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ARCHIVES

RETURN WITHOUT DELAY

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NOTE

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FIFTEEN HUNDRED AND NINETY-NINTH MEETING

Held in New York on Tuesday, 23 November 1971, at 3.30 p.m.

President: Mr. Eugeniusz KULAGA (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/1599)

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).

Statements of welcome to the representative of the People's Republic of China

1. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): In my capacity as President of the Security Council for the month of November, it is both a pleasant duty and a great honour for me to address a welcome to the permanent representative of China, Mr. Huang Hua, as well as to his colleagues, at a time when they come to occupy in the Security Council the seat which is theirs as the representatives of one of the five permanent members of the Security Council.
2. We have all present in our minds the terms of resolution 2758 (XXVI), adopted on 25 October 1971, by which the General Assembly decided to restore all its rights to the People's Republic of China and to recognize the representatives of its Government as the sole legitimate representatives of China to the United Nations. The fact that today China returns to the Security Council is unquestionably an event of great importance for the United Nations and for the Security Council in particular. With the restoration of the rights of the People's Republic of China, justice has been done and political realism, which is an essential quality for the United Nations organ primarily responsible for the maintenance of international peace and security, prevails.
3. In extending a welcome to the representative of China I am particularly privileged in greeting Mr. Huang Hua here. I am convinced that all the members of the Security Council are gratified, as I am, that the People's Republic of China has chosen so distinguished a personality to represent the great people of China in the Security Council because, indeed, Excellency, you do not come here as an unknown.

Your reputation as a diplomat who, together with great experience, has a deep knowledge of history and of the practice of international relations, has preceded you. I am certain that I am interpreting the feelings of the members of the Council in expressing the hope that the People's Republic of China will make its full contribution to the realization of the tasks and the mandate of the Security Council and therefore to the maintenance and strengthening of international peace and security, in compliance with the United Nations Charter. Excellency, the Council relies upon your active contribution for the attainment of these tasks. As President, may I assure you that my co-operation will always be at your disposal.

4. I hope, Gentlemen, that you will allow me to exercise the privileges of the Presidency to add a few words on behalf of POLAND. During the last 22 years Poland has constantly and firmly defended the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations. In our opinion, therefore, the decision of the General Assembly constitutes the recognition owed for so long to political reality, as established by the revolutionary change that took place in China in 1949. This decision is a victory over the irrational policy of certain States which attempted to isolate the great Chinese people and to deny the rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations and in the international community.

5. I would wish on behalf of the Government of the People's Republic of Poland to offer our cordial congratulations to the People's Republic of China upon the restoration to it of its rights in the United Nations and in connexion with its coming to the Security Council. The Polish delegation wishes to express the conviction of its Government that the participation of the People's Republic of China in the activities of our Organization in general and in the Security Council in particular will contribute to the attainment of the purposes and principles of the United Nations Charter, namely, the strengthening of international security and the promotion of co-operation among nations in the interests of peace and progress in the world.

6. Mr. FARAH (Somalia): When my delegation raised the question of the legal representation of China in this Council at the 1565th meeting, on 9 February last, it drew attention to the absurd situation caused by the Council refusing to recognize dramatic political changes that had taken place on the China scene following the successful revolution of the Chinese people in October 1949. By the Council's action in continuing to accord recognition to representatives of a régime that no longer exercised any authority over the affairs of the Chinese people it created a

situation which had no basis in law, no basis in equity and no basis in common sense.

7. At that time my delegation expressed the hope that the Security Council would involve itself once more in the question so that illogic and injustice would no longer be allowed to impair the credibility of the United Nations. It is a matter of great satisfaction to my Government that that time has now arrived. Today we are privileged to witness the true representatives of China taking their lawful places in this Council and to welcome their presence here.

8. No one can say with complete assurance what might have happened in the past had the United Nations treated the issue of China's representation in the same correct manner in which it had treated other cases of rival representation that had come before it. But there can be no question that for 22 years the United Nations was deprived of the presence of a nation whose counsel was vital for the satisfactory solution of grave problems involving questions of war and peace. Without the presence of the most populous nation in the world, the true balance of power in international affairs was not reflected in the United Nations. Without China we were deprived of the voice of a country in which the wisdom and discipline of one of the world's oldest and most respected civilizations had been transmuted through a tremendous national effort to serve the needs of the twentieth century, a century whose outstanding feature has been the struggle against entrenched privilege and for the rights of the common man.

9. If the United Nations has profited from the lessons learned from the China question, it will go on to deal with other issues such as southern Africa and the Middle East with the same honesty and the same respect for the principles of the Charter that have triumphed in recent days.

10. My delegation believes that the collective wisdom of the United Nations, which is now closer to the goal of universality, will be brought to bear more successfully than in the past on the solution of the many problems that still threaten international peace. Certainly the Security Council will be strengthened and better able to carry out its central peace-keeping and peace-making role now that there is no question about the legality of any of its members.

11. One of the more significant aspects of the presence of the representatives of China in the United Nations is that for the first time since 1949 the Security Council will be properly constituted. It will be a realistic reflection of the world power structure, and it will have an unquestionable basis for its authority. This is an opportune time for all Member States, and more particularly the permanent members of the Security Council, to examine the attitudes that have been prevalent regarding the nature and function of this Council, which alone can ensure the effectiveness of the United Nations. The effectiveness of this Organization has often been seriously impaired—for example, by the tendency of members of the Security Council to feel they are not bound by majority decisions if they have voted negatively or abstained on some matter. That type of attitude is inconsistent with a full commitment to the rule of international law. Once a decision has been taken by this

Council it becomes binding on all its members for all time so long as that resolution is in force. The objectives of the United Nations and the authority of its most powerful organ can only find practical expression through consensus or majority vote. If that elementary principle of democracy is not observed at the highest level, then the credibility of the United Nations will be very much in doubt. Similarly, States which are not members of the Security Council must consider themselves bound by its decisions.

12. A pertinent commentary on this question was given by the International Court of Justice. It was given in the context of the question of Namibia, but it applies generally to the nature and function of the Security Council. The Court considered that "when the Security Council adopts a decision under Article 25 in accordance with the Charter, it is for member States to comply with that decision, including those members of the Security Council which voted against it [or abstained] . . . To hold otherwise would be to deprive this principal organ of its essential functions and powers under the Charter."¹

13. At long last the United Nations has acted in accordance with the letter and spirit of the Charter in dealing with one of the most controversial issues of the past two decades—the restoration of the rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations. In welcoming the representatives of China to the Security Council my delegation looks forward to a new era characterized by right attitudes by all nations to the purposes and principles of the Charter of this Organization.

14. Sir Colin CROWE (United Kingdom): Mr. President, it gives me great pleasure to associate myself with you in welcoming to the Security Council the representatives of the People's Republic of China. This is a development we have long felt to be overdue, and we feel it is right that the true balance of the membership of the Security Council should be restored. My delegation looks forward with pleasure to working with our new colleagues.

15. Mr. ORTIZ DE ROZAS (Argentina) (*interpretation from Spanish*): I would address my first words to the representative of Nicaragua, Mr. Sevilla Sacasa, and extend to him our warmest congratulations on his brilliant presidency of this body during the month of October. During that month the Council held several meetings on items as important as they were difficult, and it was because of the endeavours, sagacity and character of Ambassador Sevilla Sacasa that the respective negotiations and discussions were brought to a successful conclusion. We are therefore most grateful to him.

16. May I also express to you, Mr. President, the best wishes of the delegation of Argentina on acceding to the Presidency of the Security Council. We are convinced that your experience and the well-known attributes of your personality will once again come to light in guiding debate.

