

UNITED NATIONS



# SECURITY COUNCIL OFFICIAL RECORDS

TWENTY-FOURTH YEAR

**1526<sup>th</sup>** MEETING: 22 DECEMBER 1969

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 TWENTY-SIXTH MEETING

Held in New York on Monday, 22 December 1969, at 10.30 a.m.

*President:* Mr. V. J. MWAANGA (Zambia).

*Present:* The representatives of the following States: Algeria, China, Colombia, Finland, France, Hungary, Nepal, Pakistan, Paraguay, Senegal, Spain, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America and Zambia.

### Provisional agenda (S/Agenda/1526)

1. Adoption of the agenda.

2. Complaint by Guinea:

Letter dated 4 December 1969 from the Chargé d'affaires *ad interim* of Guinea addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/9528).

### Adoption of the agenda

*The agenda was adopted.*

### Complaint by Guinea

**Letter dated 4 December 1969 from the Chargé d'affaires *ad interim* of Guinea addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/9528)**

1. The PRESIDENT: In accordance with previous decisions, I propose now, with the consent of the Council, to invite the representatives of Guinea and Portugal to take places at the Council table, and the representatives of Mali, Syria, Congo (Brazzaville), Liberia, Madagascar, Sierra Leone, Tunisia, Lesotho, Saudi Arabia, Libya, Yemen, India, Mauritius and Bulgaria to take the places reserved for them at the side of the Council chamber, in order to participate in the discussion without the right to vote, on the usual understanding that those with places at the side of the chamber will be invited to take a seat at the Council table when it is their turn to address the Council.

*At the invitation of the President, Mr. A. Touré (Guinea) and Mr. F. B. de Miranda (Portugal) took places at the Council table, and Mr. S. Traore (Mali), Mr. G. J. Tomeh (Syria), Mr. J. Mombouli (Congo (Brazzaville)), Mr. L. H. Diggs (Liberia), Mr. B. Rabetafika (Madagascar), Mr. F. B. Savage (Sierra Leone), Mr. A. M'Sadek (Tunisia), Mr. M. T. Mashologu (Lesotho), Mr. J. M. Baroody (Saudi Arabia), Mr. W. El Bouri (Libya), Mr. M. S. Alattar (Yemen), Mr. S. Sen (India), Mr. R. K. Ramphul (Mauritius) and Mr. M. Tarabanov (Bulgaria) took the places reserved for them.*

2. The PRESIDENT: The Security Council concluded last Friday [1525th meeting] its general debate on the item

before it. Before we proceed to the vote, a number of delegations have expressed a wish to speak in explanation of their votes before the vote. I shall now call on them.

3. Mr. PINIES (Spain) (*translated from Spanish*): My delegation regrets once again that between two countries with which we maintain the most cordial relations incidents of this kind should have occurred leaving so many victims and definitely creating tension which seriously threatens the tranquillity of the region.

4. My delegation feels that at present the task of the Council is not to examine other attacks against independent African States. Today we have before us the complaint of Guinea, to be found in documents S/9525, S/9528 and S/9554, together with the explanations given by the representative of that country. We also have in mind the statements made here by the representative of Portugal.

5. Thus we believe that the events which have occurred require investigation by this Council so that light could be shed on them, and so that we representatives could have objective information enabling us to judge this situation. It is not that we are casting doubt here on any of the assertions made by the one or the other party, but my delegation believes that to overlook the provisions of the Charter of the United Nations, and more particularly Articles 33 and 34, would keep us in a constant state of uncertainty and prevent us from making an accurate evaluation of the events. On the other hand, my delegation deplores the loss of human life, the toll of wounded, and the material damage which resulted from these events which we are examining.

6. We consider, too, that an end must be put to this situation, and we appeal to the parties concerned to find some just and satisfactory solution by means of negotiation.

7. My delegation, respectful of the Charter of the United Nations, cannot make any judgement in the absence of an investigation of the matter. My delegation will therefore abstain from voting on the draft resolution now before us [S/9574].

