



# SECURITY COUNCIL OFFICIAL RECORDS

TWENTY-FIFTH YEAR

**1560**<sup>th</sup> MEETING: 5 DECEMBER 1970

NEW YORK

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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 SIXTIETH MEETING

Held in New York on Saturday, 5 December 1970, at 3 p.m.

*President:* Mr. Y. MALIK (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics).

*Present:* The representatives of the following States: Burundi, China, Colombia, Finland, France, Nepal, Nicaragua, Poland, Sierra Leone, Spain, Syria, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America and Zambia.

### Provisional agenda (S/Agenda/1560)

1. Adoption of the agenda.
2. Complaint by Guinea:
  - (a) Letter dated 22 November 1970 from the Permanent Representative of Guinea to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/9987);
  - (b) Report of the Security Council Special Mission to the Republic of Guinea established under resolution 289 (1970) (S/10009 and Add.1).

### Adoption of the agenda

*The agenda was adopted.*

### Complaint by Guinea:

- (a) Letter dated 22 November 1970 from the Permanent Representative of Guinea to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/9987);
- (b) Report of the Security Council Special Mission to the Republic of Guinea established under resolution 289 (1970) (S/10009 and Add.1)

1. The PRESIDENT (*translated from Russian*): Before we proceed to the consideration of the question before the Security Council, I should like to remind members that at the 1558th and 1559th meetings of the Council it was decided to invite the representatives of Guinea, Senegal, Mali, Saudi Arabia, Mauritania, Algeria, Liberia, the United Republic of Tanzania, the People's Republic of the Congo, Yugoslavia, Mauritius, the Sudan, the United Arab Republic and Ethiopia to participate without the right to vote in the Council's debate on this question.

2. In addition, letters have today been received from the representatives of the People's Republic of South-

ern Yemen [S/10021] and Cuba [S/10022] requesting that their delegations be invited to participate in the Council's meetings on this question without the right to vote.

3. If there are no objections, I propose to invite the representatives of the People's Republic of Southern Yemen and Cuba to participate in the debate without the right to vote, in accordance with rule 37 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure and with the established practice.

4. In view of the limited number of places at the Council table and in accordance with established Security Council practice, I propose to invite the representative of the Republic of Guinea to take the place reserved for him at the Council table. With regard to the other representatives, I propose to invite them to take the places reserved for them at the side of the Council chamber. Each of them will be invited to sit at the Council table when his turn comes to make a statement.

*At the invitation of the President, Mr. A. Touré (Guinea) took a place at the Council table; and Mr. I. Boye (Senegal), Mr. G. Sow (Mali), Mr. J. M. Baroodi (Saudi Arabia), Mr. S. A. Ould Taya (Mauritania), Mr. M. Yazid (Algeria), Mr. N. Barnes (Liberia), Mr. S. A. Salim (United Republic of Tanzania), Mr. N. Mondjo (People's Republic of the Congo), Mr. L. Mojsov (Yugoslavia), Mr. R. K. Ramphul (Mauritius), Mr. M. Khalid (Sudan), Mr. M. H. El-Zayyat (United Arab Republic), Mr. T. Gebre Igzy (Ethiopia), Mr. A. M. Ismail (Southern Yemen), and Mr. R. Alarcon (Cuba) took the places reserved for them.*

5. The PRESIDENT (*translated from Russian*): Today the Council continues its discussion of the agenda in document S/Agenda/1560. The first speaker on the list for today's meeting is the representative of the People's Republic of Southern Yemen. I invite him to take the place reserved for him at the Council table.

6. Mr. ISMAIL (Southern Yemen): Mr. President, may I take this opportunity to extend to you my warm congratulations on your being President of this esteemed and dignified Council of the United Nations for this month. I am sure you will succeed in guiding the Council's deliberations very effectively and successfully.

7. I wish also to extend my sincere congratulations to the previous President of this Council, Ambassador George Tomeh, for the ability he displayed in making the Council's work effective and efficient in dealing with matters of great importance for international peace and security.

8. I wish now, on behalf of my Government and myself, to offer heartfelt thanks and sincere appreciation to the Chairman and the members of the Special Mission<sup>1</sup> of this Council for the great effort they exerted in producing an immediate factual report [S/10009 and Add.1] concerning the armed invasion carried out by the colonialist régime of Portugal against the progressive and sovereign State of Guinea.

9. The factual report of the Special Mission of the Security Council reveals the aggressive motives and colonial aspirations which the Lisbon clique has for a long time entertained and which have been put into practice against all freedom fighters, and national, progressive, democratic States in Africa in particular and the world in general, in defiance of the purposes and principles of the United Nations Charter. It is time for this esteemed Council—the Council to which has been given the mandate by all Member States of maintaining and preserving peace and security—to take at once adequate and firm action in accordance with Articles 41 and 42 of Chapter VII of the Charter.

10. My Government professes a policy of decolonization, liberation, and full recognition and acceptance by all nations of the fundamental dignity and equality of all peoples. All these aims and principles are deeply enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations. We must regretfully acknowledge that there is a flagrant discrepancy between the present international situation in which we find aggression everywhere in the world—the most recent case, which we are debating now, committed by a well-known old colonialist and imperialist régime, Portugal—and the sacred principles of the Charter and of international law that should govern cordial relations among States. I believe that this situation is one of grave concern. The aggression which Portugal launched against a progressive sovereign State, a Member of the United Nations, can be resolved only if this Council exercises its responsibilities honestly and completely, in order to stop the aggression at once and expel the State of Portugal from this world body for having committed a series of aggressive actions in defiance of the spirit and the principles of the United Nations Charter.

11. The United Nations has not only advocated "peace, justice and progress", but adopted this as its slogan for its twenty-fifth anniversary, thus announcing its objectives as it embarks on the next phase of its existence. The prime form of injustice still prevalent in this world is the denial of the right of self-determination to peoples under colonial rule, the right formally endorsed ten years ago by the General Assembly in its resolution 1514 (XV), adopted at its fifteenth

session. The whole world knows well that the Government of Portugal has for a long time frustrated that hope, and that it continues to suppress and attack the peoples of Africa with the support of its military allies in NATO. Portugal is an aggressor by waging an imperialistic military attack upon Guinea, a sovereign State and a Member of this Organization. Portugal is an aggressor and an offender against human rights by waging a colonial war of suppression in Angola, Mozambique and Guinea (Bissau). There can be no hope of peace in Africa or elsewhere until aggressors such as Portugal and its allies are totally eliminated.

12. My Government, on 22 November, immediately after Guinea declared that its national territory had been the object of an armed attack by Portuguese military forces, issued a statement made by my Prime Minister, His Excellency Mr. Mohamed Ali Haitham, which was circulated in document S/9997 on 23 November 1970. I quote from that document:

"... the imperialist aggression against Guinea reveals the bloody methods of the new imperialist aggressive strategy as evidenced by the current ferocious military aggression against the sovereignty and independence of the African State of Guinea. This aggression... is not only directed against the progressive régime in Guinea but also against all liberated and progressive régimes in the three continents of Asia, Africa and Latin America. It also represents a grave escalation of tension by the imperialist forces led by the United States. The present open military invasion launched by the imperialist forces against an independent State is also closely linked with the over-all American strategy of aggression in Viet-Nam, the Middle East, the Gulf and Arabian Peninsula, including Southern Yemen."

13. In conclusion, my delegation wishes to stress earnestly that the Council must take strong action regarding this issue of aggression by Portugal, and we consider that any ordinary resolution that may be adopted in order to minimize the seriousness of this case will be an encouragement to the aggressor to commit further aggressive acts that undoubtedly will be a menace to the peace and security of States. My delegation believes that this Council must think very seriously about punishing Portugal, the aggressor, by expelling it from this Organization, and must consider applying measures in accordance with Chapter VII, Article 41, of the Charter, which include complete interruption of economic relations and of rail, sea, air, postal, telegraphic, radio and other means of communication, and the severance of diplomatic relations.

14. Finally, my delegation wishes to state that this Council should consider giving strong support to the liberation movements in the Portuguese colonies in Africa, particularly in Guinea (Bissau), Angola and Mozambique.

15. The PRESIDENT (*translated from Russian*): Thank you for your statement and for the kind words about me. I call on the representative of the People's Republic of the Congo.

<sup>1</sup> Security Council Special Mission to the Republic of Guinea established under resolution 289 (1970).

