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NOTE

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FIFTEEN HUNDRED AND SEVENTY-THIRD MEETING

Held in New York on Tuesday, 3 August 1971, at 5.30 p.m.

President: Mr. Piero VINCI (Italy).

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/1573)

1. Adoption of the agenda.

2. Complaint by Guinea:

Letter dated 3 August 1971 from the Permanent Representative of Guinea to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/10280).

Statement by the President

1. The PRESIDENT: Before we proceed to our agenda for today I am sure that, in spite of the practice now happily prevailing of dispensing with complimentary remarks, I shall be forgiven if for a short moment I break what my delegation already accepts as a rule rather than a practice.

2. I wish very simply—and I am sure I am expressing the sentiment of all members of the Council—to pay a tribute to my predecessor, Ambassador Kosciusko-Morizet, for the positive outcome of our previous series of meetings under his very effective and constructive leadership. At the same time I should like to extend the Council's most heartfelt welcome to Ambassador Sevilla Sacasa of Nicaragua, who led the Special Mission the Council decided to send to the area that we were discussing at those meetings.

3. I would also like to take this opportunity to convey to the delegation of the United States of America our sincere congratulations on the Apollo 15 mission, which has thrilled public opinion throughout the world and has added a further huge step to the exploration of outer space carried out by the valiant American astronauts and Soviet cosmonauts.

4. If I may be allowed to add a personal note which I believe to be fitting for this particular body, I would say that unfortunately, while the astronauts we see these days walking on the moon give us a poignant sense of the unity and destiny of mankind, too many dangers of conflict still exist on our small planet. It is with that double awareness, if I may say so, that in assuming for the first time the

Presidency of the Security Council I face the major responsibilities that go with it.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

Complaint by Guinea

Letter dated 3 August 1971 from the Permanent Representative of Guinea to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/10280)

5. The PRESIDENT: I have just received a letter from the representative of Guinea [S/10280] requesting to participate in the Council's discussion of the question before it, without the right to vote. In accordance with the usual practice, and with the consent of the Council, I propose to invite the representative of Guinea to take a place at the Security Council table in order to participate, without the right to vote, in its discussion.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. E.-H. Touré (Guinea) took a place at the Security Council table.

6. The PRESIDENT: This meeting of the Council has been called, on very short notice, in accordance with the letter addressed to me, on instructions from his Government, by the Permanent Representative of Guinea to the United Nations.

7. The first speaker is the representative of Guinea, on whom I now call.

8. Mr. TOURE (Guinea) (*interpretation from French*): The Permanent Mission of Guinea to the United Nations thanks you for allowing it to participate in this important debate, the urgent nature of which has not escaped the notice of the Council. It also wishes to thank you for all of the diligence which was used in order to make it possible for the Council to meet within the required time-limit to hear the appeal which we are addressing to it, prompted only by the hope that the Council might be able to take steps so that a peaceful country which aspires to peace and freedom, which has given its sovereign adherence to the United Nations Charter and which, since its admission to the international community is doing its utmost to safeguard the guidelines of the Charter and the essence of what this Charter says, namely, the safeguarding of peace and security in the world, may live.

9. During a recent debate in the Security Council we said that it was not with a happy heart that my delegation appeared before the Council as a perpetual plaintiff and set before you here in the Security Council the continuous daily acts of aggression of which the Republic of Guinea has been the victim for twelve years. Indeed, since 1960—just two years after achieving international sovereignty—the Republic of Guinea in a letter had informed the Council of acts of aggression and violence on our borders with this enclave which is still under Portuguese domination and which had become a permanent theatre for these acts. These aggressions are characterized by bombardments, daily violations of our air-space, hijackings of our aircraft, our trawlers, kidnappings, the burning of villages, and other crimes against the peaceful peasant populations. The list could go on indefinitely, but all of these facts have already been brought to the attention of the Security Council.

10. One of the most recent of these acts goes back to 22 November 1970. Early in the morning, at a time when the people in our capital were sleeping, during a month of fasting, the month of Ramadan, on a foggy morning, foreign Portuguese forces in a ship with some mercenaries—more than 300 of them—with small arms, bazookas, and cannon, landed on our beaches at Conakry itself, occupied our power plant and military camps, and killed and slaughtered without distinction with a hatred worthy of the greatest barbarians of history.