8. Mr. PHILLIPS (United States of America): My delegation will abstain on the resolution contained in document S/9574 because we believe it fails to take into account the conflicting claims which have been presented to us by the representatives of Portugal and Guinea. Moreover, the considerable gap between the time the incidents reportedly took place and the meeting of the Security Council, as well

as the lack of any impartially confirmed evidence, make it difficult for my delegation to make an informed decision as to the facts of the case.

9. It is the belief of my Government that issues such as these could better be resolved through recourse to Article 33 of the Charter; and we regret that the procedures under that provision of the Charter have not been sufficiently explored or utilized.

10. In view of those considerations my delegation has no alternative but to abstain.

11. Mr. JAKOBSON (Finland): The Finnish delegation will vote in favour of the draft resolution submitted to the Council in the name of the delegations of Algeria, Nepal, Pakistan, Senegal and Zambia [S/9574]. I should like here to say to the sponsors that we are grateful to them for taking into account a number of suggestions which my delegation made to them last week.

12. In voting for the draft resolution we wish to express our concern over the continued tension along the borders of the African Territories under Portuguese administration and adjoining independent African States. The three complaints brought before the Council by the Governments of Zambia, Senegal and Guinea within the last six months serve to underline the gravity of the situation.

13. I should like to stress once again the two major elements that have determined our attitude to these complaints. First, it is our view that in these cases the necessary prerequisites for adopting the normal procedures provided for in Article 33 of the Charter are lacking, and that therefore it is up to the Security Council, acting within Chapter VI of the Charter, to recommend ways and means by which the recurrence of these incidents could be prevented and the deterioration of the situation halted.

14. Second, it is the view of the Finnish delegation that incidents of the kind the Security Council is dealing with at this moment cannot be viewed in isolation: they are symptoms of a tension that could be regarded as structural, tension arising from the suppression of the legitimate aspirations of the peoples living in the African Territories under Portuguese administration, peoples that have the right to self-determination and independence.

15. Mr. BERARD (France) (*translated from French*): Mr. President, since you have expressed the wish that this should be the Security Council's last meeting of the year I should like, at the beginning of this explanation of vote, to express my sincere regrets to those who will be leaving the Council.

16. Having my colleague from Hungary as my immediate neighbour, has shown me how easy and pleasant co-existence with him is and has persuaded me that the same relationship should exist among peoples and political systems. Whenever our votes differed, I concluded that I must certainly be right; but whenever our opinions coincided, I was convinced that we could not both be wrong.

17. Our colleague from Pakistan brought to the Council the same exceptional qualities of intelligence which made

him a remarkable Chairman of the First Committee. The authority which he demonstrated in the Council will not be forgotten.

18. We shall also not forget the qualities of discernment and common sense—the rarest quality in the world, whatever Descartes may have said—and the sincerity and loyalty which have earned our colleague from Paraguay such an important place in our affections.

19. The two other colleagues who are leaving the Council represent countries which have special relations with my own country. To our colleague from Senegal, Ambassador Boye, it will be sufficient for me to say—and this is the highest tribute that could be paid to him—that on every occasion here he has been the worthy representative of that great international statesman, his President.

20. To our colleague, Mr. Azzout, I shall express very special regret because he has told me he is leaving not only the Security Council but the United Nations. He has been much liked for his intelligence, his quick grasp of problems, his political sense, the sincerity of his convictions and his loyalty in his relations with us, all of which have made him the friend of us all.

21. My delegation has already had the opportunity on many occasions, and again a few days ago, to make known to the Council its views on the incidents which take place on the frontier of the Portuguese Territories in Africa. Moreover, is there any need for me to recall the obvious and deep divergencies which distinguish the policy of France from that of Portugal on the African continent? We have always considered that the recognition of the right of peoples to self-determination and the free exercise of self-determination constitute both a moral obligation and a pre-condition for political stability.

22. My country has shown that complete decolonization, without reservations, can open up the road more widely to friendship and to fruitful co-operation. I would add my voice to the voices of those speakers who have stressed here that Portugal, during its long African past, has accumulated sufficient trust not to hesitate now to enter on that same road. That is our most sincere wish.

