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SEVENTEEN HUNDRED AND THIRD MEETING

Held in the Legislative Palace, Panama City, on Wednesday, 21 March 1973, at 11 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/1703)

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 11.40 a.m.

Statements on the occasion of the International Day for the Elimination of Racial Discrimination

1. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): As representatives will recall, we are today celebrating the International Day for the Elimination of Racial Discrimination. In the light of that fact the Chairman of the Special Committee on *Apartheid*, the representative of Nigeria, Mr. Ogbu, has asked to be allowed to make a statement. The Council at its 1699th meeting decided to extend an invitation to the Chairman of the Special Committee on *Apartheid*. Accordingly under rule 39 of the provisional rules of procedure I invite Mr. Ogbu to take a place at the Council table and to address the Council.

2. Mr. OGBU (Chairman of the Special Committee on *Apartheid*): Mr. President, I wish to thank you, and through you, the members of the Security Council, for giving me the opportunity to make a statement on behalf of the Special Committee on *Apartheid* on this the International Day for the Elimination of Racial Discrimination and the culminating day of the Council meetings in Panama. The warmth, charm and hospitality of the people and Government of Panama have become proverbial and I wish to associate myself with the gratitude so ably expressed by previous speakers.

3. In resolution 2142 (XXI) of 26 October 1966, the General Assembly proclaimed 21 March as the International Day for the Elimination of Racial Discrimination. It chose 21 March because it is the date of the Sharpeville massacre in South Africa in 1960, when the South African police

fired on peaceful African demonstrators against the humiliating "pass laws", killing 69 men, women and children and wounding more than 200. Sharpeville is a warning to the world of the grave menace of *apartheid* and racial discrimination, a warning that we cannot afford to forget until we succeed in eradicating this evil.

4. It will be recalled that a few days after the Sharpeville massacre, the Security Council first considered the grave situation created by *apartheid* in South Africa. In resolution 134 (1960), adopted on 1 April 1960, the Council recognized that the situation in South Africa "has led to international friction and if continued might endanger international peace and security". It called upon the South African Government "to initiate measures aimed at bringing about racial harmony based on equality in order to ensure that the present situation does not continue or recur, and to abandon its policies of *apartheid* and racial discrimination".

5. Since then, the Security Council, the General Assembly and other organs of the United Nations have adopted numerous resolutions calling upon the South African régime to abandon the inhuman policy of *apartheid* and to seek a solution based on the principles of the Charter and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. That régime, however, has remained intransigent and has resorted to brutal repression in order to enforce *apartheid* in defiance of the United Nations. The situation in South Africa has been characterized by a constant escalation of repression and resistance.

6. Moreover, the South African régime has continued in illegal occupation of the Territory of Namibia, which is under the direct responsibility of the United Nations. It has sent its forces to Zimbabwe, in defiance of the United Nations, to prop up the illegal racist minority régime of Ian Smith and to wage war against the people engaged in the legitimate struggle for freedom. It has supported the Portuguese colonial authorities in Mozambique and Angola, which are carrying on colonial warfare against the peoples of these Territories. It has repeatedly threatened the security and territorial integrity of the independent African States in southern Africa.

7. The South African régime has thus become the bastion of colonialism in the area and the leader of the "unholy alliance" directed against the United Nations efforts to secure the elimination of colonialism, racial discrimination and *apartheid*. It is essentially at war against the great majority of the people of southern Africa, and against the purposes and principles of the United Nations.

8. The Special Committee on *Apartheid*, which was established by the General Assembly 10 years ago to follow the developments concerning *apartheid* and report to the General Assembly and to the Security Council, has always emphasized the grave threat to the maintenance of international peace and security created by the policies and actions of the South African régime. It has recommended effective measures to solve this situation and avert the grave danger of racial conflict which is bound to have repercussions far beyond the boundaries of South Africa.

9. The South African régime, by resorting to brutal repressive measures against the African people and their movements, and all those opposed to *apartheid*, has tried to persuade the world that the country is peaceful. It has been assisted in this propaganda by some foreign interests which benefit from the system of *apartheid* in South Africa. The recent events in South Africa, particularly the recent strikes by the black workers against the inhuman exploitation and the denial of elementary trade union rights, belie this propaganda. Behind the apparent peace, enforced by vicious repression, the situation has become even more explosive.

10. In its resolution 311 (1972), adopted in Addis Ababa on 4 February 1972, the Security Council expressed grave concern that "the situation in South Africa seriously disturbs international peace and security in southern Africa". It condemned the South African Government for continuing its policies of *apartheid* in violation of its obligations under the Charter and reiterated "its total opposition to the policies of *apartheid* of the Government of South Africa". It recognized the legitimacy of the struggle of the oppressed people of South Africa in pursuance of their human and political rights, as set forth in the Charter and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. It urgently called upon the South African Government to release all persons imprisoned, interned or subjected to other restrictions as a result of the policies of *apartheid*. Finally, it decided "as a matter of urgency, to examine methods of resolving the present situation arising out of the policies of *apartheid* of the Government of South Africa".

