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1522nd MEETING: 15 DECEMBER 1969

NEW YORK

CONTENTS

	<i>Page</i>
Provisional agenda (S/Agenda/1522)	1
Adoption of the agenda	1
Complaint by Guinea: Letter dated 4 December 1969 from the Chargé d'affaires <i>ad interim</i> of Guinea addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/9528)	1

NOTE

Symbols of United Nations documents are composed of capital letters combined with figures. Mention of such a symbol indicates a reference to a United Nations document.

Documents of the Security Council (symbol S/. . .) are normally published in quarterly *Supplements of the Official Records of the Security Council*. The date of the document indicates the supplement in which it appears or in which information about it is given.

The resolutions of the Security Council, numbered in accordance with a system adopted in 1964, are published in yearly volumes of *Resolutions and Decisions of the Security Council*. The new system, which has been applied retroactively to resolutions adopted before 1 January 1965, became fully operative on that date.

FIFTEEN HUNDRED AND TWENTY-SECOND MEETING

Held in New York on Monday, 15 December 1969, at 3 p.m.

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

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

Provisional agenda (S/Agenda/1522)

1. Adoption of the agenda.

2. Complaint by Guinea:

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

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

Complaint by Guinea

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

1. The PRESIDENT: The representatives of Guinea and Portugal have asked to be invited to participate in the discussion of the question now before the Council (S/9528, S/9555). In accordance with the usual practice of the Council and with its provisional rules of procedure, I therefore propose, with the consent of the Council, to invite them to take seats at the Council table in order to participate in the discussion without the right to vote.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. A. Touré (Guinea) and Mr. B. de Miranda (Portugal) took places at the Council table.

2. The PRESIDENT: The Security Council will now begin its consideration of the complaint submitted to it by Guinea on 4 December, which was circulated in document S/9528. In this connexion, I should like to draw attention to a further letter from the representative of Guinea, dated 12 December 1969, which has been distributed in document S/9554, as well as to the letter dated 5 December signed by the representatives of 40 African States, which was circulated in document S/9549.

3. The first speaker on my list is the representative of Guinea, on whom I now call.

4. Mr. TOURE (Guinea) (*translated from French*): Mr. President, first of all I should like to extend to you the warmest congratulations of my delegation, and say how pleased we are to see you presiding over the Security Council.

5. The bonds of fruitful co-operation and African solidarity which have always marked relations between the Republic of Zambia and the Republic of Guinea speak for themselves and I need not stress them here.

6. Your keen understanding of international problems, your resolute devotion and your adherence to the sacred principles of justice ensure that the debate opening today in the Security Council will be brought to a successful conclusion, like those presided over by your two distinguished predecessors, Lord Caradon and Ambassador Yost.

7. I should like also to thank all the members of the Council for giving me this opportunity to submit to them a record of the crimes and offences perpetrated against my country, the Republic of Guinea, a young African nation, by the backward Government of Portugal.

8. Furthermore, I feel I should draw your attention to the important fact that, after eleven years of independence, nine of which were marked by constant provocations and systematic violations of the sovereignty and territorial integrity of my country, this is the first time that the Government of the Republic of Guinea has asked for a meeting of the Security Council. I also think it appropriate to point out at the outset that the complaint of Africa as a whole against Portugal and its misdeeds in the African continent is a standing one.

9. The most recent provocation against my country, in November last, and other similar provocations carried out at the same time against other African States, have convinced us that it is necessary to submit the record of these events to the Security Council and bring to its attention the serious threat to the peace and security of the African continent posed by the constant provocations of the Fascist Government of Portugal.

10. Last week the Council met to hear of the violations and crimes committed against the sovereignty of another young African State, the sister republic of Senegal. The accused party was Portugal.

11. In July of this very year which is drawing to a close the sister republic of Zambia called for a meeting of the Security Council following on clear acts of aggression committed against it and repeated violations of its sover-

eighty and territorial integrity. The accused party was, here again, Portugal.

12. The Democratic Republic of the Congo also appealed to the Security Council and drew its attention to the crimes and acts of brigandage of which it had been a victim on its own national territory. The aggressor was none other than Portugal.

13. Other brother countries, the United Republic of Tanzania and Congo (Brazzaville), have in recent years alerted world public opinion to other aspects of Portuguese aggression, to violations of their national sovereignty, abductions, crimes and the murdering of Tanzanian and Congolese citizens.

14. In a letter dated 13 October 1967 [S/8193], addressed to the President of the Security Council, the Government of the Republic of Guinea drew the attention of the Security Council to the warlike acts perpetrated by the Fascist Lisbon Government against our national sovereignty, in defiance of the principles of the United Nations Charter, from the occupied Territory of Guinea (Bissau).

15. These offences, which we have purposely listed, clearly demonstrate how persistently and stubbornly Portugal creates insecurity on the African continent. If today the Government of the Republic of Guinea is calling for a meeting of the Security Council, it is an obvious sign that we have come to the end of our patience.

16. As I have said, the complaint we bring before the Council is a standing complaint as, indeed, the acts of aggression of Portugal are permanent acts of aggression against the sovereignty of African States. It is a remarkable fact that acts of aggression by Portugal against the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the Republic of Guinea are of daily occurrence. As proof of this, we shall report to the Security Council the following events, all of which took place in the period from April to November of 1969.

17. On 13 November 1969, units of the Portuguese army stationed in Guinea (Bissau) subjected the Guinean villages of Dana and Doubadou in the Wedoubourou district, Gaoual administrative region, in the north-western part of the Republic of Guinea, to mortar shelling. This resulted in the destruction by fire of 10 huts at Dana and 17 at Doubadou. I shall read to you the official document from the local authorities on the spot:

"No. 10/C-- Very urgent

"Telegram dated 15 November 1969 from the Governor of Gaoual

"Administrative Region to the Secretary of State for Internal Affairs, Conakry

"Have been informed by Commandant at Wedoubourou of shelling of two villages in district on 13 November by the Portuguese clique. Substantial damage. A number of huts burned. No loss of life. We are sending delegation to the spot to assist our comrades."

18. On 10 September 1969, from 11.50 a.m. to 2.45 p.m. GMT, units of the Portuguese army stationed in Guinea (Bissau) subjected the Guinean village of Satiguiya to mortar shelling from positions in the Territory of Guinea (Bissau). This was followed by an air raid carried out by three fighter bombers, which strafed the same village. Twenty huts were destroyed by fire. I should also like to read to the Council the document relating to these events:

"Boké C/46--13 September 1969

"To: Comrade Secretary Internal Affairs, Conakry

"I have the honour to inform you that according to the report of the Mission of Commandant Diouma who came back from the border today, the situation is not on our frontier. Portuguese troops fired mortars on Saliguiya on 10 September 1969 from 11.50 a.m. to 2.45 p.m. GMT. The mortar shelling was followed by an air raid carried out by three fighter bombers. No losses in human life are reported. Twenty huts were destroyed by fire."

