

UNITED NATIONS

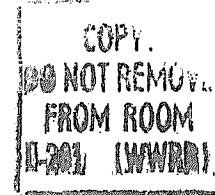


**SECURITY COUNCIL
OFFICIAL RECORDS**

TWENTY-SIXTH YEAR

1600th MEETING: 24 NOVEMBER 1971

NEW YORK



CONTENTS

	<i>Page</i>
Provisional agenda (S/Agenda/1600)	1
Adoption of the agenda	1
Complaint by Senegal: Report of the Special Mission of the Security Council established under resolution 294 (1971) (S/10308)	1

NOTE

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

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

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

SIXTEEN HUNDREDTH MEETING

Held in New York on Wednesday, 24 November 1971, at 11 p.m.

President: Mr. Eugeniusz KUŁAGA (Poland).

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

Provisional agenda (S/Agenda/1600)

1. Adoption of the agenda.
2. Complaint by Senegal:
Report of the Special Mission of the Security Council established under resolution 294 (1971) (S/10308).

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

Complaint by Senegal

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

1. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): It will be recalled that at previous meetings devoted to the consideration of the present item on the agenda, the Security Council decided to invite the representatives of Senegal, Guinea, Mali, Sudan, Mauritania, Mauritius, Togo and Zambia to participate, without the right to vote, in the Council's debate on the question before it. In view of the limited number of places at the Council table, and in conformity with usual practice, I shall invite the representatives of countries not members of the Council wishing to participate in this debate to take the places reserved for them in the Council chamber, on the understanding that they will be invited to take a place at the Council table when called upon to speak. I shall invite the representative of Senegal to take a place at the Council table.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. M. Fall (Senegal) took a place at the Security Council table and Mr. E. H. A. Touré (Guinea) took the place reserved for him in the Council Chamber.

2. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): Before we continue our consideration of the item on the agenda, I

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

should like to remind members of the Council that a draft resolution submitted by Burundi, Sierra Leone and Somalia has been circulated in document S/10395.

3. Mr. JOUEJATI (Syrian Arab Republic) (*interpretation from French*): The Security Council has before it the report that was prepared by the Special Mission which went to Senegal under the provisions of resolution 294 (1971). Under the chairmanship of the Ambassador of Nicaragua, to whom we pay a most respectful tribute, the Mission carried out a thorough inquiry into the incidents which had occurred, and were continuing to occur even in its presence, on the frontiers between Senegal and Guinea (Bissau). The mandate of the Mission was unique since it was entrusted with the task not only of observing what had happened but also of peace in the region. The President of the Council at that time, the Ambassador of France, deserves our most sincere tribute because at the right time he made clear the scope of that very important mandate and because he succeeded, in co-operation with the Secretary-General, in dispatching the Mission to the site.

4. From the report a series of observations emerge as a result of the visits and inquiries carried out on the scene of the incidents as well as of reports, sometimes by eye witnesses. The responsibility of the Portuguese colonial authorities in Guinea (Bissau) for the incidents which have caused scores of Senegalese victims, terrorized the inhabitants of the frontiers between Guinea (Bissau) and Senegal, and caused very great damage to the economic and social life of that part of Senegal, which is naturally beautiful, peaceful and hospitable, is a responsibility that has been clearly established.

5. One did not have to search for long to discover the sinister motives which inspired the Portuguese colonialist forces. Overwhelmed by the success of the revolution in Guinea (Bissau), seeing their region of control becoming narrower from day to day and finally realizing that they are fighting for a cause which is immoral at its source and lost in advance, they foam with rage and commit their atrocities in the Senegalese border towns and against their peaceful population.

6. All the pretexts used by Portugal to attribute these abominable acts to the liberation movements were revealed as false and hypocritical. The Guinean refugees in Senegal enjoy the fraternal hospitality of Senegal and lead a peaceful life while awaiting the recovery of their national rights. The national liberation movement does not carry out any activity in the frontier regions. Having liberated most of the rural areas, it concentrates its struggle on the

Portuguese colonialist presence in the urban centres. Neither its respect for Senegal, nor its brotherhood with its people and Government, nor measured, well-thought-out strategy, nor even its immediate interests give it the slightest reason to attack the frontiers with Senegal. These truths not only are the result of logic but also have been confirmed by facts and figures. Yet the Portuguese authorities do their best to create an atmosphere of mistrust between the liberation movement and Senegal; they harbour the illusion that their colonial presence can still be tolerated and that they can perpetuate their domination through the division of African unity. But we observe that the result has been completely contrary to the one Portugal expected. The liberation movement is being strengthened. Senegal, because of its objectivity, sincerity, human qualities and deep perception of these Portuguese colonial practices is thwarting the conspiracies. Aware of their guilt and fearing that these conspiracies would be uncovered by the Mission, the Portuguese authorities refused any access to Guinea (Bissau).

