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**SECURITY COUNCIL  
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TWENTY-FIFTH YEAR

**1562<sup>nd</sup>** MEETING: 7 DECEMBER 1970

NEW YORK

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## NOTE

*Symbols of United Nations documents are composed of capital letters combined with figures. Mention of such a symbol indicates a reference to a United Nations document.*

Documents of the Security Council (symbol S/ . . .) are normally published in quarterly *Supplements* of the *Official Records of the Security Council*. The date of the document indicates the supplement in which it appears or in which information about it is given.

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

## FIFTEEN HUNDRED AND SIXTY-SECOND MEETING

Held in New York on Monday, 7 December 1970, at 3 p.m.

*President:* Mr. Y. MALIK (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics).

*Present:* The representatives of the following States: Burundi, China, Colombia, Finland, France, Nepal, Nicaragua, Poland, Sierra Leone, Spain, Syria, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America and Zambia.

### Provisional agenda (S/Agenda/1562)

1. Adoption of the agenda.
2. Complaint by Guinea:
  - (a) Letter dated 22 November 1970 from the Permanent Representative of Guinea to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/9987);
  - (b) Report of the Security Council Special Mission to the Republic of Guinea established under resolution 289 (1970) (S/10009 and Add.1).

### Adoption of the agenda

*The agenda was adopted.*

### Complaint by Guinea:

- (a) Letter dated 22 November 1970 from the Permanent Representative of Guinea to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/9987);
- (b) Report of the Security Council Special Mission to the Republic of Guinea established under resolution 289 (1970) (S/10009 and Add.1)

1. The PRESIDENT (*translated from Russian*): Before we begin our work I should like to recall that at its previous meetings the Council decided to invite the representatives of Guinea, Senegal, Mali, Saudi Arabia, Mauritania, Algeria, Liberia, the United Republic of Tanzania, the People's Republic of the Congo, Yugoslavia, Mauritius, the Sudan, the United Arab Republic, Ethiopia, Southern Yemen, Cuba, Uganda, India and Somalia to participate, without vote, in its discussion of the item on its agenda.

2. I also wish to inform the Council that a communication has just been received from the representative of Haiti [S/10027] requesting that his delegation should

be invited to participate, without vote, in the Council's work. I propose that the representative of Haiti should be invited to participate in the debate.

3. I invite the representative of Guinea to take a place at the Council table, and the representatives of the other countries to which I referred earlier to take the seats reserved for them in the Council chamber. Each will be invited to the Council table when it is his turn to speak.

*At the President's invitation, Mr. A. Touré (Guinea) took a place at the Council table; and Mr. I. Boye (Senegal), Mr. G. Sow (Mali), Mr. J. M. Baroody (Saudi Arabia), Mr. S. A. Ould Taya (Mauritania), Mr. M. Yazid (Algeria), Mr. N. Barnes (Liberia), Mr. S.A. Salim (United Republic of Tanzania), Mr. N. Mondjo (People's Republic of the Congo), Mr. A. Psoncak (Yugoslavia), Mr. R. K. Ramphul (Mauritius), Mr. M. Fakhreddine (Sudan), Mr. M. H. El-Zayyat (United Arab Republic), Mr. T. Gebre Igzy (Ethiopia), Mr. A. M. Ismail (Southern Yemen), Mr. R. Alarcón (Cuba), Mr. P. Ofwono (Uganda), Mr. S. Sen (India), Mr. A. A. Farah (Somalia) and Mr. M. Antoine (Haiti), took the places reserved for them.*

4. The PRESIDENT (*translated from Russian*): I also wish to inform the members of the Council that a letter received from the Chargé d'affaires a.i. of Portugal to the United Nations has been circulated as an official Security Council document under the symbol S/10024.

5. The Council will now resume its consideration of the item under discussion.

6. Mr. JAKOBSON (Finland): Mr. President, I am pleased to have this opportunity to extend to you the best wishes of my delegation for your presidency during the month of December, as the representative of a Power which is a neighbour of Finland and with which my country happily maintains close relations of friendship and co-operation, and as an outstanding diplomat who has virtually unrivalled experience and knowledge of United Nations affairs and of international politics in general.

7. I am also happy to have this opportunity to join in paying a tribute to Ambassador Tomeh of Syria, our President for November, who conducted the affairs of the Council with great effectiveness and impartiality.

8. As a member of the Special Mission to the Republic of Guinea,<sup>1</sup> I have in effect already stated my views on the events we are dealing with here in the conclusions of the report [*S/10009 and Add.1*], which the Chairman of the Special Mission, the representative of Nepal, Ambassador Khatri, introduced to the Security Council last Friday [*1559th meeting*].

