panama's sovereignty over this zone is one of the inescapable and fundamental factors in the development of the Panamanian nation and in the elimination of this focus of constant tension in the Americas.

139. At the same time, the Panama Canal is an important inter-oceanic route of worldwide importance, the use of which—without detriment to the legitimate sovereign rights and interests of Panama, of course—must be effectively based on the principle of the freedom of international shipping and must serve the interests of the peoples of the entire world.

140. Only a realistic and responsible approach, based on respect for the sovereign rights of Panama and the interests of international shipping, can lead to a solution of the problem of the Panama Canal in keeping with the interests of world peace and the establishment of healthy and normal relations between States.

141. In view of this, and in view of the fact that the Government of Panama has brought this problem before the Security Council, the USSR delegation feels that it must speak in support of a settlement of the Panama Canal problem that would ensure respect for the effective sovereignty and complete jurisdiction of Panama over all of its territory and also guarantee freedom of international shipping. The Soviet delegation supports the draft resolution concerning the Panama Canal submitted by the Panamanian and Peruvian delegations [*S/10931*], which calls for abrogation of the Isthmian Canal Convention of 1903 and also proposes a number of principles for an equitable and just solution of the problem. The Soviet delegation will vote in favour of this draft resolution.

142. The basic purpose of the United Nations, as has been said before, is the one stated in Article 1, paragraph 1, of the Charter of the United Nations, namely: "To maintain international peace and security". In order to do this, the United Nations must be firm in repulsing aggression and effective in establishing co-operation between all countries irrespective of their size or their level of economic development.

143. The United Nations can achieve significant successes if its Member States will regard it as a centre for harmonizing their actions in the attainment of common ends, as is their obligation under the Charter.

144. The positive trends in the relaxation of international tension, which have been growing stronger recently, have a beneficial influence on relations between States in various parts of the world and prompt us to fresh efforts in the search for a settlement of current international problems.

145. The continent of Latin America must not be left out of these beneficial trends. The actions of the Security Council should be directed towards ensuring that the favourable effects of the relaxation of international tension should extend to this part of the world as well. Confrontation and the use or threat of force should give way here, as elsewhere, to a policy of peaceful coexistence, respect for the legitimate rights of people and renunciation of the use of force in international relations.

146. The holding in Panama, on the Latin American continent, of a session of the Security Council, the organ of the United Nations on which the Charter confers primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security, should make a positive contribution to the establishment of new, peaceful and constructive relations between States, in keeping with the needs of our time.

147. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): In accordance with the decision already taken by the Council, I invite Mr. Talib El-Shibib, Permanent Observer of the League of Arab States to the United Nations, who has expressed the wish to address the Council on behalf of the League, to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

148. Mr. EL-SHIBIB: Mr. President, allow me first to thank you and the members of the Security Council for giving me this opportunity to address the Council in the name of the League of Arab States, whose eighteen members are represented in the United Nations.

149. I should also like to express our gratitude to the Government and the people of Panama—and to you personally, Sir—for their initiative and their generous hospitality which made it possible for the Council to hold these meetings here.

150. The representatives of the Arab States to the United Nations had previously considered the holding of the present meetings in Panama City and decided unanimously to have a wide Arab participation in them as an expression of Arab support for the peoples of Latin America and their just causes. The presence—in addition to the presence of the

representative of Sudan—of the representatives of Algeria, Egypt, Iraq, Kuwait, Libya and myself here in Panama is a token of Arab solidarity with the people of Panama and those of the Latin American continent.

151. The relations which bind the Arabs and the Latin American peoples are part of the long history which began with the Arab presence in Spain. Over the years since the discovery of the New World thousands of people from all parts of the Arab world have come to this continent to live as loyal citizens of the respective Latin American States within which they were assimilated, thus further strengthening the bonds of understanding and co-operation between the old and new countries.

152. When we listened to the opening statement made by General Omar Torrijos [1695th meeting], our one reaction as Arabs was that, with few changes of geographic names, he could well have been speaking for us, pleading and arguing brilliantly on our behalf. General Torrijos would not have needed a change of name for that purpose. Omar is the illustrious name of a great leader in Arab history and is revered throughout the world of Islam. Indeed, the world at large remembers him to this day for what may have been one of his greatest acts, namely, the magnanimity, justice and tolerance he displayed towards Jerusalem and the freedom of worship in that Holy City. To this day Jerusalem, with its Dome of the Rock and the Mosque of Omar, bears witness to the wisdom, the humanity and, above all, the humility of an Arab named Omar.