7. The draft resolution submitted by the African members of the Council reveals these truths. It merely affirms the condemnation of these acts committed by Portugal, whose responsibility was established beyond question. It emphasizes the responsibility of the Security Council to see to it that the security and territorial integrity of Senegal are respected, but it goes even further, to the very root of the problem, just as the Mission had to do because of the logic of things and because of its mandate. The draft resolution requests that the people of Guinea (Bissau) be given, without delay, the right to self-determination; if this right had not been purely and simply denied by Portugal, there would have been no problem. By entrusting to the President of the Council and the Secretary-General the task of supervising the question of implementation under review, the draft resolution gives Portugal a last opportunity to act in accordance with equity, morality and international law, that is to say, to respect the territorial integrity of Senegal, to recognize the personality of Guinea (Bissau) and to put an end to a colonial presence which weighs heavily on the security, stability and development of the region, a colonial presence which certainly imposes on the Portuguese people itself vain and sterile sacrifices: the sacrifice of its sons, resources and prestige and the friendship which the peoples of Africa would like to maintain with it only under conditions of mutual equality, dignity and co-operation.

8. The proposals of President Senghor to allow Guinea (Bissau) to exercise its right to self-determination was rejected by Portugal. Will the Portuguese authorities now once again reject the appeals of the international community for the restoration of peace and justice, or will they have the courage to extend a hand to the liberation movement whose honourable leader, Mr. Cabral, spontaneously declares his pride in Portuguese culture and the willingness of his country to have with Portugal, after the recognition of Guinean rights, the best possible relations of friendship and co-operation? The draft resolution justly requires that the Security Council meet to decide on the steps to be taken: if Portugal should turn a deaf ear to these appeals. Thus, the draft resolution embodies all the elements of the situation and the means of remedying it.

That is why my delegation would like to thank our African colleagues for their initiative. We also wish to thank the Ambassador of Senegal for his sober and lucid statement, in which he brought out all the injustices that Senegal has suffered. The Council should not disappoint Senegal, which has shown patience and a devotion to peace and justice.

9. Mr. NAKAGAWA (Japan): My delegation welcomes the draft resolution contained in document S/10395, which is sponsored by three African members: Burundi, Sierra Leone and Somalia.

10. The six members of the Council, including my country, that composed the Special Mission to Senegal actively participated in the drafting of the proposed resolution. My delegation notes with satisfaction that the result of the intensive consultations we held is largely reflected in the draft now before the Council.

11. We thought it would be very important for the Council to adopt a resolution drafted on the basis of the report of the Special Mission. In my view, the Mission accomplished an exemplary task under the chairmanship of the representative of Nicaragua, Mr. Sevilla-Sacasa, who guided the work of the Mission with great skill and effectiveness. The Mission produced an objective and balanced report, which was adopted unanimously by its members. The recommendations contained in the report are, in my view, well balanced and, if implemented fully, will certainly eliminate the causes of tension in the region and create an atmosphere of trust, peace and security.

12. The draft resolution, as the representative of Burundi pointed out at the 1599th meeting, is based in large measure on the recommendations of the Mission. I believe that this draft provides a constructive step forward in our joint efforts to achieve a peaceful and satisfactory settlement of the problems involved. My delegation will, therefore, cast an affirmative vote on the draft resolution. In doing so, my delegation strongly urges the Government of Portugal to heed the appeals made in the draft resolution.

13. Mr. ORTIZ DE ROZAS (Argentina) (*interpretation from Spanish*): The delegation of Argentina has read with great interest the report submitted by the Special Mission of the Security Council established under resolution 294 (1971), which went to Senegal to investigate the complaint of the Government of that country and to examine the situation on the frontier with Guinea (Bissau) and which, as requested in that resolution, has made certain recommendations necessary to guarantee peace and security in that region.

14. I wish to pay a tribute to the members of the Special Mission and to its distinguished Chairman, Mr. Sevilla-Sacasa, for the dignified and efficient manner in which they discharged the duties entrusted to them by the Security Council. We know that their work was not easy. In a few days, and sometimes in difficult conditions despite the full co-operation of the Government of Senegal, the Special Mission endeavoured to form the most complete and impartial judgement possible on what had transpired on the frontier between Senegal and Guinea (Bissau). Later, the drafting of the report and the formulation of conclusions

and recommendations that could be adopted unanimously required, as we all know, goodwill and a spirit of co-operation from all members of the Special Mission. It is precisely for those reasons that the recommendations appearing in chapter IV of the report deserve our most careful and thoughtful consideration.

15. As I indicated in the statement I made in this Council at the meeting of 15 July 1971, any course of action the Council adopts must be directed to avoiding a repetition of events such as those that have given rise to the repeated complaints of Senegal.

16. In this context, nevertheless, one must bear in mind that the problems which occur on the frontier between Senegal and Guinea (Bissau) do not constitute a typical case of conflict between two States. We are certain that were Senegal and metropolitan Portugal to share a common frontier there would be no questions between them. At the root of all these incidents is the colonial situation prevailing in Guinea (Bissau) and the struggle being waged by those fighting for their freedom, self-determination and independence.

17. It becomes clear, then—and this was repeatedly recognized in the course of the debate of the Security Council in July last—that there can be little hope for a lasting peace in the region so long as the present status of Guinea (Bissau) subsists. The Special Mission itself, in paragraph 127 of its report, states:

“[The Special Mission] reaches the conclusion that the above-mentioned acts of violence and destruction appear to be the consequence of the special situation prevailing in Guinea (Bissau), which, as the Mission notes with regret, is in contradiction to the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples.”