19. On 27 August 1969, at 11 a.m. on the island of Kadigué, Boké administrative region, a boat, the motor launch *Patrice Lumumba*, which provides transport for the inhabitants of the Guinean islands of Kadigué, Kanfaran and Outse, was subjected to a surprise attack as it approached the Kadigué landing-stage by five Portuguese military patrol boats, which surrounded the small unarmed Guinean launch barely a few hundred metres outside the port. They opened machine-gun fire on the launch and hurled grenades at the people on the boat, who thereupon panicked and jumped into the water. The premeditated and aggressive nature of this attack cannot be doubted in this instance. The results of this attack were one killed, three wounded and twenty-one persons seized, together with the launch and agricultural produce and other goods.

20. I shall now read out the document from the Guinean authorities:

"Report of the abduction of the motor launch Patrice Lumumba in Guinean territorial waters

*"I have the honour to report to you as follows: on 28 August 1969, at 12.20 p.m., I received a message, No. 001-PS, sent to me by Sergeant-Major Bangoura Mamadouba, the Chief of the Gendarmerie Border post in Sansalé, who reported to us that Portuguese settlers had on 27 August 1969 abducted the motor launch *Patrice Lumumba* in Guinean waters at the entrance to the port of Kadigué, district of Kanfarandé in the Boké administrative region."*

This message also tells us that Portuguese settlers opened fire on the boat and passengers in the course of this attack. The General Secretary of the Kanfarandé section, Sylla Karamoko, was killed outright:

"On the same day, we received a telephone call in the afternoon from the Chief of the Border post of Kanfarandé who reported the arrival of the body of the General Secretary. We went immediately to Kanfarandé together with a delegation from the Federal Office of

Boké to attend the funeral. We arrived at 6 p.m. and the funeral took place at 6.30. The policeman, Hamidou Barry, of the border post of Kanfarandé, who was also on the boat, was wounded in the feet as a result of the grenade explosions which killed the General Secretary, when they jumped into the water to swim to the shore. Hamidou Barry, the policeman, made the statement which is recorded as follows:

“In the afternoon of 25 August 1969, I left Kanfarandé on the motor launch *Patrice Lumumba*. We spent the night in Boffa in the Kanfarandé region. The following day we went on to Kapken. On 27 August 1969 we left Kapken for Kadigué, stopping at Karahach where we unloaded 14 bags of paddy rice and then made for Kadigué.

“After passing Bagadaye, I saw five patrol boats heading towards us. I pointed them out to the General Secretary, Sylla Karamoko, saying that they were fine looking boats and that if the Gendarmerie of Kanfarandé had such a boat, it would be useful to us for patrolling the frontier. They were coming at us in wedge formation and encircled us in the following way: one boat was on our left, another on our right, while three others came and blocked our path. The patrol boat to our left came up so as to block our entry into the port of Kadigué. In that boat I noticed that there were an African and two whites. The African had a sub-machine gun in his hand and the European was shooting with a heavier weapon, a brown rifle. The attack on the *Patrice Lumumba* lasted about 15 minutes. While we were under fire from the Portuguese I heard the Portuguese European say in French: “There is a policeman”. So it was that I went and stood in the bow of the boat. When the *Patrice* drew alongside, I jumped at once into the water, but unfortunately my belt caught on a nail. A few minutes later the General Secretary, Sylla Karamoko, also jumped into the water. The Portuguese white man immediately threw three grenades. Sylla Karamoko was hit in the water and died on the spot, and I was wounded in the feet by grenade fragments while swimming.

“A few minutes later a white man went on board, took over the control of the *Patrice Lumumba* and headed towards Portuguese waters. The Kadigué people had been alerted about this attack and came out in canoes to help people out of the water. As a result, the body of our comrade, Sylla Karamoko, was recovered. We waited all day and at about 6 p.m. the medical assistant at Katifoura, police-constable Kourouma, came to administer first-aid treatment. I then ordered that the body of the General Secretary, Sylla Karamoko, should be brought to Kanfarandé. Towards 5 p.m. we left Kadigué, going via Kamasso, Kouan, Kaola and Kakignéni and arrived at Kapken at 4.30 a.m. The following day, 28 August 1969, we arrived in Kanfarandé with the body.

“I should like to point out that one person was killed on the spot, namely comrade Sylla Karamoko, General Secretary of the Kanfarandé administrative region, and three persons were wounded on the *Patrice Lumumba*. There were thirty-two passengers on the *Patrice Lumumba*, eight escaped and the remaining twenty-one left

on the boat with the Portuguese. I would also point out that the attack took place just at the point of entry into Kadigué, about 100 metres from the landing-stage.

“The five Portuguese launches left Kanofac, where they had lain in ambush, each one containing an African and two whites.’

“After hearing the statement of the policeman, Hamidou Barry, we visited the other two wounded whose names were Bangoura Alpha, a farmer from Kadigué (Kanfarandé), who was wounded rather seriously by a grenade splinter in the left shoulder (his wounds were rather considerable) and Mato Patrice Doré, a teacher at Kanfarandé, who was wounded in the left forearm and the left leg.

“After obtaining this information we left Kanfarandé on the same day at 8 p.m. and arrived in Boké at 10.45 p.m.

“The immediate consequence of this act of banditry was that the Boké islands were almost completely cut off from the headquarters of the region, from which it normally takes about one full day by boat to reach the nearest island.

“Furthermore, an atmosphere of great fear now reigns in the Boké administrative region.

“The basic links must therefore be maintained between Boké and the islands; those links have been broken by the Portuguese who have taken away the only boat connecting the islands with the mainland.

“Our islands must be protected in the face of the imperialist barbarian acts of the Portuguese colonialist invaders.

“There can be no doubt whatsoever that there was a premeditated attack.

“Lieutenant Diakite Lamine

“Done at Boké, 29 August 1969

“For the Commander of the National Gendarmerie”

21. At the same time we received another document annexed to the letter of the representative of Guinea [S/9554] reporting similar facts and stating *inter alia*:

“Portuguese colonial troops have attacked and taken away our motor boat *Patrice Lumumba* in territorial waters.

“I have the honour to report to you the act of armed aggression of Portuguese colonial troops against our motor boat *Patrice Lumumba* on 27 August at 11 a.m.

“The *Patrice Lumumba* left Boké for the islands carrying merchandise and passengers. It should be noted that the rice supplied by the OCA was intended for the various island *comités*.

