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TWENTY-SIXTH YEAR

1586th MEETING: 29 SEPTEMBER 1971

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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 EIGHTY-SIXTH MEETING

Held in New York on Wednesday, 29 September 1971, at 3.30 p.m.

President: Mr. Toru NAKAGAWA (Japan).

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

Provisional agenda (S/Agenda/1586)

1. Adoption of the agenda.
2. Complaint by Senegal:
Report of the Special Mission of the Security Council established under resolution 294 (1971) (S/10308 and Corr.1).
3. Complaint by Guinea:
Report of the Security Council Special Mission to the Republic of Guinea established under resolution 295 (1971) (S/10309).

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

Complaint by Senegal

Report of the Special Mission of the Security Council established under resolution 294 (1971) (S/10308 and Corr.1)¹

1. The PRESIDENT: In accordance with the agenda we have just adopted the Security Council will first resume its consideration of the complaint by Senegal with the report of the Special Mission of the Security Council established under resolution 294 (1971) which is before the Council in document S/10308 and Corr.1.
2. In accordance with the decision taken by the Council at its 1569th meeting on 12 July, when it began its consideration of this complaint by Senegal, I propose to invite the representative of Senegal to participate in the discussion without the right to vote, as I have received information that His Excellency the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Senegal wishes to take part in the consideration of the report of the Special Mission. There being no objection, I

¹ Subsequently issued as *Official Records of the Security Council, Twenty-sixth Year, Special Supplement No. 3.*

invite the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Senegal to take a seat at the Council table.

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

3. The PRESIDENT: The Chairman of the Special Mission of the Security Council, His Excellency Ambassador Sevilla-Sacasa of Nicaragua, will introduce to the Council the report contained in document S/10308 and Corr.1.

4. Mr. SEVILLA-SACASA (Nicaragua) (Chairman of the Special Mission) (*interpretation from Spanish*): Mr. President, may I first present my compliments to you and congratulate you on assuming the Presidency of the Council. Your actions have won our gratitude and well deserve our tribute. We all expected, in the light of your abilities and your tremendous prestige in the international community, that this would indeed be so.

5. Mr. President, Members of the Council, Mr. Secretary-General, I have the honour to submit for the Council's consideration the report of the Special Mission established under Security Council resolution 294 (1971) of 15 July 1971. The Mission was requested to carry out an inquiry into the facts communicated to the Security Council by the Government of Senegal, to examine the situation along the border between Guinea (Bissau) and Senegal, and to report to the Security Council, making any recommendations necessary to guarantee peace and security in this region.

6. It was a great honour for me to preside over such an important Mission and to carry out my duties in the honourable company of the following distinguished ambassadors whom I hold in the highest esteem: Mr. J. Gérard of Belgium, Mr. F. Magenge of Burundi, Mr. R. Ishikawa of Japan, Mr. E. Kułaga of Poland and Mr. R. Jouejati of the Syrian Arab Republic.

7. I welcome this opportunity to express my thanks to them for their effective and persevering co-operation in the accomplishment of the Mission's tasks during the days we spent in Senegal, both in Dakar, the capital of that country, and in the Casamance area along the frontier where we had to conduct our inquiries.

8. It is possible that this Mission will take its place among the most important that the Security Council has ever appointed because it was the first to which the Council granted the power to formulate any recommendation necessary for guaranteeing peace and security in the region.

9. We must again thank the distinguished military experts who accompanied us: Colonel C. De Wilde of Belgium, Commander S. Sota of Burundi, Colonel S. Kazmierski of Poland, Colonel Favez Bayassi of the Syrian Arab Republic and Colonel Julio Gutiérrez of Nicaragua, who performed their tasks with a true sense of responsibility.

10. We are also grateful to the Secretariat staff who were of constant assistance to us. I would like to thank them in the presence of the Secretary-General and to mention the names of Mr. Dantas de Brito, Principal Secretary; Mr. Hubert Noël, Senior Political Affairs Officer; Mr. Maicaire Pedanou, Political Affairs Officer; Mr. Hector Fernandez, Information Officer; the interpreters, Miss N. Chlepner, Miss S. Porzio, Miss M. Santocchia, Mr. J. Fliom, Mr. J. Pearl and Mr. J. Perea, and the Verbatim Reporters, Mr. M. Parsont, Mr. G. Temin and Mr. F. Montes.

11. As we left New York for Dakar we were well aware of the special character of our mandate and the responsibility we had assumed from the very moment we had agreed to take part in the Mission. We knew full well that we would have to carry out different types of activities and tasks in different places—, interrogations in some places, on the spot investigations, and exchanges of views with the members of the Mission and their military advisers—to mention only a few of the many tasks which we had to perform. We knew that on our return we should have to have the time necessary to prepare our report for it is not always easy to combine differing viewpoints and criteria in such delicate matters.

12. The Mission regrets that it did not receive an invitation from the Government of Portugal to visit Guinea (Bissau) in order to carry out the activities related to our task in that sector.

13. We would like to stress the magnificent hospitality we received in Senegal and the services and facilities of all kinds placed at our disposal for the discharge of our mandate.

14. The report which we have submitted and which is now before you is made up of various parts, namely: Introduction, Tasks of the Special Mission, Conclusions and Recommendations. In addition, the Annexes contain Reports of the military experts of the members of the Special Mission and Documents submitted to the Special Mission by the Government of Senegal. The recommendations are based on what we heard, observed and deduced and also on the resolutions adopted by the Security Council.

15. We submit this report to you for your consideration with the satisfaction that our duty is done and with the knowledge that we discharged our mission in a constructive spirit, inspired by the desire for peace whose maintenance is the primary aim of our Organization governed as it is by principles which we must uphold.

16. Our report is in your hands. We ask you to study it with attention and care. We feel that any resolution which the Council may decide to adopt must be based on the principles of the Charter and on the lofty ideals of this Organization. We repeat our thanks to the President of the

Council and to the Secretary-General for the confidence they have placed in us.

17. The PRESIDENT: I thank the representative of Nicaragua for introducing the report in such an excellent manner, and I also wish to thank him for his kind words addressed to me.

18. Mr. TOMEH (Syrian Arab Republic): The representative of Nicaragua, who is a great figure indeed in international circles, has just presented the report of the Mission sent to investigate the frontier incidents in Senegal with eloquence and conciseness. As a member of this Mission, my delegation wishes to reiterate the great appreciation it has for his excellent performance, and his skill in conducting the work of such an important Mission. His qualities were such that the members of the Mission wished to voice their appreciation in the body of the report.

19. The substance of the matter must yet be discussed, but at this stage my delegation feels bound to pay tribute to the highly co-operative attitude of the Senegal Government and people towards the Mission, whose work was facilitated in every way and enabled to proceed smoothly and without hindrance. We are sincerely grateful to them. We also wish to acknowledge the efforts of the Secretary-General and the Ambassador of France, who was President of the Council when the Mission was established, in setting up the Mission and facilitating the performance of its task.

