



SECURITY COUNCIL OFFICIAL RECORDS

TWENTY-FIFTH YEAR

1559th MEETING: 4 DECEMBER 1970

NEW YORK

CONTENTS

	<i>Page</i>
Provisional agenda (S/Agenda/1559)	1
Expression of thanks to retiring President and statement by the President	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)	2

16 P.

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 FIFTY-NINTH MEETING

Held in New York on Friday, 4 December 1970, at 4 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/1559)

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).

Expression of thanks to retiring President and statement by the President

1. The PRESIDENT (*translated from Russian*): Before we take up the question on the agenda for today's meeting, I should like to pay a tribute to my predecessor, Ambassador Tomeh, who was President of the Security Council last month, and to thank him for all he did while he was President.
2. Ambassador Tomeh is widely known not only as a distinguished diplomat and talented speaker but also as a great scholar. I am especially pleased to note that he is the representative of a State with which the Soviet Union maintains friendly relations.
3. Last month, under his wise and effective guidance, a number of meetings were held and important decisions were taken. At its 1558th meeting, the Security Council adopted a decision demanding the immediate cessation of aggression against the Republic of Guinea and the immediate withdrawal of all external armed forces and mercenaries from the territory of Guinea. The Security Council also adopted the very important decision to send to the Republic of Guinea a Special Mission¹ composed of representatives of five countries

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

which are members of the Security Council; its report is before the Council today [S/10009 and Add.1].

4. I should also like to express gratitude to the Secretary-General and the Under-Secretary-General, who have concerned themselves with this question, and to the other members of the United Nations Secretariat for their quick and efficient processing of the report of the Security Council Special Mission, which enabled the Council to meet today to consider this report.

5. Mr. TOMEH (Syria): First of all I should like to congratulate you, Mr. President, on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council during this decisive month of our deliberations. I do not think that I shall add much to the knowledge of the members of the Security Council and the international community if I say that your presidency of the Council will bring to it the experience of a man whose name has been associated with the consideration of some of the greatest problems which the last two decades of our life have known, as well as with the determination to solve those and other pending problems peacefully. Yours is a very rich experience in which not only the Security Council and we ourselves as your colleagues, but also the international community as a whole, should rejoice.

6. I would go on to mention very gratefully the collaboration of all the members of the Security Council when we met with the difficult problem that you referred to, Mr. President, that of Guinea, and their awareness of the dangers that threaten world peace and their response in acting in a most active and dynamic manner.

7. I wish also to express my gratitude and thanks to the Secretary-General of the United Nations, U Thant, for his very close co-operation, and I hope I shall have another opportunity to say more on this subject when we come to the discussion of it; but, finally, I, as the representative of Syria, certainly rejoice in the fact of seeing a representative of a country to which my country is bound by strong ties of friendship, understanding and mutual respect, assume the presidency of the Security Council during this month.

8. The PRESIDENT (*translated from Russian*): Thank you for your kind words about my country and about me personally.

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)**

9. The PRESIDENT (*translated from Russian*): Before we proceed to consider the substance of the question on the agenda, I should like to remind the members of the Council that at our 1558th meeting it was decided to invite the representatives of Guinea, Senegal, Mali, Saudi Arabia and Mauritania to participate in the Council's debate on the question before it. I should also like to inform the members of the Council that the representatives of Algeria [S/10010], Liberia [S/10011], Tanzania [S/10012], the People's Republic of the Congo [S/10013], Yugoslavia [S/10015], Mauritius [S/10016] and the Sudan [S/10017] have sent written requests asking that their delegations be invited to participate, without the right to vote, in the Council's debate on this question. If there are no objections or comments from members of the Council, I propose also to invite the representatives of all these countries to participate in the Council's meeting in accordance with our established practice and the relevant rules of procedure.

10. In view of the limited number of seats at the Council table and in accordance with the Council's established practice, I propose to invite the representative of Guinea to take the place reserved for him at the Council table. The other representatives are invited to take the places reserved for them at the side of the Council chamber. Under this arrangement, they will all be invited to take places at the Council table when their turn comes to speak.

At the invitation of the President, 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. L. Mojsov (Yugoslavia), Mr. R. K. Ramphul (Mauritius) and Mr. M. Khalid (Sudan) took the places reserved for them.

11. The PRESIDENT (*translated from Russian*): At today's meeting the Security Council begins its consideration of the report of the Special Mission sent to the Republic of Guinea. This report is before the Council for consideration in documents S/10009 and Add.1. I should like to inform the members of the Council that a letter from the Chargé d'affaires of Portugal to the United Nations referring to the report of

the Security Council Special Mission to the Republic of Guinea has been circulated in document S/10014.

12. The first speaker on my list is the Chairman of the Special Mission, the representative of Nepal, who has expressed a wish to introduce the report of the Mission. I invite him to do so.

13. Mr. KHATRI (Nepal): Mr. President, I should like, first of all, to extend to you the warm congratulations of my delegation upon your assumption of the office of President of the Security Council, as well as to express my personal admiration and respect for your conspicuous ability and qualities of character. I am sure that during your presidency of the Security Council you will display a high degree of authority, objectivity and wisdom. I wish to assure you that in the discharge of your great responsibilities as President you will enjoy the full co-operation and support of my delegation.

14. I should also like to congratulate your predecessor, Ambassador George Tomeh, for the great decision that was taken by the Security Council under his presidency last month. He further deserves our tribute for the outstanding manner in which he conducted the affairs of the Security Council. He showed an absolute sense of impartiality and a high level of competence. I am personally deeply grateful to him for the consideration and friendship he has always been good enough to show towards me.

15. I now turn to the matter under consideration.

16. In my capacity as Chairman of the Security Council Special Mission to the Republic of Guinea established under resolution 289 (1970) of 22 November, I have the honour to introduce the report of the Special Mission, contained in document S/10009 and Add.1.

17. In compliance with the decision of the Security Council, the Special Mission undertook the implementation of its tasks by leaving immediately for Conakry, the capital of the Republic of Guinea. The Special Mission approached its tasks with a high sense of responsibility and concern, bearing in mind the great significance and urgency of the situation.

18. During its stay in Guinea, from 25 to 28 November, the Special Mission was able to gather a substantial amount of information and to carry out a heavy programme of activities, with the full co-operation of the Government of the Republic of Guinea. On the basis of the information received and the observations made, the Special Mission has arrived at certain conclusions and its considered opinion, as set out in section III of the report. The Special Mission hopes that its report will serve the purpose of fully clarifying the situation in order that the Security Council may take any further action it may consider necessary.