16. Mr. MONDJO (People's Republic of the Congo) (*interpretation from French*): Mr. President, may I be permitted, as the representative of the People's Republic of the Congo, to tell you both how proud and how pleased I am—proud and pleased to see the representative of a great country, a friend of the Congolese people in more than one way, presiding over the work of the Security Council, and proud also, in my own right, at being authorized to participate, of course without the right to vote, in your debates.

17. Having taken cognizance of the report of the committee of five, entrusted by the Security Council with the task of obtaining information in the Republic of Guinea for purposes of rendering an account in the most objective manner possible of the circumstances under which, against Guinea, a member State of the Organization for African Unity and a Member of the United Nations, there was perpetrated the most heinous and disgraceful colonialist aggression of our time, can there be any further need to postpone action? It seems to me that there is no room for philosophizing in so grave and manifestly obvious a situation. The facts are there, patently, in their brutal nakedness, in their blinding evidence.

18. The peaceful people of Guinea has once again been the target of Portugal's criminal aggression, which, in its insane obstinacy and narrow blindness, it ceaselessly wages against independent Africa. The results of that aggression you already know: the people of Guinea and all Africa mourn today for scores of their best sons, brutally torn away from the victorious land of Guinea. These African heroes are thus added to the already long list of our martyrs, of the victims of the bloody history of colonialism and imperialism. On behalf of my people and the Government of my country, I here wish to pay a respectful tribute to those patriots, now gloriously enshrined in the history of the liberation and reconquest of African dignity.

19. The problem that brings us together today is not at all a new one knocking at the door of the Security Council. For are not the records of the Council filled with facts all bearing the imprint of Portugal's backward policy of aggression and of the constant violation of the territorial sovereignty of African States by Portugal? Senegal, the Democratic Republic of the Congo, the United Republic of Tanzania, the People's Republic of the Congo, Zambia, Guinea—and this list is not complete—all these States bear the shameful marks of the barbarous acts committed by that little Portugal, encouraged by its guardian angels in NATO to remain in the heart of Africa as the bridgehead for a most backward form of colonialism that not only keeps African peoples under its yoke but, what is more, even dares to attack the sovereignty of our States.

20. This problem is not exclusively a problem for Guinea; it is a problem which wounds us all deeply, all of us Africans, in our dignity as human beings and as free men. It is likewise a problem for the international community. The African countries, which international reactionary forces are actively trying to bring into dispute with one another, already know that their indepen-

dence might be ruined simply because of the will of the merchants of politics and of the monopolistic and exploiting capitalists.

21. Whether standing, kneeling, sitting or lying down, every African State, whatever its political colouring, is the ideal target for colonialism. There is no possible compromise with the enemies of our advancement. That is why, being aware of the danger which imperialism causes to weigh over Africa and, therefore over international peace, our Heads of State and Government have unreservedly given to the people and Government of Guinea, to President Ahmed Sékou Touré, the ultimate proof of their brotherly friendship, their support and their military solidarity.

22. That is precisely the unequivocal position of the People's Republic of the Congo, of our popular institutions and of our Head of State, President Marien Ngouabi.

23. We already know that the oppressed peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America must first and above all rely on their own strength, because in this tragic trial, in this nightmare which our brothers in Conakry, the indomitable, lived with such heroism, were it not for the long tradition of struggle of the people of Guinea, united as one around its chief, the President, imperialism would have achieved its nefarious objectives.

24. We know that today the United Nations forces are more hypothetical than ever, and we are determined to take fully into account the saying that a people without weapons is a people of slaves.

25. I said earlier that this problem concerns the international community. Can one indeed allow to go unpunished each day the hideous crimes committed by Portugal against the peoples and the States of Africa? We are told—and I believe I have read it—that Article 2, paragraph 4, of the Charter provides that the Members of the United Nations must refrain in their international relations from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or the political independence of any State.

26. We are glad to adhere to these beautiful principles, but it is not sufficient to proclaim a principle; it must be carried out in practice. Yet, every aggression—and I say every aggression—committed by Portugal against our continent assumes here in regard to the United Nations the character of a tolerated event, and it is not without reason that the envoys of that country, assured of impunity, preen themselves in the corridors of this building with complete scorn for the United Nations. No, that has to change. When one has acquired a bad habit, one must decide to give it up. Now that the lines of the crime committed by the fascist Government of Lisbon have been clearly drawn, now that we have the proof of Portuguese aggression against the people of Guinea in the most flagrant violation of the Charter, what will the Security Council do?

27. Will it vote in favour of a resolution which, before implementation of it is even thought of, will be obsolete because the Portuguese, within the plan of aggression hatched by their incendiary international masters, will have had time to attack another African State, thus compelling the Security Council to take note of its impotence? To confine itself to voting for a simple resolution hardly seems to us to be sufficient. To put an end to an evil one must extirpate the roots.

28. The roots of the Portuguese cancer are to be found first in the obstinacy of Portugal, in this twentieth century, in subjecting the peoples of Guinea (Bissau), Angola and Mozambique to the colonial yoke. The other root of the evil resides, as members know, in the logistical and financial support which certain great Powers, permanent members of the Security Council, lend to the success of that criminal undertaking.

29. Despite the imperialist counter-offensive which desperately tries to falsify the truth in a thousand ways, in particular by semantic cunning in a press with a one-track mind; we are convinced that it is not easy in a matter such as this one to get to the essence of the truth. Those newspapers can, in their distortions, multiply their extravagant accounts so as to sow groundless doubts among the uninformed. But this will not change the consistently aggressive nature of imperialism.

30. Honourable members of the Security Council, you who are vested with the redoubtable mission of guaranteeing international peace and security, Africa has always come knocking on your door so that energetic measures would be taken against the racists of Pretoria, Salisbury and against the Portuguese colonialists, in order to put an end to the threat of that unholy trio weighing over our continent. You have always sent us on our way giving us lollipops to console us. But today Africa, aware of its future potential and of its numerous voices in the concert of nations, can no longer be content with that type of half-measure. We can no longer continue to tolerate that unfinished independence, ever threatened by the racist bastion in the south and by Portugal.

31. The Republic of Guinea has sustained immense, unwarranted damages—in its property, in its flesh and in its sovereignty. Africa, which is identified with the cause of Guinea, has been wounded in its fundamental rights. We come here to plead for justice before we take a firm decision on 9 December at Lagos.<sup>2</sup>

32. The PRESIDENT (*translated from Russian*): I thank the representative of the People's Republic of the Congo for his kind words about me.

33. I now invite the representative of Mauritius to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

34. Mr. RAMPHUL (Mauritius): Mr. President, my great little country and your great powerful country enjoy the best diplomatic and friendly relations and I am very happy to see you in the Chair. I should like to thank, through you, Sir, the Security Council for allowing me to participate in this debate.

35. On 23 November, the delegation of Mauritius, together with a great number of other delegations, addressed to the Council a communication [*S/10002 and Add.1*] in which we dealt with the premeditated Portuguese armed aggression against the Republic of Guinea. Our attitude was based on the reports transmitted to the Security Council by the President of the Republic of Guinea and our brother, Ambassador Touré, and we had no grounds for questioning the veracity of those reports. We were puzzled by the Council's failure to respond positively to the request for assistance received from the Government of Guinea and the decision to send a fact-finding mission instead; but we could not criticize the Security Council for ascertaining all the facts of the situation before taking appropriate action.

36. I should like here to congratulate the Chairman, Major General Khatri, and the distinguished members of the Council's Special Mission to Guinea for the efficient and speedy manner in which they have carried out their difficult and delicate mandate.

37. Now the report of the Council's Special Mission to Guinea is before the Council and its conclusions corroborate what the Guinean Government has maintained all along about Portugal's responsibility for the armed attack against Guinea. These conclusions amount to an unequivocal indictment against Portugal. It is clearly stated that "the ships used to transfer the invading force to Guinean waters were manned by predominantly white Portuguese troops and commanded by white Portuguese officers" [*S/10009, para. 40*], and that the invading force "consisted of units of Portuguese armed forces . . . as well as of a contingent composed of dissident Guineans trained and armed on the territory of Guinea (Bissau)" [*ibid*].

