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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.

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-THIRD MEETING

Held in New York on Wednesday, 17 December 1969, at 3.00 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/1523)

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: In accordance with the decision taken at the 1522nd meeting, I propose now, with the consent of the Council, to invite the representatives of Guinea and Portugal to take their seats at the Council table in order to take part in the discussion without the right to vote.

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

2. The PRESIDENT: The representatives of Mali, Syria and Congo (Brazzaville) have also requested [S/9561, S/9562] to be allowed to participate in the discussion without the right to vote, and if I hear no objection I shall invite them to take the places reserved for them at the side of the Council chamber, on the understanding that they will be invited to take a seat at the Council table when it is their turn to address the Council.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. S. Traore (Mali), Mr. G. J. Tomeh (Syria) and Mr. J. Mombouli (Congo (Brazzaville)) took the places reserved for them.

3. The PRESIDENT: In addition, I have just received a letter dated 17 December from the representatives of Liberia, Madagascar, Sierra Leone and Tunisia [S/9563], requesting to take part in the discussion without the right to vote. If I hear no objection I shall invite them to take the places reserved for them at the side of the chamber, on the usual understanding that they will be invited to take seats at the Council table when it is their turn to address the Council.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. L. H. Diggs (Liberia), Mr. B. Rabetafika (Madagascar), Mr. F. B. Savage (Sierra Leone) and Mr. A. M'Sadek (Tunisia) took the places reserved for them.

4. The PRESIDENT: The Security Council will now continue its consideration of the complaint submitted to it by Guinea on 4 December 1969 in document S/9528.

5. Mr. AZZOUT (Algeria) (*translated from French*): The Security Council is once again meeting to consider a serious complaint made by an African country, Guinea, against Portugal. Once again, more than 40 States members of the Organization of African Unity support the complaint, for Portuguese aggression against Guinea is felt by each independent African State as an aggression directed against itself.

6. For six months the countries adjoining African Territories under Portuguese domination have found themselves the targets of daily bombings. Since last July the Council has been called upon to consider the complaints of Zambia, Senegal and now Guinea. Portuguese colonialism in Africa, not content with waging a merciless war against the African peoples of Angola, Mozambique and Guinea (Bissau), wishes today to extend the area of the fighting in order to conceal its utter failure. This attempt to flee from one's problems by going over to the attack is a tested practice of the colonialist countries, which have imposed murderous wars on the peoples of Africa and Asia. Being unable to conquer the fierce resistance of peoples that have decided to free themselves from the foreign yoke, the colonialist forces have recourse to the bombing of innocent villages and to the abduction of persons under the false pretext of destroying the rear bases of the resistance movements.

7. Whereas the representative of Guinea in this Council made a merciless indictment of typical aggression carried out by the Portuguese forces against the territory of his country, the representative of Portugal, far from denying these facts, contented himself with justifying his country's actions by alluding to the existence of alleged rear bases for

resistance movements against the Portuguese presence in the Territory of Guinea (Bissau). We need hardly recall that the African people of that Territory has for more than eight years been carrying on a heroic struggle to regain its independence and national sovereignty.

8. The debates in the General Assembly, which is about to conclude its twenty-fourth session, have this year again been dominated by the question of the elimination of colonialism in the world. As long as this phenomenon, which is a remnant of the past continues in the countries of the third world, peace and security will be endangered. That is a fact, recognized in resolution 1514 (XV) adopted by the General Assembly ten years ago, the tenth anniversary of which our Organization is preparing to commemorate.

9. It might have been hoped that recognition by the international community of the fact that colonial situations constitute a direct threat to international peace and security and that they should be eliminated would have accelerated the process of decolonization. A new era would thereby have dawned for the young peoples, enabling them to mobilize all their resources for their social, economic and cultural development.

10. Even the liberation of a large part of Africa, thanks to the strenuous struggles of its peoples and the heroic struggle against Portuguese domination by the peoples of Angola, Mozambique and Guinea (Bissau) pointed to the certain and swift fall of the Portuguese colonial empire. That would have been the normal course of decolonization had not Portugal found military and diplomatic support among its North Atlantic Treaty Organization allies and the régimes of southern Africa. This shows that the responsibility for the murderous wars waged by Portugal against the peoples of Africa devolves just as much upon its allies. It is not without reason that Portugal today is opening wide the doors of the African Territories under its domination to the great economic and financial interest of its Western partners.

