

UNITED NATIONS

UN LIBRARY

JAN 17 1973



UN/SA COLLECTION

# SECURITY COUNCIL OFFICIAL RECORDS

TWENTY-FOURTH YEAR

**1491<sup>st</sup>** MEETING: 28 JULY 1969

NEW YORK

---

## CONTENTS

|  | <i>Page</i> |
|--|-------------|
| Provisional agenda (S/Agenda/1491) . . . . .   | 1           |
| Adoption of the agenda . . . . .   | 1           |
| Letter dated 15 July 1969 from the Permanent Representative of Zambia<br>addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/9331) . . . . . | 1           |

## NOTE

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

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

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

## FOURTEEN HUNDRED AND NINETY-FIRST MEETING

Held in New York on Monday, 28 July 1969, at 10.30 a.m.

*President:* Mr. Ibrahima BOYE (Senegal).

*Present:* The representatives of the following States: Algeria, China, Colombia, Finland, France, Hungary, Nepal, Pakistan, Paraguay, Senegal, Spain, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America and Zambia.

### Provisional agenda (S/Agenda/1491)

1. Adoption of the agenda.
2. Letter dated 15 July 1969 from the Permanent Representative of Zambia addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/9331).

### Adoption of the agenda

*The agenda was adopted.*

### Letter dated 15 July 1969 from the Permanent Representative of Zambia addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/9331)

1. The PRESIDENT (*translated from French*): In accordance with the decisions taken at previous meetings, I invite the representatives of Portugal, the United Republic of Tanzania, Somalia, Kenya, the United Arab Republic, Liberia, Madagascar, Sierra Leone, Tunisia, Gabon and the Democratic Republic of the Congo to participate in the debate of the Council, without the right to vote.

*At the invitation of the President, Mr. B. de Miranda (Portugal) took a place at the Council table, and Mr. M. A. Foum (United Republic of Tanzania), Mr. H. K. Abdulleh (Somalia), Mr. R. J. Ombere (Kenya), Mr. A. El-Erian (United Arab Republic), Mr. L. H. Diggs (Liberia), Mr. B. Rabetafika (Madagascar), Mr. F. B. Savage (Sierra Leone), Mr. M. L. Fayache (Tunisia), Mr. J. M. Aubame (Gabon) and Mr. J. K. Nguza (Democratic Republic of the Congo) took the places reserved for them at the side of the Council table.*

2. Mr. SHAHI (Pakistan): On 23 July, when I made my statement on the question before us, I said that "an imperative for the Council in this debate is to ensure that its result will not cause a further disappointment to Zambia and thereby to the African States" [1488th meeting, para. 81]. I am happy to say that this view has proved to be independently held by all members of the Council, and consultations which have taken place have been devoted to the object of how best to fortify Zambia against the threat

to its territorial integrity posed by actions of colonial Portuguese authorities.

3. These consultations could not but have as their background the large number of relevant General Assembly resolutions, most pertinently resolution 2395 (XXIII), which stated that the grave situation in the Territories under Portuguese domination had aggravated the explosive situation in southern Africa and which condemned the violations by the Government of Portugal of the territorial integrity and sovereignty of independent African States. We also had to bear in mind resolution 180 (1963) and resolution 218 (1965) of the Security Council, by which the Council made the determination that the situation in these Territories was seriously disturbing the peace and security in Africa.

4. In view of that determination by the Security Council, and in view of the fact that the Government of Portugal has persisted in total disregard of all the resolutions of both the Security Council and the General Assembly, it is evident that the present situation calls for a more categorical resolution. Most of us were clear-minded on the issue, but, as we are all know, the resolutions of the Council have to accommodate as much the views as the doubts and hesitations of its members. In that spirit, a draft resolution has been evolved which has already been circulated in document S/9360 of 25 July 1969. On behalf of the delegations of Algeria, Nepal and Senegal and my own, I have the honour now formally to introduce it in the Security Council. To those of our colleagues who do not seem yet to have decided to support this text, I can give the assurance that it is not animus against Portugal but grave concern at the situation on the Zambia-Mozambique border that has inspired this draft resolution.

5. Portugal has made great contributions to human civilization in the age of exploration, and its people are remarkably untainted by colour prejudice. It is therefore all the more tragic that a country of such great traditions should be made to participate in a conspiracy against freedom and, as such, should be allied with the Pretoria and Salisbury régimes.