9. I should like here to pay a tribute to the Chairman of the Special Mission whose integrity and fairness should assure anyone of the Mission's sincere striving for objectivity. I should like say how much I enjoyed working with my colleagues on the Special Mission, which, as someone already has said, had a very good team spirit. I should also like to express my appreciation to the members of the Secretariat who performed their duties with great dedication and skill in often difficult circumstances.

10. The conclusions of the report of the Special Mission are, of course, also my own conclusion. They represent the considered opinion of the representatives of five members of the Security Council, and I have nothing to add to them. Instead, I should like now to put forward on behalf of my delegation some comments on the wider implications of that event.

11. The attack against Conakry cannot be viewed in isolation. It is a symptom of a built-in tension along the borders of Portugal's possessions in Africa, a tension arising from the suppression of the legitimate aspirations of the peoples living under Portuguese administration who have the right to self-determination and independence.

12. The exceptionally strong and unanimous reaction of the independent African States, echoes of which we have heard here in the Security Council, expresses their deeply felt concern about any attempt to interfere from the outside with their independent development. In fact, it seems that no real sense of security or stability can be established in large parts of Africa so long as the Government of Portugal continues to pursue a policy which cannot be reconciled with the legitimate aspirations of the African peoples living under Portuguese rule or with the deep convictions of the independent African States or, indeed, with the conscience of the great majority of mankind.

13. Accordingly, in our view, the Security Council should not only condemn Portugal for the armed attack committed against the Republic of Guinea, but also call upon Portugal to recognize that the peoples living under Portuguese rule in Africa have an inalienable right to self-determination and independence. It would be tragic if Portugal's refusal to observe this right—now nearly universally accepted and supported—or to take into account the present realities prevailing in Africa, created a situation in which a peaceful change from colonial rule to self-determination were no longer possible. The reaction of the independent African States to the recent events in Conakry show that the point of no return may be close at hand.

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<sup>1</sup> Security Council Special Mission to the Republic of Guinea established under resolution 289 (1970).

14. I believe that it is in the wider context of the African situation that the work of the Special Mission to the Republic of Guinea should be judged. It has been said that it was not necessary to send this mission to the Republic of Guinea because the facts of the case were known anyway, and in any case the Mission arrived there after the event and was therefore pointless. Such criticism would be justified if we were dealing with the attack against Conakry as an isolated event, divorced from any wider issues. In fact, however, we are dealing with what could be called a case of structural friction and conflict in Africa, of which the recent attack against the Republic of Guinea was but one symptom.

15. In the consideration of the fundamental issue involved in the Security Council and other United Nations bodies, the report of the Special Mission may well prove to be significant. The report demonstrates in more vivid, and therefore more effective, terms the dangers inherent in the continuation of the present situation. Its impact on the international community is decisively enhanced by the fact that it is a unanimous report. But this impact would be seriously weakened if the Security Council were now to fail to agree on what steps it should take on the basis of that report.

16. The decision to send a Special Mission of the Security Council to the Republic of Guinea may well represent an important new stage in the evolution of the Council's methods of work. Nevertheless, in the view of the Finnish delegation, the members of the Council cannot afford to dismiss as unimportant or misguided the expressions of disappointment voiced by the Government of the Republic of Guinea or the representatives of many other African States with the United Nations as an agency for the maintenance of international peace and security. No small nation can fail to reflect seriously upon the questions with regard to the capability of the United Nations to act effectively for the protection of the security of its Member States raised by the representative of the Republic of Guinea in his talks with the Special Mission in Conakry.

17. In the final communiqué issued at the end of the first periodic meeting of the Security Council [*1555th meeting*], members of the Council declared that the capability of the Council to act effectively for the maintenance of international peace and security should be further strengthened and they agreed to examine further improvements in the methods of work of the Council. They also emphasized the importance of reaching early agreement on guidelines for future peace-keeping operations in conformity with the Charter.

18. The urgency of these tasks has been underlined by the recent events in Conakry. In this sense I agree with the observation made by the representative of the Government of Guinea that although the Special Mission was unable to help Guinea, whose people turned back the attack by its own efforts, it may help the United Nations, and thus all its Member States, by demonstrating the urgent need to make the Organization more effective as a guardian of peace.

19. The PRESIDENT (*translated from Russian*): Thank you for your kind words and good wishes.

20. The next speaker on my list is the representative of Haiti; I invite him to take his place at the Council table, and I give him the floor.