20. The report illustrates the repercussions of this abnormal situation on neighbouring independent African countries.

21. Last, but not least, it is the responsibility of the highest organ of the United Nations to deal with this matter, and this is a task which puts it to a severe test. Let us hope that the work of the Mission will not have been in vain.

22. Mr. TERENCE (Burundi) (*interpretation from French*): My delegation was a member of the Mission which the Security Council decided to send to the Republic of Senegal. His Excellency Ambassador Kosciusko-Morizet of France, President of the Security Council at the time, Secretary-General U Thant, the Chairman of the Mission and the President of the Republic of Senegal, all these distinguished figures did everything in their power to ensure the success of the Mission.

23. On behalf of my Government I should like first of all to express my gratitude to the President of the Republic of Senegal, His Excellency Mr. Léopold Sadat Senghor, who, thanks to his enlightened humanitarianism and with the assistance of his Government did everything possible to facilitate the performance of the Mission's task, which will now submit its report. My delegation also wishes to extend its sincere congratulations to His Excellency Sevilla-Sacasa, the Chairman of the Mission.

24. We know that despite the efforts of the Government of Senegal, the conditions in which the Mission had to do its work were not always the easiest but as the French say, to the stout-hearted nothing is impossible. Despite certain

obstacles which may have arisen, the Mission was able to do its job with brilliant success.

25. I should therefore like to express my delegation's gratitude to the President of the Mission and all its members for the work they did so well.

26. The PRESIDENT: I call upon the representative of Senegal.

27. Mr. GAYE (Senegal) (*interpretation from French*): First of all I should like to thank you, Mr. President, for having allowed me to participate in this meeting of the Security Council. I should also like, on behalf of my Government, to thank the Security Council itself for the report of the Special Mission on the situation affecting the people of Senegal who live on the border between Senegal and Guinea (Bissau).

28. The dispatch of the Special Mission fully reflected the Security Council's concern to implement the provisions of resolution 294 (1971) of 15 July 1971. It also meets a desire already expressed by Senegal. The Head of State of Senegal, in January 1970, approached the Secretary-General of the United Nations precisely to secure his agreement to dispatch a special mission to conduct inquiries and to determine once and for all, in the eyes of world opinion, the truth about the daily infringements committed by Portuguese troops on Senegalese territory.

29. For the Senegalese Government the report that the Special Mission has just introduced constitutes testimony. In July last I had an opportunity to state [*1569th meeting*] that it is because of our faith in the Mission of the United Nations that my Government turns to the Security Council which we all know, is responsible for the maintenance of international peace and security. It is also responsible for preventing and, if necessary, repressing any acts of aggression by any State against any Member of our Organization. I was, however, careful to make it clear that the purpose we had in mind was not so much the repression of acts of aggression against our people but rather the immediate and final cessation of these acts. It is again this same attitude that my Government intends to take now.

30. My Government, which has carefully studied and welcomes the report of the Special Mission, hopes that its recommendations will be satisfactorily applied. It believes, with the members of the Special Mission, that the problem which confronts us in Guinea (Bissau) can be solved only if the right to self-determination is restored to the peoples of that Territory.

31. Once again, on behalf of my Government, may I thank the members of the Security Council and yourself, Mr. President, who are associated in the efforts to find suitable measures to ensure that we can safeguard, protect, and provide security for persons and property.

32. Mr. FARAH (Somalia): My delegation wishes to congratulate the Chairman and the members of the Special Mission on their conscientious and efficient work in completing the inquiry into the situation along the border between Guinea (Bissau) and Senegal. The findings and

recommendations are undoubtedly of great value to the Security Council in its task of ensuring peace and security in that region.

33. In the view of my delegation the Special Mission's report clarifies a number of important points.

34. First, it has established that the territory and people of Senegal have both been the subject of acts of aggression by the Portuguese authorities in Guinea (Bissau), acts which have violated the territorial integrity of Senegal.

35. Second, the Special Mission has shown that the Government of Senegal, in its relations with the neighbouring Territory of Guinea (Bissau), is acting correctly and in complete conformity with its obligations as a Member of the United Nations. Indeed, it has acted with restraint in the face of much provocation.

36. Third, it has been made clear that liberation movements of Guinea (Bissau), such as the PAIGC,² are not using Senegal as a base for launching operations against the Portuguese authorities, and that the aid which the Senegalese Government gives to these movements is clearly compatible with international law, particularly since the struggle of the people of Guinea (Bissau) has been declared a legitimate one by the United Nations. The violations of Senegalese territory by Portugal are therefore completely illegal and inexcusable.

37. Last, and this brings us to the heart of the matter, the whole situation, as the Special Mission has indicated in its report, is a result of Portugal's continued unwillingness to grant the African peoples under its rule their inalienable right to self-determination and independence.

38. My delegation has, in other contexts, often expressed the view that the problems of southern Africa must be dealt with as a whole; that the intransigent minority régimes of that area which support each other must, together, be confronted with all the coercive powers, short of the use of force, that are at the disposal of the Security Council. We would complete work towards that end.

39. Meanwhile, however, the specific southern African problems, and that of Guinea (Bissau), have to be dealt with. Today we have before us not only the report of the Special Mission on the situation with regard to Senegal, but also the report of the Special Mission to the Republic of Guinea. As far as the question of Senegal's complaint is concerned my delegation believes that the Security Council must now take positive action under the Charter.

40. Portugal's refusal to act in accordance with the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples has led to the colonial wars being waged by that country against the peoples under its domination. It has been estimated that more than 150,000 Portuguese troops are involved in these wars, which the Security Council cannot ignore even if it has done so in the past. Portugal's efforts to crush a just struggle for liberation from oppressive rule are the cause of the ever-widening

² Partido Africano da Independência da Guiné e Cabo Verde.

circle of violence directed against the independent African States which border the Territories under Portuguese rule.

41. My Government wonders how many acts of aggression must be committed and how many hundreds of thousands of people must be involved before a threat to international peace and security can be said to exist. This is the third time that the Security Council has had to censure Portugal and call upon that country to cease its violations of Senegalese territory and its acts of aggression against the Senegalese people. It is obvious that, unless the Government of Portugal is convinced that the Security Council will take coercive action, another round of condemnations and appeals will have no more effect than in the past.

42. My delegation wishes to submit for consideration by the Council a course of action which it believes will result in bringing peace to that troubled area.

43. Looking through resolutions which this Council has adopted over the years against Portugal because of its aggression against various Member States of this Organization, I have failed to find a single reference to a reaffirmation by the Council of the rights of the people of Guinea (Bissau), the people of Angola and the people of Mozambique to self-determination and independence in accordance with the Charter, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV), and I believe that the least this Council can do in this particular case, especially since it has been drawn to our attention that it is the question of Guinea (Bissau) which is poisoning relations in West Africa, would be to reaffirm some of the basic courses of action which the General Assembly has approved by large majorities.

