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NOTE

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SIXTEEN HUNDRED AND NINETY-NINTH MEETING

Held in the Legislative Palace, Panama City, on Monday, 19 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/1699)

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 10.30 a.m.

Tribute to the memory of Mr. Mangalam Chacko

1. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): Before the Council takes up the item on its agenda I wish to pay a tribute to the memory of Mr. Mangalam Chacko, who recently died in the city of New York. Mr. Chacko gave eminent service to the United Nations in many posts in the Secretariat. He died while carrying out the very delicate duties of Deputy Under-Secretary-General of the Department of Political and Security Council Affairs. In that capacity Mr. Chacko had served during recent years as Secretary of the First Committee of the General Assembly and of a number of other Committees, particularly the very important Special Committee on Peace-Keeping Operations.
2. Mr. Chacko's death spells a real loss to the Organization, since he was a true model of an international civil servant. His dedication to the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations, his devotion to his work, and his sense of responsibility in the fulfilment of his duties earned him the respect, admiration and affection of all those who came into contact with him.
3. We all know that, in addition to the qualities I have just mentioned, Mr. Chacko also had the common touch and human warmth that turned his official contacts into relations of personal friendship.
4. As President of the Security Council I have addressed to his bereaved family the following telegram of condolence:

"On behalf of the Security Council I should like to express to you our deep feelings of grief at the untimely

death of your outstanding husband. We share your grief because his passing means for the Council the loss of one of its most worthy associates.

"May I assure you that all of us on the Security Council will always remember your husband as a man for whom we had the greatest respect and esteem, confidence and friendship.

"While I am aware that your personal loss cannot be alleviated, I wish you to know that all of us share that sense of loss. On behalf of the Security Council I extend our deepest condolences to all the family."

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

5. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): In accordance with decisions previously taken by the Council [1696th-1698th meetings] and with its consent, I invite the representatives of Algeria, Argentina, Bolivia, Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, Cuba, 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.
6. I should like to inform the Council that I have received letters from the representatives of Canada and the Dominican Republic in which they request to be allowed to participate, without the right to vote, in our deliberations, in accordance with Article 31 of the Charter. In keeping with past practice, and with the consent of the Council, I propose to invite those representatives to participate, without the right to vote, in our debates and to take the places reserved for them in the Council chamber, on the understanding that they will be invited to take a place at the Council table when they wish to make a statement.

At the invitation of the President, the representatives of Canada and the Dominican Republic took the places reserved for them.

7. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): I wish to draw the attention of members of the Council to document S/10930, which contains a letter dated 16 March

1973, to the President of the Security Council from the representatives of Guinea, Kenya and the Sudan. In that letter the three representatives request that the Council, under rule 39 of its provisional rules of procedure, invite Mr. Mamadou Diarra, Executive Secretary of the Organization of African Unity at the United Nations, to address the Council on behalf of the OAU. As I hear no objection I take it that the Council agrees to extend an invitation to Mr. Mamadou Diarra and I shall invite him at the appropriate moment to make a statement.

It was so decided.

8. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): In addition, I wish to inform members of the Council that I have received a letter, dated 16 March 1973, from 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. In that letter the Chairman of the Special Committee requests, in accordance with a decision adopted by that body, that he be permitted, in his capacity as Chairman of the Special Committee to address the Council during its current series of meetings away from Headquarters. In view of that request, I would suggest that the Council extend an invitation under rule 39 of its provisional rules of procedure to the Chairman of the Special Committee.

9. Finally, I wish to inform the Council that I have also received a letter, dated 13 March 1973, from the Chairman of the Special Committee on *Apartheid*. In that letter the Chairman of the Special Committee requests, in accordance with a decision taken by that body, that he be given the opportunity to address the Council on behalf of the Special Committee on the occasion of the International Day for the Elimination of Racial Discrimination. In view of that request, I wish to propose that the Council also extend an invitation under rule 39 of its provisional rules of procedure to the Chairman of the Special Committee on *Apartheid*.

10. Accordingly, at the appropriate moment and with the consent of the Council, I shall invite the Chairmen of these two Committees to make a statement.

It was so decided.

11. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): The first name on the list of speakers is that of the representative of Trinidad and Tobago, Ambassador Eustace Seignoret. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

12. Mr. SEIGNORET (Trinidad and Tobago): Mr. President, allow me to begin by expressing the thanks of my delegation to you and the members of the Security Council for your invitation to me to participate in its work on the question now on the agenda.

13. My delegation together with all the other members of the Latin American group, gave early endorsement and support to the intention of the Government of Panama to invite this Council to hold a series of meetings in its capital. Having spent the greater part of a week in this country, I

wish to register my deep appreciation of the excellent arrangements that have been made for our reception and comfort and for the facilities which we have enjoyed for the discharge of our responsibilities. I am very happy to have had this opportunity to visit a sister Latin American country, particularly one which, like my own, has shores washed by the Caribbean Sea.

14. It is worth mentioning that the Caribbean area was the theatre in which during the so-called age of discovery the foundations of more than one European empire were laid. It is also worthy of note that it is in this area, where colonialism began some three centuries ago, that some of the last examples of the colonial relationship persist. The historical residue of this period of human relations is still with us in the form of situations, some more dangerous than others, all of which had their origins in a time when relations between strong and weak peoples were dominated at worst by cruel rapacity, at best by demoralizing paternalism.

15. Many representatives who have preceded me in this debate have discussed the valuable general considerations and principles which are more and more being accepted by States, and being given the quasi-regulatory function which they must have if States are to succeed in harmonizing their actions for the attainment of the purposes of the United Nations. Others have given rather more emphasis to a number of specific situations requiring settlement. Of the specific situations which have been discussed, the one which has dominated the thinking and concern of all who have spoken is that difficult and dangerous matter—the Panama Canal question. For some delegations this is a particularly difficult problem because of the close and friendly relations which exist between their countries and the Republic of Panama and the United States of America. My delegation finds itself so placed; however, the question has to be faced. It cannot be denied that the Panama Canal links two mighty oceans and divides a small developing country. That is a visible fact. It cannot be denied that the Governments of Panama and the United States are agreed that the existing situation is intolerable and must be changed—witness the Joint Declaration¹ signed by both Governments before the Council of the Organization of American States in April 1964 and the negotiations between the two countries which took place subsequently.

16. My delegation believes that these two Governments, these two countries which have so much to gain from bringing into being a mutually satisfactory arrangement for the Canal, must be encouraged to resume negotiations with the least possible delay on the basis of the principles of international relations which have come to be accepted in the contemporary world. Trinidad and Tobago supports Panama in its determination to reach a fair and just agreement.

17. Many representatives who have preceded me have drawn attention to the fundamental principles which must be observed faithfully if mutually acceptable results are to be achieved at a mutually acceptable rate of progress. We

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

hope that the discussion in this august Council will strengthen the determination of both sides to reach an early settlement and help to create a political climate which will enable the arrangements of a bygone era to be brought up-to-date and made to conform with the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations.

18. Another of the historical residues which has been dealt with is the avoidance by regional organizations of adherence to the principles of universality and non-discrimination in relations between States. The Minister of Foreign Affairs of Guyana, in his intervention at the 1696th meeting of the Council, read into the records of the Council the Declaration made by the Prime Ministers of Barbados, Guyana, Jamaica, and Trinidad and Tobago at the conclusion of the Seventh Conference of Heads of Government of Commonwealth Caribbean Countries held at Chaguaramas, Trinidad and Tobago, in October 1972. That Declaration, adopted after due reflection and careful examination of all its parts, calls for an end to the outmoded exclusionary arrangements and expresses the resolve of the Governments of the four countries to adopt all necessary measures to bring such exclusionary arrangements to an end within the inter-American system.

19. Similarly, the Government of Trinidad and Tobago, together with other Governments in our regional organization, sought to end the isolation of the valiant people of Cuba from the inter-American system. More than two years ago the head of the Government of Trinidad and Tobago called for the first step in this process to be made. Before a meeting of the Inter-American Economic and Social Council held in Caracas he proposed and argued for the abandonment of the policy of isolation of Cuba from the regional economic and social institutions. Last December, my Government, together with the Governments of Barbados, Guyana and Jamaica, established diplomatic relations with Cuba—the clearest possible indication which could be given of our conviction that Cuba's isolation from the inter-American system should be terminated.

20. Yet another vexatious remnant of the past is the situation concerning the internally self-governing Territory of Belize. The representatives of Guyana [1696th meeting] and Jamaica [1698th meeting] have dealt with the aspirations of the people of British Honduras for self-determination and independence and the factors governing their progress towards the fulfilment of those aspirations. The representative of Guatemala, exercising his right of reply [ibid], stated categorically that the Territory of British Honduras was Guatemalan and that his country's rights to that Territory were inalienable and imprescriptible. The representative of the United Kingdom, also in exercise of his right of reply [ibid], declared that there was no doubt in British minds as to their sovereignty over that Territory. Both those representatives have indicated that they do not consider the question of Belize as being on the agenda and that they see no reason why it should be. Trinidad and Tobago does not wish to reopen the matter. The language we shall use is inspired by the desire to let the matter rest at this time, without failing in our duty to say that the Government of Trinidad and Tobago supports the legitimate aspirations of the people of British Honduras to exercise their inalienable right to self-determination and independence.

21. We are confronted here with a serious and difficult problem. The positions of the parties to the dispute, Guatemala and Great Britain, appear to be irreconcilable. But neither the people of Guatemala nor the people of Great Britain have anything at stake in this dispute so important and fundamental as have the people of Belize. Through no fault of their own, through none of their contriving, through the passage of time they have developed a consciousness of themselves as a community separate and distinct from all others in the world, living on territory with known and defined boundaries. What is at stake for this community is whether or not it will be able to live in a State of its choice in peaceful and friendly co-operation with all its neighbours.

22. The question is about the rights of people to have the rights which we have and which justify us all in sitting around this table. In mentioning this matter I should like to repeat that my concern is not to argue the case involving Guatemala and the United Kingdom. My concern is to focus attention on the people in that Territory and on their right to self-determination and independence. We earnestly hope that a way will be found to enable the people of British Honduras to enjoy their basic human rights and to enter into an era of peaceful co-operative activity of their choosing with their neighbours, thereby strengthening international peace and security in the area and creating the best conditions for the serene development of all our peoples.