11. What is more, the aim of Portugal and its allies is not only to exploit the wealth of these African countries but also to weaken the economies of other independent African States engaged in the struggle to develop their economies and thus strengthen their national independence. Such is the true explanation of Portuguese aggression against Zambia, Senegal and Guinea.

12. On the eve of the tenth anniversary of the proclamation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, the Security Council, the principle organ of the United Nations, is in duty bound to condemn unequivocally Portugal's intensified aggression during the past six months against the independent countries of Africa.

13. But we should not deceive ourselves about the fact that the permanent threat against the territorial integrity and independence of African countries will continue to exist just as long as colonialism in general, and Portuguese colonialism in particular, continue in Africa. Peace, justice and progress in our continent, and thus throughout the

world will, in the last analysis, depend on the total liquidation of colonialism and the accession of the peoples under its domination to independence and national sovereignty.

14. Mr. BOYE (Senegal) (*translated from French*): My delegation is taking part in this debate to express its complete solidarity with the Republic of Guinea, which is bound by many ties to Senegal. The aggression committed against the Republic of Guinea, like all the acts of aggression perpetrated by the Government of Portugal against independent and sovereign African Governments, results from the fact that Portugal, despite all appeals, will not listen to any talk about the self-determination of peoples. This is an outdated attitude. Yet the independent African countries feel no hostility whatever towards Portugal. All they ask of it is that it should act in accordance with the relevant resolutions of the United Nations.

15. It is here that my delegation would like to make itself quite clear and to say plainly that certain former metropolitan countries that have succeeded in guiding peoples towards self-determination and independence, without bloodshed and in friendship, deserve our sympathy and trust. Portugal should emulate the example of those countries and say to itself that, being a small, under-developed country, it cannot long sustain a colonial war even with the assistance of some of its friends which, we are sure, have not asked that the weapons they have furnished it should be used against the peoples that aspire to self-determination and independence.

16. Portugal has, of course, other friends who have installed themselves by force in Africa and are giving it financial and material assistance to help it in its efforts to strengthen its hold over the peoples which it dominates. Portugal should know that Salisbury and Pretoria are not good counsellors. It would do better to follow the example of the former colonial Powers and heed the appeals addressed to it. Lisbon's negative response takes the form of violent acts of aggression against independent countries, as in the case of the Republic of Guinea. It is high time for these aggressions to come to an end, for we need to pursue our work of development in peace.

17. The PRESIDENT: I now call on the representative of Congo (Brazzaville).

18. Mr. MOMBOULI (Congo, Brazzaville) (*translated from French*): Mr. President, because of the special ties linking our two countries, I should first like to express my delegation's pride at seeing you preside over the debates of this Council. I wish also to express our deep gratitude to the other members of the Council who have given us an opportunity to discuss the complaint of a brother country, the Republic of Guinea, with which Congo (Brazzaville) has very close relations. We are confident that with your dynamism and your qualities as an experienced diplomat, you will, like your predecessors, discharge your duties most ably.

19. More than once my Government, through its representatives, has had occasion to call the attention of the Council and the General Assembly to the most barbarous

and retrogressive acts of aggression of the Government of Lisbon. Every delegation which has had an opportunity to hear petitioners speak about the colonial policy of Portugal in Africa during debates in the Fourth Committee was able to realize the pain and suffering caused by the treatment inflicted on the freedom fighters of Angola, Mozambique and Guinea (Bissau). Only the day before yesterday, at the last meeting of the Council, our friend the representative of Guinea described an example for us and everyone of us was obliged to make a strenuous effort to control his feelings. We are glad to note in this connexion that the representative of Portugal felt he should not dwell on this question and, in our opinion, his silence signified his Government's recognition of such practices, which are contrary to international morality and respect for human rights.