44. My delegation would suggest, therefore, that this Council, in addition to reaffirming or affirming that the people of Guinea (Bissau) have the rights enunciated in resolution 1514 (XV), call for an arms embargo against Portugal so long as these wars continue in Africa. It is inconceivable that Member States of this Organization should be engaged in arms traffic which is helping to maintain colonial oppression in Africa at a time when colonialism is no longer valid in any context. An arms embargo would help to save the lives of countless thousands of Africans. It would also enable this Organization to regain the measure of self-respect and dignity which it seems to have lost since the adoption of the Charter.

45. The Security Council should call upon Portugal to allow a special mission, to be appointed by itself or by the General Assembly to go to the Territories to conduct for itself an impartial investigation of conditions there in order to ascertain exactly what the peoples of those areas want. We can no longer remain indifferent in the hope that perhaps something will happen, when we know very well that nothing will, unless we start a course of action.

46. Mr. LONGERSTAEY (Belgium) (*interpretation from French*): My delegation was a member of the Special Mission whose report we have received today. I know from our representative on the Mission, Mr. Gérard, that an excellent spirit prevailed. Decisions were sometimes difficult to take, but thanks to the Chairmanship of Ambassa-

dor Sevilla-Sacasa, thanks to his firmness, his tenacity, his goodwill, his diplomatic skill, joint recommendations and conclusions were successfully drafted. We offer him our sincere thanks for all that he has done, and Mr. Gerard's thanks also to all the other members of the Mission.

47. The fact that the Mission was able to accomplish successfully the task entrusted to it by the Council was also due to the warm welcome it received in Dakar, above all from His Excellency President Senghor, and from the Government of Senegal, especially His Excellency the Minister of Foreign Affairs, whom I have the honour and privilege to welcome here.

48. Mr. KUŁAGA (Poland) (*interpretation from French*): Sir, I hope that you will allow me to make two comments that I should like to offer in my capacity as a member of the Special Mission, whose report has just been presented. These comments do not deal with the substance of the problem. I shall discuss that at a later stage of our deliberations.

49. My first comment is to convey my thanks to His Excellency, Ambassador Sevilla-Sacasa, the Chairman of the Mission. Today, he has introduced the report of the Mission with the verve which characterized his Chairmanship of the Special Mission and which made my participation in the work of the Special Mission a rich experience and a great pleasure.

50. I should also like, once again, to convey my thanks to the Government of Senegal. I had the honour and the pleasure of doing this personally at Dakar where I had the opportunity of offering my thanks to His Excellency the President, Mr. Senghor, His Excellency the President of the Council of Ministers, His Excellency the Minister for Foreign Affairs, the other members of the Government and the regional and local authorities. I take the greatest pleasure in repeating these thanks today.

51. I repeat that I reserve my right to speak later in the course of the debate.

52. Mr. PRATT (Sierra Leone): Mr. President, my delegation adds its voice to yours and that of other delegations which have preceded me in the discussion of this subject and expresses its deep and sincere thanks to the President of the Special Mission, His Excellency Guillermo Sevilla-Sacasa of Nicaragua, and to the delegations of Belgium, Burundi, Japan, Poland and the Syrian Arab Republic for the detailed report they have submitted to the Council and the conclusions and recommendations they have offered. These delegations, together with their military experts, have approached their task with astounding objectivity and provided the Council with a report that will undoubtedly command the respect of all.

53. In the debate on the question of Senegal's complaint against Portugal, which took place in July this year [1569th to 1572nd meetings] my delegation pointed out [1571st meetings] that the Republic of Senegal was not at war with Portugal and never had been. It also stressed that that Republic had the right to live in security within its defined boundaries. We have not departed from that position. The

report before us has more than adequately substantiated the fact that Portugal, operating from Guinea (Bissau), has been molesting the inhabitants of the Casamance region and impinging on the sovereignty of their State. It has gone far to convince us, without attempting to do so, that members of the Portuguese army have been conducting raids and attacks on Senegal; that they have been shelling Senegalese villages from Guinea (Bissau); that on numerous occasions Portuguese aircraft have violated with impunity the air space of Senegal, and that, as a recent development in the ever-expanding process, the Portuguese are laying anti-personnel and anti-tank mines within Senegal, which, as we have said before, cause death, devastation, loss of life and property and untold misery.

54. The psychological fear resulting from these attacks is of such magnitude that thousands of civilians live in constant dread of death or mutilation while additional thousands have left the region to settle in the quieter areas of the country. But a people cannot endure such a situation indefinitely. Meanwhile, approximately 70,000 refugees from Portuguese terrorism have fled into Senegal where they contribute to the burden of that country. It has been estimated that the cost of aiding these refugees to settle, the inclusion of their children in the schooling system and the procurement of medical treatment amounts to \$4 million every year.

55. Senegal does not mind having to make such sacrifices to aid African brothers oppressed by the colonialist Government of Portugal. As a serious member of the Organization of African Unity and one which is convinced that Africa will be united in the future, Senegal is committed to provide support for the liberation movements recognized by that Organization. These liberation movements represent nationalist manifestations among a long-subjected people, a people who see no future under the present system and government. Would anyone in his right senses, therefore, blame loyal African Governments for lending support to such movements?

56. The Government of Senegal has entered into talks with Portugal for the simple reason that it wishes to bring about a dialogue between that country and the nationalists who spearhead the liberation movements in Bissau. Senegalese authorities have made it abundantly clear that Portugal should change its narrow colonial policy, a policy which was discarded by the imperialist Powers of the Western world long ago, a policy which has been driving the peoples in Territories under Portuguese domination to open warfare against Portuguese rule. Had hopes been given to these men that they would share in the decision-making processes of their own land, my Government has no doubt that the approach of these desperate men would have been different.

57. Since Portugal has not listened to reason, Senegal, in common with other African States, had no choice but to give the support required by the OAU to the freedom-fighters. In this regard, it accords some amount of recognition to the PAIGC, under Mr. Amilcar Cabral, which is in control of a huge part of Guinea (Bissau), and to FLING,³ another nationalist movement.

³ Frente da Luta pela Independência da Guiné dita Portuguesa.

58. We learnt from the report that no less a person than President Senghor himself assured the Special Mission that these liberation movements do not maintain military camps in his country. They are under strict injunction not to launch any attack from his country, nor are the combatants allowed to enter his territory with arms. The great and renowned President said that the type of stations he permitted them to have and maintain were surgical depots where their wounded could be treated.

59. From this it can clearly be seen that the recent mine-laying activities on the part of Portugal are intended not only to compel Senegal to close its frontiers and thereby hinder movements of the nationalists, but also to deprive the sick and wounded of the opportunity of healthy recuperation.

60. The Special Mission saw much evidence of hostilities during its visit to the frontiers. At Ziguinchor they were shown weapons of various types ranging from explosives and hand guns to a rocket launcher which had fallen from a raiding Portuguese aircraft.

61. We are impressed with the considerable amount of investigating work done by the Mission and its military experts. Whether the inquiries took place at Santiaba Mandjack, where a civilian minibus was blown up by mines, or at Sare N'Diaye, where two land rover-type vehicles met with a similar fate, or at the Balo Kounda bridge, where bags of TNT with set charges were discovered in time, to mention only a few, the seriousness of purpose with which the Mission carried out its task is laudable.