11. Your Council met at that time. It called for an immediate cessation of these unspeakable attacks against the territorial integrity and sovereignty of a small defenceless, African State, whose only hope is the international community with its Charter, our Charter, a Charter which we have fully but consciously adhered to. At that time the Council met, as I have said, and a mission of inquiry—something unique in the annals of the Security Council—was sent to Guinea—to Conakry under the direction of Ambassador Khatri, the representative of Nepal. The mission of inquiry, after a stay in Guinea, found incontrovertible and tangible facts, and a report was made to the Council,¹ a report whose contents, whose factual truths and harsh terms were not lost upon the members of the Council at the time. A resolution was adopted [290 (1970)] condemning the aggressor—Portugal. In that same resolution the Security Council decided to remain actively seized of the question, that is it was to follow the future development of the question.

12. Only a few days after that aggression took place, I might even say at the very time when the mission was in Guinea, on 27 and 28 November 1970, those same Portuguese colonial forces, with mercenaries among their ranks, were attacking the Republic of Guinea in the northern region of its territory, in the regions of Koundara and Gaoual. The mission in the field was informed about those facts also.

13. Hardly had that mission returned when the Republic of Guinea again had to bring to the attention of the Council the continuing overflights and daily violations of its

¹ *Official Records of the Security Council, Twenty-fifth Year, Special Supplement No. 2.*

airspace. In a letter from our Permanent Mission we brought to the Council's attention the seriousness of the situation which was prevailing at the time and which, most unfortunately, continues to prevail along our borders with Guinea (Bissau), which is under Portuguese domination.

14. We had not yet reached the end of our misfortunes, because, as fate would have it, our borders are contiguous with those of a colonial enclave, this enclave which Portugal continues to keep under its domination in spite of General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) putting an end to colonialism.

15. What criticism does Portugal make of the Republic of Guinea? It is criticizing the Republic of Guinea for being a conscientious committed member of the international community which is scrupulously applying, with the only means at its disposal all the recommendations of the Security Council and the General Assembly. Portugal is criticizing Guinea for helping the liberation movements. Is this a crime, Mr. President and distinguished members of the Council? Is this a crime, I ask. You who have deliberately taken a decision here in the United Nations to recognize the legitimacy of the struggle undertaken by the peoples under the oppression and the boot of Portuguese colonialism? This colonialism prevents them from self-determination and refuses to realize that we are in the middle of the twentieth century—even at the end of the twentieth century, when throughout the world the winds of freedom have blown, even on the African continent, which they are still trying to keep in a state of slavery.

16. I shall not dwell on the various aspects of a certain hired press, which is willing to give credit to the most chimerical rumours to the effect that we are being seized by panic in the Republic of Guinea.

17. We are not being seized by panic in the Republic of Guinea. We did not wait, on 22 November 1970, for the arrival of United Nations forces to repel the aggressor. We did not wait for United Nations forces, on 22 November 1970, to rescue our homeland which they wanted to usurp and our freedom which they wanted to take away from us. Because we are prompted by a permanent concern for the maintenance of peace throughout the world we deemed it useful and necessary to inform this Council of the permanent acts of aggression that infringe on international peace and security—the main reasons for the existence of the Security Council—bearing in mind the last world conflicts of bitter memory. But must we also consider that the violation of international peace and security when it concerns Africa is not a violation of international peace and security? Is the African continent, and especially the Republic of Guinea, not part of the world, of the universe?

18. Mr. President and members of the Council, when you affixed your signatures to the United Nations Charter at San Francisco, the Republic of Guinea had not yet been born; it was still living in the dark night of colonialism and appeared only as a point on the map called, at the time, French Guinea. You, honourable members of the Council, have committed yourselves to defending by all means the peace, the security and the territorial integrity of all countries, whether they be large or small. It is because of

our confidence in you that we are moved to come before you for a second time, not out of panic but out of an awareness that the peace, security and territorial integrity of every country have to be safeguarded by you, members of the Security Council, by all of us who freely adhere to the United Nations Charter. It so happens that some Members who call themselves the founding Members of the United Nations respect neither the spirit nor the letter of the Charter.

