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SEVENTEEN HUNDRED AND FIRST MEETING

Held in the Legislative Palace, Panama City, on Tuesday, 20 March 1973, at 10 a.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/1701)

1. Adoption of the agenda.
2. 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.

The meeting was called to order at 10.45 a.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 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, on the understanding that when it is their turn to speak they will be invited to take a place at the Council table.
2. I call on the Secretary-General, who wishes to make a statement of extreme importance at the present stage of our deliberations.
3. The SECRETARY-GENERAL: If I am speaking again at this stage, it is to present to the Council certain reflections after almost a week of debate and after having listened to many speakers, most of them from the continent on which we are meeting.

4. Let me begin by stating that it is my sincere hope that, as they have done before on many occasions, the members of the Council, aware of the need for reconciliation and understanding, will try to reach agreed solutions on pressing international problems by a process of give-and-take and compromise. It is no secret that at the outset many Governments were uneasy at the prospect of these exceptional meetings of the Council in Panama. The question now is whether the Council is able to counteract those initial doubts. I should like to think and hope that the Council's deliberations in Panama are being undertaken in the spirit of the words of Benito Juárez engraved on the memorial block at United Nations Headquarters: "*El respeto al derecho ajeno es la paz*"—respect for the rights of others is peace.

5. The design for world order outlined in the Charter provides for the harmonization of national, regional and global interests. In our increasingly interdependent world the distinction between regional and global interests is inevitably becoming less clear. It is therefore natural that the Security Council, the world's highest organ for the maintenance of international peace and security, should from time to time see for itself at close range the context of particular problems, as it did in Addis Ababa last year and is now doing here in Panama. By such exceptional meetings it should be able to bring to the solution of those problems the advantages of its unique status as a permanent and paramount body for the settlement of international differences and disputes. I hope also that in holding occasional meetings away from Headquarters the Council may become more of a reality to the peoples of the world whose interests it serves.

6. We all know well that in its 27-year history the Council has not, for obvious reasons, been able to impose the settlement of international disputes. Instead it has become increasingly a body through whose deliberations the process of conciliation, compromise and reduction of tension has been brought to bear on problems which have proved insoluble by other means. This is usually a long and unspectacular process during which the Council often attracts to itself the recriminations and accusations of ineffectiveness which might otherwise be directed at the parties to a particular dispute. It is none the less a process designed to allow parties to a dispute to be reasonable, to refrain from violence and to make concessions within the broad framework of the Council's procedures. Let us hope that this aspect of the Council's functions may also prove to be useful in regard to the problems it has been discussing during this past week.

7. It is indeed, as I said in my earlier statement at the outset of this session [1695th meeting], most beneficial that the Council should have met for the first time in one of the countries of Latin America. Although the Council has spent relatively little time in the past 27 years in considering the problems of Latin American countries, the representatives of those countries have from the outset made a great contribution to the proceedings of both the Security Council and the General Assembly and have played an active part in many United Nations peace-keeping operations.

8. We are indeed in urgent need of more friendly, more concrete and more practical co-operation among all nations. Governments should not forget that the international institutions which they have developed over the years by now cover practically every field of human endeavour on a world-wide basis. In this context universality becomes ever more important.

9. Latin America has a rich cultural tradition in which respect for the human being and for the rule of law plays a pre-eminent part. Its contributions to international law are as important as the reality of the legal principles by which the States of Latin America conduct their relations with each other, and the world has much to learn from both. I would mention, in particular, the principles of sovereign equality, non-intervention and the peaceful settlement of disputes.

10. True to its legal traditions, Latin America has played a prominent part in the United Nations in the progressive development and codification of international law. I am sure that, in the years ahead, the traditions of Latin American jurisprudence will continue to serve as a source of inspiration and guidance in the task of formulating the law of nations.

11. Latin America has also made a significant contribution to the efforts of the United Nations for the maintenance of international peace and security. One instance is provided by the Treaty of Tlatelolco.¹ That Treaty, which was signed a little more than six years ago, testifies to Latin American statesmanship and remains a landmark in the history of arms control and disarmament negotiations.

12. It is sometimes forgotten in the world at large that the States of Latin America, one third of the original United Nations membership, played a crucial role in the writing of the Charter, particularly as it relates to the relationship between the global Organization and regional institutions. They also did much to reinforce the position of the small Powers in the United Nations, and to chart the early course of our Organization.

13. The contribution of Latin America has been impressive and far-reaching in the field of decolonization. During the formative years of the United Nations it played a leading and determining role in enlarging the involvement of the Organization in the process of decolonization and in promoting the political, economic, social and educational

advancement of dependent Territories. It is indeed to a very large extent thanks to the collective efforts of the Latin American Group and its influence with the United Nations that during the years following the Second World War most Non-Self-Governing Territories could achieve their independence through progressive development and peaceful negotiation.

14. It is a fact recognized by everybody that Latin America, its peoples and its statesmen have contributed largely to the fulfilment of the aims of the United Nations. Therefore, it seems to me that the moment might be appropriate to ask ourselves to what extent the United Nations can contribute to the solution of the problems of this continent. We are all aware of the fact that there are manifold problems which do exist in this region. The records of the present debate of the Security Council show that, in the eyes of the Latin American countries themselves, these problems of a political and economic nature need to be solved urgently. I need not refer to any of the specific statements which have impressed me over the past few days, simply because of the fact that the Council itself thought it appropriate to initiate this series of meetings devoted to the consideration of matters pertaining to peace and security, particularly in Latin America.

15. Various burning problems have been raised in the course of this debate. They relate to economic development—including the full use of natural resources—to decolonization, disarmament and non-intervention. All of these problems will have to be dealt with in accordance with the spirit of our time in the present historical context.

16. One issue of special concern to the States of this continent is the question of the Panama Canal, which has been mentioned here by every speaker. This problem awaits a solution which can only be based on the respect for law and the search for justice. A solution will have to take into account the basic principles which are enshrined in the Charter such as the principle of territorial integrity, sovereign equality, the obligation to settle all international disputes by peaceful means and the principle which by now has become an accepted common standard, namely, that any State is entitled to put to full use and for its own account all its natural potentialities. However complex the issue in question—and it is, indeed, of enormous complexity as the debate in this chamber has shown and as the history of this country proves—we must do our utmost to pave the way for a peaceful and just solution.

17. In this issue, which is of such importance not only to the parties concerned and not only to the continent but also to the world as a whole, I would strongly appeal to Panama and the United States of America to seek a solution in a spirit of friendship and confidence. I would further urge the members of the Council to seek an agreement that would help the parties concerned in their endeavours to take further steps towards a solution which would take into account the national aspirations as well as the legitimate rights and interests of the community of nations which are at stake. I am confident that the Governments directly concerned are fully aware of their responsibilities. The attention of the world is focused on this series of meetings of the Council. Let us not disappoint their expectations.

¹ Treaty for the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons in Latin America (United Nations, *Treaty Series*, vol. 634, p. 326).

18. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): I wish most warmly to thank the Secretary-General for his outstanding statement, which contains the elements of equity and justice which the Panamanian people is seeking.

19. Mr. ABDULLA (Sudan): My delegation heard with deep sorrow and grief of the untimely passing away of Mr. Chacko, the Deputy Under-Secretary-General of the Department of Political and Security Council Affairs, whose high qualities as an international civil servant and personal integrity and friendliness merited the admiration of all those who had known him. On behalf of the Sudan delegation I offer my heartfelt condolences to his family and to the Indian delegation.

20. On behalf of my delegation also, I wish to express to Ambassador Boyd, who is presiding over our meeting this morning, and through him to the Government and the people of the Republic of Panama, our thanks for the warm welcome and hospitality extended to us during the Council meetings in their beautiful capital of Panama. I also take this opportunity to congratulate Ambassador Boyd, whose tireless efforts and friendly and co-operative qualities have been positive factors in persuading the Council to convene in Panama City.

21. As this is the first opportunity for me to address the Council since Ambassador Scali joined it as the permanent representative of the United States of America, it gives me pleasure to extend to him my warm welcome, and to assure him of the same co-operation we extended to his predecessor, Ambassador Bush.

22. Following the Secretary-General's statement I should like now to make my own statement. I should like to say from the outset that my delegation has firmly supported the holding of these Council meetings in Panama with the conviction that any positive deliberation on "measures for the maintenance and strengthening of international peace and security in Latin America" is a step towards reinforcing international efforts in other parts of the world, and especially in southern Africa and the Middle East where a dangerous situation exists.

23. The common interest of Africa and the Arab world in international peace was demonstrated by the unanimous support of both the African Group and the Arab Group in the United Nations concerning the invitation of the Government of Panama to the Security Council to hold meetings in its capital. This solid support is further demonstrated by the large number of African and Arab representatives who are now here to attend the meetings and to express solidarity with Latin America. Indeed, the Council has already listened to a number of speakers from those two Groups, of whom I mention only the Executive Secretary of the Organization of African Unity and the Permanent Observer of the League of Arab States to the United Nations [*1700th meeting*]. It will be recalled that, apart from the similarities of their problems related to matters of international peace and security, these two groups are linked by history and sentiment and, indeed, by common future aspirations and, therefore, cannot but demonstrate their sympathy and solidarity with Latin America and Panama.

