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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.

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FIFTEEN HUNDRED AND SEVENTY-FIRST MEETING

Held in New York on Wednesday, 14 July 1971, at 10 a.m.

President: Mr. J. KOSCIUSKO-MORIZET (France).

Present: The representatives of the following States: Argentina, Belgium, Burundi, China, France, Italy, Japan, Nicaragua, Poland, Sierra Leone, Somalia, Syria, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland and United States of America.

Provisional agenda (S/Agenda/1571)

1. Adoption of the agenda.

2. Complaint by Senegal:

Letter dated 6 July 1971 from the Permanent Representative of Senegal to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/10251).

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

Complaint by Senegal

Letter dated 6 July 1971 from the Permanent Representative of Senegal to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/10251)

1. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): In accordance with the previous decision of the Security Council, I shall invite the representatives of Senegal, Guinea, Mali, Sudan and Mauritania to participate, without the right to vote, in the debate on the item before the Security Council.

2. I invite the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Senegal to take a place at the Council table.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. A. K. Gaye (Senegal) took a place at the Security Council table.

3. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): In view of the limited number of places at the Council table, I invite, in accordance with the Council's practice, the representatives of Guinea, Mali, Mauritania and Sudan to take the places reserved for them in the Council chamber, it being understood that they will be invited to take places at the Council table when it is their turn to speak.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. E.-H. A. Touré (Guinea), Mr. S. Traoré (Mali), Mr. M. E. M. Bal (Mauritania) and Mr. A. Eisa (Sudan) took the places reserved for them in the Council chamber.

4. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): The representatives of Togo, Mauritius and Zambia have requested by letter to be invited to participate in the debates of the Council [S/10263, S/10264 and S/10265]. I propose, with the consent of the Council, to invite them to participate in the discussion, without the right to vote.

5. I invite the representatives of Mauritius, Togo and Zambia to take the places reserved for them in the Council chamber, it being understood that they will be invited to take places at the Council table when it is their turn to speak.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. R. K. Ramphul (Mauritius), Mr. M. Y. Eklo (Togo) and Mr. K. S. B. Nyirenda (Zambia) took the places reserved for them in the Council chamber.

6. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): The Security Council will now resume consideration of the item on its agenda. The first speaker on my list is the representative of Mauritius, whom I invite to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

7. Mr. RAMPHUL (Mauritius) (*interpretation from French*): Mr. President, while thanking the Security Council for allowing me to take part in this debate, I should like to express our satisfaction at seeing the representative of a friendly country conducting these proceedings. On the occasion of your national holiday, which I trust you will still have time to celebrate today, I should like to extend to the French people, to which we are bound by so many past and present ties, our sincere wishes for happiness and progress.

8. In regard to the armed aggression perpetrated last November by Portugal on the sister Republic of Guinea, I said in this chamber [1560th meeting] that the Portuguese colonial wars in Guinea (Bissau), Angola and Mozambique represented a threat to the neighbouring States since these colonial wars, if the United Nations did not put a stop to them, could spread to those countries in the form of acts of aggression or even general armed conflict.

9. The day before yesterday [1569th meeting], in an eloquent and detailed statement, the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Senegal adduced facts and figures adding to the already crushing weight of evidence that there is indeed an escalation of acts of hostility and blatant aggression by Portugal against Senegal, an escalation which may well end in war between Senegal and Portugal and which accordingly constitutes a threat to international peace and security in

the region. It is even a threat to the peace of all independent Africa, because the other States of Africa are resolved to forestall events like those which took place in Guinea last November and will no longer tolerate encroachments on the sovereignty and territorial integrity of any one of them. If Senegal has once again appealed to the highest organ of the United Nations, the Security Council, it is because the African States continue to believe in the Council's mission, that of maintaining peace in the world.

