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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.

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FIFTEEN HUNDRED AND FIFTY-EIGHTH MEETING

Held in New York on Sunday, 22 November 1970, at 6 p.m.

President: Mr. George J. TOMEH (Syria).

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/1558)

1. Adoption of the agenda.

2. Complaint by Guinea:

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).

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

Complaint by Guinea

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)

1. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): I have just received written requests from the representatives of Guinea [S/9991], Senegal [S/9992], Mali [S/9993], Saudi Arabia [S/9994] and Mauritania [S/9995] to be allowed to participate in the Council's debate on the question before it.

2. If I hear no objection, I shall take it that the Council agrees to invite the aforementioned representatives to participate in the debate without the right to vote in accordance with the Council's rules of procedure and its practice.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. A. Touré (Guinea) took a place at the Council table.

3. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): In view of the fact that the number of seats available at the Council table is limited and in accordance with the practice of the Council, I invite the representatives of Senegal, Mali, Saudi Arabia and Mauritania to take the seats reserved for them at the side of the Council Chamber, with the understanding that they will be

invited to sit at the Council table when the time comes for them to address the Council.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. I. Boye (Senegal), Mr. G. Sow (Mali), Mr. J. M. Baroody (Saudi Arabia) and Mr. S. A. Ould Taya (Mauritania) took the places reserved for them.

4. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): I should like to draw the attention of members of the Council to the letter of the Chargé d'affaires of Portugal, which has been circulated as Security Council document S/9989.

5. The Council is meeting today on the request of Guinea, whose letter has been circulated as document S/9987.

6. Before the Council begins its consideration of the item on its agenda, I call on the Secretary-General to make a statement.

7. The SECRETARY-GENERAL: At approximately 12.15 p.m. today I received a telephone call from the representative of Guinea informing me that he had received an urgent message from President Ahmed Sekou Touré of Guinea addressed to me. I asked him to be good enough to deliver the message to me as soon as possible and he came to my residence at 2 p.m. and delivered the message.

The message reads as follows:

"The Government of the Republic of Guinea informs the Secretary-General of the United Nations that Guinean national territory was the object of armed aggression by Portuguese forces this morning at about 2 a.m. Landing craft, violating our territorial waters, landed mercenary commando troops at several points in Conakry, capital of the Republic of Guinea, and carried out cowardly bombing of several points of the town. Thanks to the immediate reaction of the National Army and the population, this treacherous attack has been checked. However, the Government, whose sacred rights as a sovereign State Member of the United Nations have been violated, requests the immediate intervention of airborne troops of the United Nations with a view, in co-operation with our National Army, to reducing the last positions held by Portuguese mercenaries and to driving the vessels of the aggressors from our territorial waters. The Guinean Government is certain that the United Nations will respond to its

appeal without delay in order to put an end to this unjustifiable armed aggression carried out in disregard of our sovereignty and territorial integrity and the basic principles of the Charter. The United Nations obviously cannot remain indifferent before this clear-cut violation of international peace and security." [S/9988.]

8. The representative of Guinea also informed me that it was his Government's earnest desire to request an urgent meeting of the Security Council to consider this matter.

9. I advised him to see the President of the Security Council immediately and informed the President myself of the message from the President of Guinea and also the earnest desire of the Government of Guinea to request an urgent meeting of the Security Council. You, Mr. President, informed me that you would immediately consult the members of the Security Council with a view to the convening of the Council meeting late this evening.

10. At 5.30 p.m. today, I received the following message from the United Nations Development Programme Resident Representative in Conakry addressed to Mr. Paul Hoffman, Administrator of the United Nations Development Programme. The message reads as follows:

"Kindly inform U Thant at the request of Government confirm at 2 a.m. local time debarkment of external forces described by Government as Portuguese took place in Conakry. Have seen personally four debarkment ships and fighters flying over the city. Due to heavy shooting around my own residence I cannot visit United Nations personnel. Situation very serious justifying your personal consideration."

11. At 7.30 p.m. I received the following cabled message from the President of Guinea:

"Following clear aggression of which the Republic of Guinea is victim since two o'clock this morning by Portugal which has landed European and African mercenaries at Conakry I have the honour to ask you to convene urgently Security Council in order to examine this grave situation which endangers peace and world security. Your urgent reply would oblige us."

12. At 8 p.m. I sent the following cabled message to the President of Guinea:

"Upon receipt of your cable through the Permanent Representative of Guinea to United Nations, steps were urgently taken to convene the meeting of the Security Council this evening, 22 November. I have just received your second cable asking me to convene urgent meeting of the Security Council and I wish you to know that the Council is about to meet to consider the serious matters raised in your messages. I shall cable you any decision taken by the Council. Highest consideration."

13. That is all I have to report for the moment.

14. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): I now call on the first speaker on my list, the representative of Guinea.

15. Mr. TOURE (Guinea) (*interpretation from French*): The Republic of Guinea is at this moment going through a very difficult time. The Security Council will recall that after Zambia, Congo (Kinshasa) and Senegal, the Republic of Guinea on 22 December 1969 brought a complaint before it against the Government of Portugal for violations of its territory, its waters, its air space, and for having seized an aeroplane, a civilian ship, and the crews.

16. Once again this year, in the debate in the General Assembly, the head of the Guinean delegation, the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, comrade, stated:

"Assured of the support of its . . . protectors and convinced of the ineffectiveness of the United Nations, Portugal continues deliberately to violate the Charter and the resolutions of this international Organization. This being the case, African countries like the Republic of Guinea have repeatedly brought to the attention of the United Nations violations by Portuguese forces of their national territory, their air space and their territorial waters.

"We bring now to the attention of world public opinion the military and psychological preparations now under way in Guinea (Bissau) against the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Guinea. Those preparations which are taking place in special training camps in Guinea (Bissau) include the military training of stateless Africans in the pay of imperialism and white mercenaries for the purpose of invading the national territory of Guinea.