24. In the first place, large waves of Africans and Arabs have, throughout distant and recent history, found homes in the Caribbean and Latin American countries. These Africans and Arabs have identified themselves fully with other races in the region and have been completely integrated and assimilated there. In recent history their grievances, and, indeed, the struggle waged in Latin America for the complete elimination of these grievances by their roots, are precisely the preoccupations of both Africa and the Arab world. The legitimate and inalienable rights which Latin America strives to establish in the fields of respect of national independence, territorial integrity, self-determination, free exploitation of their natural resources and social progress are the very aspirations and ambitions of the African and Arab worlds.

25. A quick survey of the conditions of international peace and security in these two regions will show beyond doubt how similar and indivisible these problems are, whether in Latin America, Asia or Africa.

26. In southern Africa, for example, colonialist and racist régimes dominate and exploit millions of Africans and non-whites who live there. Through inhuman and barbarous methods of domination, these régimes endeavour to suppress the mounting liberation fight for self-determination and independence of the millions who live in these Territories dominated by Portugal, South Africa and the racist minority régime in Southern Rhodesia. The tragic details of this situation have been amply and ably told in his statement yesterday by the Chairman of the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples [*1699th meeting*] and by many African representatives who have preceded me in the Council. I only wish to draw the attention of the Council to its recent decisions [*resolution 328 (1973)*] following the submission of the report of its Special Mission to Africa whereby the Council determined that the policy of these régimes threatens international peace and security in southern Africa. Indeed, a number of previous decisions by the Council have determined that these régimes threaten the sovereignty and territorial integrity of neighbouring African States like Zambia, Guinea, Senegal and the United Republic of Tanzania.

27. In another region, of which my country is a member, namely, the region represented by the League of Arab States, the conditions of international peace and security are extremely dangerous as a result of the repeated Zionist aggression against Arab States ending with the military occupation of the lands of three States Members of the United Nations. In the process of this expansionist war by Israel, the majority of the population of Palestine was chased out of its country to be replaced by immigrant Zionists from all parts of the world. Indeed, by occupying militarily part of Egyptian territory Israel not only has deprived Egypt of the effective practice of its sovereignty and territorial rights over the Suez Canal but also has deprived the countries of three continents from free passage through that vital international waterway. The Security Council and public opinion, therefore, cannot and should not allow the occupation by force of the territories of three Member States, the denial of the right to self-determination

of the Arab population of Palestine and the interruption of international communication through the Suez Canal, which had been administered and operated by Egypt to the full satisfaction of all users before the Zionist military occupation.

28. With those two examples of dangerous situations, for which the colonialist and racist régimes in southern Africa and racist expansionist Israel are responsible respectively, my delegation wishes to provide yet a third reason for the interest and solidarity of Africa and the Arab world with Latin America in matters of peace and security. It follows that my delegation should express profound sympathy and solidarity with the Caribbean States by voicing the sincere hope that their expressed desire to join the Latin American Group will find the sympathetic consideration it merits. An enlarged and unified Latin America will provide Africa and the world with great assistance in the search for international peace and security.

29. Turning now to the subject on the agenda before the Council, I wish to say that, in our opinion, it was appropriate that ample time was given to the spokesmen of the Governments of Latin America and the Caribbean to address themselves to that subject. Having heard them, my delegation was impressed by what appeared to us to be a remarkable demonstration of hemispheric solidarity on the vital matters of peace and security in their region. No less remarkable was their perception of the root sources of global insecurity, namely, the remnants of colonialism, misery and ignorance, the gap between the rich and the poor and armaments, especially nuclear weapons. I must say that in so far as those matters affect their region the representatives of the Latin American and the Caribbean countries have demonstrated to us their genuine aspirations for peace and security, aspirations which represent a world-wide longing and which are shared by all of mankind. The reason we are here is to examine how the Council, which is charged with the task of maintaining international peace and security, could contribute to the efforts of the Latin American countries to realize their aspirations for peace.

30. If any central idea dominated the creation of the United Nations it was that of keeping the peace and settling disputes among nations. It is in keeping with this idea that my country has always supported the improvement of the United Nations effectiveness in this field of its activities, and it is in this spirit that my delegation will address itself to the issues that have been raised so far.

31. First, there is the question of colonialism in all its forms and manifestations. My country has nothing but disdain for any kind of relationship between peoples which contains the idea that any people is good enough to be another people's masters. It is a healthy sign, however, that almost all former colonizers have mercifully abandoned the mistaken belief that colonialism had nothing but a beneficent character. For in its wake, colonialism imposed a system of oppression and calculated degradation on the peoples who were colonized, a system, I might say, which had always in it the seeds of discord and hence of threat to world peace. The United Nations had played an important role in paving the way towards the independence of former colonies and it must consistently pursue that path. It is

with a deep sense of appreciation that my delegation acknowledges the invaluable contribution of some Latin American countries, as founding Members of the United Nations, to those efforts. Yet today there are remnants of colonialism. As I have already indicated, in Africa obdurate racist régimes, with medieval mentality, cling to supremacist claims of racial superiority while denying to the majority of the citizens the right to participate in running their affairs. In Latin America colonial questions are still a source of international discord. I am referring to questions of dependent Territories and peoples in the western hemisphere. It is to the credit of the countries involved that they are ready to negotiate the solutions to these questions. We genuinely expect that such solutions would be in strict conformity with the principles of self-determination and independence as set forth in the Charter.

32. As the spokesmen of Latin American countries diagnosed the state of the political health of their region, among the recurring issues raised was the question of disarmament. Quite evident was the theme that the requirement of peace and security in the region called for strengthening the force of law against the law of force. This theme finds eloquent expression in the Treaty for the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons in Latin America, better known as the Treaty of Tlatelolco. The Treaty, in our view, represents a very serious and positive action by the Latin American countries signatory to it in dealing with the problem of security in their region and removing themselves and their region from the rivalries of nuclear Powers. It is an attitude which Latin America shares with the Afro-Asian countries. My delegation gives the firmest support to their position and hopes that the obligations and duties that arise from such an important relationship will be open to all countries in the region, either to fulfil or to perform.

33. As we have listened to several pronouncements from representatives of Latin America the view has time and again been expressed by several that peace and security cannot be fragmented into political, social or economic components in the misplaced hope of solving one without tackling the other. It is a view that my delegation shares fully, a view we have expressed in various organs of the United Nations, because we believe that economic development, as defined by the peoples whose interests are to be served by it, is a prerequisite for stability, which in turn promotes international peace and security. The genuine and ardent desire expressed by Latin American countries, both in the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development and at the United Nations, for economic advancement and social justice, is a trend to which my delegation will give both full support and encouragement. My country also supports the efforts being made by Latin American peoples to have control over their national resources, reassert their sovereignty and defend the interests of their countries. The Sudan, as a member of non-aligned countries, fully adheres to the Declaration of the Conference of Foreign Ministers of Non-Aligned Countries held last year in Georgetown, Guyana, in which the following was stated:

"the realization of Latin America's full and true independence is an essential element in the general emancipation process of the developing countries and in the strengthening of international peace and security".

34. Allow me now to turn to a problem that is very close indeed to the heart of the people of Panama. I am referring to the question of the Panama Canal Zone. Our visit to Panama and to the Canal Zone has convinced us more than ever that the Hay-Bunau Varilla Convention of 1903,² with its subsequent amendments, not only is unfair to Panama, but is completely out of the spirit of the age and the principles of international law. In the words of the Minister of External Relations of Peru:

"The Canal Zone, which geographically, politically, economically and socially belongs to the Republic of Panama, is an indissoluble part of its national territory."
[1696th meeting, para. 31.]

We may add that in fact the 1903 Convention cuts through the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Panama.

35. It is a matter of principle and policy of my Government to uphold the right of any country to full and effective sovereignty and integrity of the totality of its territories. My delegation is, however, pleased to note that the two parties concerned are agreed on the sovereignty and jurisdiction of Panama over all its national territory, including the Canal, and wishes therefore to express its full sympathy for Panama's demand that the 1903 Convention should be abrogated and that a new treaty should emerge as soon as possible whereby Panama's effective sovereignty and total jurisdiction over all its territory will be vindicated.

36. In keeping with the above-mentioned views, and taking into account the strength of the view that has been expressed on the subject to the effect that the dispute is such that its continuance is likely to endanger the maintenance of peace and security, my delegation will vote in favour of any draft resolution that takes those views into consideration. In the same manner it will consider with favour any other draft resolutions which will contribute to the maintenance and the strengthening of international peace and security in Latin America.

37. As I stated earlier, Africa, the Arab world and the Non-aligned Group to which my country belongs are duty bound to support any contribution towards the realization of international peace and security anywhere in the world. I need not repeat the spontaneous sympathy and solidarity which both the African and Arab worlds extend to Latin America and all our English-speaking brothers in the Caribbean, which history, similar problems and common aspirations dictate to all of us. It is the sincere hope of my delegation that this meeting of the Security Council in Panama will enhance further the solidarity and co-operation between my part of the world and Latin America.

38. To our friends in Panama it is our pleasant duty to wish them every success in their endeavours to attain the full national sovereignty and territorial integrity of their country.