153. These meetings of the Security Council are devoted to the problems of Latin America, and this is rightly so. It is also highly appropriate that the place chosen for the first meetings of the Council in Latin America should be Panama. The special geographic position of Panama as a link between the two Americas reminds us of a similarity with the position of the Arab world which spans the crossroads between the continents of Asia, Africa and Europe.

154. All have previously noted with approval the fact that these meetings are devoted to Latin American issues. We therefore have neither the wish nor the inclination to infuse them with other issues, urgent and important though they are. Indeed, we wish to take this opportunity so that the Arab voice will rise from this Latin American capital firm and sincere in reciprocity for the support the Arab cause is increasingly receiving from the progressive States of Latin America. However, I have to note with gratitude that two representatives—those of Guinea and the USSR—have drawn the attention of the members of the Council to the situation in the Middle East and to the fact of the colonization of Arab territory by Israeli military occupation and the disposition of 2 million of our people from their birthrights.

155. Listening to the distinguished Latin American speakers, one after another, brilliantly and passionately voicing the aspirations of the people of this great continent and defending their just causes, we were reminded once again that the cause of progress, freedom and world peace is an indivisible entity.

156. This meeting has strengthened our belief in the community of interests between the many small countries of the so-called third world. Their bitter experience of injustice and ruthless exploitation by imperial Powers makes it imperative that they should unite in a common cause. These small nations may be separate from one another by name and distance, but the ills they have suffered come from the very same evil source.

157. When our experiences in the past have been identical and when we still bear the terrible marks of colonialism and foreign exploitation and domination, it is only natural and logical that we should unite in the struggle for the eradication of the ills which have so cruelly plagued our peoples for so long.

158. The Arab Group expresses once again its full solidarity with the people of Latin America and hopes that this present series of meetings of the Security Council will make a decisive contribution to the cause of peace, justice and true self-determination for the people of Latin America.

159. Let us all hope, Mr. President, that, as we have been enriched by the experience of being among the valiant, generous and warm people of your country and listening to so many distinguished leaders of your great continent, our deliberations will contribute towards the security, progress and prosperity of this great Latin American continent.

160. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): The next name on the list of speakers is that of the representative of Canada, Mr. Saul Rae. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

161. Mr. RAE (Canada): I appreciate the privilege of making a brief statement before the Council today.

162. As the Permanent Representative of Canada to the United Nations, I would like first of all to thank, in the warmest possible terms, our hosts, the Government of Panama, both for the warmth and cordiality of the reception given to us and for the splendid arrangements made at these meetings. We also note the important substantive declarations which the Government of Panama has made during these special meetings of the Council.

163. The agenda before the Council is of deep interest to the Canadian Government: "Consideration of measures for the maintenance and strengthening of international peace and security in Latin America in conformity with the provisions and principles of the Charter". We are deeply interested in the Council's discussions for two main reasons: as a Member of the United Nations, with a long and demonstrated interest in international peace and security; and as a North American nation which has steadily been developing closer links with the countries of Latin America, bilaterally and through the inter-American regional system.

164. Let me expand very briefly on this second point because, although they go back a good many years, our relations with the countries of Latin America have been intensified in substantial ways over the past few years. I have had the privilege of seeing something of these

important developments at first hand as Ambassador to Mexico and Guatemala, and at meetings of the Inter-American Development Bank in Guatemala and in Punta del Este, and of the Inter-American Economic and Social Council in Port of Spain, and here in Panama in 1971.

165. Canada maintains diplomatic links with every country in the area, and through these bilateral ties our knowledge of the aspirations of the Governments and peoples concerned has grown steadily and reciprocally as these countries have come to know us better.

166. At the regional level, the process of more active participation by Canada began, in recent years, with the visit of Canadian Ministers in 1968 to nine countries of the region, as part of a general study of ways to make more effective and meaningful our relations with the countries and peoples of Latin America.

167. Among the many major decisions which ensued I shall mention only two. The first decision is related to the field of development assistance and co-operation. Many speakers who preceded me stressed, as one of the themes of these meetings, the basic relationship which exists between development and international peace and security. Canadians fully recognize this basic relationship.