23. The draft resolution that has been presented to us nevertheless raises certain hesitations on our part. It relates to incidents that are for the most part old, and in the case of some of them the facts seem to be neither clearly nor adequately established. Can we really pass a legally valid judgement on this matter? We wonder, moreover, whether the measures that are proposed are really such as to restore calm in that region. A severe warning was already addressed to Portugal on 9 December [*resolution 273 (1969)*]. My delegation has often, in similar cases, cited the provisions of Article 2 of the Charter, which makes it an obligation of Member States to settle their disputes by peaceful means. It still considers that, more particularly in that part of the world, everything should be done to bring about the replacement of military action by bilateral negotiations.

24. After hearing the parties, it seems to us that the Council should be in a position to facilitate such talks, since

each of the two parties has expressed the wish to obtain the return of persons and property being held on the territory of the other.

25. Such are the reasons why my delegation, while wishing to pay tribute to the moderation shown by the sponsors of the draft resolution, will not be in a position to vote.

26. Mr. MORALES SUAREZ (Colombia) (*translated from Spanish*): A new statement of the principles to which my delegation adheres is obviously not necessary in this case, since the Council knows with what conviction and determination my country supports anti-colonialism, the self-determination of peoples, and the non-intervention in the internal affairs of other nations. There can be no discussion of those principles and their application can be neither evaded nor postponed.

27. Furthermore, we have welcomed with satisfaction and sympathy the arrival on the world scene of the African countries which have acceded to independence. They share many of the problems and difficulties which we are endeavouring to overcome, and very often our purposes and objectives are similar.

28. Of course what is being debated here is the specific case brought before the Council. In this case, my delegation wishes in the first place to express its concern about a situation which has been going on for a very long time, and the final solution of which must necessarily be compatible with the instruments to which the Members of the United Nations must subject their conduct.

29. On the other hand, my delegation does not believe that we should overlook the statement of the representative of Portugal as to his Government's willingness that these events should be satisfactorily investigated. These facts seem to my delegation to be very complicated. We are united with Portugal by nothing more than an old and long-standing friendship, and there are no other motives, either political or financial, which would cause us to express our concern here. We are in complete disagreement with Portugal's approach to questions of principle, but it seems to us that to disregard Portugal's statement would be neither just nor in conformity with the detachment and objectivity which should characterize the action of the Council.

30. My delegation wonders whether such a possible investigation is compatible with the functions of the Council. We think that to investigate is not a function that can be denied to the political organ which has in its hands the power to sanction and to restrain. The Charter itself corroborates this opinion of ours. This does not, of course, convert the Council into a tribunal, but it does provide an instrument of which it should not be deprived.

31. It is this consideration which will cause us to abstain in the vote on the draft resolution that the Council has before it.

32. Mr. SOLANO LOPEZ (Paraguay) (*translated from Spanish*): Before this meeting began, Mr. President, I asked you to let me speak twice: once to explain the vote of my

delegation with regard to the draft resolution in document S/9574, and a second time, at the end of the debate, in order to make a brief statement. The example of the representative of France, which I should like to follow, will enable me, I think, to combine my two statements into one, and if you will allow me I shall now proceed.

33. I shall begin with what was to be my second statement. It is probable that this meeting will be the last one that we will hold in 1969 and, consequently, the last when my country and I will participate in the work of the Security Council. In conformity with the present system, it is possible that much time will pass before another representative of Paraguay will be sitting in the Security Council. Whether or not this is the last meeting, this is an exceptional occasion for my delegation which justifies my request to be allowed to make this statement.

34. For two consecutive years, 1968 and 1969, Paraguay has served the cause of the United Nations and the permanent ideal of international peace and security as a non-permanent member of the Security Council, the General Assembly having entrusted it with that post. At the end of this period for which it was elected, I should like to say that, while fulfilling the responsibilities entrusted to us, the Republic of Paraguay has in the Council defended its concept of justice with the greatest impartiality, and has made every effort to ensure that it made a useful contribution in the examination and evaluation of matters brought to the Council's attention, so that, in fulfilling the functions the Charter has bestowed on it, the Council could work successfully within the obvious limitations which its structure imposes.