21. Mr. ANTOINE (Haiti) (*interpretation from French*): The role of the Security Council, in pursuance of the intentions of the United Nations Charter, is of paramount importance. The entire world with grave anxiety and profound anguish looks to the Security Council as the main organ entrusted with the maintenance of peace and ensuring international security, which is the supreme aim of our Organization. It is not only today that this great Council meets to discharge its lofty mission. It has done so in the past, it is doing so now and it will do so in the future, whenever lack of understanding, abuse of power, ambition and selfishness motivate the deeds of certain peoples who irresponsibly seek to crush the small countries striving for development under the aegis of the United Nations.

22. It is to the Security Council that nations large and small look for settlement of the disputes that divide them whenever such disputes arise, so as to build a stable international peace. Dr. François Duvalier, President for life of the Republic of Haiti, was indignant when he learned the news of the act of barbarism perpetrated against the peaceful Government of Guinea and the Guinean people, which since its emancipation and accession to life as a republic has been able to command respect and preserve its independence with dignity.

23. This act of aggression constitutes a flagrant violation of the fundamental principles of international law and of the United Nations Charter.

24. The Republic of Haiti, the first black republic in the world, in the course of its long life as a Republic—167 years—has been cut to the quick, has suffered in its inmost being and been wounded in its dignity as a free and sovereign people by the aggressions of extracontinental and even continental colonialist Powers, which we always heroically repelled, and we are outraged at this act of barbarism committed by foreign mercenaries, of which Portugal is an accomplice by reason of its direct participation.

25. The Government of Haiti, in view of its African affinities, protests most energetically against that dastardly aggression. We are convinced that in this trial the Government of Guinea will have the courage and spirit necessary to repel these unjust attacks. But it is also the duty of the Security Council to support that spirit and that courage so that a small country may escape destruction and so that justice may be done to it.

26. The cause of Guinea is yours, distinguished members of the Security Council; it is identified with international justice, which is vested in the Council. It will triumph over every manoeuvre of the secret and reactionary forces which dream of the annihilation of the

noble Guinean people. Thus the armed forces of Guinea have risen in their patriotism, and with them the third world and all peace-loving nations, to defend to the last inch the much-coveted soil and subsoil of Guinea.

27. The delegation of Haiti associates itself with the defence of its brother people of Guinea. The people of Haiti, loyal to its origins, at the very hour of its independence, in 1804, laid the groundwork for the emancipation of peoples subjugated by colonialism, which became a reality in 1945 with the formation of a large number of independent States in Africa.

28. The delegation of Haiti will support any draft resolution of the Security Council intended to provide restitution for Portugal's acts of aggression against Guinea. Those are the wishes of the Haitian delegation, in view of the fact that the report of the Special Mission sent to Conakry is conclusive with regard to the invasion of Guinea by the forces of Portugal in collaboration with other foreign mercenaries and dissident Guinean elements coming from abroad.

29. The PRESIDENT (*translated from Russian*): I have just received a letter from the representative of Pakistan [S/10029] requesting that his delegation should be invited to participate, without vote, in the meeting of the Council. If there are no objections, I propose that the representative of Pakistan should be invited to participate in our proceedings in accordance with rule 37 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure.

30. If there are no objections, I shall take it that the Council agrees to invite the representative of Pakistan to take the place reserved for him in the Council chamber, it being understood that he will be invited to take a place at the Council table when it is his turn to speak.

*At the President's invitation, Mr. A. Shahi (Pakistan) took the place reserved for him.*

31. The PRESIDENT (*translated from Russian*): The next speaker on my list is the representative of India; I invite him to take a place at the Council table, and I give him the floor.

32. Mr. SEN (India): Mr. President, my delegation would like to thank you and the members of the Council for your courtesy in permitting me to speak in this important debate. We offer our sincere congratulations to you for your presidency of the Council for December. We should also like to express our appreciation to the outgoing President, Ambassador Tomeh of Syria, for his able guidance of the Council's work. It was during his presidency that the Council received the news of the most recent attack by Portugal on the Republic of Guinea. Immediately we heard of this attack in India, our President sent the following message to the President of Guinea:

“The Government and people of India deplore the attempt by foreign agencies to violate the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Guinea. We note with satisfaction that the valiant people of

Guinea have successfully resisted these attempts. The entire civilized world is in sympathy with you and your people. We are glad that the United Nations Security Council has unanimously demanded immediate withdrawal of all external armed forces and mercenaries and their equipment and the cessation of the armed attack. We hope that the strong resentment generated in the world community will restrain these adventures. You have our full sympathy and support in your efforts to resist this gross interference in your internal affairs."