19. The PRESIDENT (*translated from Russian*): I call on the representative of Guinea.

20. Mr. TOURE (Guinea) (*interpretation from French*): The Security Council, which is the principal United Nations organ charged with the maintenance of international peace and security, once again is seized of the consideration of a flagrant act of premeditated aggression perpetrated by a Member State, the fascist Government of Lisbon, against the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the Republic of Guinea, an African Member State of our Organization.
21. In violation of paragraph 4 of Article 2 of the Charter, in the early hours of 22 November 1970, Portugal committed a treacherous aggression against the Republic of Guinea, thus once more gravely jeopardizing the territorial integrity and political independence of the people of the Republic of Guinea, and trampling underfoot their fundamental freedoms.
22. After the incessant violations of Guinean airspace since July 1961, after numerous acts of deliberate provocation on our frontiers with occupied Guinea (Bissau), after the seizure of a Guinean civilian aircraft and of its crew by Portuguese authorities, after the Portuguese naval aggression at Boké on 13 November 1969, followed by the hijacking of a civilian trawler in Guinean territorial waters, it is today Conakry, one of the citadels of Africa's struggle for its true freedom and independence, which has been chosen as the target of a large-scale operation by imperialism to confiscate the victorious gains of Guinea and its revolution.
23. Conakry, which is a peninsula surrounded on all sides by the Atlantic, and having within its borders the national radio station, the central electricity generating station, the summer villa of President Ahmed Sékou Touré, the headquarters of the African Party for the Independence of Guinea and Cape Verde, the Gbessia international airport, Boiro military camp, and the Palace of the President of the Republic, situated on the northern and southern *corniches*, and which at this time of year is covered by heavy fog, is propitious for operations of this sort.
24. The population of Conakry, the majority of whom are Moslem, exhausted by the hard period of Ramadan, was sleeping peacefully. Thus everything seemed to contribute to the execution of the treacherous and criminal operation. Two LST ships from the last war, supported by ten cruiser warships, submarines, silent motor-launches, Zodiac barges, together with mercenaries who had fought against African freedom in Katanga, with the support of the regular Portuguese army, were used by Portuguese fascism in the name of imperialism to perpetrate the crime. Their numbers were 380 men, distributed as follows: 150 infantrymen from the regular Portuguese army; 80 Portuguese marines; 150 mercenaries of different nationalities. It was the Governor General, Spinoza Da Rivera, of the Portuguese colonies, who went aboard the ships to harangue, exhort and encourage those who were responsible for this criminal expedition.
25. The attack occurred at 2 o'clock in the morning. The population was asleep, and the targets of the Portuguese invaders were, in effect, the Port of Boulbinet, the headquarters of the radio, the central power station, Camp Almamy Samory, Camp Boiro, the headquarters of the African Party for the Independence of Guinea and Cape Verde (PAIGC), the President's residence at Bellevue, the Minière beach, Conakry Airport, Gbessia, and the presidency of the Republic.
26. It seems to us obvious that the aggression of 22 November 1970 by the Portuguese soldiery, acting, on behalf of and for imperialism, did not occur merely by chance, nor was it an isolated event. That is why the Republic of Guinea, which at no time was surprised at this new treachery and which did not wait for the United Nations to defend its inalienable right to its territorial integrity and its sovereignty, warded off the aggression, as you know, because of the heroic resistance of its people.
27. The Security Council of the United Nations will remember that in July 1961 and in February 1962, in a letter addressed to the President of the Security Council, the Government of the Republic of Guinea informed the Council of the constant violations of its air space by Portuguese military aircraft.
28. The Council will also remember a communication addressed to it by the Permanent Representative of Guinea to the United Nations, on 26 February 1965, stating that four houses in the small village of Soupan in the Republic of Guinea had been set on fire, and three civilians seriously wounded, by the Portuguese intervention forces.
29. Once again the Security Council's attention was drawn by the Republic of Guinea to the series of crimes committed by the Portuguese forces on 17 April 1965 in the Guinean village of Paicaille, when eighteen houses were set on fire, one person was killed and two were seriously wounded.
30. On 7 October 1965, in another communication addressed to the Security Council, the Government of Guinea submitted for consideration by the members of the Council information on the acts of deliberate provocation and the constant violations of Guinean air space by the Portuguese air force based in Guinea (Bissau).
31. On 2 and 24 November 1966, and on 9 and 13 June 1967, the Security Council and the Secretary-General, U Thant, were informed by the Government of the Republic of Guinea of the armed attack by Portugal against the territorial integrity and the sovereignty of the State of the Republic of Guinea, as well as of the considerable damage that had been inflicted and the loss of human lives in the villages of Bandiga, Mis-sira and Kandika, as a result of renewed Portuguese aggression.
32. The Security Council of the United Nations will also remember that on 13 October 1967, in Security Council document S/8193, the Republic of Guinea once again informed the United Nations organ charged with the maintenance of international peace and security,

of the bellicose acts perpetrated by the fascist Government of Lisbon, from the occupied territory of Guinea (Bissau) against the national territory of the Republic of Guinea.

33. Furthermore, the Security Council of the United Nations will remember that it was informed by the Government of the Republic of Guinea in the same document that on Wednesday, 4 October 1967, at 17 hours GMT, three aircraft of the Portuguese colonial military army had attacked and bombed the Guinean village of Kannkodi, forty kilometres inside our national territory, killing eleven civilians, of whom five were children; the others were two women, two old men and two adults.

34. Members of the Security Council will remember too the communication from the Republic of Guinea dated 27 August 1968, reporting that on that date a Guinean civilian aircraft, which had been the victim of a navigational error and had been compelled to make a forced landing in Guinea (Bissau) because of a shortage of fuel, had been seized, and the two Guinean crewmen had been arrested by the Portuguese authorities, despite the appeal made by President Ahmed Sékou Touré to the fascist Salazar and to world public opinion.