“It left Kanfarandé on 27 August and remained overnight at Boffa, in the Kanfarandé administrative region. The following day it headed for Kapen.

"It set off for Kadigué with a stop for technical reasons in Karahach, where 14 bags of paddy rice were unloaded for the *comité* there.

"It proceeded on its course and arrived at Bagadaye. After going beyond this point, about 100 metres from the landing stage, five military patrol boats appeared going in various directions. The gendarmerie report states:

"After going beyond Bagadaye, I saw five patrol boats heading towards us. They were coming at us in wedge formation, with their bows headed towards us and encircled us in the following way: one boat was on our left, another on our right, while three others came in front of us. The patrol boat to our left came up so as to block our entry into the port of Kadigué."

"In each patrol boat there were three military men, two white and one African.

"The attack was begun by the European who was shooting with a heavy weapon, a brown rifle. It should be noted that the five Portuguese patrol boats left Kanifac where they were lying in ambush.

"The attack lasted only 15 minutes. Sylla Karamoko, the General Secretary, was killed by three grenades and the others were wounded by grenade fragments.

"After putting the *Patrice Lumumba* out of action, the aggressors headed towards Portuguese territorial waters. The survivors were helped out of the water by the terrified population who came out in their canoes.

"The body of Sylla Karamoko was taken to Kanfarandé, where he was buried on 28 August.

"The wounded were: Bangoura Alpha, farmer, Kadigué, left shoulder hit by grenade shrapnel; Moto Patrice Doré, teacher at Kanfarandé, hit in left forearm and left leg; Hamidou Barry, wounded in the feet.

"As regards other passengers, a list is attached."

This list appears as annex VII to the letter submitted to members of the Council by the representative of Guinea.

22. The Council should note one very significant fact. Portugal chose 27 August 1969, the opening day of the thirteenth ordinary session of the Council of Ministers of the Organization of African Unity, to commit this odious act of piracy and these crimes against an independent African State. Feeling among all African delegations in the Ethiopian capital was very strong, as may be seen from the important decisions adopted on African solidarity with the Republic of Guinea. The following resolution issued as document CM/Res. 201(XIII) was adopted:

"Resolution on Portugal's act of aggression against the Republic of Guinea"

"The Council of Ministers meeting in its Thirteenth Ordinary Session in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, from 27 August to 6 September 1969,

"Having heard the declaration of the Head of the Guinean delegation concerning the act of piracy perpetrated by the Portuguese against a Guinean motor launch in Guinean territorial waters,

"Having been informed that this act of provocation resulted in the death of one person and in serious wounds to three others,

"Having further learned that Portugal, in violation of the principles of international law, seized the above-mentioned vessel and took 21 persons prisoner,

"1. *Vigorously condemns* this illegal action by Portugal;

"2. *Expresses* its complete solidarity with the Guinean Government;

"3. *Calls upon* Portugal to set free immediately the Guinean citizens arbitrarily detained and to return the seized vessel without delay;

"4. *Invites* the General Secretariat of the Organization of African Unity and the African Group at the United Nations to take appropriate measures to induce the international community to impress upon Portugal strict respect for the sovereignty of States in accordance with Article 2 of the United Nations Charter;

"5. *Demands* a formal apology by Portugal for this act of piracy as well as ample compensation for the physical, material and mental sufferings endured by the victims;

"6. *Addresses* an urgent appeal to the Secretary-General of the United Nations to exert all his influence to ensure that Portugal returns the Guinean motor launch and immediately sets free its passengers;

"7. *Empowers* its Chairman to address to the President of the Republic of Guinea an expression of the sympathy and active solidarity of the Organization of African Unity with the Government and people of Guinea."

23. The President of the Republic of Guinea, His Excellency Ahmed Sekou Touré, received the following message shortly afterwards:

"His Excellency Ahmed Sekou Touré
"President of the Republic of Guinea
"Conakry (Guinea)

"No.245. Your distinguished representative in the Council has just informed us that another barbarous act of aggression has been committed against the peaceful and courageous people of Guinea and the Guinea State by the retrograde, racist and colonialist Government of Portugal. We are aware that these provocations by Portugal have been perpetrated as a result of your firm and resolute attitude in the struggle being waged for the dignity and honour of the African peoples. Accordingly, the Council of Ministers has instructed me to express to you and to the party and the courageous people of Guinea the unanimous support and sympathy of the

peoples of the African continent in this new trial which you must endure and with you all of Africa. With my highest esteem,

“Simon Nkoo Etougou
“President of the Thirteenth Ordinary
“Session of the Council of Ministers of
the Organization of African Unity”

24. The Secretary-General of the United Nations likewise received the following message:

“His Excellency, U Thant
“Secretary-General of the United Nations
“New York

“No.247. On behalf of the thirteenth ordinary session of the Council of Ministers of the Organization of African Unity, meeting in Addis Ababa from 27 August to 5 September, I have the honour to inform you of a new act of piracy committed by Portugal against a Guinean motor launch and nationals in Guinean territorial waters. In view of the urgency of the situation, the thirteenth ordinary session of the Council of Ministers of the Organization of African Unity urgently appeals to you to use whatever means are available to you to obtain immediate liberation of the launch and Guinean nationals who have been made prisoners. Our highest consideration,

“Dr. Nkoo Etougou
“President Thirteenth Ordinary
“Session of the Council of Ministers of
the Organization of African Unity”

25. The Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity which met in its sixth ordinary session in the Ethiopian capital sent to the President of the Republic of Guinea the following message:

“His Excellency Ahmed Sekou Touré,
“President of the Republic of Guinea,
“Conakry, Guinea.

“No.243. On behalf of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government, which is holding its sixth ordinary session, I have the honour to express to you our complete solidarity in the face of the barbarous aggression of the retrograde Government of Portugal, of which your country has just been a victim. Furthermore, we are aware that this clear act of piracy against Guinea is an act of aggression against all independent Africa. Expressing to you once again the feelings of active solidarity of the heads of African states and governments, I should like to say to you that the sixth session vigorously condemns this illegal act of Portugal. Our highest consideration,

“His Excellency Ahidjo,
“President of the Sixth Summit
“Assembly of Heads of State and Government”

26. Fourthly, continuing the enumeration of Portuguese acts of aggression: on 25 and 26 May 1969, between 10.30 and 11.15 a.m., and between 3 and 5 p.m. GMT, long range artillery shelling in the villages of Sintiourou, Tanene,

Tourdou and Kandiafara in the Kandiafara area in the Boké Administration Region caused panic and the mass exodus of the inhabitants of that region. I should also like to read to you from the document relating to this event:

“Governor of the Boké administrative region
“Secretary of State for the Interior and the Army,
Conakry

“No.24. I have the honour to report to you. The Gendarmerie and the Army report long-range shelling in Kandiafara area by Portugal, 25 and 26 May. No loss of lives or material, but panic was caused in the Sintiourou, Tanene, Tourdou and Kandiafara areas, the populations of which are fleeing through the bush.”