20. This is not exactly the subject of my intervention, and members of the Council will easily understand the concern of my Government in the face of constant premeditated acts of aggression by Portugal, perpetrated against our brother countries of Zambia, the United Republic of Tanzania, the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Senegal and the Republic of Guinea and its national territory. It is this concern that makes me bring to the attention of the Council the statement made by my Government only a few months ago, following new acts of aggression by Portugal against Congo (Brazzaville).

21. That statement, which I shall now read and which completes to a large extent the previous complaints and the adequately documented complaint of the Republic of Guinea, should help to enlighten public opinion:

"On 4 June 1969 a commando of militants of the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola deflected from its course and compelled to land at the airport of Pointe-Noire a commercial Portuguese aircraft DC-3 CRLY of the DTA Company, carrying 13 passengers.

"That operation had been planned and carried out outside our national territory and was part of the just struggle carried out by Angolese patriots against the colonial and backward régime of Lisbon, which persists in maintaining its hold over part of Africa, despite the repeated condemnations of the overwhelming majority of the nations of the world which love justice and freedom, and despite the condemnation of international organizations. We did not initiate this action, but there can be no doubt that we stand solidly with the Angolese patriots. After the simple identification formalities, the Congolese Government allowed the aircraft to leave again with all of its crew and passengers. During their stay at Pointe-Noire, which was at the expense of the Congolese Government, they were treated with great consideration. However, the Congolese Government was unable to allow the three uniformed Portuguese mercenaries in the aircraft to leave, since they formed part of the clique which day to day is spreading death and suffering among the families of our brothers in Angola, Cabinda, Mozambique and Guinea (Bissau).

"In return for our humane action, on 7 July 1969, the watchdogs of decaying Portuguese colonialism illegally brought into our national territory a commando of armed

mercenaries who went rampant around the area of Tando-Bizenga. They intercepted a car occupied only by civilians who were going from Kisenzi to Pointe-Noire. The Portuguese soldiery obliged the driver, under the threat of arms, to divert the car to Cabinda"—which is on the border of my country—"Despite the gravity of the incident, the Congolese Government has until now maintained silence, hoping that the Portuguese colonialists would recover their senses and release our peaceful citizens, captured on our territory. However, of the eleven passengers, two children and four women were returned, but five men are still unlawfully detained."

22. The members of the Council will realize the similarity between these Portuguese acts and those drawn to their attention by the representative of Guinea. Thus no further proof is needed that the Portuguese colonialists are in Africa only to threaten the freedom and sovereignty of the independent countries of this continent. Not only does the Lisbon Government take pleasure in fiercely, cruelly and barbarously opposing the just and tireless struggle carried on by the liberation movements, but, assured of logistic support by certain States members of this Council, it also dares to challenge independent States, in flagrant violation of the rules of international law and the relevant provisions of our Charter.

23. A reading of document S/9549 of 10 December 1969 will show the solidarity of the whole of Africa with the sister Republic of Guinea. We therefore appeal to the conscience of the States members of this Council and hope that this appeal will be heeded, for the Council cannot be allowed to play the role of the ostrich so as not to assume its responsibilities by adopting effective and urgent measures. Only a few days ago the Council took an important decision to the moral satisfaction of our brother country of Senegal and of sorely tried Africa. The Council now has the opportunity to reaffirm the positions it has previously taken and to condemn unequivocally the Portuguese acts of aggression and violations against the Republic of Guinea. In the light of what has been said, the Security Council should require Portugal to release immediately the Guinean peasants arbitrarily detained in the Bissau prisons, to restore the aircraft AN 14 of the National Company of *Air Guinée* which is unlawfully being held by the Portuguese authorities, to return the motor launch *Patrice Lumumba*, which was arbitrarily seized and to pay reparations to all the victims of Portuguese acts of aggression on Guinean national territory.

24. In conclusion, I should like to state that if the Security Council wishes to continue to embody the hopes of the peoples of the world, if it wishes to guarantee peace and freedom throughout the world, and if the United Nations Charter is to remain the guide for States in their relations, it is high time for our Council to provide just solutions in the problems submitted to it. For its part, Congo (Brazzaville) is always prepared to support all solutions which might make Portugal heed the voice of reason and justice.