39. Mr. SEN (India): Mr. President, in our meeting at New York on 10 March—the last we had before we left for this

pleasant city of Panama—I undertook to pay you a full tribute in your own country. May I, therefore, begin by expressing to you our deep admiration at the way you have been conducting the business of our Council, involved as it is this month first with the intractable problem of Zambia and now with the most important and at times difficult problems of your own continent. But your skill and talents do not surprise us, for you inherit a tradition and emulate an example which could not but qualify you as a most effective representative of Panama to the United Nations and to its Security Council. I am sure that your illustrious forebears would have been proud of your achievement, and it must be a source of satisfaction to you that not only your countrymen from all walks of life can see you at work, but your own Foreign Minister has seen your daily diplomatic negotiations, your social charm, your boundless energy and your spontaneous hospitality in fullest measure and in the closest quarters. We have all benefited from these qualities and our warmest thanks go to you.

40. But, apart from these personal compliments, my delegation would wish most sincerely to express to your people and to your Government our great appreciation of the hospitality, welcome and friendship they have extended to us. Nothing seems to be too much for your people to make our stay here comfortable and enjoyable and our work smooth and effective. I realize how much effort, resources and sensitivity must have gone into your desire to please us. We are most grateful, and we must compliment you on setting a standard which any one of us would find difficult to achieve. Further, we were both stimulated and honoured by the presence of your head of Government, General Omar Torrijos, at the opening of this series of meetings on 15 March [1695th meeting]. His lucid and terse statement of the Panamanian problem and his patriotism are lessons for all of us. Indeed, he reminded us of the soldiers who fell at Thermopylae many centuries ago. We see the same spirit in your Foreign Minister who has showered us with affection and kindness and whose guidance in our work and understanding of our position have brought us closer and closer with each passing day.

41. India's relations with Panama are also showing many signs of steady progress. The first resident Ambassador of India to Panama is a member of our delegation and we are glad that it was possible for his high mission in this country to begin at this historic time.

42. Not only with Panama but with all the other countries of South and Central America, as also with the Caribbean countries, our relations grow stronger. We have been deeply moved by the great interest the countries of Latin America have taken in Indian history, culture and philosophy, and particularly in our struggle for independence. Over the past few years, we have opened several new diplomatic missions in this region, and since 1968 our trade with this area has increased four times.

43. Our ever-increasing co-operation and friendship finds many echoes in the debates and decisions in the United Nations and elsewhere. When, five years ago, Mrs. Indira Gandhi, Prime Minister of India, visited a number of Latin American and Caribbean countries on a voyage of friendship she said: "I believe that the people of South America,

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.

Asia and Africa have a common stake in the defence of our common interests." We shall neither falter nor fail in identifying those common interests and in serving them to the best of our ability.

44. It is in that spirit that we came to Panama, not only to discuss the problems before us, but to know our friends better, with a deeper humanity and a fuller understanding. The participation of so many foreign ministers and other representatives of Latin America has helped us significantly in our task. So have all the contacts we have been able to establish outside the Council chamber.

45. Much has been said about the advisability or otherwise of the Council meeting outside its Headquarters. Perhaps it is too early, and our experience too limited, to come to any firm conclusion. But we are convinced that last year's meetings at Addis Ababa, as also the present series of meetings in Panama, have been most rewarding and significant. I use the word "significant" deliberately, for we must take into account the fact that nearly 40 States apart from the members of the Council are present during our discussions. Of these, 22 States have asked to be heard, as have representatives of three international organizations and three Chairmen of various United Nations bodies. This is not the time to go into detailed reasons, but I wonder, for instance, how many of us had a proper appreciation of the impact on today's young men and women of this region of the teachings and ideals of Bolívar, San Martín, Juárez and several others. It was in anticipation of the success of our meetings here that our Prime Minister sent her message to you on the opening day [see 1696th meeting, para. 217].

46. While all these developments bring us hope and confidence, the most unfortunate and untimely death of Mr. Chacko, who served the United Nations with exemplary devotion, industry and rectitude, has cast a pall of gloom on our delegation, as indeed on many others besides. We are most grateful for the various compliments paid to Mr. Chacko's services and the words of condolence and sympathy to his wife and family which have been forthcoming at these meetings of the Council.

47. When the Council decided to meet in Latin America for the first time, I believe all members were conscious of a new and vibrant awakening in this region, and of the need not only to adjust the relations among the countries of the western hemisphere towards each other, but also to connect these developing aspirations and relations to the wider context of promoting and maintaining international peace and security. That would explain why the agenda was drawn up in the broadest possible terms so that any country that wished to bring its problems before the Council, in connexion with the maintenance and strengthening of international peace and security, could do so. It was understood then, and it is understood now, that the Council could not, within the time available to it in the series of meetings in Panama, attempt to find solutions to all these problems and issues, if indeed there was an inclination to study them in all their aspects. Some of the questions raised by numerous foreign ministers of Latin American countries to whom we had the privilege of listening would show that some of these questions at least

could not be pronounced upon by the Council without a comprehensive discussion of all their implications, even if we were to overlook the normal procedure under which the Council discusses specific issues.

48. What the foreign ministers and other representatives of various States in this region have been able to convey to the Council members through their statements is that the entire continent is so restless with the present state of affairs and so conscious of a high spirit of nationalism that it will no longer accept the role which history had, through a series of most unfortunate developments, imposed on it. Gone are the days when the Secretary of State of the United States could inform the British authorities in the following terms: "To-day the United States is practically sovereign on this continent, and its fiat is law upon the subjects to which it confines its interposition". That was contained in a letter written by Secretary of State Richard Olney to the British in 1895.

49. This fierce spirit of independence and this fervent desire for full restoration of national dignity go far beyond immediate issues. The ardent wish to use their national resources for the benefit of their people themselves, without any pressure, their insistence on full national sovereignty and territorial integrity and at the same time their desire to co-operate with each other for more fruitful and friendly relations are aspects which I might call, for want of better words, "a continental resurgence" which reflects the spirit that has animated this meeting: the spirit of Panama.

50. We, who believe in non-alignment and who, over the years, after harsh criticism, sometimes bordering on downright vilification, have been struggling for our views and ideals, are now entering an era when our values seem to be more and more widely accepted and have indeed become the basis of important recent developments among several powerful countries in a manner which would have been inconceivable a few years ago. We cannot but be pleased with these new developments in the New World. They bring us closer, and increasingly we draw sympathy and sustenance from each other. We fully appreciate the emerging spirit in this continent and completely support the present insistence of the Latin American countries to pursue the values which not only are consistent with the principles of the non-aligned countries but are in conformity with the provisions of the Charter of the United Nations. In this process we have been greatly assisted by a large number of resolutions, declarations and other documents we have adopted with varying degrees of solemnity through the years. I do not wish to catalogue all these documents, for that has been very ably done by the representative of Kenya [1700th meeting] but would confine myself to mentioning only a few. The first and foremost are the following General Assembly resolutions: the resolution containing the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples; the resolution adopted at the fifteenth session relating to the economic development of economically less developed countries; the resolutions on permanent sovereignty over natural resources; the two Declarations adopted at the twenty-fifth session; and, finally, the specific resolution regarding the Treaty for the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons in Latin

America. I have mentioned those few important documents chiefly to indicate that our assessment of the problems afflicting this continent has to be reviewed in the context of significant decisions and declarations we have already adopted. That point was emphasized once again this morning by the Secretary-General.

51. In the political field, all the representatives of Latin American countries have emphasized the urgent and great need to be fully sovereign in their territories. This exercise of full sovereignty has been frustrated, if not defeated, because of outside pressure. We do not believe that by the mere adoption of resolutions by the Security Council these pressures would be eliminated. We see this elsewhere also, as in the Middle East, where principles are adjusted to convenience with startling cynicism. One can argue that some cross-fertilization of ideas between different countries and different States could be beneficial to the countries concerned and may contribute to a richer and more fruitful civilization. But to move from that point to a position where the countries cannot freely serve what they consider to be the interests of their people is indeed a perversion. Time and again we have heard the foreign ministers refer to their inability to pursue their own ideas which they consider necessary, if not essential, for the welfare of their people, because of manipulation, machination and manifold pressures. The second political aspect, which many speakers have referred to, is the interference, sometimes amounting even to military action, from outside to prevent different political systems and ideologies from succeeding and coexisting. The third political problem raised by the foreign ministers and the others is the problem of colonialism of different kinds in some areas of the region. In this respect, the United Nations has taken a number of decisions with a view to eliminating colonialism from all areas of the world, including Latin America. But colonialism in its most brutal form exists in large areas of Africa. I believe that the foreign ministers and other representatives are perfectly aware of this; nevertheless they did well to bring to our notice the problems of colonialism in that region. I am speaking of traditional colonialism and not of its new forms—which still exist in parts of Latin America and which have to be eliminated with all speed.

52. In the economic field, the speakers emphasized a series of problems of general application. The first and foremost is the difficulty they face in exploiting their natural resources because of a number of so-called private and public agreements arrived at over the years in different circumstances when the Governments concerned had hardly any choice and were obliged in many instances to write off their patrimony in a manner which now appears to them intolerable. They wish to recover in full what they were obliged to surrender but are prevented from doing so in a variety of ways. We believe that, because of this experience, in any discussion about full use of natural resources many Latin American countries are determined to repair the damage already done, as also to protect themselves from the damage likely to be done in the future. Hence their demand for expanding the limits of their territorial seas. Hence also their desire, on the one hand, to work for total disarmament for ensuring international peace and security and, on the other hand, to divert resources from armament to economic construction and development. Hence too

their insistence on liberalizing tariffs and trade, particularly when they depend essentially on one or two products for export, and on participating fully in the international monetary arrangements, which affect them even more vitally than many others who are richer and technologically more advanced.