¹ *Legal Consequences for States of the Continued Presence of South Africa in Namibia (South West Africa) notwithstanding Security Council resolution 276 (1970), Advisory Opinion, I.C.J. Reports 1971, para. 116.*

17. At the 1982nd plenary meeting of the General Assembly on 15 November last, the Chairman of the Latin American group, speaking on behalf of the nations comprising it, welcomed the People's Republic of China to our Organization. We feel we were fully represented at that time in the statement made by Ambassador Molina of Costa Rica. At this time we wish to add the individual greetings of the delegation of Argentina.

18. The conversations that commenced in Bucharest almost three months ago between the representatives of Argentina and the People's Republic of China with a view to normalizing diplomatic and trade relations between those countries are characterized by frank and positive dialogue. With that same frankness we now wish to state that we are confident that the participation of that State, which has the largest population on earth, not only will fill a void and bring us closer to the desired universality of the United Nations but will have a really constructive significance in attaining the great purposes and principles laid down in the San Francisco Charter. People are weary of sterile divisions and yearn for peace. One of the primary responsibilities of each country represented here, whatever its size or potential, is to contribute to the elimination of those divisions, making efforts to find genuine joint solutions to the serious problems besetting the international community within harmonious coexistence and the framework of the most complete respect for the conditions, characteristics and systems prevailing in each nation.

19. The United Nations has achieved a great deal in its first 25 years of existence, both in the field of concrete achievements and in the establishment of a propitious atmosphere for overcoming differences. In the long and difficult road that still lies ahead for the attainment of those objectives, the People's Republic of China is called upon to play a historically decisive role. In welcoming among us its representatives, headed by Mr. Huang Hua, we wish to offer in advance the co-operation of the Argentine delegation in that great enterprise.

20. On this day when the delegation of the People's Republic of China takes part for the first time in the work of the Security Council, I believe it most timely to address a special message to our esteemed Secretary-General, U Thant, who worked so hard for the restoration of China's rights in our Organization, and to offer our most cordial wishes for his quick recovery so that we may see him soon again among us.

21. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): I wish to thank the representative of Argentina for the kind words he has said about me.

22. Mr. VINCI (Italy): The special occasion of today's meeting leads me to break a long-standing practice of my delegation, that of dispensing with complimentary remarks. I shall start, Mr. President, by congratulating you. We feel indebted to you for the tact and discretion which the exceptional circumstances of the moment have demanded and which you have shown yourself to possess in such a high degree in conducting our affairs during the month of November, now approaching its end.

23. I had the opportunity, at previous meetings, to express the high esteem and the deep gratitude we feel, Mr. President, for your distinguished predecessor. I wish, however, to renew our special tribute to Ambassador Sevilla Sacasa of Nicaragua, who presided over our deliberations with great ability and foresight during one of the most difficult and important sessions of the Council.

24. A little over a week ago I had the opportunity to extend, on behalf of my Government, an official welcome to the delegation of the People's Republic of China, at the eventful 1982nd plenary meeting of the General Assembly at which it occupied its rightful place in the United Nations. I shall therefore not repeat what I had to say on that fateful occasion. But this is indeed a momentous day in the life of our Organization, a day when, by formally occupying its permanent seat and joining us in the Security Council, the People's Republic of China gives a new dimension to the very existence and activity of this essential organ of the United Nations.

25. I, therefore, share the views which you, Sir, and previous speakers have expressed in stressing the historic significance of this event, convinced as I am that the more closely the composition of the Security Council reflects the reality of today's world, the more effective its action can become in support of peace and security. An important and long-overdue step has thus been taken today. It is certainly most welcome, and I am sure its full importance will be appreciated by the general membership, in particular by a number of States that have long maintained that the Security Council's composition directly affects the prospects of strengthening peace and security throughout the world, a task for which the Council bears the primary responsibility.

26. I should like at the same time to join you, Mr. President, and the representatives of Somalia, the United Kingdom and Argentina in giving a heartfelt welcome to the new colleague at our table, Ambassador Huang Hua. He comes here with impressive credentials both as a man and as a diplomat; as a man, because he, a militant patriot, proved his attachment to principles by not yielding to any pressure, even physical; as a colleague, because his record speaks for itself. Envoy of a great nation and of a millenary civilization, he has lived up to the high responsibility of representing the new Chinese reality in a number of highly important diplomatic posts at Geneva, Accra, Cairo and Ottawa. I think all of us will benefit from the wisdom, experience and skill of Ambassador Huang Hua.

27. With this bright prospect in mind, my delegation and I are looking forward to co-operating closely with our Chinese colleague and his collaborators, in this body as well as in all the other bodies of the United Nations.

28. Finally, I should like to associate myself with the good wishes our colleague from Argentina has extended to our Secretary-General, whom we hope to see back at a very early date.

29. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): I wish to thank the representative of Italy and assure him that I

have been very much moved by the kind words he has addressed to me.

30. Mr. NAKAGAWA (Japan): Mr. President, as this is the first meeting of the Security Council under your Presidency, I should like to join Ambassador Vinci in congratulating you on your assumption of this high office of the Security Council. I am confident that under your able and experienced leadership the Security Council will achieve fruitful results. I assure you of the full co-operation of the Japanese delegation during the course of this month.

31. I should also like to express deep appreciation and thanks to Ambassador Sevilla Sacasa of Nicaragua, the out-going President, who presided with utmost tact and dignity over one of the fullest months of our Council.

32. I should like to associate myself with the previous speakers in extending, on behalf of the Japanese delegation, our warm welcome to the delegation of the People's Republic of China, a great Power and our close neighbour in Asia. My delegation is confident that the presence of the People's Republic of China will strengthen the functioning of the Security Council and will further the cause of international peace and security. The constructive contribution of the Government of the People's Republic of China to the future activities of the United Nations will be a great asset in our continuing effort to achieve lasting peace for the whole world.

33. I should also like to add that my delegation looks forward to the contacts between our two delegations, to a deepening mutual understanding, and the furtherance of friendly relations between our two countries.

34. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): I thank the representative of Japan, for the kind words he has said about me.

35. Mr. MALIK (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*translated from Russian*): Mr. President, permit me to express to you, the representative of a fraternal socialist country, Poland, our sincere congratulations upon your assuming the exalted post of President of the Security Council and to wish you all success in discharging the functions entrusted to you. Your outstanding diplomatic talents and your great experience in the work of the United Nations, together with your personal qualities, will undoubtedly have a positive influence on the work of the Security Council. Permit me to assure you that in carrying out your important tasks as President of the Council you will have the full support and collaboration of the Soviet delegation.

36. I should also like to express my gratitude to your predecessor, the distinguished Mr. Guillermo Sevilla Sacasa, for his active and wide-ranging work as President of the Security Council and to point to the important decisions that were adopted by the Council under his leadership last month.

37. Permit me also, on behalf of the Soviet delegation, to associate myself with the words of welcome and the good wishes that you expressed to the distinguished representa-

tive of China, Mr. Huang Hua. I am, I think, the only one among those present at the Security Council table, if not the only one in this room, who had the opportunity 20 years ago, as representative of the Soviet Union in the Council, to welcome the first representative of the People's Republic of China to the Security Council table at the meeting at which we, with considerable difficulty, succeeded in overcoming the opposition of those who sought to prevent this and invited the Chinese representative to take part in the work of the Security Council. We have had to struggle for more than 20 years for the restoration of justice and in order to have a second opportunity to welcome the representative of the People's Republic of China—on this occasion as a permanent colleague and participant in the work of the principal United Nations organ for the strengthening of peace and security, the Security Council. However, the fight for justice in the United Nations continues. The forces of opposition are still active. The fight for the participation of States in this important international organization on a basis of equality, for the even-handed application of the Charter to all States irrespective of their socio-political system continues as before. We have still not seen the last in the United Nations system of the policy of unequal treatment and discrimination against the socialist States. We shall continue in the future to fight for the restoration of justice, for the even-handed application of the United Nations Charter, and for the participation—or, at least, presence—of all States in this Organization on a basis of equality, irrespective of their socio-political system, and, above all, of the socialist States, which until now have been discriminated against.