35. On 3 December 1969, in a message to the Secretary-General, U Thant, the President of the Republic of Guinea, the supreme leader of the revolution, Comrade Ahmed Sékou Touré, informed the United Nations Organization of the following:

“Have the honour to draw your attention particularly to a deliberate act of aggression once again perpetrated by Portuguese colonial authorities against territorial integrity of Republic of Guinea and fundamental freedoms of frontier populations. Portuguese fascist Government by bombing two Guinean villages, causing important material damage, thus bears responsibility for acting against sovereignty of our State and for plunging region concerned into permanent climate of wars of aggression gravely threatening peace and security in bordering countries. Republic of Guinea intends to bring matter before international bodies so as to inform international community of odious crimes committed against our country by that régime soon to be condemned by history.”

36. The Security Council might recall the appeal launched by all the Heads of State of Africa at the summit conference at Addis Ababa, as a result of the aggression of 27 August 1967, which was perpetrated in the area of Boké by five Portuguese scout ships against the Guinean trawler *Patrice Lumumba*, carrying goods and passengers, during which act of open aggression a teacher was killed and three civilians were wounded.

37. On 15 December 1969 the Security Council, at the request of the Government of the Republic of Guinea, was, as will be recalled, convened [1522nd meeting] after the hideous aggression committed by

the Portuguese colonialists army against the sovereignty and the territorial integrity of my country.

38. These facts amply demonstrate that the crisis with which the Security Council is now concerned did not begin today. This crisis has as its source the determination of imperialism to re-establish its hegemony, under the cover of Portugal, over the African territories of Guinea. It is also to be found in the will of imperialism to jeopardize the attainments of the struggle of African peoples to safeguard their sovereignty, their political independence and the territorial integrity of their nations.

39. The imperialist aggression carried out by Portugal on 22 November 1970 against Guinea proves once again that the obstinacy of the forces of evil against the freedom of the people of Guinea is an integral part of an over-all policy of aggression directed against progressive African régimes. Imperialism has sought in vain to overwhelm Guinea and its popular régime, because on 28 September 1958 the free State of Guinea swore that, whatever happened, it would remain in the vanguard of the anti-imperialist, anti-colonialist and anti-neocolonialist struggle in the struggle of the African peoples for freedom.

40. It is because the Revolutionary African Government of Guinea has given the country political and economic structures which for ever exclude any compromise with imperialism, in the exclusive interest of the Guinean population, that imperialism is bent on destroying it. It is also because the twelfth anniversary of the rebirth of Guinea's freedom coincided with its economic take-off that this latest aggression was perpetrated. But despite all the plots hatched by imperialism and its tools and all the imperialist aggressions, a people that is enlightened, free and jealous of its freedom will always be victorious over the forces of evil.

41. Just a few years in the exercise of independence have indeed enabled the Guinean State to endow itself with a régime which basically looks to Africa, to achieve complete political independence, to pursue its economic future in complete freedom, with control over all the vital sectors of the national economy, to mint an African currency independent of all monetary zones, and to proceed to an economic development that is fundamentally anti-capitalist and anti-imperialist—and there is no doubt that all these decisions have not been carried out without difficulties. Imperialism and its agents, whether from Africa or elsewhere, found therein sufficient reasons not to allow such a régime to see the light of day in Africa, and for ever to eliminate this challenge flung at imperialism and all its puppets.

42. Thus it is that Stateless persons from certain neighbouring States who had served the cause of the French colonial army became candidates to serve the cause of imperialism. So it is that mercenaries who, in the Congo, fought side by side with Moïse Tshombé against the freedom of Africa, were recruited for that same cause aimed at destroying any intention of real

independence in Africa. Operating in the name of imperialism, the fascist Government of Lisbon supplies training camps on the frontier territory of occupied Guinea (Bissau) and provides instruction to stateless Africans for the struggle against the guerrilla activities which the nationalists are waging and against the liberation movements. It finances and supplies the equipment and materiel necessary to commit this crime so as to wipe out, to the detriment of Africa, the victorious conquests of the struggle of the revolutionary people of Guinea.

43. In appealing to the United Nations for concerted action by air-borne United Nations troops and the Guinean national army, the Republic of Guinea evinced not only its faith in the norms of international law but renewed its freely given support for the United Nations as an organization able to serve as a bulwark against any encroachments on the sacred principles of the sovereignty and the territorial integrity of States Members and of their political independence.

44. Hence it must be considered that, by repelling the Portuguese aggressor without awaiting the conclusions of the mission of inquiry of the United Nations on the veracity of the affirmations of a legitimate Government—a Member of the United Nations moreover—the people of Guinea, victims of a deliberate violation of their most fundamental freedoms, as one man and weapons in hand, have definitely placed themselves in the ranks of the peoples who will never again prostrate themselves before imperialism. It is in the name of its inalienable right to liberty, justice and social progress that it took that action, as well as in the name of the defence of the fundamental principles which govern the United Nations itself.

45. The grave situation resulting from the survival of the Portuguese colonial régime in Guinea (Bissau), Mozambique and Angola constitutes even today a constant threat to international peace and security. Therefore, what is at issue today is not only the aggressive and retrograde policy of Portugal against Africa, but also the conduct to be adopted by the United Nations to achieve respect for the principles created by the Organization in whose name it was created and in which, for twenty-five years, mankind has placed its complete confidence.

46. The conclusions of the United Nations Special Committee on Decolonization² as well as the report of the Special Committee on the Policies of *Apartheid* of the Government of the Republic of South Africa have more than once brought to light the close links which exist between the aggressive behaviour of Portugal against the African States and the assistance which that country, a member of NATO, receives from that organization, an organization which at this time when I am speaking is meeting with the participation of the Minister of Defence of Portugal.

² Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples.

47. Following the example of the Asianization of the criminal war waged by imperialism against the will of the peoples of Asia, Portugal and its African territories are being used today in the new operation of imperialism to Africanize the conflict which results from the fundamental contradictions which puts them in opposition to Africa.

48. I recall how, after the October Revolution of 1917, international imperialism was relentlessly determined to destroy the Soviet revolution. Today we are witnessing the same thing with respect to the glorious people of Guinea, but the people of Guinea will rise and unflinchingly defend its most sacred rights.

49. In the course of this debate which is starting, my delegation wishes to reserve its right to return to certain aspects of the Portuguese armed aggression against the Republic of Guinea. I wish to supply members of the Security Council with certain photographs of the crimes as well as with the instruments used by the Portuguese colonial army.

50. The PRESIDENT (*translated from Russian*): Before calling on the next speaker on my list, I wish to thank the representatives of Nepal and Guinea for their statements. The representative of Nepal is the Chairman of the Security Council Special Mission and I should like to express my gratitude for his informative introduction of the Mission's report to the Council. I should also like to thank him for his kind words about my assumption of the post of President of the Security Council.