33. We now have before us the report of the Special Mission which was headed by Ambassador Khatri of Nepal. I should like to add my voice to the many eloquent tributes which have been paid to this Mission, its Chairman, its members and its secretariat. The report it has produced is remarkable for three reasons: first, it is brief, conclusive and unanimous; secondly, it is supported by a recorded wealth of evidence from various groups who might possibly know what was happening; and thirdly, it has been submitted with the utmost speed. We congratulate the Mission. We also should like to express our appreciation to a large number of diplomatic representatives at Conakry who spoke before the Mission or sent written statements. Their assistance and their courage were of great help to the Mission. In expressing our sense of sorrow and grief concerning the many persons who were killed or wounded in the fighting, we do not forget the members of foreign missions who also suffered during the aggression by foreign murderers coming from the colonial Territory of Guinea (Bissau).

34. The most noteworthy feature of the report is that on substantial matters there is no disagreement among the numerous witnesses the Mission examined.

35. On the morning of Sunday, 22 November, when the Moslems were observing their month of Ramadan and Christians were preparing for the Sunday prayers, a group of murderous men and mercenaries moved out on their mission of massacre. That they did not succeed in the vicious work is a signal tribute to the courage, preparedness and patriotism of the armed forces and the people of Guinea. The cowardly attack was beaten off and the city defended. The mercenaries therefore failed in their primary objective, which was to try to change the Government of the Republic of Guinea by the assassination of its leaders and by capturing important and vital institutions in that country. Another significant objective of the attack was to assassinate Mr. Cabral, the distinguished leader of the African Party for the Independence of Guinea and Cape Verde (PAIGC), and to cause as much damage to his freedom movement as possible. From the testimony appended to the report of the Special Mission, it seems that the invaders were apparently under the impression that they had killed Mr. Cabral. However, while they succeeded in freeing some prisoners held by PAIGC in the course of their movement to ensure freedom of African Territories in bondage to Portugal, they did not succeed in killing Mr. Cabral, whose liberation movement includes some of the finest men dedicated to their motherland.

36. What has been the attitude of Portugal to all these attacks? We in India have some experience of the Government of Portugal, and its attitude and its denials have not come to us as a surprise. On the one hand, they moan and groan that "jurisprudence has been evolved in the United Nations that is systematically adverse to Portugal"—whatever that may mean—and on the other hand, they ruthlessly carry out a campaign of annihilating freedom fighters, attacking foreign countries regardless of cost in blood, treasure and human misery, and refusing to pay the slightest heed to the basic principles of the Charter that all colonial territories must obtain independence in the speediest manner possible. The Government of Portugal does not even have the elementary civility to explain its point of view, if indeed it has one, before the Council while it is discussing one of the most serious charges laid before it, that of established aggression by a Member State. Portugal's latest letter [S/110024] impugns the impartial work of the Special Mission, alleges easy gullibility on the part of the Mission, and is also critical of the international press. The Government of Portugal must be condemned with all the authority of this Council, not for these accusations, but for its repeated and continuous aggression in Africa.

37. Quite evidently the Portuguese Government could not undertake these campaigns and keep up this blatant effrontery towards, and violation of, United Nations decisions, but for the support and assistance which it has obtained from its friends and allies. We have heard it argued that Portugal is vital to some countries. I do not know what those countries are; but we cannot accept the allegation that Portugal's allies, as a group, are so feeble that without this poor and backward country their military plans and economic growth would suffer some set-back. Nor have we known any instance where the foreign suppliers of arms have been able to ensure that the arms are used only for a specified purpose or purposes. It should be easy for Portugal's allies to cut off this diseased limb. No question of honour is involved, as the Government of Portugal is not only dishonourable but it has also been universally condemned for its cruelty and utter lack of any civilized standards.

38. If, in these circumstances, colonial wars are tolerated and the use of force for maintaining foreign domination, with its philosophy of ruling over "lesser breeds", is allowed, we can come to only one conclusion: that conclusion is that Portugal, together with its friends, is determined to follow an arrogant and unrealistic policy, to the complete disregard of the rights of the African people in general and of the colonial peoples, in particular. We are absolutely certain that it will do incalculable damage to the United Nations if such a conclusion is encouraged, even to the slightest extent, by any action that this Council might take or by any statements it might hear. I am glad to note that so far all the statements we have listened to put the blame entirely and without qualification upon Portugal. The Government of Portugal cannot escape the verdict of this Council simply by denying the charges, unless of course we are to think that the Governor-General of Guinea (Bissau), General

António de Espinola, has revolted and declared independence from Portugal in the same manner as Ian Smith did in Rhodesia. None of us can believe this, nor does the Government of Portugal claim it.