168. In the area of development assistance and co-operation over a number of years, in addition to our participation in the programmes of the United Nations and the World Bank, a portion of the Canadian overseas development effort has been channelled to countries in Latin America through the Inter-American Development Bank. In 1974 an agreement was entered into with the Bank whereby it would administer on behalf of Canada a programme of long-term concessional loans for capital, technical and educational projects. This was supplemented by closer measures of co-operation on long-term financing between the Export Development Corporation of Canada and the Inter-American Development Bank for use in economic development projects in Latin America. Finally, in May 1972 Canada became a full member of the Inter-American Development Bank. Our own national experience in the northern part of our common hemisphere in solving problems of infrastructure, communications, and technology may prove helpful in the solution of similar problems in the southern part of the hemisphere.

169. The second step which my Government has taken is to establish a Permanent Observer Mission, at ambassadorial level, at the headquarters of the Organization of American States. This has already given us a better insight into the workings of this important regional system, and the needs and hopes of all those who participate in it. In addition, we are now full members of eight inter-American organizations which operate in areas where we share common interests with our Latin American partners or where we felt that Canada was in a position to make a distinctive contribution.

170. I should add that Canada follows with interest and approval the progress being made in the field of economic integration and development in Latin America. These developments, carried out in accordance with recognized trade negotiation principles, can not only strengthen the

economic base of the participating countries, and the regions concerned, but contribute to the general expansion of world trade.

171. I might note here that we have enjoyed over many years close relationships, in many fields, with the countries of the Commonwealth Caribbean Governments whose representatives have spoken with such distinction here. These countries, each of them determined to grasp the opportunities of international development for the economic and social progress of its people, have launched the Caribbean Free Trade Association. It is worth observing that the Association is only one, albeit perhaps the most important, of several forward-looking initiatives in regional co-operation now under way in the Caribbean area.

172. We have heard a number of significant references to the Treaty of Tlatelolco for the prohibition of nuclear weapons in Latin America. My Government, with its long and sustained interest in disarmament in all its phases, warmly welcomes this Treaty and has given it full support, both in the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament and in the General Assembly of the United Nations. We have also urged—and continue to urge—the full implementation of its provisions and Additional Protocols by all the States concerned.

173. The question of the Panama Canal has been to the fore of the issues subsumed in the agenda before the Council. We have followed with the closest attention and interest the statements made by the representatives of Panama, and the various statements made by Foreign Ministers and other Government representatives in the course of this session. Reviewing developments since the first Convention 70 years ago, in 1903, it is clear that, as the poet said, the old order changeth, yielding place to new. We for our part extend our good wishes to the two parties directly involved—to Panama and to the United States—in their continued efforts to find new and mutually agreed solutions through direct negotiations. A successful outcome will be of the greatest importance to the two Governments and peoples concerned and to the world community which depends on this indispensable route from sea to sea.

174. We in Canada have experienced a long history of consultations and negotiations with our neighbours across land and sea frontiers on many matters where vital interests were concerned. We well recognize, therefore, the need both to maintain and to enhance the principle and the practice of national integrity both to maintain and to enhance the principle and the practice of national integrity and independence, and to derive on the basis of the free co-operation of sovereign States the full benefits of fruitful international co-operation. It is our hope that the Council as a principal organ of the United Nations, with special responsibilities in the field of international peace and security, will act in such a way as to foster and encourage a climate in which this process of negotiation can move forward.

[The speaker continued in Spanish.]

175. Mr. President, allow me to say a few words very briefly to conclude in another of the languages of the Council, the language of your most beautiful country.

176. Another important point which will emphasize the interest of the Government of Canada in your deliberations is the visit of the Canadian ministerial mission to several Latin American countries during the months of October and November 1968, as part of the policy of the Government of Canada to carry out a general review of our relations with the countries of Latin America. When our Prime Minister, Mr. Trudeau, for the first time outlined his plans to carry out a study of our present foreign policy, he expressed himself as follows:

"We have to take more into account the ties which unite us to other nations on this continent—with the Caribbean and Latin America—and also take greater account of the economic and social needs. We must find new forms to expand and strengthen our political, economic and cultural relations with Latin America."

177. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): At its 1699th meeting, held this morning, the Security Council decided to extend an invitation to Mr. Mamadou Diarra, Executive Secretary of the Organization of African Unity, under rule 39 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure. Pursuant to that decision, and with the consent of the Council, I now invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make a statement.

178. Mr. Mamadou DIARRA (*interpretation from French*): First of all, on behalf of all Africa, may I thank you, Mr. President, and all the members of the Security Council for allowing me to take part in this debate. I should also like to take this opportunity of conveying to the Government and the valiant people of Panama my sincere gratitude for the warm welcome and the generous hospitality I have been shown since my arrival in your charming capital.

179. Last year, in Addis Ababa, Africa had the honour to be host to the first series of meetings of this Council held away from Headquarters. The Council's debates at that time gave its members an opportunity to acquaint themselves closely with the complex and various problems of concern to the States of that region. Today it is to Panama, in Latin America—Panama that links the Pacific Ocean and the Atlantic Ocean, which bathes the coasts of Africa—that the honour falls to be host to this special series of meetings of the Council.

180. The Secretary-General of the Organization of African Unity, Mr. Nzo Ekaganki, and the African Group in the United Nations, which it is my honour to represent at these meetings, sincerely welcome this visit of the Council to Panama, in a continent which is bound to Africa in a common destiny by special and fraternal bonds going back to the beginnings of history. So it is in this dual capacity as plenipotentiary that I am charged to convey to you, Mr. President, and through you to all Latin America, the warm congratulations of the Organization of African Unity, the testimony of its active and continuing solidarity and its moral support. These sentiments unquestionably reflect eloquently the unity of action, the common fighting front traditionally established between Asia, Latin America and Africa for the purposes of meeting the legitimate aspirations of their peoples for freedom, justice, social equality and prosperity in a world of peace.

181. It is high time that the international community showed itself more realistic than idealist. Let us recognize that détente and peace are a necessary good for the harmonious development of all peoples. Thus the crises and confrontations of today's world, wherever they may occur, are of concern to us all, for it is the survival of mankind that is at stake. Nevertheless, it must be recognized that in its present manifestations the process of détente still seems to be geographically limited.

182. The third world is now aware that real independence is an indissoluble whole made up of political, economic and cultural factors. International peace and security are intimately linked with the concomitant problems of development. International co-operation, which the international community promotes with all its strength, can be harmoniously fostered only in a climate of peace and security, and only when social inequalities, racial discrimination, colonial domination and economic aggression have been finally eliminated.

183. Unfortunately, we must note, not without bitterness and regret, that nothing shows more clearly the limits of the dialogue between the great Powers than the way in which the problems of Africa are avoided. The problems of Africa are well known to the Council; so I will not expatiate on them here. Suffice it to recall that in southern Africa pseudo-governments organized into systems of tyranny, harassment and racism refuse to recognize the fundamental principles of human equality and the right to self-determination and are inexorably creating one of the most explosive situations in that part of the continent. Notwithstanding the pertinent resolutions of the Council, we all know that there is a continuing ample flow of foreign capital into southern Africa, that certain countries are providing arms to the Governments of South Africa, Rhodesia and Portugal, while others, though condemning those practices in words, are in other respects aiding those Governments by maintaining a flourishing trade with them. Thus the international community is standing idly by while there is an intensification of racism in that part of Africa, where the machinery of oppression is being strengthened daily over the majority of the population, which is inhumanly exploited and despoiled of its rights. This system of oppression now entrenched in southern Africa rests on the unholy alliance of white fascist minorities that have been elevated into theoretically independent régimes which, enjoying the assistance of their rich allies, profit on the blood and the poverty of the black man. In these circumstances the peoples of the region have no choice left but armed struggle in order to recover their rights.

184. In any event, faced with the escalation of the illegal Rhodesian Government of Ian Smith and the stubborn refusal of the racist Government of the Republic of South Africa to withdraw from the international Territory of Namibia, faced with the system of *apartheid* practised by that same Government on the non-white populations, faced with the challenge to the international community from Portugal, supported by its NATO allies, and, lastly, faced with the persistent occupation by Israel of territories conquered by force, the Organization of African Unity, which for 10 years has spared no diplomatic effort to bring about a peaceful and just settlement of the situations

just referred to, is now firmly resolved to do its duty to the end vis-à-vis the populations that are victims of this anachronism of our time. The entire world, the United Nations and all men who love peace, justice and freedom are in duty bound to aid the Organization of African Unity in applying the decisions that flow from the principles of equality and human dignity to which all States Members of the United Nations have subscribed.