23. I cannot leave the question of colonialism without paying a tribute to the Governments and peoples of the other emerging Territories and the administering Power for so widely charting the course toward independent statehood. My delegation endorses what has been said about those developments by the representatives who have preceded me. May I add our hope that these valuable lessons of co-operation between an administering Power and a colonial Territory will encourage others, particularly those outside this hemisphere, to abandon the use of repressive force and open warfare in order to preserve the anachronism of their foreign rule and domination of other peoples.

24. This is the second successive year that the Security Council has left New York to hold a series of meetings in a developing country. On each occasion the Council examined various aspects of the matter and, if I may be forgiven for stating the obvious, on both occasions decided to hold such meetings. I had the opportunity of attending last year's meetings of the Council in Addis Ababa and therefore know by direct experience what the members of the Council have put into the record—namely, that those meetings were most useful because they enabled the Council to concentrate on the problems of a given area, meeting in the area and therefore in fuller view of the people involved in those problems.

25. The representative of Yugoslavia stated at the 1685th meeting of the Council:

“The meetings of the Security Council in Africa actually opened a new chapter in its work and constituted an effective utilization of the possibility that the Charter, in its wisdom has provided for the Council.” [Para. 53.]

He went on to say that the Council should not wait for a problem to be escalated into a crisis and a crisis into an armed conflict before dealing with it. The representative of Kenya stated at the same meeting that the Security Council, as the United Nations organ having primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security, not only should develop a global presence and capability in the interests of peace and security but should also systematically increase and assert its presence.

26. The Minister for Foreign Affairs of Guyana, noting that the Security Council spends most of its time occupied with specific threats and actual breaches of world peace, said that too little time was set aside for the essential tasks of review and appraisal of general situations which might contain elements of potential international friction or could give rise to a dispute [1696th meeting]. Finally, in a document dated 12 December 1972,² the Government of Austria, in response to General Assembly resolution 2864 (XXVI), suggested that the Security Council, in the future, consider, from time to time and whenever conditions seemed appropriate, having recourse to Article 28, paragraph 3, of the Charter and holding the meetings of the Security Council in a different environment, if such environment appeared in one way or the other to be conducive to the expected solution of a given political issue.

27. I have expressed my delegation's support for use by the Security Council of the opportunities provided by the Charter in Article 28, paragraph 3, through some of the contributions to the exchange of ideas on this question made by a small number of those States Members of the United Nations which have expressed their views.

28. Allow me to end with an extract from the statement made by the representative of Indonesia at the 1686th meeting of the Council, while he was President of the Council. He said:

"Apart from considerations based upon its substantive work, the Security Council, through meetings away from Headquarters, will be in a position to project itself more directly to the peoples of the region where such meetings are held. Through such meetings also the members of the Council will have the opportunity not only to obtain first-hand knowledge of the problems of the region but also to acquire a sense of involvement in those problems." [Para. 124.]

29. It is the hope of my delegation that the Security Council Committee on Council Meetings away from Headquarters will be able to meet as foreshadowed in paragraph 18 of its second report [S/10868] and succeed in developing further and positively the Council's ideas on this question.

30. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): The next name on the list of speakers is that of the representative of Zambia, Paul Lusaka, President of the United Nations Council for Namibia. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

² A/8847/Add.1.

31. Mr. LUSAKA (Zambia): Mr. President, I wish to associate myself with you in paying a tribute to the late Mr. Chacko. The United Nations Council for Namibia, with which Mr. Chacko was closely associated and which he served with devotion and dedication, has already sent a telegram of deep condolences to Mr. Chacko's bereaved family.

32. Mr. President, on 8 March 1973 [1692nd meeting], I had the opportunity to congratulate you on your assumption of the high office of President of the Security Council. The Council, as will be readily recalled, was then discussing the report³ of its Special Mission established under resolution 325 (1973) following acts of aggression committed against my country by the illegal white minority régime of Southern Rhodesia in collusion with the racist Government of South Africa.

33. I have pleasant memories of your sympathetic understanding and readiness to help in spite of your heavy schedule and demands connected with the current meetings of the Security Council. The fact that the Council was able to conclude the consideration of the item in the very limited time at its disposal, is a tribute to the high calibre of leadership that you brought to bear on it. I would, therefore, not let this opportunity go by without expressing the deep gratitude of the Government and people of Zambia to you.

34. It is the desire of my country to strengthen further the relations between our countries and peoples. Your own delegation at the United Nations and that of Peru were, among others, sponsors of the two draft resolutions which were adopted by the Council on 10 March [328 (1973) and 329 (1973)]. You yourself had this to say during the consideration of the report of the Special Mission:

"My delegation wishes to express its sincere gratitude to the Special Mission and to announce that it will lend full support to the recommendations contained in the report for the benefit of Zambia." [1694th meeting.]

35. My country is familiar with the difficulties Panama is facing as regards its full exercise of independence, territorial integrity and sovereignty. We are familiar also with Panama's noble aspirations which are designed to reach reasonable arrangements regarding the Canal Zone—arrangements which will bring peace, security, socio-economic development and dignity to Panama.

36. As evidenced at Georgetown, Guyana, last August,⁴ many States in Latin America and the Caribbean either are full members of the family of non-aligned countries or enjoy observer status in the movement. These countries have, from time to time, advocated the need to strengthen international peace and security in the world. There exists today tremendous economic co-operation particularly between Zambia on the one hand and Chile and Peru on the other, since all the three are producers of copper. Unfortunately, like many others in this hemisphere, they have been and continue to be targets of outside economic and other

³ Official Records of the Security Council, Twenty-eighth Year, Special Supplement No. 2.

⁴ Conference of Foreign Ministers of Non-Aligned Countries.

forms of coercion or pressures, thereby threatening their peaceful and progressive development.

37. It is against that background that my country attaches great importance to the current meetings of the Security Council in this beautiful city of Panama. The Council, as the custodian of international peace and security, should take effective action to bring to fruition the expectations of the people of Panama and indeed those of all of Latin America. Zambia will support fully any measures that may ensure for the States of Latin America the safety of their territorial integrity and sovereignty. Only in a climate of peace will these States be able to effect to the maximum their own political, economic and social changes for the benefit of their people.

38. Permit me to seize this opportunity to speak in my capacity as President of the United Nations Council for Namibia and to convey on its behalf felicitations and appreciation to the States of Latin America for the stalwart manner in which they have supported the Council. The annals of the United Nations are replete with recordings of the strong support given by these States to the Council for Namibia.

39. These States were among the majority of Members of the United Nations which voted in the General Assembly for the termination of South Africa's Mandate over Namibia. Their affirmative vote was a response to the call for freedom and dignity for the people of Namibia. It was also a response to the blatant defiance by South Africa of the United Nations resolutions. They expressed support for the independence of Namibia when they sponsored and voted in favour of resolution 2248 (S-V) of 19 May 1967, to establish, *inter alia*, a United Nations Council for South West Africa, which was subsequently redesignated as United Nations Council for Namibia in accordance with resolution 2372 (XXII) of 12 June 1968.

40. Some States of Latin America were among the first 11 members of the Council for Namibia. When the membership of the Council was recently enlarged from 11 to 18, States of Latin America were included also in the enlarged membership.

41. It is extremely encouraging to note that the goodwill and support of Latin America is assured in the struggle to win independence for Namibia. This is all the more important now because South Africa is continuing its illegal occupation of the Territory of Namibia and also is continuing to apply its destructive and repressive measures to the people of Namibia in defiance of the United Nations. Most of us are aware what the present evil and oppressive system in South Africa implies in terms of human misery and turmoil.

42. The record of the United Nations will show very clearly that the States of Latin America are included in the forward echelon of the march towards political freedom, social progress and economic improvement for all mankind. There is no doubt that the States of Latin America will not retreat until liberty and its blessings are extended to all those who still remain under the yoke of colonialism—for example, the people of Namibia, who continue to suffer

not only from the evils of South Africa's *apartheid* policies but also from the Balkanization of their Territory by Pretoria.

43. Finally, Mr. President, may I express my deep thanks and gratitude to the Government and people of the Republic of Panama for the very warm hospitality they have extended to us.

44. Mr. HUANG Hua (China) (*translation from Chinese*): Over a year ago, the Security Council successfully held its special meetings in Africa. Today, at the request of the Panamanian Government and with the support of other Latin American countries, the Council is meeting in Latin America. This is the first time that the Council has met in either of these two regions since the founding of the United Nations. This shows that in the 28 years since the end of the Second World War important changes have taken place in the international situation and international relations, great progress has been made in the national independence movement of the peoples of Africa and Latin America, and the third world countries are enjoying an increasingly higher and stronger position and role in international affairs.

45. The Chinese delegation is pleased to attend the Security Council meetings in Latin America, and we should like to take this opportunity to extend our cordial greetings and high respects to the peoples of Panama and other Latin American countries and express our sincere thanks to the Panamanian Government, which has provided facilities for these meetings. The Chinese delegation hopes that, through our joint efforts, these meetings can make due contributions towards supporting the Latin American peoples in their struggle to defend their national independence, sovereignty and national resources and oppose super-Power aggression, interference, subversion, plunder and control.

46. Having listened carefully to the important statements made by a number of delegations, the Chinese delegation would now like to make the following observations.

47. First, Latin America is a beautiful and rich continent. The industrious and intelligent peoples of Latin America have created a brilliant civilization and made great contributions to human progress. With the barbarous invasion by the European colonialists after the end of the fifteenth century, Latin American regions were reduced to colonies of Spain, Portugal and other countries one after another, and the peoples of Latin America were subjected to brutal plunder, enslavement and exploitation. However, the fiercer the oppression the stronger the resistance. The heroic and indomitable peoples of Latin America have waged arduous struggles for national independence and liberation. From the end of the eighteenth century to the beginning of the nineteenth century, starting with the revolution of Haiti, the flames of national liberation wars swept the whole of the Latin American continent, and the much-oppressed Indians, black people and creoles, united as one and advancing wave upon wave, fought hard for more than three decades and finally smashed the Spanish and Portuguese colonial systems in Latin America, adding a glorious chapter to the annals of the struggle of the world's colonial peoples.