38. There are forces, blinded by class hatred towards socialism, which are continuing to prevent certain socialist countries from having official representatives at the United Nations. I have in mind the German Democratic Republic, which has thus far been denied an opportunity to have an official observer here. That is a flagrant injustice, a relic of the worst days of the cold war. Within the United Nations there are still forces that are continuing along the road on which they set out in the worst years of the cold war, unmindful of present-day reality and despite the fact that that course has long been condemned by history. Official representatives of the German Democratic Republic are denied United States visas. Official representatives of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea are denied an opportunity to attend sessions of the General Assembly during discussion of the Korean question or of matters relating to Korea. The way is barred to them. To this day they have received no opportunity to state the official position of their Government on questions discussed at General Assembly sessions that directly affect Korea.

39. Those who are opposed to affording them this opportunity and are still following the path of cold war should seriously reconsider their position and take account of present-day realities and the sorry lessons of the failure of their struggle to prevent the restoration of the rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations; they should reconsider also their preconceived positions with regard to other socialist countries.

40. On 15 November, at the 1983rd plenary meeting of the General Assembly, the Soviet delegation welcomed the

delegation of the People's Republic of China, which had come to participate in the work of the twenty-sixth session of the General Assembly, the Security Council and all other United Nations organs. In that statement, the Soviet delegation expressed the hope that the restoration of the rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations and its permanent, full-fledged participation in the work of the Organization would be a positive contribution towards increasing the effectiveness of the United Nations and would help to consolidate world peace and international security and to develop and strengthen mutual understanding and co-operation among peoples. In our opinion, the presence and participation of the delegation of the People's Republic of China in the work of the Security Council is bound to have great significance. We should like to hope that it will have the appropriate positive influence on the work of the Security Council, which under the United Nations Charter is the principal United Nations organ responsible for the maintenance of peace and security.

41. Permit me to express the hope that the Security Council will benefit from the effective and positive co-operation of the representative of the People's Republic of China, Mr. Huang Hua.

42. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): I thank the representative of the Soviet Union, Comrade Malik, for his statement and the kind words he has been good enough to address to me.

43. Mr. SEVILLA SACASA (Nicaragua) (*interpretation from Spanish*): Mr. President, may my first words be addressed to you to congratulate you most cordially on your well-deserved accession to the Presidency of this highly respected international forum. We are aware of your outstanding abilities, your diplomatic tact and your international experience and are therefore completely certain that you, Mr. Kufaga, will succeed to the satisfaction of all in guiding the debates of the Security Council. I congratulate you most cordially as a friend and a colleague.

44. Now I should like to express my gratitude to the representatives of Argentina, Italy, Japan and the Soviet Union for their words of cordial praise for me personally and their kind references to me as President of the Security Council during the past month of October. I accept those statements for my country, which gave me the privilege of representing it in this forum, where such eminent personalities as all of you doubtless are, dear friends and colleagues, take part.

45. I too take great pleasure in respectfully greeting the representative of the People's Republic of China, Mr. Huang Hua. He is a person whose name is respected and who is known throughout the world. I greet him by recalling what only yesterday I said on behalf of my country before the General Assembly in regard to his Government and his people. I said then:

"Nicaragua does not deny, nor could it deny, that more than 700 million people with a governmental régime which, for more than 20 years, has proved its effectiveness and control over a major part of the territory and the

population of China should be represented in the United Nations.

"To deny this would mean closing our eyes to irrefutable facts in the contemporary world. These are the ever-wider participation of the Government of the People's Republic of China in world affairs, the growth of an economic system whose presence in the world is undeniable, and the growing number of Governments which recognize the legal existence of the Government of the People's Republic of China."²

46. As he joins this Council, it is for me a satisfaction rather more than a diplomatic duty to greet Mr. Huang Hua most respectfully with the hope that his action here in this forum will, in many ways and in different forms, contribute to the strengthening of international peace and security.

47. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): I wish to thank Mr. Sevilla Sacasa and say that I was particularly moved by the very generous words that he addressed to me.

48. Mr. BUSH (United States of America): Last week on behalf of my delegation and of the host Government, I made a statement of welcome in the General Assembly to the delegation of the People's Republic of China and I join with our other colleagues here today in welcoming Ambassador Huang Hua and Ambassador Chen Chu, his deputy, on their first appearance in the Security Council, this very special body of the United Nations.

49. In doing so, I want to confirm that all of us in the United States Mission look forward to co-operating here, as in other chambers of the United Nations, with the members of this new Chinese delegation in our efforts to find constructive solutions to the important issues of peace and security which concern us all.

50. Mr. Ambassador, we bid you and your delegation welcome.

51. Mr. TERENCE (Burundi) (*interpretation from French*): My delegation is very pleased to see you, Mr. President, occupy the office of President of the Security Council during this month of November, which promises to be particularly difficult, confronted as we are by important and numerous problems and the fact that peace is threatened throughout the world. We are familiar with all your qualities because we have seen you in action both in the past and now and we have full confidence in your competence. We have every good reason for expecting fruitful results from the work that the Security Council will perform during this month.

52. My delegation would likewise wish to thank you for the important role you have played in various missions in Africa on behalf of the Security Council and in its name, and we know how strongly attached you are to the African cause with which you have identified yourself in spite of the distance which separates Africa from Poland, a country with a long and rich history both of culture and civilization.

² Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-sixth Session, Plenary Meetings, 1974th meeting, paras. 93 and 94.

53. I should like to turn now to your distinguished predecessor and my delegation is in a good position to wonder whether Mr. Sevilla Sacasa is not to some extent a magician, and I will explain why. Over a year ago he presided over our Council when a historic resolution on the Namibia case was referred to the International Court of Justice [resolution 284 (1970)]. It was he who was presiding over our Council when it endorsed the advisory opinion of the Court [resolution 301 (1971)]. We are particularly grateful to him and he can rely on our great appreciation and profound gratitude.

54. At the time when the United Nations has finally crossed the Rubicon and that it is thereby, like Julius Caesar, able to utter the words *jacta alea est*—the die is cast—we do not wish by our present statement to comply with a traditional ritual of expressing welcome.

55. This meeting assumes symbolic significance and a character which is both unique and historic inasmuch as it is attended, for the first time since the creation of the United Nations, by the five permanent members who henceforth are to sit side by side in this organ in order to safeguard the welfare of mankind.

56. This event signifies that one era has passed and another has dawned, one which the world hopes will be brilliant. Would it really be indulging in hyperbole to say that a general sense of universality has accompanied the People's Republic of China to the United Nations? Is it necessary, on the other hand, to emphasize that the hopes of States were based on a number of criteria? As far as the Republic of Burundi is concerned, a small country of 5 million inhabitants, it learned with interest that China had recovered its rightful seat in the international forum. But the Burundi people have heard with even greater satisfaction the ardent plea of the People's Republic of China in favour of the lawful rights of the small nations within the United Nations. It became incumbent upon the Burundi delegation to have the honour to hail the presence of their Excellencies Mr. Chiao Kuan-hua, Deputy Minister for Foreign Affairs and Mr. Huang Hua, Permanent Representative, and their collaborators. We believe that we are fulfilling this task on behalf of Burundi, but also on behalf of the African group as we have the privilege and the happiness of being one of the three mandated spokesmen in this Council for that group.

57. A far more significant element justifies the enthusiasm of our Organization, namely that the new membership of the Security Council is now in the last analysis the literal application of Article 23 of the Charter, which establishes the number of permanent members at five.