11. The South African régime has again defied that resolution of the Security Council and has shown utter contempt for the authority of the Council. Instead of releasing persons imprisoned or restricted for their opposition to *apartheid*, it has imprisoned or banned a large number of persons in the past year, including several churchmen and students. Members of the Council are no doubt aware that only a few days ago it served banning and house arrest orders on the leaders of the National Union of South African Students, an organization which has adopted the Universal Declaration of Human Rights as its objective, and the leaders of the South African Students Organization, a black student organization.

12. The Security Council should therefore urgently consider more effective measures to resolve the grave situation in South Africa. It must consider appropriate action against the South African régime in the light of that régime's constant violation of its obligations as a Member of the United Nations.

13. In this connexion the attention of the Security Council has already been drawn to the request by the General Assembly, in resolution 2923 E (XXVII) adopted on 15 November 1972, that the Security Council consider urgently the situation in South Africa with a view to adopting effective measures under Chapter VII of the Charter. The Assembly has reaffirmed, by an overwhelming majority, its conviction that

"economic and other sanctions, instituted under Chapter VII of the Charter and universally applied, constitute one of the essential means of achieving a peaceful solution of the grave situation in South Africa".

14. The United Nations and Member States have repeatedly called for a peaceful solution to the situation in South Africa on the basis of the principles of the Charter. It may be recalled that in resolution 134 (1960) the Security Council requested the Secretary-General, in consultation with the South African Government, to make such arrangements as would adequately help in upholding the purposes and principles of the Charter. The discussion which were subsequently held by the late Secretary-General, Mr. Dag Hammarskjöld, with the Verwoerd régime in South Africa were fruitless because of the intransigence of that régime.

15. In resolution 191 (1964) of 18 June 1964, the Security Council invited the South African Government to accept the main conclusion of the Group of Experts on South Africa that "all the people of South Africa should be brought into consultation and should thus be enabled to decide the future of their country at the national level". It requested the Secretary-General to consider what assistance the United Nations may offer to facilitate such consultations among representatives of all elements of the population in South Africa and invited the South African Government to co-operate with the Secretary-General. The South African régime, however, spurned this invitation of the Council.

16. More recently, in 1969, the General Assembly endorsed by an almost unanimous vote [resolution 2505 (XXIV)] the Manifesto on Southern Africa of the Organization of African Unity. But, sad to say, again the South African régime has rejected the offer of a peaceful solution.

17. The United Nations has always been prepared to assist in a peaceful solution based on the principles of the Charter, but it cannot entertain any compromise of its principles. It cannot afford to be inactive when the policies and actions of the South African régime constantly aggravate the grave situation in South Africa and southern Africa as a whole.

18. On behalf of the Special Committee on *Apartheid*, and on the occasion of the International Day for the Elimination of Racial Discrimination, I appeal to the members of the Security Council to consider and apply all appropriate measures necessary to deal with the grave situation in South Africa and to secure the eradication of *apartheid*. It is imperative that the Council discharge its responsibilities under the Charter for the maintenance of international peace and security.

19. The racist régime of South Africa will soon be observing the twenty-fifth anniversary of its accession to power and the adoption of *apartheid*, which is a negation of the principles of the United Nations, as a State policy. It is almost a decade since the Summit Conference of Independent African States appealed, on behalf of the African Governments and peoples, for action by the Security Council. It is time that this Council responded effectively to the appeals of Africa and of the great majority of Member States and, above all, to the imperatives of the grave situation in South Africa and in southern Africa as a whole.

20. I should like to make a special appeal, on behalf of the Special Committee on *Apartheid*, to the main trading partners of South Africa, particularly the United Kingdom, the United States of America and France, to reconsider their attitudes and to facilitate effective action by the Security Council.

21. The Special Committee on *Apartheid* pledges to do all it can, in the discharge of its mandate, to assist the Council in its consideration of this matter.

22. Finally, as these meetings are being held in Latin America, I should like to express appreciation to the Governments and the peoples of Latin America for their opposition to *apartheid* and racial discrimination. One vacancy for the Latin American Group still exists on the Committee since the withdrawal of Guatemala, and I hope it will soon be filled.

23. The South African régime, I understand, has been making frantic efforts to forge and develop economic, political and military links with Latin American nations in order to "build a southern hemisphere". I have every confidence, however, that the Governments and peoples of Latin America will not fall prey to the manoeuvres of the racist régime and betray their loyalty to the principles of the United Nations and to human dignity, lest those 69 men, women and children shot in cold blood in Sharpeville would have died in vain and the innocent victims of *apartheid* in detention camps and gaols would continue to languish helplessly, without a ray of hope.

