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NOTE

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SIXTEEN HUNDRED AND SIXTY-EIGHTH MEETING

Held in New York on Friday, 20 October 1972, at 10.30 a.m.

President: Mr. Louis de GUIRINGAUD (France).

Present: The representatives of the following States: Argentina, Belgium, China, France, Guinea, India, Italy, Japan, Panama, Somalia, Sudan, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America and Yugoslavia.

Provisional agenda (S/Agenda/1668)

1. Adoption of the agenda.

2. Complaint by Senegal:

Letter dated 16 October 1972 from the Permanent Representative of Senegal to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/10807).

The meeting was called to order at 12.15 p.m.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

Complaint by Senegal:

Letter dated 16 October 1972 from the Permanent Representative of Senegal to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/10807)

1. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): At its 1667th meeting yesterday afternoon the Council decided to invite the representatives of Senegal, Mauritania, Algeria and Mali, at their request, to participate, without the right to vote, in the debates in the Security Council on the item before it. With the consent of the Council, I invite the representative of Senegal to take a place at the Council table.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. C. Diouf (Senegal) took a place at the Security Council table.

2. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): Because of the limited number of places at the Council table, and in accordance with past practice, I invite the representatives of Mauritania, Algeria and Mali to take the places reserved for them at the side of the Council Chamber. I shall invite them to take a place at the Council table when it is their turn to speak.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. M. El Hassen (Mauritania), Mr. A. Rahal (Algeria) and Mr. S. Traoré (Mali) took the places reserved for them in the Council Chamber.

3. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): The Security Council will now continue its consideration of the complaint submitted by Senegal in its letter of 16 October 1972, which has been distributed in document S/10807. I should like to remind members of the Council that the letter addressed to me by the representative of Portugal on 18 October 1972 appears in document S/10810.

4. I should also like to remind members that a draft resolution submitted by the delegations of Guinea, Somalia and the Sudan has been distributed in document S/10813.

5. Mr. NUR ELMI (Somalia): Mr. President, permit me first of all to express to you on behalf of my delegation our most sincere congratulations on holding the high office of President of the Security Council for the month of October. Allow me also to convey to your distinguished predecessor, Ambassador Huang Hua of the People's Republic of China, our appreciation for the excellent manner in which he conducted the activities of the Council during the month of September.

6. Having considered the nature of the complaint by Senegal contained in document S/10807, and having listened carefully to the clear and persuasive statement made yesterday before this Council by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Senegal, there is no doubt whatsoever in our mind that an act of open aggression has been committed by Portugal against the sovereignty and territorial integrity of an independent State Member of the United Nations: the Republic of Senegal, a sister African country. There is no need to search for any further evidence because Portugal itself has admitted to this act of war in the communication addressed to you, Sir, by its representative, in document S/10810.

7. But the purpose of that communication—indeed, the purpose of this seemingly candid admission—is to mislead some members of this Council so as to make them believe that the attack of regular units of the Portuguese colonial troops against Senegalese territory on 12 October was an isolated case of a frontier incident. It is thus intended to carry us away from the central issue. But, apart from the fact that many tragic wars have often been caused by frontier incidents, in reality the substance and meaning of this provocative act of aggression, irrespective of its form, is that it is part of a large-scale policy of intimidation against independent African States designed to hold under forcible enslavement the peoples of Guinea (Bissau), Angola and Mozambique.

8. In view of that fact, my delegation feels that the Security Council should not only weigh seriously the

present complaint by Senegal but also consider Portugal's entire colonial philosophy and its persistent acts of aggression against the States bordering the African Territories under its oppressive domination, as well as the responsibility of those who are extending economic assistance and supplying arms to this and other Fascist reactionary forces operating in Africa such as the racist South African Government and the minority régime in Southern Rhodesia.

9. It is common knowledge that there is a reign of well-planned and co-ordinated colonialist terror of repression in all the Territories under Portuguese control, in South Africa, in Southern Rhodesia and in Namibia. It is common knowledge also that there is an alliance, a formation of a bloc of criminal racist colonialists, established for the sole purpose of denying the African peoples of those Territories their inalienable human rights to dignity, self-determination and independence.