51. The next speaker on my list is the representative of Algeria. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

52. Mr. YAZID (Algeria) (*interpretation from French*): In the discussion of the item on the agenda, I should like to emphasize that the complaint now under study is not just a Guinean complaint, it is a complaint by the whole of Africa. My statement will be brief. It may perhaps be regarded by some as harsh, and by others as too harsh. But Africa and my own country have lived through situations and through realities that require us to be far-sighted and not to over-estimate the likelihood that the United Nations, or any positive step on the part of our Organization, will solve our problems.

53. In a letter which we addressed to the President of the Security Council on 24 November 1970, the text of which is contained in document S/9998, we emphasized that Algeria regards itself as directly concerned by the unspeakable aggression of which Guinea has been the victim.

54. The repeated attempts by Portuguese mercenaries in the service of international imperialism to invade the territory of Guinea constitute a threat to the independence of all the countries of Africa, particularly the progressive countries.

55. The Portuguese aggression against Guinea is not directed solely at that brother country; it is part of a general offensive imperialism has decided to mount against all the forces of justice, progress and peace in the world.
56. Guinea's appeal to the Security Council has not thus far produced any positive response. Two weeks have passed, and the Security Council now has new information before it proving what everyone already knew, namely the responsibility of Portugal for the aggression perpetrated against Guinea. We had no need to await the results of the Security Council mission to be persuaded that there had been Portuguese aggression. Guinea's complaint and the proofs submitted by the delegation of Guinea were sufficient. We are certain that the great Powers in particular, with all the resources at their disposal, were not unaware of the facts.
57. The conclusions of the Security Council Special Mission—and here I should like to pay a tribute to the Chairman and members of the Mission for the work they accomplished—are an indictment of Portugal and merely confirm the information the Government of Guinea had already communicated to the Security Council.
58. We Africans therefore have the right to be surprised that during this long period of two weeks that has elapsed since the beginning of the aggression the Security Council has been unable to assist the victim of the aggression in any way or to condemn the Portuguese aggressors.
59. This new experience only confirms the impotence of the United Nations and the incapacity of its essential bodies to face up to the concerted actions of imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism. This impotence and this incapacity are easy to explain. They are due to the influence still exerted by the imperialists, colonialists and neo-colonialists in our Organization. This situation is assuming the proportions of a veritable farce of which the African peoples are the victims.
60. Confronted with this impotence and this incapacity of the international community, it is therefore natural that our countries, and particularly the African countries, should assume the historic responsibility of defending their national independence and their right to economic development and social progress.
61. The people and Government of Guinea, led by President Ahmed Sékou Touré, have shouldered that responsibility, and with their own means have repulsed the Portuguese aggressor and its mercenaries.
62. The people and Government of Guinea are not alone. They have all Africa and the whole democratic and progressive world at their side. Algeria stands side by side with Guinea, and by agreement with the Government of Guinea the Algerian Government has taken various specific measures to aid our Guinean brothers to confront any further aggression. Many African countries have taken similar measures. That is the only just position, the only position in keeping with the profound feelings and realities of Africa.
63. Africa is counting on itself and has no more illusions. It is Africans who, through their own resources, will throw back the imperialist aggressor, of which Portugal is only an agent, and will sweep from our continent any colonialist or racist presence. The liberation of Africa and the preservation of its independence will be the work of the resistance and struggle of Africans, particularly their armed resistance and struggle.
64. The international community, as reflected in the organs of the United Nations, has not so far been able to respond to the hopes of the African countries that have been victims of armed aggression, the colonized African peoples and the victims of hateful racism. We in Africa must draw the lesson and consequences from such a situation, aware of the threat that hangs over us all because an attack on Conakry is an attack on Algiers.
65. Mr. NICOL (Sierra Leone): Mr. President, my delegation would like to congratulate you on your assumption of office as President of the Security Council. There can be few at the United Nations possessing the same amount of experience and skill in international diplomacy as yourself. We are confident, therefore, not only that this Council will operate smoothly under your direction but also that we shall be privileged to learn something new from your activities during this month.
66. We congratulate Mr. George Tomeh, our President for November, for the masterly way in which he conducted our affairs that month. The meticulous care, courtesy, consideration and wisdom he showed under difficult circumstances have all earned him our admiration and gratitude. We congratulate him and his delegation.
67. We are most appreciative of the speed and thoroughness with which the Chairman and members of our fact-finding mission carried out their task at such short notice. We have just finished reading both their report and its annex, and my delegation is impressed with the amount of work they were able to accomplish in a few days. We are grateful for their report and its annex.
68. My delegation unequivocally condemns Portugal's unprovoked aggression against our neighbour Guinea on 22 and 23 November. It was not necessary for us as a Government nor for many other countries to receive verification of Portugal's aggression; but for those Member States that have always hesitated when we have asked for condemnation of Portuguese activities in Africa, this report shows that our case has been clearly proved. The statement of the captured Portuguese forces, and particularly that of the African Lieutenant Lopes, which is contained in document S/10009/Add.1, and which can be easily checked, verifies the statements of the Diplomatic Corps in Conakry that there was external aggression and pins down its source as the Government of Portugal.

69. The evidence of other prisoners of war shows also the way Portugal conscripts Africans unwillingly to its military forces—not only by force but also by bribery—from its captive-held territories and from the unemployed, illiterate and homeless of neighbouring territories. The resolution which these Africans showed in surrendering and refusing to fight against another African country when they landed in Conakry and discovered what their objective was supposed to be illustrates the decay and forthcoming collapse of the armed forces of Portugal in Africa.

70. The Prime Minister of Sierra Leone announced soon after—in fact immediately after—the invasion that a top-level delegation led by a senior cabinet minister of our Government had been sent to Guinea to express our sympathy and to get an evaluation of the situation. He later ordered a contingent of soldiers of the Sierra Leone military forces to stand by on the Sierra Leone-Guinea boundary in case the Government of Guinea required any assistance in repelling further invading forces.

71. The Government of Sierra Leone has condemned the unwarranted aggression perpetrated by the Portuguese racists and imperialists against the Republic of Guinea and has expressed complete support and solidarity with their great President, Sékou Touré, and his Government and people.