24. In the Declaration on the Occasion of the Twenty-fifth Anniversary of the United Nations, the States Members of the United Nations have solemnly declared:

"We strongly condemn the evil policy of *apartheid*, which is a crime against the conscience and dignity of mankind and, like nazism, is contrary to the principles of the Charter. We reaffirm our determination to spare no effort, including support to those who struggle against it, in accordance with the letter and spirit of the Charter, to secure the elimination of *apartheid* in South Africa."
[General Assembly resolution 2627 (XXV).]

25. Let us recall and reaffirm today, on this International Day, this solemn pledge and intensify the international efforts to secure the elimination of *apartheid*.

26. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): The next name on the list of speakers is that of the Secretary-General. I now call on him.

27. The SECRETARY-GENERAL: By proclaiming 21 March as the International Day for the Elimination of Racial Discrimination, the General Assembly, in 1966, underscored the unshakable determination of all Member States and their irrevocable commitment to achieve the promotion of fundamental freedoms and unqualified respect for the inherent dignity of all human beings. On this day, as we commemorate the victims of Sharpeville and those countless others in different parts of the world who have fallen victim to racial injustice, we solemnly rededicate ourselves to the full and speedy implementation of that enduring source of inspiration, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, with a view to securing the effective and universal recognition and observance of the basic principles of freedom and dignity for all men, women and children everywhere, without distinction as to race, sex, language and religion.

28. In memory of those who have sacrificed their lives in the fight for racial equality and the elimination of racial discrimination, the United Nations has endeavoured to intensify its own role in that struggle. In particular, we have worked tirelessly in the development of concrete programmes designed to assist governments, organizations and individuals in their efforts to eliminate racial discrimination and to promote racial harmony and equality. We have striven to develop the most effective ways and means to remove from the minds of men the prejudices and erroneous beliefs which give rise to racial conflicts and discrimination.

29. Notwithstanding the substantial gains made in this regard, however, we are profoundly conscious of how much remains to be accomplished before the complete achievement of the humanitarian aims and purposes enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations and before the full translation into reality of the principles and goals set forth in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. The remaining vestiges of racialism, the policies of *apartheid* and other manifestations of racial intolerance in all their forms continue to constitute a serious source of international tension, in particular in southern Africa.

30. It is perhaps symbolic that on this International Day for the Elimination of Racial Discrimination the Security Council is holding its meetings in this region of the world for the first time. The historic struggle of the people of Latin America towards the achievement of human equality, justice and freedom is all too well known. Inspired anew and guided afresh by the principles upheld by those champions of justice and freedom in Latin America, we in the international community must redouble our efforts to put an end to the practice of racial discrimination and the policies of *apartheid*. Each one of us should do his utmost to contribute his share to the United Nations objectives of peace, justice and progress, for these objectives hold the promise that all human beings may ultimately enjoy all the rights solemnly proclaimed in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

31. As I have stated on previous occasions, I shall, for my part, endeavour, within the framework of my responsibilities, to bring about the full and speedy implementation of the relevant decisions of the United Nations with regard

to racial discrimination. At the same time, I wish to repeat my earnest appeal to all governments, organizations and individuals to assist in the efforts of the United Nations in this regard.

32. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): The Secretary-General and Ambassador Ogbu, the Chairman of the Special Committee on *Apartheid*, have just made moving statements to the Council on the occasion of the celebration of the International Day for the Elimination of Racial Discrimination. They deserve our whole-hearted gratitude.

33. The fact that the celebration of the International Day for the Elimination of Racial Discrimination this year coincides with the series of meetings of the Security Council on Latin American soil constitutes, in my view, a happy coincidence, since Latin America pays tribute to human brotherhood. Racial equality was an ideal of those who liberated America and has become a complete reality in the course of Latin American history.

34. Through the broad pathways of Latin America all races move. Millions of Europeans, Asians and Africans reached our shores to mingle with our blood, to add breadth to our culture, to enrich our music, to share our joys, and to suffer our sorrows with us—in brief, to become a part of us.

35. Latin America is legitimately proud of its tradition in regard to the treatment of races, and it is therefore repugnant to its conscience and to its sensitivity that there exist practices, such as *apartheid*, whose ignominious design is to establish shameful differences based on the colour of the human skin. Consistent with this tradition, the Latin American delegations have from the outset lent their support to the struggle against racial discrimination which the United Nations and the Organization of African Unity have been waging in accordance with the purposes and principles of the Charter.

36. We must deplore the fact that all the efforts made have not so far yielded the desired results, and the world looks on with horror at the malignant extension of these practices to other regions of southern Africa and other parts of the world, and we Panamanians are affected by that, too. The perfidious resistance of the Government of South Africa to the resolutions of the General Assembly and of the Security Council is an affront to mankind which cannot be tolerated any longer.

37. What is needed is the political will to take firm action to remove this cancer which burns the body of Africa and other parts of the world. Once this decision is taken, our African brothers and those who suffer from these problems will, as in the past, have the most firm support of our nations.