35. At this time when these duties and responsibilities are being transferred to other members who will in nine days' time take up their posts in the Security Council, I believe, casting a retrospective eye on the work of these two years, that I can say categorically that we have not betrayed anybody's confidence and that we can return to the General Assembly confident that we have made a no doubt small but useful contribution in helping to make the Security Council what the Charter and the Members of the United Nations want it to be, namely an organ which bears the main responsibility in maintaining international peace and security.

36. I should like to add a personal note. During these two years I have had the honour of representing the Republic of Paraguay in the Security Council. It was a unique experience and I shall always remember that period of 24 months. I have learned furthermore to recognize and respect the high intellectual and moral qualities of the members of the Council. From all of them I have learned a great deal and I shall never forget it. Allow me, Mr. President, to express to each and every member of the Council my gratitude for the co-operation which they have always given me and for the very many fine lessons they have taught me. My gratitude can be summed up in two simple words: thank you. I should like to express my gratitude to Ambassador Bérard for his kind words, in which I see the reflection of the friendship with which he has honoured me.

37. I now come to the draft resolution before us. This is the third time in the latter part of this year that the

Security Council has on its agenda a complaint against Portugal for the violation of the sovereignty and territorial integrity of a free and independent African State, and for the loss of lives and material damages suffered by that State as a result of those violations which are the subject of the complaint. Following on the complaints brought successively by the Republic of Zambia and by Senegal, which led to the adoption by the Council of resolutions 268 (1969) and 273 (1969), we now have a complaint before us submitted by the Republic of Guinea.

38. Any violation of the sovereignty and territorial integrity of a State is a dangerous breach of the universally accepted norms of international co-operation, on which relations between States must be based if they are to be peaceful and harmonious. Furthermore, these norms, incorporated in the United Nations Charter, must be respected and implemented by all the Members of our Organization.

39. In judging each case submitted to the Council, that consideration must inevitably take first place. A second essential requirement is that the facts which are at the basis of the complaint must be verified or, in any case, that it must be determined whether they actually occurred; this determination of facts must be beyond question. From a study of this debate, it seems to my delegation that the facts mentioned in the complaint have actually occurred as related in this Council and that Portugal, through its armed forces in Guinea (Bissau), has violated the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the Republic of Guinea and has caused not only material damage, for which compensation can be paid, but has also caused losses in human lives, for which there can be no compensation.

40. It is in this light that we examine the draft resolution submitted to the Council by the representatives of Algeria, Nepal, Pakistan, Senegal and Zambia [S/9574].

41. My delegation has certain reservations with regard to certain paragraphs in the draft resolution, for example the fourth paragraph of the preamble. We would have preferred that that had not appeared in the text, in view of the fact that the present debate is based on specific complaints made by the Republic of Guinea and not on the policy of Portugal in general against independent and sovereign African States. Certainly it is possible and even probable that the Security Council will be called upon to discuss that general situation at some time in the future. But this is not the case at the moment.

42. It would have been possible to adopt an alternative wording and to mention specifically similar cases which the Council had to examine previously and which gave rise to the resolutions already adopted.

43. However, despite these reservations, we intend to vote in favour of the draft resolution submitted by Algeria, Nepal, Pakistan, Senegal and Zambia.

44. Finally, I should like to refer to the allegations made during the course of the debate by the representative of Portugal with regard to certain Portuguese citizens detained in the Republic of Guinea. Those allegations were not

sufficiently discussed and consequently they might cast a shadow on the impartiality of the Council. Therefore, I would make an appeal to the representative of Guinea, in case these allegations need further examination, so that he can make an effort to dispel all doubts about them, or, if necessary, to have the persons in question liberated.

