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**1378<sup>th</sup>**

MEETING: 15 NOVEMBER 1967

NEW YORK

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## NOTE

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## THIRTEEN HUNDRED AND SEVENTY-EIGHTH MEETING

Held in New York on Wednesday, 15 November 1967, at 4 p.m.

*President:* Mr. Mamadou Boubacar KANTE (Mali).

*Present:* The representatives of the following States: Argentina, Brazil, Bulgaria, Canada, China, Denmark, Ethiopia, France, India, Japan, Mali, Nigeria, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland and United States of America.

### Provisional agenda (S/Agenda/1378)

1. Adoption of the agenda.
2. Complaints by the Democratic Republic of the Congo:  
Letter dated 3 November 1967 from the Permanent Representative of the Democratic Republic of the Congo addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/8218).

### Adoption of the agenda

*The agenda was adopted.*

### Complaints by the Democratic Republic of the Congo

Letter dated 3 November 1967 from the Permanent Representative of the Democratic Republic of the Congo addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/8218)

1. The PRESIDENT (*translated from French*): In accordance with the decision taken at the 1372nd meeting, I propose, with the consent of the Council, to invite the representatives of the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Portugal, Burundi, Zambia and Algeria to participate without vote in the discussion and to take the places reserved for them.

*At the invitation of the President, Mr. J. Umba di Lutete (Democratic Republic of the Congo) and Mr. F. de Miranda (Portugal) took places at the Council table.*

*At the invitation of the President, Mr. T. Nsanzé (Burundi), Mr. J. B. Mwemba (Zambia) and Mr. A. Ben Kaci (Algeria) took the seats reserved for them.*

2. The PRESIDENT (*translated from French*): I am pleased to inform the Council that following informal consultations a consensus has been reached on the text of a draft resolution, which I shall read out. However, one member of the Council has reserved the right to make

observations on one particular paragraph. The text of the draft resolution reads as follows:

*"The Security Council,*

*"Concerned by the serious situation created in the Democratic Republic of the Congo following the armed attacks committed against that country by foreign forces of mercenaries,*

*"Concerned that Portugal allowed those mercenaries to use the territory of Angola under its administration as a base for their armed attacks against the Democratic Republic of the Congo,*

*"Taking into consideration the support and assistance that those mercenaries have continued to receive from some foreign sources with regard to recruitment and training, as well as transport and supply of arms,*

*"Concerned at the threat which the organization of such forces poses to the territorial integrity and independence of States,*

*"Reaffirming resolutions 226 (1966) of 14 October 1966 and 239 (1967) of 10 July 1967,*

*"1. Condemns any act of interference in the internal affairs of the Democratic Republic of the Congo;*

*"2. Condemns, in particular, the failure of Portugal, in violation of the above-mentioned resolutions of the Security Council, to prevent the mercenaries from using the territory of Angola under its administration as a base of operations for armed attacks against the Democratic Republic of the Congo;*

*"3. Calls upon Portugal to put an end immediately, in conformity with the above-mentioned resolutions of the Security Council, to the provision to the mercenaries of any assistance whatsoever;*

*"4. Calls upon all countries receiving mercenaries who have participated in the armed attacks against the Democratic Republic of the Congo to take appropriate measures to prevent them from renewing their activities against any State;*

*"5. Calls upon all Member States to co-operate with the Security Council in the implementation of this resolution;*

"6. *Decides* that the Security Council should remain seized of the question and requests the Secretary-General to follow the implementation of the present resolution."

If there is no objection, I shall consider the text adopted.

*The draft resolution was adopted.*<sup>1</sup>

3. Mr. DE CARVALHO SILOS (Brazil): I asked for the floor in order to make a statement in connexion with the resolution which has just been accepted by the Security Council.

4. Yesterday I had the opportunity of submitting my delegation's views on the complaint presented by the Democratic Republic of the Congo against Portugal [1376th meeting], so I do not feel that I need elaborate further on the position of my Government. On the other hand, however, my delegation would like to point out that it did not ask for a vote because that was against the wishes of the members of the Council. My delegation does deem it necessary to state, for the record, that if such a vote had been taken, Brazil would have abstained, as we cannot support paragraphs 2 and 3 of the resolution.

5. Mr. MOROZOV (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*translated from Russian*): In connexion with the decision taken by the Security Council, the Soviet delegation deems it necessary to recall that our position of principle on the question of armed intervention in the affairs of the Democratic Republic of the Congo was set out in a statement made in the Security Council on 8 November this year [1372nd meeting]. We now fully confirm that view.

6. Events in the Congo have shown that the forces of colonialism and imperialism do not hesitate to organize open armed aggression against newly-formed African States in order to undermine their sovereignty and territorial integrity, and against the national liberation movement of the Congolese people and of other African peoples.

7. In doing this, the colonialists are still using the Portuguese colonies in Africa as strong points and operational bases for the carrying out of armed provocation against the Congo and other African States. The aggression against the Congo is further evidence of the serious threat to the African peoples posed by the political union of racism and colonialism, with the participation of a number of imperialistic Powers which are active on the African continent.

8. The violation by Portugal of the principles of the United Nations Charter, of the Declaration on the Inadmissibility of Intervention in the Domestic Affairs of States and the Protection of Their Independence and Sovereignty, and of the sovereignty of the Democratic Republic of the Congo is so obvious that even those Western countries which are allies of Portugal in NATO, and support the Lisbon regime's colonialist policy in Africa have found themselves obliged here in the Security Council to dissociate themselves, in words at least, from Portugal's activities in the Congo. It is a secret to no one, however,

that the same Western countries did not wish, during discussion of the Congolese complaints in the Security Council, to support the proposal that the Council should express its condemnation of Portugal in the most decisive manner.