185. The speakers who have preceded me have sketched for us in comprehensive and sometimes moving terms the legitimate concerns of the people and Government of Panama. We should like simply to reaffirm to the authorities of that country that their problems are our problems, that their ways and means of finding equitable solutions to them are also supported by Africa.

186. Once again we assure Latin America of our unequivocal support, and, in the sense of the development of this fraternal co-operation, Africa looks to Latin America, land of law and justice, for an even more committed and dynamic solidarity, in the interests of the legitimate aspirations of the peoples of our two continents.

187. I hope the members of the Council will permit me to wish it, on behalf of the Organization of African Unity, all success in its work and to urge them to bring to bear the full weight of their conscience on behalf of justice and peace, so that, beyond simple declarations of principle, there may be adopted effective and appropriate resolutions for solving the problems of this part of the Latin American continent which are before it.

188. That is the message it is my honour to convey to the members of the Council on behalf of the Secretary-General of the Organization of African Unity and the African Group in the United Nations.

189. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): The next name on the list of speakers is that of the representative of Honduras, Mr. Silva Argüello, whom I invite to take a place at the Council table and to make a statement.

190. Mr. SILVA ARGÜELLO (Honduras) (*interpretation from Spanish*): Mr. President, I wish to express my gratitude to you and through you to the other members of the Security Council for the invitation extended to me to participate in this important debate of the Council.

191. I wish to convey the warmest greetings of the people and Government of Honduras to the people and Government of Panama.

192. My country, which is small like Panama, after obtaining independence from Spain in 1821, itself experienced the despair of seeing part of its territory occupied by two Powers. I am referring to the Bahía islands, which were once occupied by the United Kingdom, and Swan or Santillana island, which was recently returned by the United States to the full sovereignty of Honduras.

193. My Government and my people maintain close and cordial relations with the people and Government of the United States, whose people is an example of hard work

and self-improvement. We admire that people, but, despite our admiration, we would view it sympathetically if the grave situation of extreme disadvantage in which Panama finds itself as a result of an anachronistic and burdensome treaty in regard to what is now called the Canal Zone were changed substantially in accordance with present-day realities and justice.

194. In recent years the very idea of the word colonialism has acquired a dimension which is pejorative, and some nations insult others with that word. Today that same word includes the sense of the oppression by some large countries of other, smaller ones. With the emancipation of the colonies of the north, the south and the centre, there emerged in America the concept of genuine nationality, and since then in the minds of the citizens of America a feeling of civic responsibility has been growing and, as a natural consequence, the claiming of rights which have been revoked in some parts of the region where anomalous situations persist, where sovereignty, territorial integrity and the self-determination of peoples are jeopardized as well as the right to use their own natural resources. The responsibility and this concept are irreversible and are strengthened from day to day as a mental attitude in the process of self-improvement.

195. The doctrine of modern public international law proclaims the equality of States, whether they are large or small. This doctrine, which has a wealth of beautiful and noble concepts, of just declarations of enormous international legal scope, including the prohibition of the use of force as a means of settling disputes between sovereign States, is, unfortunately, with unusual frequency violated by powerful peoples to the detriment of weak peoples which deserve a better fate and better treatment.

196. Panama, a brotherly country, has maintained since its emancipation from Colombia, since before the ink was dry on the 1903 Convention, a tenacious struggle to reintegrate into its territory that which has always belonged to it and which legally is, has been and will be its property. Honduras has always been in solidarity with just and noble causes, and the demands of Panama are just and noble in regard to the signing of a new treaty whereby the two countries concerned—the United States and Panama—would regulate their relations in a fitting manner in accord with the postulates of law and with what the civilization of the last quarter of the twentieth century requires.

197. It has been held that the Security Council should be seized only of conflicts which lead to states of war. But institutions of law develop, and diplomacy can be no exception. The concept of preventive diplomacy is gaining ground, not only in the minds of jurists, but among peoples and Governments. It is more imperative to prevent the possibility of armed conflict than to apply or to seek to apply a cure to a conflict which is already in flames. The situation in the so-called Canal Zone has already claimed many victims; many have died because of their fervent love for their country, in a desperate effort to transform a status which is patently removed from the legal realities of our times.