6. One of the inspiring themes of the statements made by African representatives during this debate is that Portugal could enter into a partnership of mutual benefit with African peoples if only it released itself from the burden of obstructing the independence of the peoples of Angola, Mozambique and Guinea (Bissau). It could then, it was remarked, look forward to the same relationship with those peoples as it enjoys with Brazil. In moving the draft

resolution contained in document S/9360, we endorse this message to Portugal. I commend the draft resolution for the Council's unanimous adoption.

7. Mr. HILDYARD (United Kingdom): Mr. President, as was altogether right and fitting, you spoke on 22 July [1487th meeting] on behalf of the whole Council to pay a tribute to the three astronauts of Apollo 11 on their epic voyage of discovery and to the United States of America on this momentous achievement for all mankind. As this is the first time I have spoken in this debate, I should like, even if a little belatedly, to associate my delegation with your expressions of admiration for and pride in the astronauts, who have now fulfilled their mission so splendidly and happily, and of congratulations to the United States delegation and, through it to the Government and people of the United States. I should also like to join with you and a number of other speakers in formulating the hope that this remarkable technological achievement will be accompanied by a comparable advance in social and individual attitudes and understandings, that with the narrowing of the distances between the bodies in the universe will come a narrowing in the distances between men.

8. Turning to the item on our agenda, my delegation has listened with great attention to the statements by the representatives of Zambia and Portugal. Much has been said, particularly by the speakers who followed them, about Portuguese colonial policy. Portuguese colonial policy is certainly an important part of the background of this debate. My own Government has repeatedly made clear that it cannot share the views of the Portuguese Government on colonial issues; also, that it believes that a decision by Portugal to accept or even move towards the principle of self-determination as it is understood in the United Nations could change both the present situation and the whole outlook for the future. My Government regrets that Portugal continues to deny this basic right of self-determination to its African Territories.

9. As various speakers have mentioned Security Council resolution 180 (1963) and the question of the supply of arms from Portugal's NATO allies, I should like to emphasize again that my Government has not, since the adoption of that resolution, supplied arms or military equipment for use in Portuguese Overseas Territories.

10. Important as these general issues are, however, the item on our agenda is a specific one and there is now a draft resolution [S/9360] directed at it; that draft resolution has just been ably introduced by the representative of Pakistan, and we are shortly going to vote on it. Zambia has formulated specific complaints of Portuguese violations of the territorial integrity of Zambia, in particular the bombings of the village of Lote. Not for the first time are we confronted in this Council by a series of accusations and counter-accusations. I should say at once that my Government deeply deplores the continuation of all these incidents, the loss of life and damage caused and the heightening of tensions on the frontiers to which they inevitably lead.

11. Portugal has admitted that there have been incidents in the past in which the fault lay on the Portuguese side. We

regret that there should have been any such incidents and we stress the importance of adequate measures being taken to prevent any recurrence. Whether the incidents complained of in this draft resolution fall into that category has been neither proven nor disproven. Only a proper investigation could establish the facts. We may all have very strong presumptions, but without a joint or impartial investigation of some kind my delegation does not believe that the Council should proceed to assessments or findings. For that reason we shall not be able to support the draft resolution contained in document S/9360. I should make clear, however, that our abstention does not in any way imply either condonation or, still less, support of any Portuguese infringement of Zambian territory, but relates simply to the draft resolution before us in which the material facts are in dispute and have not been established in any independent investigation.

12. My delegation understands the apprehensions on both sides. We appreciate the Zambian feeling that its protection should lie with the United Nations. We welcome the Zambian decision to have recourse to the Council rather than exercise the right of self-defence.

13. We believe that it is for the Council to give all the assistance it can to the two parties to prevent incidents and to maintain peace in the area; it should also help the two parties to try to find a peaceful solution between themselves. Several speakers have referred to the provisions of Article 33 of the Charter; that Article indeed lists a wide range of ways in which peaceful solutions can be sought. While fully understanding Zambian preoccupations, we hope that the fact that the Council is now seized of the matter, and that Portugal has given new assurances before this Council as well as to Zambia itself, will give a greater measure of confidence and encouragement in the search for peaceful solutions.

14. Mr. CAÑADAS (Spain) (*translated from Spanish*): First of all I should like to convey to the representative of the United States the sincere and whole-hearted congratulations of my delegation on the example the three American astronauts have given of the vast possibilities open to man when he labours with faith, intelligence, discipline and courage. The people of the United States certainly have a right to take pride in their collective exploit. We, all other men on earth, can also proclaim our joint satisfaction at the triumph of man over his environment. The feat of the three heroic discoverers may thus serve as an example to all mankind which eagerly seeks its path to the future.