27. I now come to item 5 in my enumeration of events: on 15 April 1969, an aerial bombardment was carried out by two Portuguese aircraft in the area of Kanfara, in the administrative region of Gaoual. I should now like to read the relevant documents:

“Commissioner of Police of Boké

“To the Secretary of State for the Interior and Security, Conakry and Head of Guinea Maritime Security, Kindia

“CL.No.38/SP/Boké. Absolute priority. I have the honour to report to you the evacuation of Kandiafara by women and children. This area was subjected to an aerial bombardment by the Portuguese on 26th instant.”

I now read another document on the same events:

“Governor of the Gaoual administrative region

“Absolute priority. I have the honour to report to you; first, that there has been a bombardment of the Kanfara area on the fifteenth of this month by two Portuguese aircraft. Secondly, that the bodies of a woman, Mrs. Sane Matou, and her two infants have been discovered on the sixteenth of this month, after a bombardment by Portuguese artillery on the fourteenth. We have also noted the disappearance of several persons. A large delegation of the Federal Bureau has come to the area to provide assistance, take stock and comfort the local population who have been harassed over the past month. It would be appropriate to take the necessary steps to protect our people.”

28. Sixthly, on 14 April 1969, between 5.5 and 5.50 p.m. GMT, 28 shells fired from the Territory of Guinea (Bissau) by the Portuguese troops stationed there landed on the villages of Foulamory, Gougambel and Goloukou in the Gaoual administrative region. Casualties: three killed (one woman, Mrs. Sane Matou, and her two children) and three wounded, one seriously. The shelling originated at Pitchy in Guinea (Bissau). I shall now read the relevant document:

“Governor of the Gaoual administrative region

“To the Secretary of State for the Interior, Conakry.

“Shells from the Portuguese troops were again fired on Guinean Territory CH No.15/C.Absolute priority. I have

the honour to report to you the following. Twenty-eight shells fell in the *comité* of Foulamory, Goughbambel and Goloukou on 14 April between 5.5 and 5.50 p.m. Three persons were wounded, one seriously, and there is a permanent threat from this shelling from Pitchy. The population evacuated the three wounded mentioned from the said *comités*. Fire is directed at district which has transmitting station and at the centre of the town. Highest consideration."

29. Seventhly, on 13 April 1969, an aerial bombardment was carried out by Portuguese troops stationed in Guinea (Bissau) against the villages of Taguira and Zollet, in the Kambia district, in the Gaoual administrative region. The result was that 20 huts were destroyed by fire and there was considerable property loss. I shall also read the relevant document:

"Governor of the Gaoual administrative region

"To the Secretary of State for the Interior and for Security, Conakry

"No.8/RAG DI 13/11/69. We have been informed today by the Koumbia section of an aerial bombardment by the Portuguese clique on two villages of Taguira and Zollet, situated respectively 15 and 17 kilometres from the Koumbia district. Damage was caused to property, but there was no loss of human life. A delegation from the Federal Bureau is being sent today to render assistance to our victimized comrades. Report follows."

30. Such are the facts and these events occurred in only eight months of the year, which will be drawing to a close in a few days.

31. But it should be pointed out to this important body that a Guinean aircraft in distress, an AN-14 transport aeroplane belonging to the national company of Air Guinée, was forced to land with its two Guinean crew members on the territory of Guinea (Bissau) in March 1968. Since that time, we have received no news either of the aircraft or of the crew, in spite of all our representations. Portugal, which is also a member of the International Civil Aviation Organization, has disregarded article 5 of the Convention on International Civil Aviation which provides that assistance must be given in such cases.

32. We shall never cease to emphasize before the Security Council the permanent nature of the provocations by the Fascist régime of Portugal against the independent States of Africa. These provocations are just as constant, persistent and obvious in the eyes of the United Nations as they are in the eyes of the independent States of Africa. The flagrant and constant violations by Portugal of the Charter of the United Nations are past counting. General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) of 14 December 1960 on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples has been ignored by Portugal. The relevant resolutions of our Organization and the Security Council, the *ad hoc* committees of the General Assembly and of the General Assembly itself remain a dead letter to the Fascist régime in Lisbon.

33. The people of Angola, Mozambique and Guinea (Bissau) have been subjected to a war of extermination with the sole purpose of perpetuating foreign domination over them against their will.

34. The Security Council must fulfil all its responsibilities. Last week we were gratified at the unanimous vote condemning Portugal for the attacks of which the sister republic of Senegal was a victim. We feel we should say on this occasion that the condemnation gave us satisfaction for more than one reason. It compensated first of all for an injustice by denouncing a serious act of aggression of which a brother State had been the victim.

35. The facts and the circumstances which are always present on the borders of the independent Republic of Senegal and Guinea (Bissau) are the same that are present on the borders between the Republic of Guinea and this colonial Territory. Therefore, this first condemnation makes us anticipate a disavowal of similar violations committed by Portuguese colonialism against the sovereign Republic of Guinea.

36. The Security Council, when condemning the provocations of Portugal against any African State, its acts of piracy, brigandage, crimes and murders committed against the African people, must bear in mind the source of these events. It should always be remembered that those who provide Portugal with assistance do not assess the worldwide implications of such assistance. Wittingly or unwittingly, they thereby help the survival of an outdated régime whose only purpose is to wage its colonial war of extermination. It is a paradox that while today, as yesterday, we vote to condemn Portugal, today and tomorrow further assistance will continue to be given to this Fascist régime which oppresses, kills and violates innocent African peoples whose only guilt is that they wish to determine their own future as laid down in the United Nations Charter.

37. Another paradox is just as clear as the first. The Lusaka Manifesto¹ made possible a dialogue with the colonial Powers, but today it may seem somewhat of a disappointment, for just when the Organization of African Unity, through its President, His Excellency El Hadj Amadou Ahidjo of the Federal Republic of Cameroon, has come to the United Nations to introduce this Manifesto, the Fascist régime of Portugal is increasing its colonial violence in Guinea (Bissau) and elsewhere. For those who had any doubts about the fact that Portugal heeds no argument but that of violence, there is now clear proof.

38. In conclusion, the Government of the Republic of Guinea is convinced that the Security Council will unanimously condemn Portugal for its obduracy in maintaining its rule over Mozambique, Angola and Guinea (Bissau). We are equally certain that the Council will condemn Portugal for all the acts of aggression and violations of which it is guilty against the Republic of Guinea, a peace-loving country.