72. The incidents which have occurred in the past few days illustrate the type of danger to which all African States are exposed as long as racists remain on our continent and are supported by members of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. It would have been impossible for Portugal to have attacked the Republic of Guinea without using the arms supplied by its NATO allies. The warships, aeroplanes, guns and ammunition which Portugal used against Guinea can equally be used against territories bordering on Portuguese-held territories, such as Senegal, Sierra Leone, Liberia, Gambia and the Ivory Coast, bordering on Guinea (Bissau), and black African States such as Zambia, Tanzania, Botswana, the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Burundi and other countries around Mozambique and Angola. We think it necessary that firm action should now be taken to remove Portugal and Portuguese influence from the entire African continent. The first step towards that would be for the Western Powers to consider the severance of all their military ties with Portugal and the provision of all possible help to the liberation movements in the Portuguese-held territories.

73. We would, in conclusion, and with all deference to the Council's agenda, point to a case which we feel to be directly connected with this matter. Military, naval and air equipment sold to Portugal for the defence of Western Europe has been used to attack an independent African State and to murder its innocent citizens—and also those of foreign countries who have gone to assist in their development. My delegation would like to express its sympathy to those who have been wounded, widowed and orphaned, the majority of whom are Guineans but some of whom are European

nationals. We feel that if the United Kingdom decided to sell arms to South Africa for its maritime defence purposes it would inevitably find that in a short while those arms would be used to attack independent African countries, some of them within its own Commonwealth group. There can be no surer evidence of the result of military support to Portugal and South Africa than the conclusions of the fact-finding Mission which have just been before us this afternoon by the Ambassador of Nepal and his colleagues.

74. The only ray of light in this dismal and deplorable affair is the bravery and courage displayed by the armed forces and citizens of the Republic of Guinea in defending their country and repelling the enemy successfully. We congratulate them on their victory in battle.

75. I reserve my right to participate further in the debate.

76. The PRESIDENT (*translated from Russian*): Thank you for the kind words you have spoken about me. The next speaker on my list is the representative of Liberia. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

77. Mr. BARNES (Liberia): The delegation of Liberia is grateful for the opportunity to be heard in the Security Council's discussion of the matter of Portuguese aggression against the Republic of Guinea.

78. On 10 March 1961 [*944th meeting*], the international community was alerted to the danger of the continued presence in Africa of Portugal as a colonial Power. On that date, almost ten years ago, Liberia, supported by the African and Asian Member States of the United Nations, drew the attention of the Security Council to the crisis in Angola, created by Portugal's outrageous military repression of the people of that Territory in a growing wave of terror and atrocities which required immediate action to prevent provoking a full-scale colonial war.

79. Thanks to the doubting Thomases in the Security Council at the time who questioned whether the situation in Angola was sufficiently serious to disturb international peace and security, this alarm, so to speak, fell on deaf ears. A Nelson's eye was turned to the situation in Angola and the Security Council was thus prevented from arresting an already dangerous situation or even damping the flames that were to spark a war in that Territory.

80. We, the representatives of the African and Asian States, left this chamber bowed in defeat, but not bowed in spirit. For we knew then, as we know today, that truth crushed to the earth shall rise again; that though evil at times may seem to triumph, yet when wounded it shall writhe with pain and eventually die among its worshippers.

81. And error did indeed succumb, for the Security Council, having again considered these charges of Portugal's ruthless repression of the peoples of Angola

by the use of napalm bombs and other highly destructive weapons of war, expressed its conviction that the continuation of that situation was likely to endanger international peace and security [resolution 163 (1961)].

82. I have taken the liberty, for which I respectfully crave the Council's indulgence, to chronicle the genesis of the Security Council's consideration of the danger of Portugal's continued presence in Africa as a colonial Power. And I have done so having in mind the progressive deterioration of the situation in Africa from 1961 to the present, brought about by Portugal's excesses in that continent. Not content with its otherwise condemned policy in its worst and most backward aspects in the African Territories under its administration, Portugal has embarked upon reckless adventures and armed aggression against the independent African States of the Republic of Guinea, the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Senegal, the People's Republic of the Congo, the United Republic of Tanzania and Zambia—the latest of these acts of aggression being the fourth armed attack against the Republic of Guinea, which was aimed at overthrowing its Government.

83. No African State could be an idle witness to this aggressive attack by Portugal against the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of a sister African State, and that position is summed up by the statement of my Government issued on 23 November:

“The Government of Liberia has learned with great dismay of the invasion in the early hours of Sunday, 22 November 1970, of our sister Republic of Guinea by Portuguese forces and mercenaries.

“This wanton act of aggression by the Portuguese colonialists, which is another flagrant violation by Portugal of the United Nations Charter and the Charter of the Organization of African Unity, should be considered as an aggression against all of independent Africa, and calls not merely for condemnation but also for the sternest measures against the aggressors by the United Nations as well as by the Organization of African Unity.

“The Government of Liberia warmly applauds the heroic resistance of the Guinean Government and people in the defence of their hard-won liberty and assures them of its undivided support until every one of the criminal aggressors has been expelled from Guinean soil.

“The Government of Liberia also calls upon the United Nations and the Organization of African Unity to come to the assistance of Guinea and to take appropriate measures to punish the aggressors and their accomplices in keeping with the provisions of the Charter of the United Nations and of the Charter of the Organization of African Unity.”

84. It was to be hoped that the pressure of international public opinion would have persuaded Portugal to attune its thinking to the new constellation of events that are part of our world today. Unfortunately, however, Portugal, in its determination to maintain a stran-

glehold on the African Territories under its domination, has, like Naaman's leprosy, become a plague to Africa.

85. Portugal's large-scale armed attack against the Republic of Guinea, resulting in loss of life and the destruction of property, renders even more glaringly the danger posed to peace and security in Africa.

86. The report of the Security Council's Special Mission to the Republic of Guinea established under Security Council resolution 289 (1970) alone is sufficient to prompt the Council to immediate action, and it appears almost redundant to add information that would be more telling, convey a greater sense of urgency and render the menace more real.

87. Be that as it may, I would nevertheless wish to acquaint the Council with a report I have received from my Government, which has a direct bearing on this matter. That report reads as follows:

“The Government of Liberia has received evidence that commando troops of the regular Portuguese armed forces participated in the recent attempt to invade the Republic of Guinea.

“The now abortive invasion originated at Bafata in Guinea (Bissau), where a large force of Portuguese and other soldiers boarded warships, frigates and other vessels and were disembarked off the shores of Conakry with instructions to invade Conakry.