198. Panama opened up its territory to give the world an inter-oceanic route for the benefit of all ships and all

peoples of the world, and it is not fair that for this reason it should be suffering, in its very heart, an enclave of neo-colonialism.

199. Just as the leader of the Panamanian Revolution, General Omar Torrijos, rightly said in this forum, quoting the famous words of the great Mexican Benito Juárez, "Respect for another's right is peace". We want our rights to be respected; we want to have the rights of all States respected, as the only way to have peaceful coexistence and as the only way to preserve world peace. This respect must be reciprocal, among all countries, whether of the East or of the West. In the present case, the Panama Canal, I must recognize that without jurisdiction there is no sovereignty.

200. In conclusion, the Government of my country, through me, expresses its wish that the Governments of both countries—the United States and Panama—will find a just, worthy and fair formula that will reconcile the interests of both States.

201. General DE LA FLOR VALLE (Peru) (*interpretation from Spanish*): In the course of the debate taking place in the Security Council, which is now holding meetings in this city, we have been clearly aware of the fact that one of the sources of serious concern over the future of peace and security on the continent is the persistence of measures intended to break the sovereign will of States and to affect their decisions. A number of Foreign Ministers and representatives of Latin America and other regions have referred to this situation and have unequivocally asked that an end be put to the existence and application of coercive measures against States of the region.

202. That being the case, on behalf of Panama, Peru and Yugoslavia I have the honour to submit the draft resolution contained in document S/10932/Rev.1, in which the Security Council would urge that an end be put to the use of any type of coercive measures that might affect the sovereignty of the States of Latin America. The continued existence of these types of coercion damages and erodes the principles of peace and co-operation among States and undermines the efforts to strengthen peace and security in the region.

203. The draft submitted here recalls many fundamental resolutions adopted by the General Assembly which categorically proclaim the indisputable principle of permanent sovereignty of States over their natural resources, and also requests other States to abstain from utilizing any form of coercion, of a political, economic or other nature, so that no country will be hampered in the free exercise of its sovereignty and jurisdiction over its natural resources, services and assets.

204. The Security Council meetings in Panama must consider this situation which has created and still leads to tension and conflict among the States of the region, and which could well become a threat to peace and security. In the exercise of the powers vested in it to prevent future conflicts, the Security Council should consider the situation and adopt the most suitable decision to maintain and strengthen international peace and security in the region. Any coercive measure that one State would impose on another, or on various States, spells a violation of the basic principles of the Charter; but when such coercive action is directed against peoples struggling against underdevelopment it only increases and aggravates the hunger and misery of those peoples. Therefore, this grave damage must cease immediately.

205. The delegations of Panama, Peru and Yugoslavia, which sponsored this draft resolution, and the countries of Latin America and the third world, which, one way or the other, have condemned international coercion in whatever form it may take, are awaiting the Security Council's action on this draft resolution. The sponsors, Latin America and the third world all consider that in drawing the attention of the Council to this matter and requesting it to adopt the necessary measures, we are contributing positively to the achievement of the purposes of the Charter and to the successful outcome of these meetings. Obviously, the sponsors are very grateful for the announcement of support that was made by the representative of the Soviet Union regarding this draft resolution.

206. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): Before adjourning the meeting, however, I have the honour to read out a message from Mr. Mario Gibson Barboza, Minister for External Relations of Brazil, to Mr. Juan Antonio Tack, Foreign Minister of Panama. It reads as follows:

"I should like to express my congratulations on the initiative of your Government in promoting, for the first time on Latin American soil, meetings of the Security Council, the organ entrusted with the maintenance of international peace and security. We are following with great interest the work of the Council under your enlightened leadership, and I extend my best wishes for successful results. Brazil, which has always defended the ideals of peace, concord and solidarity in the hemisphere, as well as the resort to peaceful means in settling international disputes, hopes that satisfactory and just solutions will be found to the difficulties that led to the present meetings of the Council, to which, together with our Latin American brothers, we gave our support from the very beginning."

The meeting rose at 7 p.m.

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