39. There exists a moving account of a conversation between an Algerian soldier and a French colonel which took place during the Algerian fight for independence. After the two men had talked for some time, the Algerian soldier, who was in a French prison, concluded by saying: "Colonel, both you and I are brave men and not afraid to die. However, I shall win and you will lose, because I have faith in the cause I am fighting for." That statement sums up the philosophy of the freedom fighters. No matter what vendetta is let loose on them, no matter what price may be extracted from them, no matter what the Council and other bodies may decide to do, they will win in the end. The struggle may be long and arduous, the path may be strewn with misery, humiliation, death and sacrifice, but the goal will be achieved. It is this spirit that we share with all colonial peoples and the African States; we also share their wishes for the speedy liquidation of the colonial empires in Africa and elsewhere.

40. But clearly, the United Nations has an important responsibility in this field. The representative of Zambia [1561st meeting] quoted President Kaunda's statement that the United Nations is wise only after the event. The event did take place in Guinea, but will the United Nations now become wiser and use its ample power? Or shall we once again be lost in cynicism and sophistication and power politics when faced with clear evidence of aggression?

41. Colonialism has been condemned everywhere in all the various forums of the United Nations, and the Security Council has the duty of eliminating it. It is sure that the Council will not allow any outside impression to gain ground that the organ of the United Nations most directly concerned with international peace and security did not take adequate and appropriate action to put an end to colonialism, which has repeatedly been found to be a threat to international peace and security. Over the years the Security Council has proved itself unable to deal with this problem. If the Council does not and cannot act adequately and promptly in a simple and established case of aggression, what credence or reliance can weaker and smaller nations place on the great Powers' guarantees in any other fields? Quite often complaints are allowed to be submerged in power politics. The record of the Security Council is too familiar to need any elaboration. I only hope that Guinea's complaint will not end in a similar manner. Portuguese colonialism, which draws its lifeblood from its military alliances, does not understand reason and is bent on a collision course in its attempts to maintain its colonies at all costs. India, from its own experience, can say Portuguese colonialism will understand and listen to only one thing, and that is force.

42. The colonial peoples of Africa, suffering under Portuguese domination, have repeatedly appealed to the Powers and organizations which might be of help,

but all this has been in vain. Africa has shown the greatest patience, but that should not be mistaken for weakness. Those who still refuse to believe that colonialism is a threat to international peace and security can only be those—mainly white—peoples whose interests or countries are not suffering from this pernicious system. In fact, some of them are benefiting from it. But we cannot expect the Africans, the Asians and the Latin Americans to be so calm about it. In fact, it would be wrong of them to do so. So the test today is whether all Europeans and those like them have genuine sympathy for the Africans, or whether they wish to enmesh every clear-cut issue in a morass of platitudes and sanctimony.

43. I speak both in sorrow and in anger: in sorrow for the victims, and in anger because this evil of colonialism is allowed to continue to exist and to take its regular toll of African lives and property. We must, all of us together, stop this insensitive anachronism in an age which we claim to be civilized.

44. The PRESIDENT (*translated from Russian*): I thank the representative of India for the kind words and congratulations he has addressed to the President of the Security Council.

45. Mr. TERENCE (Burundi) (*interpretation from French*): We have already had to delay the opening of this meeting. Nevertheless, knowing the major importance you attach to the cause we are defending, Mr. President, we hope that the request we are about to make will not cause you too much inconvenience. The request is that this meeting of the Council should be suspended for about twenty minutes to permit completion of the work we are now doing, which will contribute to the Council's success, by allowing the consultations now in progress to be concluded.

46. The PRESIDENT (*translated from Russian*): I see no difficulty in acceding to the request made by the distinguished representative of Burundi. If the other members of the Security Council have no objections, I shall suspend the meeting for twenty minutes. There are no objections; it is so decided.

*The meeting was suspended at 5.30 p.m. and resumed at 6 p.m.*

47. The PRESIDENT (*translated from Russian*): The meeting of the Security Council is resumed.

48. Mr. TERENCE (Burundi) (*interpretation from French*): Mr. President, the delegation of Burundi will have an opportunity to discharge its duty to you in the course of its statement in the general debate on the problem with which the Security Council is seized.

49. In the meantime, I have the great honour to take the floor on behalf of the delegations of Nepal, Sierra Leone, Syria, Zambia and Burundi, my country. To help the Security Council find as rapid a solution as possible to the problems now before it, the five Powers I have just mentioned are submitting to the Security Council a draft resolution whose text was circulated last Saturday in its initial form. Nevertheless, because of urgent circumstance, it has not been possible to submit the draft resolution in all the working languages

and consequently we should be grateful if all delegations into whose language the text we are going to submit has not yet been translated would be good enough to consider it in its present form—and I think they constitute the majority, since so far the text is only available in English.