19. Our statement before the Security Council is both clear and precise. It has to be clear because the facts that we bring to your attention are in themselves instructive. Just three weeks ago the Security Council met to consider a complaint brought by Senegal concerning acts of aggression and the laying of mines along the border of that country with the enclave of Guinea (Bissau) under Portuguese domination. In the course of that debate we carefully drew to your attention acts of aggression that were being prepared against the Republic of Guinea, acts coming from the territory of Guinea (Bissau), indicating that those acts of aggression exceeded in magnitude and scope those of which we had been the victims on 22 November 1970. The common enemy is always the same—Portugal; this time, by land, by sea and by air it aims to attack the Republic of Guinea.

20. The aggression that is being prepared was brought to your attention by us in good time, because, in the light of our experience on 22 November 1970, we think it preferable to take preventive action rather than to find ourselves in the next few hours faced with other unspeakable crimes, other deaths aimed only at an innocent population, at a country that aspires only to peace, security and the safeguarding of its territorial integrity.

21. It was for these reasons that today the Guinean Chief of State, President Ahmed Sékou Touré—and we all know very well his patriotism, his commitment to the cause of the United Nations and to justice and freedom in Africa and throughout the world—has addressed to the Permanent Representative of Guinea and, through him, to the Security Council, the following message, which I shall read:

“Extremely urgent, absolute priority. We inform you that our Intelligence Service has today intercepted conversations between Overseas Marine units and two other headquarters units of the Portuguese Colonial Army discussing an imminent military aggression by Portugal against the Republic of Guinea; first, against the main points along the frontier with Guinea (Bissau), particularly Gaoual, Koundara, principally the villages of Foula Mori, Soufan, Soutoumore and Missira, second, against the zone of Conakry. These attacks are presumably intended to liberate mercenaries and other persons at present being detained in Guinea. I should like to request you to place before the Secretary-General of the United Nations a request for an urgent meeting of the Security Council for the purpose of taking all necessary steps. We have alerted all our posts to repel energetically and instantly all aggression. Signed: Ahmed Sékou Touré.”

22. I stated that we were not moved by panic but rather by the abiding conviction that the task devolving upon the

Security Council is the maintenance of peace and security and, hence, the protection, within the framework of the Charter, of the territorial integrity of a Member State, in this case the Republic of Guinea.

23. It is prompted by this unshakable confidence in the United Nations Charter that we bring these facts before you, these facts that speak for themselves. Once more we thank the Security Council for its diligence in holding this meeting and we reiterate our confidence in the Council with respect to all decisions it may consider appropriate and effective for safeguarding the territorial integrity and the peace and security of the Republic of Guinea.

24. Mr. TOMEH (Syria): Mr. President, you certainly expressed the feelings of all the members of the Security Council when you addressed your congratulations to the out-going President, the Ambassador of France, Mr. Kosciusko-Morizet, and to the Special Mission to Senegal, under the chairmanship of the Ambassador of Nicaragua, which has just returned; and when you referred to all the great events of the last two weeks. But may I in turn, Sir, congratulate you on the efficiency and effectiveness with which you called this urgent meeting of the Security Council in order to examine the complaint of a Member of the United Nations, Guinea? Indeed, in congratulating you on the assumption of the Presidency of this high organ of the United Nations, I should like to say that I am sure you bring to this office your already well-known great qualities of tact, refinement and culture—qualities with which the history of Italy is replete.

25. In connexion with the matter now before the Council I wish first of all to point to the fact that operative paragraph 12 of Security Council resolution 290 (1970) of 8 December 1970 states that the Council

“Decides to remain actively seized of the matter”.

The Security Council is now considering a question pursuant to that decision.

26. In this connexion I wish to express the thanks of my delegation to the Ambassador of Guinea for having brought to the urgent attention of the Security Council matters which are of concern to his country and which, in the view of the President of his country and of his Government, present an imminent danger.

27. Now, what can a Member State of the United Nations such as Guinea—which is a small State and respects the Charter of the United Nations—do in such circumstances? Certainly the first thing it can do is to call for the rule of law and to invoke the rule of law against the acts of mercenaries. Is this call justified? Again, I refer to Security Council resolution 290 (1970). That resolution was adopted after a Special Mission of five members of the Council had gone to Guinea, investigated the situation there and reported its findings. The Security Council in that resolution 290 (1970) endorsed the findings of that Special Mission. As a matter of fact, operative paragraph 1 reads:

“Endorses the conclusions of the report of the Special Mission to the Republic of Guinea;”

and paragraph 2:

"Strongly condemns the Government of Portugal for its invasion of the Republic of Guinea."