10. When they became Members of the United Nations, all the African countries, including Mauritius, affirmed their devotion to the ideals of peace which we are all supposed to follow and defend at all costs, peace which can be ensured only if the Security Council agrees to play the important role incumbent on it under the Charter. The States members of the Organization of African Unity still believe in the United Nations and the Security Council, and it is to be hoped they will continue to do so, for we must avoid a situation in which they may have unilateral recourse, that is to say, outside the United Nations, to actions which might be necessary to defend, through solidarity, one of their number which was the victim of armed aggression.

11. At its last summit conference¹ the Organization of African Unity confined itself to condemning the aggressive acts of Portugal against Senegal, but it did not state that it would limit itself to verbal condemnations if the escalation of the aggression against Senegal should continue, or, to speak more generally, if an armed conflict like that already undergone by the Republic of Guinea should break out in one of the countries bordering on the African Territories under Portuguese domination.

12. Despite the irrefutable proof concerning criminal acts by Portugal against Guinea, these acts have gone unpunished. We believe that it is this very impunity which encourages Portugal to continue its acts of aggression and now openly to attack a neighbour of Guinea (Bissau), Senegal. Furthermore, as preceding speakers have reminded us, the Council has already requested Portugal to cease all violations of the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Senegal. Thus the escalation of Portuguese aggression against Senegal is a challenge by Portugal to this august body, a challenge which the Council must vigorously take up in the very interest of the maintenance of international peace and security.

13. It is clear that it is no longer sufficient to condemn Portugal; it is now necessary to take energetic and appropriate measures. In this regard we must emphasize the fact that Portugal is a member of NATO. Since its more powerful Atlantic partners happen to be members of this Council, we are entitled to wonder whether all precautions are being taken to prevent Portugal from using in Africa the weapons to which it may have access as a member of NATO. It may also be wondered whether Portugal is not to some extent encouraged by a certain solidarity on the part of its Atlantic partners. May there not even be a question of complicity?

¹ Eighth session of the Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity held at Addis Ababa from 21 to 23 June 1971.

14. These are questions which one cannot help asking oneself. It is therefore desirable, if not essential, that Portugal's partners in NATO should make their views clearly known so as to avoid any misunderstanding. We believe that by deciding to take measures commensurate with the seriousness of the situation the Council as a whole will help to clarify the situation and thereby to induce the countries concerned to face up to their responsibilities.

15. Last December, after the publication of the report of the United Nations Special Mission,² I said here in this chamber, referring to the decision that the Council was to take, that that decision should be the one appropriate to a specific case of aggression by one Member State against another Member State pursuant to the pertinent provisions of the Charter. So long as Portugal has reason to believe that the Council will not have recourse to these provisions, it will continue its acts of aggression not only against Senegal but also against Guinea, the Democratic Republic of the Congo, the People's Republic of the Congo, the United Republic of Tanzania and Zambia.

16. At its recent summit conference the Organization of African Unity reaffirmed its determination to free the continent of Africa from foreign domination and consequently considered ways of rendering more effective assistance to the liberation movements in the Territories concerned. We might recall in passing that the overwhelming majority of States Members of the United Nations have recognized the legitimacy of the struggle of these liberation movements.

17. I would venture to suggest that members of the Security Council should take account of this context of the legitimate struggle of the freedom fighters in considering the question now before them.

18. Obviously the problem the United Nations must face is the general problem of the complete decolonization of Africa. Until an end is put to Portuguese colonialism, peace will be threatened in Africa. This means that it is necessary not only to prevent Portugal from committing aggression against its colonies' neighbours but also, and above all, to impel it to withdraw from the territories it continues to occupy contrary to United Nations resolutions.

19. In this debate particular account should be taken of the case of Guinea (Bissau). For everyone knows that the valiant freedom fighters in the African Party for the independence of Guinea and Cape Verde—described by the Lisbon authorities as mere subversive elements—already control vast regions freed from the Portuguese colonial yoke. Fallen back on the last bastions, which must inevitably fall, Portugal, in despair, may have recourse to more and more serious acts of aggression against the neighbours of Guinea (Bissau) on the pretext that they are contributing to its defeat, which is inevitable.