18. Without prejudice to advocating all the steps necessary for a change in the present state of affairs to which I have just referred, it is obvious that Senegal, like any other State Member of the United Nations and member of the international community, has an absolute right to have its sovereignty and territorial integrity fully respected and to be free from acts of violence and destruction in its frontier areas.

19. We believe that the recommendations of the Special Mission adequately cover the various aspects which characterize the situation in that region of Africa, and for that reason we consider the draft resolution submitted by Burundi, Sierra Leone and Somalia to be acceptable, since it largely reflects the recommendations contained in the report.

20. At this stage I should like to make a few remarks with regard to the draft resolution before the Security Council.

21. In the first place, it seems to me that we could introduce into the draft resolution a paragraph whereby the Council would express its appreciation for the work of the Special Mission. The introduction of such a paragraph would be only just in view of the very efficient work done by the Mission which, as I said earlier, we all recognize.

22. My next point is a request for clarification from the sponsors rather than an observation. It refers to operative paragraph 7, whereby the authors of the draft resolution request the President of the Security Council and the Secretary-General “to keep this question under review and report on the implementation of the resolution to the Security Council within an appropriate period and at the latest within six months”. In the Spanish text the verb “report” is used in the plural. I would therefore ask the sponsors whether they expect a joint report from the President of the Security Council and the Secretary-General or a separate report from each. Secondly I would ask whether there is any substantive reason why the draft resolution departs from the recommendation of the Special Mission contained in part C of paragraph 128 of the report, entitled “Portugal”. The recommendation reads as follows: “Finally, it recommends that the Secretary-General report to the Security Council within an appropriate period and at the latest within six months.”

23. In the latter reference the request is addressed only to the Secretary-General, whereas in the draft resolution before the Council it is addressed to both the Secretary-General and the President of the Security Council. And in the Spanish text it is not clear whether what is requested is two reports or only one. We should be happy to receive clarification from the sponsors on the points I have just raised.

24. If my query is cleared up, we shall vote in favour of the draft resolution, and with its adoption we trust that moderation and self-control will finally prevail and that peace and calm will finally come to Senegal.

25. Mr. MALIK (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*translated from Russian*): The Security Council has resumed its consideration of the serious situation which has arisen on the African continent as a result of the aggressive policy of the Portuguese colonialists.

26. Before proceeding directly to the item which has been included in the agenda with a view to considering the report of the Special Mission of the Security Council which investigated the acts of aggression by the Portuguese colonialists against the Republic of Senegal, the Soviet delegation would like to draw attention to a number of new facts which demonstrate the seriousness of the situation. As is clear from the letter of 15 November 1971 from the Permanent Representative of Senegal to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council [S/10388], only recently, in late October and early November, the armed forces of Portugal carried out a number of new acts of aggression against the Republic of Senegal. These, to use the language of international law, are direct acts of unprovoked aggression; they are new developments, which seriously compound the crimes of the Portuguese colonialists. They should unquestionably be taken into account by the Security Council both when it discusses the report of the Council's mission on Senegal and when it takes a decision on this matter.

27. In accordance with resolution 294 (1971) the Council has before it the report of its Special Mission, which investigated the facts of the Portuguese aggression against

Senegal. This report contains additional material and concrete facts exposing the Portuguese colonialists.

28. At an earlier stage, when the report of the Special Mission was submitted to the Council, the Soviet delegation had an opportunity to note that the Mission, composed of representatives of Nicaragua, Belgium, Burundi, Poland, the Syrian Arab Republic and Japan, under the chairmanship of Mr. Sevilla-Sacasa, successfully completed the task entrusted to it by the Security Council.

29. The practice of establishing such special missions composed of members of the Security Council and of sending them to the scene of aggression has fully justified itself. It is wholly and completely in accord with the United Nations Charter and with the role which the Security Council is called upon to play as the United Nations organ primarily responsible for the maintenance of international peace and security. Moreover, these activities have been undertaken by the Council in accordance with precedents which are already firmly established as part of the system and practice of the Security Council.

30. Our experience in establishing and sending to scenes of aggression Security Council missions, rather than missions from the thirty-eighth floor of United Nations Headquarters, to perform functions directly on behalf of the Council in connexion with the maintenance and restoration of international peace provides us with an instrument which fully conforms to the spirit and letter of the Charter and represents an important step forward in enhancing the role, the effectiveness and the responsibility of the Security Council. It is that positive step which the Security Council was, unfortunately, unable to take for many years from the time of the cold war because of flagrant and systematic violations of and serious departures from the United Nations Charter under pressure from the imperialist forces which at that time controlled the United Nations. But times have changed, and we cannot but welcome the restoration and affirmation of a practice which conforms to the United Nations Charter and is in full accord with the effort to strengthen peace and security and with the interests of the countries which have been victims of aggression by the forces of imperialism and colonialism.

31. The Soviet delegation, as you know, has already had occasion to set forth in detail the position of the Soviet Union on the substance of the question under consideration. It is hardly necessary to refer again in detail to the facts that expose the Portuguese policy of aggression in Africa, which for many years has been the subject of severe criticism and condemnation by the overwhelming majority of States Members of the United Nations and by this Organization as a whole.