39. We are likewise confident that the Security Council will require that Portugal: free immediately the Guinean peasants who were kidnapped and arbitrarily detained in

¹ See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-fourth Session, Annexes*, agenda item 106, document A/7754.

prisons in Bissau; return the AN-14 aircraft of the national airline Air Guinée, illegally held by the Portuguese authorities; return the motor launch *Patrice Lumumba*, which was seized arbitrarily after a clear act of piracy; demand that Portugal compensate the victims of Portuguese aggression committed on the national territory of Guinea; and, lastly, cease all acts of provocation on the frontiers of the Republic of Guinea, which is the subject of our condemnation.

40. The PRESIDENT: I thank the representative of Guinea for his statement and especially for the brotherly compliments which he has addressed to the Chair.

41. The next speaker on my list is the representative of Portugal, to whom I now give the floor.

42. Mr. DE MIRANDA (Portugal): Mr. President, I thank you and your distinguished colleagues in the Security Council for inviting me, as representative of Portugal, to participate in this debate under the relevant rules of procedure. Having taken part in a debate of the Council earlier this month under your Presidency and by your invitation, my delegation holds it chiefly as a matter of courtesy to you, Sir, to participate in this debate also.

43. Until a few moments ago, we did not even know exactly what this debate was about, apart from old matters on which we have already stated our position quite clearly, as I shall forthwith demonstrate.

44. Neither the letters addressed to you, Mr. President, by the Permanent Mission of the Republic of Guinea nor the statement made subsequently in the Council by the representative of that country gave any indication of the question to be debated.

45. There was an accusation to the effect that Portugal had shelled two villages in Guinea. But not even the names of the villages or the dates of the occurrences were given until a short while ago.

46. Document S/9554, which contains a letter dated 12 December 1969 together with documents annexed thereto, from the Permanent Representative of Guinea to the President of the Security Council, was received in our Mission only this morning—I am sure the Secretariat will confirm this fact—and it came to my knowledge only about midday. We have, obviously, had no time to examine this document. But at first glance, we cannot fail to notice certain of its aspects which we find rather strange. For example, we notice that the first incident listed in this letter allegedly goes back to 13 April 1969 and the latest incident is alleged to have taken place on 13 November 1969. Nevertheless, and strangely enough, the first letter of complaint of Guinea to the Security Council is dated 2 December 1969. In other words, several weeks after the latest alleged incident and several months after the alleged first incident mentioned in this letter.

47. Secondly, we notice that in the incident alleged to have taken place on 14 April 1969, it is said that three persons were killed, three wounded, one seriously. Nevertheless, on that occasion the Republic of Guinea did not

complain to the Security Council, but instead has thought it wise to complain now of an alleged destruction by fire of ten huts at Dana and seventeen at Doubadou. Another aspect is that the incident of 13 November 1969 is alleged to have taken place in the villages of Dana and Doubadou. But looking at the documents annexed to the letter of 12 December 1969 from the Republic of Guinea, we notice that there is a date mentioned, 13 November 1969, and the incidents are alleged to have taken place in the villages of Taguira and Zollet [see S/9554, annex III]. Well, it is possible that this is a printer's devil.

48. Nevertheless, this document has to be subjected to careful examination. Since the incidents alleged therein go back several weeks, and even several months, it will be easily understood that my delegation will require quite some time to obtain information and to inform the Council accordingly. We have to get information from long distances, we have to carry out our own investigations and all that will take time. In any case, it will be easily understood that my delegation is not in a position to comment at this moment on the specific allegations brought before the Council by the Republic of Guinea.

49. But, we also ask ourselves: are our comments really wanted? Our past experience, confirmed once again as late as last week, does not encourage us to believe that our comments will receive due attention. We have tried, in the past, to clarify the specific issues brought before the Council by stating our side of the case; for aught all our statements could contribute to equitable solutions, they have not been taken into account. In view of this experience, and in order that the facts may be established outside the sphere of subjective opinion, my delegation thinks that there is no better course open to the Council than to proceed to an investigation of the allegations made on both sides.

50. It is a well-known fact that for several years now Portuguese Guinea has been subjected to constant attacks coming from the Republic of Guinea, organized in the Republic of Guinea, officially aided and abetted by the Government of the Republic of Guinea.

51. It is a well-known fact which, I am sure, the delegation of Guinea itself will not deny, though it may try to explain it away by quoting resolutions of the General Assembly. It appears that the Republic of Guinea has taken upon itself the task of enforcing resolutions of the General Assembly. But it should not be forgotten that resolutions of the General Assembly are only recommendations which Member States may accept or reject, in exercise of their sovereign right and, indeed, this is exactly what every Member State does.

52. The Republic of Guinea has authorized the organization of violent movements to operate against Portuguese Guinea. It has placed its territory at the disposal of such violent movements and, as a result, Portuguese Guinea—for the last seven or eight years, as I said—has been the victim of constant attacks. The representative of Guinea in his statement a while ago tried to invert facts and said that we are permanently, constantly, daily committing aggressions against the Republic of Guinea. This is a flagrant inversion

of facts and, I am sure, nobody will be taken in by such misinformation.

53. It is we who have been suffering attacks coming from the Republic of Guinea constantly and I should like to bring to the notice of the Council some of these recent attacks, only the more important ones. I shall not go as far back as April 1969. I shall go back only to last August and just to exemplify.

54. On 28 August 1969, the regular military forces of the Republic of Guinea stationed at Satiguiya shelled Gadamael Porto in Portuguese Guinea. On 3 November 1969 the area of Gadamael was again attacked. On 4, 20, 24 and twice on 26 November—that is, altogether, on five occasions in the month of November alone—attacks were launched from the Republic of Guinea on the areas of Chicam Bilo and Jai Juli in Portuguese Guinea. These attacks were carried out with 140 rockets fired from launching pads mounted at Kafembel and Mampapa Bacimgo, both places situated in the Republic of Guinea. We have in our possession fragments of these rockets.

55. On 3, 13 and 14 November—that is, on three occasions—there were attacks on the area of Quiléje. Those attacks were carried out with 82 mm mortars and long-range artillery. The latest of the attacks lasted nearly five hours; 31 shell bursts were registered; the artillery fire came from Kandiafara in the Republic of Guinea.

56. On 25 November the area of Gunpure was attacked. On 28 November there was an attack on the village of Formosa. Such attacks have continued during the current month.

57. I must emphasize that those attacks were made with artillery fire coming directly from the territory of the Republic of Guinea. That is serious enough. That is an aspect which the representative of Guinea did not mention in his statement—naturally. But there is another aspect to which I should like to draw the attention of the Council.