38. In his communication to the Council yesterday [*S/10014*], the Chargé d'affaires of Portugal simply denied that his Government had ordered, authorized or consented to any military operations against the Republic of Guinea. He failed to explain to the Council the appearance off the coast of Conakry, during the night between 21 November and 22 November, of ships manned by Portuguese sailors, one of which has been described by the United States Ambassador in Conakry as an LST-type vessel. The Portuguese Chargé d'affaires also failed to explain the presence of officers and soldiers of the regular Portuguese army on Guinean soil, engaging in a vain attempt to overthrow the legitimate Government of Guinea and replace it with dissident elements. It also happened that one of the goals pursued by the invaders was, on the one hand, to destroy the leadership and the headquarters of the movement which has been struggling to liberate the people of Guinea (Bissau) and Cape Verde from Por-

<sup>2</sup> Seventh Extraordinary Session of the Council of Ministers of the Organization of African Unity, held in Lagos from 9 to 11 December 1970.

tuguese colonialism and, on the other, to free those Portuguese who had been taken prisoner during the war of liberation.

39. The conclusions of the Special Mission are based on irrefutable facts, including the testimony of a number of diplomatic representatives accredited to Conakry and statements by prisoners, particularly prisoners Lopes and Sampaio. We wonder whether the Government of Portugal would go as far as to deny that Lieutenant Lopes and Chief Corporal Sampaio did not serve in the regular Portuguese colonial army.

40. The report that General Antonio Sebastiao Ribeiro de Spínola, Governor-General and Commander-in-Chief, had visited the invading troops before their departure would seem to indicate that the operations had been ordered and authorized by the Government of Lisbon.

41. What occurred in the Republic of Guinea between 21 and 23 November amounted to a clear case of premeditated armed aggression carried out by Portugal against the Republic of Guinea, a State Member of the United Nations. In the words of the Chairman of the Special Mission, the purpose of the Mission was fully to clarify the situation and enable the Security Council to take any further action it might consider necessary. Now that the report has been submitted and all the facts of the situation are known, the Council should act without delay. It should respond adequately to a clear case of aggression by a Member State against another Member State, basing its action on the relevant provisions of the Charter. The Security Council should take this opportunity of showing all Members of the United Nations that aggression does not pay.

42. It will not be sufficient strongly to condemn Portugal. Its criminal acts should not go unpunished; it should pay for all the damage caused by its treacherous armed attack.

43. Members of the Council are aware that Portugal is waging a colonial war against the people of Guinea (Bissau) whose struggle for liberation has been recognized as legitimate by the overwhelming majority of Member States. Now it appears more clearly than ever that this colonial war, like the war in Angola and Mozambique, is a threat to the neighbouring States, some of which are bound to lend assistance to the oppressed people in the Territories concerned. The Portuguese aggression against Guinea proves that this type of colonial war may result in a conflict expanding to neighbouring States, should the United Nations ultimately fail to put an end to it. It is pertinent to recall once again that in the past Senegal has also been the victim of Portuguese aggression and that the facts of aggression could be traced to the war in Guinea (Bissau). Similarly, the Democratic Republic of the Congo, the People's Republic of the Congo, Tanzania and Zambia have suffered acts of piracy and aggression because of the wars that are raging in Angola and Mozambique.

44. We strongly believe that it is no longer sufficient to censure or strongly condemn Portugal for its colonial wars. The United Nations should devise ways to put an end to them, as indeed to any other conflict that endangers international peace and security. Portugal's allies should see that, in the final analysis, it is in the interest of our Organization to stop providing Portugal with assistance which enables it to wage its colonial wars.

45. The Security Council should face up to its responsibilities as the main organ created by the United Nations for the maintenance of international peace and security. It should also provide for any assistance that the Guinean Government may need as a result of the Portuguese aggression, which is an aggression against Africa, black Africa.

46. The PRESIDENT (*translated from Russian*): Thank you for the kind words about my country, spoken on behalf of the friendly country which you represent.

47. I invite the representative of the United Arab Republic to take a place at the Council table.

48. Mr. EL-ZAYYAT (United Arab Republic): The United Arab Republic delegation is grateful to you, Mr. President, and to the members of the Council for having granted us the opportunity to participate in this debate. My Government has sought this participation not only to declare its solidarity with the great people and the Government of the Republic of Guinea, but also because it considers the issue before the Council today to be of universal and vital importance to all Members of this Organization and to the Organization itself.

49. To use the phrase of Ambassador Touré, the representative of Guinea, the latest aggression against Conakry was neither accidental nor isolated. The Government of the United Arab Republic has shown and will continue to show its solidarity with the people of Guinea and its great President, Ahmed Sékou Touré. We consider the attack on Guinea to be only one in a series of battles in the war being waged against all nations that are determined to live free and independent outside the imperialist, military and economic alliances.

50. The United Arab Republic expresses its appreciation and gratitude to the brave citizens of Conakry and all the people of Guinea for winning this latest battle, winning it for us, for all of us. We assure them that we consider their struggle now and in the future to be a common struggle in a common cause.

51. When, on 22 November, the representative of Guinea brought his complaint before this Council, as contained in document S/9987, we did not think that the complaint needed verification. We are gratified, however, by the manner in which this Council and its President, as well as the Secretary-General and his assistants, have executed the decision reached by the Council on the same day [*resolution 289 (1970)*].

52. We now have before us the report of the Security Council's Special Mission representing the whole world and presided over by one of our distinguished colleagues with long military and diplomatic experience, the representative of Nepal. This straightforward report reflects the serious and efficient and speedy manner in which the Mission worked. The physical courage required for undertaking their journey to Guinea is paralleled by the moral courage reflected in the style and the contents of the report itself. It is indeed a style to be emulated.

53. We know now beyond any doubt that the Government of Portugal, insisting on its centuries-long exploitation of vast territories in Africa, found it—and perhaps will find it in the future—necessary not only to perpetuate its acts of intimidation and subjugation inside these colonies, but also to resort to further acts of aggression outside the occupied African lands in order to consolidate its occupation. Using the occupied lands as a base, it attacks the independent countries outside. Using the inhabitants and the resources of a part of occupied Africa, it attacks other parts. In order to perpetuate its occupation, it finds it necessary to commit other and further aggressions. This is indeed a familiar course.

54. The attack on Conakry last month was not only the latest in a series of attacks against the Republic of Guinea itself, not only the latest in a series of attacks by Portugal against Senegal, Zambia, Tanzania and other countries, but was one of the battles for the exploitation and domination of other peoples—Africans, Palestinians, Syrians, Jordanians, Egyptians, and indeed the peoples of Viet-Nam and other parts of Asia.

55. All these acts of aggression result from the conviction that violence does pay, that force will silence the struggle of nations, and that brutal, overpowering force, whether that of the aggressors itself or borrowed from its allies, is all that is needed in order to achieve the ambitions of those who can acquire the tools of violence. This philosophy must be shown to be bankrupt; it should never be allowed to prevail.

56. Paragraph 38 of the report before us shows that the objectives of the attack on Conakry last month were: (a) to overthrow the Government and to order the arrest, or even the murder, of one of Africa's greatest leaders, President Sékou Touré; (b) to install a puppet Government; (c) to strike a blow against the freedom-fighters who have gone into exile in Guinea or to fight in Guinea for their lands in Guinea (Bissau). A fourth objective was to release by force such men who, as a result of earlier aggression, were detained by the Government of Guinea—a repetition, it is obvious, of the action taken recently in North Viet-Nam by a great Power, the United States of America.

57. It is obvious that we are living in one world today and that if violence is allowed to be the basis of policy in one place it will also be the basis in others. Only when it is made clear that violence will fail will it be abandoned everywhere. It is obvious to my delegation

that putting an end once and for all to the colonial system, to alien settlement and exploitation of countries like Guinea (Bissau) can be the only, the real and the final remedy. Portugal would not then have to use its colony as a point of departure to commit aggression against others in order to protect that colony. The United Nations would render a great service not only to the colonial peoples, but also to those that have Governments with colonial policies, if it made a renewed effort to grant independence to such colonies as the Portuguese colonies in Africa. I hope that these colonies will soon be accepted in the family of free nations. All barriers to their freedom and independence must be declared by the United Nations to be illegal and void.

58. In the addendum to the report we see an account of a very interesting conversation between the representatives of Finland and Zambia on the one hand and one of the members of the Portuguese armed forces on the other. In a reply to the representative of Zambia who had asked whether he had been forced to be against the African Party for the Independence of Guinea and Cape Verde (PAIGC) by the Portuguese authorities, he said: "Yes, several times. I had to participate in fighting against the PAIGC. That was not because of my own will. I'm in the army: I received orders, and I must obey orders. It's not because I'm against the PAIGC."