32. The report of the Special Mission of the Council fully confirms the fact that the Portuguese colonialists are pursuing a policy of aggression with the support of the leading NATO Powers. In paragraph 123 the report flatly states that "the recurrent armed attacks against Senegal cause considerable loss of human life, as well as material damage; they create a climate of insecurity and instability and are fraught with a threat to peace and security in the region."

33. The situation is further complicated by the fact that Lisbon, having several times been caught red-handed committing acts of aggression against African States, is attempting, although unsuccessfully, to turn everything upside down and shift the blame to others.

34. But however much Lisbon may try to present the matter in a favourable light, the facts eloquently demonstrate the opposite. The report of the Security Council mission is further proof that the sovereignty and territorial integrity of an independent African State Member of the United Nations, Senegal, are being constantly violated and threatened by Portugal. The representatives who have spoken here in the Council have already referred to the relevant sections of the report of the Special Mission of the Security Council. The Soviet delegation would merely like to stress the most important of these, and above all the fact that the Security Council Mission produced facts which show conclusively that responsibility for the acts of violence and destruction and for the acts of aggression on Senegalese territory rests squarely with Portugal.

35. The Security Council Mission also came to the conclusion that the acts of violence and destruction by the Portuguese forces are a consequence, as is stated in the report, of a "special situation" which has been brought about by the Portuguese colonialists in Guinea (Bissau) and which is contrary to the United Nations Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. The presence of Portugal and of its troops in Guinea (Bissau) is an illegal international act and represents a violation by Portuguese colonialism of United Nations decisions on decolonization. At the same time, the Council should bear in mind when considering this problem the fact that the legality of the just struggle of peoples for their national liberation and independence has been proclaimed and recognized by the United Nations and repeatedly confirmed by General Assembly resolutions, including the resolutions adopted at the twenty-fifth anniversary session of the General Assembly.

36. Portugal, which is economically weak, would not be able to carry on colonial wars without the support of the NATO countries. The provocation against Senegal is part of a general plan of the imperialist forces to create a base from which to do battle against independent countries and national liberation movements in Africa.

37. Portugal, in spite and in violation of United Nations decisions, continues to maintain large colonial possessions on the African continent. Today, with the colonial system collapsing everywhere in the world, Lisbon still holds colonial sway over more than 2 million square kilometres of African soil. Portugal maintains an army of 150,000 men in Africa. The blood of African patriots, of fighters for the freedom and independence of their peoples, continues to flow. The Portuguese colonialists are waging wars of annihilation against the peoples of Angola, Mozambique and Guinea (Bissau), who are defending their legitimate rights. These colonial wars, as has frequently been pointed out by African countries, are increasingly turning into wars waged by Portugal against independent African States. International imperialism and colonialism are deliberately bringing Portugal, alongside the Republic of South Africa,

to the forefront of the struggle against the national liberation movement in Africa. By instigating and supporting Portugal's colonial wars, by involving the Portuguese colonialists more and more deeply in armed conflicts with sovereign States in Africa, imperialism and colonialism are attempting to create a barrier to the national liberation movement of the African peoples, to prevent the decolonization of southern Africa, and to maintain on the African continent a colonialist, racist strategic base against independent Africa.

38. The policy of imperialism, colonialism and racism in southern Africa is countered by the growing unity of the African States and peoples, whose goal is the elimination of the last vestiges of colonialism on African soil. The position of the African countries is widely supported by the United Nations and by an overwhelming majority of States and peoples, who have taken a firm stand in favour of the immediate elimination of the remaining centres of colonialism in the world.

39. As we have frequently pointed out, the Soviet Union's approach to the question under discussion is based on its fundamental policy of giving consistent support to peoples fighting for their national liberation against imperialism, colonialism and racism. That position was clearly and accurately reflected in the programme for the struggle for peace, international co-operation, and the freedom and independence of peoples which was recently approved by the twenty-fourth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. This programme contains a demand for the prompt and full implementation of United Nations decisions on the elimination of remaining colonial régimes, for universal condemnation and boycotting of racism and *apartheid* in all their forms and manifestations. Constantly guided by this programme, the Soviet Union, pursuing a policy of peace and friendship between peoples, will continue to carry on a resolute struggle against imperialism and colonialism, to aid peoples fighting for their national freedom and independence against imperialist and colonialist aggression, and to administer a rebuff to the intrigues and diversionary manoeuvres of the aggressors.

40. Further clear proof of the fundamental policy of the Soviet Union, which calls for supporting the struggle of all peoples and revolutionary forces against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism and for peace and international co-operation, was provided by the plenum of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union which recently ended in Moscow. In the plenum's resolution of 23 November 1971 on the international activity of the Central Committee following the twenty-fourth Congress, it is emphasized that:

"The consistent Leninist foreign policy of the Party and Soviet Government, in which a firm rebuff to imperialism and support for the revolutionary liberation movement are unwaveringly combined with a consistent policy of peaceful coexistence of States with different social systems, has won the Soviet Union great authority in world affairs, has helped to strengthen the international position of socialism and of all progressive forces, and has played a major role in changing the international situation in a manner favourable to peace and the security of peoples."