45. Mr. LIU Chieh (China): My delegation will abstain on the draft resolution before us because, in our view, the specifics contained in the complaint appear insufficient to warrant a decisive judgement on the part of the Council. Some of the incidents mentioned seem to lend themselves to the possibility of settlement by direct negotiation between the parties. I must make it clear, however, that our abstention does not in any way affect our firm and longstanding opposition to colonialism. It is a well-known fact that my delegation has throughout the years faithfully adhered to the anti-colonial policies laid down a half-century ago by the founder of the Republic of China, Mr. Sun Yat-sen. We fully support the aspirations of the colonial peoples for self-determination and independence.

46. It is our belief that unless the Portuguese authorities march with the spirit of the times and provide the inhabitants of Angola, Mozambique and Guinea (Bissau) with an opportunity to express their wishes freely, there will always be conflict between the Portuguese authorities and the independent African States. It is hoped that the Government of Portugal will see the wisdom of avoiding costly colonial warfare, which seems to be in the offing in the prevailing circumstances.

47. In the present case, however, the Council is dealing with a specific complaint rather than with colonialism as such. Hence our abstention.

48. The PRESIDENT: There are no further names on my list of speakers in explanation of vote before the vote. The Council will now proceed to a vote on the draft resolution contained in document S/9574, submitted by Algeria, Nepal, Pakistan, Senegal and Zambia.

*A vote was taken by show of hands.*

*In favour:* Algeria, Finland, Hungary, Nepal, Pakistan, Paraguay, Senegal, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, Zambia.

*Against:* None.

*Abstaining:* China, Colombia, France, Spain, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America.

*The draft resolution was adopted by 9 votes to none, with 6 abstentions.<sup>1</sup>*

49. The PRESIDENT: A number of delegations has asked to speak after the vote. The first speaker is the representative of Portugal on whom I now call.

50. Mr. MIRANDA (Portugal): Once again a resolution against my country has been adopted, a resolution that is

<sup>1</sup> See resolution 275 (1969).

patently one-sided and unwarranted by the facts available for the consideration of the Council. My delegation wishes to place on record its most formal and emphatic reservations in regard to that resolution contained in document S/9574.

51. Nevertheless, we should be amiss if we failed to express our sense of appreciation for the attitude of those members of the Security Council whose abstentions left no doubt that they will not be parties to such an act of injustice. On behalf of my delegation and on my own behalf, I should like to thank the representatives of Spain, the United Kingdom, the United States, China, Colombia and France for their abstentions.

52. Strictures have been gratuitously permitted against Portugal, strictures based on flagrantly false conclusions arrived at in the course of a debate which, besides being prolific in more than one aspect, has been allowed to stray far beyond the context of the complaint brought by the Republic of Guinea. Questions that were entirely extraneous to the complaint were brought before the Council. My delegation will not comment on any of them; it will only reject and repudiate all of them as unacceptable.

53. We consider as altogether deplorable the resolution that has just been voted upon. We wish to emphasize that it does not reflect the situation created by the international conspiracy to provide aid and encouragement for the armed attacks launched from the Republic of Guinea, with the official blessings of its Government, against Portuguese Guinea, with sophisticated armaments, technicians and professional officers drawn from the regular armies of States entirely alien to the continent of Africa; States which are bent on the expansion of their ideology by all available means.

54. Nothing could, moreover, illustrate more fully the partial nature of the resolution than the fact that the 24 Portuguese nationals illegally detained in the Republic of Guinea under a régime of duress have been entirely ignored by its sponsors and supporters, in whose opinion, likewise, the innocent civilian dead and injured of Portuguese Guinea—deaths and injuries caused by the repeated and almost daily attacks launched from the Republic of Guinea—do not seem to count as human beings.

55. We cannot but note with righteous indignation that such one-sided resolutions are adopted every time a complaint is brought to the Council against Portugal, while on the sole occasion on which Portugal complained of a premeditated and clear-cut act of armed aggression against its national territory, the draft resolution aimed at putting a stop to that aggression, even though supported by the majority of Council members, was rendered ineffective by the veto of one of the permanent members.