10. It is not very difficult to foresee the grave danger which such a racist alliance can cause to peace in Africa. My delegation is therefore of the opinion that the time has come for the Security Council to consider as a single whole the entire colonial situation in the countries I have just mentioned and to adopt the most effective measures which may culminate in the elimination of colonialism in the world. For colonialism not only is incompatible with the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations but also represents a serious threat to international peace and security.

11. What gives power to Portugal and makes it able to reach out beyond its European frontiers and assume repeated aggressive attitudes against Member States of this Organization, in addition to waging an expensive and prolonged colonial war, is its membership of NATO and its reliance on the military strength, political solidarity and financial power of the most highly developed nations in the world, which belong to that organization. We not only bitterly resent but also strongly denounce NATO's involvement in this already difficult colonial situation.

12. The Portuguese claim that the African Territories it subjugates and dominates are its overseas territories and therefore integral parts of its country—which may be the reason why NATO is supplying arms to Portugal—is one which is closely based on the old colonial order of conquest by force. But history has already proven that such a claim has no real foundation. Suffice it to mention, by way of example, that Portugal used to claim and pretend that Goa, an Indian territory courageously liberated in 1961 from Portuguese colonial domination, was also a component of its national territory.

13. But the Government of Lisbon does not seem to resign itself to the lessons of history. In fact when the Portuguese Foreign Minister spoke before the General Assembly a few weeks ago,¹ he found it advisable to assault the memory of a great world statesman, the late Prime Minister of India, Jawaharlal Nehru, when he cited him as saying that "the

Portuguese must leave Goa, even if the Goans wish them to remain". The Foreign Minister then asked the question: "Is this also self-determination?" I do not think that he should wait for an answer, but if he does our answer to his question is: Yes, that is also self-determination because, in the first place, force made it possible for the Portuguese to conquer those and other lands in Africa and elsewhere and to enslave their inhabitants. And, again, force perpetuated those conditions; force—not will or free choice—made those peoples subordinates or *assimilados* and they cannot justly be regarded as part of continental Europe even if Portugal persistently maintains that they want to be. Secondly, no people has the right to alienate to its disadvantage, its fundamental liberties to another people. To do so is not only irresponsible but also a renunciation of the dignity of the human being.

14. There are two ways of approaching the question now before this Council: we must either condemn aggression and thus fulfil the duties entrusted to us by the Charter or we must accept it and betray those duties. It is that simple, and I do not see how there could be any hesitation in choosing between right and wrong, between what is good and what is evil. As far as my delegation is concerned, our sense of good and evil is very firmly established in our conscience. Therefore, making its choice, the delegation of the Somali Democratic Republic severely condemns Portugal, not merely because it is Portugal but because of its evil act of aggression against a State Member of the United Nations, the Republic of Senegal. Not to do so would be tantamount to glorifying the use of force and international law-breaking. Portugal must be compelled to return to reason and to the rule of law.

15. Even though I am aware of how difficult it has become for this Council to do justice to the wronged or to take any urgent and effective action, especially when colonial questions are under consideration, because of the differences of political opinion represented around this table, it is my sincere hope—and I have been possessed by such hopes practically ever since I came to the United Nations—that in this particular case of naked aggression the Security Council must adopt unanimously the draft resolution submitted yesterday by Guinea, the Sudan and my own delegation contained in document S/10813.

16. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): The next name on the list of speakers is that of the representative of Mali. I invite him to take a place at the Security Council table and to make his statement.

17. Mr. TRAORE (Mali) (*interpretation from French*): Mr. President, may I first of all congratulate you on behalf of the delegation of Mali and on my own behalf on your accession to the presidency of the Security Council for this month. I should also like to thank you and the other members of the Council for having authorized me to speak during the course of this debate.