53. In the military field, the Latin American countries are accepting more and more readily that foreign bases and military alliances do not bring about greater security but simply greater tension. That has been a cardinal feature for those of us who believe in non-alignment. We have been opposed to these bases and alliances, not only as a matter of principle but from the deep conviction that they tend to lead to a collision course, especially in an age when the nuclear holocaust has become a permanent threat. The export of arms to areas of conflict and the establishment of bases are totally unjustified if the countries of the world, particularly the developing ones, are to settle down to using their own resources and developing their own countries, in a spirit of co-operation with neighbours and with mutual accommodation between the rich and the poor nations. It follows, therefore, that the Latin American countries that wish to eliminate these bases and the sending of arms to the areas of conflict reject the theory that any country can arbitrarily and unilaterally decide whether its defence interests are best served by establishing foreign bases and then give effect to those decisions, irrespective of the wishes of the countries that are thus brought into an ever-widening parameter of tension and conflict. If military bases are objectionable as such, how much more objectionable are they when they are established not with the consent of the Governments concerned but on the offensive theory of "might is right", because one is weak and the other is strong.

54. Turning to the specific issues, we believe that the most urgent problem before the Security Council at this meeting is the question of the Panama Canal. As we enter this Palace, we read on large boards two sentences. One sentence reads:

"You may rest assured that in our negotiations with the USA you will always find us standing on our feet and never on our knees; never."

The second sentence reads:

"Let the Ambassadors of friendly Republics and members of the foreign press here present answer: What nation of the world can withstand the humiliation of a foreign flag piercing its heart?"

55. We are certain that the Panamanian Government, in any future discussions, will assert its full right of sovereignty, and there is thus no question of its negotiating on its knees. There is, similarly, no doubt in our minds of the popular resentment at the visible manifestations of extra-territorial sovereignty about which the above-mentioned question has been asked. We also believe that the problem is much more fundamental than the question of giving a little more money for compensating in some manner the derogation of what the Panamanians justly consider their birth-right.

56. The Convention of 1903, signed almost within two weeks of Panamanian independence, cannot be regarded by any modern standards as normal, particularly when the circumstances under which it was signed are considered. It is an instrument which one party interprets as allowing it to deny Panama effective exercise of sovereignty on its entire territory. We are glad, therefore, that this unequal Convention has recently been recognized as such by the Government of the United States, which has fully accepted that a far-reaching revision of its relationship with Panama is overdue, and that what was possible in 1903 is not at all right in the conditions of today. The Panamanian Government has also told us in informal contacts that the United States has agreed to abrogate that Convention and to replace it by a modern treaty.

57. We welcome these developments. We have also been informed that the concept of perpetuity would be given up, that American jurisdiction in Panama would disappear, and that all the aspects of the operation of the Canal should be negotiated in a manner which would, on the one hand, ensure full sovereignty of the Panamanian Government and, on the other, keep the Canal free for transit to all ships, without any discrimination. We believe that these are the essential features of a new treaty—features that seem to have been accepted by both parties—and they have been referred to in the draft resolution before us [S/10931].

58. In doing so, the sponsors continue to be particularly careful to search for flexible language so that in the course of the negotiations—which we hope will be renewed immediately and concluded speedily—the parties, while respecting the principles already agreed to, could work out the details, not as a result of any directives from the Security Council on how they should proceed, but as a result of negotiations between equals. We hope, therefore, that this draft, or any subsequent revision of it, will command the approval of all the members of the Council.

59. From what I have already stated on the other problems brought before us, it seems to the Indian delegation that the only additional draft resolution which the Council may at this stage consider relates to the exploitation of natural resources. We are in general sympathy with the draft resolution which was submitted yesterday [1700th meeting] by the Minister of External Relations of Peru [S/10932/Rev.1]. We hope that, as a result of further examination and consultation, the Council will be in a position to adopt a unanimous decision on this important subject.

60. As regards the other subjects which the foreign ministers and other representatives have mentioned to us, I have already indicated our general views. We consider that these questions should not—at this stage, at least—be embodied in any formal resolutions of the Council, but should be included in a declaration in which the President might mention the issues and state briefly the consensus of the Council on them in general terms. If such a declaration by the President could be worked out, it would indicate the general reaction of the international community to these problems and the direction in which we must move in order to find solutions to them. Since some of the problems mentioned are strictly of a bilateral nature, we hope that

negotiations by the parties concerned will produce solutions in the shortest possible time within the general framework of the Charter and of the various resolutions we have already adopted.

61. With some such action as I have indicated, the Council will have concluded the present series of meetings at Panama City. But the ramifications of our deliberations during the last few days will be both deep and wide. The members of the Council will return richer in understanding and more vigilant of their interest and determination in maintaining and strengthening international peace and security in this area. The people of Panama, as indeed the people of many countries of Latin America, may possibly draw some satisfaction from the fact that even if the Council could not or would not solve all their problems, it is at least sensitive to their difficulties and aspirations, and that the Council's sympathy for the many trials and tribulations that lie ahead can be depended upon. Such an assurance may strengthen their resolve and fortify them in their belief that, with genuine attempts on all sides, peaceful solutions can be found, in time, to all problems. The road may be rough and long, but the journey can come to an end—not without sacrifice, but without armed conflicts. At least, that is the belief we must adhere to, just as we must continue to hope that all Members of the United Nations will abide by its Charter in its entirety.

62. But we in the Indian delegation shall return with a measure of exhilaration. Geographically, India is far away from the countries of Latin America and the Caribbean. But we have a nearness born of similar experience in the past and shared hopes for the future. Today our peoples are engaged, each in their own community, in the same task: to realize a fuller life and to move towards a greater unity out of conditions of social and economic disparity and ethnic and many other diversities. Externally, too, they strive for the same objectives: for peace, for tolerance and for justice. They have a common determination to be independent, to be self-reliant, and to co-operate with each other on a basis of equality. Some months ago, the Prime Minister of India said:

“Each country has its own heritage and distinct personality which it naturally wishes to develop in its own way. But we must also bear in mind our community of interests and take positive initiatives for working together among ourselves and with other countries in order to make a richer contribution to the evolution of a world more livable for all of us and of a social order more in consonance with the yearnings of modern man.”

63. If our presence and discussion for a week in this country makes our task a little lighter in our march together towards a better future, then all the efforts the friendly people of Panama have made in welcoming us and looking after us will be more than worth while. I am sure that those of us who belong to the world of “have-nots” would consider the pursuit of such an ideal worth living for, and perhaps worth dying for; and I am equally sure that our more fortunate fellow human beings will not fail us.

64. Mr. DE GUIRINGAUD (France) (*interpretation from French*): Mr. President, my first remarks will quite natu-

rally be addressed to you and will express the gratitude of my delegation for the magnificent welcome your Government has extended to the Security Council. When we came to Panama we knew that we would find outstanding hospitality here, worthy of the best Hispanic traditions. But what we have found has even exceeded our expectations: In addition to the multiple attentions lavished upon us, we are particularly aware of the atmosphere of courtesy, and also of cordiality, sympathy and candor, which surrounds us. We shall leave your country with the regret that we were unable to get to know it even better. In assuring you of my gratitude for the personal part you played in organizing our stay here, I request you to be so kind as to convey this expression of the gratitude of the French delegation to the President of the Republic, His Excellency Mr. Lakas; to the head of Government, General Torrijos; and to His Excellency Mr. Juan Antonio Tack, your Foreign Minister.

65. In the men who today lead your country we find a symbol of all Latin America, that is to say, youth and its creative dynamism, a keen sense of responsibility to the future, and unquestionably also the determination to tackle the problems along new and bolder lines than those sketched by preceding generations. But neither have these leaders forgotten the humanist and juridical tradition, so that beyond daily concerns and the play of circumstance, their quest is directed towards principle, towards testimony having exemplary value, towards the universal.

66. May I state that in such an atmosphere the representative of France in no way feels himself on unfamiliar ground, that he listens with sympathy to the reflections of the representatives of Latin American States whom we have been hearing in these past few days, and that he has no difficulty in understanding their concerns. The reason for this is simple: we are all of us guardians of the same Latin heritage, within which our relations were from the beginning established in a commonalty of thought and feeling, founded on a dialogue between equals, as is only fitting between members of one and the same community, aware of the enrichment that can accrue to each from the experience of others, but also concerned to respect their various identities. It was therefore without difficulty that from you to us there developed a flow of sympathy and co-operation, fed from the sources of our common culture and swelled by centuries of intercourse between the men of our two continents.

67. There are so many examples of these relations and of this intercourse that I shall confine myself to mentioning the influence of French political thought and the example of our great revolution at the time when the destiny of your nations was taking shape, and the sympathy that your liberation movements have always enjoyed in my country.