20. Against this background, we believe that the situation is grave indeed. Senegal, in calling for the present debate, has given the Security Council an opportunity to act before it is too late.

² See *Official Records of the Security Council, Twenty-fifth Year, Special Supplement No. 2.*

21. There is no doubt as to the position of my country. Faithful to the Charter of the Organization of African Unity, Mauritius declares its support not only for Senegal but for any African country that is the victim of aggression.
22. We should like once again to emphasize the importance of the role which could and should be played by the countries members of NATO in solving the problem before the Council. Some of them are our friends. We hope that we shall not find ourselves in a situation in which we must choose between that friendship and our solidarity with the brother peoples of Africa.
23. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): The next speaker on my list is the representative of Togo. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.
24. Mr. EKLO (Togo) (*interpretation from French*): Mr. President, first I should like to perform a pleasant duty and express to you, on behalf of the African group in the United Nations, which it is my honour and privilege to preside over in the course of this month of July, as well as to all the members of the Security Council, our thanks for this opportunity to participate in the debate without the right to vote.
25. Mr. President, your courageous people—the people of France—today celebrates its national holiday, 14 July, symbol of the French fight against injustice and for liberty, equality and fraternity among men.
26. Equality and fraternity in Angola, Mozambique and Guinea (Bissau)? They certainly have not existed ever since Portugal took over these Territories: Portugal has destroyed these ideals.
27. And what of liberty? The Guineans in Guinea (Bissau) have not the slightest freedom—not even to flee the colonial war and seek asylum in neighbouring States—were they to try to do this, they would only step on mines.
28. Today, the Security Council is meeting to consider and condemn, if necessary, an act of injustice committed against a peaceful African country: Senegal. For Africa, it would seem that there are still perhaps latter-day Bastilles to be stormed: one in Lisbon, another in Pretoria. This is an indication of the importance that African countries ascribe to Senegal's complaint against Portugal.
29. In November of last year, the Security Council met as a matter of urgency to deal with a serious situation which was created in Africa as a result of an armed attack by Portugal against the Republic of Guinea, an independent and sovereign country. But before that, the Security Council had already met on a number of occasions to condemn Portugal which tramples underfoot the most elementary rules of international law.
30. Today, once again, Africa, as a whole, in support of Senegal, has brought a complaint to the Council against the same country which is a Member of the United Nations and a signatory to the Charter.
31. Senegal once again is the victim of acts of aggression by Portugal, as was the courageous people of Guinea nine months ago.
32. But what is at issue? Senegal is an African country and does not have a common border with Portugal, which is more than 6,000 kilometres away from Dakar in Europe. The people of Senegal has never bothered and indeed could never bother the people of Lisbon. One wonders, then, why Portugal assumes the right to disrupt peace in Africa, to sow death and destroy homes?
33. The reply to this question may be found in a system which is more than 400 years old. For more than four centuries Africa has been in torment. Its illness is well-known: colonialism.
34. Colonialism is not, as some would have us believe, a civilizing mission, but is designed to seize by force foreign territory and take from the inhabitants the wealth of their mines and forests. President Jomo Kenyatta was right when he stated twenty years ago: "When they came, we had the land and they had the Bible. Today, we have the Bible but they have our land." Colonialism has thus been defined. It is, in fact, a permanent act of aggression, and struggles for national liberation are legitimate means of self-defence.
35. I have laid heavy stress on the problem of colonialism because this is in the opinion of our delegation the very substance of the matter before us. As long as there remains any plot of African land which is colonized, there will always be struggles for liberation, the support of African peoples, acts of aggression by colonial countries, threats to peace and meetings of the Security Council called for the purpose of issuing condemnations. But what is the result of these condemnations if we refuse to strike at the heart of the evil? What would be the purpose of trying to fell a tree by only tearing off its leaves? There is no point in condemning colonialism alone without trying to eliminate it at all costs.
36. These barbarous acts of aggression committed by Portugal against the Democratic Republic of the Congo, the People's Republic of the Congo, the United Republic of Tanzania, Zambia, Guinea and today Senegal are but the symptoms of a dying régime. This is an encouraging sign which proves that the liberation movements are doing very well within their respective countries.
37. By greeting the freedom-fighters and giving asylum to those who flee Portuguese barbarism, Senegal and Guinea have, with honour and courage, performed their duty of solidarity toward the African peoples that still live under the yoke of colonialism.
38. One wonders, then, what right Portugal has to deny the colonial people they still control their freedom, dignity and independence? What right does Portugal have to wage an atrocious war against millions of Africans who only wish to live as free men on their own soil?
39. There can be no compromise between freedom and slavery. There can be no compromise between colonized countries and colonizing countries. The former fight for