“Earlier reports of Portuguese involvement were confirmed here today by Francisco Gomez Nanque, a private in the Portuguese armed forces whose serial number is 821 844/1970. Private Nanque said he was recruited into the Portuguese army about nine months ago and specifically trained in commando operations. He was stationed at the Portuguese military barracks at Bafata and is a member of Group 3 of the First African Commando Company known as Adido.

“Private Nanque said that on 20 November 1970 he, in company with thirty members of his commando unit, fully armed under the command of Lieutenant Galvan of the Portuguese army, was taken from his barracks at Bafata and transported to Soque in the Portuguese-held Bissagos Islands.

“At Soque they were joined by a large number of other heavily-armed troops whose armament included heavy and light artillery weapons.

“They were put aboard warships and transported off the coast of Guinea, where they were transferred into small landing craft and off-loaded at Conakry with instructions to invade Guinea.

“Private Nanque is at present in Monrovia, where he was brought after having been rescued about two miles off the coast of Conakry by a Dutch merchant ship, the *Straat Bali* of the Royal Interocean Lines, under the command of Captain E. Pels.”

88. In the light of that revelation of Portugal's full responsibility for the aggressive attack against the Republic of Guinea, a State Member of the United Nations, coupled with the report of the Special Mission indicating Portugal's culpability, it is clear that a grave responsibility lies on the Security Council to take adequate preventive measures as a deterrent to a recurrence of this dastardly act by Portugal, as well as enforcement measures of a punitive nature against that country.

89. It is well that it has been recognized that Portugal's armed aggression against the Republic of Guinea has had the effect of assuring the solidarity of the African States against the Portuguese menace. But more than that it has awakened the African States to their clear duty to render to the hapless people of the African Territories under Portuguese administration full moral and material assistance in their struggle to throw off the Portuguese colonial yoke which has fastened them to the humiliations and miseries that colonialism entails. The aggressive attacks by Portugal against independent African States are increasing and this fact naturally begets a more militant attitude by the African States to render assistance to their brothers in Angola, Mozambique and Guinea (Bissau), who are forced to more and more desperate measures to defend their lives and obtain their rightful place in human society. It is therefore easy to see that the interaction of these two forces will rapidly develop into a conflict the consequences of which are not difficult to imagine.

90. There are a variety of measures which the Security Council could adopt to remove this threat to international peace, foremost among which is the call for the immediate exercise of the right of self-determination by the African peoples in the Territories under Portuguese colonial domination, since this is inextricably linked to the effect of that situation of Portugal's continuous aggression against African States. Failing this the Security Council should take the necessary enforcement action to expel Portugal from these African Territories, in a manner similar to Portugal's expulsion from the Indian sub-continent.

91. When a mad dog runs amuck and indiscriminately injures people, the policeman, who is the guardian of the safety of the community, shoots it on the spot, not out of revenge but as a humanitarian contribution to the safety of society. The Security Council, which is the organ of the United Nations having responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security, has an overriding duty to remove this threat to the peace that exists in Africa. It must therefore take those measures that will eventually lead to the removal from the continent of Africa of this plague called Portugal.

92. I shall conclude this brief statement by saying that when one fights for a cause and dies, and the cause for which he fights lives on after him, he dies as a martyr. But when one fights for a cause and dies, and the cause for which he fights dies after him, he dies as a fool. In the struggle for liberation, for freedom

and for independence, it is needless for me to say who are the martyrs and who are the fools.

93. The PRESIDENT (*translated from Russian*): Before calling on the last speaker on my list, I should like to transmit the following information to members of the Council.

94. I have just received letters from the representatives of the United Arab Republic [S/10018] and Ethiopia [S/10019] requesting that the delegations of those countries be invited to participate, without the right to vote, in the meetings of the Security Council devoted to the consideration of this item. If there is no objection, I propose to invite the representatives of the United Arab Republic and Ethiopia to participate in the debate in accordance with the Council's provisional rules of procedure. I invite the representatives of the United Arab Republic and Ethiopia to take the places reserved for them at the side of the Council chamber. Each of them will be invited to take a place at the Council table when his turn comes to speak.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. M. H. El-Zayyat (United Arab Republic) and Mr. T. Gebre Igzy (Ethiopia) took the places reserved for them.

95. The PRESIDENT (*translated from Russian*): The next speaker on my list is the representative of the United Republic of Tanzania, on whom I now call.

96. Mr. SALIM (United Republic of Tanzania): Allow me to express on behalf of my delegation our appreciation at being allowed to participate without vote in the deliberations of the Council on this important item.

97. Two weeks ago the Secretary-General received an urgent and moving appeal for military assistance. That appeal was sent by the Government and people of the Republic of Guinea and it was directed to the United Nations. The assistance sought by the Government of Guinea was to help that Government to ward off a shameless act of aggression organized and led by the Government of Portugal against the peace, security and territorial integrity of that State.

98. The request of the Guinea Government was both justified and timely, and Members, particularly the smaller ones of our Organization, can understand and share the high expectations that the Guineans had placed in our Organization. For after all is this not the Organization whose main purpose is to maintain international peace and security? And is this not the one place from which Member States can hope for redress when the most grievous injuries to their dignity, honour and freedom have been committed? Yet two weeks have elapsed and the request of the Guinean Government for timely and appropriate assistance has not only been brushed aside but indeed has apparently been forgotten.

99. President Sékou Touré and his Government requested prompt military assistance. Instead of acceding to that request the Security Council preferred to

send a Special Mission and thereby demonstrated once more its unwillingness or its incapacity to take appropriate measures in accordance with the needs of the hour. That performance on the part of the Council, whose primary responsibility is the maintenance of international peace and security, is a sad indication of the real effectiveness of the United Nations in a crisis such as the one now under consideration.

100. It is undoubtedly a vivid demonstration of the weakness of this Organization in the task of peace-keeping. Certainly, one dreads to think what would have been the fate of Guinea today had its Government and people relied solely on the United Nations to take prompt and effective measures in defence of its territorial integrity and independence in the face of this aggression.

101. Indeed, it is hard to disagree with the conclusion reached by the Government of Guinea at the first meeting of the Special Mission, as recorded in document S/10009/Add.1, that:

“... the attitude of the United Nations, from the point of view of the Portuguese aggression, must be considered ... as a dangerous attitude for its Member States, and also as contradictory to the fundamental aim of the United Nations, which ... is that of bringing about international solidarity.”