50. I also apologize to you, Mr. President, and to my colleagues for the fact that I shall myself introduce the draft resolution in the language in which it is ready. Here, then, is the text of the draft resolution in its present form, as submitted by Nepal, Sierra Leone, Syria, Zambia and Burundi:

*“The Security Council,*

*“Having considered with appreciation the report of the Security Council Special Mission to the Republic of Guinea established under resolution 289 (1970) of 23 November 1970,*

*“Having heard further statements by the Permanent Representative of the Republic of Guinea,*

*“Gravely concerned that the invasion of the territory of the Republic of Guinea on 22 and 23 November 1970 from Guinea (Bissau) was carried out by naval and military units of the Portuguese armed forces, and by the armed attack against the Republic of Guinea on 27 and 28 November 1970,*

*“Gravely concerned that such armed attacks directed against independent African States pose a serious threat to the peace and security of independent African States,*

*“Mindful of its responsibility to take effective collective measures for the prevention and removal of threats to international peace and security,*

*“Recalling its resolutions 218 (1965) of 23 November 1965 and 275 (1969) of 22 December 1969 which condemned Portugal and affirmed that the situation resulting from the policies of Portugal both as regards the African population of its colonies and the neighbouring States adversely affect the peace and stability of the African continent,*

*“Reaffirming the inalienable right of the people of Angola, Mozambique and Guinea (Bissau) to freedom and independence in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations and the provisions of General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) of 14 December 1960,*

*“Grieved at the loss of life and extensive damage caused by the armed attack and invasion of the Republic of Guinea,*

*“1. Endorses the conclusions of the report of the Special Mission to the Republic of Guinea;*

*“2. Strongly condemns the Government of Portugal for its invasion of the Republic of Guinea;*

*“3. Demands that full compensation by the Government of Portugal be paid to the Republic of Guinea for the extensive damage to life and property caused by the armed attack and invasion and requests the Secretary-General to assist the Government of the Republic of Guinea in the assessment of the extent of the damage involved;*

*“4. Appeals to all States to render moral and material assistance to the Republic of Guinea to strengthen and defend its independence and territorial integrity;*

*“5. Declares that the presence of Portuguese colonialism on the African continent is a serious threat to the peace and security of independent African States,*

*“6. Urges all States to refrain from providing the Government of Portugal with military and material assistance enabling it to continue its repressive actions against the peoples of the Territories under its domination and against independent African States;*

*“7. Calls upon the Government of Portugal to apply without further delay to the peoples of the Territories under its domination the principles of self-determination and independence in accordance with the relevant resolutions of the Security Council and General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV);*

*“8. Solemnly warns the Government of Portugal that in the event of any repetition of armed attacks against independent African States, the Security Council shall immediately consider appropriate effective steps or measures in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Charter of the United Nations;*

*“9. Calls upon the Government of Portugal to comply fully with all the resolutions of the Security Council and in particular the present resolution in accordance with its obligations under Article 25 of the Charter.*

*“10. Requests all States, in particular Portugal's allies, to exert their influence on the Government of Portugal to ensure compliance with the provisions of the present resolution;*

*“11. Requests the President of the Security Council and the Secretary-General to follow closely the implementation of this resolution;*

*“12. Decides to remain actively seized of the matter.”<sup>2</sup>*

51. After that introduction, I should perhaps offer some explanations and comments.

52. First, this is a problem which, while being African and directly affecting Africa and Africans, is likewise

<sup>2</sup> Subsequently circulated as document S/10030.

an international problem which consequently must involve the responsibility of the international community. The sponsors of the draft resolution have accordingly taken the initiative of drafting it and submitting it in due course to all members of the Security Council. This step seemed to us appropriate and indeed useful, so that we might unite our efforts, join our forces and arrive at an appropriate solution. Moreover, we know that the draft resolution as submitted is not exactly what was wanted by either the people of Guinea or the African States, which are automatically sympathetic to the cause of Guinea, which is also and always will be the cause of Africa.

53. That is why we circulated the draft resolution and also engaged in consultations with all the members of the Security Council. We recognize that the contents and the language of the text are far from commensurate with the gravity of the present situation. However, for want of a better alternative and also in the spirit of collective responsibility which is incumbent on the Security Council as a whole, it was our belief that the initial text could be revised and, in this regard, we should like to say that the consultations which have taken place have shed some light.

54. We should also like to emphasize in particular the present paragraphs 5 and 8 of the draft. It goes without saying that the appropriate and effective measures that are to be considered and taken in the event of a repetition of these acts by Portugal are to be found in Chapter VII of the Charter. It is in reality Chapter VII which should be invoked and implemented in circumstances of this kind, in conformity with the Charter itself.