59. The Portuguese forces are, then, themselves the victims of this philosophy and policy of violence. They were ordered to fight. They will continue to be ordered to fight, to destroy and to kill. Their release, if they are taken prisoner, will be sought only to enable them to fight again, to destroy again and to murder again; to make further attempts to prevent nations from developing in peace and achieving needed progress for themselves and hence for the world. All this is done in order that the age-old process of exploiting the poor to increase the wealth of the rich should be perpetuated, in order that the vicious circle will continue in which the large colonial countries use that added wealth to acquire more and more tools of violence.

60. This Council will surely condemn the Government of Portugal without reservation. We hope that it will do more. We hope that the Council will decide that the people of Guinea should be compensated and that they should be quickly and adequately indemnified for the tremendous damage to property and life. We hope that Guinea, its President and its people, will in the end have the gratification of seeing that the aggression to which they have been subjected will awaken the United Nations and all its organs, including this august body, to the necessity of reflecting seriously about the implementation of the Charter—of all its Chapters. The President, Government and people of Guinea would certainly be gratified if the present aggression made the Council see to it that all the Chapters, including Chapter VII, were applied; to see to it that the Council's decisions and resolutions were not taken as mere empty statements not to be heeded and to be thrown back in the face of the community of nations. We hope, therefore, that besides the condemnation,



the reparation and the indemnification, this Council in its wisdom will try to put an end to all aggression by making sure that aggression will never pay.

61. The Government of the United Arab Republic hopes that, in the light of this unqualified condemnation, the Government of Portugal itself will not try again to see if it is not in its own interest, and in the interests of the peoples of the world, to put an end to its colonial existence in Africa, thereby freeing itself from the need to take any further aggressive action in order to silence those freedom fighters that are asking it to put an end to its colonialism.

62. The PRESIDENT (*translated from Russian*): I invite the representative of Yugoslavia to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

63. Mr. MOJSOV (Yugoslavia): I should like to express to you, Mr. President, and the members of the Security Council the appreciation of my delegation for making it possible for me to participate in the proceedings of the Security Council and to present the views of the Yugoslav delegation on the extremely important issue at present under consideration. At the same time I wish to pay a tribute to the Security Council Mission for having completed with great speed and efficiency the task entrusted to it and for having prepared the report contained in document S/10009 and Add.I, the addendum to which sets out in a documented and dramatic manner the actual consequences of the armed aggression of the Portuguese colonialists against the territorial integrity and sovereignty of the Republic of Guinea.

64. The brutal and unscrupulous plan and the action perpetrated at the time, of which there were many civilian victims, among whom were the family of a Yugoslav doctor whose innocent little daughter was killed by the perfidious mercenaries, speaks very clearly of the moral conduct of the aggressors and those who had designed their action. The news of the perfidious and impudent aggression perpetrated by foreign troops and mercenaries has aroused deep indignation in Yugoslav public opinion. The President of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, Josip Broz Tito, in a special statement which was also circulated as Security Council document S/10000, stressed that the armed interventionist incursion into Guinea constitutes a flagrant violation of the fundamental principles of the Charter and that once again we are confronted with a shameless violation of the most elementary norms of international conduct in an attempt to prevent the people of Guinea from being independent and from deciding in a sovereign way on the course of its internal social and economic development.

65. Guinea and the African Party for the Independence of Guinea and Cape Verde (PAIGC) were the objectives and victims of this aggression because the Republic of Guinea has stood in the front ranks of the anti-imperialist and anti-colonialist struggle from the very first days of its independence, while the national liberation movement of Guinea (Bissau), as a consistent representative of the freedom-loving aspi-

rations of the people of Guinea (Bissau), has enjoyed its full sympathy and support.

66. The recent armed aggression at the same time confirms the fact that Portuguese colonialism is becoming a more dangerous source of instability and of the risk of war in Africa. Moreover, the international community is faced daily with a more aggressive escalation of the imperialist activities and aspirations of Portugal which have grown from minor border incidents into widespread and militarily well-prepared operations of commandos for the sole purpose of attempting to overthrow the legal Government of a sovereign country, a State Member of the United Nations. This has confirmed once again the fact that Portugal is the enemy of every independent and autonomous development in Africa. It is likewise obvious that Portugal, as an undeveloped European country, would not be in a position simultaneously to wage three colonial wars and to threaten the integrity of many African countries without the full material and military support of its allies, among which the racist régime of South Africa holds pride of place.

67. In the opinion of the Yugoslav delegation it is obvious that we should draw some very important lessons and conclusions from this merciless act perpetrated by the armed forces of Portugal and its mercenaries, conclusions which may have far-reaching and long-term consequences. First, the brutal act of aggression against an independent and free country, a State Member of the United Nations, must be called by its true name. This is not a mere incident, or unrest, or an irresponsible act by unauthorized persons. Is it possible to term as an "incident" or as an obscure, vague and accidental attack, an attack that was preconceived and organized, executed in the utmost secrecy in darkness upon the capital city of an independent and sovereign country? Is it possible to qualify as "irresponsible behaviour" or as "unauthorized action" an order to kill, in this barbarous attack, the Head of State of an independent country?

68. Secondly, this action and also some recent experiences demonstrate that regrettably often, due to tolerance and various influences from outside, aggression against an independent and free country is concealed and camouflaged. Aggression in these times of ours is no longer conducted in the normal way: clear and previous declaration of war adopted by the legal and authorized organs acting in conformity with the constitution of the State declaring the war, as had been a classical example in the not too distant past and in the history of wars and aggressions. Actions, like the aggression against the Republic of Guinea and the attack upon its capital, Conakry, are comparable only to the methods and atrocities committed by Hitler and his allies during the Second World War. Actually the United Nations was established precisely because of the victory over the forces of fascism and nazism. The United Nations, furthermore, was created for the explicit purpose of preventing the recurrence of such brutal actions, repressions and tyranny and to save succeeding generations from the repetition of horrors

of wars such as those experienced in the Second World War.

69. Thirdly, this aggression is a serious warning not only to independent African States but to all free and independent countries of the world. By resorting to sophisticated and modern methods of aggression, these acts can now recur anywhere in Africa, in fact anywhere in the world. Therefore this aggression also serves as a warning to the newly-liberated countries of Africa and to all small and medium-sized countries to be constantly vigilant, to rely primarily upon their own forces and upon the forces acting in solidarity with them in order to combat and repulse acts of aggression and to prevent the violation of their right to decide their own fate.

70. Fourthly, the aggression against Guinea is an ominous indication of what can happen tomorrow in the African continent unless Portuguese colonialism is definitely erased from the face of Africa. This armed attack of Portugal against the Republic of Guinea demonstrates the fact that Portuguese colonialism is not only obstructing the liberation of the people of Guinea (Bissau), Angola and Mozambique and is waging colonial wars in Africa, but that it also threatens the very existence of those African States that have already attained their independence. What happened two weeks ago in Conakry could happen tomorrow in any other capital city of an independent African State unless the reactionary forces of colonialism and racism are completely eradicated from the African continent.

71. As was rightly pointed out by the head of the delegation of the Republic of Guinea, Minister Ismael Touré, in his dignified and dramatic statement on 26 November 1970 in Conakry, at the first meeting of the Special Mission of the Security Council:

“This is proof of the fact that Portuguese colonialism kills blindly and cynically and that the problem is not only for Africa: it should be of concern to the whole international community.”

72. Fifthly, since this matter is of vital interest to the entire international community, the eyes of the entire African continent and world public opinion at large are focused at this moment upon the United Nations and upon the Security Council. The aggression of Portugal against the Republic of Guinea constitutes a challenge to the United Nations itself, to the very foundations upon which our Organization rests: the Charter of the United Nations. Up to now, Portugal has been condemned by a series of resolutions of the Security Council and the General Assembly for its aggressive acts; but Portuguese colonialism is not only continuing the war against the people of Guinea (Bissau), Angola and Mozambique, it is also committing savage and brutal acts of aggression and this is of crucial interest to the international community as a whole as well as to the future of Africa. Consequently, in the opinion of my delegation, the Security Council's deliberations on the aggression do not merely constitute another routine session which is to come up with yet another routine resolution at the end of the debate; it constitutes a test case for the Security Coun-

cil and for the United Nations as a whole, and for its role in the safeguarding of peace and security in the world.