38. I speak now as the representative of PANAMA.

39. I would say that we are convinced that the determination of the Organization of African Unity will lead it to success in its struggle. There should be co-operation between Latin America and the African continent, and we

gladly offer our co-operation in finding a solution to the problems of colonialism, *apartheid* and racial discrimination, scourges which continue to represent a threat to peace and security as well as to the stability of the African continent and other areas.

40. If in these historic meetings in Panama we have not taken up so important a problem and are not going to consider a draft resolution which would embody the feelings of our African brothers, that is simply because time does not allow.

41. The political philosophy expressed by the Chairman of the Special Committee on *Apartheid* today is the one that has to be followed because this, beyond doubt, is the most effective code to reflect what has to be done in order to put an end to abuse, raise the dignity of man and lay down ethical standards for social coexistence.

42. Panama wishes to announce that it will support any action that would bring to those who are today subjected to colonialism a system of government that is in accord with their aspirations and their capacity for self-government. Any voice of protest or of humanity will find a response among us, and Panama will always pronounce itself against the degrading political system based on racial discrimination, known as *apartheid*. My country will pronounce itself emphatically against white minorities which try to impose the policy of *apartheid* to the detriment of the vast national majorities of the African peoples.

43. I wish to speak now about specific cases.

44. The explosive situation prevailing in the African Territories which are still subject to colonial domination and to foreign occupation should be eradicated since it represents a threat to world peace and to the security of the African countries. It is obvious that most of Southern Rhodesia has no confidence in the Government of the Prime Minister, Ian Smith, because it is a spurious government, and therefore that Government must disappear and must be replaced by a régime of the majority, which would come about as the result of a political process based on majority rule.

45. The policy of Portugal regarding the colonial Territories it controls is not one my country can agree with. My country believes in the self-determination and freedom of peoples. Panama sympathizes with the patriots who are fighting for the independence of the Portuguese colonies of Angola, Mozambique and Guinea (Bissau). Panama shared the sorrow caused throughout the world by the cruel assassination of the great leader, Amílcar Cabral.

46. Panama wishes to announce that it supports the initiatives of the Chairman of the Special Committee on *Apartheid* expressed this morning. We know the colonialist argument that the Territory that seeks to be liberated is not yet ready for independence. We agree with the remark made by the representative of Argentina, Mr. Ortiz de Rozas, on an occasion when he said: "countries must be more alert than ever in preserving their sovereignty" [1630th meeting, para. 151].

47. We honestly feel that South Africa errs in trying to maintain the *status quo* and that it would be very wise of it to hand over to the international community without delay so-called responsibility for preparing the Namibians for their independence. We endorse the work of the United Nations Council for Namibia, which labours ceaselessly to enable the people of that Territory to attain its independence by a democratic process. We believe that it has been very useful for the Security Council to have the report presented last year by the President of the Council for Namibia. We saw much merit in the statement made in Addis Ababa by the representative of Trinidad and Tobago [1628th meeting], who is among us today, Mr. Seignoret, who was then Chairman of the Committee on *Apartheid*.

48. To be clearer, more specific and more decisive, we wish to state that we are in favour of all the liberation movements in the Portuguese colonies in Africa, as was stated by our Foreign Minister, Mr. Juan Antonio Tack, at the twenty-sixth session of the General Assembly.¹ We agree that every vestige of colonialism in the world must disappear and we identify ourselves with the third world because of the similarity of our problems in our struggle for the political and economic independence of our peoples.

49. The Latin American Group in the United Nations has played a very active role in the process of decolonization of the African continent. As recognition of its outstanding participation in the matters that are today the subject of our concern, we wish to recall, *inter alia*, the statements of great historical value of the erudite representative of Ecuador, Mr. Leopoldo Benites, who is expected to be the President of the General Assembly at its twenty-eighth session.

50. Panama suffers with its brothers in Africa, with every threat to the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of its nations. My delegation condemns every kind of colonialism in Africa, in Latin America and in Panama. In the Security Council the voices of the five African and Latin American representatives must in unison condemn every type of colonialism.

51. Since I am a fervent believer in the need for our peoples to seek public international support for the solution of their colonial problems, I shall in a few words refer to the main problem which afflicts my country in regard to colonialism. Panama feels that it is really authorized to speak about colonialism, since in a very small area of our territory the wealthiest nation of the world, with a facsimile of its own Government dividing our country in two, has concentrated the greatest resources known in the world.

52. This is the present status of discrimination in the Canal Zone today, 21 March 1973. As you know, any territory subjected to colonialism or to a colonial situation in any of its manifestations always suffers from a characteristic evil which goes with it: discrimination. Discrimination is the handmaiden too of the colonial enclave in the heart of Panama known as the Panama Canal Zone. Discrimina-

tion within the Canal Zone is practised in many forms. It is worth while to emphasize those which we consider most damaging to human dignity and which are precisely the forms of discrimination that are typical of colonialist situations.