25. The PRESIDENT: I thank the representative of Congo (Brazzaville) for the kind words he addressed to the President.

26. I should like to inform members of the Council that I have just received letters from the representatives of Lesotho and Saudi Arabia [S/9564, S/9565] asking to be invited to participate in the discussion now in progress in the Council. In conformity with the usual practice of the Council, and if there is no objection, I propose to invite those two representatives to take the places reserved for them at the side of the Council table, on the usual understanding that they will be seated at the Council table when they are called upon to take the floor.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. M. T. Mashologue (Lesotho) and Mr. J. M. Baroody (Saudi Arabia) took the places reserved for them.

27. The PRESIDENT: The next speaker on my list is the representative of Madagascar, on whom I now call.

28. Mr. RABETAFIKA (Madagascar) (*translated from French*): The fact that in the space of a few months our delegations have been invited on three occasions to participate in the debates of this Council on the various complaints of independent African States against the acts of Portugal should be no cause for surprise since we, for our part, intend to discharge in all circumstances the mandate entrusted to us.

29. However, over and above that mandate, we have further reason to take part in the present proceedings of the Council, and we should like to thank the President, and all the members of the Security Council, for giving us a further opportunity to express our views clearly on a question which cannot but be of concern to all African States by reason of the far-reaching and lasting repercussions that it may have on the future of our continent.

30. It is now clear after the attacks on a number of African States in recent years, that there can be no real peace and security for us so long as Portugal maintains its long-outdated course of conduct and that that course, artificially maintained despite historical and political realities, will inevitably impel it to disregard the fact that the aspirations of a people cannot with impunity be put down by threats or violence.

31. For that matter, what assurance have we of peace and security so long as by their very nature, Portugal's operations against the liberation movements go far beyond the bounds within which they should be confined? However, this last consideration must not in any way be construed as supporting, in one form or another; these operations which we shall continue to denounce but to which we must refer for the sake of practical argument.

32. I mentioned a moment ago the reasons for our participation and I should now like to revert to them briefly. The lasting solidarity among African peoples and Governments is one of the principles to which we are firmly attached since this solidarity enables us, regardless of any possible differences between us, to follow unswervingly the road which must lead us to the liberation of the African continent, drawing on all resources and taking all steps that may be justified both in their motivation and in their end.

That solidarity extends likewise to those of our brothers who are fighting for their freedom and independence.

33. In the second place, we have too much respect for the principles of the Charter of the United Nations, and in this particular case for the principles governing the establishment and maintenance of normal relations among Member States, not to feel concerned when acts such as those described by the representative of Guinea at the 1522nd meeting of the Council seriously jeopardize the reasons which maintain our faith in an international community where security, justice and peace should prevail.

34. Lastly, on the formal level, the repetition of certain events, according to practices which are now familiar and which are directed against the countries bordering on Territories under Portuguese administration, cannot leave us indifferent to the real intentions of the Portuguese authorities both as regards the national liberation movements and as regards African countries faithful to the spirit of the Lusaka Manifesto.¹

35. We have very little to add to what the representative of Guinea told the Council when he so eloquently set forth the facts with which Portugal is reproached. We find the same complaints and the same acts of provocation or aggression, bringing in their wake the destruction of property, abduction and the victimization of innocent civilians. Such acts of violence cannot be justified and undoubtedly deserve the disapproval of the international community. The right of self-defence may once again be invoked, but this right, recognized by the Charter, must, we believe, be exercised within the limits imposed by the Charter and not for the purpose of flouting such principles as the right to self-determination or the right to independence.

36. Morally, we would not be able to accept that such acts should be perpetrated in Guinea (Bissau) against the African population living there. It follows that legally we can still less accept that such acts should, in effect, be directed against the sovereignty and the territorial integrity of an independent State.

37. The representative of Guinea mentioned incidents, some going back as far as April 1969 and others to March 1968, the seriousness of which cannot be judged in terms of the order in which they occurred. The fact that an incident was not immediately brought to the attention of the Security Council in no way means that we are ready to forget the sufferings of a population or the affront made to a State in the deliberate violation of its sovereignty.