73. My delegation firmly believes that the Security Council is faced with a flagrant act of aggression committed by Portugal, unequivocally proved as such by the report of the Special Mission of the Security Council. In such a situation, the most effective response would be the implementation of Article 39 of the Charter which authorizes the Security Council:

“[to] determine the existence of any threat to the peace, breach of the peace, or act of aggression and . . . [to] decide what measures shall be taken in accordance with Articles 41 and 42, to maintain or restore international peace and security”.

74. Furthermore, we must bear in mind the fact that the aggression has not terminated and that the danger to the integrity and sovereignty of the Republic of Guinea continues to exist. The Security Council has at its disposal a whole range of actions pursuant to Articles 41 and 42, as well as whatever is essential for undertaking effective action with a view to suppressing aggression, which is one of the most fundamental aims of the United Nations, as defined in Article 1 of the Charter.

75. In view of the persistent violations by Portugal of the decisions of our Organization, my delegation feels strongly that if there is a repetition of such an act it will be necessary to explore the possible implementation of the provisions of Article 5 of the Charter; that is, should Portugal continue to defy the United Nations by persisting in its aggressive policy, that country should be suspended from the exercise of the rights and privileges of membership.

76. We also feel very strongly that Portugal should compensate the countless victims of aggression and should also reimburse the material losses caused by its armed forces in Guinea.

77. My delegation hopes that the Security Council will this time fulfil the expectation of the international community and that it will live up to its time-honoured task on this occasion.

78. The PRESIDENT (*translated from Russian*): I invite the representative of Mali to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

79. Mr. SOW (Mali) (*interpretation from French*): It seems to be agreed that in the United Nations and in particular in the Security Council, the importance of a question is measured mainly—if not solely—by the number of meetings devoted to it and by the length of the debates, which are likewise all too often procedural rather than substantive. It also seems to be agreed that the seriousness of a problem is evidenced only by our reluctance to assume our responsibility for finding a just solution in conformity with the principles of the Charter of our Organization. My delegation earnestly hopes that, for once, this custom will be

broken, since in our opinion it is one cause of the weakness of the United Nations and a source of disappointment to a good many Member States that expect great things of it.

80. In view of what I have just said, and after the speakers who have preceded me and stated irrefutable facts, I should simply like to recall the statement made by the Government of the Republic of Mali which, on receiving the news of the aggression against the People's Republic of Guinea, said that the people of Mali in their entirety regarded themselves as in a state of mobilization and placed themselves immediately at the disposal of the people and Government of the Republic of Guinea; for, in the eyes of the people of Mali, the Portuguese aggression against Guinea is directed against all Africa.

81. At the request of the Head of State of Mali, current President of the Organization of Senegal River States, a sub-regional body of West Africa, a meeting at the foreign Ministerial level was held at Conakry immediately following the Portuguese aggression to take joint measures to meet the situation, at a time when the Portuguese and their mercenaries still harboured the mad illusion that they could break the militant faith of our brothers and sisters in Guinea.

82. It should also be recalled that all Africa, from the very first day of the Portuguese aggression against Guinea, expressed its solidarity with the people and Government of the Republic of Guinea and is giving them its support and assistance. Such solidarity with and assistance to the Republic of Guinea have been displayed throughout the world by all progressive countries devoted to peace and justice. As the representative of Algeria has said, the complaint brought before the Security Council by Guinea is a complaint by all Africa against Portugal. We are thus before you not as lawyers pleading a case but as accusers of Portugal and all those who give it direct or indirect assistance, enabling it to maintain its odious colonialism, and to commit aggression against independent African States, Members of our Organization.

83. The facts have been sufficiently and eloquently established by the representative of the Republic of Guinea, our brother El Hadj Abdoulaye Touré, and the speakers who preceded me. For more than ten years, we have attempted to alert the Council and international opinion to the misdeeds of Portuguese colonialism in Africa. Unfortunately, the innocent victims and the material damage done in Angola, Mozambique, Guinea (Bissau), as well as in the independent African neighbours of the Portuguese colonies like Zambia, the United Republic of Tanzania, the Democratic Republic of the Congo, the People's Republic of the Congo and Senegal, have not always sufficed to impell the Security Council, which is responsible for the maintenance of international peace and security, to take adequate measures to put an end to Portuguese colonialism, which constitutes a permanent threat to peace.

84. The conclusions contained in the report of the Security Council Special Mission which went to Conakry are clear and once again offer striking proof of Portugal's entire responsibility for the imperialist aggression perpetrated against Guinea on 22 November last. My delegation pays tribute to the members of the Mission for the speed and objectivity with which they did their job. It remains for the Security Council to do the same so as not once again to disappoint the valiant people of Guinea, united as one man behind their President Ahmed Sékou Touré and all the peoples of Africa. At the extraordinary meeting of the Organization of African Unity which will take place on 9 December at Lagos, Africa, for its part, will I am sure draw the necessary lessons from the decision which the Security Council will take. We believe that the measures you will quickly take against Portugal and the reparations you will demand from the fascist Government of Portugal will fulfil the hopes of the African peoples and help to bring about the early and definitive liquidation of Portuguese colonialism in Africa.

85. The PRESIDENT (*translated from Russian*): I invite the representative of Senegal to take a place at the Council table.

86. Mr. BOYE (Senegal) (*interpretation from French*): Mr. President, at the 1558th meeting held on 22 November last, I had the benefit of speaking before this Council because of the kind indulgence of its members. My Government is very grateful to them and wishes to express its gratitude once again.

87. On behalf of my Government, I should also like to express my gratitude to the President of the Security Council for the month of November, my friend Ambassador Tomeh, who, swiftly and thanks to the effective and energetic co-operation of our dynamic Secretary-General and with the collaboration of that month's President of the African Group, my friend Mr. Mondjo, was good enough rapidly to set up a mission which was able to proceed to Guinea to make the findings which are now known.

88. On behalf of my Government, I should also like to pay a tribute to the members of the Special Mission for their work, which was done with much speed and objectivity at Conakry.

89. I have not come here before the Council this afternoon to aggravate an already serious situation or for pure political propaganda or demagogy, nor to launch slogans which are now so well known in the United Nations that serious people now listen to them with mere indifference. That which can serve the cause of a country which is seriously threatened in its integrity and sovereignty is the effective support given it by peoples that feel real solidarity with it. No one here can fail to know of the friendly and brotherly relations which have long existed between Senegal and Guinea. My President, Léopold-Sedar Senghor, has described President Ahmed Sékou Touré as an African man who has a tyrannical love for Africa. That is why, immediately after the attack against our sister Republic of Guinea, with my colleagues of the Organization of

Senegal River States, we placed ourselves next to our brother El Hadj Abdoulaye Touré, to give him all the assistance and counsel which he needed at that time. On 22 November, my delegation came to the Security Council to express the opinion of my Government and to state its views on the situation.

90. The Mission of the Security Council which went to Guinea has collected important testimony. I personally regret that this testimony has not yet been translated into my working language. Nevertheless, the delegation of Senegal, which went to Conakry immediately after the events, was able to place the events in their real context. I should now like to quote to you from the pronouncement which President Ahmed Sékou Touré spoke before the delegations to the Organization of Senegal River States—Mali, Mauritania, Guinea and Senegal:

“Since Sunday, we are the victims of Portuguese aggression. This aggression, organized from Guinea (Bissau), is not only intended to destroy freedom in Guinea but is also intended to destroy freedom in Africa. With our weak means we are meeting the challenge to obtain a final victory, because our defeat would be the defeat of Africa, but in particular the defeat of the Organization of Senegal River States.”

91. Later, President Ahmed Sékou Touré, speaking as a responsible man, denounced certain malicious foreign observers who wanted to see in the events of Conakry the manifestation of an internal opposition supported by certain brother countries. Mr. Sékou Touré has categorically refuted the information given by a foreign press which described a quarrel allegedly opposing Guinea and certain brotherly neighbouring countries. Fortunately, we all know the facts. Happily, the reaction of the responsible people in Guinea was swift and the aggression was repelled.