28. But in spite of that resolution and in spite of that condemnation the Ambassador of Guinea, as we have heard, has been obliged to report to the Security Council and to the Members of the United Nations acts of aggression that have been perpetrated against his country since that resolution was adopted. Indeed, it is significant to recall that while the Security Council met on 22 and 23 November 1970 to look into the complaints of Guinea, and while the Special Mission was investigating the situation on the scene, on 27 and 28 November 1970 Portugal committed other acts of aggression against the Republic of Guinea. That is referred to in the third preambular paragraph of the resolution, which reads:

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

29. So the background to which I have referred—the fact that as long ago as 1965 and 1969 the Security Council adopted resolutions concerning the threat against the African population by Portugal through its colonies in Africa—is reminder enough that such a threat continues to exist. That background is a reminder that the Security Council should be aware of its responsibility and should come to the assistance of a Member State when that Member State submits a complaint.

30. It might be asked whether the two facts reported in the letter of the representative of Guinea, Ambassador El-Hadj Touré, of today's date [S/10280], and the two facts of which he informed us concerning imminent attacks on Conakry and other parts of Guinea, are to be taken seriously or not. I submit that they ought to be taken seriously because of what Guinea was subjected to in November 1970 and the acts of aggression that have taken place since the condemnation by the Security Council of these acts; Guinea has been and continues to be a target of attacks by Portugal, as indeed is Senegal—and the Security Council is awaiting the report of the Special Mission that went to Senegal to investigate the acts of aggression by Portugal against Senegal.

31. I therefore submit that the Security Council should meet its responsibilities and face the situation. I say that because we the peoples of Africa and Asia know that colonialism and neo-colonialism are facts; they are sad and tragic facts with which we continue to live. I, a representative of a country that is a member of the Security Council, have part of my country occupied by a mercenary army—not to speak of other Arab countries and of South-East Asia and other parts of Asia. Therefore, when we raise—and vigorously—the question of the imminent danger of imperialism and colonialism, we are not just using words. These are facts of life with which we are unfortunately faced every day of our lives.

32. I therefore submit that the Security Council should take every necessary action commensurate with the complaint that has been submitted. I am sure that, in your wisdom, Sir, and the wisdom of the members of the Security Council, it will not be difficult to decide on such action.

33. The PRESIDENT: I thank Ambassador Tomeh for the kind remarks addressed to my country and to me personally.

34. Mr. FARAH (Somalia): Mr. President, I should like first of all to associate my delegation with the tribute you have paid to the out-going President, the Ambassador of France, and with your remarks on the successful return of the Special Mission of this Council from Senegal and on the remarkable feat that has been recently achieved by the three American astronauts.

35. Mr. President, it is a great pleasure for my delegation to participate in this meeting today under your leadership. Italy and Somalia have enjoyed a long period of friendship, a friendship that has helped the Somali people in regaining its independence and in providing for its national development. In you, Sir, we have a statesman of eminent qualities. I am sure that during this month, which promises to be a busy one, we shall benefit from your vast experience.

36. Last November the Republic of Guinea was the victim of a vicious attack by external elements whose purpose was to overthrow the Government and replace it with dissident elements, to strike at the leadership and headquarters of the African Party for the Independence of Guinea (Bissau) and to free certain foreign prisoners in custody in Guinea. When the attack took place the President of Guinea quite properly acted in accordance with the letter and spirit of the Charter and referred the matter promptly to this Council. Fortunately, the Guinean armed forces were able to contain the invaders and drive them back to the sea. But the Security Council did not respond as speedily as the situation demanded as it took several days before a Special Mission was sent to investigate the situation.

37. Today, this Council has received another communication from President Sékou Touré calling attention to certain information that his security forces have been able to intercept which points to the probability of another attack being launched against Guinea.

38. What do we do? There would certainly be no justification for ignoring such a serious state of affairs because the whole history of the region is one of continued aggression against the people of Guinea and the adjacent territories of Senegal and of Guinea (Bissau) by a foreign European Power. The least that the Security Council can do in response to the urgent complaint of President Sékou Touré is to demand that the territorial integrity and political independence of Guinea are respected and to send a special representative or representatives to Guinea to consult the authorities, ascertain the facts and report back to this Council on the situation in Guinea.