"All those diabolical and Machiavellian plans being hatched by imperialism are designed to curb and jeopardize the economic and social development of Guinea, . . . [undertaken by the Revolutionary People's Government of the Republic of Guinea]. We repeat that the violation of our air space by Portuguese military aircraft happens all the time. The most recent incident took place on Saturday, 19 September 1970, at 1615 hours GMT, in the administrative regions of Boké in lower Guinea and Labé in mid-Guinea, along the river Komba."

17. Moreover, as recently as last month about thirty mercenaries acting against Guinea, in the pay of Portuguese colonialists, were arrested and sentenced by the brother Government of Gambia for subversion as these mercenaries were preparing to invade Guinea from Gambia. At the present time these persons opposed to Guinea are serving their sentences in Gambian prisons.

18. This morning, at 2 a.m. GMT, the national territory of the Republic of Guinea was the object of aggres-

¹ Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-fifth Session, Plenary Meetings, 1859th meeting, paras. 53-55.

sion, armed aggression, premeditated and perpetrated by Portuguese colonial forces. Warships, violating Guinean territorial waters, landed mercenaries at several points in the capital.

19. In the face of this grave situation, the President of the Republic of Guinea addressed to the Secretary-General of the United Nations the message which he has just read out and which I would like to read again for the benefit of the Security Council. The message is worded as follows:

"The Government of the Republic of Guinea informs the Secretary-General of the United Nations that Guinean national territory was the object of armed aggression by Portuguese forces this morning at about 2 a.m. Landing craft, violating our territorial waters, landed mercenary commando troops at several points in Conakry, capital of the Republic of Guinea, and carried out cowardly bombing of several points of the town. Thanks to the immediate reaction of the National Army and the population, this treacherous attack has been checked. However, the Government, whose sacred rights as a sovereign State Member of the United Nations have been violated, requests the immediate intervention of airborne troops of the United Nations with a view, in co-operation with our National Army, to reducing the last positions held by Portuguese mercenaries and to driving the vessels of the aggressors from our territorial waters. The Guinean Government is certain that the United Nations will respond to its appeal without delay in order to put an end to this unjustifiable armed aggression carried out in disregard of our sovereignty and territorial integrity and the basic principles of the Charter. The United Nations obviously cannot remain indifferent before this clear-cut violation of international peace and security."

20. Press reports specify, furthermore, that these mercenaries, who were trying to overthrow the popular Guinean Government by sowing death and destruction everywhere, left Guinea (Bissau) on ten Portuguese ships militarily equipped for this purpose.

21. There has been continued fighting since last night. One Portuguese mercenary captured by the Guinean army, whose name is Captain Ambroise Fernando, admitted that each mercenary had received from the Portuguese Government the sum of 1 million escudos.

22. In view of this serious violation of peace and security, the Guinean Government requests that United Nations air-borne troops be sent immediately to strengthen the national army.

23. The United Nations—and all justice and peace-loving countries—cannot remain indifferent to this serious situation which has such grave implications. We are sure that the United Nations will without delay heed the appeal of the Guinean Government and put an end to this clear-cut act of aggression which tramples underfoot the sovereignty and territorial integrity of

the Republic of Guinea as well as the fundamental principles of the United Nations Charter.

24. As this debate gets under way and without trying, of course, to anticipate how it will proceed, may I be allowed to say that the people of Guinea and the party representing the masses, standing as one by its unchallenged leader, President Ahmed Sekou Touré, are confident that the Security Council will do everything that it must, everything that is requested of it.

25. We should like to bring to your attention that the Security Council should demand the immediate cessation of aggression against the Republic of Guinea; that the Security Council should demand the immediate withdrawal of all Portuguese and mercenary troops and all military or other equipment used for the invasion of the territory of the Republic of Guinea; that the Security Council should decide immediately to send the airborne, land and seaborne troops necessary to restore peace and security in this area of Africa; that the Council should unequivocally condemn the Government of Portugal for its premeditated attacks against the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the Republic of Guinea; and that the Security Council, and the Secretary-General, should consider themselves entrusted with the application of these decisions, that the Secretary-General should submit a report to the Council, and also that the Security Council should, in its wisdom, keep this question on its agenda.

26. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): The next speaker is the representative of Senegal, and I now invite him to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement.

27. Mr. BOYE (Senegal) (*interpretation from French*): Mr. President, first I should like to thank you and your colleagues in the Security Council for having been good enough to grant me permission to speak in this debate without the right to vote. I do so out of solidarity with the fraternal Republic of Guinea, because everyone is well aware here of the links between Senegal and Guinea. But if I have decided to speak immediately, it is particularly because of the content of the telegram which a high official of the United Nations, the United Nations Resident Representative, sent to his Director, Mr. Paul Hoffman, to tell him of the gravity of the events and particularly to tell him that it was physically impossible for him to carry out his duties normally.

28. I think this was a sufficiently serious reason for the Security Council immediately to take the necessary measures, not only to protect the sovereignty and territorial integrity of a sovereign government, but also to permit United Nations officials freely to carry out their duties.

29. We have heard and we have read in reports that vessels have landed Portuguese troops and mercenaries. Some people have even wondered whether it was the Portuguese or whether it was a kind of a coup d'état that was going on. But when I heard the Secretary-General tell us just now that the Resident

Representative of the United Nations Development Programme in Conakry was not able to leave his house to go to his office because there was aerial bombing going on, I must say that I realized that the situation was very serious and that no one here should shirk his responsibilities not only to protect the peaceful population but also to protect the officials of the United Nations who are sent to carry out their duties away from Headquarters. The Secretary-General and the Member States have the right to protect them.

30. When I came here I had prepared a written speech, but I shall not read it because I have heard what has been said by the Secretary-General and I know many of those seated at this table. I have worked with some of them in the Security Council itself. I have learned to appreciate them and, if you will permit me, I wish to say that I have learned to enjoy their affection, and that is why, for the time being, I will content myself with stressing to the members of the Security Council how serious a situation it is, when, because of foreign aircraft bombing a sovereign country, an official of the United Nations could not even carry out his duties.

31. The Council must act immediately, without delay. That is the message which Senegal wishes to communicate to the Security Council for the time being. I reserve the right to speak again later if I consider it necessary.

32. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): The Council having heard statements by the Secretary-General and by the representatives of Guinea and Senegal, I propose, if there is no objection, to suspend the meeting for half an hour for consultations. If I hear no objection I shall take it that it is so decided.

It was so decided.

The meeting was suspended at 8.40 p.m. and was resumed at 11.25 p.m.

33. The PRESIDENT: I wish to extend my apologies to the members of the Council for the delay that has occurred. I am sure that every one appreciates that in view of the gravity of the matter long and careful consultations have taken place.

34. The next speaker is the representative of Saudi Arabia and I now invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

35. Mr. BAROODY (Saudi Arabia): I thank you, Mr. President, and the members of the Council for allowing me to speak on the item under consideration.

36. Some may question the reason which impelled me to address myself to the latest aggression against our African brothers. Is it mere solidarity of an Asian with his African brother from Guinea? No, Sir. Solidarity between brothers when they are wrong should be out of order in the United Nations. It is United Nations solidarity that should prevail amongst us. Some have asked me whether I was taking the floor because

Guinea happens to be a Moslem State. I reject such a suspicion. I have taken the floor because any aggression against any Member State, regardless of its political system, ideology, religion or colour should concern not only the members of the Security Council but, when needs be, every Member of the United Nations.

37. You, Mr. President and members of the Security Council, have been constituted to be the guardians of peace. You are responsible to the United Nations as the guardians of peace. And if someone like myself whose State has never sought membership in the Security Council asks to be allowed to speak, it is because we ask you never to abdicate your responsibility whether by way of consensus or by adopting resolutions that cannot be put into action. Inasmuch as the Security Council is responsible to all Members of the United Nations, it is on that basis that I speak tonight.

38. Sovereignty resides in the people of every State; and the symbol of a State—and not infrequently its chief executive—is its monarch or President, depending upon the political system the State has adopted. The President of the Republic of Guinea has sent an urgent cable whose contents were read out by our beloved Secretary-General. Therefore, we cannot question either the flagrant aggression perpetrated by external forces against Guinea, a Member State of the United Nations; nor should the Council fail to adopt drastic measures to assist Guinea not only to repel the aggressors who have violated its territorial integrity. Moreover, the Council should, I submit, find effective ways and means for punishing the aggressor and, if need be, those who are behind the aggressor.

39. From the cables read to us by the Secretary-General and the representative of Guinea we deduce that European and other mercenaries have been deployed, most probably to change the Government of a Member State by creating chaos and turmoil in the hope that they could install a Government that would be a tool in their hands. There could be more than one State which has perpetrated this aggression.

40. Mercenaries could not possibly have launched a campaign of such magnitude as has been reported without being thoroughly trained and adequately financed by a colonial Power. The ships that carried the mercenaries can by no stretch of the imagination be considered as having hailed from Asia, Africa or Latin America. We are assured that these ships were European and indisputably Portuguese in origin. However, they could be registered under any spurious flag. This is flagrant aggression. The military craft did not flaunt any sign of identification, but all the same these military operations subjected Guinean territories to bombing from the air and invasion from the sea, as if the classical combination of subversion and clandestine provocation was not enough for interfering in the domestic affairs of a State. By whom? By Western colonialists who are now resorting to overt acts that remind us not only of gunboat diplomacy but also of the colonial intrusions of the nineteenth and early twentieth century.

41. If the attack on Guinea was launched from Portuguese Guinea or any other Portuguese colony in Africa, Portugal should account for this dastardly act. Portugal, and possibly some of its allies, ludicrously, but also cynically, consider its African colonies as mere provinces of the mother country. So whether the aggression against Guinea originated in an African territory under the Portuguese yoke or in Portugal proper is beside the point: the aggressor has not descended from the moon!

42. It looks as though the invasion was undertaken to overthrow the Government because the ideology of that Government—I mean the Government of Guinea—and the system it has adopted is unpalatable to the Powers which want to impose their own system on that State and on other African States. We have seen what happened in the Congo and how one of the world's leaders, none other than the late Hammarskjöld, became a victim of the conspiracy in the heart of Africa. Those Powers think that the only way to achieve their end is by again establishing Governments that would be mere clients, or, to put it bluntly, stooges and puppets to serve their own interests without regard to the welfare of the people at large.

43. If it is ultimately found by the Council that Portugal was responsible for this aggression, then it should be taken to task, not by condemnatory resolutions that are not worth the paper on which they are printed. I maintain that only disciplinary action of the Council could yield effective results.

44. What could the Security Council do? Pass another resolution like the one we have before us? A mission might be sent to ascertain what is going on and a report made to our illustrious Secretary-General, and he in turn would read it to you gentlemen here who would take note of it. But if no drastic action is taken by the Council so that such aggressions may not be repeated again, what assurances do the small States have that they will not be subjected to the machinations of those who find it in their interests to subvert and to interfere by all the means available to them in the internal affairs of small States? Gentlemen, you are the guardians here of our security. What have you done about the security of small nations since the United Nations was established? Once in a while, when there was no consensus or coexistence, at least the great Powers heeded one another and sometimes produced results, if not by intent, at least in order to show that they were not acting in a lackadaisical manner. But what do we find today? After our colleague from Guinea took the floor, and my brother from Senegal spoke for a few minutes, you gentlemen were called for consultations. I realize that consultations are necessary, and at least you had decided that there was no objection to some of us being heard. Once a question like this is before the Council it is no longer the property of Guinea or any African State, it is the property of all of us and our duty to address ourselves to it in the best way we see fit, not only for the protection of the weak who are under attack, but for the protection of the interests of all States Members of the United Nations. That is why I took the floor.

45. I repeat, only disciplinary action by the Council will yield effective results. What should the Council do? What kind of effective action should it take? I submit that if—and it is a very big “if”—Portugal and any of its supporters are found to be guilty of this aggressive operation, the least the Security Council should do is to call on all the members of NATO to discipline one of its members, namely, Portugal, and whoever is behind Portugal.