53. These forms of discrimination relate particularly to the following aspects: first, discrimination in employment and wages; second, racial segregation in the Canal Zone; third, discrimination in education; fourth, discrimination in housing.

54. I shall now analyse discrimination in employment and wages. During 1972 the labour force in the so-called Panama Canal Zone was made up of 15,035 workers, of whom 14,017 were employed full time and 1,018 part time. Despite this, the number of workers decreased by 207 as compared with 1971. As for employment opportunities, it is worth while to point out that approximately 75 per cent of all the workers are not North Americans, and within this percentage the majority are of Panamanian nationality. Yet discrimination is made patent by the application of two formulas: security posts and higher-echelon posts reserved for North American employees.

55. We shall examine the first. For many years in the Canal Zone a series of so-called "security" posts have been created. These are held exclusively by United States citizens. These posts are arbitrarily determined and are not based on any analytical or scientific study of post classification. The intent is none other than to favour the North Americans over the non-North Americans. We observe that the posts of secretaries, filing clerks, office helpers, who actually do not deal with secret or confidential information that would justify the classification of security posts, are always held by North Americans, who receive better salaries and employment conditions. The creation of security posts, as I have said, does not follow any kind of prior analysis; a post which today is not a security post becomes one tomorrow when it is held by a North American citizen.

56. I pass to the second formula. Higher-echelon posts are also reserved for United States citizens. There are two major classifications: manual and non-manual. The first refers to tradesmen and those who do physical work, such as carpenters, labourers, plumbers, electricians, and so forth, and there are 16 grades in this classification. Among the first six grades the Panamanian and other non-North American workers constitute the majority. Basically it can be stated that the posts in the seventh to the sixteenth grades in this classification are normally held by North Americans. The second classification is non-manual posts and relates to work done by professionals, office staff and so forth. There are 15 grades in that classification. Non-North Americans usually occupy only posts in the first three grades, and all those in the remaining grades are occupied by North Americans.

57. This is how discrimination works; the higher-echelon posts are reserved for North Americans, excluding Panamanian and other non-North American nationals. Thus, as far as employment opportunities are concerned, we have these two outstanding discriminatory situations which are typical of colonialist enclaves or colonialist situations like the so-called Panama Canal Zone.

¹ See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-sixth Session, Plenary Meetings, 1955th meeting*.

58. But the most obvious proof of discrimination is in the wages paid to North Americans as compared to those paid to non-North Americans. Thus, 3,581 North Americans received during 1972 wages of \$57.8 million, whereas 10,436 non-North American workers—Panamanian, West Indians, Central Americans and other Indo-American nationals—received \$62.5 million. However, it should be noted that, in 1968, 4,010 North American employees received \$46 million in wages, whereas 11,314 non-North Americans received \$44 million. This means that, in 1968, one fourth of the total of the Canal Zone employees were receiving jointly more than the remaining three fourths, solely because of their nationality, that is to say, their race.

59. While it is true that there has been some improvement in the situation, it is no less true that wage discrimination persists in the Panama Canal Zone, which is part of our territory, and that that discrimination is a painful and irrefutable reality. Wage discrimination in the so-called Canal Zone is unjustifiably based on what is called a cut-off line, arbitrarily drawn through every group of posts, whether manual or non-manual.

60. Those who are above that cut-off line—the North Americans—receive wages equal to those paid for similar employment in the United States; whereas workers in the grades below the cut-off line—manual or non-manual workers, who are precisely the Panamanians and other non-North Americans—receive wages based on an arbitrary proportion related to the minimum salaries established in the Republic of Panama. Basically, it can be stated that this discriminatory practice is nothing less than the perpetuation of the “gold roll” and the “silver roll”, later called the “U.S. rate” and the “local rate”, and today called “security posts” and “non-security posts”. That is tantamount to saying that it is the same job with a different name, which is expressly contrary to current agreements, which call for non-discrimination in employment and salaries.

61. The next picture I shall draw for you will give you an idea of the exact number of employees of the Panama Canal Company, which runs the Canal Zone, broken down into North Americans and non-North Americans, and the salaries they received in 1972 which were equal to those of the United States, and the salaries at the local rate. The number of North Americans paid at the United States rate was 3,490; non-North Americans numbered 1,856. The number of North Americans paid at the Canal Zone rate was 91, and the number of non-North Americans was 8,580.

62. But that is not all: there are other characteristics of the racial segregation in the Canal Zone that is typical of every colonialist enclave where segregation is applied. This has been the case in the Canal Zone, as it is called, ever since the construction of the inter-oceanic Canal began, and subsists to date in many aspects. The North American authorities who govern the colonialist enclave known as the Canal Zone have for years been segregating the blacks into several communities, outstanding among which are the following: Pedro Miguel, with a population of 1,408; Paraíso, with a population of 1,659; Gamboa, also known as Santa Cruz, with a population of 2,102; and Rainbow City, with a population of 2,375.