41. The plenum notes with satisfaction that the foreign policy position of the Central Committee meets with complete understanding and unanimous support from all communists and from the Soviet people as a whole. Therein lies the principal strength of the entire international policy of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. This fresh, clear confirmation of the class and revolutionary character of the Leninist foreign policy of the Soviet Union is the best answer to all slanderous fabrications and speculations to the effect that the policy of the Soviet Union is not determined by the socialist, class character of the socio-economic structure of the Soviet State but by other factors which have nothing in common with a Marxist-Leninist scientific analysis of the domestic and foreign policy of States and assessment of the contemporary international situation.

42. The Soviet delegation supports the recommendation of the Special Mission of the Security Council that the Council should take all necessary steps to ensure that Portugal will respect and fully implement the recommendations of the Mission. Effective steps should be taken to end, promptly and decisively, the acts of aggression of the Portuguese colonialists who are encroaching on the sovereignty and independence of Senegal and other African countries. The security and independence of African States and, consequently, peace and security on the African continent as a whole can be consolidated only if Portugal's colonial wars against the peoples of Angola, Mozambique and Guinea (Bissau) are brought to an immediate end and if all those peoples are granted their freedom and national independence without further delay in accordance with the requirements of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples.

43. Mr. BUSH (United States of America): I should first like to join my colleagues in expressing appreciation for the efforts of the Special Mission and its members, and I should like in particular to commend its Chairman, the representative of Nicaragua, not only for the manner in which he directed this important task, but also for the leadership he gave the Security Council through many difficult periods of consultation as its President. He distinguished himself and he distinguished the Security Council. The Mission's assignment was clearly not an easy one, and it was made more difficult by the limits imposed on the scope of its investigation by circumstances beyond its control or beyond the control of this Council.

44. My Government has consistently urged that this Council seek to establish the fact of any complaint which may be brought to it before attempting to pass judgement on the situation or to take measures aimed at resolving the problem which may exist. Consistent with that position my Government, at an early stage in the discussions of the present complaint brought by Senegal, supported the concept of a Special Mission which would go to the scene and examine all the pertinent facts. Despite the reservations which we had concerning other aspects of Security Council resolution 294 (1971), we made clear our support for the concept of a special mission by requesting a separate paragraph vote on that paragraph and voting in favour of it.

45. We have examined the report submitted by the Special Mission. We have certain reservations about it but in general

we support the spirit which animated its drafters and many of its specific aspects. Similarly, we support those aspects of the draft resolution which are consistent with that spirit. We agree that the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Senegal should be fully respected and that acts of violence and destruction along the border of Senegal should cease. We are in accord that the Government of Portugal should fully respect the right to self-determination of the people of Guinea (Bissau) and that it should take the necessary measures so that that right can be exercised without undue delay. In this connexion, however, we do not believe the Council should decide in advance the choice that the people of that Territory must make when that right is exercised, nor should we ignore the practical problems which may have to be overcome before it is possible. Like the rest of the Council, we are deeply concerned at the climate of insecurity and instability in the area.

46. At the same time, we believe that this draft resolution does not do sufficient justice to the care that members of the Special Mission took in drafting their report. We call attention to the fact that the Special Mission was careful to point out the hearsay nature of much of the evidence which it considered and to avoid approaching the situation with preconceived conclusions. We are struck by the fact that the Mission was unable to determine the responsibility for the mine-laying incidents which were the initial cause of the present Senegalese complaint to the Council. The conclusions which the Mission did reach are expressed with due caution consistent with the absence, in many cases, of concrete evidence and the incomplete nature of the investigation.

47. It is precisely this incompleteness and, frankly, one-sidedness which we find troublesome in this draft resolution. Both the report and the draft resolution note that the Special Mission was unable to implement fully its mandate. We join in deploring the lack of co-operation of the Government of Portugal which prevented the Mission from completing its task. What the outcome of a broader investigation would have been we simply cannot say. But the report would have been able to take a more complete view of the situation and would, in the opinion of our delegation, have been in a better position to assist this Council in making a constructive contribution to the solution of this problem.

48. In turn the draft resolution we are considering makes no effort to overcome the obstacle admittedly put in the way of the Special Mission in order to take into account all the factors involved in the tension which we all know exists in the region. It shares a deficiency we have noted with respect to earlier resolutions dealing with comparable incidents elsewhere in the world of not taking into account the role which the use of sanctuaries by insurgent groups plays in the creation of border tensions.

49. Finally, we wonder about the contribution that the present draft resolution will make to ensuring "prerequisites for eliminating the causes of tension in the region and creating an atmosphere of trust, peace and security".

50. My delegation examined the possibility of proposing the establishment of a commission acceptable to all parties

which might be in a position to investigate border incidents and to report periodically to the Security Council on such questions as progress toward self-determination in Guinea (Bissau) and other elements which could lead to a satisfactory settlement in the region. From our discussions with other delegations it appeared that such a proposal could not receive sufficient support at this time, but it seems to my delegation that this is the kind of further step which would be consistent with recommendations of the Special Mission's report.

51. As it has so often done in the past, the Council has been considering incidents after they occurred, after the damage has been done. It would be preferable if, through the establishment of such a commission or other appropriate means, this Council could act to prevent incidents and disputes arising from them. The United States will lend its best efforts to co-operate with other members to this end.

52. The representative of Argentina has asked a question about reporting; we should like to have the answer to that question.