62. The conclusions of the Mission's report leave no doubts in our minds that units of the Portuguese armed forces stationed in Guinea (Bissau) frequently cross over the frontier into Senegal to raid, pillage and burn property, and take life in the Senegalese villages. Even after the passage of resolution 294 (1971) there was evidence that Portuguese troops were still carrying out outrages on Senegalese soil in defiance of this organ. Where then lie the obligations of a Member State of the Organization when it flouts with impunity the decisions embodied in the Council's resolutions? This is exactly what Portugal has been doing.

63. In paragraph 126 of the report in question, the military experts, after their inquiry at the village of Kandjenou, arrived at the following conclusions:

- “(i) The evidence examined at Kandjenou proves that the village was attacked and that the attack was particularly devastating;
- (ii) The attackers used individual military weapons;
- (iii) Judging from the results of the operation and from the weapons used, it is possible that this attack could have been made only by a properly trained force equipped with suitable weapons and provided with a safe refuge near at hand.”

64. On the basis of circumstantial evidence provided, the military experts have reached the following further conclusions:

- “(b) Several persons testified that a group of soldiers crossed the border into Senegalese territory and made an

armed attack against Bagame in daylight on 30 July 1971. One person testified that he had seen a Portuguese (white) in uniform and bearing a weapon who had violated the Senegalese frontier.

“(c) The statements made established that the shelling by heavy artillery of Senegalese territory on 25 July 1971, came from Guinea (Bissau). It was pointed out to the Special Mission that only Portuguese armed forces possessed heavy artillery in this area.

“(d) In other cases it was found that mines had been laid in Senegalese territory causing the death of individuals and material destruction. The Special Mission examined the sites of the explosions and took note of the damage caused.”

65. The list of incidents initiated by Portuguese forces are indeed numerous. In 1969, a total of 37 incidents of a bellicose nature was recorded. In 1970, it had increased to 62. Between January and July of this year, we note that the catalogue has expanded to include the dastardly action of mine-laying. In all, so far, 68 distinct incidents have been recorded.

66. Since Portugal cannot be made to comply with resolution 1514 (XV) of the General Assembly and all the declarations of this Organization, my delegation would have no difficulty in co-sponsoring, without condition, a resolution incorporating the recommendations of the Special Mission.

67. We would have asked the Council to invoke Chapter VII of the Charter but have refrained from embarrassing Portugal's NATO allies, some of whom are seated around this horseshoe table today.

68. The least the Council can do is to adopt a resolution along the lines of the Mission's recommendations. We should not allow friendship, personal considerations or sectarian interests to numb our feelings for fair play, our understanding of justice and our concept of the brotherhood of man.

69. The PRESIDENT: I should like to make a statement not as President of the Security Council but as the representative of JAPAN.

70. Japan had the pleasure of serving as a member of the Security Council's Special Mission to Senegal in the person of Ambassador Ishikawa. We are very happy at this fact, because we attach much importance to the problem with which the Special Mission was asked to deal. The work of the Special Mission was not easy, but the Mission succeeded in fulfilling its task, thanks to the most able leadership of its Chairman, His Excellency Ambassador Sevilla-Sacasa and also to the spirit of harmony and co-operation displayed by its members.

71. My delegation believes that the report submitted by the Special Mission will certainly be useful in helping the Security Council in its deliberations on this question and in helping it to arrive at a decision.

72. I wish to join the other speakers in expressing our heartfelt thanks to Ambassador Sevilla-Sacasa for his leadership. I also wish to express our deep gratitude to the Government of Senegal, which is represented here by His Excellency, Mr. Amadou Karim Gaye, the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Senegal, for the great hospitality, co-operation and assistance extended to the Special Mission with a view to facilitating its work.

73. Mr. SEVILLA-SACASA (Nicaragua) (*interpretation from Spanish*): May I in my first words of this further statement offer a very cordial greeting to His Excellency the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Senegal. I should like to tell him that his presence, which is so agreeable to us, recalls the meeting we had with him in Senegal, his great country where we were given the utmost assistance—as indeed we had expected—in carrying out the task entrusted to us in all serenity.

74. I wish to offer my very sincere and warm thanks to the Ambassadors of the Syrian Arab Republic, Burundi, Belgium, Poland and to the President, the Ambassador of Japan, who presides over our discussions with such dignity, for their kind words about the report which I have just introduced on behalf of the Special Mission of the Security Council which went to Senegal to discharge its mandate from the Council. They all know that for me it was a great honour to share such a special international responsibility with distinguished colleagues who command my esteem and affection, a mission marked with the pressing responsibility of safeguarding peace and security in the region of Africa where we carried out our task.

75. I wish to offer my thanks also to the Ambassador of Sierra Leone for the very kind reference that he just made to me.

76. In addition to the satisfaction that I have derived from completing this task, there is also the honour that I feel this afternoon in hearing the tributes paid to me by very dear friends and colleagues who have spoken in this forum of international peace and security.

77. Members of the Security Council, as I said in my first statement, our report is in your hands.

78. Mr. MALIK (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*translated from Russian*): I should like to congratulate the Special Mission of the Security Council and its Chairman, the distinguished Ambassador of Nicaragua, on the brilliant fulfilment of the task entrusted to the Special Mission by the President of the Security Council and the Secretary-General under the terms of the Security Council's decision.

79. We have listened with great satisfaction to the statement of the Chairman of the Special Mission, and we shall study in detail the written report of the Special Mission, but at this stage my delegation would like particularly to note the fact that the Security Council has reinstated the practice of sending out missions of this kind composed of members of the Council, and is thus gradually returning to a practice envisaged by the United Nations Charter and the rules of procedure of the Security Council.

80. As the United Nations organ bearing primary responsibility for the maintenance and strengthening of international peace and security, the Security Council is fully empowered by the relevant Articles and provisions of the Charter to take independently any action it deems necessary for the careful, detailed investigation and study of acts of aggression and to adopt appropriate measures to do away with such acts, including recourse to the relevant provisions of the Charter, in both Chapter VI and Chapter VII.

81. Unfortunately, in past years, during the coldest phases of the cold war, serious departures were permitted from the Charter and from the rules of procedure. Procedures and decisions were imposed which were contrary to and in violation of the Charter. This previous practice was very much to the liking of some, and there is a certain desire to continue it, by treating it as a device that has established itself over a considerable length of time, although everyone knows that this device is not in accordance with the provisions of the Charter, that it is contrary to the Charter.

82. Consequently, we note with great satisfaction that there has recently been a revival of the practice of forming Security Council missions to carry out the direct and immediate tasks relating to the maintenance and strengthening of international peace entrusted to them by the Security Council. I remember that, at first, there was, I should say, a very heated dispute in the Security Council, when our distinguished colleague, the Ambassador of Syria, was President of the Council. Some expressed great doubts when it became necessary for the Security Council to consider the item concerning Portugal's aggression against the Republic of Guinea. Certain members of the Security Council brought up the question of the Secretary-General's selecting individual persons at his discretion to be sent to the scene of the crime, to the place where the aggression had occurred. However, under the wise guidance of the then President, Ambassador Tomeh, and with the active support and participation of many other members of the Security Council, a view prevailed which was in accordance with the Charter. It was decided that the President, in consultation with the Secretary-General, should constitute, form and determine the composition of, a special mission to be sent to Guinea, consisting of five members of the Security Council. That was done, and it was a good beginning.