58. In my intervention in this Council on 4 December [1516th meeting], I alluded briefly to the fact that behind the violence launched against Portuguese territory from the contiguous territories were certain foreign Powers entirely outside the continent of Africa. Those Powers encourage and actively aid violence in that continent, supplying not only the most modern war materials, but also military personnel specialized in guerrilla warfare. Everyone knows which Powers I am referring to. They themselves make no secret of their active participation in the violence directed against Portuguese territories from the contiguous territories.

59. In that connexion, I must mention the presence in the territory of the Republic of Guinea of military personnel from a country outside the African continent, participating actively in the armed raids launched from the territory of the Republic of Guinea against Portuguese Guinea. We have known of the activities of such military personnel for a long time and we have said so. Our information has now been fully confirmed by the capture of a certain military officer. The story of the capture and the details have been reported

in the press of several countries, and I need not now go into details; it is a matter of public knowledge. It indicates that behind the violence directed against Portuguese Guinea, behind the attacks launched—and, it is now my turn to say it—almost daily from the Republic of Guinea against Portuguese Guinea, there are elements entirely extraneous to the African continent.

60. My delegation mentions those facts so that the Council may assess the reality of the situation, that is, the real danger of the attacks launched from the Republic of Guinea against Portuguese Guinea. Their ideological background, the parties involved, the methods employed and the objectives which are, in all likelihood, sought to be achieved. My delegation is certain that the Security Council would like to obtain information on all these aspects so as to arrive at an equitable decision. That can be done only by means of an investigation, and that is what my delegation proposes. If an investigation should be held, it would not only reveal whether or not the incidents alleged by the Republic of Guinea actually took place, but it would also enable the Council to place the responsibility where it belongs. Then it would be known—the world at large knows it already—who organizes, aids and launches violence against whom; who take the offensive and who are obliged to defend themselves. My delegation thinks that the Council will be interested in establishing all those facts.

61. In his statement the representative of Guinea thought it wise to use abusive language. My delegation will not follow him in that style which probably pleases him. Restraining myself, and confining myself only to what the Security Council might be interested in, I should like to say that the over-all position of my country in regard to the matter under discussion is already known to the Security Council. In fact, I had occasion to state it quite clearly only recently, on 4 and 9 December. I reiterate that position now, and I request that our relevant remarks contained in the records of the 1516th and 1520th meetings be considered as incorporated in the records of the present debate for all useful purposes.

62. I now turn to the questions of the plane and boat mentioned by the representative of Guinea in the letter which was distributed today and also in his statement earlier in this meeting. In that connexion, my delegation wishes to draw the attention of the Council to the statement we made at the 1707th plenary meeting of the General Assembly on 25 October 1968, in exercise of our right of reply to the delegation of the Republic of Guinea. On that occasion my delegation read out the text of the joint communiqué issued on 28 March 1968 by the Portuguese Defence, Foreign Affairs and Overseas Ministries. I shall now read out the text of that communiqué; it states:

“1. On the 26th instant [that is, 26 March 1968], at 10.40 hours a Russian-made twin engine plane landed in the village of Formosa in the Portuguese Province of Guinea, possibly due to technical reasons. The plane carried registration marks of the Republic of Guinea and displayed the national colours of that country. It had on board six passengers and a crew of two persons. They were taken to Bissau for investigation. It was established that the six passengers, all nationals of Mali, were

members of the delegation of the Republic of Mali to the Conference of States bordering on the River Senegal. It was also found that the two members of the crew were nationals of the Republic of Guinea.

"2. The delegation of the Republic of Mali has already been authorized to continue its journey to its destination. It was given the necessary facilities for the purpose.

"3. On different occasions some groups of terrorists with their base in the Republic of Guinea seized, in the territory of the Portuguese Province of Guinea, five Portuguese military personnel, among them the Air Force sergeant, Antonio de Souza Lobato, and took them away to the Republic of Guinea, where they are held in a régime which must be regarded as one of duress. The Government of Conakry has thus consented that in its territory foreign individuals arrogated to themselves and exercised functions of sovereignty and has even endorsed that crime, while on the other hand it has been insensitive to the repeated appeals of all the international humanitarian institutions for the liberation of the Portuguese military personnel. The Government of the Republic of Guinea is therefore fully responsible and a party to the situation thus created.

"4. In these circumstances, the Portuguese Government has ordered the internment of the above-mentioned plane and its crew and declares that these will be returned only when the five Portuguese military personnel are set free."²

63. On 8 October 1969, again in exercise of our right of reply to the delegation of the Republic of Guinea, my delegation made the following statement:

"On 27 August 1969 a Portuguese river patrol came across a vessel sailing in Portuguese waters in the Inshansa or Cacete river. In reply to a Portuguese request for identification, the vessel opened fire on the Portuguese patrol. Some of the persons on board the vessel managed to escape by swimming to the territory of the Republic of Guinea. The vessel was then captured by the Portuguese patrol together with the remaining persons on board. There were no casualties.

"The representative of the Republic of Guinea also referred to the Guinean aircraft that has been detained in Portuguese Guinea. I myself dealt with this case in the statement I made here on 25 October 1968 before the twenty-third session of the General Assembly [1707th meeting]. On that occasion I read out the text of the joint communiqué issued in Lisbon by the Portuguese Foreign Affairs and Overseas Ministries. It will be recalled that, relating the circumstances in which the Russian-made aircraft, displaying the flag of the Republic of Guinea, had been found in the territory of Portuguese Guinea, the communiqué said that its six passengers, who were found to be nationals of Mali, were given all facilities to continue their journey. The aircraft and its crew of two Guinean nationals were, however, detained. The communiqué went on to state that they would be

² *Ibid.*, Twenty-third Session, Plenary Meetings, 1707th meeting, para. 168.

returned as soon as the Portuguese military persons unlawfully detained in the Republic of Guinea were set free.

"The number of Portuguese military persons unlawfully detained in the Republic of Guinea is twenty-four at the present moment. These Portuguese nationals did not commit any offence in or against the Republic of Guinea. They were kidnapped from Portuguese Guinea by armed raiders coming from the Republic of Guinea. They have since been held there subject to a régime that must be regarded as one of duress, with the knowledge and consent of the Government of Conakry which, insensitive to the repeated appeals of international humanitarian organizations for the liberation of the Portuguese nationals in question, has endorsed the crime and must therefore share the blame and responsibility for it.