their freedom; the latter oppress in order to continue to exist and to exploit and pillage with impunity.

40. Portugal remains the only country that is unaware that throughout history there has never been a foreign army, no matter how powerful, that has been able to put down an insurrection on its own soil.

41. My country, Togo, gave its support to the brother people of Senegal and unconditionally condemns colonialism in all its forms. As recently as 21 June last, General Etienne Eyadéma, President of the Togolese Republic and a true son of our country, inaugurated at Piya, in the northern part of Togo, a monument to the martyrs of colonialism who laid down their lives for a free and independent Togo. This is a great tribute which my country and government have paid to the great African freedom-fighters.

42. As for the African Group in the United Nations, our support of the sister Republic of Senegal is unanimous. A letter, signed by all the members of the Group [*S/10259 and Add.1*], was sent to you, Mr. President, calling on the Security Council once again to condemn the aggressor: Portugal.

43. What difference exists between invading countries with armed force and laying deadly mines in those sovereign countries? In both instances there exists a criminal premeditated intention to kill men, women, old people and children.

44. If yesterday Portugal was able, with powerful means at its disposal, to invade Guinea, it can certainly quite easily lay deadly mines in Senegal. This would undoubtedly be well within that country's capability. Senegal's complaint and the irrefutable evidence presented by the Foreign Minister of Senegal, Mr. Gaye, are, we believe, beyond question.

45. The African Group calls upon the Security Council vigorously to condemn Portugal once again for its acts of aggression against the people of the Republic of Senegal.

46. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): The next speaker is the representative of Zambia. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

47. Mr. NYIRENDA (Zambia): Mr. President, I wish first, through you, to thank most sincerely all the members of the Security Council for having kindly permitted the delegation of the Republic of Zambia to participate, without the right to vote, in this very crucial Council consideration of a grave situation.

48. Once again, within a period of about eight months, this Council has before it a serious complaint, contained in document S/10251 of 6 July 1971, from a peace-loving Member State of the United Nations, this time the sister Republic of Senegal, against no other Member State of the United Nations than the same unrepentent Fascist Portugal. Today, as on numerous previous occasions, Portugal stands condemned for its repeated heinous acts of untold murders and kidnappings of innocent populations, wanton armed

attacks and the violation of the territorial integrity and sovereignty of the Republic of Senegal. As is well known, these acts are contrary to the purposes and principles of the United Nations Charter and to the Declaration on Principles of International Law concerning Friendly Relations and Co-operation among States in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations [*General Assembly resolution 2625 (XXV)*], to which Portugal is a signatory.

49. It goes without saying that the catalogue of Portuguese criminal acts of aggression against the Republic of Senegal so eloquently represented to this Council on Monday by the Foreign Minister of Senegal [*1569th meeting*] was staggering and sobering and, indeed, should be a ready conscience-bothering reminder to Portugal's allies of darkness.