18. While the General Assembly and the Special Political Committee are studying the manifestations and misdeeds of colonialism, Caetano's Portugal has once again attracted the attention of mankind by an ignominious crime. Indeed, on 12 October 1972 we heard the terrible news that Port-

¹ Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-seventh Session, Plenary Meetings, 2048th meeting.

uguese tanks had violated Senegalese territory and that they had once again sown death and destruction among the peaceful population of Casamance. To deceive international public opinion, the Government of Portugal tries to place responsibility for this aggression on mental imbalance or, to use its own words, "temporary derangement".

19. Actually, the Government of Portugal has once again projected on the international scene the image of what it has never ceased to be, and it is to this image that the members of the Council should devote all their attention. Since 1963 there has not been a single year when members of the Security Council have not had to deal with cases of violation by the Government of Portugal of the noble principles of the United Nations Charter. For in what way is the act of the Portuguese officer who launched the tank attacks against Senegal different from the criminal aggression of that Government against the independent States of Guinea, Zambia, Zaire and the People's Republic of the Congo?

20. The Special Committee on decolonization² in its latest report³ has provided proof of acts which surely cannot be committed by anyone who is not mentally weak. The blind bombing of villages of peaceful peasants, the destruction of harvests by napalm bombs, the systematic attacks by troops stationed in Guinea (Bissau) enable us to perceive the dimensions of the dirty war which Portugal has been carrying out in the colonial Territories of Africa for more than a decade. The recent aggression by that Government of which Senegal was the victim must be viewed in that context and none other.

21. There is no value more sacred than that of human life. But the Government of Portugal has so shallow an idea of human life that it has become a distributor of death through its policy of genocide carried out against the peaceful populations of its colonial Territories. Is it not an insult to the human conscience to try to make people admit that a few hundred escudos can compensate for the lives of men who have been perfidiously assassinated? The Security Council has already had to deal with other mad acts by the Government of Portugal. The Council has documentation which bears witness to the dangers which that Government creates for mankind. No further arguments are needed to make clear the need to put an end as soon as possible to this grave threat to international peace and security. This action must be taken in the first place by the Powers which are allies of Portugal, and particularly those which, despite resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council, continue to supply all kinds of weapons to a Government that makes the sort of diabolical use of them with which we are all familiar. Unless there is an over-all plan, unless the independence attained at such a high price by the African States is to be jeopardized, how can one conceive of these Powers placing such weapons of destruction in the hands of a Government which has deliberately put itself in the dock of the international community? The

Government of Portugal has once again given proof of its scorn for the resolutions adopted by the international Organization against its colonial policies. Senegal, many of whose courageous sons have shed their blood during the last two world wars for the triumph of justice and freedom, has deliberately chosen to come before this Council and appeal to its conscience as the guardian of peace to ensure that irreparable damage is not done in Africa. Senegal could have inflicted on the Government of Portugal punishment equal to the barbarism and crime of which it has once again been guilty. Instead, Senegal chose to use no protecting shield other than our Charter. It also chose to have no defender other than the members of the Security Council.

22. As we have repeatedly said whenever the occasion has arisen, we reaffirm our conviction that the United Nations, in its action against the backward colonial policies of Portugal, must base itself on Chapter VII of the Charter and not on recommendations whose weakness and non-application destroy its moral and political authority. The Security Council must decide on firm measures to discourage the colonial Lisbon Government from continuing its grave attacks on peace. Thus, and thus alone, will the United Nations do justice to Senegal and to the many victims of the crimes of the backward Lisbon Government.

23. Mr. CHEN Chu (China) (*translation from Chinese*): On 12 October 1972 the Portuguese colonialists again flagrantly sent their regular troops to launch a sudden attack on the Republic of Senegal, causing the loss of lives of innocent people in Senegal. As was pointed out by the Foreign Minister of Senegal and the representatives of many other African countries, the current armed invasion of Senegal by Portugal is by no means an isolated incident, but a fresh grave provocation against the people of Senegal and the whole of Africa. The Chinese Government and people express utmost indignation at this naked act of aggression and strongly condemn it.