48. The road of revolution is tortuous. After the independence of a number of Latin American countries, colonialism and imperialism, refusing to give up their sinister designs, have continued their oppression, interference and infiltration against the Latin American countries by every possible means and in different forms. Particularly since the beginning of this century, United States imperialism, under the signboard of "pan-Americanism", has subjected the Latin American countries to aggression and enslavement, plunging the Latin American peoples into continued dire misery. To date, imperialist and colonialist oppression and control are still menacing the independence and security of the Latin American countries and peoples. The struggle of the Caribbean colonial peoples for independence continues to be suppressed and sabotaged. Foreign military bases and foreign troops still remain on the territories of some Latin American countries. The territories and sovereignty, national resources and economic lifelines of many Latin American countries are still being subjected to infringement, plunder and control. However, the Latin American peoples are no docile slaves of imperialism. They have waged unflinching struggles to achieve and safeguard national independence, winning one victory after another. We are pleased to note that in recent years new changes have taken place in the situation of Latin America. A number of newly independent countries have continued their advance on the road of national independence. There has been greater progress in the Latin American peoples' struggle to safeguard national independence, sovereignty and maritime rights and to defend their national resources and develop their national economies. The Latin American countries and peoples are getting united on an ever-broader scale in their common struggle against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism. At the various meetings in the United Nations, a great number of Latin American countries, together with other countries of the third world, have resolutely defended the principles of national self-determination and non-interference, firmly opposed the hegemony of big countries bullying the small and strong ones bullying the weak, and strongly condemned super-Power economic monopoly, plunder and expansion. The Latin American countries and peoples have become an active force in the third world, playing an increasingly greater role in international affairs together with the Asian and African countries and peoples.

49. Second, the holding of Security Council meetings now in Latin America is of particular significance. It gives us an opportunity to know the concrete situation in Latin America on the spot. Let us start by reviewing the question of the Panama Canal Zone. As is known to all, the Panama Canal Zone is an inalienable part of the sacred territory of the Republic of Panama. At the turn of the century, the United States imposed an unequal treaty on the Panamanian people, whereby it has forcibly occupied the Panama Canal, stationed large numbers of troops in the Canal Zone and enforced a colonial rule there. This constitutes a violation of the territorial integrity and State sovereignty of the Republic of Panama as well as a threat to the independence and security of all Latin American countries. The Panamanian people have waged long and heroic struggles against United States aggression and for the recovery of their sovereignty over the Canal Zone. They have won the sympathy and support of the people of Latin

America and the rest of the world. Like the Panamanian people, the Chinese people used to be the victim of imperialist aggression, expansion and unequal treaties over a long period. The Chinese Government and people fully understand, deeply sympathize with and actively support the Panamanian Government and people in their patriotic struggle. Recently the Panamanian Government has reaffirmed the inviolability of the territory and sovereignty of the Canal Zone and demanded the abrogation of the unequal treaty, an end to the colonial rule in the Canal Zone and the gradual recovery of the entire jurisdiction over the Zone within a set time-limit. The Panamanian Government's position is just and its demand reasonable. We firmly support them. We believe that, so long as the heroic Panamanian people strengthen their unity and persevere in their struggle, they will certainly win final victory in recovering their territory and sovereign right over the Canal Zone.

50. Third, the struggle in defence of the 200 nautical-mile maritime rights initiated by the Latin American countries and peoples is a struggle of the small- and medium-sized countries to protect their marine resources and oppose super-Power maritime hegemony. In recent years this struggle has grown in depth and momentum. The one or two super-Powers have been frustrated repeatedly in their attempt to undermine the unity and struggle of the Latin American countries by threat and cajolery. The Latin American countries have openly exposed the super-Powers' despicable act of imposing so called economic sanctions, detained the latter's piratic fishing boats which have intruded into their territorial seas, and waged tit-for-tat struggles against the super-Powers which have fallaciously described the claim for the 200 nautical-mile territorial sea as a "violation of international law", "infringement upon the rights and interests of other countries" and as creating international "confusion" and "conflict". By their strong will and heroism the Latin American countries and peoples have greatly encouraged the small- and medium-sized countries in their struggle against power politics and hegemony. At present the struggle in defence of maritime rights is mounting rapidly and has formed a gigantic torrent, vigorously pounding at the super-Power hegemonic position of seeking monopoly over the seas and oceans.

51. We have consistently held that countries, big or small, should be equal. All coastal countries are entitled to determine reasonably the limits of their territorial seas and jurisdiction according to their geographical conditions, taking into account the needs of their security and national economic interests, and have the right to dispose of their natural resources in their coastal seas, sea-bed and the subsoil thereof. This is the sovereign right of every country which other countries should respect. The super-Powers have no right to impose their will on others. We are resolutely opposed to the arbitrary and peremptory acts of one or two super-Powers and their schemes to narrow down the limit of the territorial seas of other countries.

52. Fourth, at present the main threat to world peace comes from the imperialist policies of aggression and war. The super-Powers, which possess a huge amount of nuclear weapons, keep on stepping up their nuclear arms race. They have established nuclear bases and stationed nuclear troops

on the territories of other countries; their planes, warships and submarines carrying nuclear weapons are flying or plying everywhere, posing a grave threat to the security of the people of various countries. In order to oppose the imperialist policies of aggression and war, and to safeguard peace and security in Latin America, the peoples of Latin American countries have put forward the just proposal for the establishment of a nuclear-weapon-free zone in Latin America. The Chinese Government attaches great importance to and supports the efforts of the Latin American countries for the denuclearization of Latin America. In his note of 14 November 1972, the Chinese Foreign Minister, Chi Peng-fei, solemnly declared on behalf of the Chinese Government:

"China will never use or threaten to use nuclear weapons against non-nuclear Latin American countries and the Latin American nuclear-weapon-free zone, nor will China test, manufacture, produce, stockpile, install or deploy nuclear weapons in these countries or in this zone, or send her means of transportation and delivery carrying nuclear weapons to traverse the territory, territorial sea and territorial air space of Latin American countries".⁵

We are pleased to find that China's position regarding the Latin American nuclear-free zone has been welcomed and understood by many Latin American countries.

53. It must be pointed out that owing to the super-Powers' continued refusal to undertake not to use nuclear weapons against the Latin American nuclear-weapon-free zone or to dismantle the military bases in Latin America, and to undertake not to send means of transportation and delivery carrying nuclear weapons to traverse the territory, territorial sea and air space of Latin American countries, Latin America still cannot be freed from the threat of nuclear war. A certain super-Power, while talking profusely about supporting the establishment of a Latin American nuclear-weapon-free zone, has created one pretext after another for refusing to undertake commitments regarding it. Therefore, unremitting struggles must be waged against the super-Power policies of nuclear threat and nuclear blackmail in order truly to bring about a Latin American nuclear-weapon-free zone. The Chinese Government has consistently stood for the complete prohibition and thorough destruction of nuclear weapons. We are ready to work together with the peoples of Latin America for the attainment of this lofty goal.

54. Fifth, Latin America has very rich natural resources and an enormous potential for the development of the economy. But the economy of most Latin American countries has so far remained underdeveloped in varying degrees. This is a malignant result of the prolonged colonial rule and imperialist aggression. It has been the common aspiration of the Latin American countries and peoples to alter the lop-sided unitary economy, rid themselves of their dependence on the super-Powers, and attain an independent status and equal rights in international economic relations. In recent years Latin America has seen a new upsurge in the struggle to safeguard national independence, protect national resources and develop the national economy. Many

Latin American countries have tightened their control, restriction and management of foreign capital and have nationalized a number of foreign monopoly enterprises which were manipulating their national economy and people's livelihood, and infringing upon their independence and sovereignty. The Latin American countries have continuously expanded the economic and trade relations between themselves. The formation and growth of the Andean Group and other regional organizations have played an important part in the unity, co-operation and mutual support among the Latin American countries. In the struggle to protect the interests in the export of such traditional products as petroleum and copper and to oppose the imperialist monopoly of international markets and shifting of economic crises, the Latin American countries are becoming united with the Asian and African countries on an ever-broader scale. The super-Powers have been strongly condemned by the people throughout the world for using what they call international economic co-operation as a means to retaliate and to exert political and economic pressure upon those Latin American countries which firmly oppose super-Power economic aggression.

55. Like the Latin American countries, China is also a developing country. The Chinese Government and people deeply sympathize with and firmly support the Latin American countries and peoples in their just struggle to safeguard national independence, protect national resources and develop the national economy. We know from our own experience that for the independent development of national economy, it is most essential to rely on one's own strength and to wage a protracted arduous struggle in pursuance of the policy of relying mainly on one's own efforts while seeking external assistance as an auxiliary. The Chinese Government and people are glad to note that many Latin American countries and people are gradually changing their economic outlook and improving the people's livelihood in a planned way while taking into account the actual conditions and possibilities at home, and that they have achieved successes. We believe that the industrious and courageous Latin American people will certainly surmount various difficulties, rid themselves of imperialist, colonialist and neo-colonialist control and interference and attain independence and a happy life.

56. On this occasion the Chinese delegation cannot but point out that despite the steady upsurge of the Latin American peoples' struggles to achieve and safeguard national independence, the United Nations, under obstruction and sabotage by the super-Powers, have over a long period failed firmly to support and reasonably to meet the many legitimate wishes and demands of the Latin American countries. Today such a state of affairs must not continue any longer. The United Nations should, in accordance with the purposes and principles of the Charter, truly respond to the just demands of the Latin American countries and peoples and play its due role for their just cause of opposing imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism and achieving and defending national independence.

57. The Chinese delegation holds that the Security Council should support the struggle for independence waged by the colonial peoples in the Caribbean that have not yet achieved independence; it should support the

⁵ See A/C.1/1028.

struggle of the Panamanian people to recover their territory and sovereignty over the Canal Zone; it should support the Cuban people's struggle to recover Guantánamo, where the United States is maintaining its military base; it should demand the withdrawal of all foreign troops and the dismantling of all foreign military bases from Latin America; it should support the struggle of the Latin American countries and peoples to safeguard national independence, protect national resources and develop the national economy.

58. The Latin American people are the masters of Latin America. The affairs of Latin America should be settled only by the Latin American countries and people themselves; no foreign interference is permissible. The Chinese Government and people have always regarded as their own struggle those of the Latin American peoples to safeguard their independence and sovereignty, to defend their natural resources and develop their national economies; and we have regarded their victories in these struggles as our own. The Chinese Government and people will unswervingly stand together with the countries and peoples of Latin America, and we shall fight shoulder to shoulder and march forward together.

59. Mr. ANWAR SANI (Indonesia): Mr. President, my delegation would like to associate itself with your words of tribute and condolences with regard to the passing away of Mr. Chacko. In the short period since Indonesia became a member of the Security Council my delegation had come to appreciate the valuable assistance which Mr. Chacko so kindly extended to us as a newcomer to this Council.