9. The Soviet delegation reiterates its firm support of the demands made by the Democratic Republic of the Congo and other African States for the condemnation of the criminal activities of the forces of colonialism and imperialism, and in particular of the Lisbon Government's activities against the Congo.

10. The Soviet delegation considered, and still considers, that the Security Council should duly call upon all States which are allies of Portugal in NATO and which give military and political support to the Lisbon régime, thus bearing responsibility for the intervention in the affairs of the Congo, to observe strictly the principles of the United Nations Charter, the United Nations Declaration on the Inadmissibility of Intervention in the Domestic Affairs of States and the Protection of Their Independence and Sovereignty, and to respect the sovereignty and independence of newly-formed African States.

11. With regard to the resolution adopted by the Security Council as a result of consultations between members of the Council, we deem it necessary to point out that although this draft does contain some form of condemnation of Portugal's intervention in the affairs of the Congo, it does not go far enough. It is clear to anyone for what reason and because of whose position the Security Council has been unable to reach agreement on a more specific condemnation in respect of those guilty of aggression against the Congo, and on the adoption of more effective measures to prevent a repetition of such acts in the future.

12. Considering, however, that the draft presented by the President of the Security Council can to a certain extent serve to put an end to foreign intervention in the domestic affairs of the Democratic Republic of the Congo, and in view also of the position taken in the Council by the representatives of the Afro-Asian countries and the opinion expressed by the representative of the Democratic Republic of the Congo, the Soviet delegation has found it possible to support this draft resolution.

13. The PRESIDENT (*translated from French*): I now call upon the representative of the Democratic Republic of the Congo, who wishes to make a statement.

14. Mr. UMBA DI LUTETE (Democratic Republic of the Congo) (*translated from French*): I should like to make a brief statement before I leave a few hours from now.

15. On behalf of my Government, I should like to thank the members of the Council for the resolution they have just adopted. The Council showed just now how earnestly it wishes to see peace and security in my country. It has likewise shown that it is concerned for the territorial integrity of my country.

16. In thanking the members of the Council here, I do so not only in my own name and that of my delegation, not

<sup>1</sup> See resolution 241 (1967).

only on behalf of the Government and people of the Democratic Republic of the Congo, but also in the name of the whole population of the Congo, whether Congolese or foreign, whose persons or property have suffered as a result of the machinations and misdeeds of the mercenaries. For there has been loss of life not only among the soldiers of the Congolese national army, not only among the Congolese civilian population, not only among the foreign civilian population, but among the mercenaries themselves—for after all, even though they are highwaymen, they are human beings. Perhaps here in this very hall there are people with members of their own families in the ranks of the mercenaries. There is no telling whether the representative of Portugal has not members of his family among them; I apologize for going back somewhat, but despite his denials, it appears that the Belgian authorities apprehended four mercenaries who had used false passports, and among them was a Portuguese—which contradicts everything the representative of Portugal has said. But this is a secondary aspect of the question.

17. What I wanted to do most of all at this time was to express my gratitude, and I repeat, that of the Government and people of the Congo and of all foreigners who have lost their property, or lost members of their families.

18. Secondly, as I said in my statement on Friday last [1374th meeting], the resolution, whatever its tenor, is in the last analysis simply a means; it is not an end in itself, though it may be a necessary step. What I asked of the members of this Council was that the Council should take steps calculated to safeguard peace and security in my country. I am happy, in any case, that even if it is only a means it has been achieved.

19. For the danger does still exist. Congratulations have been expressed here on all sides to the Congolese national army on having stemmed the tide of the mercenaries; but the mercenaries themselves have said that they will come back, that it is only a temporary lull. What I would now ask of the members of the Council who have voted for this resolution, and of all the Members of the United Nations, is that they use their influence, perhaps in a direct way, with Portugal to bring these misdeeds to an end, for that is what the entire international community today recognizes them to be.

20. In this connexion, I should never forgive myself if I failed to mention the courageous representations made by certain Governments to the Government of Portugal. There is no need for me to mention them here; everyone knows of them, and I would like here and now to express our deepest gratitude.

21. What is needed, of course, is not simply a condemnation of the mercenaries. They must be condemned, but so also must their masters, for the mercenaries are hired killers, mere tools, and those who back them, those who pay them to do their work, are just as guilty as the mercenaries they make use of. Thus it is not enough merely to put down the mercenaries, the hirelings. Those who hire them and seek to use them to bring devastation and death to our country must also be put down.

22. This is all I wished to say. I thank the members of the Council for their kind attention. Once again, thank you.

23. The PRESIDENT (*translated from French*): On behalf of the members of the Council I thank the representative of the Democratic Republic of the Congo for the compliments he has just paid the Council.

24. I call upon the representative of Portugal, who wishes to make a statement.

25. Mr. DE MIRANDA (Portugal): The resolution which the Council has just adopted by consensus is wholly unacceptable to my Government since it contains entirely unwarranted references to Portugal. My Government strongly repudiates it and rejects its implications, particularly those contained in the second preambular paragraph which are not only gratuitous and baseless but also unjust and uncalled for in view of our offer to have the matter investigated by the Council. My Government likewise rejects paragraphs 2 and 3.

26. Accordingly, my delegation wishes to place on record the strong reservations of the Portuguese Government regarding this resolution.

*The meeting rose at 4.55 p.m.*

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