39. When the Guinean problem was brought to the attention of the Security Council in November last year, I pointed out in my statement to the Council that:

"Guinea's experience will certainly have a radical effect on the manner in which African States will deal with their own security problems. It had been hoped that Africa would be spared the necessity of having to provide for this form of defence; but it is obvious that if the United Nations cannot devise machinery to enable it to respond effectively and immediately to situations involving acts of aggression [or threats to the peace] then its Members will turn away from the Organization and devise means for their own individual or collective security. This would entail the diversion of scarce funds from development to military forces, but if that is the price that African States have to pay to maintain their independence and national sovereignty, they are willing to pay that price." [1561st meeting, para. 134.]

The Afro-Asian members of this Council—the delegations of Burundi, Sierra Leone, Syria and Somalia—have had close consultations on this question and feel that the action warrants immediate action by the Council. On behalf of the delegations of Burundi, Sierra Leone, Syria and Somalia, my delegation is privileged to present the following draft resolution [S/10281]:

"The Security Council,

"Taking note of the letter addressed to the President of the Security Council by the Permanent Representative of Guinea [S/10280],

"Having heard the statement made by the Permanent representative of Guinea at the 1573rd meeting of the Council,

"Bearing in mind that all States Members of the United Nations must refrain in their international relations from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any State, or in any other manner inconsistent with the purposes of the United Nations (Article 2, paragraph 4, of the Charter),

Recalling Security Council resolutions 289 (1970) and 301 (1970),

1. *Demands that the territorial integrity and political independence of Guinea be respected;*
2. *Decides to send a special representative of the Security Council to the Republic of Guinea to consult the authorities and to report on the situation immediately;*
3. *Decides that this special representative be appointed after consultation between the President of the Security Council and the Secretary-General;*
4. *Decides to maintain the matter on its agenda."*

On the view of the sponsors of this draft resolution, it is necessary. Equally important is the fact that this Council should have all the necessary facts at its disposal to enable it to deal with the situation properly. The Council trusts that this draft resolution will meet the unanimous approval of the Council.

42. The PRESIDENT: I thank Ambassador Farah for the generous words he addressed to my country and to me personally.

43. Mr. ISSRAELYAN (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*translated from Russian*): Mr. President, the tradition that has recently sprung up in the Security Council of confining ourselves to very brief congratulations to the President prevents me from saying all that I would have liked to say, and could have said, about you. Today, for instance, Mr. President, we were recalling the fact that after the Second World War diplomatic relations between the Soviet Union and Italy were restored earlier than diplomatic relations between Italy and certain other permanent members of the Security Council. We were happy to note this fact, but I shall not dwell on such matters and shall simply wish you success in your work in the important office of President of the Security Council.

44. I should also like to take this opportunity to voice the most cordial feelings of gratitude to your predecessor, Ambassador Kosciusko-Morizet, the Permanent Representative of France to the United Nations.

45. The Security Council has not yet concluded its consideration of Portugal's acts of armed provocation against a sovereign State of Africa, Senegal, and we have already received information about Portugal's preparations for a further act of aggression, this time directed against the Republic of Guinea.

46. The cable addressed to the President of the Security Council by the Government of the Republic of Guinea states that:

"... on 2 August 1971, the Intelligence Service of the Republic of Guinea intercepted conversations between Overseas Marine Units and two other headquarters units of the Portuguese Colonial Army discussing an imminent—I repeat "imminent"—"military aggression by Portugal against the Republic of Guinea." [See S/10280.]

47. In the opinion of the Soviet delegation, the Security Council must take immediate and urgent measures to prevent the Portuguese colonialists from carrying out their aggressive plans. The Security Council has already on more than one occasion considered the question of Portugal's aggressive acts against a number of African States. All members of the Council still have fresh in their memories the events connected with Portugal's aggression against the Republic of Guinea in November 1970, to which previous speakers have referred.

48. For the first time in the history of the United Nations, a mission of five members of the Security Council was sent at that time, strictly in accordance with the United Nations Charter, to the place where the aggression had taken place. With documentary evidence and concrete facts that mission unmasked the Portuguese aggressors who, as we all know, had carried out a piratical attack on the capital of the Republic of Guinea.

49. After considering the information contained in the report of the Special Mission, the Security Council, as we

all well know, adopted resolution 290 (1970), in which it solemnly warned Portugal that "in the event of any repetition of armed attacks against independent African States, the Security Council [would] immediately consider appropriate effective steps or measures in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Charter of the United Nations".