38. The Republic of Guinea has realized that, following the attacks of which it was the victim, its security was far from being guaranteed and, in turning to the Security Council, its representative has asked the Council to require of Portugal the cessation of all provocative acts. Such a demand, based on respect for the principles of the Charter and dictated by the concern to preserve the sovereign rights of a State, is normal and should be easily met.

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

39. Furthermore, there have been civilian victims, property has been destroyed and no restitution has been made for goods, and we think that Portugal should be asked what its real intentions in that respect are. The representative of Portugal has suggested that the Council should recommend an investigation. But what assurance do we have, when established facts are continually called into question, that any such investigation will result in compensation for the victims, in the freeing of prisoners, and in the restitution of goods?

40. We do not doubt the good faith of anyone. But in the present situation, we think we should have some fairly convincing proofs of this good faith so that we may come to a sensible conclusion about it.

41. In our opinion, the decision taken by the Security Council on the complaint by Guinea should take into account two essential factors. In the first place, we consider that a Member State should be able to find, when having recourse to the Organization, the full and complete safeguard of its sovereignty and its territorial integrity when confronted with acts of aggression and provocation. Secondly, the international community cannot remain indifferent to the fate of populations whose only desire is to live in peace and tranquillity once again. For, just as a State has the compelling duty to preserve its dignity and sovereignty, so do we have the duty to ensure the elimination of everything which may be regarded as a source of insecurity for our peoples and for those for whom we have agreed to accept a certain responsibility.

42. We hope that those considerations, which are based both on morality and on law, may prevail in the consideration of this case and that there may be a clear decision both as regards the right of the Republic of Guinea to claim the protection of its interests, its sovereignty and its territorial integrity, and as regards the right of the populations of the region to a normal life, free as they then will be of any fear as to the defence and recognition of their lawful interests.

43. But our wishes do not stop there. We have been told several times that in cases such as the one now under consideration by the Council, we should not discuss the general policy of Portugal but should confine ourselves strictly to consideration of the complaint lodged by one party or the other.

44. We again affirm that we have no intention of interfering in the domestic affairs of a State. Nevertheless, when it is clear that certain events would not have taken place if the policy of that State had been in one way or another modified in time, it seems difficult not to pass judgement on the correlation between the events for which one is responsible and the principles one preaches.

45. We shall not address ourselves once again to these facts or to these obsolete principles which are only too well known. Suffice it to say that on the day the Territories under Portuguese administration are given the right to decide, in freedom and in full awareness, their own destiny, we shall be able to extend the hand of co-operation to Portugal without useless recrimination or mental reservations.

46. The PRESIDENT: The next speaker on my list is the representative of Saudi Arabia, Mr. Jamil Baroody. I invite him to take a seat at the Council table and make his statement.

47. Mr. BAROODY (Saudi Arabia): I am somewhat constrained to ask permission to speak on the item of which the Security Council is seized due to the fact that it behoves Portugal to put an end to the bloody conflict between itself and its neighbours. Innocent blood is being intermittently shed; this will deepen the hatred and unnecessarily feed the rancour between the contending parties.

48. It seems only yesterday that the Council passed a resolution condemning Portugal for its aggression against our sister State, Senegal. Today the Council is resuming the discussion on a complaint which has been submitted against Portugal by Guinea. Our colleague from Portugal seemed to take exception to this latest complaint due to the fact that the representative of Guinea did not follow up his two letters of 4 and 5 December with an immediate request for a Security Council meeting.

49. I believe that the Government of Guinea, as well as the representative of Guinea, should be lauded for having exercised infinite patience and for not having precipitated any immediate action. They so did advisedly, to allow time for cooling down and for seeing what would be the best procedure to follow in the Council so that it could render judgement on the complaint without heated debate. I believe they have succeeded in doing that, because the last two or three meetings of the Council have, I think, been the calmest that I have ever witnessed, thanks to the representative of Guinea, irrespective of the sometimes bitter language that was exchanged between him and my colleague from Portugal. Anyway, it is natural to feel deeply about such matters because of the pressure of the people who were bereaved. If he were to talk a little less vehemently, our colleague from Guinea would be considered as having failed in his duty towards his own people. Likewise, I believe that our colleague from Portugal was not free from addressing some bitter phrases against our colleague from Guinea. That can go on interminably between colleagues involved in such a complaint and in similar complaints.