58. If the lion's share belongs to the Member States in the Organization it is not excluded that bilateral and parallel talks between the American and the Chinese Governments have constituted a decisive supplementary contribution to their happy resolution of the situation. Accordingly, the participation of the two great Powers in the Security Council provides them with an additional channel of communication at a time when they have launched a policy of ardently desired rapprochement since the two parties will be able now to speak together face to face on both

sides of the table of the Council, which is a distance far shorter than that separating Washington and Peking. It is generally notorious, unfortunately, that the performance of the Security Council has remained well below the hopes placed in it. The powerlessness of this organ is in major part to be ascribed to ideological antagonisms. Nevertheless, the more damaging difference, however invisible it might have been, lay in the absence of one of the great Powers. Doubtless we have to refer here, in the interests of appropriate comparison, to the fate of the League of Nations when a colossus, the United States of America, abstained from participating in it, whereas President Woodrow Wilson had so fervently and with a tenacity which was to lead to self-sacrifice attempted to support the creation of what he qualified in January 1918 in his famous Fourteenth Point as "a general association of nations to be formed to afford mutual guarantees of political independence and territorial integrity to great and small States alike".

59. At the present juncture it is necessary for Washington, Moscow, Paris, Peking and London to return to the letter and the spirit of the Charter, as they did when they founded the United Nations, in which the world has placed so much hope for aiding the solidarity and progress of all peoples. And now in this Council we see collaboration in the maintenance of peace among these same five Powers, to whom their weapons, their economies, their policies and their influence have attributed world-wide responsibility.

60. It was perhaps because I was taken up with my habitual passion for the future destiny of our institution—like Teilhard de Chardin for the destiny of the human race—that last May, while I was President of the Security Council, I described the monumental task of the permanent members of the Security Council in the following terms:

"It is the giants who, in the last analysis, bear the full brunt of the destiny of mankind and the primacy of peace. . . . the United States, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, France, the People's Republic of China and the United Kingdom . . . by dint of the nuclear weapons at their disposal as also their overwhelming might in all political, economic and military fields . . . are best able to ensure the salvation of mankind if they are determined to make of this Council a powerful instrument for peace." [See 1567th meeting, paras. 110 and 111.]

"Invested with unlimited powers, when in harmony they could act as dependable and supreme guarantors of peace and the authority of the United Nations." [Ibid., para. 112.]

61. The present situation inaugurates an era of *détente* because ideological conflicts no longer raise any obstacles to harmony among the five giants and the invisible gap left by the absence of China has now been filled. We are therefore entitled to hope now that efforts towards unity will continue to grow and will take tangible shape in the form of actions so that little by little it may be possible to solve the crucial problem of peace and security. We finally see what weight could and should be attributed to this Council, on condition that it makes full use of its rights and powers. We can also see now how lofty the ideals and

principles of the Charter of our Organization are, and how strong the motives are for safeguarding them.

62. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): I thank the representative of Burundi. I am most grateful to him for the kind and eloquent words he has addressed both to my country and to me. I was especially grateful for the reference he made to the friendly relations which I have had both the honour and pleasure of establishing with numerous representatives of Africa.

63. Mr. LONGERSTAEY (Belgium) (*interpretation from French*): Allow me first, Mr. President, to pay a tribute of gratitude to Mr. Sevilla Sacasa, who conducted our debates with so much tact, diplomacy and authority during the month of October. We benefited from his judicious counsel during the consultations which he successfully carried out. As a member of the Special Mission which went to Senegal last summer, we were particularly able to appreciate his qualities of impartiality.

64. Mr. President, may I avail myself of this opportunity to congratulate you on your accession to the presidency of the Council for this month. Mr. Kujala is known to us because of his lengthy diplomatic experience and his solid training. We are certain that all of this will guarantee the Council success under his presidency.

65. My delegation is happy to associate itself with you, Mr. President, and with speakers who have preceded me in addressing in turn our warmest congratulations to the delegation of the People's Republic of China in the Security Council. We hope to work in close co-operation with our colleagues from China and I can assure them that they will always be able to count on the co-operation of the delegation from Belgium.

66. Belgium welcomes with great satisfaction the fact that the People's Republic of China occupies its seat in the Security Council of the United Nations. The great people of China, which through the centuries has transmitted to the entire world the brilliance of a particularly glorious cultural heritage, will bring to mankind, as its President, Mao Tse-tung has promised, a much greater contribution than before. We have also noted that in the spirit of Mao Tse-tung this conception means acceptance of "the challenge that military supremacy cannot decide the fate of man" and that "man and man's ideas are infinitely more important than the atom bomb".

67. The great changes which have occurred in human society since the end of the Second World War have opened up new horizons. These transformations, which daily acquire ever vaster dimensions, by keeping in pace with technical progress, require new adaptations and a new ferment. We have noted with particular interest the awakening and reawakening of the masses in Asia to their historic role and their international responsibility. In this context the power of China, its people, its vision of history, constitute a paramount factor in moulding the future.

68. We are convinced that in the Security Council the representatives of the People's Republic of China will work constructively and in co-operation with the other members

of the Council in seeking lasting and just solutions to problems concerning international peace and security.

69. Together we are called upon to pursue sustained and concerted efforts to prevent any crisis situation from degenerating into open conflict and to maintain peace throughout every region of the world. In our work we are guided by the spirit of the United Nations Charter which has enunciated the basic principles which are to govern relations between States. The political, cultural and economic dynamism of which the Chinese people have given proof, particularly during the last two decades, will certainly be transferred to the United Nations and will, I hope, be reflected in a creative originality in the work of the Security Council which is the primary organ charged by the Charter with the maintenance of international peace and security.

70. Once again, Mr. President, allow me to extend a welcome to the delegation of China to the Council.

71. I should like to associate myself with my colleagues who have earlier expressed their sympathy with our Secretary-General. My delegation hopes that, soon, his state of health will improve enough to permit him to join us in our work again in the Security Council, as he has in the past.

72. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): I thank the representative of Belgium for the kind words which he has addressed to me.

73. Mr. JOUEJATI (Syrian Arab Republic) (*interpretation from French*): Mr. President, allow me to congratulate you, on behalf of the delegation of the Syrian Arab Republic, on your accession to the Presidency of the Security Council, a post which will make good use of your talents as a diplomat and your lofty conception of the principles of justice and equity, not to mention the human warmth of your personality. We feel certain that the task which you will accomplish will be an effective contribution to the work of the Council for the maintenance of international peace and security.

74. It is also an honour and a pleasure for us to congratulate Mr. Sevilla Sacasa of Nicaragua, who, during the month of October, assumed the heavy burden of the Presidency of the Council. Because of his vast diplomatic experience he was able successfully to guide our debates in the Council. The report of the Special Mission which this year visited Senegal under his chairmanship³ will remain a vibrant tribute to his qualities.

75. At the same time, this meeting of the Council is marked by the presence among us for the first time of representatives of the People's Republic of China, who, after more than two decades, have taken the place which always should have been theirs. The importance of this event has no limits. Indeed, the majority of the Member States of our Organization have finally brought about the triumph of legality and right in a matter as important as the

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

universality of the United Nations. This augurs well for a future in which other injustices towards peoples, towards States, will disappear one after another. At a time when the policy of aggression, of occupation and of fait accompli creates ruin and claims countless victims, this triumph of justice marks an evolution which has come in time to reawaken the hopes for a rebirth of the primacy of right over force. At the same time, the balance of the Security Council, which was expected to be the corner-stone of this Organization, has now been re-established. But the greater significance of this event is that the People's Republic of China will be able to make its voice heard, the voice of justice, of peace, of liberation from the colonial yoke and from foreign occupation, and will be able to associate itself effectively with the defenders of the true cause of the United Nations and the principles of the Charter.

76. We are certain that the delegation of the People's Republic of China will make an effective and constructive contribution to our debates and will again bring the Council to the position which it should rightfully occupy as the supreme organ of the United Nations. We welcome the arrival of the People's Republic of China as a crucial turning point in the life of the Security Council, a turning point in the restoration of international justice. This in itself is sufficient to express the significance of this renewal and the possibility of having a rejuvenated, dynamic Security Council which will fulfil its mission with more courage, more firmness and greater faithfulness to the hopes of the masses of people who wish truly to see in it the apostle of a better world.