102. If I am highlighting this disappointing aspect of the role of the Council in dealing with this particular crisis, it is merely to record my Government's reservations at the apparently casual manner in which the Council has handled this situation. It must be realized that the situation in Guinea constitutes, within the meaning of Article 39 of the Charter, a threat to the peace, as well as an act of aggression committed by Portugal against one of the Member States of this Organization. The report of the Special Mission established by resolution 289 (1970), which is now before the Council, is quite specific as to the responsibility of Portugal in this matter. In paragraph 40 the Mission concludes that the force that invaded Guinea was led and commanded by “white Portuguese officers”, and that:

“The force consisted of units of Portuguese armed forces ... under the command of regular white Portuguese officers, as well as of a contingent composed of dissident Guineans trained and armed on the territory of Guinea (Bissau).”

103. Furthermore, a careful reading of the testimony in the material in the addendum to the report of the Special Mission shows that the intention of the Portuguese invaders was to overthrow the legally constituted Government of the Republic of Guinea. One of the acts the Portuguese Government had wanted to accomplish was the assassination of the President of Guinea and other officials of the Government.

104. This latest threat to the independence and territorial integrity of the Republic of Guinea is not a mere accident. The enemies of African freedom and

dignity know perfectly well that Guinea stands in the forefront of the African battle for freedom and independence. Africa and the international community are fully aware of the sacrifices which the people of Guinea have had to make, not only for the liberation and defence of their own country, but above all for the cause of freedom and justice in Africa and elsewhere. In striking at Guinea, Portuguese colonialism and its collaborators had hoped to deprive free Africa of one of its most cherished and invaluable pillars. They had also hoped to frustrate the struggle for freedom and independence of the people of Guinea (Bissau). In both these designs imperialism has failed totally, and Africa owes a debt of deep gratitude and appreciation to the heroism displayed by the people and Government of Guinea in crushing the latest Portuguese invasion. My delegation would like at this juncture to convey to the Government and people of Guinea its most heartfelt gratitude for the manner in which they have routed the aggressors, thus rendering a great service to the African continent.

105. This Council, and indeed the United Nations as a whole, is not unfamiliar with the aggressive policies of the régime in Lisbon. The Council and the Assembly have on a number of occasions condemned the Portuguese Government not only for the continue oppression of the African people under its colonial domination, but also for several direct acts of aggression against independent African States. This attack on independent African States has been carried out by Portugal from time to time in order to prop up its own defeats in its colonial Territories in Africa. The present invasion of Guinea by the Portuguese aggressors should therefore be viewed as being within the colonial policies of Portugal. Portugal's war against the African people in Guinea (Bissau) has met with one set-back after another. More particularly, in recent months, the African Party for the Independence of Guinea and Cape Verde (PAIGC) has scored greater victories in that Territory in its fight for the realization of its inalienable right to self-determination and independence. Despite constant aggression against Senegal and Guinea, including bombardments of those countries' civilian populations, Lisbon has realized that neither its intimidation of the civilian population, nor its merciless and fierce pursuit of a war of suppression, could undermine the resistance movement inside Guinea (Bissau).

106. A committed and independent Guinea is undoubtedly a thorn in the flesh of imperialism; and behind the present events in Guinea lies the crude determination of those who would wish to see Africa in perpetual bondage and degradation. That plan has failed, but this does not mean that it will not be attempted again. This time the effort was directed against Guinea. It stands to reason that each and every African State which upholds the freedom and dignity of man is a potential victim of a similar aggression. Time and again it has been pointed out that Portugal is too impoverished to carry out three costly wars in Africa—namely, in Mozambique, Angola and Guinea (Bissau). Many Members of this Organization, including my own delegation, have pointed out the responsi-

bility of the allies of Portugal for the misery which that small State inflicts on millions of innocent people in its colonies. It has been pointed out that without the massive military and economic, as well as diplomatic and political, support accorded to Portugal by its Western allies in NATO, Portugal would not have been able to carry out its war of exploitation and oppression in Africa.

107. As the President of the United Republic of Tanzania stated during the commemorative session of the United Nations at the 1867th plenary meeting:

“Would anyone have imagined that one of the poorest States of Europe could, unaided, fight colonial wars in three Territories which are together twenty times its own size? Its NATO membership, however, allows it almost to disregard its domestic defence needs and devote its armies to Africa. Its membership of the European Free Trade Association strengthens the Portuguese economy and thus helps it to meet an otherwise intolerable burden. And factors like the planned foreign investment in the Cabora Bassa project enable Portugal to increase its exploitation of our continent.”

108. The NATO Powers cannot therefore be exonerated from the responsibility of the latest aggression committed by their ally. On numerous occasions African leaders have warned that the time has come—indeed, that the time is overdue—when the West must surely choose which side it is on. If it continues to give the bombs that kill and maim the Africans in Mozambique, Angola and Guinea (Bissau), to provide Portugal with the means to challenge the independence and territorial integrity of independent African States, to supply economic and other facilities and thereby to share in Portuguese plunder and exploitation of the riches and resources of its colonial territories, surely it cannot pretend with any meaningful credibility that it is also the friend of Africa?

109. The allies of Portugal must therefore decide whether they should be on the side of justice or on that of tyranny and inhumanity. They must cease perpetuating policies that leave one with no other conclusion than that they are at best hypocritical. We urge them to pursue the course of justice, peace and freedom by coming out in both word and deed in total opposition to the criminal policies of Portugal.

110. My Government would like to make use of this opportunity to call on the members of NATO to stop aiding and abetting a criminal and an aggressor. They should forthwith expel the fascist régime from NATO and thus deprive it of the means which are so vital in its wars of aggression against the African people. To do or to behave otherwise would be a blatant betrayal of justice as well as a callous denial to millions of innocent people of the humane treatment which is the basis of man's common humanity.

111. Africa and the world is following with keen interest the deliberation of this matter by the Security

Council. The small countries which have declared their faith in the United Nations are waiting anxiously to see if this organ will use its powers under the Charter of the United Nations to redress the injustice which has been committed once again against a small peace-loving Member of this Organization. For the question before the Council is not whether aggression has or has not been committed; that question has been answered affirmatively by the Council's own Special Mission to Guinea. The question is: now that an act of aggression has been committed, what should the Council do? The Charter provisions on this matter are quite clear. If the Council accepts the findings of its own Special Mission—and I can see no other attitude which the Council can justifiably adopt—then the Council should not be satisfied with a mere strong condemnation of Portugal for its wanton aggression against the Republic of Guinea. Nor should the Council merely confine itself to warning Portugal seriously against what has now become a habitual policy in committing aggression against independent African States. True, the Council should unanimously condemn Portugal, but it must do more than this. The only effective way of ensuring that similar acts of aggression are avoided is for the Council to take appropriate measures by applying fully the relevant provisions of the United Nations Charter against Portugal.