50. What shall we do here in the Security Council, or rather, what will the members of the Council do—because I do not have the right to vote here—in the face of such repeated complaints against Portugal? I leave that question to the Council and I shall perhaps answer it not on the Council's behalf, but on the basis of what I would do if I were sitting on the Council.

51. I would say that Guinea waited for at least nine or ten days before finally deciding to lodge the present complaint after submitting the two aforementioned letters in order to ascertain the stand of its sister African States. And the result was more eloquent than any debate in the Council. It is only necessary to look at document S/9549, the letter dated 5 December 1969, which is co-sponsored by 40 African States—I repeat, 40 African States—which constitute about one third of the United Nations membership.

52. I feel sorry for the pathetic situation in which Portugal finds itself. One third of the United Nations is against Portugal. Now once in a while we say that the majority errs. Quite often we find that, due to pressures, due to solidarity and due to special arrangements, members vote with others because of their ties or alliances, without due regard to the merits or demerits of a question. In those cases the majority is usually wrong, because members vote on the grounds of numbers rather than of justice.

53. Here it is not a question only of self-determination of the peoples that are under the yoke of Portugal. The incident centres around the victims; but what is the root cause of all those victims? Those victims in numbers are negligible compared with what is happening in South-East Asia and in the Middle East. But, I submit, they are symbolic of the primary factor which has caused 40 States of the African continent to come together not merely through solidarity but to uphold the inalienable rights of the people who are being ruled against their will by Portugal. If it were only solidarity, as we sometimes witness it here in the United Nations through so-called blocks and so-called groups, one might give the benefit of the doubt to our colleague from Portugal that all those African States congregated against him and his Government. But the facts are for everyone to see. That is not an isolated case. The complaint of our brother from Guinea does not deal with the victims alone; it deals with the whole African continent. Otherwise those 40 States would not have seen fit to stand solidly behind Guinea.

54. There is another point which I should like to make, with the permission of the members of the Council. Portugal, geographically speaking, is a European country. Its culture, to a large extent, is European, although it has been mixed with the cultures of the Mediterranean and our own culture of the Middle East since the days when the Phoenicians populated the northern part of Portugal. That is why I would venture to say that it is paradoxical that Portugal, which has benefited from the Mediterranean culture, should be more stubborn in its colonial stand than those countries like the United Kingdom, France, Belgium and the Netherlands, which at one time had vast colonies and which relinquished those colonies because they thought the better part of wisdom was to liberate the people that live under their rule.

55. This was done to the profit of those metropolitan Powers because we find there is no rancour between the peoples of the erstwhile colonists of those countries which I have enumerated and the people of the ex-colonies. It is indeed an anachronism to find a small State resisting this urge in Africa for liberation and for independence. Although I was given to understand that the new Government in Portugal is viewing this question with a different orientation from the previous Government, this is not enough. Time is of the essence. Time indeed may determine whether there will be an interminable conflict between our African brothers and our brothers from Portugal; I call them brothers because they are all brothers in humanity. It would be foolish—if my colleague from Portugal would allow me to say so—regardless of the various incidents that have taken place, incidents which, as I have said, may deepen the hatred and feed the rancour, for them to do something for which we have an Arabic proverb. Portugal is

like an eye and the resistance is like an awl, a big needle which is used to bore leather. The eye cannot fight the awl.

56. The Portuguese are a small people. I gather from my African brothers that they do not wish to see the Portuguese economic interests dissipated. They would rather enhance economic relations with Portugal. What is the alternative? I might say to my dear brother from Portugal that the alternative would be if his Government persists—and I say your Government because many people, the youth, nowadays in countries bigger and smaller than Portugal are rebelling against the warmonger everywhere. We know that in every country, including Portugal, there are certain economic circles that derive the lion's share of the material interests of many Portuguese colonies to the detriment of the Portuguese people who will have to shed their blood to defend the interests of those small circles.