"The Portuguese Government demands the return of the twenty-four kidnapped Portuguese nationals, unlawfully detained in the Republic of Guinea, as a condition to be fulfilled before the return of the above-mentioned vessel and aircraft can be considered."³

64. Again, in the Fourth Committee on 14 November 1969, my delegation referred to the question of Guinean persons and property and made appropriate comments which are to be found in the summary record of that meeting, from which I read out:

"With regard to the reference to the Republic of Guinea in operative paragraph 4 of the draft resolution, his delegation had clearly refuted that accusation in the General Assembly on 8 October [1784th plenary meeting], and had spoken of the kidnapping of twenty-four Portuguese soldiers and their imprisonment for years in the Republic of Guinea. If the Republic of Guinea was prepared to release those Portuguese soldiers, it would receive in exchange the Guinean citizens who had been detained at a much later date in Portuguese territory, together with their property."⁴

65. My delegation believes that the position of the Government of Portugal on the question of the plane, the vessel and persons detained in Portuguese Guinea at present, Guinean property and persons in Portuguese Guinea, has been explained quite clearly, and that is the position we continue to maintain. It is known to the Secretary-General and to others who tried to use their good offices to settle the matter.

66. However, I should like to emphasize that, on the question of restitution of persons and property, this cannot be a one-sided affair. I wish to emphasize also that the Portuguese nationals who are detained in the Republic of Guinea were kidnapped from Portuguese Guinea. They have committed no offence against the Republic of Guinea. They have been detained there unlawfully with the connivance of the Government of the Republic of Guinea. It is

³ *Ibid.*, Twenty-fourth Session, Plenary Meetings, 1784th meeting, paras. 288-291.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Twenty-fourth Session, Fourth Committee, 1847th meeting, para. 17.

but fair that we should demand their return before Guinean persons and property can be returned.

67. The PRESIDENT: The representative of Guinea has asked to speak in exercise of the right of reply.

68. Mr. TOURE (Guinea) (*translated from French*): The members of the Security Council have listened once again to the usual false arguments advanced by the Portuguese representative when he is confronted by his accusers, arguments whereby he himself becomes the accuser. This tactic is obvious to all and is well known in the Security Council.

69. However, I should like to revert to some aspects of his statement. First, the representative of Portugal asks for a show of moderation. If there is one country that needs to show moderation in its international relations, it is surely Portugal. It is its lack of moderation which has been the cause of these hotbeds of war on the African continent and of the constant and persisting attacks against the freedom of African States and against peoples who are merely aspiring to self-determination. It is my view that this war which Portugal is waging against African States is the most striking proof of its lack of moderation.

70. The representative of Portugal said a short while ago that he needs time to prepare his country's and Government's accusations. Of course, this method is a customary and well-known one and consists in finding facts which will distort and make a travesty of the truth in an endeavour to mislead international opinion. But world opinion is sufficiently informed about this unjust war and all the acts of provocation committed against the freedom of the independent States of Africa.

71. An African proverb says: "It is very easy for the witch doctor to forget the things he does to his victim, but the victim's mother cannot forget them". The Government of the Republic of Guinea, like so many other African countries, cannot forget for a single instant the acts perpetrated daily by the Portuguese colonial army against the freedom of the independent States of Africa.

72. We must denounce those false arguments at once because we have the facts, which are eloquent and a proof in themselves. These facts, which the Portuguese representative attempts to distort into a travesty of the truth, are known to everyone. It is not the first time that such a tactic has been used in the Security Council.

73. But in the course of his statement, I think the representative of Portugal put forward, quite unintentionally, one argument which is a direct or indirect tribute to the Republic of Guinea. He said that Guinea was applying the recommendations of the General Assembly. We are gratified by this, for we consider that the recommendations of the General Assembly, like the recommendations of the Security Council, must be applied by us so long as we continue to be a Member of this Organization. We are not trying to hide this fact; on the contrary, we are quite proud of being a loyal Member applying the decisions of legal bodies in which we believe, and to which we have freely adhered.

74. It seems paradoxical in this case to see the accused transforming himself into the accuser. We are astonished that the representative of Portugal should have provided, after our statement, a list of acts of aggression which, according to him, were launched from the national territory of Guinea.

75. Portugal is a Member of this Organization, and this is unfortunate, for it is continuing to violate the decisions of the Organization and literally flouting them. It is strange that the representative of Portugal should come here as an accuser to submit facts, when he had all the time he needed—as did the sister Republics of Senegal, Zambia, the Congo and the Republic of Guinea—to bring before the Council a complaint based on proved and recognized facts such as the ones he is now trying to adduce. In the course of the statement he has just made the representative of Portugal said that foreign Powers are established in Guinean territory, but he did not have the courage to tell us which foreign Powers were waging an offensive against his country.

76. Those who have any understanding of elementary geography should look at Portugal in Europe and at the Republic of Guinea. Thousands of kilometres separate us from Portugal, so how could we commit aggression against Portuguese territory? If there is a foreign Power infiltrating into and installing itself in Africa, it is indeed Portugal, which, by crossing the seas with its massive and destructive armada and its hatred, comes to wage war against the innocent populations of Africa. That is an incontrovertible fact.

77. Our Organization has already on several occasions condemned that attitude and the fact—which Portugal is stubbornly attempting to deny—that if there is an aggressor in Africa it is indeed Portugal. The foreign Power waging heinous war against the African populations is Portugal.

78. In the statement he just made, the representative of Portugal alluded to the incident of the aircraft on 26 March 1968. He told us that the delegation of Mali was also on board that aircraft and that it was set free. We should like to inform the Security Council of the conditions under which the six passengers on board that aircraft, which is still unlawfully detained in Guinea (Bissau), were set free. The shoes of the six passengers were removed, and they were given the *palmatoria*, as it is called in Portuguese, the punishment applied to natives, aborigines or blacks, namely, the beating of the soles of the feet and the palms of the hands with sticks. After that punishment they were left to walk 150 kilometres barefoot! I think the representative of Portugal did not give due thought to what he was saying about the conditions in which the six Mali passengers were freed.

79. The representative of Portugal has just told us that in Guinea there were at first five Portuguese soldiers; then the number rose to twenty-four. We should like to put the following question: since when is Portugal, which has no single common border with the Republic of Guinea, at war with the Republic of Guinea, and since when are there Portuguese soldiers in the territory of the Republic of Guinea as prisoners of war? Were they kidnapped? Have

we organized an expedition against Lisbon? Have we the means to organize an expedition against Lisbon or any other city in Portugal?

80. Certain arguments really do not call for any comment. Just now, in the second version of his statement, the representative of Portugal told us that the aircraft in question bore Malian markings. I wonder whether that aircraft could have split into a Guinean aircraft and a Malian aircraft at one and the same time. We should like to have more information from him on that score.