60. Mr. President, I should like to express on behalf of my delegation and on my own behalf, my most profound gratitude to the Government and people of Panama for the cordial and colourful reception and for the warm hospitality accorded to us. May I add that the friendly people and the tropical climate and surroundings make us Indonesians feel very much at home. May I also express my delegation's sincere appreciation and thanks for the excellent arrangements made by the Government of Panama for the Council meetings, which I am sure will be most helpful to the successful conclusion of our deliberations.

61. It is a particular pleasure for the Indonesian delegation to attend these meetings of the Security Council, being held for the first time in Latin America, an area which has always contributed, and continues to do so, towards peace and security in the world. And it is most gratifying as well that the meetings are being held in Panama, a friendly country with which Indonesia has always entertained excellent relations and close co-operation.

62. On 26 January 1973, the Council adopted resolution 325 (1973) stating that the Council should be convened in Panama City to consider measures for the maintenance and strengthening of international peace and security in Latin America in conformity with the provisions and principles of the Charter. As world peace and security are one and indivisible, my delegation takes the agenda of the Council to imply that we are convened here to consider measures for the maintenance and strengthening of international peace and security in Latin America as part of the common

endeavour to establish peace and security in the world as a whole. The absence of peace and security in one part of the world cannot but negatively influence conditions in other parts of the globe. It is for those reasons that the Indonesian delegation—coming from a region which has not known peace since the Second World War—is seriously interested in contributing to the efforts towards establishing international peace and security in Latin America as well as elsewhere.

63. Having said that, my delegation holds the view that the maintenance and strengthening of peace and security in a region should primarily be the responsibility of the countries of that region. The problems of peace and security in Latin America therefore should in the opinion of my delegation remain primarily the concern of the countries of Latin America themselves. Of course, we from outside the area should try to contribute as much as we can to their efforts.

64. My delegation can understand the desire of the peoples of Latin America to be in a position to decide for themselves the future of their region, because South-East Asia too has experienced for too long the negative effects of being the arena for the conflicting interests of outside Powers. The birth of the Association of South-East Asian Nations (ASEAN), comprised of Indonesia, Malaysia, the Philippines, Singapore and Thailand and its efforts to establish close co-operation among the countries of South-East Asia should be seen as an expression of the desire of the countries to develop the region in close co-operation with each other without intervention from outside Powers.

65. As I have said, the region of South-East Asia has not known peace since the last World War. It is for this reason that we rejoiced at the return of peace to Viet-Nam however hesitant that return may appear to many. We welcomed with a feeling of great relief the cease-fire in Viet-Nam and subsequently in Laos and the results of the recent peace conference on Viet-Nam held in Paris. We hope that peace in Viet-Nam will soon be followed by the end of the armed conflicts in Laos and the Khmer Republic, giving peace a chance to return to the whole of South-East Asia.

66. South-East Asia is in need of peace. We need peace to enable us to implement successfully our development plans, national as well as regional, in order to make full use of our abundant natural resources. It is the endeavour of the members of ASEAN to work to that end through peaceful and mutually beneficial co-operation among the countries of South-East Asia. ASEAN seeks to develop South-East Asia into a region that will be in a position to resist negative influences from outside in order to prevent South-East Asia from continuing to be the arena for the conflicting interests of outside Powers, thereby contributing to international peace and security. Of course, ASEAN would warmly welcome close co-operation with and assistance from all countries outside its region and other regional and international organizations as long as it is for mutual benefit and as long as it does not mean interference in national and regional affairs. ASEAN is passionately interested in peace, as only the existence of peace can guarantee the success of its efforts for national and regional development and

progress. It is within this framework that the participation of Indonesia in the International Commission for Supervision and Control in Viet-Nam and in the activities of the United Nations and the Security Council, as well as in the Group of Non-Aligned Countries and other forums, should be viewed.

67. Allow me now to say a few words about the problem of sovereignty over natural resources, which in the opinion of my delegation constitutes one of the important elements for economic and social development of a country and its people and, therefore, a factor which may influence peace and security. It is important for a developing country to attain a sufficient stage of material well-being to satisfy the growing needs and the rising demands of its people and thereby avoid social and political unrest. This well-being may be achieved by an effective exploration and rational exploitation of the country's natural resources. We realize that not all developing countries possess the means to exploit their natural resources by their own indigenous means. Most of them lack the necessary funds and technical know-how, and need, at the start, outside assistance to speed up the process.

68. Until a few years ago Indonesia was undoubtedly one of the least explored countries of the world with regard to its mineral wealth. As with other developing countries, the main reason for this failure to assess and develop its wealth lies in the difficulty of raising sufficient capital domestically. Clearly, however, such valuable resources cannot be allowed to remain untapped when they are so badly needed for the economic and social development of the country.

69. Indonesia is of the view that private foreign investment can help provide the necessary financial and technological tools for the exploitation of its natural resources. It is, however, necessary first to provide a framework within which both the economic objectives of the nation and the political and other objections to the negative aspects of private foreign investment could be met in order to be able to minimize, if not to prevent entirely, the possibility of coercion by foreign economic and financial interests. The Indonesian Constitution stipulates that the natural resources are national wealth and, as such, the property of the people, controlled by the State. In order to conform with this definition, guidelines for utilizing foreign capital and engaging foreign enterprises as contractors for the Government and its agencies were developed and formulated in a foreign investment law, assuring us that we shall remain masters in our own house.

70. The question of the effect of foreign investment upon the social life and cultural values of the host country must also not be overlooked. An insensitivity on the part of the international investors towards the cultural setting they have entered may easily lead to unnecessary frictions which can only be detrimental to the future of international investment itself. It is necessary that those who seek the rewards which such investment offers should adjust themselves to the milieu, the social and political climate, in which they operate. The existence of affluent enclaves, especially if they are foreign, contrasting blatantly with the local surroundings will certainly not be conducive to political and social peace.

71. One of the problems that has repeatedly been brought to the attention of the Council, as being a danger to world peace and security, is that of the continued existence of colonialism. It is now more than a decade since the world community adopted the principle of decolonization as its own, but we still witness the continuation of an outmoded system which ought long ago to have become extinct. Granted that the initial efforts of the United Nations towards decolonization were successful, no one familiar with the principles embodied in the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples in General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) can be satisfied with the developments of recent years. In fact it must be admitted that the implementation of those principles has virtually ground to a halt, while there are still remnants of colonialism to be eradicated. In the light of this Indonesia calls for a rekindling of the spirit of decolonization which infused the world in the decade after the Bandung Conference⁶ for a reaffirmation and implementation of the principles of the Declaration that it is the inalienable right of the people still under colonial domination anywhere in the world, whether they are in Latin America or in Africa or Asia, to decide for themselves the nature of the political path along which they elect to develop. With regard to colonial remnants in Latin America we hope that the time will soon come when the peoples in those colonial territories will be accorded the right to self-determination and independence. My delegation is aware that negotiations are going on with regard to the status of certain colonial territories in Latin America, and we should like to express the hope that those negotiations will lead to a speedy conclusion, thus eliminating a source of tensions which may threaten peace and security in the region.

72. My delegation has listened very attentively to the clear and frank statement of General Torrijos, head of the Government of Panama [1695th meeting]. We sympathize with and support the desire of the Government and the people of Panama to do away with an anachronism—the provisions of the Convention of 1903.⁷ We understand that the United States is prepared to abandon the concept of perpetual authority over the Canal territory. My delegation understands also that there is a basic agreement with regard to the sovereign rights of Panama over the territory. Recognition of sovereign rights should in our view imply effective exercise of those sovereign rights over the entire territory as well; the logical consequences ensuing from those rights should be respected. The implementation is of course a matter for negotiations, taking into account the legitimate interests of both parties and the interests of the world with regard to the efficient functioning of the quality of the services of the Canal as an important waterway connecting two important world seas.

73. My delegation realizes that these negotiations will not be an easy exercise, but we are convinced that, with goodwill on both sides and with the sincere desire to

⁶ Asian-African Conference, held at Bandung, 18-24 April 1955.

⁷ 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.

accommodate each other's position, while at the same time respecting the sovereign rights of Panama over the Canal territory and the logical consequences of those rights, a mutually acceptable agreement can be reached. My delegation understands the impatience of Panama after nine years of negotiations without any substantial results. Impatience may turn into frustration, and frustration may lead to unilateral action. I am sure that none of us, and in particular the parties concerned, wishes for such a situation to happen. We hope, therefore, that the successful conclusion of the negotiations between Panama and the United States can be speeded up in order to avoid undesired developments which not only will have a negative influence on the success of the negotiations but may also endanger peace and security in the region. Indonesia is convinced that Panama, with the effective restoration of its sovereignty and territorial integrity, will be able to contribute even more to international peace and security in Latin America in particular, and in the world in general.

74. In conclusion, allow me to express the hope that at some future date Asia will have the honour to play host to the Security Council and that an invitation to that end from an Asian country will meet with the same unanimous support from the Council as did the invitation of Panama. I am sure, however, that the Asian country which will host the Council meetings will find it most difficult, if not impossible, to match the generous hospitality that has been lavished upon us by the people and Government of Panama.

75. Mr. MOJISOV (Yugoslavia): It is with a special feeling of the symbolic sweep of history, it is indeed with the excitement of participating in an event of broad political importance and implications, both immediate and long-term, that the Yugoslav delegation is taking part in the Security Council meetings in Panama and has the honour to greet you, Ambassador Boyd, as you preside over these meetings in the capital of your country. This must be a special moment for you, because it was here that seven decades ago your brave country regained its independence, to start its yet unfinished struggle for full emancipation. My delegation, deeply committed to the struggle for freedom and independence, and opposed to all manifestations of subjugation, coercion and foreign intervention, is proud that it actively contributed to the Council's right and just decision to meet in Panama.

76. We are met here at a truly multiple crossroads: for here, the Panama Canal—one of the great waterways of the world, an inseparable and sovereign part of Panama, linking the Atlantic and the Pacific, the East and the West—is intertwined with the story of the emancipation of Panama and of the whole Latin American and Caribbean world. And by coming here the Security Council—expressing its responsibilities and concerns for the maintenance of international peace and security in all parts of the world—has performed a vital role, underlining that organic link which exists between the democratization of international life, in the United Nations and elsewhere, and the true contemporary needs and aspirations of Panama, Latin America, the Caribbean and, by the same token, the whole international community.

77. A special bridge connects Addis Ababa with Panama: two historic series of meetings of the Security Council away

from Headquarters. That bridge has been built upon the solidarity, in the first place, of the countries of the whole third world, among which the non-aligned States play a particularly active and dynamic role. And it has been specifically strengthened by the co-operation of the Latin American, African and other groups in the United Nations, in their mutual support for each other's initiatives.