24. The people and armed forces of Senegal hit back heroically at the invading enemies and effectively defended their State sovereignty and national independence. The Chinese Government and people admire the Senegalese people for their militant spirit of resisting foreign aggressors and congratulate them on the victory they have achieved in the struggle against aggression.

25. Like other colonialists and imperialists, the Portuguese colonialists rose to power by ruthlessly plundering the African people. Back in the middle of the fifteenth century, they started the trade in black people in Africa—the most brutal crime ever known in history. For centuries they have forcibly occupied African territories more than twenty times larger than their own, and have been ruthlessly oppressing and exploiting the African people there.

26. Since the Second World War, with the support of imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism, they have become the latter's loyal flunkies in suppressing the national liberation movement in Africa. Moreover, the Portuguese colonialists brazenly declare the African colonies under their forcible occupation their so-called "overseas provinces", where they have been engaged in savage colonial exploitation. With the support of imperialism,

² Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples.

³ Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-seventh Session, Supplement No. 23.

colonialism and neo-colonialism, the Portuguese colonial authorities have formed a reactionary military alliance with the white racist régimes in South Africa and Southern Rhodesia for the joint use of violence to suppress in cold blood the national independence struggles of the peoples of Guinea (Bissau), Angola, Mozambique, Azania, Zimbabwe and Namibia. Furthermore, they made repeated armed invasions of the sacred territories of the Republic of Guinea, the United Republic of Tanzania and the Republic of Zambia, posing a serious threat to the sovereignty and security of independent African States. It is quite evident that the Portuguese authorities, small as they are, dare to run amuck and act recklessly simply because they have the support and abetment of imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism of various descriptions.

27. However, the barbarous rule, sanguinary repression and aggressive activities of the colonialists and neo-colonialists have promoted the daily awakening of the African people. Through their actual struggles, the African countries and people have come to realize ever more clearly that they can drive the colonialists, who are armed to the teeth, completely out of the African continent and end the evil rule of colonialism for ever only by earnestly arousing and organizing the masses and taking up arms to wage unremitting struggles. The development of the armed struggle of the people in various parts of the Portuguese colonies and the victorious resistance put up by the peoples of Senegal, Guinea, the United Republic of Tanzania and Zambia against the Portuguese troops' invasions have provided illustrative examples on this score. The Chinese people cherish deep friendship for the African people. The Chinese people firmly support the African peoples in their just struggle against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism and for the achievement and defence of their national independence, until they win complete victory.

28. The Chinese delegation maintains that the Security Council must, first, severely condemn the Portuguese colonialists for their crime of invading Senegal; and, second, severely condemn the Portuguese colonial authorities for their repression of the national liberation movement and pursuit of the policy of racial segregation. Third, in view of the repeated violations by the Portuguese colonial authorities of the relevant resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council, the Security Council should seriously consider the application of sanctions against the Portuguese colonial authorities. Fourth, in order to fulfil its obligations under the United Nations Charter, the Security Council should ask the Portuguese colonial authorities to end their colonial rule over their colonial Territories in Africa, and should call upon the Governments and peoples of all countries to give active support and assistance to the struggles of the peoples of Angola, Mozambique and Guinea (Bissau).

29. Mr. ORTIZ DE ROZAS (Argentina) (*interpretation from Spanish*): Mr. President, as the representative of a Latin country which maintains solid and traditional bonds of friendship with France, I am very happy to welcome your accession to the presidency of this body and offer you my congratulations and the determined co-operation of the delegation of Argentina in this delicate task. Your personal and professional qualifications are a guarantee of the

impartiality, tact and skill which are essential to guide the work of this body.

30. At the same time, I should like to express my gratitude to Ambassador Huang Hua of China for his effective and intelligent action as President of the Security Council during the month of September.

31. I shall not go into an analysis of the details of the military operations which led to the convening of this meeting of the Council. These details were explained at length yesterday afternoon by His Excellency the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Senegal, and were mentioned too by other speakers who preceded me. In normal circumstances, and despite its breadth and characteristics, this event could have been considered as a frontier incident of some gravity, which would be ended by the acknowledgement and explanations given by the Government which is responsible, as well as its offer to pay compensation for the damages caused. The letter from the representative of Portugal, dated 16 October 1972, could have been sufficient to close the episode despite the loss of human lives and make this meeting unnecessary.