68. Since I am speaking about this period of your history, I am quite naturally led to mention the memory of the great Liberator Simón Bolívar and, by way of a reference to the famous Congress held here in Panama in 1826, to say something about the role played in the conception of the Canal by two illustrious Frenchmen. Lucien Bonaparte Wyse was the first, in the nineteenth century, to have the idea of cutting through the isthmus, and Ferdinand de Lesseps, the creator of the Suez Canal, although already

advanced in years, did not hesitate to commit his fortune and his immense prestige to that colossal undertaking. Unfortunately, the technical, financial and medical conditions were not yet such as to permit the successful completion in that last quarter of the nineteenth century of a task far more difficult than that achieved at Suez. After more than 20,000 workers, including several thousand French nationals, had succumbed to the rigours of the climate, and in particular to yellow fever, and after hundreds of millions of dollars—which, I am assured, today would be equivalent to \$1,000 million—given from their savings by the enthusiastic French had been swallowed up, the work had to be suspended. Some 20 years later, the United States took over and, thanks to advances in medicine and technology, was able to complete the undertaking over a route quite close to that chosen by the engineers of Ferdinand de Lesseps.

69. I know that the people of Panama have not forgotten the contribution of my compatriots to that great undertaking, which has given your country particular importance and an altogether special role in international relations. I shall not conceal from you in this regard that I was truly touched when I saw the noble monument that you have erected facing the ocean, almost at the entrance to the Canal, and dedicated to the memory of all those who had a decisive part in building the inter-oceanic waterway, among whom you have given a prominent place to its French initiators.

70. While referring to certain aspects of the relations which at various times in history the Latin American community has had with France, I cannot fail to recall the journey that General de Gaulle made in 1964 when he travelled to various countries in this continent in order to testify to the interest that France takes in the efforts that the countries of Latin America, each in accordance with its own genius, traditions and aspirations, have undertaken in order to develop their economies, improve the well-being of their peoples and assert their responsibility. This diversity of experience, of which your countries today provide the example, without any doubt constitutes the most real sign of their vitality and of the immense possibilities open to them. Did not General de Gaulle, on the occasion of that historic journey, affirm that Latin America was the continent of the twenty-first century?

71. You have also, outside the Latin community, multiplied your contacts with other countries in the hemisphere, and your group was recently further enriched by the influx of new members from the Caribbean area, countries that have a different cultural heritage and whose association with your own can only redound to the benefit of all. We are happy to maintain with these new members of your community also special relations of friendship.

72. Beyond these historical and cultural bonds, we have another reason to sympathize with the concerns of Latin America. This has to do with the very principles which guide France's foreign policy and which are also your own: the concern for national independence and the desire for co-operation.

73. The presence of the Security Council in Panama, Mr. President, at your Government's invitation, which, as

you know, we welcomed, is in keeping with this Latin American tradition of co-operation, *entente* and quest for peaceful solutions to situations which might degenerate into open crises. What we have here, in a word, is "preventive diplomacy", as has been rightly noted by several preceding speakers—diplomacy that seeks to remedy situations arising from the inadequate or insufficient exercise of the fundamental principles of national independence and co-operation.

74. Representatives of already ancient nations, and consequently the embodiment of their history, of countries often richly endowed with human and material resources, it is your intention to adjust your foreign relations in order more strictly to protect your sovereignty and better to harness your natural wealth. At the same time, as the heirs of a well-established tradition of regional co-operation, as also co-operation among the international community at large, you are asking yourselves about the terms of that co-operation, which too often reflect the inequality of forces. What you seek is to preserve and strengthen the security and harmony of your continent for the benefit of its peoples' development on a footing of equality and mutual respect.

75. In the forefront of the concerns expressed in this Council is the question of the Canal. That, of course, as many speakers have emphasized, is a problem which concerns primarily the Republic of Panama and the United States, since it is a matter of negotiating the instrument which will replace the present agreement, concluded by those two countries 70 years ago. We hope the two parties will quickly succeed in reaching agreement on the terms of a new treaty, since, according to the information they themselves have given us, their intentions are already in agreement on the principal objectives to be given the negotiators. We do not, however, think it is for the Council to enter into the details of an agreement which is under negotiation or to dictate to the parties the terms of the arrangement they are seeking. We none the less hope that the two parties will continue and complete a task they set themselves as long ago as 1964, respecting the principles of sovereignty and co-operation which should guide their relations, so as to maintain the use of a waterway which is of moment to the entire international community. We are convinced of their determination to achieve that.

76. In regard to other situations to which the Council's attention has been drawn, they seem to me to involve an awareness of the all too frequent gap between principles and their application. The Latin American community is all the more keenly aware of this disparity since it made a remarkable contribution to the drafting of various of the great principles of the Charter of the United Nations, such as the legal equality of States, non-intervention, the peaceful settlement of disputes and the self-determination of peoples. However, the tradition of Latin America is not solely legal; it is also humanitarian, which explains the role your countries played in the preparation of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

77. I believe I do not need to emphasize how strongly we, like any other member of the Security Council, and particularly its Latin American members, are attached to

the great principles on which our Charter is based, or how great is our concern that they should be respected and implemented. We do, however, wonder about the role the Council can play when it is a question not of particular situations to which those principles should be applied but rather of their formulation and their enunciation, if not of their revocation. Is not that role rather one for the General Assembly, where all Members of the United Nations are seated, or, perhaps, the Economic and Social Council for questions falling more particularly within its competence, such as permanent sovereignty over natural resources, a principle mentioned by many speakers? If it undertakes a task not specifically its own, the Security Council might in future be in danger of encroaching on the prerogatives of the General Assembly and other organs of the United Nations and of being absorbed in over-general discussions, and thus find itself incapable of carrying out the missions expressly entrusted to it under Article 24 of the Charter, and on which it is in fact called to meet very frequently. Furthermore, would there not be some confusion created if the General Assembly, the Economic and Social Council and the Security Council should be led to adopt provisions on identical subjects that were not strictly similar?

78. Those questions deserve to be posed before the Security Council is, as some seem to envisage, asked to draft texts couched in general terms setting forth universal principles and concerning subjects some of which are currently under discussion elsewhere. We could not lend our support to such a text at this point.

79. The fact remains that these meetings of the Council in Panama will have given us an opportunity to gather from representatives of Latin America most useful information about their concerns which will have to be taken into account in the future work of the United Nations. The resulting benefit for each member of the Council should be matched for the Latin American community by an assurance that it has been heard and that the lessons drawn from these meetings will not remain without effect upon our future attitude when we are considering questions to which our attention has been drawn.

80. For my part, I note above all the concern of the States of the Latin American continent to assert their identity and to secure respect for their sovereignty and independence. They may rest assured of the positive contribution France is ready to make to the maintenance of peace and security, which should be based on relations of equality and mutual respect among States for the benefit of each of them and the entire international community.

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

82. Mr. IPOTO EYEBU BAKAND'ASI (Zaire) (*interpretation from French*): Mr. President, may I at the outset thank the Council and you for having been good enough to allow me to make this statement on behalf of the delegation of Zaire. Through you, I should like to thank the Government and people of Panama for the very warm welcome they have been good enough to give my delegation and also for

the great hospitality my delegation is still enjoying and treasuring.

83. Now, may I say that a very famous historian once wrote that frontiers were merely the scars of history. I think he was perfectly right because frontiers are intended more to unite nations than to divide them. This is particularly valid regarding the great maritime areas, whether we call them oceans, seas or any other name. They have never been natural or artificial frontiers, but have always been ways of joining the peoples on their coastlines, helping them in their communications and in their trade. But we have met here in one of these areas where man's industry and genius have completed the grandiose undertakings of nature. Nature had allowed an extra arm of land to exist here which geographers call an isthmus, and man divided it with a canal, a waterway that became extremely important in international affairs, linking two oceans which became the two poles of world trade and navigation.

84. The inter-oceanic Panama Canal, like that of Suez, is an exemplary proof and an outstanding symbol of the will to co-operate internationally and also historic proof of the principle of interdependence and of the fact that one group must round out the needs of another because, despite the well-known historic vicissitudes, the work started by Ferdinand de Lesseps, interrupted, given up time and again, resumed by the United States of America later and—after changing hands—being completed, is of exemplary importance.

85. Following on the invitation of the Government of Panama, the Security Council has convened in Panama in order to examine ways and means of maintaining and strengthening international peace and security in Latin America, in accordance with the provisions and the principles of the Charter. To a certain extent, these meetings of the Council are a posthumous tribute to that great liberator of peoples who, in his dream of unity and the creation of a greater Colombia, had held in this same city the 1826 Congress of Panama, which carried within it the seeds of the future Organization of American States; I pay tribute to the great Simón Bolívar of illustrious memory.

86. The history of individual rights in the nineteenth century has taught us that the political emancipation of man can only be fully ensured when economic democracy has been established which allows the individual fully to enjoy his role as a citizen and to carry it out with full independence. Today, the developing countries quite justifiably feel that they, too, will not fully enjoy their political independence until that independence is crowned with sovereign economic rights. Indeed one of the aims set out in the Charter of the United Nations to help us to maintain international peace and security is the achievement of international co-operation through a solution of the economic, social, intellectual or humanitarian problems that may arise, by developing and encouraging respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms for all, without distinction as to race, sex, language or religion.