63. There is yet another type of racial discrimination, which, since it is current in the United States of America, will, I think, be striking to my listeners: discrimination in education. Within this whole Panamanian territory which has the characteristics of a colonialist enclave there is discrimination in education. That is to say, for the nationals of the colonizing State, the best educational systems and physical facilities are offered. This type of discrimination is patent in the so-called Canal Zone, where there are two systems of education based on nationality: the North American system and the Latin American system. The latter has a curriculum very much inferior to the North American system. The proof of this is that the training of Latin American students does not prepare them for attending university, either in Panama or in the United States, or any other institute of higher learning. The main purpose is simply to train low-level English-speaking office help to serve the administration or operation of the Canal. In contrast, students in the North American system are prepared for university study, be it in the United States or elsewhere in the world. Finally, the mere fact of maintaining two educational systems based on nationality, and particularly the fact that those systems are of far greater benefit to the North Americans than to the non-North Americans, is patent proof of discrimination in education in the Panama Canal Zone.

64. As for teaching and school administration staff in the Canal Zone, here again there is clear discrimination. In fact, the non-North American teaching staff are not allowed to teach courses in the North American school system, even though they may hold degrees from the United States and be qualified to teach there. On the other hand, the North American teaching staff may teach courses both in the North American school system and in the schools where the Latin American educational system is applied.

65. Lastly, as for the physical and material advantages and conveniences of the installations, we can show members of the Security Council, by means of photographs or a tour of the Canal Zone, some of the school buildings for the North Americans and, as a contrast, the schools serving the Latin Americans.

66. Another mortifying manifestation of racial discrimination which might be of interest to you relates to housing. One of the most typical characteristics of any colony or colonial enclave is that of housing. It can easily be seen that by means of this type of racial discrimination, which is widely practised in the Canal Zone, the agents of the State which organizes and maintains this colonialist enclave derive the greatest benefits and conveniences in housing, as compared with the natives of the sovereign State and of other States. Discrimination in housing in the Canal Zone is based primarily on nationality and race: the best housing is built for the North Americans, particularly if they are white. On the other hand, the non-North Americans and the blacks live in either the old wooden three-storey houses or in the very small low-cost houses that are being built. The most obvious form of this type of discrimination in the Canal Zone can be seen by members of the Security Council in photographs which we can make available to them, and of course they can also observe it directly by taking a tour which we can offer them through the Zone.

67. I hope that this has been the most moving tribute I could pay to our brothers in Africa on this solemn day when we are commemorating the bloodshed which occurred because of the existence of *apartheid* on the African continent.

68. As PRESIDENT I call now on the representative of the United States.

69. Mr. SCALI (United States of America): I should like to request clarification on two points of order. Are we on the record? In other words, am I correct in understanding that, without our having adopted an agenda, this morning's proceedings at this point constitute part of a meeting of the Security Council? We feel that if the remarks just made by Ambassador Boyd are to appear in the verbatim record they should be clearly represented as the views of the representative of Panama, because in our view they are not befitting the high office of the President of the Council.

70. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): In reply to the representative of the United States I would say, first, that it is true that we have not yet taken up consideration of the agenda, but are at the moment paying a tribute that was planned and organized in agreement with the Secretary-General and the Chairman of the Special Committee on *Apartheid*. With regard to the United States representative's second point, I trust that in the verbatim record the distinction will be clear between the statement that I made on behalf of the Security Council, which was contained in the paper that I read out at the beginning, and the statement that I made when I spoke as representative of Panama. I felt in duty bound to inform our brothers in Africa, in Latin America and all over the world that we here in Panama know that colonialism exists, and that there is racism, and that racial discrimination is practised in the Canal Zone, even though it be "American style".

71. Mr. SCALI (United States of America): I thank the representative of Panama for his clarification. I was puzzled because the tenor of his remarks, in my view, did not seem to be in keeping with the moving addresses that we have heard on an occasion which, as I had understood it, was to mark an International Day for the Elimination of Discrimination.

72. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): I thank the Ambassador of the United States for his remarks.

73. As representative of PANAMA, I feel that I have paid a tribute to our brothers in Africa with the statement that I made.

74. Mr. MALIK (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*translation from Russian*): The delegation of the USSR would like to express its appreciation to our colleague and respected friend Ambassador Ogbu, the representative of Nigeria, for his initiative in raising at today's meeting of the Security Council the question of the Council's taking note of this important day established by the United Nations—the International Day for the Elimination of Racial Discrimination. The United Nations has long been concerned with this acute, pressing and important international problem. Racism, *apartheid* and racial discrimination in all

its forms and manifestations have repeatedly been condemned in United Nations decisions.

75. The Soviet delegations to all organs of the United Nations have taken a most active part in consideration of this question. This day is always widely celebrated in our country.