32. But these are not normal circumstances. What is normal—and it is regrettable to have to acknowledge it—is the repetition of this type of incident since 1963. What is normal, paradoxically, is maintaining an abnormal state of affairs and the repetition of the violations of the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Senegal and other African countries. One cannot therefore speak of isolated episodes. What happened a few days ago is another link in a chain that is being prolonged excessively. This must, therefore, be placed within the context of what is happening in the area, which is nothing more than the consequence of the survival of a colonial situation which has already deserved many condemnations here in the Security Council and in the General Assembly.

33. My delegation is convinced—and we have already said so in this forum and in others—that an atmosphere of peace and tranquillity can prevail on the African continent only when all the remnants of the colonial era which still subsist in that part of the world disappear.

34. General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) is the cornerstone on which the United Nations position is based in regard to colonialism, and it is only by the complete attainment of its objectives in all areas of the world that it will be possible totally to eliminate certain hotbeds of tension which in some situations can become real threats to international peace and security. The warlike acts which have perturbed the peace of Africa south of the Sahara for many years now have on different occasions affected Guinea, the United Republic of Tanzania, Zambia and—I need hardly say—Senegal. The result is that the Security Council has had to deal with these situations time and time again, while the resolutions we have adopted have not prevented such outbreaks. So that the danger is always latent that at some time hostilities will become far greater and give rise to the outbreak of open and declared war.

35. It is for this reason that one cannot minimize the importance of these events. And this is also why the

delegation of Argentina will vote in favour of the draft resolution submitted by the delegations of Guinea, Somalia and the Sudan.

36. In the light of the explanations given by the Government of Portugal, we believe that the operative paragraph 2 is perhaps not worded in a manner which is in accord with the circumstances. However, we shall vote in favour because of the purposes that have prompted the entire document, and in the hope that the Government of Portugal will not ignore what is stated and requested here.

37. Mr. VINCI (Italy) (*interpretation from French*): Sir, since this is my first opportunity to address the Council under your presidency, I should like to say how gratified we are at seeing you conduct our deliberations. We are particularly gratified because at the same time—and what a happy coincidence this is—France is presiding over a conference in which our peoples place the greatest possible hope with a view to building up the monetary, social, economic and political unification of Western Europe. Your distinguished qualities, Sir, and your experience in the United Nations are a guarantee for us that our deliberations will be fruitful. You can count at all times on the full confidence and co-operation of my delegation.

38. Permit me to repeat to Ambassador Huang Hua, who presided in such a distinguished fashion over our proceedings in September, the sincere expression of our profound esteem and gratitude.

39. We listened with attention to the statement which the Foreign Minister of Senegal made to us on the subject of the incident on 12 October and on the general climate of insecurity reigning on the frontier between Senegal and Guinea (Bissau).

40. This is a question which the Council has often had to deal with in the past and which has always given rise to concern. The facts are very familiar, and this time they are indisputable because they are acknowledged by Portugal. We cannot fail to deplore a military action which constitutes an infringement of the most elementary, fundamental rules governing relations between States. We were particularly distressed by the loss of human life and by the material damage suffered by Senegalese nationals on 12 October.

41. We have also taken note of the letter of the representative of Portugal dated 18 October, and circulated as document S/10810. It emerges from this clearly that the Portuguese authorities have themselves deplored this incident, have apologized to the Senegalese authorities, have started appropriate procedures for punishing those guilty and have offered to pay compensation to the victims. This is the first time that this has happened, and we see no reason to underestimate any sign, whatever its significance, of any change of attitude. In any case, it was with particular interest that we read the end of the letter of the representative of Portugal, stating that the Portuguese Government is ready to offer guarantees to the Government of Senegal.