77. Before concluding, I wish to say how much we regret the absence, because of an indisposition, of the Secretary-General, who has worked so hard for the restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China. We address to him the most sincere wishes for the recovery of his health.

78. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): I thank the representative of the Syrian Arab Republic for the kind words he said about me.

79. Mr. TAYLOR-KAMARA (Sierra Leone): Mr. President, it gives my delegation much pleasure to have you conduct the affairs of this Council in the capacity of President for the current month. We are well aware of your great skill and qualifications for the post and have witnessed your ability in the course of the frequent consultations you have held during your tenure of office. We have no doubt that under your wise leadership our work will progress with the utmost speed and sagacity.

80. To your predecessor, Ambassador Sevilla Sacasa of Nicaragua, I extend my delegation's warm appreciation of the enormous tasks which he and his delegation grappled with and of the significant results achieved. Notwithstanding the fact that the twenty-sixth session of the General Assembly has fully engaged our attention, both you and your predecessor have found time to deal with the issues that face the Council. We thank you for your efforts.

81. My delegation cannot allow this occasion to slip by without taking advantage of the opportunity it provides to

welcome in our midst today for the first time the authentic representatives of the People's Republic of China. As a sponsor of the 23-Power draft resolution that was adopted by an overwhelming majority at the historic 1976th meeting of the General Assembly on 25 October, my delegation adduced cogent reasons why the representatives of the great country of China, with a population comprising one quarter of the human race, should be invited to take its rightful place in this world body.

82. For over 20 years the People's Republic of China struggled hard, in the face of several obstacles, to regain its lawful rights to sit side by side with us in the United Nations. These rights, we all know, were unlawfully taken away from this great nation by forces not only beyond China's control but also beyond the control of the United Nations. It is worthy of note, however, that there has been a change of heart on the part of those Powers that have for all these years been the contributory factors in suppressing the legal rights of the People's Republic of China and completely denying it the opportunity of exercising such rights in the United Nations.

83. We cannot lose sight of the fact that the greatness and vast experience of the People's Republic of China, its culture and rich civilization and its political wisdom, which has transcended thousands of years, will help create the balance that has always been needed to make the work of the United Nations an all-round success, now that it will play the role of one of the permanent members of the Security Council.

84. We listened the other day with rapt attention to the policy statement delivered by Mr. Chiao Kuan-hua, the leader of the Chinese delegation, and we are satisfied with a number of declarations he made. His Government's powerful stand on questions of colonialism, disarmament, peaceful coexistence and international security leaves absolutely no doubt in our minds of the true intentions of his country and its leaders, whose presence will, we hope, encourage forthrightness within these halls and put a much desired end to prevarication and double-talk.

85. On behalf of the President, the Government and the people of the Republic of Sierra Leone, I welcome the distinguished representatives of the People's Republic of China seated among us in the Council today and look forward to closer relations—official and otherwise—with them during the remainder of our term in this Council and afterwards.

86. Last but not least, may I be permitted to send to the Secretary-General, through you, Mr. President, the special greetings of my delegation, wishing him a speedy recovery and a quick return to us to join in carrying out the duties of the United Nations, to which he has been so dedicated.

87. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): I thank the representative of Sierra Leone for the very kind words he was good enough to address to me.

88. Mr. KOSCIUSKO-MORIZET (France) (*interpretation from French*): France has already hailed in the General Assembly, with the solemnity that was appropriate to the

occasion, the People's Republic of China and the restoration of its rights in this Organization. You, Sir, as President of the Security Council and as a worthy successor to Mr. Sevilla Sacasa, expressed at the beginning of this meeting our common feelings. We are grateful to you for this.

89. All the speakers that have preceded me, each in turn with his talent, his temperament, his ideology and even his terminology, have said all there was to be said. For our part we shall limit ourselves to observing that the presence of the People's Republic of China will bring to our Organization more realism, more balance and, we hope, more effectiveness. While this arrival was desirable and desired in all the United Nations organs, it was even more essential in the Security Council, which is primarily responsible for the maintenance of international peace and security. We are therefore happy to have among us—and, indeed, next to us—as eminent a diplomat as Mr. Huang Hua in the permanent seat of China. In bidding him a most friendly welcome, we assure him of our will to co-operate with him. We are convinced of the importance and the quality of the contribution which he will make to the work of the Council.

90. Mr. HUANG Hua (China) (*translated from Chinese*): Allow me, Mr. President and fellow representatives, to express our thanks for the words of welcome that you have extended to the Chinese representative. It is a pleasure for us to take part, together with the other members of the Security Council, in the work of this Council.

91. After the Second World War, very profound changes took place in the world situation. Countries want independence, nations want liberation and the people want revolution. This has become the main trend of the present international situation, propelling the advance of history and social progress. However, the colonialists and neo-colonialists, and particularly one or two super-Powers, have not ceased their activities in practising power politics and in carrying out aggression, interference, subversion and control against other countries and people.

92. The struggle of aggression versus anti-aggression, interference versus anti-interference, subversion versus anti-subversion and control versus anti-control is becoming ever more acute. Since the end of the Second World War, although a new world war has not broken out, local wars have not ceased and tensions have occurred one after another. There is no peace on earth. The danger of a new world war still exists. The people of the whole world must be vigilant.

93. The Chinese people have suffered over a long period of time from imperialist aggression and oppression; they have persistently opposed the imperialist policies of aggression and war and supported oppressed peoples and nations in their just struggles to win freedom and liberation, to oppose foreign interference and to become masters of their own destiny. The Chinese people have always received the sympathy and support of the people of various countries in our struggle for independence and liberation over the past century and more and in the cause of our socialist revolution and socialist construction.

94. We regard it as our bounden duty to give support to the just struggles of the people of all countries. According to the purposes of the United Nations Charter, the Security Council should play its due role in maintaining international peace and opposing aggression and interference. It is our hope that the spirit of the United Nations Charter will be followed out. To this end we will stand together with all the countries and peoples that love peace and uphold justice, to work for the defence of national independence and State sovereignty of various countries and for the safeguarding of international peace and the promotion of human progress.

Expression of thanks to the retiring President

95. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): Before we proceed to the adoption of the agenda, it is a great pleasure for me to express the profound gratitude of the Council to Mr. Sevilla Sacasa who was President of the Security Council during the month of October. His tact, experience and diplomatic skill which we all recognize in him enabled him with brilliance and success to guide the work of the Council during the month of October. To this he added the living breath of a far-seeing and generous spirit that aimed at conciliation and co-operation. We are most grateful to him.

96. I am also certain that you will authorize me and the Under-Secretary-General to transmit to U Thant, the Secretary-General of our Organization, the wishes extended to him during this meeting, and I wish to add my own good wishes to them.

97. Mr. SEVILLA SACASA (Nicaragua) (*interpretation from Spanish*): Mr. President, allow me to express to you my most sincere gratitude for your words of undeserved praise addressed to me and for your generous references to my action as President of the Security Council during the month of October last. These expressions honour me and they please me deeply, my dear friend, Mr. Kuřaga, not only because they come to me from the President of the Council but also because you, Mr. Kuřaga, have addressed those generous words to me. All of your colleagues on the Council feel the greatest respect and esteem for you, and also for the noble country which you so worthily represent among us. As I just said, knowing your abilities, your human qualities, your tact, your great experience and your civic virtues, we feel sure that your presidency will be a complete success, to your satisfaction and to the satisfaction of your country, which numbers you among its most illustrious sons. You know, Mr. Kuřaga, that we, your colleagues and friends, will share with satisfaction in the success that I predict for you.