55. We also felt that when one sovereign State is attacked and invaded by another sovereign State, that fact in itself constitutes a threat to international peace and security. In this case, since Portugal set off from a foreign continent and attacked another continent, that is to say, a sovereign country in the continent of Africa, then *a fortiori* the problem is not just an international one but also a continental one. The word continental automatically implies international, because there is no continent which does not contain several States. Therefore, we believe that the armed attack and the invasion suffered by Guinea placed international peace and security in jeopardy. That is why we think that even the independent African countries are already qualified to have international relations.

56. We therefore conclude that the draft resolution should be interpreted as finding that there is a threat to international peace and security on the part of Portugal. We should like to appeal to all members of the Security Council, in view of the consultations we held before submitting this draft resolution, to display an understanding attitude.

57. We are fully aware, at the same time, of the difficulties that may be experienced by some members of the Security Council that are allies of Portugal in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. Nevertheless, contrary to the claims of Portugal that that colonialist

Power reflects and represents Western civilization, we for our part think that it rather represents an affront to the West and to Western civilization. This premise being established, Portugal's allies themselves have every advantage in demonstrating that they can in no way endorse Portugal's aggressive acts or the perpetuation of Portuguese colonialism in Africa.

58. It is for that reason, therefore, that those members of the Security Council that are Portugal's allies could, by their solidarity, better serve the interests of Portugal itself and their own interests by associating themselves with us, and even, if necessary, by co-sponsoring the draft resolution. To do so would be clear evidence of their wish to dissociate themselves from Portugal's acts. For in the final analysis, if Portugal continues to behave in this fashion, that is to say, to engage in aggression against independent countries, it is the prestige and the interests, if not the very dignity of the members of NATO that will be at stake. Surely they would not wish to be considered as favouring acts of aggression such as we have recently witnessed.

59. The draft resolution is not pure invention. For its essential features it draws on the conclusions contained in the report of the Special Mission, which recently completed its visit to Guinea and its investigations there. Since the five members of the Special Mission represented the Security Council in its entirety and the mission itself was composed in such a way as to ensure geographical representation, it goes without saying that their conclusions reflect the attitude of the Security Council. Accordingly, the draft resolution should be the common endeavour of all members of the Security Council.

60. We also note that some members that usually hesitate to support draft resolutions of this kind have been greatly assisted on this occasion by the testimony and the facts collected by the Special Mission of the Security Council. Those facts and that testimony should secure a unanimous vote for this draft resolution which, as I said before, is already weakened by the very fact of additions that were dictated by the spirit of compromise which, in certain circumstances, can jeopardize international peace and security.

61. On behalf of the sponsors of the draft resolution, I should therefore like to urge that this our concern and this common responsibility we bear for international peace and security should prevail, so that rapid, effective and appropriate action may be taken.

62. Should my delegation consider it necessary to speak again on the draft resolution, we shall beg the indulgence of the President and our colleagues at that time.

63. For the moment, this is all I have to say on my own behalf and on behalf of the other co-sponsors. We urge that speed be regarded as an extremely important element.

64. The PRESIDENT (*translated from Russian*): I thank the representative of Burundi.

65. Mr. KHATRI (Nepal): On 22 November the Government of the Republic of Guinea charged that an act of aggression had that day been committed against Guinea by Portugal. According to the communications from the Government of Guinea, as also the statement made by the representative of Guinea in the Security Council [1558th meeting], Portuguese commando troops had landed by sea at Conakry and had carried out bombing raids at various strategic points in the capital city. The presence of external debarkment ships off the coast at Conakry was confirmed by the United Nations Development Programme Resident Representative in Guinea. The Government of Guinea requested the Security Council to intervene urgently to restore international peace and security.

66. It may be recalled that, in a communication of the same day addressed to the President of the Security Council [S/9989], the Government of Portugal categorically denied the accusations of the Government of Guinea.

67. When the Security Council met to consider the complaint of the Republic of Guinea it recognized that the situation was an extremely serious one and consequently was able to act unanimously on an urgent basis. In strict conformity with its responsibility under the Charter for the maintenance of international peace and security, the Security Council, in adopting resolution 289 (1970), brought the full weight of its authority to bear on the invading forces to cease the armed attack immediately and to withdraw. But the Council did not merely confine itself to demanding the cessation of armed attack and the withdrawal of the invading forces. It decided to dispatch its own Special Mission to the Republic of Guinea to report on the situation immediately, it being clearly understood that when a report on the situation became available it would take further necessary measures in the light of the findings or conclusions of the Special Mission.

68. A five-member Special Mission was duly formed after only a few hours' consultation between the President of the Security Council and the Secretary-General of the United Nations, taking fully into account the wishes of all members of the Security Council. The Special Mission was able to proceed to the Republic of Guinea to carry out its task without delay. The Special Mission has submitted a unanimous report on the situation, which is contained in documents S/10009 and Add.1, and is now being considered by the Security Council.