83. Subsequently, that precedent was reaffirmed by the dispatch of a second mission to Guinea consisting of members of the Security Council, and finally, we have a third instance of the dispatch of a special mission consisting of members of the Security Council, this time to Senegal, to conduct an on-the-spot investigation of aggressive acts by Portugal against Senegal.

84. Thus, the Council has adopted a correct policy, that of sending missions to the scenes of aggression, not missions made up of anybody chosen at the whim of this or that group of members of the Security Council, or of individual personalities, but highly authoritative official missions backed by the Security Council and its decisions. I believe that in future, if the need arises, the Security Council will have to use this procedure, this practice—if appropriate, if the need arises for an on-the-spot investigation or for action

to halt aggression—and will for such purposes have to send to the scene a mission consisting of members of the Security Council and not one formed in any other way.

85. We are deeply convinced that a kind of renaissance is taking place in the practice of the Security Council. The revival of the Charter's provisions and the adoption of a policy of strict compliance with the Charter will help to enhance not only the role of the Security Council but also the effectiveness of the United Nations as a whole in strengthening international peace and security, curbing aggressors and stopping aggression.

86. That is why the Soviet delegation thought it desirable, at this stage of the Council's discussion of the report of the Security Council's Special Mission to Senegal, to make this official statement and to express its deep conviction that this practice will also help us to find ways to solving the problem of so-called peace-keeping operations. The position of the Soviet Union on the matter is well known: we believe that the United Nations and the Security Council, as the organ primarily responsible for the maintenance of international peace and security, should be strictly guided by the provisions of the Charter and that the Security Council should be the main organizer and executor of all measures planned and applied by the Organization in acting to strengthen peace, in carrying out what is known as "peace-keeping operations".

87. Mr. KOSCIUSKO-MORIZET (France) (*interpretation from French*): I should merely like to say a few words since, as President of the Security Council when the Mission was appointed, I shared with the Secretary-General the formidable responsibility of deciding on its composition, its task and its dispatch in accordance with the resolution that had been adopted and, of course, after consultations with the members of the Council. I am all the more at ease, therefore, in saying that I am very pleased that the mission was sent and I am very pleased with the report it has submitted. I should like to associate myself with those who have already done so in conveying our warm congratulations to the members of this mission, starting with its Chairman, Ambassador Sevilla-Sacasa. As the Ambassador of the Soviet Union, I consider this is an extremely useful practice which may have very beneficial results for the United Nations and the prestige of the Security Council. Undoubtedly, in such matters one cannot say that there are precedents or more precisely that a decision taken in one particular case is necessarily the obligatory decision in another instance. In fact each case is *sui generis*, which means that the membership and balance of missions may differ in each particular case. There is nothing which says in advance that a mission should be composed of three, five or six members. That is a question which should be determined in the light of circumstances and which should be weighed by the President of the Security Council after consultations with the Secretary-General and, of course, with the consent of the Council. In my judgement, what is absolutely essential in a Mission of this kind is that it should act on behalf of the international community and, if I may use the term, that it should be really depoliticized. It has in its charge the interests of the international community; it speaks on behalf of the Security Council; its constituent members are no longer the representatives of

their various countries, but the representatives of the United Nations as a whole, and they act objectively and conscientiously. In the case in point I believe that the Mission which went to Senegal has discharged its functions in this spirit and that is why we are happy to offer it our warm congratulations today.

88. Mr. SEVILLA-SACASA (Nicaragua) (*interpretation from Spanish*): I thank you, Mr. President, for allowing me to express my gratitude to my distinguished friend the representative of France, who presided over the Security Council during the month of July, not for the country but for the honour he conveyed, not on his friend, the Ambassador who is now addressing the Council, but on my country, Nicaragua, in appointing me a member of the Special Mission of the Security Council that was to visit Senegal charged with a mandate of overriding importance. Of course I shall always be grateful to the representative of France for this honour and to our esteemed Secretary-General, but I am much more grateful for the privilege they so kindly accorded me in appointing me to preside over that Mission, in which, as my colleagues will recall, we all acted as chairmen, because this proved to be the best way of discharging our task.

89. I would remind my colleague from France that one afternoon in July when I was saying goodbye to him I said "Thank you, Mr. President. I assure you that we will discharge our duty with a deep conscientiousness and with a high sense of responsibility". And now, as we return and submit our report I can tell the Ambassador of France, the former distinguished President of the Security Council who appointed us in July as members of this Mission, that we fulfilled our duty with a deep conscientiousness and with a genuine sense of responsibility.

90. Once again, I thank my good friend and colleague the ambassador of France.

91. The PRESIDENT: Since there are no further speakers I take it that members of the Council would wish to take time to study the report and the statements which have just been made, and thereafter engage in consultations before fixing a date for the further consideration of this question. Accordingly, I would propose that the Council now pass to the next item on its agenda, it being understood that consideration of the complaint of Senegal would be reviewed at the appropriate time.

It was so decided.

Complaint by Guinea

Report of the Security Council Special Mission to the Republic of Guinea established under resolution 295 (1971) (S/10309)⁴

92. The PRESIDENT: In accordance with the decision taken by the Council at the 1573rd meeting on 3 August, when it began its consideration of this complaint by Guinea, I propose to invite the representative of Guinea to

⁴ Subsequently issued as *Official Records of the Security Council, Twenty-sixth Year, Special Supplement No. 4* (S/10309/Rev.1).

take his seat at the Council table in order to continue his participation in our discussion without the right to vote.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Abdoulaye Touré (Guinea) took a place at the Council table.

93. The PRESIDENT: Ambassador George Tomeh of Syrian Arab Republic, one of the two members of our Special Mission, is going to present to the Council the report contained in document S/10309. I give the floor to Mr. Tomeh.

94. Mr. TOMEH (Syrian Arab Republic): On behalf of Mr. Julio C. Carasales, representative of Argentina, and myself I have the honour to present the report of the Security Council Special Mission to the Republic of Guinea established under Council resolution 295 (1971) as published in document S/10309, dated 15 September 1971.

[The speaker read out the contents of the report.]

95. I wish to draw attention to the composition of the Special Mission following the complaint submitted to the Security Council by the Permanent Representative of Guinea [S/10280] and the unanimous adoption on 3 August of resolution 295 (1971). This is set out in the Introduction to the report, paragraph 7 of which states:

"At the 1576th meeting of the Security Council held on 26 August 1971, the President of the Council stated that as a result of the consultations held, he had been authorized to make a statement expressing the consensus of the Council as follows:

"It is the consensus of the Security Council that the Special Mission called for in resolution 295 (1971) should be composed of two members of the Council instead of three. The Special Mission will proceed to Conakry to consult the Government of the Republic of Guinea on its complaint and will report back to the Council as soon as possible."