92. As regards the Organization of Senegal River States, I would ask your indulgence while I read out the communiqué it published:

“After having been received in audience by President Ahmed Sékou Touré, as commander-in-chief of the Guinean armed forces, the Council of Ministers of the Organization of Senegal River States met in an extraordinary session at Conakry on 24 November 1970 under the presidency of Mr. Daniel Cabou, Minister for Industrial Development of the Republic of Senegal, Acting President of the Council of Ministers of the Organization of Senegal River States.

“The delegation of the Republic of Guinea was composed of Mr. Ismael Touré, a member of the National Political Bureau, Minister for Finance and head of the delegation, and of Mr. Damantan Camara, Mr. Kassoury Bangoura and Mr. Camara Néné Khaly Kondetto, respectively Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Minister of Justice and Minister of Scientific Research.

“The delegation of Mali was composed of Captain Charles Samba Cissokho, member of the Comité

Militaire de Libération Nationale, Minister for Foreign Affairs, head of the delegation, as well as Mr. Robert N'Daw, Minister for Industrial Development and Public Works.

“The delegation of the Islamic Republic of Mauritania was composed of Dr. Mamadou Touré, Minister for Planning and Rural Development, head of the delegation, Mr. Hourda and Mr. Ould Mouk-nass, members of the National Political Bureau, and Mr. Sidi Mohamed Diagand, respectively Minister of Foreign Affairs, Minister of Industrialization and Minister of Mines.

“The delegation of Senegal was composed of Mr. Amadou Karim Gaye, Minister of Foreign Affairs, chief of delegation, and Mr. S. E. Lamine Diallo, Ambassador of Senegal to Conakry.

“*The Council of Ministers*, after having heard an introductory report presented by the Executive Secretariat of the Organization of Senegal River States and registered the information brought to its attention by the delegation of Guinea, in addition to information it had received directly from the Head of State of Guinea, reports and information regarding the situation resulting from the aggression perpetrated by Portugal against the Republic of Guinea,

“*Notes* that the city of Conakry has, since Sunday, 22 November 1970, been the subject of an armed aggression unleashed by Portugal, which has taken the form of bombing the city and landing troops and foreign mercenaries from foreign ships;

“*Condemns* with the utmost energy this barbarous aggression, perpetrated against the Republic of Guinea in defiance of all international laws and the principles inscribed in the United Nations Charter;

“*Salutes* the heroism and faith of the people of Guinea, its party, its Government and its army;

“*Resolves* as follows:

“*It congratulates* and encourages the people of Guinea in their prompt and vigorous action, which permitted them to repel most of the forces of aggression and to hold in check the vessels that made incursions into the territorial waters of the Republic of Guinea;

“*Piously bows before* the civilian and military victims of that unspeakable aggression;

“*Invites* all freedom and peace-loving nations, as well as all the progressive forces throughout the world, forcefully to condemn such treachery, which threatens peace in Africa and in the rest of the world;

“*Unreservedly supports* the initiative to convene as soon as possible the Council of Ministers and the Committee of Defence of the Organization of African Unity to examine the grave situation resulting from the attempt to invade the Republic of Guinea by the colonialist Portuguese forces;

"Considers that the aggression against the Republic of Guinea is directed against the freedom and independence of the four countries united in solidarity in the Organization of Senegal River States;

"Unreservedly supports the brother people of Guinea in its just struggle against Portuguese colonialism and imperialism;

"Decides to extend to the Republic of Guinea, besides military and political support, every kind of assistance in the trials it is undergoing, which constitute a precedent fraught with threats to the sovereignty and territorial integrity of all African States;

"Decides to maintain contact so as to study and consider any further concrete common measures that developments may require in the situation resulting from the aggression of Portugal against the Republic of Guinea."

93. I wished to read this communiqué so that it might appear in the official record of this meeting.

94. Let the Security Council not tell itself that all is over now. It is necessary for all countries that cherish justice and freedom to remain vigilant. Why? You will understand when I shall have read a despatch from Agence France-Presse, dated 28 November at Bissau. It reads as follows:

"General Espinola, the Governor and Commander in Chief of the Portuguese armed forces in Portuguese Guinea, affirms, in connexion with the Government of the Republic of Guinea, led by Mr. Ahmed Sékou Touré: 'For me, the downfall of the present régime is a question of time. The Government of Sékou Touré is unpopular and, therefore, it will end by inevitably crumbling as a result of a popular counter-revolution.'"

As I have said, this is a despatch from Agence France-Presse.

95. After that statement, which events have fortunately proved to be untrue, is there still among you, with whom I have worked here in the Council, anyone who can say that the abortive invasion of Guinea was not prepared by Portugal?

96. I have already had occasion to say it: the friends of Portugal must decide to throw Portugal out of their organization, NATO, in the same way that they were prepared to do so with Greece, which, having sensed the trend, hastened to take the decision upon itself to withdraw from the association.

97. What I fail to understand is that when there is a question which affects Europeans among themselves, they do not hesitate to use every means to remedy the situation; whereas when it is an event which concerns Africa, Europeans are content with using words such as "warns", "deplores" or "condemns". This is something which deserves to be pondered by all of us.

98. As for my delegation, despite the growing imperfections in the functioning of the organs of our Organization, we continue to have faith in it. We adjure you to work as the responsible people that you are and, above all, not to let our Organization lose its prestige from day to day. Think of the fate of the defunct League of Nations. Let us all co-operate together without any discrimination, without considerations of political blocs, and let us not hesitate to apply the provisions of the Charter when the situation requires it. You will then have done well and the conscience of the universe will again feel new confidence in our Organization.

99. The PRESIDENT (*translated from Russian*): I thank the representative of Senegal for his kind words about the Security Council and its President.

100. The next speaker is the representative of Mauritania, and I now invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

101. Mr. OULD TAYA (Mauritania) (*interpretation from French*): Mr. President, alphabetical order sometimes arranges things well, and this time particularly so. My delegation is indeed happy to see the Council, at a time when it is discussing a question so vital to us, presided over by a statesman and a diplomat as eminent as yourself and who, in addition, represents a friendly country whose contribution to the liberation of peoples does honour not only to the socialist countries, but to all countries that are really concerned for peace and justice. I should like, through you, once again to thank the Security Council for allowing me to take part in this debate. Lastly, I should like to pay a special tribute to the Chairman and members of the Special Mission for the courage and objectivity which they showed in their investigation.

102. My delegation had the opportunity from the outset [*1558th meeting*] to express its indignation at the unspeakable aggression of which the sister Republic of Guinea has been the victim and to assure that country of the full and complete solidarity of the Government and people of Mauritania. At that same meeting on 22 November 1970—the first the Council devoted to this question—we expressed our certainty that the facts brought to our knowledge by the Government of Guinea were authentic and that the measures necessary in such circumstances should be taken without delay, measures which, for that matter, are expressly stipulated in the Charter. To our great regret, the Council thought fit to act otherwise.

103. Today the Council has irrefutable proof of Portuguese aggression against the Republic of Guinea. Neither the embarrassed denials of the colonialist and fascist Portuguese authorities nor the dilatory manoeuvres of certain countries can change the facts establishing the authenticity of that aggression.

104. In this regard, the Council should not content itself with a condemnation or with sanctions provided to that effect by the Charter. We believed that proper reparations should be exacted for the damage—both material and human—sustained by the Republic of

Guinea as a result of that cowardly aggression. We believe that the sanctions which the Council should take would be a necessary warning addressed not only to Portugal but to all those who turn aggression into a system of international relations. It would also be a warning to those who support from the shadows Portugal's criminal hand and that of its fellow travellers.

105. The time has come to give an example to all who defy the sovereignty of African and Asian States and would reduce them to the status of docile clients, to those who overtly and cynically threaten the freedom and independence of the States of the Third World. For our part, we say to them that the time has passed when they could attack us with impunity. The unanimous solidarity with Guinea displayed by all the African States—and I say by all—as well as by most countries of the Third World, on the occasion of the aggression of which it has been the victim, shows the futility of the efforts of those who still try to keep us in a state of servitude to which they believe we are doomed for ever.

106. The victory won by the heroic people of Guinea is a victory for all the peoples of the Third World and is also a victory for all peoples that cherish peace and justice. We would have wished to share this victory with our Organization. Unfortunately, it rejected this honour by refusing to heed the moving appeal addressed to it on 22 November 1970 by President Sékou Touré.