69. Before making some brief comments on the report of the Security Council's Special Mission I should like to say that in the view of my delegation the decision of 22 November 1970 constitutes one of the most important decisions ever taken by the Security Council. The Council thereby demonstrated its will and ability to be swift, decisive and united at a moment of crisis; it showed that its concern lay not only in the cessation of fighting and the withdrawal of invading forces but also in finding out all the circumstances and facts surrounding the situation, which threatened international peace and security, so that it could deal effectively

with that situation in accordance with the provisions of the Charter. Actions of that kind by the Security Council restore the faith of the international community—and particularly the smaller States—in the United Nations as an effective instrument for the maintenance of international peace and security. To my delegation it appears that this practice could be advantageously followed by the Security Council in its consideration of comparable situations in the future.

70. With regard to the report of the Security Council's Special Mission, it is clear for every member of the Security Council to see that the conclusions of the Special Mission support and confirm the contentions of the Government of Guinea in all essential respects. In Section III of the report, "Conclusions", is set out, first, the construction and pattern of the events of 22 and 23 November; secondly, the aims and objectives of the armed invasion; and, thirdly, the origin of, and responsibility for, that invasion.

71. It has been established beyond any doubt that the purpose of the invasion was to overthrow the Government of the Republic of Guinea and replace it by dissident elements, at the same time striking at the leadership and headquarters of the anti-colonial liberation movement. The Special Mission unanimously reached its considered opinion that:

"(a) The ships used to transfer the invading force to Guinean waters were manned by predominantly white Portuguese troops and commanded by white Portuguese officers;

"(b) The force consisted of units of Portuguese armed forces, mainly African troops from Guinea (Bissau) under the command of the regular white Portuguese officers, as well as of a contingent composed of dissident Guineans trained and armed on the territory of Guinea (Bissau).

"In the best judgement of the Special Mission, the invading force was assembled in Guinea (Bissau)." [S/10009, paras. 40 and 41.]

The Special Mission concludes by stating categorically that:

"The invasion of the territory of the Republic of Guinea on 22 and 23 November was carried out by naval and military units of the Portuguese armed forces, acting in conjunction with Guinean dissident elements from outside the Republic of Guinea." [Ibid., para. 41.]

72. The Government of Portugal has stated that it did not order, authorize or consent to the armed attack against the Republic of Guinea. That may in some way imply that the colonial authorities in Guinea (Bissau) undertook the invasion without the knowledge of the authorities in Lisbon; that is incredible. Anyway, the Government of Portugal has denounced the report of the Security Council's Special Mission. That was to be expected. Portugal's long-standing hostility towards the United Nations on account of the Organization's

opposition to the policies and practices of colonialism is well known. It is also a fact that the Security Council has several times in the past had occasion to censure Portugal for violating the territorial integrity of the independent African States which adjoin the territories of Angola, Mozambique and Guinea (Bissau), and in none of those instances did the Government of Portugal admit its guilt.

73. The report of the Special Mission leaves no doubt as to the culpability of Portugal for the invasion of the territory of the Republic of Guinea on 22 and 23 November. It is clear that the invasion was carried out by Portugal in furtherance of its colonial policies in Africa. The Security Council must not lose sight of the fact that the colonial presence of Portugal in Africa is rightly regarded by all African States as the equivalent of a permanent threat to the peace and security of that continent.

74. In the matter now under consideration the facts concerning the armed invasion, its motives and authorship, have been established beyond any reasonable doubt. It is for the Security Council fully to live up to its responsibilities under the Charter. In the view of my delegation, punitive measures are clearly indicated, coupled with the preventive measures provided for in the Charter to prevent the recurrence of such an act by Portugal.

75. My delegation has the honour to be one of the sponsors of the draft resolution which was so ably introduced to the Security Council just now by the Ambassador of Burundi. The provisions contained in the draft resolution are not entirely satisfactory, in so far as they do not adequately measure up to the requirements of the situation, which clearly warrants more energetic action by the Security Council. However, the draft resolution is a product of protracted consultations and one which contains the minimum demand of the sponsoring delegations. My delegation hopes that, basing itself entirely on the facts of the present situation, the Security Council will see its way clear to adopting this draft resolution unanimously.

76. The PRESIDENT (*translated from Russian*): Thank you for your statement and for introducing the draft resolution jointly with the representative of Burundi.

77. The list of speakers for today's meeting is exhausted. As a result of the consultations held with the members of the Council, the next meeting, at which we will resume consideration of this item, will be held tomorrow, 8 December, at 3 p.m.

*The meeting rose at 6.35 p.m.*

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