50. It is disturbing to note that other neighbouring independent African States such as the Republic of Guinea, the Democratic Republic of the Congo, the United Republic of Tanzania and, indeed, my own country Zambia have similarly been constant targets of Fascist Portugal's iniquitous acts of aggression and blackmail. It is evident that if each of those States, including the Republic of Senegal itself, had complained to the Security Council following each act of aggression this Council would have been sitting almost continuously during the past few years to consider the serious complaints brought before it against one and the same State, Portugal.

51. Is it not strange that within a period of eight months after the consideration of Portugal's treacherous invasion of the peace-loving sister State of the Republic of Guinea last November and December the Council should again convene to consider the iniquitous acts of that same State? One even wonders whether Portugal and her supporters have the very rudiments of conscience and international morality.

52. The people of Zambia, and indeed the people of Africa as a whole, share with the innocent people of Senegal their cries of agony, their immense pain and sense of loss. The great Senegalese people have expressed their firm desire and determination to remain free and independent, at the same time as wishing their oppressed brothers and sisters in Angola, Mozambique and Guinea (Bissau) to be equally free and independent. Like the people of Senegal the people of Zambia deeply cherish those indivisible principles and aspirations, which cannot be compromised. As a faithful Member State of the United Nations, the Republic of Senegal, in conformity with the accepted norms of international law, vigilantly respects and abides by the ideals and principles enshrined in the United Nations Charter and in numerous General Assembly and Security Council decisions which, in sharp contrast, imperialist Portugal evidently does not.

53. Thus Zambia, a similarly constant target of Portugal's criminal acts of banditry and aggression, cannot possibly stand idly by whenever a peace-loving State like the sister Republic of Senegal is threatened.

54. My delegation has time and again maintained before this Council and elsewhere that the crux of the whole matter regarding these disturbing and criminal events

squarely hinges on the question of outmoded Portuguese colonialism, which is contrary to the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples and other relevant United Nations decisions. To date, Portugal has not recognized that important Declaration on the inalienable right of all colonial countries and peoples to self-determination and independence. The peoples of Angola, Mozambique and Guinea (Bissau) are instead still languishing under the rigid yoke of Portuguese colonial rule and oppression. To that extent the independent African States bordering on those Territories have in particular become victims of the Portuguese and allied imperialist complex in Africa.

55. Consequently a situation of immense instability, constituting a grave threat to international peace and security, prevails on the whole continent of Africa. Unless colonialism is liquidated in the African continent that untenable situation is bound to continue in the future.

56. We have stated time and again, and we again firmly maintain today, that the numerous Portuguese infamous massive acts of aggression against independent Africa, and the very waging of its iniquitous colonial wars in Angola, Mozambique and Guinea (Bissau), could not have been meaningfully sustained without the loyal supporting hand of the NATO allied countries. It was for that basic reason that last December we unreservedly condemned the choice of Lisbon as the venue for the NATO Ministerial Council meeting as it constituted a further demonstration of support for and the giving of a certificate of respectability by the NATO countries to Portugal's colonialism and exploitation in Africa.

57. In spite of world-wide protest the NATO countries went ahead and held the meeting in Lisbon last June. It is therefore significant that Portugal's latest acts of aggression against the Republic of Senegal were intensified following that ministerial meeting. I leave it to you, Mr. President, to make your own interpretations and conclusions. My own President, Mr. Kaunda, in his former capacity as Chairman of the Organization of African Unity (OAU), just a few days before the NATO meeting said:

"It is, however, with a deep sense of frustration and shock that we have learned that, quite contrary to our hopes and expectations, NATO countries have decided to hold a meeting of Defence and Foreign Ministers in the fascist capital of Portugal. By this blatant action, NATO countries are openly giving a certificate of apparent respectability to Portugal and encouraging it to continue its colonial occupation and exploitation of innocent African people.