Paragraph 8 continues:

"The consensus was approved by the Security Council without objection. On the same day, the President of the Security Council and the Secretary-General issued a note (S/10229) stating that in view of the consensus adopted by the Council, it had been decided that the Special Mission to the Republic of Guinea would be composed of Argentina and Syria and that the Mission would be accompanied by the necessary staff from the Secretariat."

96. As to the terms of reference and procedure, they are defined in paragraphs 10 and 11. They read:

"The terms of reference for the Special Mission were set out in paragraph 2 of Security Council resolution 295 (1971) as follows: 'To consult with the authorities and to report on the situation immediately'. In the consensus statement approved by the Security Council at its 1576th meeting on 26 August, it was provided that the Special Mission would consult the Government of the Republic of Guinea on its complaint and would report back to the Security Council as soon as possible.

"The procedures adopted by the Special Mission, within its terms of reference, included consultations with the Government of the Republic of Guinea on its complaint of 3 August 1971 and the receipt of documents and other relevant material provided by the Government."

97. In submitting this report, we wish to express our thanks and deep appreciation to His Excellency, the President of Guinea, Ahmed Sékou Touré, and to the Government of Guinea for their co-operation with the Special Mission.

98. During our meeting with His Excellency, President Ahmed Sékou Touré and the members of the Guinean Government in Conakry we had very frank consultations, as shown in Part V of the report which contain the verbatim records of the meetings of the Special Mission.

99. We wish also to thank the then President of the Security Council, the distinguished Ambassador of Italy, Ambassador Vinci, and the Secretary-General for having done the honour both to myself and to the representative of Argentina in choosing us for the Special Mission.

100. We also wish to commend highly the Secretariat staff that accompanied us on this Mission for their efforts in expediting the issuance of this report, which appeared on the 15th of this month.

101. We also hope that the report in its entirety will receive the very careful consideration of the members of the Security Council.

102. I reserve the right of my delegation to comment on this report and on the complaint of Guinea against Portugal and its continued threat to Guinea when the Council resumes its discussion of the Guinean complaint.

103. Mr. CARASALES (Argentina) (*interpretation from Spanish*): There is nothing that I need add to the excellent presentation just made by Ambassador Tomeh of Syria concerning the report of the Mission, in which I had the honour to participate, together with him. However, I do think it necessary to say two things.

104. Firstly, I should like to reiterate my thanks to the Government and people of Guinea through their Permanent Representative to the United Nations who is present here today, for the cordial welcome and the facilities they extended to the Special Mission of the Security Council. Secondly, I would like to note the deep satisfaction I derived from my collaboration in this task with Ambassador Tomeh, whose ability, judgement and tact the members of the Security Council know better than anyone.

105. The PRESIDENT: I call upon the representative of Guinea.

106. Mr. TOURE (Guinea) (*interpretation from French*): Mr. President, I should like, through you, to thank the Security Council for authorizing my delegation to participate in this stage of its consideration of the report concerning the Mission that the Council, in consultation with the Secretary-General, sent to Guinea.

107. The delegation of the Republic of Guinea brought an important fact to the attention of the Council: the constant and daily threat to its security.

108. On 22 November 1970 the Council took up our request, considered our complaint [S/9987], and—as a distinguished representative in this council said a moment ago—decided, in consultation with the Secretary-General, to send a mission to the scene to see, examine, and investigate, if necessary, the motives, the complaints concerning more specifically the substance of the problem that the African countries—in this case, the Republic of Guinea—had occasion to bring before you. This Mission, the second received by the Government and people of Guinea, and whose report is before you today, was a consultative Mission which was to carry out an on-the-spot investigation of the facts we brought to the attention of the Council.

109. The report is in itself a very faithful account of findings that point to the continuing threat that Portugal poses to the security of a small African country which wants nothing but peace and security in which to pursue its development. The Republic of Guinea, an underdeveloped country held back by colonialism, has never at any time in its existence attacked Portugal or declared a state of war with Portugal, which is several thousand kilometres away from it.

110. Our request to the Security Council, introduced by the Guinean Head of State, President Sékou Touré and the Government of Guinea, was aimed exclusively at ensuring for the Republic of Guinea the security it needs to pursue its development. Since 22 November 1970, the date on which Portugal reached a peak in the chronology of escalating aggression by invading the national territory of Guinea, the threat of another such adventure has hung over the security of our small country of Guinea, a member of the Council, of the General Assembly, of the international family, a threat under which our villages have lived for 10 years since Portugal started waging war against the African populations.

111. My delegation has only one request, namely, that the Council, which is responsible for the maintenance of international peace and security, should ensure to the Republic of Guinea the security which it needs in order to pursue its development. We believe that in order to do so the Council must study in practical terms the ways and means whereby Portugal, a Member State of our Organization, systematically refuses to apply General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV), the resolution that guarantees the right of self-determination and independence to all peoples and particularly to the peoples of Africa.

112. Having this great confidence in the Security Council, we express the earnest hope that the Council will consider this report and draw the necessary conclusions in order to guarantee the security of the Republic of Guinea, and that it will address itself to the necessity of applying the necessary sanctions to Portugal so that it complies with the relevant resolutions already adopted by the Council, the list of which is too long to quote here.

113. Once again, on behalf of the delegation of the Republic of Guinea, we thank the Security Council for

appointing two of its distinguished members to go to Guinea in consultation with the Government, and who have today placed before you their report in which Guinea places all its hopes and all its confidence in the Security Council.

114. Mr. MGENGE (Burundi) (*interpretation from French*): My delegation would like to congratulate His Excellency the Ambassador of Syria and the Ambassador of Argentina on the satisfactory way in which they have fulfilled the task entrusted to them by the Security Council. My delegation would also like to take this opportunity to convey our sympathy to the Guinean delegation.

115. This is certainly Portugal's day. I say it is Portugal's day, but it is certainly not an honour for that country. After a complaint by Senegal there has always been or at least there has often been a complaint from another African country, a neighbour of the Territories under the Portuguese yoke. As I was saying, after Senegal, very often it was Guinea that had to complain, if it was not the United Republic of Tanzania or the Republic of Zambia, the Democratic Republic of the Congo or the People's Republic of the Congo. Unless we want such acts to be the sole subject matter of consultations of our Council, we should put an end to Portuguese provocation.

116. On behalf of my delegation, I reserve the right to revert to each of the items on our agenda for today. It seems only fair to my delegation, and even essential, that the Council should, already at this stage, consider ways and means, as the representative of Guinea has just suggested, of safeguarding peace in Africa; to spare the independent countries of Africa—from Portugal's demands. Guinea (Bissau), Mozambique and Angola are not the only victims of Portuguese colonialism; there are also the countries that have already been liberated and not without difficulty, from colonialism, and which are now facing problems of development that should be their sole concern. Portugal, by its acts of provocation, wished to maintain the countries under its domination and the neighbouring countries, in a permanent state of war-psychosis.