53. Amendments have been circulating among members of the Council and the United States Government is very much interested in some of them. In the light of this, and in the light of the fact that we should like to have a small amount of additional time to consider possible amendments or to discuss with our colleagues questions that have been raised privately and one raised publicly here in this meeting, I should like to make a suggestion. I should like to suggest to our colleagues on the Council that after the conclusion of the speeches this morning we have a modest adjournment until this afternoon, perhaps until three o'clock—or whatever hour would suit the President—to give some of us a chance to discuss amendments to the draft resolution that we may wish to suggest and to give us a little more time to consider it. When my delegation came to the meeting yesterday we did not have the draft resolution; we received it at yesterday's meeting. I understand some of the procedural problems involved in producing draft resolutions, but I hope that our colleagues on this Council will agree to allow a very short period of time during which we may consider some of the amendments or some of the questions that have been raised in the debate here this morning.

54. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): Members of the Council have heard the suggestion that has just been made by the representative of the United States.

55. Consulting my list, I note that the delegation of Poland wishes to speak. Thus, if the Council will permit me to do so, I shall now speak as representative of POLAND, after which we might revert to the suggestion that has been made.

56. On behalf of the representative of Poland, I should like to express the views of my delegation in regard to the report of the Special Mission that went to Senegal under the chairmanship of our colleague Mr. Sevilla-Sacasa. The document is a cautious one, the result of lengthy consultations and meetings and couched in plain, measured word-

ing. It is very difficult for me to be brief when commenting upon it, but I shall endeavour to limit myself to the remarks which my delegation considers to be essential.

57. The first over-all conclusion from the account given by the Special Mission is that the attitude of Portugal was totally negative. Its refusal to co-operate with the Mission is clear from beginning to end, from the letter of the Chargé d'Affaires *ad interim* of Portugal of 24 July 1971 [see S/10284] up to the letter of the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Portugal dated 29 September 1971 [S/10343]. Before the Mission even started, Portugal rejected any conclusion which it might arrive at. When such conclusions were unanimously drawn up by a Mission composed of six members of the Security Council representing every continent of the world, Portugal rejected them as contrary to the facts and "bizarre" by advancing the argument—which is really bizarre—that the Portuguese authorities of Guinea (Bissau) simply exercised the legitimate right to self-defence. Thus, in the opinion of my delegation, the lack of courtesy towards the Special Mission of the Council was accompanied by an insult to the intelligence of the members of the Council as an entity. What is more, even during its stay in Senegal the Special Mission was confronted by a series of incidents, with absolutely every indication that they were caused by the Portuguese forces of Guinea (Bissau), incidents which the Special Mission described in its report as implying a defiance of the Security Council: negativism and defiance, therefore, on the part of Portugal, which is totally contrary to the complete co-operation and assistance of the Government of Senegal—to which I wish to pay tribute once again. It is also totally contrary to the active co-operation of the leader of the African movement for the liberation of Guinea (Bissau) and the Cape Verde Islands, Mr. Amílcar Cabral, whose statements, sincerity and intellectual qualities made so great an impression on the members of the Mission.

58. The negative attitude of the Government of Portugal, which the Special Mission, diplomatically, merely "strongly deplores" in paragraph 122, narrowed down the field of action of the Mission to some extent. Nevertheless, it did not prevent it from finding "the indications such as to designate the Portuguese authorities in Guinea (Bissau) as responsible" for the acts of violence and destruction in the territory of Senegal, such as attacks, bombings, placing of mines, destruction of villages and so on. The Council will note that to give a general description of these acts the Special Mission used the exact wording of resolution 294 (1971) of the Council, which proves once again the extreme prudence with which it drafted its report. It is precisely these conclusions which Portugal attacks as being contrary to the facts and bizarre.

59. This conclusion leads me to another general observation that flows from the conclusion contained in paragraph 127, which describes all these armed attacks and acts of violence and destruction as a consequence of the special situation prevailing in Guinea (Bissau), a situation which "is in contradiction to the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples". In other words, they are the result of the colonial situation in Guinea (Bissau), the result of the colonial war waged by Portugal against the people of Guinea (Bissau), a colonial

war which was so aptly described to the Mission by the representatives of the Government of Senegal and in particular by the Secretary-General of PAIGC, Mr. Amílcar Cabral. To attempt to present this colonial war as the exercise of the legitimate right of self-defence of Portugal guaranteed by Article 51 of the United Nations Charter, as Portugal does in the letter contained in document S/10343, is, as I have already said, an insult to the intelligence of the members of the Council. In this theory, which claims to draw its source from the Charter to deny the fundamental principles and purposes of the United Nations and of the Charter itself, there is but an additional proof of the constancy of Portugal in defying the United Nations, because, if there exists any legitimate right it is that of the people of Guinea (Bissau) to independence. If there exist legitimate rights, they are those of Member States of the United Nations to bring moral and material aid to the people of Guinea (Bissau) in their struggle to bring about their independence from any colonial subjection. If there is any legitimate duty, it is that of Portugal to put an end immediately to the colonial war which it is waging against the people of Guinea (Bissau); it is to recognize immediately and in practice its right to independence. Finally, if there are legitimate duties, they are not to render any assistance which might strengthen the colonial presence of Portugal in Guinea (Bissau) and the war which Portugal wages against the people of Guinea (Bissau).