"On behalf of the leaders and the people of the OAU and the non-aligned States, we appeal once more and before it is too late to the Governments of NATO Member States who enthusiastically approve the Lusaka Manifesto of 1969 to do everything possible to put pressure on Portugal—the only NATO member to reject arrogantly this genuine offer of Africa to put an end in a peaceful and noble manner to the colonial oppression and crimes in Africa. Failure to do this will clearly prove that Portugal was right when its representative boasted arro-

gantly that whatever happens Portugal can rely on its NATO allies whose only preoccupation was to pay lip-service to the high ideals and honourable objectives contained in the Lusaka Manifesto, a document universally hailed as affording a significant and positive contribution to international peace and security."

58. To my delegation it seems that the alternatives before this Council are therefore quite clear: first, whether to continue to entertain Portugal's heinous crimes in the future or to decide once and for all to punish severely that recalcitrant State; secondly, and most important, whether, in conformity with the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, to take the necessary measures designed to liquidate once and for all the whole state of colonialism and oppression in Africa or to continue to entertain consideration of grave situations arising therefrom.

59. Mr. LONGERSTAEY (Belgium) (*interpretation from French*): Mr. President, before taking up the subject on our agenda I should like to extend to you the cordial congratulations of my delegation on the occasion of the French national holiday. Too many historical ties of all kinds—cultural, economic and political—exist between our two countries, too many common trials have been borne by both our peoples in the course of history and at the present time, too many common undertakings bind us together for me to fail to mention this event which the French people are celebrating today in joy, peace and prosperity.

60. Once again the Security Council has before it a complaint by Senegal against Portugal. We listened with very special attention to the clear and restrained statement which the Foreign Minister of Senegal made the day before yesterday [*ibid.*] on a number of incidents, all too frequently leading to fatalities, which occurred mainly in the region of Casamance, along the border with Guinea (Bissau). We were shocked to learn that again during the last few days—after the Permanent Mission of Senegal to the United Nations by letter [S/10227] had already brought to the attention of the President of the Council for June a list of serious incidents which had occurred during the course of last month—more families have been bereaved and more property has been destroyed and damaged. We take this opportunity to express once again to the Foreign Minister, Mr. Karim Gaye, the sympathy of the Government and the people of Belgium for Senegal, a courageous country devoted to peace and which has lofty humanitarian traditions.

61. The day before yesterday we were all once again shown the magnanimity and far-sightedness of the leaders of that country. The concrete and realistic proposals that were made by the eminent statesman President Senghor, and recalled by the Minister for Foreign Affairs, could promote a negotiated settlement of outstanding problems.

62. Reprisals and acts of violence or repression of which innocent civilian populations are the victim are always regrettable.

63. My Government's position on the problem of the decolonization of the peoples and Territories under foreign

administration is well known to the members of the Council. Belgium voted in favour of the General Assembly resolutions which proclaimed the right to independence of peoples still under colonial rule.

64. The experience acquired by many members of the Council in the course of the past decade shows that it is possible to develop excellent bonds of friendship when they are based on strict and mutual respect for the sovereignty of others. Hence, it is our hope that a dialogue will begin that will lead to a solution of outstanding problems through negotiation. We believe that that is the right course to follow, for resorting to violence has never brought about the final settlement of disputes.

65. Mr. SAVAGE (Sierra Leone): In accordance with the growing convention of the Council I shall refrain from extending the congratulations of my delegation to you, Mr. President, on your assumption of the all-important office of President of the Security Council for the month of July. For the same reason I shall also refrain from congratulating your predecessor, Ambassador Liu.

66. My delegation shares the kind sentiments you expressed in reference to our Secretary-General concerning his recent indisposition. We trust he is now in the best of health and sufficiently recovered to continue with his arduous tasks.

67. It is a matter of great concern to my delegation that armed acts of aggression by Portugal against the territorial integrity and sovereignty of the Republic of Senegal continue to take place in spite of Security Council resolutions 178 (1963), 204 (1965) and 273 (1969), which strongly condemned Portugal and warned that country to desist forthwith from acts of violation against Senegal.