78. This is now a tested, established side of the Council's revitalized practice in discharging its primary responsibility in the domain of peace and security.

79. My Government is indeed grateful to the Government of Panama for this invitation, as we, with many others, perceive this new practice as a means of strengthening the Council by adjusting its role to contemporary trends in international relations. It was in that context too that Yugoslavia supported the Panamanian initiative from the very outset. By its timeliness, this initiative has enabled us, the Council, not only to act as a fire brigade, but to fulfil our role along the lines of preventive diplomacy. By the contents of its actual agenda—from decolonization to denuclearization, from sovereignty over natural resources and the economic foundations of peace and security to the inalienable right of each country to its territorial integrity and to non-intervention in its internal affairs, this initiative is further developing the concepts of true international security, in conformity with the real needs and aspirations of our fast-changing world.

80. The Yugoslav delegation is indeed very gratified that in this era of summits of the big, of conferences convened by the big, the Security Council, a principal organ of the United Nations, did not turn a deaf ear when a small country wanted us to hear its case too, on its own soil. To us, in addition to anything else this constitutes a particularly telling instance of advances made in the democratization of international relations; and it is precisely because of this aspect that the initiative Panama enjoyed, and continues to enjoy, the wide support of such a large number of non-aligned countries, countries of the third world, on all continents.

81. Peace, security, independence and sovereignty for all cannot be secured by dealing only with the problems of some. This also means that peace and security for anyone can only be the product of a universal effort in which everyone, small or big, participates on the basis of equality and of equal sovereignty, and when the truly vital rights of every country, however small, are equally respected and its grievances equally attended to.

82. Consequently, the vital rights, interests and basic needs of a small country, as well as the essential precepts of international justice and progress and the best interests of world peace and security are at stake when we now consider the just demands of the Government and people of Panama concerning the so-called Panama Canal Zone. That is why I want, at the outset of my statement to express my delegation's deep satisfaction that we are given this opportunity to state here, on the soil of Panama, after the firm and broad-visioned statement of the head of Government, General Omar Torrijos Herrera [1695th meeting], our full support for Panama's indisputable right to have its effective

sovereignty and jurisdiction fully established over every inch of its territory—its inherent right fully to integrate both parts of its own country and nation, and to be the sovereign owner and user of all its natural resources and geographic assets. There must be, in all these respects, full reintegration of the so-called Canal Zone with the rest of Panama, and respect for the national sovereignty of the Republic of Panama, and without delay.

83. For these reasons my delegation fully agrees with the precise and clear-cut statement of the Minister for External Relations of Peru, General de la Flor Valle, who stated before the Council on 15 March:

“The Canal Zone, which geographically, politically, economically, and socially belongs to the Republic of Panama, is an indissoluble part of its national territory and its restoration is one of the inevitable and fundamental factors in the development of the Panamanian nation and in the elimination of a focus of permanent tension in America.” [1696th meeting, para. 31.]

My delegation also fully supports the just demand expressed in the statement of the Foreign Minister of Panama, His Excellency Juan Antonio Tack [1698th meeting] that the abrogation of the 1903 Convention and the recognition of the effective sovereignty and total jurisdiction of Panama over all its territory must be stated in a crystal-clear manner during these meetings of the Council.

84. There must not be any unwillingness or delay in satisfying Panama's demands. We hope for the sake of all of us, that at least at this stage of history, unlike in the past, there will not have to be more bloodshed and more lives sacrificed as the only way to have the dictates of advancing modern and progressive concepts prevail. Panama should assume full responsibility for the functioning of the trans-oceanic Canal. We have full confidence in every nation's ability to operate for the benefit of and in sovereign co-operation with the whole international community whatever resources and installations are on its territory and justly belong to it. All paternalistic claims to the contrary were emphatically disproved in cases involving other international waterways not long ago. Equally, arising from the principle of the inadmissibility of the presence of foreign troops and bases in a country against that country's uncoerced will, the arrangements for the defence of any part of the territory of the country should be freely and solely decided by Panama. We completely agree with the view of the Government of Panama that so-called vital interests of national security entitle no one to infringe the independence, sovereignty, and territorial integrity of any other country. We of course agree that it would be preferable for all that to be done through negotiations by the parties directly involved, provided the negotiations are conducted in good faith and are aimed at the timely and effective granting of Panama's basic rights.

85. Our agenda calls for the “consideration of measures for the maintenance and strengthening of international peace and security in Latin America”. In adopting that agenda we did not come here to discover Latin America. That historic continent and its ancient and incomparable civilizations existed and flourished a long time before they

were “discovered” by other parts of the world—which only proves how relative each single vantage point is. Brave and far-sighted leaders and liberators, emancipators and revolutionaries like Simón Bolívar, José de San Martín, Benito Juárez and others fought successful wars of liberation and independence long before many areas in other continents were liberated from colonialism, imperialism, hegemony and domination of all kinds. Since then, it has been hard to equal the creativity and the amount of political and theoretical labour exercised by Latin American countries, their statesmen and lawyers, in developing the concepts, institutes and practices of international law and international behaviour, especially and precisely in the fields essential for the maintenance of peace and security, such as the peaceful settlement of disputes through mediation, good offices, conciliation, arbitration and the prevention of disputes through consultation. It was Latin America that set an example by being the first fully to respond to the exigencies of the nuclear age by proclaiming at Tlatelolco⁸ the denuclearization of their region, and establishing a special organization to ensure and monitor its implementation.

86. We have come here to share in a joint effort of coping with the problems of us all. On our small planet Earth, seen and perceived from outer space as one ship with one fate, the fate of one nation, of one region or of one continent affects the fate of us all. And wherever the Security Council goes—last year to Africa, this year to Latin America and next year probably to Asia—it helps all of us by obtaining a better knowledge of interdependent attitudes and problems by learning their accumulated experiences and wisdom at first hand and by relating national, regional and world problems.

87. Every region, every nation, relates to all others, and each is both teacher and student. And they all, jointly and separately, embody and reflect in themselves all the basic problems of the world. This is also reflected in the tremendous activity and dynamism, in the strong urgencies and winds of change and in the revolutionary hopes and aspirations sweeping this restless continent with its diverse nations and cultures, engaged in the quest after new ways—just like any other.

88. It suffices to mention that, in the last 20 years, of 10 problems concerning Latin America that were actively considered by the Security Council more than half constituted grave and dangerous crises directly global in their scope, often involving the fateful questions of peace and war, survival and holocaust for us all. All of them involved the basic rights to independence, sovereignty and non-intervention. And most of them were primarily brought about or greatly influenced by outside factors and Powers. In that, of course, Latin America shares the fate of all other regions. And that is why when we consider the issues of peace and security here we are considering the problems of the world, since any improvement in the atmosphere anywhere contributes to improvement elsewhere. The time has long passed when any portion of the globe could be set

⁸ Treaty for the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons in Latin America (United Nations, *Treaty Series*, vol. 634, p. 326).

aside, kept isolated and fenced off from the tides of the world on either ideological or strategic grounds.

89. It is therefore no accident that Yugoslavia, an independent, socialist and non-aligned country, was particularly conscious of the role of Latin American and Caribbean countries and peoples in world affairs, of the similarity of some of our basic problems, fears and possibilities, and of the need to establish direct and intensive dialogue and ties with them, for the benefit of both. In successfully accomplishing this we have been helped in no small measure by our sharing the same supreme concerns for peace and peaceful coexistence, for national independence and sovereignty, and for equal international, political and economic relations in opposition to anybody's domination and hegemony, under any pretexts whatsoever. It is for that reason, too, that we follow with particular sympathy the struggle for and the progress of their continent's political and economic emancipation.

90. One should at this point also mention Yugoslavs who have emigrated to many Latin-American countries, such as Chile and Peru—a small number of them are respected agriculturists here in Panama—where many thousands of them have through hard work contributed their share to the economic, political and cultural achievements of their new homelands, at the same time constituting bridges with the old one.

91. The links between my country and the countries of this region are truly well developed and very active. Yugoslavia maintains active diplomatic relations with 18 Latin-American and Caribbean countries. It has 11 diplomatic missions in the area. President Tito was one of the first—as early as 1963—heads of State to make a state visit to a great number of Latin-American countries, across the whole continent. We are maintaining and developing considerable trade and economic relations with the partners of the area. Yugoslav construction firms are involved in many development projects all over the continent. Here in Panama, for example, a large and internationally known Yugoslav socialist enterprise, Energoprojekt, is helping in the construction of the Bayano Hydro-Electric Power Plant and the extension of Tocumen Airport.

92. Yugoslavia, as a country born in a socialist revolution and the national liberation war and engaged in the construction of our socialist society, is, of course, actively interested in and sympathetic to the advance of progress and progressive forces everywhere. The ending of all class, racial, colonial, imperialist, great-Power domination, hegemony and exploitation wherever they exist is close to the hearts of the Yugoslav peoples. Every genuine progressive struggle and revolution, every true national liberation war, every movement for the emancipation of nations, races and classes has had and will have our support. But at the same time we know that the struggle for progress in every country must in the first place be the answer to its own needs and the achievements of its own forces. That each people and each country has the right to choose its own way of life and its own socio-political system without interference from outside must be an absolutely respected principle of international life. And there is no single recipe that everyone must use. It therefore follows that peaceful

and active coexistence is not a prescription for a social *status quo*. On the contrary, peaceful and active coexistence based on the right to self-determination and non-intervention is the only way that makes room for the playing out of needed social processes and transformations while denying to anyone from outside, under any pretext, the right to intervene in an attempt to stop them. Such attempts more than anything else are constantly bringing the world to the brink of confrontations and conflagrations.

93. When we, as a non-aligned country, together with other non-aligned States present here as members of the Council or participating in its current session, listen to the statements of the statesmen of Latin America expressing the aspirations of their countries, we naturally feel the highest degree of identification with them. Again, it is no accident that the Yugoslav delegation's views expounded in this statement are in marked consonance with the draft resolutions suggested for our consideration. We are confident of that because all the great documents of historic non-aligned summit conferences—the first in Belgrade in 1961; the second in Cairo in 1964; the third in Lusaka in 1970—have endeavoured to develop existing principles and to formulate new principles and concepts to serve the universal democratic and progressive needs of our time. They could not but reflect the true interests and best aspirations of mankind. Consequently, again, it is equally natural that so many common themes, concerns and requests run through the documents and decisions of the non-aligned, of the main bodies of the United Nations when upholding the interests of the overwhelming majority of members, and especially of those meetings and organizations of Latin-American and Caribbean countries, such as the Special Committee on Latin American Co-ordination, the Caribbean Free Trade Association, the Andean Group and others, through which they work out their continent's emancipation. It was, then, of both symbolic and substantive significance that the last important meeting of the non-aligned countries and the one with the largest number of participants to advance their joint platform further—the Conference of Foreign Ministers—was held in Georgetown, Guyana. And there, out of 70 participating members, observers or guest delegations, 15 were from Latin America, five as members and 10 as observers, the largest number so far. We are looking forward to the possibility of their wide participation in the forthcoming Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries to be held in Algiers in September of this year.