57. In fairness to Portugal I must say that we all have them in our part of the world and we cannot motivate it any more. In Portugal they are fighting for patriotism. The youth of Portugal as is the youth everywhere is awakened; why shed your blood and African blood? For what purpose? All the money that you are deriving from those delicious sardines and port wines will not meet a fraction of the cost, will not be sufficient for 5 per cent of the cost of the war against the African nations. I mention sardines and port wine, but Portugal has other products the gain from which will be earmarked to sustain the conflict against Guinea, Senegal or any other African State contiguous with your colony.

58. I heard the representative of Portugal say the other day that the Guineans or Africans from another State had captured certain Portuguese nationals. I was given to understand that there is a liberation movement that is active all over Africa and that those Portuguese prisoners are the prisoners of the African liberation movement. In any country, whether it be Guinea, Senegal or the United Republic of Tanzania or any country which has a direct conflict with Portugal, and were the Governments to say to the liberation movement "You have no right to be on our soil and have prisoners", I'll wager they would fight their own people, because they are Africans. Those African States cannot renounce the African liberation movement, neither could we in our own area; I am talking from experience, without dragging in another question—I am shy of doing so. There is a parallel, and we learn from experience rather than from books. History sometimes is not always oriented to tell the objective truth, it is sometimes subjective.

59. We in our area in the Middle East, the Arab States, do not dare suppress the Arab liberation movement in the region; to do so would kill the Government. Therefore, it is high time for Portugal to wake up from such nostalgia because it is like a dream of the seventeenth, eighteenth and nineteenth century. Portugal is the oldest colonial Power in Africa and once it wakes up to this situation there will be no more incidents with Senegal one day, with Guinea another day; Portugal will live amicably with them.

60. Perhaps, as I mentioned in my last statement when I addressed myself to the Senegalese complaint [1517th

meeting], by accelerating the movement, not to mention the details, of self-determination by education, as the representative of Portugal once said his Government was doing, and by letting those who are fighting against Portugal participate in that acceleration of self-determination, I assure the representative of Portugal that Portugal would be highly esteemed and highly regarded as France is today by the Algerians and the African states that were once French colonies. Also Portugal would be esteemed and highly regarded as the United Kingdom is. Many of the peoples of the erstwhile colonies of the United Kingdom today are free and they stand on the same ground as the French and the United Kingdom. I always watch them and find how they act like brothers. Portugal should not want to make enemies, enemies which it cannot cope with on practical grounds and which will defeat it. Therefore, I draw the attention of my colleagues around this table to these facts which I have adduced. I began by saying what could be done.

61. A lot could be done by your fellow Europeans if they would not consider military alliances as paramount and would not consider solidarity with Europe as most essential, and if they would rise above the pettiness of narrow nationalism and narrower regionalism, narrower sometimes because collectively a conglomeration of nations can act more foolishly than when they are by themselves, because they gain more power. People who gain more power collectively become more foolish.

62. That is why I would appeal to my European colleagues sitting round this table to reason with Portugal and to find a solution—not necessarily on the lines I have mentioned—to accelerate process of self-determination, to make arrangements between the peoples of the Portuguese African colonies and the metropolitan Power, which is Portugal. And then not only will there be peace and concord, but the interests of Portugal will be best served. We will no longer be seized of similar incidents, and there will be prosperity both in Portugal and in Africa.

63. The PRESIDENT: The next speaker on my list is the representative of Lesotho, on whom I now call.

64. Mr. MASHOLOGU (Lesotho): Mr. President, my delegation and the Government of Lesotho are grateful to you for granting our request to be allowed to participate in this debate on the serious matter before the Security Council.

65. Before proceeding to the substance of my remarks, allow me first of all to express the congratulations of my delegation on your assumption of the presidency of this most important Council. We do so in full recognition of your outstanding diplomatic skills and in the full knowledge of your unswerving commitment to the achievement of the noble ends of justice, peace and security for all men, irrespective of colour, race or creed, which are at the heart of the Charter of the United Nations.