46. The United Nations has reached the crossroads. Now I am going to tell you and your colleagues, Sir, how the League of Nations foundered, drawing not from books but from my personal experience when I happened to be in western Europe, as a political refugee from my region. You all know how Mussolini invaded Ethiopia, and the British Government of those days pretended that it was against Mussolini. What did the United Kingdom do? It spoke against Mussolini. I was in London in those days. The papers had articles decrying the Fascists, calling them the arch aggressors. None other than Dame Sylvia Pankhurst told me this when I appeared with her on a platform for the Ethiopian Red Cross—I believe it was in 1937. Later what she told me was reaffirmed by a member of the Conservative Government of those days who was at odds with his own Government: that whilst the British Government spoke against Mussolini, Mr. Chamberlain had sent his brother, Austen Chamberlain, to Rome to tell Mussolini that he could have the green light in Ethiopia provided he did not ally himself with Hitler.

47. What assurance do we have that a member of NATO is not conspiring with other members to see to it that the systems inside Africa are changed to the liking of NATO members? If I knew that members of the Warsaw Pact were conspiring to do the same thing, they too would be brought to task by the Council; but it would indeed be far-fetched that members of the Warsaw Pact should find it profitable to engage in such dastardly acts as are happening in Africa. It seems only yesterday that I appeared in this very seat, on 22 December 1969, when Guinea was subjected to another act of aggression.

48. What will the Council do? Send a mission? I do not think it should send a very big mission. I remember that on more than two occasions the Secretary-General wisely sent his representative in Geneva to find out what was going on in certain regions where trouble was rife. Why should there be so many consultations? We are insolvent as an Organization. There need be no deliberations about missions; if you authorize the Secretary-General to send him, none other than Mr. Winspeare Guicciardi, like Mr. Spinelli before him, could be instructed within twenty-four hours to find out what is going on. I do not know what you are doing, gentlemen; it is your Council. We are outsiders, those who were invited to speak, but you need not take much time. Authorize the Secretary-General to send Mr. Winspeare Guicciardi or someone he can spare. It does not cost much for a couple of men; they can go and then report, not only to the Council but to us, Member States of the United Nations. You

are responsible for maintaining peace on our behalf, not only the permanent members of the Council who sit here by the provisions of the Charter, but you, the rotating members, you are responsible to us too.

49. I want to confess to you, Sir, that I was approached before I took the floor and was told, "This is an African affair". But this is not an African affair. I was told also, "An Asian member should defer to certain African members who have asked that Asian member not to speak, or to postpone what he has to say on the matter". I maintain that I have the right, like anybody else, to address myself to this item—not because, as I said, it is wrong to keep silent when a small Member State is subjected to aggression, but because if we only concerned ourselves with the affairs of States in our regions then this would spell the end of the United Nations. Everyone has the right to examine and scrutinize a situation that may subject small Powers to similar aggression in the future. On principle I think all of us should consider that we are collectively responsible and should not abdicate our responsibilities—with all due respect to the Council.

50. In the General Assembly we send recommendations to the Council, but there is a saying in Arabic—you, Sir, are a literary man but this is no line of poetry—which means, paraphrasing it in translation: "Our rights, oriented by conscience, are attached to your necks".

51. Shall we consider that once the draft resolution is adopted—and I know my African brothers would like to see it adopted tonight—it will be another document in the archives of the United Nations, or shall we turn a new page in the behaviour of the Security Council towards the aggressor?

52. I would not cite from the Charter on what should be done because somebody else will counter with another paragraph of the Charter, which says that we should always resolve our problems by peaceful means. But I maintain that if Portugal is responsible it should be expelled from membership of NATO. That is the least that could be done. It would not be worthy to be a member of any all alliance that, allegedly, is to bring peace to a certain area in Europe or, for that matter, to maintain peace. Will the members of NATO take such a drastic step? That remains to be seen.

53. Otherwise, I must again warn you, Mr. President, and the other members of the Council that we should be wasting our time if the Council does not resort to drastic measures. Once and for all, let this be a test case.

54. Look at what is happening in Rhodesia. It is neither fish nor fowl. We do not know whether it is a possession of the United Kingdom or an independent *de facto* State. The United Kingdom has seen fit not to declare Rhodesia other than a colony. But what is the United Kingdom doing about Southern Rhodesia? Why did the United Kingdom abdicate its responsibility for the mandate of South West Africa? They say: "We do not like what is being done in South

West Africa"; but the total trade between the United Kingdom and Rhodesia and South West Africa has increased—in constant currency, not in inflated money.

55. Are we the false witnesses here? I do not think I am picking on the United Kingdom; there is guilt by association. In Anglo-Saxon criminal law anyone who abets any crime is considered responsible. So I address myself to the Western European community. How can they rationalize supporting Portugal by making it a member of NATO? How can they rationalize their increasing trade with South Africa, when they know that it practises *apartheid*? How can they rationalize the subversion, with their allies, of weak States so as to change their system of government, when the Charter is clear on the question of non-interference in the domestic affairs of States? Is it ink on paper? Are we false witnesses of this?

56. As I mentioned, this is the crossroads of the United Nations. The test is here. There should be some norms adopted for the future, norms for action, not for talk, not for rationalization. Otherwise, let us fold up gracefully and quit considering ourselves, including the Security Council, as being the guardians of international peace.

57. The PRESIDENT: I now call on the next speaker on my list, the representative of Mali, to take a place at the Security Council table and make his statement.

58. Mr. SOW (Mali) (*interpretation from French*): I thank you, Mr. President, for giving the delegation of Mali the opportunity to take part, without the right to vote, in this extremely important debate in the Security Council.

59. The Council having heard the Secretary-General of the United Nations, the representative of the fraternal Republic of Guinea and the speaker who preceded me, I do not think that there is need for yet another speech. However, members will recall that at the same time last year we drew the Security Council's attention to the serious threat posed by Portugal to the sovereignty of independent African States, particularly the Republic of Guinea. At that time it was a question of the violation of the territorial integrity of the Republic of Guinea and some of the other neighbours of Guinea (Bissau).

60. For several hours, reports have been coming in of a new clear act of aggression constituting a dangerous historical precedent, because never before have we seen an independent State Member of the United Nations conceive, prepare and commit an act of aggression against the sovereignty of another State Member of the Organization in defiance of the principles and the provisions of the Charter.