56. Mr. President, speaking as the representative of your country at the 1525th meeting, you said, with your usual sense of humour, that Portugal had become almost a permanent member of the Security Council. Since I have personally been representing Portugal for many years now, your words reminded me of the first occasion on which I came to the Council as a member of the Portuguese

delegation. Looking around the table I see that the only other representative present on that occasion was the representative of France, His Excellency Mr. Armand Béard. I shall never forget the noble speech he made on that occasion and I take this opportunity to pay tribute to him most sincerely for the courage with which he defended the principles of international good conduct and of the Charter of the United Nations. We are on the eve of Christmas, Mr. President, and in keeping with the spirit of the season I may be pardoned these reminiscences.

57. Among the other representatives then sitting at the table there was one who had been present at the signing of the Charter in San Francisco. I refer to the late Ambassador Adlai Stevenson, who represented the United States of America. I think the words he spoke on that occasion could well be the subject of meditation by all the Members of the United Nations during this Christmas season:

“I believe that I am the only representative at this table who was present at the birth of the United Nations. Tonight we are witnessing the first act in a drama which could end with the death of the Organization.” [988th meeting, para. 130.]

Those words were spoken by Ambassador Adlai Stevenson on 18 December 1961. Eight years have gone by, almost to a day. When one finds that it has since become possible to come to the Security Council and openly advocate violence as a political instrument, when rank outsiders find it possible to come here and arrogate to themselves the right to speak even for me and for other Goans, as was witnessed during the debate that is about to end, then one begins to entertain justifiable apprehensions regarding the future application through the United Nations of the very concepts of justice and equity in international relations, which alone can ensure the peace and the progress of mankind.

58. As recently as last Wednesday, 17 December, this state of affairs was the subject of a radio and television broadcast in Lisbon by the Prime Minister of Portugal, Mr. Marcello Caetano. The following is an extract from his address to the Portuguese nations:

“Every pretext is good enough to accuse and condemn us. A clamour is raised in support of the terrorist movements which some new African States welcome in their territories and which provide them with food and material. And when from those territories attacks are directed against us, killing and causing injuries to our people and destroying property on our side, and if, notwithstanding repeated instructions from the Government, the Portuguese forces, tired and indignant, reply and a stray bullet should fall on the other side of the frontier, a hue and cry is raised saying that we violate the integrity of neighbouring countries. If we denounce the aggressions of which we are the victims, the United Nations turns a deaf ear. If we complain that Portuguese nationals who happen to enter peacefully in the territories bordering on our provinces are treacherously detained, harassed and clapped in gaol, even after their acquittal in court, the United Nations remains indifferent. If we invoke legitimate self-defence, the United Nations closes its eyes in order not to see the evidence. But if a

complaint is made against Portugal by an African country, it is known beforehand that there will be a condemnation, whether the complaint is substantiated or not. In vain do we express surprise that allegations of incidents unknown to us are made in the United Nations before they are brought to our notice by the countries concerned with a view to finding solutions bilaterally, as is usually done among civilized nations. In vain do we ask that before a decision is taken, an inquiry be held on the spot in order to find out whether the alleged incidents did take place and, if so, under what circumstances. In vain do we present our allegations with facts and documents which in any tribunal would be carefully examined before a decision is taken. For the United Nations nothing of this is of any use. Censures succeed one another in an attempt to wear out our nerves and to break our moral resistance. I ask myself, I ask the nation, if it is worth while to continue taking part in such meetings, in which decisions are taken before the debates take place and where the fact that we participate and present our defence imparts a semblance of formal regularity to what is no more than violence pure and simple, devoid alike of a basis and of a juridical significance."

59. Mr. TOURÉ (Guinea) (*translated from French*): Mr. President, may I be allowed, through you, to thank the Security Council for having heard the cause of the Republic of Guinea, a young African State, which is the victim of acts of aggression committed by Portugal. We sincerely thank and warmly congratulate all the States which have here demonstrated their active solidarity with the Republic of Guinea in the course of this debate and which have shown by their evident solidarity how much they condemn colonization and all its consequences, how attached they are to justice, and what a scourge for Africa Portuguese colonization is in itself.