87. With the authors of the Charter, I too would say that the maintenance of international peace and security does

not exclusively mean a settlement of disputes, nor does it solely mean to deal with threats to the peace or a threat of aggression. Conditions must be created of such a nature as to encourage the existence of peace, but conditions that are more than merely political. If we study it this way we realize that the Charter recognizes that an Organization designed primarily to ensure international peace and security must also play an active role in improving economic and social conditions of people and contribute to a widening of the field of human freedoms. The developing countries are increasingly aware of the fact that political and economic independence are a dialectical pair: one conditions the other, and the other confirms and completes the first. They have all realized now, I think, that economic independence is the material underpinning of political independence. As far as my own country, Zaire, is concerned, we made a fundamental choice, and the Manifesto of our national party states it as follows:

“Economic independence is the basic goal to which all the nation's efforts must be directed. The attainment of this independence is the only means of bringing about a genuine improvement in the living standard of the people. Hence, the People's Movement of the Revolution commits itself to an unceasing struggle to ensure that our country shall no longer be an economic colony of international high finance.”

88. Accordingly it is only fair that this debate in the Security Council has revealed the interest that the Latin American countries attach to the problem of sovereignty over natural resources, which is closely linked to the economic independence that these countries are seeking. As the majority of speakers that have preceded me in this debate have stressed, the problem of sovereignty over natural resources has already been covered in a number of resolutions of the General Assembly such as resolution 1803 (XVII) of 14 December 1962, which states in its paragraph 7:

“Violation of the rights of peoples and nations to sovereignty over their natural wealth and resources is contrary to the spirit and principles of the Charter of the United Nations and hinders the development of international co-operation and the maintenance of peace.”

89. The delegation of Zaire felt it appropriate to recall that paragraph in order to suggest to the Council that it appeal to all Member States to assist the developing countries to exercise permanent sovereignty over their natural resources. It might also perhaps be helpful if the Council were to recommend the drafting of an international convention on respect for the permanent sovereignty of States over their natural resources, such a convention to be open for signature by all Member States.

90. Although one of those two proposals does not automatically exclude the other, the delegation of Zaire leaves it to the Council to decide, in accordance with the formula it regards as the best.

91. There are some matters which become so persistent and bitter that they poison international relations and create a political climate that may tempt a peaceful State to

resort to force, because the situation becomes untenable, or that may draw States of goodwill into a series of events likely to provoke the use of force without either party having at the outset desired such an outcome.

92. We only hope that the question of the Panama Canal and the Canal Zone will escape such a misfortune. The delegation of Zaire earnestly hopes that instead of maintaining only an apparent peace Panama and the United States will negotiate the question of the Canal and the Canal Zone in an effort to find a just, peaceful and lasting solution.

93. In conclusion, I should like, on behalf of the delegation of Zaire, to greet the Latin American peoples and their Governments and to assure them that, in the struggle that is common to us all, they can rely on the support and the fraternal solidarity of the Republic of Zaire.

94. Sir Colin CROWE (United Kingdom): Mr. President, I have not so far had the opportunity to congratulate you and your Government on the occasion of these meetings of the Security Council in Panama or to thank you for the admirable efficiency with which you have organized them, as well as for the thoughtfulness and generosity which you have shown in providing for all our needs, both in connexion with our work and by way of relaxation. Like all those who have spoken before me, I should like to express on behalf of my delegation, deep appreciation and thanks for everything you have done for us. May I also extend my congratulations to you personally on the success with which you have carried through the unique achievement of presiding in the same month over the deliberations of the Council both in New York and here in your own country.

95. Before proceeding further I would join my colleagues who have paid a tribute to Mr. Chacko and mourned his death. He was indeed the model of an international civil servant, a man of the highest integrity, industry and charm. The United Nations will be the poorer without him, and we send our sympathy to his widow and family, to the Secretary-General and to his former colleagues.

96. The Security Council agreed to hold special meetings in Panama on the basis of an agenda calling for "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". After listening to the statements of foreign ministers and other representatives from Latin America who have addressed us, my strong impression is that peace and security in this continent of Latin America are in good hands. It is clear that their countries are guided by those principles of international respect and co-operation which are enshrined in the Charter. I say this after making every allowance for the many difficult problems which, even with the greatest goodwill, face all States in their relations with each other.

97. It is indeed the tradition and practice of stable relations between one another that has enabled the Latin American States to make their remarkable contribution to the work of the United Nations. It is right that at this meeting we should refer, as earlier speakers have done, to

the first occasion on which an international conference was held on this soil. I mean, of course, the Congress which Simón Bolívar, the Liberator, summoned here in Panama in 1826 to promote reconciliation between the peoples of this continent and to lay the foundations of greater international understanding. Britain sent an observer to attend that meeting, and it gives me particular pleasure to follow after nearly 150 years in the footsteps of my late colleague. Bolívar was a prophet in his internationalism, as in so many other ways, and the Congress that he organized was the direct inspiration of the movement which led to the creation at the end of the last century of the Pan-American Union, and later of the Organization of American States. That Organization, and the others since created to promote all aspects of hemispheric co-operation, are models which we all admire.

98. It was natural, therefore, that the Latin American States should from the first have taken the closest interest and played a most active role in the United Nations. One is sometimes apt to forget that they numbered 20 of the 51 founder Members. And they have given practical expression to this interest in the number of distinguished international civil servants whom they have provided to serve the United Nations. From the beginning the Latin American States were anxious that full scope should be given to the regional organizations under the Charter, and they were largely responsible for ensuring that this was recognized in the provisions of Chapter VIII, and particularly Article 52. Much of the Charter and subsequent United Nations institutions reflect Latin American jurisprudence in the general field of public international law. The Latin American Members have given a lead in the work of the Organization in the field of human rights, including those concerned with racial harmony and the rights of women. Nearly a quarter of the States which have ratified the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural rights, nearly a third of the States which have ratified the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights and more than half the States which have ratified the Optional Protocol to the Covenant on Civil and Political Rights are Latin American.

99. Latin American Governments have played a notable role too in the economic work of the United Nations. The Economic Commission for Latin America, at this moment meeting in Ecuador, was quickly recognized as a pace setter in this field. And it is fair to say that the Latin American States were a driving force behind the creation of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD). Latin America has produced some of the most distinguished economists active in recent years, economists who have made an important contribution to the work of the United Nations.

100. The international community owes much also to Latin American initiatives in the whole field of disarmament, especially those directed towards averting the threat of nuclear disaster. We think here in the first place of the example of Mexico and of the Treaty of Tlatelolco. We all recognize this Treaty as a pioneering achievement. In the case of the United Kingdom, my Government has given concrete expression to this recognition by ratifying both the Additional Protocols.

101. The direct links between my country and the nations of Latin America go back to the earliest years of their independence. Britain was closely associated with the struggle of the Latin American peoples to achieve nationhood. Indeed British statesmen of that time looked to the emerging countries of the subcontinent to set a new pattern of liberalism and democracy, a new example to the nations of the Old World, where these ideals seemed then in eclipse. These links were strengthened by the co-operation of Britain and Latin America in the development of this region. For a long time it was to Britain that Latin American countries looked for resources and expertise to develop their economy, their industries and their communications. An enduring memorial to this co-operation remains in the thousands of my countrymen who settled in the New World and whose descendants have made a notable contribution to the countries of their adoption.

102. Since that time we have seen a complete transformation both in the Latin American countries and in our relationships with them. The major countries of the region are now themselves substantial economic units with their own industrial base, exporting not only their traditional products but a wide range of manufactured goods as well. In the great debate which revolves around the whole question of international policies on development, the role of Latin American nations has become of key importance. It was entirely appropriate that the third session of UNCTAD took place in Santiago, and my Government looks forward to continuing exchanges with the Latin American countries in UNCTAD and other international economic forums.

103. The United Kingdom Government is keenly aware of the great scope that still exists for extending and strengthening our bilateral relations. Traditional friendship is not enough; it must be sustained with care and a recognition that the proper basis for good relations is an understanding of the new forces in Latin America and the aspirations of the Governments and peoples of these countries. It has been for this reason that we have in recent years taken steps to increase the knowledge of Latin America in my own country, for example by the establishment of centres of Latin American studies in a number of universities, including my former college at Oxford, and by organizing reciprocal manifestations in Latin America. Last May my Government sponsored an important conference on Britain and Latin America in London which was attended by the most distinguished figures in Latin American Government and business. Inaugurating that conference, my Prime Minister, Mr. Heath, emphasized that it was the policy of the United Kingdom Government to give its strongest support to the principle of co-operation and trade with Latin American States. I am happy to say that Latin American ministers are frequent visitors to London and we look forward with special pleasure and expectation to the State Visit to Britain of the President of Mexico later this month.

104. I have dealt on these examples of economic, commercial, and cultural relationships because this has traditionally been the context in which my country has been concerned with the Latin American continent. This does not mean that we think that this is the point of view from which the

Security Council should concern itself with Latin America. We readily agree that economic questions can have important political implications, but many of those questions that have been raised at these meetings—such as that of permanent sovereignty over natural resources—are properly the responsibility of other principal organs of the United Nations and indeed are already under active consideration in the Economic and Social Council. I feel it therefore necessary to sound a note of caution in relation to the role and competence of the Security Council. Though the Council is a body of the highest prestige and authority, this does not mean that it is the right forum in which to debate questions which belong to other United Nations organs, still less to adopt resolutions on these matters. We should also bear in mind that it is not the function of the Council to pronounce upon questions of principle or of general application—these are more appropriate for the General Assembly—but rather to deal with specific problems brought to its attention in the light of the purposes and principles of the Charter and in accordance with its provisions.