61. Portugal in fact today attacked the Republic of Guinea, landing on its coast armed troops consisting essentially of mercenaries who have engaged in a veritable war against the peaceful population of the Republic of Guinea.

62. The heroic resistance of the people of Guinea might have made it unnecessary for us to describe such an act of aggression and the motives behind it as perfidious. My Government, faithful to the solidarity binding all peace-loving people, particularly the people of Guinea, has already declared its unconditional support for the valiant people of Guinea and its Government.

63. That is why we consider that the Security Council, unanimously and rapidly, should unequivocally condemn the barbarous act of aggression on the part of Portugal and urgently take all necessary measures to repel the Portuguese aggressive forces and put a final end to the threat to and violation of the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the Republic of Guinea.

64. With the Council's authorization, Mali reserves its right to speak at a later stage if we deem fit.

65. The PRESIDENT: I now call on the next speaker on my list, the representative of Mauritania, to take a place at the Security Council table and make his statement.

66. Mr. OULD TAYA (Mauritania) (*interpretation from French*): Mr. President, first of all may I be allowed to convey to you my congratulations on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for this month. I am very pleased to see the Council presided over by the representative of a country with which my country is bound by so many links. I am quite convinced that under your distinguished guidance the Council will take effective action to maintain international peace and security throughout the world.

67. I should also like to thank the Council for giving my delegation this opportunity, although belatedly, to speak in this debate. We feel that this is a particularly great honour because this is a chance given to us by the Council to support the complaint of a fraternal country whose forward-looking policies and positions have always been to the credit of Africa and to the entire world. Its conduct has always been a positive contribution to the maintenance of peace and security.

68. The Republic of Guinea has once again been the object of a brazen act of aggression on the part of imperialist and colonialist forces which, no longer satisfied with plotting darkly with certain traitors as accomplices, invade the territory of a sovereign State, a Member of the United Nations, in broad daylight and with powerful weapons.

69. The appeal to our Organization made by President Ahmed Sekou Touré and to all African States leaves no room for doubt as to the seriousness of the situation. This appeal mentions that the territory of Guinea has been the object of an act of armed aggression by the Portuguese forces launched at about 2 a.m. Sunday. Landing craft, violating the territorial waters of Guinea, landed at several points in the capital and mercenary commando troops shelled several points in the city.

70. President Sekou Touré goes on to say that this attack was checked thanks to the action of the National Army and the population. However, he adds, the Guinean Government, whose sacred rights as a sovereign State Member of the United Nations have been violated, requests the immediate intervention of air-borne troops of the United Nations to take the last positions held by the Portuguese mercenaries with the co-operation of the National Army and to drive the vessels of the aggressors from the territorial waters of Guinea.

71. President Sekou Touré goes on to say: "The Guinean Government is certain that the United Nations will respond to its appeal without delay in order to put an end to this unjustifiable armed aggression" [S/9988].

72. This is the situation on Sunday, 22 November, in the Republic of Guinea from the very lips of those responsible for the Guinean revolution. This earnest appeal to our Organization shows the gravity of the situation and that it is a matter of the greatest urgency for the Council to take a rapid and effective decision in order to safeguard the peace and security of the area.

73. Ever since its independence the Republic of Guinea has had to deal constantly with the subversive actions of imperialists, neo-colonialists and their treacherous agents. Plots to overthrow the courageous patriots who are at present in charge of this fraternal country have been carried out within and outside of the country, but on every occasion the people of Guinea have put down those plots with courage and determination and their leaders have unequivocally denounced those plots. The present attempt to land imperialist African and European forces is but one further manifestation of this. The Portuguese forces and their mercenaries, who have been thrown back and disorganized by the blows which have been struck at them daily by the heroic fighters of the African Party for the Independence of Guinea (Bissau) and the Cape Verde Islands, are no longer satisfied with reprisals on the borders of Senegal and Guinea; they are striking with impunity today at the very heart of the capital of the sister Republic of Guinea, they are striking at the very heart of the capital of a sovereign Member of our Organization.

74. Our countries have always denounced actions of this kind, but we have always been heard with a bemused smile and with a more or less deaf ear, as if to say that according to us there are plots everywhere and that our statements and our denunciations are prompted by internal politics.

75. Just how far does the indifference of the countries responsible for the maintenance of peace and security go? Should we continue to be silent at the risk of being the accomplices of those who continue to harbour the hope that they can stop the course of history and the irreversible movement of the emancipation of the peoples of the world? To those we say that Guinea will be the victor. Their failures for more than ten years should show them that their efforts will be of

no avail. The people of Guinea united behind its leaders has shown once and for all the path to independence, that it is to say, the path of honour and dignity. Our Organization can and must help them to persevere in this course of action that the people and the leaders of Guinea have chosen once again. The appeal by President Sekou Touré to our Organization will give members of the Council an excellent opportunity to act.

76. Africans have once again asked the Council to respond favourably to the appeal by the Guinean leaders. That appeal is doubtless one of the last appeals which our countries will be addressing to the Organization, but we continue to harbour the hope that our Organization can help the smaller countries of the world.

77. On behalf of my delegation I would once again appeal to the Council to take the necessary action to stop this invasion.

78. The PRESIDENT: I thank the representative of Mauritania for the kind words he addressed to my country and to me personally.

79. Now I wish to draw the attention of the members of the Council to the original draft resolution co-sponsored by Burundi, Nepal, Sierra Leone, Syria and Zambia [S/9990]. I understand that the sponsors have a new, revised draft, and in this connexion I call on the representative of Nepal.

80. Mr. KHATRI (Nepal): The Security Council is called upon to consider the serious complaint by Guinea regarding an armed attack on its territory. In this connexion, we have heard the statements by the Secretary-General and the representative of Guinea. At this stage it is of the utmost importance for the Security Council, first, to put an end to the armed attack and to effect the withdrawal of the attacking forces, and, second, to have an impartial report on the situation now prevailing in Guinea.