15. The Council now has before it a draft resolution relating to the complaint lodged by Zambia. We also have the formal objections of Portugal. We have listened closely to both parties and have followed the other statements made here with equal attention, since we wished to have a clear picture of a situation which seems singularly unclear to my delegation.

16. Actually, the debate has been conducted within two different spheres which bear no relation to each other: the sphere of principles and the sphere of the specific case before us. They are undeniably separate and from the

procedural standpoint it is only the second one which really concerns us. So far as the first sphere is concerned, the policy pursued by my country and the repeated statements of my delegation on the appropriate occasions can leave no doubts whatever: Spain scrupulously applies those principles to the problems which concern it.

17. Now, with regard to the specific case raised in the letter from the representative of Zambia [S/9331], which is the reason for this meeting of the Council, it is the opinion of my delegation that the facts have not been sufficiently clarified. On the other hand, we realize that the situation is a fluid one, which would have to be pin-pointed with greater accuracy before a decision could be taken.

18. We believe that the Charter of this Organization, as well as the experience of the parties concerned, provide a starting point and that, by encouraging the initial goodwill professed, reasonable solutions could have been found which could have been mutually acceptable to the parties, thereby avoiding human suffering and material loss.

19. The draft resolution now before us is based on different premises and, logically, arrives at conclusions inferred from those premises. My delegation, which has not managed to resolve the conflict of evidence apparent here, will therefore be unable to cast its vote in support of this draft resolution.

20. The PRESIDENT (*translated from French*): Speaking in my capacity as representative of Senegal, I should now like to state the views of my Government on the problem before us.

21. In his statement, the representative of Zambia gave the Council a complete picture of the situation at the frontier between Mozambique and his country. He drew attention, in particular, to the numerous incidents which have occurred in his country for several years now. The lives and property of peaceful rural populations are threatened by heavy and repeated bombings carried out by Portuguese aircraft. We also know that Zambia's territorial integrity is being violated by Portuguese soldiers, who make almost daily raids into Zambian territory, destroying everything in their path.

22. The representative of Zambia has informed us that, quite recently, Portuguese aircraft flew over Zambia and dropped incendiary bombs which left many dead and wounded among the civilian population and destroyed whole villages, leaving families homeless. My delegation understands the feelings aroused by such acts all too well because my country, like the Republic of Guinea in West Africa, suffered in the past and continues to suffer deliberate violations of its territorial integrity on its own soil. My country makes no secret of the fact that it materially and morally supports the African national liberation movements.

23. My country recently reaffirmed this position at the last meeting of the Liberation Committee of the Organization of African Unity, held at Dakar. As a result, we are experiencing looting and sabotage, and repeated violations by foreign elements which are infiltrating the Senegalese

region of Casamance in contempt of my country's sovereignty. It will be recalled that my Government brought these facts to the Council's attention at the time, as Zambia is doing now. It should be pointed out, however, that all these acts which the international community has condemned are but the result of Portugal's obstinate refusal to transform the former relations between colonizers and colonized into new ones based on friendship and co-operation.

24. Portugal must understand that it is futile to try to keep under its yoke peoples who aspire to freedom. Yet the historic blindness which seems to afflict it prevents it from realizing that the winds of freedom blowing in our time will in the end inevitably sweep away the spirit of domination which prevails in those parts of Africa. Portugal should take example by the former colonial Powers which agreed, without qualm, to lead colonial peoples to independence in friendship.

25. Actually, the real problem here is the granting of the right to self-determination to the peoples who are still under Portuguese colonial domination. One need only look at the history of the world to see that, when men are under occupation and dominated by foreigners, they resort perforce to all possible acts of resistance to free themselves and cast off the foreign domination. That is what the freedom fighters are doing in their struggle to recover their dignity and freedom, in this century when man is surpassing himself and embarking on the conquest of other planets.

26. Speaking as PRESIDENT, I would say that if no representative wishes to speak now, I shall invite the Council to vote on the draft resolution submitted by the delegations of Algeria, Nepal, Pakistan and Senegal [S/9360].

*A vote was taken by show of hands.*

*In favour:* Algeria, China, Colombia, Finland, Hungary, Nepal, Pakistan, Paraguay, Senegal, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, Zambia.

*Against:* None.

*Abstaining:* France, Spain, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America.