105. As the debate has progressed a number of contentious issues have inevitably come in for special mention. Inasmuch as they reflect the particular preoccupations of individual countries, they deserve to receive a sympathetic hearing. On the other hand, many of them are essentially bilateral issues, on which the process of direct diplomacy is still continuing and which neither side had made the subject of specific complaint to the Council.

106. There have been numerous references to the position of the Canal Zone in relation to the maintenance of peace and security in the region. I think all previous speakers have been unanimous as to the importance of the Canal to the international community, particularly from the economic point of view. It would indeed be a serious matter if differences over the Canal were to lead to a situation where its role as a link between nations were endangered and it became instead a focus of instability. It is at least a cause for some satisfaction that neither party has suggested that such a situation has arisen. On the merits of the problem, I share the doubt voiced by our Australian colleague [*1699th meeting*] about third parties getting involved in a matter of this kind on which we do not know all the facts. But I share the feeling also that, as he put it, the present agreement governing the regulation of the Canal is in certain respects anachronistic and in urgent need of revision. Indeed that view seems to be accepted by both parties. And both have stated that they attach the greatest importance to these negotiations. Many representatives have referred to them and expressed the hope that they will be brought to the earliest possible conclusion. It is of definite interest to Britain, as a major maritime country, that the regulation of the Canal should be based on an accepted understanding between the parties principally concerned, and we certainly share the hope that these negotiations will be brought to a satisfactory conclusion.

107. Another topic which has figured prominently in statements in this debate is the legacy of colonialism. At the same time most speakers seem to agree that this is not one of the major problems confronting Latin America and that such colonial questions as are yet unsolved do not

require the attention of the Security Council. Thus, although the questions of the Falkland Islands and of Belize have both been mentioned, I was glad to hear both the representative of Argentina and the representative of Guatemala say that they considered that they could best be tackled on the basis of bilateral discussions. My Government welcomes and endorses that view. My Government's policy has consistently been based on the interests of the inhabitants and the principle of self-determination. In this connexion I need only refer to the Bahamas, which are about to become independent this year, and to the Associated State of Grenada, which, from the moment it expressed its desire to proceed to full independence, has had no impediment placed in its way. That is the principle on which we operate.

108. I have concentrated my remarks on the achievements of the countries of the Latin American region and of their contribution to the United Nations. We see that across the whole range of activity the voice of Latin America has been the voice of moderation, of compromise, and of respect for legality. As an area of relative stability it has been a force for stability in international politics. As a continent containing some of the most developed of the developing countries it provides a bridge between the developed world and the third world. This meeting of the Security Council in Panama will have been worth while if it concentrates our attention on those attributes of Latin America which have enabled it to play a constructive and moderating role in international relations, and if our presence in Panama encourages the countries of the continent to continue to make their own special contributions to world peace and progress.

109. Mr. SCALI (United States of America): I join previous speakers in expressing my gratitude to the President, the Government and the people of Panama for the admirable organization of this meeting by the Panamanian Government and for the generous welcome and warm hospitality that we have received here. It is indeed an exhilarating experience to see the determination, dedication and devotion of the Panamanian people which is evident in the bustling economic activity, reflected visibly in the pace of construction that we see around us.

110. May I also express the deep sorrow of my delegation about the death of Mr. Chacko. Although I did not know him personally, members of the United States Mission are unanimously agreed that he was the model of an effective, utterly unbiased international civil servant. He will be missed.

111. "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." That is the agenda item for these meetings in Panama.

112. For more than a century, the nations of Latin America have demonstrated an enviable and unparalleled record in achieving and maintaining that international peace and security on this continent. They not only have avoided major international conflicts within the hemisphere, but also have created a viable framework for the peaceful

resolution of their differences. Latin American statesmen have eloquently set forth principles of international consultation and conciliation springing from the idea and the ideal that international conflict in this area can and must be resolved peacefully. Many of these principles have found their way into the Charter and into the practice of the United Nations.

113. We note with particular pleasure the active role played by the people and the leaders of our host country, Panama, who have been in the forefront of the development of the inter-American system since the founding of their country. In fact, the first seeds of pan-Americanism were planted here by Simón Bolívar, at the Panama Congress of 1826.

114. The United States sets great store by its close and fruitful association with the countries of Latin America. We fully share their deep and genuine concern for the continuation of peace, prosperity, political stability and economic and social development in this hemisphere.

115. The countries of this region were among the original supporters of the United Nations and have remained among the most fruitful and dedicated of its Members. All of us recognize their role in the United Nations and their contributions to international peace and security. Many Latin American countries have participated directly in United Nations peace-keeping operations, operations which go to the heart of the Organization's purposes. All have contributed in many ways to the resolution of disputes among nations and of the problems confronting the world. We are all aware of the high competence of Latin American jurists in the field of international law and the unwavering support in this hemisphere for the sanctity of solemn treaty obligations even as the search for constructive change continues.

116. It is in fact the absence of truly threatening international issues within the Latin American area which led my Government to question the necessity of our meeting away from United Nations Headquarters at this time. Our delegation expressed the views of the United States very clearly. Meetings of the Security Council, whether at Headquarters or away, should be based on its primary Charter responsibility to maintain international peace and security.

117. While the Charter confers this responsibility on the Security Council, it also provides—indeed, in Article 33, it specifically enumerates—many ways to resolve international issues before such matters are brought directly before the Council. A look at the efforts now under way with regard to nearly all the major problem areas of the world underscores this wide variety of channels, both inside and outside the United Nations, which can be used to achieve the Charter goals, "to practice tolerance and live together in peace with one another as good neighbours".

118. For example, the United States and the Soviet Union have undertaken with each other to do "their utmost" to avoid military confrontation and to respect the sovereign equality of all countries. The United States and the People's Republic of China have undertaken to broaden the under-

standing between their peoples and this process has taken new strides in recent weeks. The United States, together with other parties to the Viet-Nam conflict, has arrived at a cease-fire agreement for Viet-Nam, and other interested nations have pledged in Paris their full support and co-operation in strengthening peace in Indo-China. In Europe, the United States is participating in preliminary discussions in Helsinki and Vienna aimed at specific and practical improvements in East-West relations.

119. These have all been due in large measure to the wise and imaginative leadership of our President, Richard Nixon, as he pursues his great goal of a generation of peace for all mankind. Because of his diplomatic initiatives, his courage and his readiness to try new approaches, the world is on the threshold of co-operation and friendship among nations undreamed of just a few years ago.

120. In looking back at what has been achieved, and forward to what remains to be done, one is struck by the variety of means, the wealth of institutions and the host of relationships which can be turned to positive effect.

121. In this hemisphere, over a period of 150 years, our peoples have established relationships that, in our view, make us a unique community. There are, of course, a number of bilateral questions in this hemisphere that remain unresolved—many have been mentioned at this table—but progress is being made in many of these through patient negotiation. For instance, the United States and Panama have been seeking—through negotiation—a new status for the Panama Canal which would bring it into harmony with contemporary political realities.

122. With respect to multilateral relationships in this hemisphere, the regional institutions and arrangements we have developed, and the broad and deep contacts joining our Governments and our citizens have grown into what is now known as the inter-American system. That system is characterized not only by formal institutions but also by a sense of solidarity and a community of common interests and objectives on which we seek to build a lasting foundation for truly effective inter-American co-operation. We have a common faith in the benefits of freedom, the importance of the individual, the power of reason and the rule of law. The conclusion that the inter-American system is indeed a foundation of some permanence, is supported by the significant intellectual, economic, security, and political ties which further draw us together.

123. A system that is both progressive and evolving, and is notable for its continuing usefulness to its membership, is a system which is also able to accommodate diversities. The most obvious of these are the different cultural backgrounds, economic conditions and political institutions which remind us that we are individual nations, as well as members of a hemispheric community.

124. The Organization of American States is the keystone of the inter-American system. It exists as a regional agency within the meaning of Chapter VIII of the Charter of the United Nations. It is also the oldest international organization of its kind in the world, dating from 1890. It has grown from an institution concerned primarily with com-

mercial affairs into an organization devoted to the peace and security of the hemisphere. It is also deeply involved in the region's economic and social development, educational, scientific and cultural co-operation, human rights, juridical affairs, and technical assistance and training, to mention but a few. As it has grown, it has increased its capacity to achieve its essential purposes. These are to strengthen the peace and security of the continent, to prevent possible causes of difficulty and to ensure the peaceful settlement of disputes. It also provides for common action on the part of the member States in the event of aggression. It assists in the search for solutions to political, juridical and economic problems when they arise among members, and in the area of development it is concerned with the promotion of co-operative social and economic action.

125. The United States has also warmly supported the many activities of the United Nations in the area of economic and social development in Latin America. However, for most of the 1960s the United States Government was the major external contributor of assistance to Latin America in seeking its economic and social development. As we agreed to do at Punta del Este in 1961, the United States provided over \$10,000 million for the development of the American Republics during the period 1961 to 1972. We kept our promised word.