94. Thus, against the background of my country's heritage and the basic principles of its foreign policy and its ties of friendship, co-operation and solidarity with the countries of this continent, it is inherent that the Yugoslav Government fully supports all major requirements raised here by so many important statesmen, foreign ministers and representatives of the region, requirements expressive of forward-looking recognition of the topics on our agenda and of what the Security Council must do about them. Let me very briefly set forth our position on the important ones.

95. First, we fully support the views and demands to the effect that all remnants of colonialism, all colonial enclaves and all vestiges of foreign domination—particularly those

affecting the territorial integrity of States or their right to choose their own ways of life—should once and for all be removed from this great continent, and without delay. Of course, the cause of emancipation and independence has never stopped here, and in the last decade or so it has made significant advances in and around the Caribbean and elsewhere, though there have been some reverses too. But a closer look at the map of the eastern seaboard of South America, of islands like the Malvinas and other Territories in the Caribbean and Central America, reveals a multitude of colonial or neo-colonial situations fully 13 years after the adoption of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. One of the great merits of the Security Council's coming to Panama is that it has afforded all of us a keener realization that the serious problems of doing away with the remnants and strongholds of colonialism are indeed world wide and of how much is yet to be done and fought for. It is our opinion that a new time-table for complete decolonization should be envisaged here, since the process of decolonization must be speeded up. For the countries of the third world that has always been a most cardinal concern.

96. Secondly, we have already stated our views on the historic Treaty of Tlatelolco done at that historic site in Mexico and we join all those concerned in urging that it and its two Additional Protocols be adhered to by all States entitled or invited to adhere to it, without any discrimination, hoping that the successful denuclearization of that vast region will lead in time to denuclearization's spreading over the entire globe. In addition, in the context of our advocacy of general and complete disarmament, elimination of nuclear weapons, and prohibition of all nuclear tests, we have particularly insisted that no one has the right to conduct nuclear tests in other people's areas and to contaminate their environments.

97. We also supported demands for the removal of all foreign military bases and installations, especially in the context of the military and strategic rivalries in the oceans and other areas of the world. These should be regulated by the peoples and countries who live in those areas. As we have stated in the Yugoslav Government's reply to the Secretary-General concerning the strengthening of international peace and security:

"Among a large number of countries, particularly the non-aligned, the concept of zones of peace, security and co-operation as an alternative to regional pacts and systems of security—in which the great Powers play a leading role—is being developed."⁹

98. Thirdly, it was from Latin America that the first and clearest formulation of the new concepts of economic security and sovereignty over natural resources came. Coincidentally, the non-aligned countries, from the very beginning of their movement, have stressed that the existence and widening of the gap between developed and developing nations and regions is one of the most serious dangers to world peace, as international security, disarmament, and the economic development of all countries are interdependent. The idea of Mexican President Echeverría's

significant proposal of a charter on economic rights and obligations of the States has therefore our full support. All of these combined constitute the needs of the contemporary world that must be met.

99. Total opposition to any kind of colonial, neo-colonial, imperialist or any other economic exploitation, domination or discrimination is one of the basic principles embodied in the core of our foreign policy, ever since the very inception of new Yugoslavia. In the context of all this, it was logical for us to support the new advanced position and national requirements of Latin American countries for the recognition of the 200-mile limit to the territorial sea, the national sovereignty over the natural resources of the sea-bed and the sea itself through the new concepts of the patrimonial sea and the like.

100. Fourthly and finally, it goes without saying that Yugoslavia, together with its non-aligned partners, is strongly supporting the cause of peaceful and active coexistence of all States, on the basis of sovereign equality, independence, respect for territorial integrity, non-interference and non-intervention. We should support the strictest observance of these basic precepts of international behaviour here in Latin America too. These principles must be respected in relations between all countries irrespective of differences or similarities in their social and political systems and ideologies. It is on the basis of that understanding that we support the normalization of relations between all countries in Latin America against any form of discrimination and establishment of artificial barriers among them, and against any attempts for isolation, blockade or economic coercion. And that is why we hail any advance in that direction as their contribution to the co-operation replacing confrontation everywhere.

101. In order to succeed, that process must be facilitated by everyone and hampered by no one, and it must not be selective or discriminatory on any grounds. In our world of growing co-operation and détente, the methods of blockade, isolation and pressure, always onerous, are now anachronistic indeed. We welcome increasing normalization of relations between hemispheric countries and Cuba and the growing participation of Cuba in the activities of international and regional organizations. It is high time that the cold war isolation and blockade of Cuba were removed.

102. The countries of Latin America have led the world in the art of preventive diplomacy. The latter has never been more needed than now, in our nuclear age, with the arms race still going apace, with the successes of détente mixed with the existence of yet unsolved dangerous hotbeds of tensions and wars in many parts of the world.

103. Mr. President, this opportunity for the Security Council to act and assist in easing and preventing potential crises and to remain seized of a wider and updated agenda, embodying the concerns shared by this continent and the whole world, would fully justify—even if there were nothing else that did—our coming here, to the proud capital of your beautiful country.

104. Let me thank the Government of Panama most sincerely and once again for its kind and timely invitation,

⁹ See A/8775 of 5 October 1972.

its generous and warm hospitality and the magnificent organization and arrangements for our work and life in its friendly midst. What better place can one find to promote the peace and security of all of us than here in the *tierra de la paz*, in the country which is literally the *puente del mundo* and whose official credo is "*Pro mundi beneficio*".

105. Sir Laurence McINTYRE (Australia): My first agreeable duty is to convey to the Government and the people of Panama the warm greetings of the Prime Minister of Australia, who is at the same time my Minister for Foreign Affairs and also those of the Australian people. It gives me special pleasure to convey these greetings through you, Sir, as President of this Council. You will recall that at our last meeting in New York I said that I looked forward to the opportunity of paying a proper tribute to you in your own country in the presence of your own people, and I now seize that opportunity to congratulate you on your accession to the Chair and on your able guidance of the Council's business. Through you I must also congratulate the Government of Panama on the admirable arrangements it has made for these meetings of the Council and for the comfort and convenience of its members. And, finally, let me offer the sincere thanks of my delegation for the very generous hospitality that has been extended to us during our stay in this friendly and progressive city.

106. It is, I suppose, a consequence partly of history and partly of the great width of the Pacific Ocean that it took a long time for Australia and Latin America to get to know one another. I think I would be correct in saying that the name of Simón Bolívar was familiar to very few of us Australians before the Second World War. Our peoples lived and moved for the most part in different worlds.

107. In the light of our presence here today it is appropriate that I should record that the first substantial links across the breadth of the South Pacific Ocean were forged at the birth of the United Nations. It was at San Francisco in 1945 that Mr. Herbert Evatt, at that time Foreign Minister of Australia, established with the leaders of certain Latin American delegations a community of interest and a close identity of approach to many of the problems involved in drawing up the Charter of the United Nations. It was largely as a result of these friendly and fruitful associations that Australia entered into diplomatic relations with Brazil and Chile very shortly thereafter, with both countries establishing diplomatic missions in Canberra at legation level and Australia doing the same thing in Rio de Janeiro and Santiago.

108. Since that time these links have been reinforced by exchanges of embassies with other Latin American States, by the growth of trade and by the presentation of cultural exhibitions. It has become a regular practice for an Australian parliamentary delegation to visit Latin America every few years. The direct air route between Australia and Mexico serves to stimulate the flow of tourism in both directions. And Australia, as a signatory of the Antarctic Treaty, shares with Argentina and Chile a particular interest in that continent and its future.

109. In all those ways, as well as through the United Nations, more Australians have come to know more about

Latin America—about its people, about its history and its culture and all its magnificent ancient and modern monuments to both; about its aspirations; and also about its problems.

110. It is those aspirations and problems that provide the justification for our presence here today and the themes for our meetings. Our agenda requires us to focus on them and to consider them with wisdom and understanding. We have listened during the past few days to a distinguished succession of foreign ministers describing, with the eloquence we would expect from them the challenges that they face individually and collectively. It is now the turn of the Council to digest and synthesize all they have said and to consider how best their desires can be met.

111. Of all the common themes that emerged from last week's discussion, the difference between Panama and the United States over the future control and administration of the Canal and the Canal Zone clearly occupied most attention. In so far as it is appropriate to comment on what is essentially a bilateral dispute, I should simply like to make three points. The first is obvious: it is that the continued operation of the Panama Canal at the same high level of efficiency as at present is of vital importance to commerce, communication and security throughout the world and is thus of paramount interest to all of us. Secondly, there can be no disagreement that the 1903 Convention contains features that are anachronistic and overdue for change. We can all, I am sure, fully understand the impatience of the Government and the people of Panama to have the agreement brought up to date to accord with present-day realities and international concepts. Thirdly, my delegation understands that a significant measure of agreement already exists between the two parties on the broad outlines of the changes that are necessary, and we believe that with goodwill on both sides there should be no insuperable difficulty in settling the remaining differences.

112. It is not for the Security Council to attempt to dictate to the two parties the terms of reference under which they are to negotiate revision of a bilateral agreement of this kind. But the Council's broad responsibility in connexion with the preservation of international harmony and international peace and security justifies it in expressing the hope that the parties will find it possible to resume negotiations and try to reach an early settlement. In this respect my delegation shares the views expressed in the Council by the Foreign Ministers of Mexico [*1696th meeting*] and Jamaica [*1698th meeting*] and by the representative of Indonesia a few moments ago.

113. My Government has not yet had sufficient time to offer considered comments on the text of the draft resolution which was submitted in document S/10931 and introduced at our last meeting under the sponsorship of Panama and Peru. It might have been preferable for Council members to have had a little more time to consult about it before it was actually introduced; but, in any event, I understand that it is likely to undergo changes and so I shall withhold comment on it in its present form.