81. To that end the delegations of Burundi, Sierra Leone, Syria, Zambia and Nepal have joined together in preparing a draft resolution which it is my honour now to submit formally for the consideration of the Security Council. The draft resolution reads:

"The Security Council,

"Having heard the statement made by the Permanent Representative of the Republic of Guinea,

"Having taken note of the request made by the President of the Republic of Guinea,

"1. Demands the immediate cessation of the armed attack against the Republic of Guinea;

"2. Demands 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;

"3. Decides to send a special mission to the Republic of Guinea to report on the situation immediately;

"4. Decides that this special mission be formed after consultation between the President of the Security Council and the Secretary-General;

"5. Decides to maintain the matter on its agenda."

82. This draft resolution is interim in nature. No doubt the Council will take appropriate decisions in this regard upon receipt of all available evidence. In the meantime I request, in the names of the five delegations, that before we proceed further in the consideration of this matter this draft resolution should be put immediately to the vote on an urgent basis.

83. The PRESIDENT: Before calling on the next speaker I wish to draw the attention of members to the French text of the draft resolution just introduced by the representative of Nepal. Its paragraph 2 should read:

"Exige le retrait immédiat de toutes les forces armées extérieures et de tous les mercenaires, ainsi que du matériel militaire utilisé dans l'attaque armée contre le territoire de la République de Guinée".

84. Mr. YOST (United States of America): I should like to comment briefly on the text that has just been circulated. It is, as the Council is aware, the result of consultations among the members, and represents a wide area of agreement. However, there is one paragraph to which we attach very great importance which was not agreed. It is paragraph 4 and has to do with the method of selection of the special mission which it is proposed to dispatch.

85. It has seemed to us that the Council has two choices here. It could, on the one hand, ask the Secretary-General to send a representative to the area to report. This is a procedure which has very often been used in the past, and one that would be entirely acceptable to us. On the other hand, we understand that the sponsors preferred to have a mission composed not of Secretariat officials, but of representatives of Governments. That would, of course, be a political mission, with a political complexion, and in that case we attach the utmost importance to having an opportunity to pass ourselves upon the composition of the mission, and we think that all members would have an equal concern, as members of the Council, in having an opportunity themselves to express their views.

86. Therefore I should like to appeal to the sponsors of the draft resolution that this paragraph 4 should be altered to stop with the word "consultation", so that it would simply read: "Decides that this special mission be formed after consultation". Since the Security Council is adopting a resolution, obviously it would be the Security Council which would be consulting. I think that in the circumstances, and having in mind the type of mission which I understand the sponsors

prefer, this would be a far preferable procedure to the one which is suggested under paragraph 4 as it is drafted. I would strongly urge them and appeal to them, in the interest of obtaining unanimous support for this draft resolution, to consent to some such modification of that paragraph.

87. Mr. TERENCE (Burundi) (*interpretation from French*): My delegation had hoped not to have to take the floor because of the extreme urgency of the situation. However, in view of the way the discussion has developed, as a co-sponsor of the draft resolution I should like to add something to what the representative of Nepal has said about its interpretation.

88. The consultations to take place between the President of the Council and the Secretary-General should, in our view, suit the members of the Council. The President of the Security Council and the Secretary-General have certain responsibilities which, if confused with the responsibilities of the members of the Council, would create even further confusion. Their role, when properly discharged, of course, requires consultations with all members. We hope that some understanding will be shown on the part of those members of the Council who hesitate to give their support to paragraph 4 of the draft resolution.

89. Mr. MALIK (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*translated from Russian*): I intended to speak on the substance of the item under discussion. Since, however, the representative of Nepal, who introduced the draft resolution on behalf of five delegations—Burundi, Nepal, Sierra Leone, Syria and Zambia—wished or requested the Council to proceed forthwith to a vote on the draft, I reserve the right to speak after the vote on the draft resolution.

90. With reference to the statement made by the United States representative, it is my understanding that he did not make a formal proposal but merely expressed a wish. It might therefore be in order for the Council to proceed to a vote on the draft resolution, in order to avoid delaying a decision on the matter. Those who wish to explain their position on this question may do so after the vote. My delegation reserves its right to speak after the vote.

91. Mr. YOST (United States of America): I had hoped that the sponsors might have found it possible to agree to amend their draft resolution in order to obtain unanimity on this point. As I say, it is one to which we attach the very greatest importance. It is, I think, without precedent that it has been suggested that a special mission should be set up by the Security Council in this particular way without providing that the members of the Council themselves should all have an opportunity to pass on its composition. Bearing in mind the extreme importance of seeing to it that the special mission to be dispatched would be one that had the full confidence of the Council so that its report back to us would hence be received with full credit by all members, I do feel that it is of the utmost importance that we should follow this procedure, which indeed is in strict accordance with the authority of

the Council and of the Charter and with the normal means of procedure.

92. I had hoped, and I still do hope, as I say, that the sponsors, who, I am sure, are desirous of having a unanimous vote, might see their way clear to accepting the change which I have suggested, or something which would be very similar to it; for example, "*decides that the special mission be formed after consultation by the members of the Security Council*". Something along that line would remove our difficulties, would accord this draft resolution with the normal procedure of the Council, would uphold the authority of the Council under the Charter and, I think, would satisfy everyone. But if there is any question about their agreeing to do so, I would, of course, be prepared to submit this as a formal amendment.

93. Mr. MALIK (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*translated from Russian*): I am rather surprised by the argument advanced by the United States representative. If I have correctly understood his train of thought from the interpretation, it would seem that a mission formed without the participation of the President of the Security Council would enjoy the Council's confidence, while a mission formed by the President of the Security Council in consultation with the Secretary-General would not. Strange reasoning, to put it mildly.

94. If the Security Council entrusts the forming of this mission to the President and the Secretary-General, why can they not settle the matter by joint consultation? In this case we have equal confidence in the President and in the Secretary-General. I therefore doubt the validity of the argument put forward by the United States representative. I have the clear impression that an attempt is being made to delay the establishment of the mission and to shield the aggressor from immediate investigation by the special mission to be dispatched by the Security Council, which can be formed and arranged by the President in consultation with the Secretary-General.

95. I therefore submit that the proposal made by the five Afro-Asian States is fully compatible with the Charter and meets the needs of the existing critical situation, in which the Security Council should dispatch its mission immediately.