98. I wish to express my most sincere thanks to the esteemed Ambassadors of Sierra Leone, Burundi, Argentina and France and to the President for what they have said about me. Their words encourage me in my career devoted to serving the interests of peace and in my ability to justify the friendship so generously offered by all of you—my friends whom I so greatly esteem and respect.

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/103084)

99. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): You will recall that during the first meetings devoted to the consideration of the present item on the agenda, the Security Council had decided to invite the representatives of Senegal, Guinea, Mali, Sudan, Mauritania, Mauritius, Togo and Zambia to participate without right to vote in the debate of the Council on the question before it.

100. In view of the limited number of seats at the Council table and in conformity with the usual practice, I would invite the representatives of countries non-members of the Security Council wishing to participate in this debate to take their places in the Council chamber, on the understanding that they will be asked to take a seat at the Council table when their turn to speak comes.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. M. Fall (Senegal) took a place at the Council table and Mr. E.-H. A. Touré (Guinea), Mr. S. Traore (Mali), Mr. M. El Hassen (Mauritania), Mr. R. Ramphul (Mauritius) and Mr. A. M. A. Hassan (Sudan) took the places reserved for them in the Council chamber.

101. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): It will be recalled that, following a complaint by Senegal to the Security Council, the Council last July decided in resolution 294 (1971) to dispatch a Special Mission to Senegal. That Mission, consisting of six members, was presided over by Mr. Sevilla Sacasa. The Special Mission has submitted its report,⁴ which was formally introduced to the Council by Mr. Sevilla Sacasa at the 1586th meeting. The Council today continues its deliberations on the matter.

102. Mr. SEVILLA SACASA (Nicaragua) (*interpretation from Spanish*): As I said at the 1586th meeting, held on 29 September last, the report to which the President has just referred contains several parts. These are: introduction, tasks of the Special Mission, conclusions and recommendations. In addition there are annexes which contain reports of the military experts of the members of the Special Mission and documents submitted to the Special Mission by the Government of Senegal. The recommendations are based on what we heard, what we observed and what we inferred; and furthermore they are based on Security Council resolutions.

103. The Special Mission of which I had the honour to be Chairman has submitted its report to this Council for consideration in the knowledge that we, the members, discharged the mission entrusted to us in a constructive spirit, inspired by the interests of peace, the preservation of which constitutes the invincible goal of our Organization, governed as it is by sacred principles which we must safeguard.

104. It was a signal honour for me to be Chairman of so important a mission, and I discharged my duties in the

company of honoured and distinguished ambassadors I greatly esteem—ambassadors such as Mr. Kufaga and the representatives of Burundi, Belgium, Syria and Japan.

105. As I said yesterday, this Mission may be regarded as one of the most important ever to be designated by the Council because it was the first to which this high body gave authority to make any recommendations necessary to guarantee peace and security in the region.

106. We express our gratitude to the Government of Senegal for its hospitality, its many courtesies and the facilities of every kind it gave us for the performance of our delicate mission.

107. As I also said yesterday, the Mission strongly deplored the fact that it received no invitation from the Government of Portugal to visit Guinea (Bissau) for the purpose of carrying out in that sector activities related to its task.

108. Having now submitted our report to the Security Council, and since its members are all familiar with that document, the members of the Mission are anxious to have a draft resolution which, inspired by the recommendations contained in the report—which are very clear-cut, categorical and consistent—will further our work. The members of the Special Mission are also very willing to reply to any question that may be put to us in regard to the work we performed recently. As Chairman of the Mission, I in particular offer the Council my services to explain ideas and aspects that may flow from any part of the report.

109. I thank you for allowing me to speak and for giving me an opportunity to express once again the satisfaction felt by six colleagues, distinguished ambassadors all, at having assumed a great responsibility and at having carried out with honour and dignity the mission that was a part of that responsibility.

110. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): I give the floor to the representative of Senegal.

111. Mr. FALL (Senegal) (*interpretation from French*): On behalf of my Government I wish to thank you, Mr. President, and through you all the members of the Security Council, for having been good enough to allow me to participate in this meeting, at which the Council will discuss the complaint my country has lodged against Portugal.

112. Mr. President, I am doubly gratified to see you presiding over the Security Council at the time this matter has come before this body—first because you are a man whose loyalty and dedication to the cause of the United Nations is recognized by all and secondly because no one is more familiar with this whole matter since you have studied it in your dual capacity as member of the Security Council and member of the Special Mission sent to the spot. I take advantage of this opportunity to thank the Chairman of the mission for the kind words he just addressed to my Government. I shall not fail to transmit them to the President of the Republic of Senegal. My Government has instructed me to reiterate to all the members of the Special

⁴ *Ibid.*

Mission its gratitude for the objectivity and impartiality with which they discharged their delicate task. Lastly, I am gratified at the presence at this meeting of the representative of the People's Republic of China to the Security Council. There is no doubt that the participation of the genuine representatives of the great Chinese people in the Council's debates will confer upon its decisions an entirely new dimension.

113. Before coming to the substance of my intervention I would like first to make a confession. Indeed, after the pertinent interventions that took place at the meeting of 29 September, during which the Mission introduced its report, my Government, believing the matter had been sufficiently considered, instructed my delegation not to intervene further at that stage in the debate. It wished thereby to indicate its total confidence in the Council.

114. Unfortunately, various subsequent events have obliged us to go back on that wise decision. First of all, this involves a letter the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Portugal addressed to the President of the Security Council on 29 September 1971, which was circulated as document S/10343. It is to this new element, or part of this new element, that I shall limit the essential features of my statement. It is indeed evident that the purpose of that letter is not to place in the files any elements likely to destroy the Senegalese theses or to contradict the assertions contained in the Special Mission's report. That letter's purpose is simply to create a diversion, to create doubt by alleging that Senegal has been disloyal in seizing this Council of this matter after having come to a common agreement with Portugal on it.

115. My Government has instructed me formally and categorically to reject these insinuations. Of course, there has been an encounter between the Ministers of Foreign Affairs of Senegal and Portugal, at the request of the latter. That encounter took place in May. If it did not lead to any official communiqué or any other form of publicity, it is because no positive decision was reached. My Government nevertheless informed the parties concerned of it in good time, in other words, the leaders of the national liberation movement of Guinea (Bissau). But since the representative of the Portuguese Government now wishes to utilize this file, we shall help him to do so by reminding him of certain facts which he failed to mention in his letter.

116. As I have already pointed out, this encounter took place at the request of the Portuguese Government. Senegal accepted it for two reasons.

117. The first is that the President of the Republic of Senegal had already proposed a peace plan so as to put an end to a situation which has been tearing apart that part of the African continent for more than 10 years. The terms of that peace plan are well known to you, Mr. President. The President of the Republic of Senegal brought them to the knowledge of the Secretary-General of the United Nations. Our Minister of Foreign Affairs presented them to the Security Council at its 1569th meeting on 12 July last. That plan has, in addition, been approved by the leaders of the liberation movements of Guinea (Bissau). And those leaders are known to you, Mr. President. The Special

Mission met the most prestigious of them, the Secretary-General of the PAIGC, Amílcar Cabral. You were therefore able to note, Mr. President, that this man is neither a subversive element nor a wild leader of a mob, but on the contrary, a wise and calm man, a great patriot, certainly confident that he is right, but also very much aware of the duties imposed upon him by his heavy historic responsibilities. Thus for my Government this meeting with the representative of the Portuguese Government was to give rise to a definition of the policy of the Lisbon Government vis-à-vis the peace proposals that had been submitted to it by the Head of State of Senegal.

118. A second reason also made us accept this meeting: our complaint to the Security Council had already been introduced on 27 April in document S/10182. We thought that Portugal would probably take advantage of the opportunity given to it to seek with us a way out, making it possible for it to emerge from a trap into which it is slipping ever more deeply. Our illusions did not last very long. From the very beginning of the talks we understood that Portugal was purely and simply trying a new manoeuvre with a view to making us withdraw our complaint before the Security Council.