107. My delegation thinks it is time for our Organization, and in particular for that organ which has the heavy responsibility of maintaining and preserving peace and security, to learn once and for all from the tragic events just experienced by Guinea. For, as I already emphasized in my last statement before the Council, all the potential confidence that our small States have placed in our Organization may be permanently undermined if it remains deaf to our appeals.

108. The PRESIDENT (*translated from Russian*): I thank the representative of Mauritania for his kind words about the Security Council and about me personally.

109. Speaking as the representative of the SOVIET UNION, I should like to make the following statement on behalf of my delegation.

110. The Security Council is considering a criminal act of armed aggression by Portugal against an independent sovereign State, the Republic of Guinea. The facts of the case are well known. On the night of 21 to 22 November, a naval landing force of regular Portuguese armed forces, together with mercenaries, was dispatched from the territory of the Portuguese colony of Guinea (Bissau) and, under cover of darkness, committed an act of unprovoked aggression condemned by every rule of international law and an underhand attack against the city of Conakry, the capital of the Republic of Guinea.

111. The Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, in its statement of 23 November concerning Portugal's act of aggression against the Republic of Guinea published in *Pravda* of 4 December 1970, declared:

"The Soviet Government categorically condemns the criminal acts of the interventionists and their protectors, which are a challenge to the African States and to all peoples struggling for national independence."

112. The Soviet Government demanded that the imperialist aggression against the people of Guinea be brought to an end forthwith and that the aggressors withdraw immediately from the territory of that independent State.

113. Considering this event objectively, in the light of the present international situation, one cannot fail to agree with the main argument put forward by nearly all speakers in the Security Council, the representatives of the countries of Africa and other continents, to the effect that the armed attack by Portugal—a member of the NATO military bloc—was an attack on the whole of Africa. The representative of Algeria, Mr. Yazid, said that the complaint by Guinea concerning the Portuguese act of aggression is a complaint by the whole of Africa. It is also well known that in United Nations circles the piratical attack evoked the following reaction: "Outraged Africa clamorously condemns imperialism and colonialism".

114. The representative of Liberia justly likened the aggressive policy of the Portuguese colonialists in Africa to the action of a mad dog biting everyone it meets [*1559th meeting*]. Portugal's madness is the madness of imperialism and colonialism departing from the historical scene under the staggering impact of the national liberation revolutions in Africa, Asia and Latin America.

115. History teaches that the obsolete classes and socio-political systems departing from the historical scene under the impact of the popular revolutionary struggle offer furious resistance, unscrupulously using any sordid and odious means of fighting. They have the desperation of the doomed.

116. By considering and condemning the acts of aggression by the Portuguese colonialists, the Security Council thereby performs an important historical action. It condemns the policy of imperialism in its entirety as a policy of aggression and war. Imperialism and colonialism are in the dock, as a socio-political system condemned by history and cursed by all mankind. Imperialism brings death and destruction, sows fear and causes unbearable suffering to the peoples of Africa and other regions of the world. The impunity with which aggressive acts in various parts of the world are perpetrated or supported by the imperialist forces encourages the colonialists to perform similar acts against newly independent States. The aggressive policy of imperialism casts a shadow over the entire present-day international situation, gives rise to tension



and acts of military provocation, hinders the return to normal relations between States, and prevents peoples from living in peace and friendship, in accordance with the United Nations Charter, "as good neighbours".

117. All these acts of imperialist aggression against sovereign States and freedom-loving peoples have one and the same aim—to overthrow the progressive popular Governments which, as the representative of Guinea has stated, are leading the peoples of their countries along the path of non-capitalist development, and to place at the head of those nations corrupt puppet régimes from the ranks of the imperialist lackeys, ready to betray and to sell wholesale and retail the interests and wealth of their countries and peoples and to be loyal and true servants of international monopolistic capital. This aim of the Portuguese aggression is also confirmed in the official report of the Security Council Special Mission. The Belgian teacher Mr. Lange informed the Mission in Conakry that the Portuguese mercenaries who seized him during the attack on that city told him that their aim was to carry out a coup d'état in Guinea and place at the head of that country a Guinean general living in Europe.

118. What must be done? What measures must be taken? The answer is to be found in the recent statement by the General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, Mr. L. I. Brezhnev, on the occasion of the fiftieth anniversary of Soviet Armenia, which was reported in *Pravda* on 30 November 1970:

"Combined action by the freedom-loving, anti-imperialist forces to ward off aggression is the best means of sobering the adventurist hotheads in the imperialist camp and preventing the outbreak of new 'local' wars and their escalation into a threat of war to all mankind. Life has convincingly demonstrated the truth of this."

119. It will be recalled that in its resolution 289 (1970) of 23 November the Security Council clearly and firmly sided with the victim of the aggression. It demanded the immediate cessation of the armed attack against the Republic of Guinea and the immediate withdrawal of all external armed forces and mercenaries together with the military equipment used in the armed attack against the territory of the Republic of Guinea.

120. Thus, despite the clear opposition from a narrow-minded group of delegations, the Security Council proved equal to the situation by adopting a resolution calling a halt to the imperialist aggression against the Republic of Guinea. Nevertheless, as is patently obvious, this was only a preliminary, interim resolution. The Soviet Union, together with the African and Asian States which are members of the Security Council, has insisted from the very outset that the Security Council should categorically condemn Portugal for its aggression against the Republic of Guinea and take appropriate effective measures.

121. At that time, however, certain members of the Security Council, alleging doubts and thereby actually showing disbelief in the report of the Portuguese aggression against Guinea contained in the appeals by President Sékou Touré to the United Nations, prevented the Council from firmly and categorically condemning that aggression and taking effective measures against the aggressor. They also refused to let the Security Council state clearly and definitely, in its demand for the immediate withdrawal of all the aggressor's troops from Guinean territory, that the troops in question were Portuguese. Now, from the report of the Security Council Special Mission it is perfectly obvious to everyone that Portugal, the aggressor, was caught in the act, exposed and completely unmasked in the Commission of an international crime. Even *The New York Times*, a leading organ of the United States monopolies, has now been obliged to admit this. Today, 5 December 1970, in its editorial, the paper states: "Portugal thus faces the most serious crisis it has ever confronted in the long history of United Nations deliberations on the problems arising from the remnants of white minority rule in Africa."

122. In assessing the behaviour of the Portuguese colonialists, the newspaper confined itself to hinting to Portugal that, in the act of aggression against Guinea, it used methods which were clumsy and inappropriate to modern times. With obvious knowledge of the subject, the paper advises Portugal on the methods it should use to maintain and perpetuate its colonial domination over the African peoples. Thus, an organ of United States monopolistic capital has no intention whatsoever of advising the Portuguese colonialists to vacate the African continent immediately; on the contrary, it merely advises them to change tactics and methods in order to justify and perpetuate their colonial rule and racist-fascist tyranny over the African peoples.

123. For the Soviet Union, for all the friends of Africa, for all those interested in strengthening the independence of the African States and for those who realize that this is certainly not the first but simply another act of aggression by the Portuguese colonialists against Guinea, there was from the beginning no doubt at all that in this case another premeditated act of imperialist aggression had been committed by the Portuguese colonialists against the independent Republic of Guinea. The absurdity of Portugal's unsubstantiated denials of the charges brought against it by the Government of the Republic of Guinea was obvious from the very outset. Only a handful of members of the Council found themselves able to cite these Portuguese statements and to question the statements by the Government of the Republic of Guinea. Those who attempted earlier or who are now attempting to defend the Portuguese aggressors are in a clearly difficult position. Even *The New York Times* is now compelled to recognize this. In its edition of 4 December 1970, it made a very eloquent admission: "Several Western diplomats said privately that it might prove difficult for Portugal's allies to defend her cause."

124. Thus, the report of the Special Mission of the Council on Portugal's armed attack on the Republic

of Guinea fully and convincingly substantiates the charges brought against Portugal by the Government of the Republic of Guinea. The fact is that a foreign Power—Portugal—has made yet another attempt flagrantly to interfere in the domestic affairs of a sovereign African State Member of the United Nations. The fact is that Portugal has prepared, planned and carried out armed aggression against the Republic of Guinea. The fact is that the Portuguese colonialists have sought to overthrow by force the progressive régime which is in power in the Republic of Guinea and to which they objected, to deny the Guinean people the opportunity to build a new life, and once more to impose on them the yoke of alien imperialist oppression and domination.