60. I come now to my fourth observation, which is based on the conclusion of the Special Mission contained in paragraph 123, namely, that "the recurrent armed attacks against Senegal . . . are fraught with a threat to peace and security in the region". In my opinion, that is a conclusion of major importance.

61. Let us recall that already last year the Special Mission of the Security Council, which went to the Republic of Guinea and of which I had the honour to be a member, unanimously concluded that Portugal was directly responsible for the armed invasion of the territory of the Republic of Guinea. The Security Council, in its resolution 290 (1970), while strongly condemning the Government of Portugal for its invasion of the Republic of Guinea, declared "that the presence of Portuguese colonialism on the African continent is a serious threat to the peace and security of independent African States". That general observation applies in particular to Guinea (Bissau), where internal repression is accompanied by active hostility and external armed attacks against independent African States, as is amply demonstrated by the complaints of the Republic of Senegal and the Republic of Guinea.

62. The Special Mission of the Security Council in its report fully confirms the soundness of these views by describing the acts of violence and destruction against Senegal as being a consequence of the refusal of Portugal to permit the people of Guinea (Bissau) to exercise without delay its inalienable right to self-determination and independence. I am referring to paragraph 128 of the report.

63. That leads me to the conclusions of my delegation. In our opinion, there can be no doubt that these conclusions must be based on the following minimum points. First, Portugal must be firmly appraised of our condemnation of

its repeated acts of aggression against Senegal, and this all the more forcefully since these acts of aggression are continuing, as proved by the information recently submitted to us by the Government of Senegal. Portugal must also be warned to put an end immediately to its acts of aggression, as requested by the Special Mission in its report. Secondly, as the threat to peace and security which weighs over the region is the result of the existence of the Portuguese colonial bastion and the colonial war it is waging against the peoples of that area, we must ensure that that colonial bastion is eliminated and also guarantee the right of the people of Guinea (Bissau) to self-determination and independence and the right of the neighbouring peoples to security and complete respect for their territorial integrity. Thirdly, Portugal must be persuaded of the Council's determination to apply these measures. I am sure that that is the only way to make the Government of Portugal finally realize that its colonialist concepts are definitely obsolete. That is why my delegation considers that it is necessary for the Council to continue to be seized of the problem with a view to implementing its objectives.

64. It is in that spirit that my delegation will vote in favour of the draft resolution submitted by Burundi, Sierra Leone and Somalia.

65. Mr. KOSCIUSKO-MORIZET (France) (*interpretation from French*): Without passing judgement on the various points made by our United States colleague, I think that the lateness of the hour and courtesy dictate that we should defer to the wish he expressed that we should postpone to this afternoon the continuation of the discussion. Moreover, the representative of Argentina has also made some interesting suggestions. In any case, I think that agreement could be readily achieved—agreement for which the African representatives hope and for which the representative of Senegal expressed a desire yesterday. I say this all the more freely since, for our part, we are in favour of this draft resolution, subject only to one reservation—but on that point too, I believe that things can be worked out. Accordingly, I support the proposal of the representative of the United States to postpone our discussion until this afternoon. As the delay is not long, we should not display too much impatience in this connexion.

66. Mr. TERENCE (Burundi) (*interpretation from French*): I should like to comment on the proposals that have been made. In chronological order, I shall start with that of the representative of Argentina. As my delegation formed part of the Special Mission that was sent to Senegal, we feel that a few words recognizing the merits of the Special Mission would only express the dedication with which the members of that mission carried out their responsibilities—and that of course also represents the feelings of the other sponsors. I am thinking especially of Mr. Sevilla-Sacasa, who presided over the team sent to Senegal by the Security Council. Once again, by coincidence or through the same magical power that I mentioned yesterday, Mr. Sevilla-Sacasa seems destined to be concerned with African problems. I hope that he will continue to do so to the extent possible. Africa will be grateful to him for that.

67. The representative of Argentina raised another point, concerning operative paragraph 7 of the draft resolution,

relating to whether the report should be presented by the Secretary-General alone or by the President alone. Following the consultations which we have carried out, we have come out in favour rather of a joint report to be presented by the President of the Council and the Secretary-General.

68. Lastly, I should like to refer to the proposal to postpone the vote until this afternoon. Of course, the sponsors and, I am sure, the representative of Senegal as well, would have preferred the vote to take place this morning. Nevertheless, bearing in mind the concern that guides all of us and being aware that the Security Council assumes collective responsibility—although we Africans are the most directly affected—we welcome all proposals designed to bring about the best possible solution for all concerned. We therefore think that the proposal to have the vote taken this afternoon rather than this morning was made with the object of improving the present situation and of reaching unanimous agreement during the vote to be taken in the Security Council this afternoon. That is why the sponsors of the draft resolution, of whom I am one, accept the postponement of the vote until this afternoon. We would nevertheless like to make an appeal to all the members of the Security Council that the vote should in fact be taken this afternoon and not later.

69. Mr. MALIK (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*translated from Russian*): I do not understand the question at issue. The point is that the debate is continuing, and voting usually starts after the debate. The debate has not been concluded. A number of delegations have not yet spoken, and presumably they intend to speak. We still have 10 minutes left before 1 p.m., and that is enough time for one speaker at most. Obviously, then, we will have to hold a second meeting, and thus the question of voting does not arise at present. If the representatives of Argentina or the United States have amendments, let them submit them formally, in writing, and we shall consider them. It is difficult to understand the substance of those amendments, and to vote on them, simply after listening to them.