126. In the past few years the countries of Latin America have increased their reliance upon the major multilateral lending institutions for the bulk of their official external capital assistance. In recognition of this, the United States has channelled an increasing proportion of its loan funds to Latin America through multilateral institutions, particularly the Inter-American Development Bank. In December of last year, for example, the United States formally signed the replenishing agreement under which it agreed to provide \$1,000 million to the Fund for Special Operations of the Bank. The total flow of United States funds through all channels, bilateral and multilateral, has never been higher. As a result, the total assistance received by Latin America from all sources is going up steadily. The United States has given special and increasing attention to the economic and social concerns of the hemisphere. Total lending commitments by the Agency for International Development, the Inter-American Development Bank and the World Bank to Latin America in 1972 are more than double those of 1964.

127. The United States has had a long and cordial relationship with the independent nations of this hemisphere. Recognizing the principle of sovereign equality and respect for the right of States to pursue their own development, the United States is building a constantly evolving relationship with Latin America, a relationship which we trust will become even more cordial and mutually beneficial.

128. I should like to reflect briefly regarding the United States position on some other issues which have been raised in statements before the Council.

129. The United States has always been, and continues to be, a strong advocate of the Latin American nuclear-free zone. We signed Additional Protocol II of the Treaty for the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons in Latin America—the

Treaty of Tlatelolco—on 1 April 1968. The Protocol went into effect for the United States on 12 May 1971. By these actions the United States pledged itself to respect the denuclearized status of Latin America, not to contribute to any violation of the Treaty and not to use or threaten to use nuclear weapons against any of the contracting parties.

130. The question of permanent sovereignty over natural resources is currently an active item in the United Nations, specifically in the Economic and Social Council Committee on Natural Resources and the Committee on the Peaceful Uses of the Sea-Bed and the Ocean Floor. We do not question the principle of "permanent sovereignty". However, at the same time we wish to point out that we do not believe that complex issue is properly before the Security Council. In accepting the principle of permanent sovereignty we strongly reaffirm our support for the principles of General Assembly resolution 1803 (XVII) including *inter alia* the observance in good faith of foreign investment agreements, the payment of appropriate compensation for nationalized property, as required by international law, and the recognition of arbitration or international adjudication.

131. Similarly, we believe that the question of multinational corporations, which has been raised in different contexts, should not be brought before the Security Council. It is at present under discussion in several other, more appropriate United Nations bodies. A group of eminent individuals, appointed by the Secretary-General under Economic and Social Council resolution 1721 (LIII) of 28 July 1972, is studying the impact of multinational corporations. UNCTAD is doing a study on the restrictive business practices of multinational corporations. Finally, the International Labour Organisation is looking into the relationships of activities of such corporations to social policy. We fail to see what the Security Council can effectively accomplish in this particular field.

132. We happen to share the judgement of the Economic and Social Council resolution that these corporations "are frequently effective agents for the transfer of technology as well as capital to developing countries". No country has to welcome or even accept foreign investment; if it does so, it of course may establish its own rules. However, it also has the obligation, in that case, to abide by those rules, to compensate the investor for retroactive changes in the rules or, in the case of expropriation or nationalization of private property, to make adequate provision for just compensation as required by international law.

133. Now I come to discuss United States relations with Panama. Our close and mutually beneficial friendship has a long history, characterized, to be sure, by occasional differences and friction. But the bonds linking our two peoples continue strong and vibrant.

134. We rejoice in the progress achieved by Panama—it has been striking. Over the past four years the economy has been growing at a rate of 7 to 8 per cent, one of the highest rates of growth in the world. Outside help has contributed to this rate of growth, but there has also been a high level of labour and investment by the dedicated Panamanian people.

135. My country is happy that it was able in 1972 to disburse in various ways approximately \$227 million, with direct effect, and stimulate the Panamanian economy. In fact, our loans and grants to Panama represent the highest *per capita* level of United States assistance anywhere in the world—in part, because of our friendship, but mostly because Panama has demonstrated a high capacity to programme and to utilize financial assistance effectively.

136. We believe that all mankind has been well served by the Panama Canal since its completion nearly 60 years ago. During those years it has never been closed, and it has transited an ever-increasing number of ships carrying cargo to and from all parts of the world.

137. Although the 1903 Convention still governs the basic relationship between the United States and Panama concerning the Canal, that relationship was significantly revised, as well as reaffirmed, in the Treaties of 1936³ and 1955.⁴ On both occasions the United States relinquished important rights and provided important new benefits for Panama.

138. In 1964, recognizing that a comprehensive modernization of our relationship should be undertaken, the United States began negotiations with Panama with three essential objectives in view, which remain valid today:

(a) The Canal should be available to the world's commercial vessels on an equal basis at reasonable cost;

(b) So that the Canal should serve world commerce efficiently, the United States should have the right to provide additional Canal capacity; and

(c) The Canal should continue to be operated and defended by the United States for an extended but specified period of time.

139. It was recognized then, as it is today, that these objectives would require the conclusion of a new treaty or treaties to replace the 1903 Convention and its amendments. By 1967 three draft treaties had been negotiated and agreed to by the two negotiating teams. At that time the Panamanian Government did not move to ratify the treaties, but in October of 1970 requested the United States to renew negotiations. The United States agreed to do so, and negotiations were in fact renewed in June 1971, when the Panamanian negotiating team arrived in Washington. During the intensive negotiations which followed, the United States has fully recognized that the relationship originally defined in the 1903 Convention needs to be brought into line with the realities of the world today, as well as with the mutual interests of both countries.

140. The United States is ready to conclude a new treaty promptly. At the same time, we believe it is necessary that the United States continue to be responsible for the operation and defence of the Canal for an additional, specified period of time—the length of which is one of the many issues to be negotiated. As a result of the persistent efforts made by both sides, significant progress has been

³ League of Nations, *Treaty Series*, vol. CC, p. 17.

⁴ United Nations, *Treaty Series*, vol. 243, p. 211.

made in the treaty talks towards reaching mutual understanding on major principles.

141. I would like to make clear that the United States, no less than others that have spoken at this table, supports Panama's just aspirations. The United States negotiators, cognizant of those aspirations, have already recognized that:

(a) The 1903 Convention should be replaced by a new, modern treaty;

(b) Any new Canal treaty should be of fixed duration, rejecting the concept of perpetuity;

(c) Panama should have returned to it a substantial territory now part of the Canal Zone, with arrangement for use of other areas. Those other areas should be the minimum required for United States operations and defence of the Canal, and would be integrated into the legal, economic, social and cultural life of Panama, on a time-table to be agreed upon;

(d) Panama should exercise its jurisdiction in the Canal area pursuant to a mutually agreed time-table;

(e) Panama should receive substantially increased annual payments for the use of its territory relating to the Canal.

142. Accordingly, those who attack the 1903 Convention are attacking a phantom foe, a non-existent enemy. The 1903 Convention has already been revised significantly to Panama's advantage. We were on the verge of changing it a third time in 1967, and we are ready to change it again—to write a new treaty—when negotiations continue in the spirit of friendship and co-operation that should be the hallmark of Panama-United States relations.

143. We recognize that much remains to be settled. Yet we believe the aforementioned points represent a substantial foundation of important principles, and are confident that with continued goodwill by reasonable men on both sides, and some patience, a mutually satisfactory treaty can result.

144. In reviewing the relationships among the 532 million active and dynamic people residing in this hemisphere, it would be incorrect to leave the impression that there are no problems or no issues needing attention. Obviously there are, as there are anywhere. But we know that both the

goodwill and the diplomatic machinery already exist within the area to resolve these problems.

145. The question then arises as to what contribution the Council can make at these meetings, and what the Council will carry back to United Nations Headquarters as a result of its meetings in Latin America.

146. With Latin American issues, as with issues in other parts of the world, the members of the Council must look to what this body can actually accomplish, the consistency of its proposed actions with the provisions of the Charter, and their impact on the chances of resolving existing differences.

147. For the Council to take a partisan stand or reflect only a parochial viewpoint would risk undermining the processes of bilateral and regional diplomacy which have served this hemisphere so well.

148. For the Council to pronounce itself on a wider range of issues, not directly concerned with the maintenance of international peace and security, risks diluting the results already achieved in other United Nations organs and would question the seriousness of the Council's purpose in holding its meetings here.

149. We have been engaged in discussion since 15 March, and much of what has been said is valuable, constructive and informative. That in itself is a positive element. But this series of meetings can be productive in other ways. Tomorrow evening we should be able to adjourn to return to New York and say that our deliberations have contributed renewed vigour to the effective, realistic and harmonious search for the realization of the objectives of the United Nations, not only in Latin America, but everywhere. If we can do that, then these meetings will have been a success.

150. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): Before adjourning this meeting, I should like to announce, as the representative of PANAMA, that the delegation of Panama reserves its right to speak at the very beginning of this afternoon's meeting in exercise of its right of reply to the representative of the United States regarding certain ideas expressed in his statement that were not in conformity with the reality of our relations with the United States, or with what has been done regarding negotiations for a new Canal treaty.

The meeting rose at 1.10 p.m.

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