114. Speakers in the debate last week referred to a number of other matters which have in the past found their

rightful place on the agenda of the General Assembly, and will continue to do so, but which are being brought to the notice of this Council in a Latin American context. One such subject is colonialism or, to be perhaps more precise, the remnants of colonialism in Latin America.

115. The attitude of my Government towards colonialism in general is well known. Australia looks forward to the day when it will no longer be an issue before the United Nations and when we shall perhaps be left only with the problem of disposing of those very small Territories which see no prospect of a viable existence for themselves as independent States. We attach particular importance to the principle of self-determination, under which dependent peoples must have the unqualified right to choose their own future, whether it be full independence or some form of association with an already independent State or with another Territory graduating towards independence. It is only right that this same principle of self-determination should be applicable to the residual colonial situation in Latin America, even if it means that a dependent Territory may not for special reasons wish at this time to accept independent status, though the administering Power is willing to grant it; and we are pleased to hear three fellow-members of the Commonwealth of nations interpreting the principle in this way.

116. The question of sovereignty over natural resources is clearly one that exercises a number of Latin American Governments. My own Government recognizes the right of countries, and particularly developing countries, to regulate the exploitation of their natural resources for the benefit of their economies—the right, in the words of the representative of Argentina [1697th meeting], freely to dispose of their natural resources, both renewable and non-renewable. This concept encompasses the right of countries to nationalize or expropriate property owned by foreign nationals, and we recognize that right. However, we consider also that there is a concomitant duty in cases of nationalization to ensure that there is prompt, adequate and effective compensation. Where disputes arise over compensation, we believe that these should be settled wherever possible in national courts. If disputes cannot be settled in this way, General Assembly resolution 1803 (XVII) provides for recourse through arbitration or international adjudication, and Australia believes that this is fair and reasonable. We have always felt that many more problems of his kind could be settled if greater use were made of the International Centre for Settlement of Investment Disputes.

117. There have been various references, some of them phrased in strong and importunate terms, to the harmful effects of foreign investment in Latin America. This concern is not confined to Latin America; there has been an increasing tendency in Australia, at the level of government and among the general public, to question the growing dominance of investment capital from abroad in certain important sectors of our economy. We can thus understand the anxiety of some Latin American countries about the possibly adverse consequences of unregulated foreign investment on their economic and social structures. Nevertheless, Australia, like many Latin American countries, has in the past owed a great deal of its development to investment from overseas, and it will continue to do so.

118. Let me conclude where I began, with a salute to the people of Panama for their warm and friendly hospitality, and to the other States of Latin America. I say again that we in Australia are conscious of their aspirations, as well as their problems; we are also well aware that although they have their disagreements they are linked by a strong thread of common interest, to which there is no better testimony than the vigorous reaffirmation of support given in these past few days to the Treaty of Tlatelolco calling for the denuclearization of Latin America. Australia was happy to support General Assembly resolution 2286 (XXII) whereby the United Nations endorsed the Treaty, and we also supported the Assembly's subsequent call to those Powers which have still not done so to sign and ratify the Treaty and its Additional Protocols. It is an impressive symbol of regional solidarity in the true sense, and a testament to the basic vision, vitality and strength of purpose that characterizes the peoples of Latin America.

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

120. Mr. SALIM (Chairman, Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples): On behalf 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, I wish to express my sincere appreciation for the opportunity to address the Security Council at this historic series of meetings in Panama in my capacity as Chairman of the Special Committee.

121. I also wish to join with many distinguished and eminent personalities who have preceded me in expressing our deep appreciation and gratitude to the Government and people of Panama for the warm reception and outstanding hospitality accorded to us all.

122. At the very outset, I should like to join you, Mr. President, and also those of my colleagues who have preceded me in expressing our very profound sadness at the most untimely death of Mr. Chacko, Deputy to the Under-Secretary-General for Political and Security Council Affairs. Mr. Chacko was a dedicated and devoted international civil servant who made an outstanding contribution to the work of our Organization. I had the privilege on a number of occasions to work very closely with him and tremendously valued our invaluable association, both on an official and on a personal level. He was indeed a great son of a great country and his loss is undoubtedly a blow to the United Nations, as also to the people and Government of India. In my capacity as Chairman of the Special Committee, I have already transmitted a message of condolences to the Secretary-General, to the Indian delegation and also to the bereaved family.

123. It is most symbolic that the Security Council, charged with the primary responsibility of maintaining

peace and security, has decided to hold these historic meetings in Panama, for this country's dedication and commitment to the ideals embodied in the Charter are very well known in the world community. We are also all familiar with the heroic struggles waged by the courageous people of Latin America for justice, peace, freedom and independence, under the leadership of such men of uncompromising conviction and dynamism as Simón Bolívar, San Martín, Belgrano, Juárez, Artigas, José Martí, Sucre, Santa Anna and many other champions of freedom and national independence, which ultimately led them to assume their rightful place among the free nations of the world. Indeed, countries of Latin America are today among the staunchest supporters of the peoples that, in the colonial Territories in Africa in particular, are struggling to regain their basic human rights and human dignity. As many of us present here today have no doubt had the privilege of closely working with our friends and colleagues from this hemisphere, I am sure that I need not at this stage elaborate extensively on the effective contributions made by our brothers and sisters of Latin America, particularly in the field of decolonization. Speaking for myself, both as the Chairman of the Special Committee on decolonization and as the representative of an African nation which has regained its national independence after decades of colonial subjugation, the United Republic of Tanzania, I wish to express my deep sense of appreciation of the active role played by the Government and people of Panama in support of the colonial peoples' struggle for their liberation and dignity. I am like many around this table, fully aware of this country's commitment and dedication to this noble cause.

124. In this connexion we were extremely moved by the most inspiring address made by the head of Government of Panama, General Omar Torrijos, and his tribute to that valiant combatant of African liberation and now a martyr of the African continent, Amílcar Cabral, the late Secretary-General of the PAIGC (Partido Africano da Independência da Guiné e Cabo Verde) [1695th meeting]. It is not really necessary to dwell too long on what is obvious. But allow me, Mr. President, at this point also to recollect the constructive and dynamic role played by the delegation of Panama, headed by you, Sir, our esteemed and old friend, during the Council's meetings away from Headquarters in Addis Ababa last year. The unparalleled co-operation extended and the attentive collaboration displayed in that connexion by the Panamanian delegation will long be remembered and will, I am sure, continue to serve as an irreplaceable bridge linking our two hemispheres and as an unshakable foundation for our solidarity with the cause of justice and freedom and our everlasting friendship.

125. Indeed, the contribution of the Latin American countries in the field of decolonization is of long standing. For, as the representative of Argentina, Ambassador Ortiz de Rozas, rightly pointed out in his address to the Council the other day [1697th meeting], the Latin American States have been the staunchest supporters of the colonial people since long before most of the present-day African States attained their independence and indeed before the very inception of the Special Committee on Decolonization. Turning to more recent times, I must record with appreciation and profound admiration the outstanding role played

by Ecuador, whose representative, Mr. Sevilla-Borja, brilliantly and with utmost seriousness, presided over the Special Mission which visited the liberated areas of Guinea (Bissau) at the invitation of the liberation movement of the territory in April last year. As a result of that mission the United Nations, and indeed world public opinion at large, are much richer in knowledge of the actual developments and realities that prevail in the liberated areas of one of the Portuguese dominated territories. The Special Committee and the international community at large will continue to rely on the active support and solidarity of the Latin American nations for the common task geared towards the complete liquidation of colonialism in all its forms and manifestations. The importance of such support—moral, diplomatic, political and other—need not be overemphasized.

126. Having met away from United Nations Headquarters in 1972 at Addis Ababa, the Security Council has immeasurably enhanced its capacity in dealing with problems particular to that region of the world. Those meetings of the Council have patently demonstrated the fact that, apart from seeking solutions to specific problems, the world community could, in the process, generate much needed catalytic forces towards the fulfilment of the manifest destiny of the peoples under colonial domination and alien subjugation—the ultimate achievement of their fundamental rights and freedoms and the consolidation of their national independence and sovereignty. Those meetings of the Council have given perspicuous indications and signal encouragement to the people concerned that no elements alien to their genuine and unmitigated inspirations could and would stand in their way in the attainment of the goals set forth in the Charter and in other relevant instruments of the United Nations, including in particular the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples and the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security. I am confident that the current series of meetings of the Council will likewise bring about the impetus so much needed at this juncture to the final and effective solution of many a problem confronting this region of the world, in particular those affecting the peoples still under colonial and alien domination—a detailed account of which has exhaustively been given by a number of outstanding leaders and statesmen of this hemisphere during the current debate in the Council. For the Council cannot afford the luxury of being an idle spectator when the rights of people are trampled underfoot in whatever form or guise. It has the responsibility to act and act firmly to bring to a speedy end the anachronistic colonial situation and its remnants in the Latin American region.

127. In the context of the specific mandate entrusted by the General Assembly to the Special Committee, and having regard to the situation of colonial and alien subjugation which still remains in the Latin American region, it is a matter of profound concern and deep regret that the full implementation of General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) continues to elude a harmonious and unrestricted application. Admittedly, political and constitutional progress has taken place in some of the territories such as the Bahamas, which is about to emerge as a free and independent nation. But there can be no doubt whatsoever that the Powers

concerned in most cases have yet to implement the relevant United Nations resolutions and decisions and that the extent of their compliance with these decisions has, if any, fallen far short of the purposes and objectives of the Charter and the Declaration with respect to individual Territories. A brief perusal of recent reports of the Special Committee and other pertinent documentation relating to all those Territories will serve as eloquent testimony to the undisguised perpetuation of the classic and other forms of colonial and alien domination over the Territories.