76. The great October Socialist Revolution of 1917 freed the peoples of Tsarist Russia from national oppression and racial discrimination. The family of Soviet peoples, made up of more than 100 nationalities and national groups, has been transformed into a single, friendly, fraternal family of peoples. Tsarist Russia was known as the "prison of peoples". The October Revolution freed the peoples of the Soviet Union from national and social oppression and gave them completely equal rights and opportunities in all aspects of life and in all activities, in education, health, access to training for trades and professions and to the diplomatic service.

77. I can recall a specific example from my personal experience. When I headed the Soviet Embassy in Japan, 17 nationalities were represented on my staff. I remember Lord Caradon's joke when he was representative of the United Kingdom to the Security Council; he told his colleagues to look at the "Russian" Soviet delegation in the Security Council: the head of the delegation was Ukrainian, the first deputy, Armenian, and the second deputy, a Jew. That, he said, was the Russian Soviet delegation in the Security Council. For him it was a joke; for us, the Soviet peoples, it is a political reality.

78. That is a practical example of the complete equality of all nationalities in our country. Thus the Soviet peoples, our Government and our Party are impassioned supporters and advocates of the elimination of all forms of racial discrimination, *apartheid* and national inequality. It is the Leninist nationality policy which has ensured for us the complete equality and full development of all our nations and national groups under the same conditions of social and national life.

79. The Leninist nationality policy was reaffirmed in decisions of the Twenty-fourth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union—a fact which was reflected specifically in a special, separate provision of the programme of peace, co-operation and friendship among peoples which was adopted by the Congress. This provision restated that all manifestations of racism and racial discrimination must be decisively condemned, that a boycott must be instituted and that all United Nations decisions on this question must be carried out.

80. At the twenty-seventh session of the General Assembly the delegation of the USSR took an active part in consideration of the questions of *apartheid* and racism and in the adoption by the Assembly of a special resolution [2910 (XXVII)] on the convening this year at Oslo of a conference on the struggle against *apartheid* and racism.

81. Ambassador Ogbu in his statement just made here referred to the death of one of Africa's outstanding sons, Amílcar Cabral, an impassioned fighter for the freedom and

independence of the African peoples, the enemy of colonialism, racial oppression and *apartheid* in all forms. His death is a reminder to all who are fighting against racism and *apartheid* to achieve national independence that they must be on their guard. The enemies of the freedom fighters will stop at nothing, even terrorism. This reminds us of the experience of our own revolution, when in the days and years following the revolution our enemies resorted to all possible measures: subversion, sabotage, terrorism and the murder of statesmen and party workers. Accordingly, those who, in our own time, are carrying on the struggle for the liberation of their peoples and are fighting against racial discrimination, national oppression and *apartheid* must always remember the slogan "Be vigilant, for the enemy never sleeps". Any attempts by the enemy to harm the national liberation movements and use terrorist tactics against those who are fighting for the liberation of peoples must be given the rebuff which such a struggle demands.

82. Mr. ODERO-JOWI (Kenya): I had not intended to speak at this stage, but because there is a risk of this occasion being marred by procedural exchanges I wish to make a few remarks and to put it on record that my people, my Government and my delegation here today regard this as a solemn occasion, a day dedicated to the international fight against racialism and racial discrimination.

83. The statements made on this occasion by the Secretary-General, by the Chairman of the Special Committee on *Apartheid* and by you, Mr. President, indicate very clearly the need to strengthen the forces fighting against racialism and racial discrimination.

84. In his statement the representative of Nigeria appealed to the friends of South Africa to put pressure on the South African Government so that it will eliminate racial discrimination and *apartheid* in that country. The appeal of my good friend the representative of Nigeria reminded me of a verse incorporated in a Christian song, one sung throughout the world wherever there are Christians, be they Catholics or Protestants, a song sung every Sunday throughout Europe and North America by Christians:

*Men whose boast it is
That ye come of fathers brave and free,
If there breathe on earth a slave,
Are ye truly brave and free?
If ye do not feel the chain
When it works a brother's pain,
Are ye not base slaves indeed,
Slaves unworthy to be free?*

The verse concludes by saying that true freedom consists in sharing the chains your brother wears. To the best of my information, that verse, which is now included in a Christian song, was written by none other than the notorious English slave trader, John Hawkins. I am informed that that verse was composed by him when he was somewhere on the coast of West Africa capturing slaves. I take it that it was composed on the coast which came to be known by slave traders as the Slave Coast. You see, Africa has gone through the indignity of being defiled, dehumanized. When slaves were the main commodity they

named a place in Africa the Slave Coast; when gold became the main commodity of international commerce, they named the place the Gold Coast, and so on.