117. What does the Security Council intend to do in order to eliminate these seedbeds of tension which have been created, and which continue to be fed by the Portuguese Army? That is the question that my delegation intends to ask in due course when we make our statement on the substance of the problems which have been raised today and which are a matter of vital concern to the African continent in the face of Portuguese colonialism.

118. Mr. FARAH (Somalia): My delegation has read with considerable interest the report of the Special Mission, contained in Security Council document S/10309. It provides this Council with the information it requires to enable it to consider further the complaint of Guinea which was raised at our meeting of 3 August 1971. Ambassador George Tomeh and Minister Julio Carasales are to be congratulated on the success of their Mission, the excellence of their report and the speed with which the whole operation was completed.

119. Unlike the report of the Special Mission which went to Senegal, the Guinea report is a factual one and contains neither an assessment of the facts or charges raised nor recommendations. We are expected to provide these ourselves. When we study the report, the chief characteristic that stands out clearly is the manner in which the representatives of the Guinean Government co-operated with the Special Mission and the frankness with which they answered the many questions put to them.

120. In assessing the facts and the evidence adduced, it is important, in the view of my delegation, to bear in mind the developments which led up to the events of November 1970. For months before the invasion of Guinea it was the Guinean authorities which reported to the United Nations the probability of such an attack against the integrity and sovereignty of their country. Guinea's fears were confirmed and its intelligence reports proved correct.

121. Ever since that incident, a war-psychosis, as the representative of Burundi has expressed it, has prevailed in the area. There are elements in the area which are escalating tensions, instigating provocative acts and at times conducting murderous operations across the frontier into Guinea. The complaint of Guinea is most clearly set forth in the statement made to the Special Mission by Mr. Ismail Touré, Minister for Financial Affairs, reproduced on pages 28 and 29 of the report:

"... we cannot complain to the United Nations about any basic ideological conflicts between ourselves and many other nations. We can only report irrefutable facts, contrary to the purposes and principles of the United Nations, namely, the attack on our territorial integrity and the use of a territory under control of another State by aggressive forces against our own country. So we have to make a clear distinction between general ideological differences and contradictions, between systems on the one hand, and the violation of the fundamental rights of States, on the other. And it is Portugal which has been violating these rights".

122. As to the kind of action expected of this Council, he said in pages 30 and 31 of the report that

"... Guinea has no interest in distorting the facts of the matter by expecting the Security Council to issue any formal warnings to all countries which are against Guinea calling upon them to respect Guinea's territorial integrity and political independence. We are concerned, for the time being, with having the Council issue such an appeal to one State alone which has violated the territorial integrity and political independence of Guinea—and that State is Portugal. What we want for the future is that concrete measures should be taken to prevent Portugal from further violating the Charter by violating the territorial integrity and political independence of Guinea by participating in a complex operation hostile to Guinea, using military means, for open aggression against Guinea from territory under Portuguese control"

"... So, if we want paragraph 1 of the resolution to be truly operative, it must envisage concrete measures such as an on-the-spot inquiry in Guinea (Bissau) and every

means of pressure on Portugal to force it not to let territory under its control be used for any new aggression against Guinea, as it did on 22 November”.

123. When we were discussing, briefly, the report submitted to us by the Special Mission which went to Senegal, my delegation pointed out that unless the United Nations resolved to do something about the colonial territories of Portugal in Africa, the peace and security of certain parts of Africa would always be under threat.

124. This report, the evidence and the very important information which it contains bears out this contention and my delegation would wish to reserve its right to speak again on this matter and to come forward with proposals as to how, in its view, the Security Council could best proceed in order to bring peace and security to the area surrounding Guinea (Bissau) and the areas of Angola and Mozambique.

125. The PRESIDENT: I wish to extend my thanks to Ambassador George Tomeh for having introduced the report of the Security Council's Mission to Guinea in such an excellent manner. As the President of this Council as well as the representative of JAPAN, I wish to thank Ambassador Tomeh and Minister Julio Carasales for their splendid work in fulfilling the task of this difficult mission.

126. Mr. SEVILLA-SACASA (Nicaragua) (*interpretation from Spanish*): The report just submitted to us by the Ambassador of Syria is in our opinion important in itself and we congratulate him and his distinguished colleagues of the Mission for what he has done. It brings us to refer to what was said recently by Ambassador Malik, when he emphasized the importance of these special missions of inquiry, investigation and information, which may be and I say should be appointed by the Security Council whenever it considers it necessary in order to safeguard peace and security in any particular part of the world.

127. In expressing the view that I too consider these missions important—and that I shall, of course, carefully analyse the report submitted to us by our colleague the Ambassador of Syria—I should like to thank my friend Ambassador Malik for his very cordial reference to me in his recent comments on the report, that I had the honour to present, on the work of the Special Mission which visited Senegal to carry out a mandate of overriding importance entrusted to it by the Security Council.

128. Mr. PRATT (Sierra Leone): My delegation is indeed happy to thank the Special Mission to the Republic of Guinea for the report contained in document S/10309 of 15 September 1971, which has just been tabled by Ambassador George Tomeh of the Syrian Arab Republic.

129. We would like to convey our deep thanks and appreciation to the representatives of Syria and Argentina, impressed by the considerable efforts they put into making their mission a success, which it undoubtedly must be.

130. The Republic of Guinea, headed by a true son of Africa, President Ahmed Sékou Touré, has been the major target of Portuguese aggression. Hardly a year passes by without some attempts, covert or overt, being made to

hamper the progress of this young nation. Such attempts culminated in the abortive armed intervention of 22 November 1970, when the nation was put to a severe test.

131. The welfare of the Republic of Guinea is of great concern to us, more particularly so to Sierra Leone, as it is our neighbour.

132. We have studied the report, and we should like in particular to bring again to the attention of the Council the fact that Portuguese armed intervention against Guinea has been occurring since 1961. There is an English saying that, “Once bitten, twice shy”; and the need for this Special Mission can be found in that saying.

133. I would draw members' attention to page 15 of the report, where it is stated—and I quote from the intervention of President Ahmed Sékou Touré:

“What has happened to us could not happen to any other régime and leave it intact. Seventeen out of 24 Ministers, nine tenths of our senior officers, and from 1969 to date, the commanders of nearly all the garrisons were involved, together with the Minister of Defence, the Minister of the Interior, the head of the *gendarmérie*, the Minister of Security, the Minister of Industry—all the key sectors had been suborned for the purpose of changing the régime in Guinea. Today everything is being done to prevent world public opinion from learning of the NATO Powers' opposition to Guinea. Everything is being done to spread the story that this is merely a struggle between Guineans.”

134. It is absolutely necessary for us to realize that there are many ways of changing a government, but that the world has developed towards the stage where there are accepted democratic ways—accepted ways of working democratically through the people—not of using money and mercenaries in order to suborn those who are the leaders.

135. The report contains ample evidence that there were certain elements outside Guinea—notably Portugal—which wanted to effect a change in the régime, and all they did was to make use of fifth columnists, to make use of corruption, and to make use of mercenaries.