42. Indeed—and His Excellency the Foreign Minister of Senegal reminded us of this in very poignant terms—the

incursion of 12 October is just one example of a series of incidents, or accidents, which have been going on for a long time and which have plunged the peaceful population of Casamance into a climate of insecurity and fear which has quite rightly alarmed the Senegalese Government.

43. We are compelled to note that these repeated incidents maintain a climate of constant tension throughout this region of Africa, since many African Governments cannot fail to be concerned at a situation of which the least one can say is that it is highly abnormal.

44. We think, therefore, that appropriate guarantees given by Portugal—and removal of its military units from the frontier of Senegal could be one of the most effective guarantees—would be highly desirable. They could serve to reduce tension in the area.

45. Some delegations have mentioned arms deliveries. This is a phenomenon which has assumed such proportions that it is of concern to us all. To wish to continue to ascribe the primary cause of this to the fact of alliances is not entirely realistic. In fact, alliances play a stabilizing role in many fields, including the field of arms deliveries. It is a well-known fact that the arms trade takes place outside the framework of alliances and in such a way that, unfortunately, today it has become easier than ever for anyone to obtain arms, expensive arms, in large supplies, with money which should have been used for food, for the construction of roads, factories or hospitals.

46. Reference has been made here, for example, to certain deliveries of Fiat aircraft, which have been the subject of a particular study on the part of our Organization. Those who have read the document—I do not know how many people actually read our documents, even though they are published in so many copies and at such great expense—will know that the material was not sold by Italy and that, in any case, it was not delivered on the condition that it should not be used outside Portuguese territory but on quite a different condition: it was not to be used outside Europe. I refer representatives to the latest report of the Special Committee on decolonization which gives the necessary information.⁴

47. It is rather regrettable to note that this Organization has never succeeded in establishing a system of control over the dangerous arms traffic. My country has often proposed the establishment of an international and regional system at least to discipline the traffic of heavy or sophisticated arms to countries which are in zones of tension.

48. If the facts we are examining and their tendency to repeat themselves are well known, their profound far-reaching causes are also well known. They are to be found in the anachronistic situation of territories which seem to be remaining outside the mainstream of contemporary African history.

49. The position of Italy with regard to the substance of the problem has been set forth often and in extremely clear terms. We are convinced that the populations of Territories

⁴ *Ibid.*, vol. II, chap. VI, annex, para. 33.

administered by Portugal in Africa must as soon as possible be enabled to exercise freely their right to self-determination and independence in accordance with the United Nations Charter. This would be responding not only to the interests of the peoples in those African Territories, but also to the interests of the international community and in the long run to the interests of Portugal itself.

50. My delegation has carefully examined the draft resolution submitted by the three African members of the Council. It is a text which certainly has merit but which would benefit from being more in keeping with certain particular circumstances of the events we are considering, and hence more balanced, by taking into account, for example, the position adopted this time by the Portuguese Government. My delegation will determine its position on the final text of the draft resolution in the light of the considerations I have just put forward.

51. Mr. SEN (India): Mr. President, apart from the urgent need to comment briefly on the subject before us, I have taken the floor because it also gives us an opportunity to pay our compliments and congratulations to you on your assumption of the Presidency of the Council for the month of October. We are confident that the Council will benefit from your experience and wisdom. The relations between our countries are close and cordial and I should like to assure you of the fullest co-operation of my delegation in the discharge of your responsibilities.

52. We are not discussing a new situation. The Council discussed it last year and many times before. Once again a legitimate complaint has been put forward by the Government of Senegal. Though there is a different form of response from Portugal on this occasion, this does not really change the essential elements of the situation. Previous speakers have commented on them at some length since the Foreign Minister of Senegal—to whom we extend our warmest greetings—eloquently explained them yesterday.

53. The basic situation is that the continued oppression by Portugal in Guinea (Bissau) and the continued denial by Portugal of the rights of the people of that Territory have repeatedly created circumstances in which the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Senegal have been violated by the Portuguese armed forces.

54. All attempts by this Council to remedy these injustices have failed. Last year the Council sent a Special Mission to the area, but the Portuguese Government did not co-operate with it. The findings of the Mission and its recommendations were approved by the Council; again Portugal paid no heed to them.