68. This Council has in its exalted wisdom condemned the wanton and premeditated acts of aggression against Senegal. It has denounced Portugal's colonial policies and practices. It has called upon Portugal to mend its ways or face the consequences of its actions. But it would seem that all these warnings have produced little or no results. Portugal still continues to hold on to its Territories on the African continent against the will of the indigenous peoples and against a host of resolutions of the United Nations. It also continues to violate the sovereignty of African States. As a result, therefore, we witness an example of a Member State defying the will of the international community with impunity and of the Organization being powerless to bring such a State to heel.

69. The Foreign Minister of Senegal, Mr. Amadou Karim Gaye, has provided the Council with an impressive list of atrocities committed by the Portuguese authorities against his country. He has confirmed the accounts of the representative of Senegal, contained in documents S/10227 of 16 June and S/10251 of 6 July. The list is indeed extensive, and the more we ponder on them, the more odious and repulsive they become. Need I recount the bombardment of villages and civilian communities? Need I emphasize the indiscriminate shellings and reduction to ashes of valuable property in the form of houses, vehicles, cattle and granaries that have taken place during the past

six months? By what means can adequate compensation ever be made for the invaluable lives already lost? These are questions that need to be given serious consideration by this august body.

70. Portugal is not an African country, and by no stretch of the imagination could it ever become a part of Africa. It is a Western European colonial Power, based in the Iberian peninsula, and it chooses to hold on almost irrevocably to antiquated concepts of imperialism and colonialism instead of giving heed to the forces of liberation which have now engulfed the world. Can Portugal hold on to its Territories in that continent irrespective of the changes that have taken place, and will continue to take place, in international morality? There was a time when colonialism might have been a praiseworthy phenomenon; there was a time when the colonizer could have regarded himself as the self-elected, holy crusader with the Bible in one hand and a gun in the other, carrying Western culture and civilization to unknown parts of the earth. Fortunately, those times are now past and those views have become totally outmoded. Unlike other colonial Powers which have seen the light and, in some cases, bowed to the storm of change, Portugal has not yet seen its way clear to taking a similar course. Instead it continues to entrench its hold on its African Territories and attempts to cement that hold by entering into a racist alliance with South Africa and Southern Rhodesia. By that move those three countries have carved up the southern part of Africa for the purpose of perpetuating colonialism. Portugal, in control of Angola and Mozambique, and in co-operation with South Africa, has contributed in no small way to nullifying the implementation of sanctions against Southern Rhodesia, thereby frustrating the authority of the Council. The purpose of this alliance is essentially to prevent the liberation of the oppressed African peoples, as well as to carry out imperialist policies and actions against that continent—actions and policies which, if unchallenged, will virtually submerge it in a perpetual colonial status.

71. The Republic of Senegal is not at war with Portugal, nor has it ever been. It has the right to live in security within its defined frontiers. The intrusion of Portuguese forces for the purpose of planting mines within Senegalese territory, shelling its civilian population, ambushing and kidnapping its citizens, and causing death and devastation to life and property indiscriminately, leaves the clear impression that Portugal is bent on a policy of wanton destruction and brutal attack. That policy, as you all know, is totally inadmissible in international law and must therefore be unreservedly denounced.

72. The Portuguese authorities may find satisfaction in these dastardly acts of murdering innocent civilians and causing destruction to their homes and belongings and unmitigated suffering to their families; but such actions violate basic human rights which the United Nations strenuously promotes, and we are shocked to see them perpetrated in the second half of the twentieth century.

73. A country dedicated, like Senegal, to the observance of peace and justice has no recourse but to turn to this Council when it is confronted with situations of this nature. Senegal is the least deserving of such a hostile attitude. It has, under its philosopher-statesman, the great President

Léopold Senghor, shown its willingness to live at peace with its neighbours, however repugnant some of their policies may be. To that end it proposed, in 1969, a peace plan for Guinea (Bissau). The prestige of Senegal, deriving from the great respect in which it is held by other countries, is unquestionable. Such malicious attacks should, if anything, evoke sympathy and concerted action from the international community. They should never be condoned.