60. The vote just taken by the Security Council is completely satisfactory to the delegation of the Republic of Guinea because it results from a debate during which the files of Portuguese colonization were opened wide and presented under various aspects, all of which bear witness to the desire of Portugal to maintain, well on in the twentieth century, its colonization, its arbitrary rule, and its domination over States which aspire to their freedom and sovereignty.

61. The Security Council has carefully noted the fact that the Republic of Guinea was attacked by Portugal. That attack against my country was not the first of its kind, so there is no need here to refer to other condemnations which have been pronounced by the Security Council, by the General Assembly, by other international organs and by world public opinion against Portugal.

62. Besides those condemnations of Portugal by the Security Council and all other condemnations, there is the reaffirmation of resolution 1514 (XV) on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples. Because of the permanent conflict created by the non-acceptance of that resolution and its provisions, the Security Council will have to sit continuously in order to deal with the clear cases of aggression of which Portugal is and always will be guilty.

63. We maintain that, apart from those condemnations, Portugal must be made to listen to reason. We would like to compare Portugal to a very sick man attended by two physicians: the first physician has tried to inject the serum of reason into him, but the patient has proved allergic to that treatment. The second physician feels surgery is needed. This physician represents the freedom fighters who, after trying the serum of reason—that dialogue which Portugal requests yet will not hear about—have resolutely taken the path of national liberation against which no armada, no force can prevail. This is the occasion to affirm that more emphatically than ever, so that Portugal may take note of it.

64. We wish once again to appeal to Portugal, through its allies, to enter into a dialogue with the freedom fighters. We state again that the African peoples are without hate and that the African peoples aspire only to their independence. We ask Portugal to heed this voice of Africa, which wants only its independence and its freedom. When that voice has been heeded, Portugal will no longer sit in the dock.

65. The PRESIDENT: The Security Council has now concluded its consideration of the complaint submitted to it by Guinea on 4 December in document S/9528.

66. It is my optimistic expectation that, given the desire of the people of the world for peace, this will be the last meeting of the Security Council in 1969. Let me take this opportunity to express my thanks to all of you for the maximum co-operation you have given me. During this month we have discussed some most thorny problems and, despite an absence of unanimity of views on a number of these problems, I am most grateful for all the useful suggestions and advice I received throughout from all the members of the Council. Let me pay a very special tribute to our colleagues Ambassador Shahi, Ambassador Csator-day, Ambassador Solano López, Ambassador Boye and Mr. Azzout for the loyal and indispensable services they rendered to the Council. They have truly been worthy representatives of their countries. I enjoyed working with all of them and I shall miss them very greatly.

67. In conclusion I wish you all a very happy Christmas and a prosperous New Year. Let us truly strive to make 1970 a more peaceful year, a year when the world will see more peace, justice and progress. I can only say, with justified optimism, that all is well that ends well.

68. Mr. SHAHI (Pakistan): Together with our colleagues from Algeria, Hungary, Paraguay and Senegal, the members of the Pakistan delegation and I were looking forward to a silent exit from the Security Council on the termination of our term of membership. However, the representative of France, Ambassador Bérard, has been so generous in his praise of our work in the Council that the vow of silence must perforce be broken by a few words.

69. During the period of our membership the Security Council was called upon to act on several matters brought before it. On all occasions my delegation, while stating the views of its Government, has also endeavoured to work together with all members of the Security Council to bridge differences in order that all of us could move together and



move forward. It is a matter of no small satisfaction that more often than not the Council was able to act in unity on the basis of consensus. It is the most fitting tribute to all the members of the Council that my colleagues were not content to state the views of their respective Governments, but were impelled by their responsibility under the Charter to act also on behalf of all Members of the United Nations and to discharge the onerous responsibility of the Security Council for the maintenance of international peace and security.