50. One would have thought that this would be sufficient warning to the Portuguese colonialists, coming as it did from the highest organ of the United Nations—the Security Council—to discourage them from encroaching upon the sovereignty of independent African States. But it was not enough, and, as the letter from the Permanent Representative of Guinea shows, it is still not enough. Portugal's latest acts have shown that it does not wish to abandon its encroachment upon the independence of the African countries bordering on its colonies, in which it is barbarously suppressing the national liberation movement.

51. Not only Guinea, but other independent African States, too, have been subjected to attacks by the Portuguese armed forces. The continual and increasingly frequent acts of armed provocation by the Portuguese colonialists against independent African States cannot fail to attract the close attention of the Security Council. These aggressive acts are a direct continuation of Portugal's colonial policy, which has been condemned by decisions of the United Nations—a policy directed towards suppressing national liberation movements in the Territories under its domination.

52. There can be no doubt that the sovereignty and security of independent African States, and consequently peace and security on the African continent as a whole, can be strengthened only if colonial wars against the African peoples are halted immediately and if all such peoples are granted independence without further delay in accordance with the requirements of the famous Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples.

53. The current state of international relations confirms once again that imperialism is making use of the Portuguese colonialists in the struggle against the young African States and against the national liberation movement. It is for this reason that Portugal enjoys the protection and support of the imperialist forces and, in particular, of certain friends and allies in NATO. This is the explanation for Portugal's provocative behaviour on the African continent and its disregard for United Nations decisions.

54. The Soviet delegation shares the views expressed by the representatives of Guinea, Syria and Somalia and considers that the Security Council should approach this matter with the greatest seriousness and take immediate measures to prevent this new act of aggression being prepared by Portugal against the Republic of Guinea. The Security Council should demand that Portugal respect the sovereignty, territorial integrity and political independence of an African State—the Republic of Guinea. The cause of peace and security requires that the Portuguese colonialists receive the punishment they deserve for the piratical policy they have pursued for many years in relation to the

independent African States and that effective measures be taken to make a repetition of such acts of aggression impossible.

55. The Soviet delegation has heard the text of the draft resolution submitted to the Security Council by the representative of Somalia on behalf of the Afro-Asian members of the Security Council—Burundi, Syria, Somalia and Sierra Leone—and declares that it is ready to support it.

56. The PRESIDENT: I thank the representative of the Soviet Union for his kind remarks about my country and myself.

57. Mr. FARAH (Somalia): The draft resolution which I was privileged to introduce a short time ago was handed to the Secretariat only shortly before the meeting of the Council commenced, and for that reason it has not been possible for the Secretariat to process and translate the document and have it circulated for representatives to be able to give it the care and attention which it deserves. For that reason I would propose that the meeting of the Council should be suspended until 8 o'clock so as to allow time for the documents to be circulated and for consultations to take place between the different delegations. However, it is the hope of the sponsors that the Council will vote on the draft resolution this evening so that the action called for in the document will be implemented without delay.

58. Mr. ISSRAELYAN (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*translated from Russian*): I have listened carefully to the statement by the representative of Somalia; his remarks were well founded. However, I should like to put the matter in the following way: given the urgency of this question and the need for really rapid action, on the one hand, and in view of the brevity of the draft resolution, on the other, we could perhaps take an immediate decision on the text that has been submitted to us. As far as the Soviet delegation is concerned, we are ready to do this, despite the fact that the text has not been translated into one of the working languages of the Security Council, namely Russian. If other members of the Security Council share this view, we could, in accordance with the request of the representative of Guinea, supported by all who have spoken at this meeting, proceed to a discussion of the draft resolution that has been submitted. This is the point I should like to make, that is that we should proceed directly to a vote on the draft resolution.

59. Mr. BUSH (United States of America): At this point I shall waive expressing my feelings of high regard for the President since it is getting late. I hope that he knows how my delegation feels about his services as President.

60. I would strongly urge that the Council agree to the very thoughtful request of the representative of Somalia. I saw this draft resolution for the first time some twenty-five minutes ago, and we would strongly urge, therefore, that the Council support Mr. Farah's courteous request that we be allowed one hour for consultations.