112. The Charter provides in Articles 39 and 41 for the application of measures against States which have been found to be guilty of aggression. In this particular case I should like to refer to paragraph 3 (b) (ii) and (iv) of the programme of action adopted at the twenty-fifth commemorative session of the General Assembly [resolution 2621 (XXV)] which respectively draws the attention of the Council to the need “to give careful consideration to the question of imposing sanctions upon . . . Portugal, in view of [its] refusal to carry out relevant decisions of the Security Council”; and

“To consider urgently the adoption of measures to prevent the supply of arms of all kinds to Portugal, as such arms enable that country to deny the right of self-determination and independence to the peoples of the Territories under its domination.”

113. The time has clearly come when the Council should take this course of action. To do otherwise would merely encourage Portugal to continue with its present policies of aggression in Africa. Finally, the Council should unanimously decide that Portugal must pay for the damage to property and human lives which its premeditated aggression has inflicted upon the people and Government of Guinea.

114. Mr. MWAANGA (Zambia): Mr. President, I shall have an opportunity to pay you a well-deserved tribute at a later meeting.

115. For the moment I wish to inform the Security Council that I have been authorized to announce that this evening the Government of the Republic of Zambia decided to give the Government of the Republic of Guinea a sum of \$2.1 million as a practical contribution of the Government and people of Zambia to the con-

solidation, defence and preservation of the territorial integrity of the Republic of Guinea. We are certain that the Government and people of Guinea will accept this modest sum of money as a positive token of our solidarity and brotherhood.

116. I reserve my right to make a substantive intervention at a later meeting of the Council.

117. Mr. TOMEH (Syria): I wish to thank most warmly and sincerely two representatives and friends, Ambassador Khatri of Nepal and Ambassador Nicol of Sierra Leone, for their very generous words addressed to me personally, and I wish to assure them that their sentiments are reciprocated.

118. The PRESIDENT (*translated from Russian*): There are no more speakers on the list for today's meeting.

119. I call on the representative of France on a point of order.

120. Mr. KOSCIUSKO-MORIZET (France) (*interpretation from French*): Although this is actually a point of order, I should like to avail myself of this opportunity to associate myself with the congratulations addressed to our colleague from Syria on the effective and skilful manner in which he conducted the difficult work of the Security Council. As for yourself, Mr. President, you are a veteran of the Security Council and we know that you will guide its work with much objectivity and effectiveness. You know, moreover, in what esteem you are held by your colleagues.

121. The point of order is the following. We have before us only the English text of the addendum which contains all the verbatim records of the hearings carried out by the Mission of the Security Council. I did not wish to delay the debate in the Security Council by pointing out this fact—which we consider abnormal—at the beginning, but we consider, on the one hand, that it prevents the proper progress of our work *a priori* and, on the other hand, that it is rather shocking that the French text has not yet been distributed when at least three quarters of the statements presented in the addendum were originally made in French. The hearings were conducted in French, so that it would not have been difficult to give us the French text of

the verbatim records at the outset; or are we to believe that actually the French verbatim record will be prepared on the basis of the English translation? That would really be the limit. I do not insist unduly, but I wish this protest to be placed on record.

122. The PRESIDENT (*translated from Russian*): Unfortunately, the position is much the same for the other two working languages—Russian and Spanish. We too do not yet have the addendum in Russian and it has not been issued in Spanish. In view of all the circumstances surrounding the discussion of this question and the special appeal of the Afro-Asian group and the African group of States Members of the United Nations that the Security Council should accelerate its consideration of this question for a number of reasons set forth by the representatives of those two groups, it would obviously be advisable to ask the Secretariat to accelerate the translation and circulation of the addendum to the report of the Special Mission in the three working languages in which it has not yet been issued—French, Russian and Spanish.

123. In this connexion, I must thank the Secretariat for preparing, translating and circulating the Special Mission's report itself in all four working languages. Thus, the brief résumé, if it can be called that, provided in the report of the Special Mission is available to us in all four working languages.

124. It is expected that the Secretariat will make an effort to ensure that the addendum to the report is also circulated as soon as possible in the other three working languages—French, Russian and Spanish.

125. It would be most undesirable for us to delay or postpone the work of the Security Council and the consideration of this urgent and important question for that reason, particularly in view of the opinions and wishes of such a large number of States Members of the United Nations, in the Afro-Asian and African groups, to which I have already referred. Consultations with members of the Security Council have shown that the majority of the members of the Council have no objection to holding the Council's next meeting on this question tomorrow, Saturday, at 3 p.m. If there is no objection, I shall take it that it is so decided.

It was so decided.

The meeting rose at 6.50 p.m.

HOW TO OBTAIN UNITED NATIONS PUBLICATIONS

United Nations publications may be obtained from bookstores and distributors throughout the world. Consult your bookstore or write to: United Nations, Sales Section, New York or Geneva.

COMMENT SE PROCURER LES PUBLICATIONS DES NATIONS UNIES

Les publications des Nations Unies sont en vente dans les librairies et les agences dépositaires du monde entier. Informez-vous auprès de votre librairie ou adressez-vous à: Nations Unies, Section des ventes, New York ou Genève.

КАК ПОЛУЧИТЬ ИЗДАНИЯ ОРГАНИЗАЦИИ ОБЪЕДИНЕННЫХ НАЦИЙ

Издания Организации Объединенных Наций можно купить в книжных магазинах и агентствах по всем районам мира. Наводите справки об изданиях в вашем книжном магазине или пишите по адресу: Организация Объединенных Наций, Секция по продаже изданий, Нью-Йорк или Женева.

COMO CONSEGUIR PUBLICACIONES DE LAS NACIONES UNIDAS

Las publicaciones de las Naciones Unidas están en venta en librerías y casas distribuidoras en todas partes del mundo. Consulte a su librero o diríjase a: Naciones Unidas, Sección de Ventas, Nueva York o Ginebra.