85. It took the international community more than 300 years to understand the truth behind the slave trade. It took more than 300 years before nations in Europe were aroused to the truth that the slave trade was an evil. But no sooner had a number of nations of Europe asserted themselves for the abolition of the slave trade—and we are very grateful to them for that—than *apartheid* raised its ugly head in southern Africa. What the representative of Nigeria had to say is cruel testimony to the ordeal and suffering our brothers and sisters in southern Africa are going through. That reminds me of a verse in another Christian song sung everywhere by Christians, whether Protestants or Catholics. It goes something like this:

*Once to every man and nation
Comes the moment to decide
In the strife of truth with falsehood
For the good or evil side.*

86. The question we should like to ask is this: For how long will countries like the United States, the United Kingdom, France, West Germany and Italy continue to connive in and aid the practice of *apartheid*? What has gone wrong with the conscience of the people who run those Governments? What has gone wrong with their Christian conscience that makes them connive in and even aid and abet the practice of *apartheid*?

87. We Africans are most grateful to those nations, big and small, which have joined us in a common solidarity and a common front against *apartheid* and racialism, particularly in southern Africa. We Africans are determined—and I have said this many times—to resist racialism in southern Africa. We want to have it on record that we fully support all that you said, Mr. President, and all that the representative of Nigeria and the Secretary-General said on this occasion. This is a solemn occasion when the world must re-examine its conscience and decide whether or not racialism and particularly *apartheid* shall be tolerated any longer.

88. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): To conclude this tribute to the peoples of Africa, who are suffering more than any other peoples in the world from the rigours of *apartheid*, colonialism and racial discrimination, I shall read out for the record of today's meeting a document that has been handed to me by Ambassadors Abdulla of the Sudan, Jeanne Martin Cissé of Guinea, Odero-Jowi of Kenya and Sen of India:

"The African and Asian members of the Security Council express their thanks to the Latin American members of the Council for their initiative in introducing a draft resolution on colonialism during the Council's meetings in Panama City.

"The African and Asian members fully agree with the Latin American members that the elimination of colonialism in Africa, Latin America and Asia is a vital prerequisite to the maintenance and strengthening of international peace and security.

"The African and Asian members express their full satisfaction at the solidarity and support demonstrated by many speakers from Latin America in the statements in the Council.

"In view of this and of the limited time at the disposal of the Council in Panama, the African and Asian members would prefer that the meetings of the Council should be fully devoted to Latin American problems, in the full confidence that the mutual solidarity and co-operation between the three regions will continue to be consolidated and expressed by them over the question of decolonization at the United Nations and in other forums."²

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

89. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): In accordance with decisions previously taken by the Security 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.

90. I wish to inform members of the Council that the delegations of India and Indonesia have now added their names as sponsors of draft resolution S/10931/Rev.1, dealing with the question of the Panama Canal. This draft resolution now has eight sponsors: Guinea, India, Indonesia, Kenya, Panama, Peru, the Sudan and Yugoslavia.

91. As no one wishes to speak, I believe we should now allow some time for the consultations in progress to continue.

Tribute to Mr. Leonid Kutakov, Under-Secretary-General for Political and Security Council Affairs

92. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): Before adjourning the meeting, I wish to make a statement. I

have been informed that Mr. Leonid Kutakov, Under-Secretary-General for Political and Security Council Affairs, will be leaving his post in the near future. Since this may well be one of the last meetings of the Council at which we shall be able to count upon his assistance, I should like to address a few words of farewell to him on behalf of the members of the Council.

93. I would begin by thanking Mr. Kutakov for his total dedication and devotion to the tasks that he has so brilliantly carried out, his wise counsel and the outstanding way in which he has led his Department. He and his staff have made it possible for the Security Council to function smoothly. I personally am particularly grateful to him for the efforts he has made in connexion with the holding of these meetings of the Council in my country.

94. Throughout his years of service Mr. Kutakov has proved to us that he is indefatigable. In moments of grave international crises, the Council has always been able to count on him to be alert and ready to offer his help and his wisdom.

95. His devotion to work and his courtesy in dealing with all of us have been proverbial, and we can say exactly the same of his awareness of the problems and his ability to find solutions to them, when solutions can be found, or to create an atmosphere conducive to understanding. In other words, Mr. Kutakov possesses the tact that is expected from high international civil servants so that they can, effectively and with dignity, carry out the delicate tasks entrusted to them.

96. Those of us who have had the privilege of dealing with Mr. Kutakov personally and directly have been immediately won over by his courtesy, his human warmth and his fine sense of humour.

97. I am sure that Mr. Kutakov will carry out the new tasks entrusted to him with the same wisdom and efficiency with which he carried out those entrusted to him as Under-Secretary-General at the United Nations.

98. Finally, I wish him and his family good health, happiness and prosperity.

99. Mr. SEN (India): Mr. President, I formally move that the statement you have just made regarding Mr. Kutakov be considered as reflecting the unanimous opinion of the Council.

The meeting rose at 1.15 p.m.

² Quoted in English by the speaker.

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