128. It is the considered view of the Special Committee that, whatever the problems confronting those Territories, the colonial Powers must once again be made aware of the fact that, no matter how small the size or population of the Territories may be, no matter how geographically isolated their location may be, the peoples of those Territories should in no way be deprived of their inalienable right to self-determination, freedom and independence, as provided in the Charter and the Declaration on Decolonization. The overriding consideration should be that any decisions regarding the future political status of the Territories should stem from the full and freely expressed wishes of the people themselves. Given this very wide concurrence of interest and concern, it should be possible to develop agreed approaches which, when applied, could and would help to reconcile such differences of view as have occurred in recent years concerning political changes in some of these Territories. I am convinced that such a result could be achieved if the Powers concerned were to associate the United Nations more closely with their efforts to achieve the objectives of the Charter by agreeing to the dispatch of visiting missions and ensuring, in an appropriate form active participation by the United Nations in the processes involved in the exercise by the inhabitants of their right to self-determination. The value which the United Nations attaches to the sending of such groups is all the more borne out by the constructive results achieved as a result of the dispatching in June 1972 of a Visiting Mission to Niue under the administration of the Government of New Zealand and the participation of the Special Committee in a United Nations Visiting Mission in February 1972 to Papua New Guinea under Australian administration in connexion with the elections to its Third House of Assembly. Those missions, made possible through the co-operation of the Governments of New Zealand and Australia, served to prove once again that there exists no substitute for first-hand information on the political, economic and social situation in the Territories and on the views, wishes and aspirations of the people, as a means of enhancing the capacity of the United Nations effectively to assist the people concerned to achieve the goals established in the Charter and the Declaration, and at the same time to ensure that those people are sufficiently cognizant of the applicability of the Declaration and of the various possibilities open to them within that context. But whether the administering Powers would prefer the path of co-operation with the United Nations or not—that is not the primary issue. The main and fundamental question remains the elimination of the anachronistic colonial presence in the region. And it is my hope that the Governments and people of the independent States of Latin America will by their policies and action contribute to the promotion and attainment of this objective.

129. The Special Committee on Decolonization, as the United Nations organ charged with the task of seeing the most suitable means for the immediate and full implementation of the Declaration, has been requested by the General Assembly not only to formulate specific proposals for the elimination of the remaining manifestations of colonialism but also to make concrete suggestions which would assist the Security Council in considering appropriate measures under the Charter with regard to developments in colonial Territories everywhere.

130. In conformity with that request, the Committee has in the past submitted a number of recommendations in that regard to the General Assembly and, through it, to the Security Council, setting out some of the fundamental bases for the effective solution of the acutely critical and explosive situation obtaining in some of the remaining colonial Territories—a situation which not only is incompatible with the purposes and principles of the Charter but also constitutes an impediment to world peace and co-operation. It is in this connexion, and in the light of a broader and more inclusive interpretation of the item placed on the agenda of this series of Council meetings that the universal and inherent implication of international peace and security knows no regional or hemispheric boundaries, that I deem it appropriate and opportune to refer merely to some of the burning issues affecting the African Territories which are still under colonial and alien domination.

131. If I speak on these matters, it is because I know that I do so with the full knowledge of the unabashed spirit of anti-colonialism and the resolute solidarity of our Latin American friends and colleagues in the cause of universal human freedoms and human dignity, as has been amply and eloquently borne out in the various statements made in this Council by a number of Foreign Ministers and other representatives from this region during the past few days and this morning. In doing so, I am guided also by the urgent and pressing need for the mobilization of world public opinion in support of the decolonization struggle. For far too long the barrier of silence imposed by the world press has remained unbreached regarding the heroic liberation struggle being waged by the colonial peoples in those Territories and the brutal process of annihilation of those peoples forcibly pursued by the colonialist and racist régimes of the region. It is against these backgrounds that the General Assembly has repeatedly called upon all competent organs of the United Nations, as well as all governments, organizations and individuals, to do their utmost to arouse world public opinion with a view to assisting the peoples of those Territories to achieve the goals set forth in the Charter and the Declaration.

132. I am singling out the colonial situation in southern Africa merely because it is there that the combined forces of colonialism and racism have decided to put up a stubborn and desperate resistance to the tide of liberation. It is in southern Africa that the dignity and worth of the human person is being challenged on the basis of the pigment of his skin. It is there that the danger looms of an all-out conflagration with severe repercussions upon racial harmony in the continent and beyond. Furthermore, it is in southern Africa that the world has witnessed an incredible display of hypocrisy and callous indifference on the part of

a number of Western Powers which, while paying lip service to the cause of freedom, human dignity and racial equality, actually connive and collaborate with the racist and colonialist forces for the maintenance of the *status quo* in order to derive short-term economic advantages at the altar of the African peoples' humanity.

133. I need not give you a long resume of the struggle of the people of Angola, Mozambique and Guinea (Bissau) against the barbaric wars unleashed against them by the régime in Lisbon. The head of the Government of Panama has, by his reference to Amílcar Cabral, in a way summed up the situation for this Council. Cabral was murdered in the vain attempt to stifle the liberation process of the people of Guinea (Bissau) and Cape Verde. Before him, the leader of the Mozambique Liberation Front, Eduardo Mondlane, was equally brutally assassinated. But between those two murders, and indeed before and after them, there have been murders of Africans—women and children alike—perpetrated by the fascist Portuguese authorities with weapons and ammunition faithfully supplied by some of Portugal's allies in NATO. The question, then, is how long the international community can remain complacent with regard to the monstrosities committed by that régime. In saying this I am fully conscious of the fact that, irrespective of acts of omission or commission by certain Member States, the liberation struggle will continue to forge ahead. However, I do believe that, as we preach the principle of the indivisibility of freedom, we owe it to our own moral conscience to do everything in our power to bring the Portuguese colonialist barbarism to a speedy end. The Special Committee hopes that every State will play its part in the accomplishment of that goal. Addressing the Council here in Latin America, I must express my confidence that the countries of Latin America, three of whose representatives—Chile, Trinidad and Tobago, and Venezuela—serve the Special Committee with devotion and distinction, will spare no effort in supporting the struggle of the peoples under Portuguese domination to regain their freedom and independence, without enduring further untold sacrifices, both human and material.

134. The United Nations must also assume its responsibilities and effectively confront the challenge imposed on it by the régimes of Pretoria and Salisbury with regard to the continuing illegal occupation of Namibia and the perpetuation of the illegal white minority rule in Southern Rhodesia (Zimbabwe). The Governments and peoples of the world and more particularly those which cherish the ideals of freedom and human dignity have the responsibility of working energetically for the implementation of the Organization's decisions and resolutions, including the granting of moral, political and material assistance to the national liberation movements which have been forced to take up arms to free themselves from tyranny and present-day slavery. The Security Council, responsible as it is for the maintenance of international peace and security, not only must adopt resolutions aimed at ending colonialism in all its forms and manifestations but must, above all, take steps to ensure their implementation and give maximum encouragement to those who do so.

135. I make absolutely no apologies for making some references to the explosive situation in southern Africa

although I am perfectly aware that the agenda of this series of meetings relates to the Latin American region. This is because colonialism particularly in southern Africa, constitutes a serious threat to international peace and security. Such a threat knows no hemispherical boundary, and thus it is very pertinent that when this Council considers the question of the maintenance of peace and security in the Latin American region it should bear in mind that particular threat which looms large over the African continent and whose repercussions will undoubtedly affect this region as well.

136. Furthermore, it was only logical that I should refer to the questions of decolonization outside of the region with which the Council is currently directly concerned, as those are precisely the manifestations of colonialism whose underlying elements cruelly and repulsively confront this hemisphere and are encompassed in the common goal of the colonizers and the metropolitan Powers—namely, the perpetuation of dominance of power by the strong over the weak, as was so rightly pointed out by the head of the Government of Panama in his opening remarks at the opening meeting. We can no longer tolerate, anywhere in the world, this abhorrent violation of the fundamental rights of the indigenous populations; an immediate end must be put to the plundering of their natural and human resources and their forcible political and cultural subjugation. The situation calls for immediate action. It does not allow for compromise, because, as the President of Tanzania once said, compromise on a matter of human rights is a denial of those rights. In President Nyerere's own words: "There can be no peace without justice; the greater the movement for justice, the greater the chances of peace".

137. The United Nations is confronted by a grave challenge, a challenge to the principles which it is pledged to uphold. It must meet this challenge if it is to serve effectively the purposes to which it is dedicated. The role to be played by the Security Council in that regard is a crucial one. The inability to achieve any appreciable progress in the past several years towards the final goal of the Declaration has already been a source of grave disappointment and continuing frustration. The greatest danger which confronts the Organization at the present time is, I believe, that the present impasse should lead to disillusion and even scepticism about the willingness of the international community to help the peoples under colonial and alien domination in their just struggle to exercise their right to self-determination and independence.

138. I should like to conclude by adapting the words used by the head of Government of Panama when he addressed the Council the other day and state in all solemnity that every hour that colonialism in whatever form or manifestation, is allowed to prevail in any part of our planet constitutes 60 minutes of shame and scandal for the international community.

139. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): The last name on my list of speakers for this morning is that of the representative of Guatemala, Mr. Luis Aycinena, whom I invite to take a place at the Council table in order to make a statement in exercise of his right of reply.

140. Mr. AYCINENA (Guatemala) (*interpretation from Spanish*): I must say that I am deeply sorry to find myself once again constrained to distract the attention of the Security Council, perhaps drawing away energies that should be turned to other subjects, but I will be very brief.

141. The position of Guatemala was clearly set forth in the statement I made on Friday afternoon [*1698th meeting*], and I would refer my listeners to that statement. But this morning the representative of Trinidad and Tobago, with a respect and courtesy for which I am grateful, again referred to the problem of Belize. Yet I am convinced that these interventions, far from seeking concord and peace, would almost seem to be seeking conflict or direct confrontation. Whether what is done is done in the belief that it renders the people of Belize a service, I do not know; but what is clear to me is that they are being done a positive disservice. These are provocative attitudes regarding a very painful situation for us, involving a long-standing quest for justice, and they imply utter contempt for the rights of the people of my country, which is something my Government cannot condone.

142. May I conclude by saying that in the meantime Guatemala categorically reaffirms its sovereign rights over the Territory of Belize, inalienable and imprescriptible as those rights are.

143. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): Before adjourning this meeting, I have the honour to read

out a message from President Josip Broz Tito of Yugoslavia, to the President of the Security Council. It reads as follows:

“On the occasion of the holding of the first Security Council meetings on Latin American soil, in Panama City, I take this opportunity to transmit to you the best wishes for successful work of the present meetings.

“Yugoslavia attaches great importance to the activities of the Council in matters of strengthening international peace and security all over the world. I feel it to be most beneficial for the Council to meet periodically away from United Nations Headquarters. The usefulness of this was confirmed by the successful meetings in Addis Ababa last year.

“The countries of Latin America have made an important contribution to United Nations activities in various fields. Therefore I am confident that the Security Council, through decisions to be adopted at its meetings in Panama City, will support the just aspirations of the countries of Latin America in their search for general development based on full respect for the principles of self-determination, sovereignty, non-interference, and international co-operation on an equal footing. I wish to express my deep appreciation to the Government of Panama for its fruitful initiative and my full confidence that the present meetings of the Council will contribute to the strengthening of international peace and security.”

The meeting rose at 1.20 p.m

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