119. For the Portuguese delegation the acts of violence which Senegal has been complaining of are provoked by the troops of the national liberation movements, especially the PAIGC, which are allegedly supported by an international brigade with communist allegiance. Of course, our delegation did not accept this falsified version of the facts. On the contrary, throughout this meeting our delegation constantly stressed to the other party that the genuine problem, the substantive problem, remains that of the freedom of Africans, as of all peoples, to decide freely upon their fate and that the armed struggle undertaken today by the liberation movements appears to everyone as the only answer to the obstinacy of Portugal, which still remains deaf to the appeal of the United Nations to grant independence to colonial peoples.

120. The national liberation movements have resorted to violence because they have despaired of being able to persuade Portugal, which is more than ever attached to this obviously ridiculous view that considers territories in the African continent as an appendix of the Iberian Peninsula. To the Portuguese proposal to establish a joint commission containing a representative of each of the two parties, under the chairmanship of a personality of a neutral country, our delegation in the course of that encounter answered that Senegal was not in a state of war with Portugal and that if the latter truly wished to enter into discussions it must do so with those against whom it is fighting, in other words, the national liberation movements. Thus, my Government has never accepted the establishment of a joint commission, contrary to the statements made in the letter from the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Portugal.

121. These are the conditions in which the talks took place. The Council will have noted that the letter of Portugal accuses the Government of Senegal of having violated the terms of an agreement, by bringing before the Security Council the matter in question, whereas the talks between the two Ministers for Foreign Affairs took place in

May, that is to say after our complaint to the Security Council, which dates from 27 April. This will give the Council an idea of the credence that can be attributed to the affirmations of the representatives of the Government of Lisbon.

122. Other acts reflecting the hostile attitude of Portugal vis-à-vis the Government of Senegal and its people have also been perpetrated since the Council's 1586th meeting of 29 September last. I might point particularly to the most recent of them which were referred to in my letter of 15 November [S/10388]. During those incidents, one soldier of the Senegalese army was killed and another was seriously injured. A herd of 200 cows was stolen. Moreover, on 30 October last, another incident had resulted in six wounded when a Senegalese military lorry was blown up by a mine in the village of Djibanar. Less than a week ago two persons in a lorry were seriously injured by the explosion of a mine near the Guinea (Bissau) border, and it was stressed that this incident took place on the road from Kolda to Ziguinchor—that is to say the most heavily frequented of the region. All these facts, coming after the inquiry conducted by the Special Mission, prove, if proof were still needed, the scant heed that the Portuguese authorities accord to decisions of the Council.

123. I shall refer to the matter being dealt with in the debate today only in order to repeat something that I stated to a member of the Council a few days ago, one who had described as stupid the refusal of Portugal to receive the members of the Special Mission on the Territory of Guinea (Bissau). I did not share his assessment of the behaviour of the Portuguese authorities. On the contrary, you are well aware, Mr. President, that the membership of the Special Mission of Inquiry was such that neither of the two parties could, *a priori*, raise any objection whatsoever concerning its impartiality. The attitude of Portugal, in these circumstances, is far from stupid, because, if an enquiry on the Territory of Guinea (Bissau) itself would have been quite useful to supplement the information possessed by the members of the Mission, it is also beyond doubt that it would have enabled the Mission to discover, on the spot, the weapon of the crime, as policemen would call it. And that is what the Portuguese authorities wanted to avoid at all costs, even at the cost of an affront inflicted upon the mandated representatives of the Council.

124. My Government has carefully studied the report of the Special Mission. It accepts its conclusions and recommendations. It believes, with the authors of that report, that it is more than ever appropriate to resolve the tragic problem of Guinea (Bissau) of which the aggressions perpetrated against Senegal are but one of the effects.

125. My Government recalls that the Security Council, in its resolution 273 (1969), has already said that it "*Strongly condemns the Portuguese authorities*" for the same acts that are the substance of our complaint today. The same resolution declared that, "in the event of failure by Portugal to comply with paragraph 2 of the present resolution, the Security Council will meet to consider other measures".

126. Portugal indeed refuses to comply with the decisions set forth in your resolution. You are gathered once again to

consider and decide upon those "other measures". The Council cannot, in any event, consider such "other measures" without taking into account particularly those measures decided upon earlier in the matter, because the matter still remains one and the same. The Council cannot consider such "other measures" without tackling the deep-rooted causes underlying the climate of chronic insecurity that prevails at present in that part of the African continent. And lastly, the Council cannot in this instance take measures any less firm and decisive than those already specified in its various resolutions, in particular resolution 273 (1969) and resolution 294 (1971), all of which include express condemnations of the Portuguese Government.

127. I know that there are some who always greet decisions emanating from the United Nations with a certain scepticism and doubt their effectiveness and indeed their usefulness. My Government, for its part, has always retained its confidence in our Organization. That is why, with renewed expression of its full gratitude to the Council, it awaits your decision with calm confidence.

128. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): I thank the representative of Senegal and wish him to know that I am indeed moved by the very generous words he has addressed to me.

129. Mr. FARAH (Somalia): My delegation has already commented on the report of the Special Mission established under Council resolution 294 (1971) and so I will be brief in elaborating on the statement we made at the 1586th meeting.

130. In reiterating its support for the recommendations contained in the report of the Special Mission, my delegation would like to emphasize the following points.

131. Permit me, first of all, to state a fact which may be obvious but which, in the opinion of my delegation, still needs to be stated. In the matter of Senegal's complaint against Portugal, the Security Council has been called upon to do the kind of job it was established to do, namely, to ensure peace and security for a people and Territory which have been the object of aggression, and to ensure respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of a State when those attributes have been attacked. The Security Council's peace-keeping role has a particular significance when a comparatively small and essentially peace-loving State is the object of aggression. It is a reality of our times that nuclear Powers rely on the terrible potential of their nuclear armaments for mutual restraint, and the medium-sized Powers among the developed countries can rely on a wealth of sophisticated armaments. The developing countries, for their part, can only hope that the Charter and the role it prescribes for the Security Council will afford them protection from aggression.

132. Up to this point the Security Council has acted quite correctly on Senegal's complaint. As recommended by the Charter, it has made use of a fact-finding mission, an essential measure if fair judgements are to be made and effective action is to be taken to deal with any situation involving a breach of the peace.

133. The Special Mission which this Council itself established to investigate Senegal's complaint has ascertained that acts of aggression have indeed been carried out against the people and territory of Senegal. To cite the words of the Special Mission in paragraph 127 of its report, the Mission "found the indications such as to designate the Portuguese authorities in Guinea (Bissau) as responsible". We know these were not isolated acts, and they have to be viewed against the background of a history of complaints by Senegal about similar acts of aggression which have in the past been condemned by the Security Council. My delegation feels strongly that this Council has no alternative but to let the Portuguese authorities know that any further act of aggression against Senegal, or against any other African State bordering on Portuguese-held territory, will be met by the application of coercive measures appropriate to the situation which the Council has at its disposal. In taking such a stand the Council must leave no room for doubt about the firmness of its purpose in this matter.

134. Necessary as such a stand would be, it would still only be an attempt to deal with a symptom rather than with the root-cause of the violence endemic along the borders of Portuguese-held Territories in Africa. The Special Mission has quite rightly reduced the whole question to its simplest elements, namely, the need for the Security Council to ensure peace and security for the people of Senegal, and the need to ensure that the people of Guinea (Bissau) and, one may add, of all the Portuguese-held Territories in Africa, are given the opportunity to exercise freely their inalienable right to self-determination and independence.

135. It is, of course, the denial of their inalienable rights to the people of Guinea (Bissau) that is the underlying cause of the tension in the region we are concerned with today. This point is brought out forcibly in paragraph 127 of the report, where it is stated that the "acts of violence and destruction appear to be the consequence of the special situation prevailing in Guinea (Bissau), which... is in contradiction to the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples".