*The draft resolution was adopted by 11 votes to none, with 4 abstentions.<sup>1</sup>*

27. The PRESIDENT (*translated from French*): I shall now call on the speakers who have asked to explain their vote after the vote.

28. Mr. BUFFUM (United States of America): I should like very briefly to explain the reasons why my delegation abstained from the vote on the draft resolution [S/9360] which has just been adopted. We have been faced in this debate with an unhappy dilemma. Both Zambia and Portugal are friends of the United States. Zambia has brought a serious charge against Portugal and has presented

<sup>1</sup> See resolution 268 (1969).

a full account of serious incidents which it is convinced have occurred on its territory. Portugal, for its part, has denied culpability.

29. Without wishing to cast doubt on the credibility of either party, I can merely say that my Government would be much readier to take a position on the merits of the case if we were in possession of some impartial account of the recent developments along the borders between Zambia and Mozambique and Angola. But unfortunately we do not have the type of report that we rely on so heavily; for example, from the United Nations Truce Supervision Organization when it comes to complaints about the situation in the Middle East. Despite this, the resolution just adopted does make a specific finding against Portugal which we are unable to support under the circumstances described.

30. May I emphasize, however, that our position on the resolution just adopted has nothing to do with our attitude toward the more fundamental question of self-determination for the Portuguese Territories. We are concerned with the continuing tension in the area and strongly hope that the Council will not be faced with a repetition of the unhappy situation in which we have found ourselves in connexion with Zambia's current complaint.

31. Finally, with your permission, Mr. President, since I have the floor I should like to take this opportunity to convey the deep appreciation of my Government to those delegations that I have not already thanked for their kind and warm congratulations on the flight of Apollo 11.

32. Mr. PASTINEN (Finland): In the statement I made at the 1488th meeting on behalf of the Finnish delegation I said that incidents of the kind of which the Council is at present seized could not, in our view, be considered in isolation. I pointed out that in the opinion of my delegation they were but symptoms of the underlying serious tension in the area, for which the policies pursued by Portugal in contravention of the pertinent resolutions of the Security Council and the General Assembly were the main cause. It is in the context of this general situation rather than on the basis of any particular incident that my delegation has voted for the resolution just adopted.

33. The Finnish delegation has voted in favour of the resolution despite our reservations about certain of its formulations. These reservations, which my delegation

expressed during the consultations that preceded the submission of the final draft, refer particularly to the second paragraph of the preamble, or rather to that paragraph in conjunction with paragraph 5. It is the view of my delegation that the Council has considered the complaint presented by Zambia against Portugal within the purview of Chapter VI of the Charter rather than within the context of Chapter VII, to which the formulation of these two paragraphs seems to point.

34. The PRESIDENT (*translated from French*): The next speaker on my list is the representative of Portugal, on whom I now call.

35. Mr. MIRANDA (Portugal): My delegation wishes to thank the representatives of Spain, the United States, the United Kingdom and France for the position they have taken on the draft resolution which has just been voted upon. My delegation holds that that resolution has no relation to any reality, and places on record its formal reservations in regard to it.

36. Mr. MWAANGA (Zambia): At the successful conclusion of this debate, which was called at the request of my delegation to discuss Portuguese aggression, I wish to take this opportunity to thank all our friends who have given us unwavering support throughout this debate. I also wish to thank those of our friends who have not found it possible to support our position on this matter.

37. With regard to the resolution just adopted being a serious warning to Portugal to stop committing acts of vandalism against my country, it is the understanding of my delegation that paragraph 5 of that resolution means that, should Portugal continue with its criminal war against Zambia, the Security Council will meet to consider further measures which we hope will be much more severe than the penalty just imposed. We sincerely hope that the Council will no longer permit Portugal to enjoy the fruits of its aggression.

38. The PRESIDENT (*translated from French*): Since no other representative wishes to speak, the Security Council has concluded this phase of its consideration of the question on the agenda. The question will remain before the Council.

*The meeting rose at 11.55 a.m.*

---

#### **HOW TO OBTAIN UNITED NATIONS PUBLICATIONS**

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

#### **COMMENT SE PROCURER LES PUBLICATIONS DES NATIONS UNIES**

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

#### **КАК ПОЛУЧИТЬ ИЗДАНИЯ ОРГАНИЗАЦИИ ОБЪЕДИНЕННЫХ НАЦИЙ**

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

#### **COMO CONSEGUIR PUBLICACIONES DE LAS NACIONES UNIDAS**

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

---