

**“Deeply concerned** at the climate of insecurity and instability, fraught with a threat to peace and security in the region,

**“Affirming** the need to ensure the prerequisites for eliminating the causes of tension in the region and creating an atmosphere of trust, peace and security, as recommended by the Special Mission in its report,

**“1. Expresses its appreciation** for the work accomplished by the Special Mission of the Security Council established under resolution 294 ( 1971 ) ;

**“2. Takes note with satisfaction** of the recommendations of the Special Mission contained in paragraph 128 of its report;

**“3. Reaffirms** the provisions of its resolution 294 (1971) condemning the acts of violence and destruction perpetrated since 1963 by the Portuguese armed forces of Guinea (Bissau) against the population and villages of Senegal;

**“4. Strongly deplors** the lack of co-operation with the Special Mission on the part of the Portuguese Government, which prevented the Special Mission from implementing fully the mandate given to it under paragraph 4 of resolution 294 (1971) ;

**“5. Culls upon** the Government of Portugal to take immediate effective measures:

“(a) So that the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Senegal shall be fully respected;

“(b) To prevent acts of violence and destruction against the territory and the people of Senegal, in order to contribute to the safeguarding of peace and security in the region;

**“6. Culls upon** the Government of Portugal to respect fully the inalienable right to self-determination and independence of the people of Guinea (Bissau);

**“7. Calls upon the** Government of Portugal to take without further delay the necessary measures, so that this inalienable right of the people of Guinea (Bissau) shall be exercised;

**“8. Requests** the President of the Security Council and the Secretary-General to keep this question under review and report on the implementation of the present resolution to the Council within an appropriate period and at the latest within six months;

**“9. Declares** that, in the event of failure by Portugal to comply with the provisions of the present resolution, the Security Council will meet to consider the initiatives and steps that the situation requires;

**“10. Decides** to remain seized of the question.”

#### COMPLAINT BY GUINEA

##### INITIAL PROCEEDINGS

By letter<sup>469</sup> dated 4 December 1969 addressed to the President of the Security Council, the representative of Guinea requested that a meeting of the Security Council be convened to consider the “aggression recently committed by the Portuguese colonial army against the territorial integrity of the Republic of Guinea”. In the letter the representative of Guinea referred to his pre-

vious letter<sup>470</sup> dated 2 December in which he had informed the Council of the shelling of two Guinean frontier villages a few days previously by Portuguese forces. The representatives of Algeria, Botswana, Burundi, Cameroon, Central African Republic, Chad, Congo (Brazzaville), Congo (Democratic Republic of), Dahomey, Equatorial Guinea, Ethiopia, Gabon, Gambia, Ghana, Guinea, Ivory Coast, Kenya, Lesotho, Liberia, Libya, Madagascar, Mali, Mauritania, Mauritius, Morocco, Niger, Nigeria, Rwanda, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Somalia, Sudan, Swaziland, Togo, Tunisia, Uganda, United Arab Republic, United Republic of Tanzania, Upper Volta and Zambia subsequently associated themselves with Guinea’s request in a letter<sup>471</sup> dated 5 December 1969 in which they hoped that the Council would take necessary steps under Chapter VII of the Charter to end Portuguese acts of aggression.

In a further letter<sup>472</sup> dated 12 December 1969, the representative of Guinea informed the Security Council of several incidents of bombing and other acts of “provocation and violations . . . of Guinean national territory” which were said to have been committed by Portuguese forces between 13 April and 13 November 1969. These incidents had resulted in a number of deaths and injuries as well as considerable property damage and the Guinean motor barge *Patrice Lwnumba* and twenty-one of its passengers were still being detained by Portuguese authorities.

At the 1522nd meeting on 15 December 1969, the Security Council included<sup>473</sup> the item in its agenda and invited the representatives of Guinea and Portugal to participate in the discussion.<sup>474</sup> At subsequent meetings, invitations were extended also to the representatives of Congo (Brazzaville), Liberia, Madagascar, Mali, Sierra Leone, Syria, Tunisia,<sup>475</sup> Lesotho, Saudi Arabia,<sup>476</sup> Libya, Yemen,<sup>477</sup> India,<sup>478</sup> Bulgaria and Mauritius.<sup>479</sup> The Council considered the question at the 1522nd to 1526th meetings held between 15 and 22 December 1969.

**Decision** of 22 December 1969 ( 1526th meeting ) : resolution 275 (1970)

At the 1522nd meeting on 15 December 1969, the representative of Guinea<sup>480</sup> stated that provocations by Portugal against his country and against other African States had persisted and posed a serious threat to the peace and security of the African continent. After reiterating the account of the incidents listed in his letter of 12 December<sup>480</sup> and also referring to the continued detention by Portuguese authorities since March 1968 of a Guinean aircraft and its two crew members, he expressed his confidence that the Security Council would unanimously condemn Portugal for its occupation of Mozambique, Angola and Guinea (Bissau) and its acts of aggression against the Republic of Guinea. It would also ask Portugal to free immediately the Guinean nationals being detained, return the Guinean aircraft and motor barge, compensate the victims of its

<sup>470</sup> S/9525, *ibid.*, p. 145.

<sup>471</sup> S/9549, *ibid.*, p. 154.

<sup>472</sup> S/9554, *ibid.*, pp. 155-157.

<sup>473</sup> 1522nd meeting, preceding para. 1, para. 2.

<sup>474</sup> *ibid.*, para. 1.

<sup>475</sup> 1523rd meeting, para. 3.

<sup>476</sup> *ibid.*, para. 26.