70. Therefore, if there are any further speakers on the list, they should be given the floor and allowed to speak. Then, let us reconvene at 3 p.m., continue the debate if there are any other speakers, and if there are not, we can proceed to a vote. I consider that the question of voting has been raised prematurely and without sufficient justification.

71. Mr. BUSH (United States of America): I should like to clarify my request. I thought that perhaps the list of speakers had been exhausted. As to the amendments that I was referring to, I do not know whether anybody planned to present them formally or was trying to garner support for them, but certainly I concur with Ambassador Malik. All I was suggesting was that we could very usefully employ the two hours between now and the reconvening of the Council at 3 o'clock. I did not mean to suggest anything out of the ordinary.

72. In response to our colleague from Burundi, I certainly would concur that the Council should conclude its business. I am hopeful that in this period between now and 3 o'clock we might find ways to answer some of the problems that I raised in my statement. Certainly, I did not want to suggest

anything out of the ordinary or to keep anyone from speaking or anything of that nature.

73. Mr. ORTIZ DE ROZAS (Argentina) (*interpretation from Spanish*): I fear that either the interpretation into Russian was not quite accurate or perhaps the representative of the Soviet Union did not understand me, or did not listen carefully to me. I did not propose an amendment. I suggested first that we express appreciation of the work done by the Special Mission. That was merely a suggestion which is not very difficult to understand or to grasp and which does not have to be written down on paper in order for its meaning or its purport to be understood. Secondly, all I did was to ask for a clarification, and the representative of Burundi replied to that. Thirdly, I did not ask for any postponement of the vote nor did I raise any question regarding procedure.

74. Mr. TERENCE (Burundi) (*interpretation from French*): In the interest of further clarification, I would point out that we spoke after the President because it appeared to us that the list of speakers for this morning had been exhausted. So we fully support the proposal of Ambassador Malik that the debate should continue, if there are any speakers on the list.

75. On the other hand, as we understood it, the proposal of the United States and France was designed to make it possible for certain other consultations to take place which might smooth out some of the existing difficulties. That is why we thought that we were the last to speak, because there were no other speakers on the list.

76. In short, if there are further speakers we shall be very happy to hear them. If there are none, it is agreeable to the sponsors that, in accordance with the formal request made by the United States and France, the vote should be postponed until this afternoon.

77. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): I have a few delegations on my list of speakers which wish to

explain their vote on the draft resolution. If they wish to do so now, I shall call on them, of course, but I should like to point out that it is 1 o'clock and that therefore the normal time for our adjournment has come. If any representative wishes to speak now, I shall, of course, call on him with pleasure, as it is indeed my duty to do. But, if not, we shall adjourn now and resume at 3.30 this afternoon.

78. Mr. FARAH (Somalia): When we discuss a matter, I think there are three stages: first the debate, then the discussion of the draft resolution and then the vote; but we seem to skip the second stage—the discussion of the draft resolution.

79. Would it not be quite in order that when we have concluded the general debate on the item the draft resolution should then be put before representatives for discussion, so that those who wished to move amendments or to clarify certain points could have the opportunity of doing so? After having completed that stage we would hear explanations of vote before the vote, take the vote and then hear explanations of vote after the vote. But what I find is that representatives take the opportunity of skipping the second phase and go straight on to explain their votes before the vote, without allowing their explanations to be debated.

80. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): I am quite prepared to follow the course proposed by the representative of Somalia for this afternoon, and I shall gladly call on any delegation which wishes to explain its attitude on the draft resolution submitted to the Security Council.

81. Since no one wishes to speak now, I therefore propose, in view of the lateness of the hour, that we adjourn and resume this afternoon at 3.30.

The meeting rose at 1 p.m.

HOW TO OBTAIN UNITED NATIONS PUBLICATIONS

United Nations publications may be obtained from bookstores and distributors throughout the world. Consult your bookstore or write to: United Nations, Sales Section, New York or Geneva.

COMMENT SE PROCURER LES PUBLICATIONS DES NATIONS UNIES

Les publications des Nations Unies sont en vente dans les librairies et les agences dépositaires du monde entier. Informez-vous auprès de votre librairie ou adressez-vous à: Nations Unies, Section des ventes, New York ou Genève.

КАК ПОЛУЧИТЬ ИЗДАНИЯ ОРГАНИЗАЦИИ ОБЪЕДИНЕННЫХ НАЦИЙ

Издания Организации Объединенных Наций можно купить в книжных магазинах и агентствах во всех районах мира. Наводите справки об изданиях в нашем книжном магазине или пишите по адресу: Организация Объединенных Наций, Секция по продаже изданий, Нью-Йорк или Женева.

COMO CONSEGUIR PUBLICACIONES DE LAS NACIONES UNIDAS

Las publicaciones de las Naciones Unidas están en venta en librerías y casas distribuidoras en todas partes del mundo. Consulte a su librero o diríjase a: Naciones Unidas, Sección de Ventas, Nueva York o Ginebra.