70. It would be presumptuous for me to attempt to evaluate the contributions of any of my colleagues during the two years of our membership. All I would wish to say is that it has been a rare opportunity and privilege for me and my delegation to work with colleagues of such great personal calibre and stature. At this moment I cannot but express the hope that, together with the new members of the Security Council, all my colleagues who will continue their membership will be able to find solutions to the grave solutions or adjustments of the grievous situations of which the Council is seized. In particular we look to the four permanent members of the Security Council that have resumed their consultations on the Middle East to bring about a just and lasting peace to that tormented region. We are heartened to note that what appeared to be a hardened deadlock shows signs of movement. We believe that the collective efforts of the permanent members and their authority will give a powerful impetus to the implementation of Security Council resolution 242 (1967) of 22 November 1967.

71. In concluding may I express my gratitude to Ambassador Bérard for his most friendly gesture and to all my distinguished colleagues for their goodwill and encouragement and their assistance to my delegation and me. It is most fitting, Sir, that our membership should come to an end under your Presidency, you who are an outstanding representative of Africa and of a great African country.

72. Mr. CSATORDAY (Hungary): As we near the end of the year, some delegations are filled with so much optimism that they can express the hope that international tensions will not lead to any more meetings of the Security Council before New Year's Day. Though we share that hope we cannot be entirely certain that it will be fulfilled. But no matter what the next few days hold for us, my delegation wishes especially to thank the Ambassador of France for the warm tribute he paid to my delegation and to the other outgoing members of the Security Council.

73. In his eloquent and elegant statement, Ambassador Bérard expressed some qualified praise with regard to my delegation. We are certain we do not entirely deserve a good part of it. We have only fulfilled the task entrusted to us by our Government and by the international community. On the other hand, I wish to tell him that when we voted differently from him we too were convinced that our position was a constructive and just one—and that applies to today's vote too. All our votes and all our actions were based upon the principles of the Charter with respect to resolutions of the Security Council and the General

Assembly. When we and the representative of France voted in the same way, he took the correct position—and in this I fully share his opinion.

74. The Hungarian delegation has endeavoured to make a contribution to the best of its ability, faithful to the foreign policy of the Hungarian People's Republic, a policy of peace, progress and co-operation with other countries for the maintenance of peace. It has been a privilege to serve on this most important organ of the United Nations in the cause of maintaining international peace and security as laid down in the United Nations Charter. We wish at the same time to express our deep appreciation for the friendly co-operation and generous help we received from other Security Council members in carrying out our high duties. We wish all members of the Council—and first of all you, Mr. President—a happy holiday and a prosperous and peaceful New Year.

75. Mr. BOYE (Senegal) (*translated from French*): Since these last days of the year are days of love and hope, we must hope, with the optimists, that today's meeting will be the last meeting of the Council in which Senegal will participate in its two-year term of office.

76. In any case I should like to thank all my colleagues present here for the co-operation which they have always accorded me in my task. They have taught me a great deal during the two years that I have had the honour of representing my country.

77. I have already had the opportunity of expressing my gratitude to each representative here. Senegal, during these two years, has attempted to make its modest contribution to the fulfillment of the ideals of peace and justice. I am happy to have been able to represent my country among so many eminent representatives of countries which maintain relations of friendship and co-operation with Senegal. I again thank all of you.

78. Mr. AZZOUT (Algeria) (*translated from French*): I should like first to thank Mr. Bérard for the very kind words he addressed to me. Through my humble self, those words were meant for the entire Algerian delegation, whose humble spokesman I am.

79. Now that our term of office in the Security Council is coming to an end, I should like, on behalf of the Algerian delegation, to express our thanks to all the delegations members of the Council for their sincere and loyal co-operation. In the course of these last two years we have all, beyond our divergencies of views, appreciated the efforts of those who have at heart the safeguarding of peace and security in justice and the realization that despite its omissions and weaknesses the Security Council remains a useful instrument in the search for peace in the world. I am sure that all those who have shared our views during this period, as well as all those who have held different opinions, will leave with the feeling that they have done everything in their power to promote peace and understanding among peoples. Certainly, world peace will be

strengthened only when the last vestiges of colonialism and of injustice have been entirely eliminated.

80. In conclusion, may I offer my special thanks to all my colleagues who have had kind words to say about me. I

know that those tributes were meant, above all, for the country which I have the honour to represent.

*The meeting rose at 12.25 p.m.*

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