125. It is quite obvious, however, that the aims of the imperialist aggressors were even more far-reaching. The statement on the aggression by the colonialists against the Republic of Guinea which was adopted at Berlin on 2 December 1970 by the participants in the Conference of the Political Consultative Committee of the States Parties to the Warsaw Treaty contains the following comment:

“The aggressors also counted on arresting the liberation struggle of the peoples of Guinea (Bissau), Angola, Mozambique, South Africa, Zimbabwe and Namibia which are striving to break loose from the clutches of colonial and racist oppression and to determine their own destiny themselves. The Portuguese colonialists, in committing an armed attack on the Republic of Guinea, have acted as the shock force and as the tool of the imperialist forces and of all those who covet the wealth of the African continent. Portugal would never have ventured to take such an impudent step without the knowledge and support of the imperialist forces which are arming that country and directing its policy, including its attempts to deal with the national liberation movement.”<sup>3</sup>

This assessment fully coincides with the statements made here by many representatives of African countries.

126. The report of the Special Mission and its addendum contain numerous concrete facts and figures testifying to the direct participation of Portuguese regular armed forces in the aggression against the Republic of Guinea.

127. The report and the facts contained in it completely discredit the Portuguese colonialists' attempt to obliterate the traces of their crime against the Republic of Guinea and to dissociate themselves from it. Portugal's role in the new act of aggression against Guinea has been fully exposed. Consequently, the experiment of establishing this type of Security Council Special Mission and of sending the Mission, rather than individuals, to the scene of the aggression has yielded positive results. The overwhelming majority of delegations, and above all those of the Afro-Asian countries,

generally acknowledge that the report of the Mission is objective and unmask the aggressor.

128. The Security Council's action in appointing the Special Mission and dispatching it to Guinea has fully justified itself. This action taken by the Council was in complete accord with the United Nations Charter and with the Council's role as the organ of the United Nations bearing primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security. Events have demonstrated the fallacy and the error of the position adopted by those who questioned or tried to prevent the establishment of such a Mission. The arguments that the Mission would be unable to take quick action or to submit an agreed report have proved to be groundless and unsound. This should convince everyone of how effectively the Security Council can act, if it discharges its functions in strict accordance with the Charter. This is further confirmation that strict observance of the Charter can significantly enhance the effectiveness of the Security Council, and hence that of the United Nations as a whole, in taking action for the maintenance of international peace and security, not only by the establishment of special missions of the Council and their dispatch to the scene of the aggression, but also by the formation and employment of military contingents in conformity with the Charter.

129. The Special Mission has submitted to the Council a full and comprehensive report. The Council should express its appreciation for the considerable amount of important and, one might add, historically significant work done by the Special Mission, which consisted of the representatives of five States members of the Security Council—Colombia, Finland, Nepal, Poland and Zambia, representing all the geographical groups in the United Nations.

130. The essence of the conclusions contained in the Special Mission's report is to be found in the following clear-cut statement:

“The invasion of the territory of the Republic of Guinea on 22 and 23 November was carried out by naval and military units of the Portuguese armed forces, acting in conjunction with Guinean dissident elements from outside the Republic of Guinea.”  
[S/10009, para. 41.]

131. The unmasking by the Special Mission of Portugal's aggression against Guinea has united the overwhelming majority of African countries in a noble upsurge of fraternal solidarity. Thirty-seven of them sent a joint special letter to the Security Council calling for categorical condemnation of this aggression and the adoption of forceful measures against the aggressor [S/10002 and Add.1]. A number of African and Asian delegations expressed a desire to participate—and are participating—in the Security Council's consideration of this important question and in its condemnation of the aggression.

132. In this connexion, it must also be noted that Africa is justifiably expressing its disillusion and dissatisfaction with the ineffectiveness and the inability

<sup>3</sup> Subsequently circulated as document S/10032.



of the United Nations, and particularly the Security Council, to provide speedy military assistance to the victims of the aggression and to defend a weak State Member of the United Nations against the threat of imperialist aggression. Both the Security Council and the United Nations as a whole must draw the appropriate serious conclusions from this and take immediate measures to enhance their effectiveness in maintaining international peace and protecting the security of the nations.

133. It is also appropriate in this connexion to draw attention to the fact that in the First Committee, at the commemorative session of the General Assembly, the drafting of a detailed document on the strengthening of international security was very protracted. We must accelerate the completion of this work and make those who are engaging in delaying tactics stop hindering the preparation and adoption by the General Assembly of a decision on such an important issue as the strengthening of international security, which concerns all peace-loving States Members of the United Nations and all States of the world.

134. The information in the Special Mission's report about the nature of the landing-craft available to the Portuguese colonialists, as well as other facts in the report, clearly confirm that the Portuguese armed forces and Portuguese mercenaries that attacked the sovereign State of Guinea also carried weapons from the NATO arsenals. The Security Council must also consider this aspect of Portugal's aggression against an African country, as pointed out by a number of representatives of African countries in their statements before the Council.

135. The imperialist aggression against Guinea graphically demonstrates the urgent need for the speedy and complete liquidation of colonial and racist régimes and for the elimination of the threat which colonialism represents to the peace and security of the African peoples. It is becoming more obvious than ever that, until there is no longer a single colonial régime or colonial bridge-head on the African continent and until all troops have been withdrawn and all colonial military bases dismantled, the peaceful and independent existence and the development of the African States will be in danger.

136. In this connexion, I should like to quote the following paragraph from the statement on the aggression by the colonialists against the Republic of Guinea adopted by the participants in the Conference of the Political Consultative Committee of the States Parties to the Warsaw Treaty, which clearly sets forth the position on this question of the countries in the socialist community:

"The participants in the Conference decisively condemn the aggression against the Republic of Guinea and other criminal acts by the imperialists and neo-colonialists. They reaffirm their solidarity with the just struggle of the Guinean people and all African peoples for freedom and progress, and for the full implementation of the United Nations Decla-

ration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. The peoples of Africa in the struggle for their liberation can, as previously, count on assistance from the socialist States."<sup>4</sup>

This statement is signed by the leaders of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, the German Democratic Republic, the Hungarian People's Republic, the People's Republic of Bulgaria, the Polish People's Republic, the Socialist Republic of Romania and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

137. The point at issue is beyond dispute. The fact of Portugal's criminal aggression against the Republic of Guinea is confirmed by the official report of the Special Mission which visited the Republic of Guinea. The Security Council has already taken steps to halt Portugal's aggression against Guinea. It is now the Council's duty to adopt firm measures against the Portuguese aggressors.

138. In supporting the just demand of the Republic of Guinea and of many other African and Asian States, the Soviet delegation urges that the decision to be taken by the Security Council should include clear and unambiguous provision categorically condemning the Portuguese Government's aggressive acts against the Republic of Guinea.

139. The Soviet Union urges the Council, as an immediate and urgent measure, to apply the sanctions envisaged in Article 41 of the Charter to Portugal for its aggression against the Republic of Guinea. We specifically have in mind measures such as the complete interruption of economic relations and of rail, sea, air, postal, telegraphic, radio and other means of communication, and the severance of diplomatic relations. Such action by the Council would fully accord with the Charter and with those provisions of the Charter which are to be applied to an aggressor.

140. The Soviet Union considers that, if the measures provided for in Article 41 of the Charter do not produce the proper results and if Portugal persists in its acts of aggression against African States, the urgent need will arise for the adoption against Portugal of the measures provided for in Article 42 of the Charter—namely, demonstrations, blockade and other operations by air, sea or land forces of Members of the United Nations.

141. The Soviet delegation also gives its firm support to the just demand of the African States that the Security Council should decide to make Portugal pay compensation to the Republic of Guinea for the material damage suffered. By the adoption of such a measure the Council, as the United Nations organ with primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security, will be fulfilling its duty in the defence of the Republic of Guinea, a sovereign State and Member of the United Nations. It will be taking measures to punish an imperialist aggressor, administering a fitting rebuff to the colonialists and helping

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*

to strengthen the freedom, independence and security of the African countries.

142. The Security Council's duty is to take immediate and effective measures to this end.

143. Speaking as PRESIDENT, I should like to say that the list of speakers has been exhausted. If no other

member of the Council or representative invited to participate in the discussion on this question wishes to speak, we may now adjourn this meeting.

144. In accordance with the consultations held with members of the Council, the next meeting on this question will be held at 10.30 a.m. on Monday, 7 December.

*The meeting rose at 6.15 p.m.*

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