74. Portugal, on the other hand, imposes its obnoxious rule on peoples that do not want to be identified with it. The brave people of Guinea (Bissau), who have been engaging the Portuguese oppressors in a guerilla war of liberation, have regained a substantial part of their God-given land. They will never rest content until they have driven the colonial occupiers out into the Atlantic. And when that happens, Portugal will have only itself to blame for its obduracy and for its refusal to read and digest the signs of the times. Portugal has consistently refused to comply with the provisions of the Charter which establish the accountability of the administering Powers of Non-Self-Governing Territories and the pledge on the part of the administering Powers to enable the peoples of the Non-Self-Governing Territories to attain their independence. We all know that Guinea (Bissau), like Angola and Mozambique, is a Non-Self-Governing Territory within the meaning of Chapter XI of the United Nations Charter.

75. My delegation subscribes to the view that the NATO Powers are aiding Portugal in its colonial policies, both materially and morally. Arms, no doubt supplied for European defence, still find themselves employed in the annihilation of defenceless Africans. The support which Portugal receives from its Western allies helps to build up its confidence to continue acts of aggression against peace-loving nations sharing common frontiers with its overseas possessions. Notwithstanding a campaign to change the venue of NATO last spring, the allies of Portugal, indifferent to non-European interests, convened the meeting in Lisbon. Small wonder, then, that after such a reassurance of co-operation from its friends Portugal should demonstrate its indifference to enlightened world opinion by launching a series of attacks against the Republic of Senegal. These attacks, coming on top of those of last year when a massive but abortive invasion of the Republic of Guinea was launched, are examples of Portugal's contempt for the international community. This must not be allowed to continue. The Council has adequate means at its disposal, without departing from the Charter, to put an end to such actions once and for all. It would thereby be carrying out its all-important task of maintaining international peace and security.

76. Senegal, like all members of the Organization of African Unity, has a moral obligation to the liberation movements in Africa. These freedom fighters, in their just struggles against the occupiers of their territories, deserve all the assistance they can get. Gradually, the world is coming around to this point of view, and we look forward to the day when this Organization will provide unrestricted aid on their behalf. It is not without significance, therefore, that the recent intensification of Portuguese acts of aggression followed the adoption by the Organization of African Unity of a resolution to increase aid to African liberation movements.

77. We have absolutely no reason to doubt the statement of the Foreign Minister of Senegal. Both he and the Government he represents have so admirably shown great restraint here before the Council as well as in their handling of the situation in general. They have provided us with details in great number of the atrocities committed by Portuguese authorities in Guinea (Bissau) against Senegalese nationals. The Council must set an example: it must discourage, once and for all, attempts by this recalcitrant nation to harass a peace-loving and brotherly African state. Portugal has shown its contempt for this world Organization by its bombardment of Casamance while the members of the group of experts sent by the United Nations were making on-the-spot investigations. Reference in this connexion should be made to chapter V of their report in document E/CN.4/1050 and Corr.1, of 2 February 1971. What further evidence of Portuguese hostility do we need? None, so far as my delegation and my Government are concerned. But to satisfy those who may still entertain some elements of doubt, my delegation would urge that a special mission of the Council be sent to investigate the reports.

78. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): Before adjourning this meeting, I should like, as the representative of France, to thank all those who have been so kind as to express, publicly or privately, their friendship on the occasion of the 14th of July. They felt that a meeting of the Security Council was a rather odd way for its President to celebrate his national holiday; but after all, this day is the day of "Liberty, equality and fraternity", and it is the realization of that ideal that we desire for all the peoples of the world, particularly Africa. There is assuredly a long way yet to go in that respect, and perhaps, alas, many more meetings of the Security Council.

The meeting rose at 11.30 a.m.

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