66. My delegation is one of the signatories of the letter addressed to the President of the Security Council by 40 African States [S/9549] in support of the request for the convening of a meeting of the Council following the

violations by Portugal of the territorial integrity of the Republic of Guinea. In associating ourselves with the text of that letter, we were expressing the deep concern of the Government and people of Lesotho at the spate of incidents perpetrated by Portugal against the Republic of Guinea, and indeed against other African territories in the past. As the text of the letter states, Senegal was a victim as early as 1963, and acts of aggression have been committed in the territories of the Democratic Republic of the Congo and the Republic of Zambia. The Republic of the Congo (Brazzaville) has been subjected to frequent shelling by Portugal. Also, the United Republic of Tanzania has suffered attacks on its territorial integrity at the hands of Portugal.

67. Only last week the Council censured Portugal for the most recent attacks on the territory of the Republic of Senegal. The nature and frequency of these attacks on African territories is such that they cannot be ignored by any African State, and we hope that the Council, which is primarily responsible for peace and security, will deem it fit to take appropriate and effective action as soon as possible and, in any case, before the situation gets out of hand.

68. In the view of my delegation, these acts of violence can no longer be regarded as isolated incidents, but must be regarded as deliberate acts of policy. In this connexion, I should like to refer to a statement made by the Prime Minister of Lesotho during his address to the General Assembly as long ago as 25 September 1967 about the situation in the Portuguese-dominated territories of Africa:

“We wish to warn Portugal, as the Administering Authority of those Territories that its policies may also have extremely dangerous consequences, for already many States experience tension in their relations with Portugal, simply because of its colonial policy—because colonialism is always so unjust and unrealistic that it automatically raises barriers to normal relations between States. And such barriers, my Government believes, can be removed only by the granting of freedom and independence to the people who are still living under [Portuguese] colonialism.”²

69. The incidents which are the subject of Guinea's complaint to the Council obviously show that Portugal is unable to maintain normal, peaceful relations with the Republic of Guinea. Indeed, a detailed study of the catalogue of events listed in document S/9554 of 12 December 1969 reveals certain consistent features which are a cause of very deep concern to my Government. The first of these is wanton disregard for the value of human life. It is especially distressing to note that among those killed in the course of these incidents are to be found women and children. We deem it our duty to reaffirm the value of human life and to emphasize that the lives of the people of Guinea and of the other Territories which have been the objects of attack are in our view as valuable as the lives of the people of any other State and should be accorded the protection that is due to them from the Security Council.

² *Ibid.*, Twenty-second Session, Plenary Meetings, 1565th meeting, para. 21.

70. A second feature which is noticeable from a study of the catalogue of incidents is the tendency towards the collective and indiscriminate nature of the attacks which frequently take the form of shelling or bombing of villages. We are not convinced that there could be any justification of these basically immoral methods, whatever the Portuguese representative may say.

71. A third disturbing feature is that of flagrant violations of territorial integrity. This is a matter of particularly serious concern because those territorial violations, if they should remain unchecked, could lead to a very serious deterioration of the situation in all the African States which have been the victims of such attacks.

72. The Government of Lesotho is convinced that the primary basis for the cynical attitude of the Government of Portugal to the Charter lies in its desperate determination to cling to its universally condemned colonial policies in Guinea (Bissau), policies which by their nature are in conflict with the basic tenets of the Charter. This policy, together with its more cynical aspects, constitutes a permanent affront to the entire African community of nations, and it cannot possibly be reconciled with the beliefs of Africans anywhere, including those Africans who are still living under Portuguese domination. The present

course of events can only result in generating increased condemnation and bitterness among those who are concerned about freedom and peace in Africa.

73. We have come before this Council to state our distress at the continuation of those very unfortunate practices on African soil and against African Governments and people. We are deeply concerned also because we feel that the freedom of the newly independent African States is being challenged in so far as we cannot be truly free if a foreign Power like Portugal continues to indulge in those cynical acts against our people without being checked. We therefore appeal to the Council to take the strongest measures against Portugal to ensure that there is no further recurrence of those incidents.

74. The PRESIDENT: I have no further speakers on my list for this afternoon's meeting. If no representative wishes to take the floor at this stage, and if there are no objections, I propose to adjourn the meeting. On the basis of informal consultations, I wish to announce that the next meeting of the Security Council will be held tomorrow, 18 December, at 3 p.m.

The meeting rose at 4.45 p.m.

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