96. This arrangement will enable the President of the Council and the Secretary-General swiftly to settle the question of the composition of the mission and dispatch it to make an on the spot investigation of the situation. Consequently, any objection to this arrangement would only result in delay. If the arrangement proposed by the United States representative is accepted, consultations will have to begin. They may drag on and the fifteen members of the Security Council may find it more difficult to agree on the composition of this mission than would the President and the Secretary-General. The United States representative envisages the "special mission" as a governmental mission. Perhaps the President of the Council and the Secretary-General will see fit to send a mission or representatives

who are not Permanent Representatives—in other words, a non-governmental mission. Let us try to give them the opportunity and the right to do so and let us show confidence in both the President and the Secretary-General. My delegation sees no particular danger in this and does not share the fears which the United States delegation is trying to instil into the Security Council.

97. Mr. YOST (United States of America): I do not wish to prolong the debate, but I do not think the Soviet representative fully understood my proposal, which was that all members of the Council would have the opportunity to pass on the selection of the special mission. I would have thought this was in strict accord with the position which the Soviet delegation has always taken in this Council about upholding the Council's rights and those of all of its members.

98. I think that agreement could be reached very rapidly among the members of the Council. Of course if we are thinking only of speed, obviously the quickest thing to do is to request the Secretary-General to designate a representative, whom he could no doubt select from one of his staff in the area, and the man could be there in a matter of hours. That would certainly be the most rapid way to investigate the matter. But if there is some hesitation about doing that and there is a preference for a mission composed of governmental representatives, then, as I have said, I would feel very strongly that this is a matter of such importance that it should be passed on by all members of the Council and I would certainly be prepared to co-operate in doing so with great rapidity.

99. I would formally put forward this amendment: that paragraph 4 should be amended to read:

“Decides that the special mission be formed after consultation among members of the Security Council.”

100. The PRESIDENT: As members of the Council have heard, the representative of the United States of America has formally submitted his amendment. If no other member wishes to take the floor, therefore, we shall proceed to a vote on the United States amendment.

A vote was taken by show of hands.

In favour: China, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America.

Against: None.

Abstaining: Burundi, Colombia, Finland, France, Nepal, Nicaragua, Poland, Sierra Leone, Spain, Syria, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, Zambia.

The result of the vote was 3 in favour, none against, with 12 abstentions.

The amendment was not adopted, having failed to obtain the affirmative votes of nine members.

101. The PRESIDENT: We shall now proceed to vote on the draft resolution contained in document S/9990/Rev.1.

A vote was taken by show of hands.

The draft resolution was adopted unanimously.²

102. Mr. YOST (United States of America): I very much regret that our amendment was not adopted but, nevertheless, in view of the importance of the resolution and particularly in view of the assurances of one of the sponsors, the representative of Burundi, to the effect that he assumed that the President would be consulting members of the Council about the mission, we voted for the resolution on that understanding.

103. Sir Colin CROWE (United Kingdom): My delegation, I must confess, would have very much preferred to see the amendment proposed by the United States delegation to paragraph 4 of this resolution. But we are glad to be able to vote in favour of the whole resolution since we do feel that it is important that an urgent call should go out from this Council for the withdrawal of all external armed forces from Guinea immediately and that the Council should be seen to be acting as quickly as possible.

104. In accepting paragraph 4 of this resolution we have taken note of the statement by one of the sponsors, the representative of Burundi, that he understands this will, of course, mean consultation by the President of the Council with members of the Council and that he will secure their assent to his choice.

105. Mr. MWAANGA (Zambia): I realize that the hour is late, but as the representative of a country which has had the displeasure of bringing complaints to the Security Council against Portugal, I consider it incumbent upon me to make a brief statement.

106. My delegation listened very carefully to the telegram which was read out by the Secretary-General containing an important request from the President of the Republic of Guinea, Ahmed Sekou Touré. The statement which was made by my brother and colleague, Ambassador Touré, the Permanent Representative of Guinea to the United Nations, is indicative of the grave situation the Security Council has been asked to deal with. Only last December the Security Council met to discuss Portuguese military aggression against the Republic of Guinea [1522nd to 1526th meetings]. As far as my delegation is concerned, what has just happened represents one of the worst crimes ever committed against any independent African State. Any act of invasion of one State by another is serious enough. It is even more serious when this is done by Portugal in extension of its criminal colonial wars into the sovereign territory of an independent African State.

107. Although we do not have any complete information, I can assure our Guinean brothers that our delegation will demand that the most severe measures

² See resolution 289 (1970).

provided for by the United Nations Charter should be applied against Portugal. The Security Council cannot remain indifferent to these premeditated acts of violence. I know that people who have not been subjected to these barbaric Portuguese attacks just have no idea about the war situation which exists on the border between independent African States and the Portuguese territories of Guinea (Bissau), Angola and Mozambique. We view this situation with grave concern because, together with the sister States of the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Senegal and Tanzania, Zambia has been a victim of continuous Portuguese military aggression. This latest act of Portuguese aggression against Guinea is only an indication of what is likely to happen tomorrow to other independent African States bordering the territories under Portuguese domination.

108. My delegation reserves the right to make a more detailed intervention at a later stage.

109. Mr. PASTINEN (Finland): In the view of my delegation, it is right that the Council has acted with the urgency that the situation demands. As emphasized by the representative of Nepal, in introducing the draft, it is an interim measure, a preliminary step designed to meet the immediate needs of the situation and to give expression to the will of the Council to act in accordance with its responsibilities. To take more substantive action the Council will obviously need to have the full facts of the situation established. These can only be established by an objective and impartial study which should now be undertaken with all the necessary speed and efficiency which the situation warrants.

110. My delegation has voted for the resolution on the understanding that paragraphs 3 and 4 of the resolution we have just adopted will be implemented in such a way that those demands are met.

111. Mr. TERENCE (Burundi) (*interpretation from French*): In line with the principle which I mentioned earlier, I shall be very brief. I feel that I have some responsibility, some gratitude towards all the members of the Council which, by a unanimous decision, have just adopted this resolution. On the other hand, we likewise thank some members which, while experiencing some hesitation, have joined in this action just taken by the Security Council.