136. Now, had that been all, there would have been no cause for alarm. Nevertheless, it is clear from the report that there was a planned invasion of Guinea; that is supported by documentary evidence.

137. The documentary evidence fell into the hands of the Guinean authorities even before the plan was launched on 22 November 1970. We read that that documentary evidence was sent to a particular Head of State, which State was allegedly involved, and that it was repudiated; and President Ahmed Sékou Touré tells us that he accepted the repudiation. Nevertheless, the first invasion took place. Nothing was made public about that first document—not even to the Security Council.

138. When, then, a second document was intercepted—when the plan for a second attack came to the knowledge of the Guinean authorities, as is clearly shown on page 16

of the report—it was essential for the Guinean authorities to act quickly. The plan actually came to their notice: telegrams were monitored, and there is incontrovertible proof that a second act of aggression was to be launched against Guinea.

139. What would have happened if that second attempt had been successful? The report gives ample evidence of our fears. Fortunately, the Government of the Republic of Guinea acted quickly, and it is clear that only its swift action in apprising the Security Council of the plans prevented the second aggression from taking place.

140. It is clear that the second aggression was actually planned, and I quote the words of Mr. Camara, who said as reported on page 26 of the report that the attack was imminent:

“... That can be explained by the fact that at the same time as we informed the Security Council we also ordered the general mobilization of the people and we sent messages to alert all defence positions on the border and inside the country, so the aggressor knew that we were ready for him and [that he] would have to change the date planned for the attack. He also knew that the case had been brought before the Security Council”.

141. Now that the case is before the Security Council, it is essential that we try once and for all to eradicate the root-cause of this disease, and it is clear to us that the root-cause lies in the intransigence of Portugal—in Portugal's belief that it can continue to be an imperialistic nation. My Government had hoped that the change of government in Portugal would bring forward liberal views on this subject. We have been disappointed.

142. Not only Guinea but Sierra Leone and other progressive African nations face these same risks and are subject to these same threats. We therefore trust that something will be done to save us from the throes of Portuguese imperialism.

143. My delegation reserves the right to speak on this important question at a later date.

144. Mr. TOMEH (Syrian Arab Republic): Mr. President, may I, first of all, with all due respect to the presidency and to you, address my most sincere thanks to you for your very kind words of appreciation for the report which we have presented, and which is the work of both myself and my colleague from Argentina, Mr. Julio Carasales.

145. There is no need for me to say, Sir, how proud I am as an Asian that you, who represent one of the great countries of Asia—a country which has undoubtedly made spectacular leaps in its economic progress—should be presiding over our deliberations.

146. I wish also to express my deepest gratitude to Mr. Carasales, who was my companion, friend and close colleague on the mission to Guinea. This mission, with the previous mission to Senegal, represents, as very rightly pointed out by the representative of the Soviet Union, Mr. Malik, a landmark in the history of the Security Council and the progress of its work; for today we have

been discussing two reports by two different missions to two African countries, both missions composed of members of the Security Council and established by decision of the Security Council giving the President and the Secretary-General power to appoint them after consultation between them.

147. I wish also to express my thanks to the representatives of Guinea, Burundi and Somalia. The Ambassador of Somalia, Mr. Farah, has rightly said that our report does not contain conclusions, assessments or recommendations. Indeed, when Mr. Carasales and I were thinking over that aspect of the report, we scrutinized and analysed our terms of reference very carefully and we decided that our mission was a mission of consultation that should report on whatever we were able to obtain in the way of information and documentary evidence from the Government of Guinea.

148. I wish also to thank the representative of Nicaragua, Mr. Sevilla-Sacasa, whose eloquence and courtesy cannot be equalled by anyone like myself. I should certainly also like to thank the Foreign Minister of Sierra Leone for his analysis of the report, the importance of the problem that it presents and the dangers to peace upon which the Security Council is called to deliberate.

149. I thank you, Mr. President, and, like the representative of Nicaragua, place the report in your hands.

150. The PRESIDENT: I thank Mr. Tomeh for the very kind words addressed to me personally and also to the country I represent.

151. Mr. CARASALES (Argentina) (*interpretation from Spanish*): Mr. President, just a few words to convey my thanks to you, to the Foreign Minister of Sierra Leone and to the representatives of Burundi, Somalia and Nicaragua and also to my colleague and friend, Mr. Tomeh, for the kind words they have spoken about me. Those words, although not really warranted, nevertheless deserve my thanks.

152. Mr. MALIK (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*translated from Russian*): I should like on behalf of the Soviet delegation to express my appreciation to the Special Mission of the Security Council, which consisted of two members of the Council, the representatives of the Syrian Arab Republic and Argentina.

153. We shall carefully study the report submitted by the Special Mission and we shall express our views on the substance in the course of further discussion. For my part, I should just like to say that I would call not this day alone but these recent days in the Security Council the days of Africa. It is not the day of Portugal—and I should like to make a small correction to what the representative of Burundi said—but, rather, Africa's days.

154. We have heard a splendid report from the Chairman of the Special Mission of the Organization of African Unity [*1583rd meeting*], which was given the authority and the high duty by the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of African countries of submitting the problem of Namibia to the Security Council. As it happened,

the hearing of this case and the statement by the outstanding African leader Mr. Ould Daddah, President of Mauritania, made in his special plenipotentiary capacity as Chairman of the Special Mission of the Organization of African Unity, coincided with the submission of two reports to the Security Council by two special missions of the Council—reports which unmask the activities of Portuguese colonialism aided and abetted by some other countries.

155. In my delegation's view, this is an important event in the work of the Security Council relating to its primary task of strengthening international peace and security and in the matter of acquiring a better understanding of what is going on in Africa. Therefore, I think that members of the Security Council should pay due attention to these two special reports and to the statement by the President of Mauritania as head of the Special Mission of the Organization of African Unity, and the Security Council should seriously ponder what practical measures it should take to secure peace and security in Africa from the encroachments of those who do not want to abandon their dreams of the colonial past and who are trying any and all methods to prolong and maintain their rule, if not over the whole of Africa, then over various parts of it.

156. As far as that goes, the Soviet delegation regards the consideration of these three questions—Namibia, the Portuguese aggression against Senegal, and the Portuguese aggression against Guinea—as a major event in all the activity of the Council. With a full sense of the responsibility entrusted to it and the duty incumbent on it under the United Nations Charter, the Security Council must carefully consider those questions and take appropriate decisions worthy of the great role it has been given.

157. The PRESIDENT: There being no further speakers on my list, I intend to adjourn this meeting. It is my understanding that members of the Council wish to have time to reflect on the report and the statements made at this meeting before proceeding with this discussion. In accordance with the suggestion put forward at our meeting yesterday, I therefore propose that the Security Council resume tomorrow afternoon its discussion of the item concerning Namibia. It is understood that further consideration of the complaint by Guinea will be scheduled by my successor in office after consultation with other members of the Council. There being no objection it is so decided.

The meeting rose at 6.10 p.m.

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