61. Mr. FARAH (Somalia): I asked for the suspension of the meeting for one hour because it had been brought to

my attention that certain delegations wished to consult the co-sponsors on parts of the draft resolution, and in our anxiety that we should have unanimity on the draft resolution the co-sponsors asked for this delay. I trust that it will not be necessary for a vote to be taken on the proposal for suspension and that the representative of the Soviet Union will give us his usual co-operation in the matter so that we can achieve unanimity on the draft resolution.

62. Mr. ISSRAELYAN (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*translated from Russian*): As I understood it, the representative of Somalia proposed that we should suspend the meeting so that the draft resolution could be translated into the other working languages. I would have thought that the English language was perfectly acceptable to the United States delegation which does not require other translations. However, it appears that time is needed for consultations; if time is needed for this purpose, we have no objection to meeting the request of the representative of the United States and suspending the meeting for the period of time indicated.

63. The PRESIDENT: I think that we have reached a happy conclusion in that no one objects to a short recess. Therefore, we shall meet again at eight o'clock, if not before. I would say that if it is possible for us to meet before eight o'clock, we should do so in view of the urgency which has been emphasized by the representative of the Soviet Union.

The meeting was suspended at 7.05 p.m. and resumed at 8.05 p.m.

64. The PRESIDENT: The draft resolution has now, I believe, been circulated in the working languages. The text, however, has been amended in some places and I would therefore ask the representative of Somalia if he would kindly read to the Council the full text with the changes that have been introduced.

65. Mr. FARAH (Somalia): Draft resolution S/10281 has been circulated and has been the subject of consultation among the various delegations composing this Council. As a result of those consultations, the following changes have been made in the draft resolution.

66. The fourth preambular paragraph has been deleted in its entirety.

67. In operative paragraph 1, the word "Demands" has been replaced by the word "Affirms".

68. Operative paragraph 2 has been revised and now reads as follows:

"Decides to send a special mission of three members of the Security Council to the Republic of Guinea to consult the authorities and to report on the situation immediately;"

69. Operative paragraph 3 has been amended to read as follows:

"Decides that this special mission be appointed after consultation between the President of the Security Council and the Secretary-General;"

70. That is the revised text of the draft resolution; the changes have been made in consultation with all members of the Council, and I am assured by those members that they will now be in a position to vote in support of the draft resolution.

71. I should like to add one point and that is that if this resolution is adopted and the special mission is appointed, it is the hope of the sponsors that the President of the Security Council and the Secretary-General, between them, will ensure that the mission is composed of representatives of ambassadorial rank.

72. The PRESIDENT: Members of the Council have heard the explanations given by the representative of Somalia on behalf of all the sponsors of draft resolution S/10281 and the amendments that have been made in that draft. Are there any comments or requests for clarification?

73. Mr. LONGERSTAEY (Belgium) (*interpretation from French*): I have a slight grammatical difficulty with the French translation of the text. I believe the first operative paragraph ought to read: "Affirms that the territorial integrity and political independence of the Republic of Guinea should be respected;"

74. The PRESIDENT: I thank the representative of Belgium for his observation, and assure him that it will be reflected in the final French text.

75. Mr. DE LA GORCE (France) (*interpretation from French*): On the same point, and supporting the remarks made by the Ambassador of Belgium, would it not be clearer to say:

"Affirms that the territorial integrity and political independence of the Republic of Guinea must be respected?"

I should like to know if the distinguished Ambassador of Belgium agrees with this suggestion.

76. Mr. LONGERSTAEY (Belgium) (*interpretation from French*): Certainly.

77. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): The Secretariat has taken note of the remarks made by the representative of France and also of the agreement of the representative of Belgium.

78. Mr. FARAH (Somalia): The sponsors of the resolution originally used the word "Demands", but in order to achieve unanimity on this particular paragraph agreed to the word "Affirms". However, in order that the sense of this paragraph be retained, it is the hope of the sponsors that the members of the Council will accept the words "must be respected".

79. Mr. TOMEH (Syria): I should like to support the suggestion just made by the representative of Somalia that

the English text read: "must be respected", because it corresponds exactly with the French wording "*doivent être respectées*".

80. The PRESIDENT: As those changes are accepted by all the members of the Council, we can now proceed to the vote on draft resolution S/10281.

A vote was taken by show of hands.

The draft resolution was adopted unanimously.²

The meeting rose at 8.15 p.m.

² See resolution 295 (1971).

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