112. Finally, my delegation would state that the action just taken is dictated by a clear-cut incident, namely, aggression from abroad against a sovereign State Member of the United Nations. Without even identifying the nature of the act or establishing who is responsible for the aggression, it is clear that peace and security have been violated and therefore the Charter authorizes the Security Council to take action. For these reasons the Republic of Burundi is pleased with the decision just adopted by the Council and we would reiterate our gratitude to the members who have co-sponsored the draft resolution, and not only our gratitude but that of Africa. Guinea being a member of the Organization of African Unity, any act of aggres-

sion against Guinea is also directed against the continental organization.

113. Mr. MALIK (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*translated from Russian*): For the third time in eleven months the Security Council is considering the question of Portuguese aggression against African countries. I am referring to the discussion in December 1969 of Portuguese aggression against Guinea [*1522nd to 1526th meetings*] and Senegal [*1516th to 1520th meetings*]. At that time, the Security Council expressed serious concern in its decisions about Portugal's attack on an independent African State—Guinea [*resolution 275 (1969)*]. In considering the question of Portuguese aggression against Senegal, the Security Council categorically condemned the Portuguese authorities for their armed attack on that country [*resolution 273 (1969)*].

114. The Security Council has now been examining the third case of an armed attack and aggression by Portugal against an African State. The Council has thus established that Portugal is an active, armed vector of colonial imperialism in our time and is disregarding United Nations decisions and continuing its aggressive policy against the African countries.

115. The documents received from the President of the Republic of Guinea and read out here by the Secretary-General, as well as the statement by the representative of Guinea have established beyond doubt that an act of armed aggression has been committed against Guinea. The representatives of African and Asian countries who have spoken here have given us additional views, facts and information about the policy and actions of the Portuguese colonialists in African territory.

116. The Security Council therefore has before it official documents confirming a new act of aggression. These acts by Portugal and its armed forces should be viewed in the context of Portugal's colonialist policy in Africa as a whole. Portugal is waging a bloody war against the peoples of Mozambique, Angola and Guinea (Bissau). At the same time, it is committing acts of military provocation and armed attacks against sovereign African States which are actively fighting to free Africa from the final grip of colonialism.

117. Portugal's armed attack against Guinea illustrates yet again the threat which the continued existence of Portuguese colonialism poses to peace in Africa.

118. The acting Chargé d'affaires of Portugal denies in his letter [*S/9989*] that this aggression took place. But did his predecessor not deny acts of aggression when the question of Portuguese aggression against Guinea was under discussion? Did he not deny that aggression had been committed when Portugal attacked Senegal? Such denials were made on those occasions, but the Security Council acted quite rightly in categorically condemning the Portuguese authorities and, consequently, the Portuguese Government and its armed forces for these acts of aggression.

119. The Security Council resolution demands the immediate cessation of aggression against the Republic of Guinea, a sovereign African State, and the immediate withdrawal of all Portuguese armed forces from Guinean territory.

120. Admittedly some members of the Security Council have expressed doubts about whether these are Portuguese forces. Evidently they do not wish to believe the official statements made here or the official documents submitted to the Security Council.

121. The Security Council's decision should be implemented forthwith and brought to the notice of the aggressor. The mission on which a decision has been taken should be formed at once, with the participation of the President of the Security Council and the Secretary-General and after consultation between them. The sooner this is done, the better it will be for the cause of peace in Africa and for the protection of the victims of aggression.

122. The objections raised here against the resolution and the proposals that it should be modified put us on our guard, and give rise to doubts. It is not impossible that an attempt will now be made to delay the formation of the mission. If so, this will be a clear case of a policy of support and sympathy for the aggressor. The Security Council must therefore urge the President of the Council and the Secretary-General to form the mission immediately, so that it can be dispatched to the scene tomorrow at the latest and report to the Security Council as soon as possible on the true state of affairs, in order to enable the Council to re-examine the matter and take decisive action against the aggressor. This is the only way in which the Council can curb the aggressor and discourage him from continuing his policy of aggression in African territory, which is undermining peace and security and threatening the safety of African States and peoples.

123. It has rightly been stated here that Portugal would not have taken the risk of acting in such a way in Africa without the assistance of other NATO members.

124. We should therefore carefully heed the views expressed here by Mr. Baroody, the representative of Saudi Arabia, who linked Portugal's actions with general NATO policy. The sooner the Security Council studies this new act of aggression and takes decisive

action against Portugal for this act of aggression, the stronger will be the peace and security of the African peoples on the African continent.

125. The PRESIDENT: I call on the representative of Guinea.

126. Mr. TOURE (Guinea) (*interpretation from French*): My statement now will be merely to thank all those here who have expressed their active solidarity with my country, which is at present going through a very grave period.

127. The operative part of the draft resolution the Council has just adopted unanimously asks you, Mr. President, in close co-operation with the Secretary-General, to send a mission promptly—not to establish the facts, which we have done, but to make it perfectly clear that the act of aggression against the Republic of Guinea and its peaceful people is in pursuance of one single objective, namely, to overthrow all progressive régimes in Africa and to subordinate the African continent to the will of imperialism.

128. This period is not difficult for the Republic of Guinea alone. It is of concern to all peace-loving, justice-loving and freedom-loving peoples and countries throughout the world.

129. I hope your mission, Mr. President, will go down in history as a positive act and that it will show the world that the Portuguese Government is still unpunished for its acts of aggression against other African countries and continues to feel secure because it enjoys the support of certain Powers.

130. The PRESIDENT: I wish to assure the members of the Council that I will do my utmost, with the help of the Secretary-General, for the dispatch of the mission as urgently as possible. The matter is grave and His Excellency the President of the Republic of Guinea is requesting urgent redress. The resolution just adopted unanimously underlines strongly this sense of immediacy and urgency. It is my earnest hope that the resolution will be effective in putting an end to the armed attack on the sister Republic of Guinea, that international peace and security will be saved from this grave threat and that the mission will be able to establish the facts.

The meeting rose on Monday, 23 November, at 1 a.m.

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