81. We have brought forward facts which speak for themselves. Portugal is in fact engaged in warfare. We have said so and we repeat it: a war of extermination against the African populations. In view of the action of the freedom fighters and of the victory being gained over the Portuguese colonial army—and the colonial Portuguese army acknowledges that the expeditionary corps from Lisbon is meeting every day with fierce resistance from the local populations and that that resistance is beyond any doubt—Portugal must understand that colonial expeditions have come to an end and that such colonial expeditions must be stopped, the more so now that we have advanced far into the twentieth century, in the course of which Portugal's European neighbours have come to realize that colonization is a thing of the past and can no longer exist.

82. This is a fact. Not to accept that evidence is to act like the man who does not want to see the sun rise and who says, on retiring for the night, "The sun will not rise tomorrow", but, when the sun rises the following morning, shields his eyes in order not to see it.

83. The hour of liberation in Africa has struck. It is time for Portugal to realize this. The people of Guinea, like the other African peoples, fear no hatred against any people. We are ready, tomorrow, to hold out a loyal and open hand to Portugal if Portugal will understand that colonization is over and can no longer exist; if it will understand that there can no longer be any foreign domination in any continent.

84. Such are the facts to which we must draw the attention of the Security Council.

85. The PRESIDENT: I now give the floor to the representative of Portugal, who wishes to make a brief statement.

86. Mr. DE MIRANDA (Portugal): I shall not follow the representative of Guinea in his attempt to discuss here matters that are entirely extraneous to the debate. Portugal's policy is not under discussion now.

87. I should like, however, to reply to some of the points he has raised. He said that Portugal is at war with the Republic of Guinea. That is not a fact, and that is what makes it all the more surprising, namely, that the Republic of Guinea allows, aids and abets the organization in its territory of violence against the territory of Portuguese Guinea.

88. He asked me to name the military personnel from outside Africa, who are directing, in the Republic of

Guinea, guerrillas against Portuguese Guinea. There is no need to name and indicate something which is, as I said in my earlier statement, public knowledge. He knows that himself. If he wishes to deny it, then let him come forward and deny it, if he will.

89. Finally, he made certain allegations with regard to the manner in which the delegation of Mali, which was aboard the aircraft that made a forced landing in Portuguese Guinea, was treated.

90. He has drawn immensely on his imagination, and he has tried to impress the Council with an account that I must categorically qualify as pure fabrication. The delegation of Mali aboard the plane was well treated and was given all assistance in proceeding to its destination. Here I might add that nationals of the Republic of Guinea are also treated well in Portuguese Guinea.

91. The PRESIDENT: The next speaker on my list is the representative of Guinea, who has asked for the floor in order to exercise his right of reply.

92. Mr. TOURE (Guinea) (*translated from French*): I shall be very brief. I merely wish to say that a few moments ago the representative of Portugal stated that foreign Powers were helping Guinea in its war against Portugal. Can he, looking at the list of kidnapped persons or the list of all other persons who happened to be in the territory of Guinea (Bissau) at the time, mention the name of a single foreign soldier among those who were kidnapped and taken away. I think not.

93. The representative of Portugal says that I was drawing on my imagination when I spoke of special treatments such as the *palmatoria* treatment. But the petitioners who have appeared here before United Nations committees have spoken often enough about the treatment meted out to Africans by white Portuguese, whether in Mozambique, Angola or Guinea (Bissau), so that we know—and the Portuguese representative knows it very well—that this form of torture is used, a torture which consists in beating with a stick the soles of the feet and the palms of the hands, while the feet are tied. This is known all over the world, but perhaps not by the representative of Portugal. The Mali delegation was freed in such circumstances that the accounts it gave were published by local Guinean newspapers.

94. Having thus stated the facts as they really are, we would at this stage of the debate ask the representative of Portugal to comment upon them.

95. The PRESIDENT: The list of speakers for this afternoon's meeting is now exhausted. In accordance with views expressed during informal consultations, I should like to announce that the next meeting of the Security Council on the agenda item now before it will be held on Wednesday, 17 December 1969, at 3 p.m. If I hear no objection, I shall adjourn the meeting.

96. Lord CARADON (United Kingdom): I am happy to conform with the wishes of other members of the Council. When I was consulted earlier, I readily agreed to a further

meeting of the Council to consider this matter on Wednesday next, and I am still prepared to take part in the discussion on that day. Nevertheless, in the course of the discussion we have heard this afternoon, it has occurred to me that there might be advantage in some further delay in holding our next meeting. The representative of Portugal has suggested that he will need longer than two days to carry out an investigation on the matters which have been raised by the representative of Guinea. I would not wish the representative of Portugal to have any complaint on that score; I think he should be allowed time to make a full investigation and give a full report to the Council on the matters that have been raised.

97. Therefore, while I do not wish to press the point, I would ask the other members of the Council whether it might not be better to decide that we meet again, on the directions of our President, after further consultations between the members of the Council. I do not put this forward as a formal proposal, but it may be that other members of the Council will feel, as I do, that when a representative comes here and asks for time to make an investigation and give a report, we should not unreasonably deny it.

98. The PRESIDENT: I should like briefly to explain the position. The decision to hold our next meeting on 17 December 1969 at 3 p.m. was made after the most careful consideration and after full consultations with all the members concerned. I am reasonably satisfied that that date meets the requirements of the interested parties, and, unless I hear otherwise from the Council, I intend, with the consent of the Council, to hold the next meeting on 17 December 1969 at 3 p.m.

99. Mr. AZZOUT (Algeria) (*translated from French*): My delegation fully understands the reasons put forward by the representative of the United Kingdom. However, only two

delegations, those principally concerned—Guinea which lodged a complaint before the Council, and Portugal, which endeavoured to defend itself—have made statements. No other member of the Security Council has yet made a statement or given its point of view.

100. My delegation supports the President's suggestion and thinks it might be better if the debate were to proceed in the normal way. At a subsequent stage, the situation might be clearer. I think Wednesday would be a suitable time. Many delegations have told us they wished to set forth their views on this problem.

101. Mr. MALIK (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*translated from Russian*): The request of the Guinean delegation to consider the question of the aggression of Portugal against the Republic of Guinea was, unless I was mistaken, received on 4 December. Since then some considerable time has elapsed. If the representative of Portugal did not at the time have any information from his Government about the acts of aggression committed against the Republic of Guinea, he had more than ten days in which to consult his Government and obtain that information.

102. Accordingly, in the light of these specific facts, the request of the Portuguese representative or anyone else to postpone the examination of this question might seem to be a pretext to protract the discussion. In the opinion of the Soviet delegation, there is no real reason for postponing the debate.

103. The PRESIDENT: Since no other representatives wish to speak I shall adjourn this meeting until Wednesday, 17 December, at 3 p.m.

The meeting rose at 5.30 p.m.

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