136. The report of the Special Mission would, of course, have provided the Council with a much deeper insight of conditions prevailing in the region had the Portuguese Government permitted the Special Mission to visit the Territory of Guinea (Bissau) so that some of the charges made against that Government could have been investigated on the spot. Unfortunately, and true to the defiant attitude which the Portuguese Government has displayed towards the United Nations on questions concerning those African Territories controlled by Portugal, the response was negative. That fact is dealt with in paragraph 122 of the report, which states: "The Special Mission strongly deplores this lack of co-operation which prevented it from implementing fully the mandate given to it under paragraph 4 of resolution 294 (1971)."

137. My delegation is sure that members of this Council will draw their own conclusions at the refusal to allow a fact-finding mission of the Security Council to enter Guinea (Bissau).

138. The whole record of Portugal's administration of that Territory over the past two decades is replete with details of barbaric acts and grim statistics portraying the ruthless and repressive policies that are being imposed upon the valiant people of Guinea (Bissau). Last week the Chairman of the Fourth Committee brought to the attention of member delegations the text of a cable dated 9 November that had been addressed to the Secretary-General of the United Nations by Amilcar Cabral, Secretary-General of the PAIGC—the liberation movement of Guinea (Bissau). It would not be out of place to draw the attention of the Council to that communication, particularly since it gives an idea of the extent of the latest outrages that are being inflicted on the people of Guinea (Bissau). It reads as follows:

"Rendered desperate by the great victories our party has won this year the Portuguese colonialist criminals have, since August, been carrying out savage aerial bombardments of the peaceful populations of the regions we have liberated. By the end of October they had destroyed 38 villages, killed 7 women and 8 children, and wounded 28 persons.

"Have the honour to inform you that, having failed to terrorize or demoralize our people in their determination to continue their just struggle for freedom, peace and progress, the Portuguese colonialists are feverishly preparing to disseminate poisonous chemical products so as to destroy our crops before the next harvest, with the obvious aim of stopping our struggle by famine. In view of the sombre prospects created by these preparations we request you to take all measures within your power to denounce and condemn in advance this monstrous crime against Africa and mankind."

139. The Council should pay particular attention to paragraph 45 of the report of the Special Mission, in which the President of Senegal is on record as declaring that there was no fundamental dispute between Senegal and Portugal, but rather between Portugal and the nationalists of Guinea (Bissau). Senegal is prepared to engage in a dialogue with Portugal, not to settle the question of Guinea (Bissau), but to help bring about a dialogue between the Portuguese Government and the nationalists. That is how problems of this nature should be approached and settled; the alternative is war, and it is war which is being waged in Guinea (Bissau).

140. To sum up, the Security Council must now do two things: it must validate the trust that a small nation has placed in its authority in appealing for redress and protection against aggression; and it must throw the full weight of its moral, political and, if necessary, coercive authority behind every effort that the United Nations as a whole is making to bring about the application of General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) to the Territory of Guinea (Bissau) and to the other Portuguese-held Territories in Africa.

141. Those are the courses of action which are indicated by the recommendations of the Special Mission and those are the courses of action which my delegation would support.

142. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): I now call on the representative of Burundi, who wishes to introduce the draft resolution sponsored by Burundi, Sierra Leone and Somalia, contained in document S/10395.

143. Mr. TERENCE (Burundi) (*interpretation from French*): Mr. President, as you have quite rightly said, it is on behalf of the African delegations on the Council—Sierra Leone, Somalia and my own delegation—that I now take the floor to submit to the Council the draft resolution contained in document S/10395.

144. As the Council will recall, a report was introduced some weeks ago; and the draft resolution which I now submit is in fact fundamentally based on the main elements of this report. Accordingly, my delegation will limit itself to introducing the draft resolution and making a few comments. On a later occasion we shall speak to the substance of the problem which Senegal has placed before us.

145. This draft resolution has been discussed in the course of meetings held by the six members of the Special Mission which was sent to Senegal. I should like to place special emphasis on certain parts of the draft resolution.

146. First of all, as I have said earlier, it is based essentially on the report of the Special Mission; and I wish to emphasize that the report was unanimously adopted by the representative of Nicaragua—who was Chairman of the Mission—and the representatives of Belgium, Japan, Poland, the Syrian Arab Republic and Burundi.

147. Representatives will note that its operative paragraph 2 is in accord with the contents of paragraph 127 of the report. I refer to that paragraph because every Government is naturally motivated by certain contingencies which are peculiar to it and which, accordingly, in cases such as this may cause some apprehension and even some fears.

148. Operative paragraph 3 corresponds to paragraph 122 of the report. Here the draft deplores the lack of co-operation by the Portuguese Government. We even received a letter from the Government of Portugal refusing to co-operate with the Special Mission of the Security Council. You will thereby note the reasons which probably led the Government of Lisbon to refuse its co-operation, because had there been no guilt there would have been no reason to refuse to co-operate. Hence Portugal's attitude towards the Security Council's Special Mission is already a sign of its guilt.

149. Paragraphs 4 to 8 of our draft resolution—I wish to emphasize—are the recommendations of the Mission as they appeared in paragraph 128 of the report. You will notice that operative paragraph 4 corresponds to section A of paragraph 128 of the report, whereas operative paragraphs 5 and 6 are a reflection of the text of section B. Paragraphs 5 and 6 obviously reproduce what is a necessity for the Security Council and the United Nations—to recognize for all peoples in general and for the people of Guinea (Bissau) in particular—the right to accede to independence.

150. On the other hand it will be realized that the causes of these periodic and endemic attacks directed against the Government and people of Senegal are to be ascribed to the fact that Portugal is persistently clinging to its colonial territory and, as long as this situation exists, there can be no peace in the region.

151. Again, we recognize that, in a desire to co-operate, and since the Security Council assumes collective responsibility, we were compelled to sugarcoat and even to weaken the draft resolution so as to make it acceptable to all members. Therefore I wish to say that it is in a spirit of co-operation and concession that we have drafted this and we hope that in return a spirit of unanimity will prevail in the Security Council. We rely, therefore, on the unanimous support of members of the Security Council in the voting on this draft resolution, which, after the consultations which were undertaken, required certain changes that have sweetened it somewhat. However, taking into account the realities in the Council, we were compelled to co-operate and consent to certain proposals which did not correspond exactly to the gravity of the situation as described in the report of the Special Mission.

152. In the event that any member of the Council has a question on the subject, my delegation, as well as the delegations of Somalia and Sierra Leone, will be ready to reply.

153. Mr. TAYLOR-KAMARA (Sierra Leone): As one of the sponsors of the draft resolution, my delegation associates itself with the draft and, for that matter, with the able manner in which the representative of Burundi, Mr. Terence, has this day presented it to the Security Council.

154. My delegation spoke at length on the subject under consideration when the report of the six-man Mission to Senegal, was submitted a while ago [*1586th meeting*]. We pointed out in no uncertain terms that the findings of the Mission and its military experts left absolutely no doubt in our mind that a number of attacks against the territorial integrity of the Republic of Senegal had been committed by Portuguese armed forces stationed in the neighbouring occupied enclave of Guinea (Bissau). We are convinced beyond any doubt whatever that the mines which caused death to individuals and destruction to property in Senegalese villages and roads were planted by Portuguese troops. This conviction is reinforced by our awareness—and, I am sure, that of the Council—of Portugal's behaviour to countries bordering its African colonies. The Council has from time to time been seized with similar complaints of aggression from Zambia, the Republic of Guinea, Congo (Kinshasa)—now called Zaire—and Tanzania. The records can attest to this.

155. We would have very much liked to have had a stronger draft resolution presented for adoption by the Council but, taking into account the political equations derived from its composition, my delegation cannot help but settle for the present draft.

The meeting rose at 6.10 p.m.