55. Separately, the President of Senegal himself took the initiative to outline a plan for bringing peace and respect for the right of self-determination in the area; this too has met with stony silence from Portugal.

56. The Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security [General Assembly resolution 2734 (XXV)] emphasized the links between threats to international peace and security and situations where colonialism persists and

inalienable rights of peoples are suppressed. What has been happening in Guinea (Bissau) and on the frontiers of Senegal shows further the validity of these links. Clearly, so long as Portuguese colonialism continues in Africa we shall face, again and again, threats to international peace and security.

57. In those circumstances the Council's action has to take fully into account the terms of resolutions 294 (1971) and 302 (1971) and to try to move forward. The Council will naturally consider Portugal's response to the present complaint, even though we have not been extended the courtesy of an oral explanation by the delegation of Portugal. None the less, this latest response of Portugal strengthens our belief that, in the explosive situation of Guinea (Bissau), even acts which are described as not deliberate can lead to breaches of international security. The explanation of "mental agitation" offered for these acts cannot condone the crime nor remove its fundamental causes.

58. We cannot attach the slightest value to the Portuguese statement that the Government of Portugal is willing to give all necessary guarantees to the Senegalese Government. These guarantees have not been explained and quite evidently they are not in any way related to furthering the independence of Guinea (Bissau). Besides, these incidents which infringe the territorial integrity of Senegal and several other African countries have been going on for some time, with the consequent threat to international peace, and yet the guarantees—whatever they may mean—are being offered only after the incident of 12 October, when an alleged mentally agitated Portuguese officer entered Senegal with a number of armoured cars and killed some Senegalese and inflicted other injuries and damages. The letter from the Portuguese delegation seems to have only one purpose—to prevent a meeting of the Security Council on the complaint of Senegal. Once again, the facts are clear and we shall support any action by the Council which seeks to remove the basic cause of these conflicts; in other words, to bring to an end Portuguese colonialism in Africa.

59. Mr. BOYD (Panama) (*interpretation from Spanish*): Because of the late hour at which we are meeting, I shall summarize as much as possible Panama's statement on this case. But before doing so, Mr. President, I should like to express to you, on behalf of my delegation, the great satisfaction we feel on seeing so outstanding a diplomat presiding over the meetings of the Security Council during the month of October.

60. We also wish to place on record our satisfaction with the wise manner in which Ambassador Huang Hua presided over the Council last month.

61. By a letter dated 16 October 1972 addressed to the President of the Security Council by the representative of Senegal and yesterday in the detailed statement made to the Council by the Minister for Foreign Affairs, we have become acquainted with all the details of the armed attack by Portuguese forces on 12 October of which Senegal was a victim.

62. In a letter dated 18 October, the representative of Portugal tries to explain the incident and, besides apolo-

gizing, also expresses the intention of his Government to pay immediately any compensation which is justly determined.

63. In the opinion of our delegation this is not an isolated incident; it is yet another episode in the long list of acts of aggression by Portugal against Senegal which violate the principle of respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of another State.

64. The delegation of Panama considers that Portugal should refrain from threatening and, even more, from violating the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Senegal and all other African States, as requested by this Council on many occasions, in particular in its resolution 312 (1972), which was adopted at Addis Ababa.

65. The delegation of my country considers that Portugal's attack against the peoples of Angola, Mozambique, Guinea (Bissau) and Cape Verde will never halt the aspirations to freedom and independence of those colonies.

66. We wish to announce that we unreservedly support the draft resolution submitted in document S/10813 by the delegations of Guinea, Somalia and the Sudan, because Panama will always be against any acts of aggression by Portugal which, in one way or another, tries to frustrate the aspirations to self-determination and independence of the peoples of Africa which have not yet been liberated from the colonial yoke.

The meeting rose at 1.10 p.m.

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يمكن الحصول على منشورات الأمم المتحدة من المكتبات ودور التوزيع في جميع أنحاء العالم. استعلم منها من المكتبة التي تتعامل معها
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