<sup>477</sup> 1524th meeting, para. 2.

<sup>478</sup> *ibid.*, para. 27.

<sup>479</sup> 1525th meeting, para. 2.

<sup>480</sup> S/9554. See foot-note 472 above.

<sup>469</sup> S/9528, *OR. 24th yr., Suppl. for Oct.-Dec. 1969*, p. 147.

aggression and cease all acts of provocation on the frontiers of the Republic of Guinea.<sup>481</sup>

At the same meeting, the representative of Portugal\* stated that it was Portuguese Guinea that had been subjected to constant attacks coming from the Republic of Guinea. After citing a number of such incidents, he proposed that the Security Council investigate the charges made by both sides in order to determine the facts and to place the responsibility where it belonged. With regard to the Guinean motor barge and its passengers and the aircraft and its crew detained in Portuguese Guinea, Portugal was prepared to consider their release only when twenty-four Portuguese military personnel, unlawfully kidnapped and detained in the Republic of Guinea, had been set free.<sup>482</sup>

At the 1524th meeting on 18 December 1969, the representative of Portugal\* further stated that, on the basis of the investigation conducted since the matter had been brought to the Council, his Government rejected as unfounded in fact the shelling incidents and air raids which had been alleged by the Government of Guinea. He emphasized that, whatever the allegations, any action taken by Portugal was always taken within its own territory and in the exercise of its right of self-defence.<sup>483</sup>

At the 1525th meeting on 19 December 1969, the representative of Nepal introduced a draft resolution<sup>484</sup> jointly sponsored by Algeria, Nepal, Pakistan, Senegal and Zambia.

At the 1526th meeting on 22 December 1969, the draft resolution was put to the vote and was adopted<sup>485</sup> by 9 votes in favour, none against with 6 abstentions. The resolution<sup>486</sup> read as follows:

**"The Security Council,**

"Having noted the contents of the letters of the representative of Guinea in document S/9525, S/9528 and S/9554,

"Observing that incidents of this nature jeopardize international peace and security,

"Mindful that no State should act in any manner inconsistent with the principles and purposes of the Charter of the United Nations,

"Gravely concerned with any and all such attacks by Portugal directed against independent African States,

"Grieved at the extensive damage caused by the Portuguese shelling of Guinean villages from positions in the Territory of Guinea (Bissau),

"1. Deeply deplores the loss of life and heavy damage to several Guinean villages inflicted by the Portuguese military authorities operating from bases in Guinea (Bissau);

"2. Culls upon Portugal to desist forthwith from violating the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the Republic of Guinea;

"3. Calls upon the Portuguese authorities in Guinea (Bissau) to immediately release the Guinean civilian plane which was captured on 26 March 1968 together with the pilots thereon;

<sup>481</sup> 1522nd meeting, paras. 7-39.

<sup>482</sup> *Ibid.*, paras. 44-90.

<sup>483</sup> 1524th meeting, paras. 71-73.

<sup>484</sup> S/9574, 1525th meeting, para. 9.

<sup>485</sup> 1526th meeting, para. 48.

<sup>486</sup> Resolution 275 (1969).

"4. Further calls upon the Portuguese authorities in Guinea (Bissau) to immediately release the Guinean motor barge, *Patrice Lumumba*, which was captured on 27 August 1969 together with the passengers thereon;

"5. Solemnly warns Portugal that if such acts were to be repeated in future, the Council would have to seriously consider further steps to give effect to this decision."

Decision of 23 November 1970 (1558th meeting): resolution 289 (1970)

By letter<sup>487</sup> dated 22 November 1970 addressed to the President of the Security Council, the representative of Guinea requested the convening of the Security Council as a matter of extreme urgency. It was stated in the letter further that that morning the territory of Guinea had been the object of an armed attack by Portuguese forces who had landed at several points in the capital and that mercenary commando troops had shelled the town, and contained a request for immediate intervention by airborne United Nations troops to assist the National Army of the Republic of Guinea.

In a telegram<sup>488</sup> of the same date addressed to the Secretary-General, the President of the Republic of Guinea reiterated the charge of Portuguese aggression and the request for United Nations intervention.

In a letter<sup>489</sup> also dated 22 November 1970 addressed to the President of the Security Council, the representative of Portugal denied the accusations of the Government of Guinea. Stating that Portugal had no connexion with the matter to which the Guinean letter had referred, he expressed the hope that the Security Council would reject as groundless the charges made by Guinea.

At the 1558th meeting on 22/23 November 1970, the Security Council included the item in the agenda<sup>490</sup> and considered it at that meeting. The representatives of Guinea, Mali, Mauritania, Saudi Arabia and Senegal were invited<sup>491</sup> to participate in the discussion.

The Secretary-General informed the Council of the message<sup>492</sup> he had received from the President of the Republic of Guinea as well as of the message from the resident representative of the United Nations Development Programme in Conakry, sent at the request of the Government of Guinea, which confirmed that disembarkment of external forces described by the Government as Portuguese had taken place that morning in Conakry and that the representative had personally seen four ships disembark and fighters fly over the city.<sup>493</sup>

After calling the Council's attention to earlier complaints brought before it by his Government and by a number of other African States against Portugal, the representative of Guinea\* informed the Council that the Republic of Guinea had that morning been the object of premeditated armed aggression by Portuguese colonial forces. Mercenaries had left Guinea (Bissau) on ten Portuguese ships and had landed at several points in Conakry and fighting was continuing. In view of the serious situation, he requested that the Security Council should demand the immediate cessation of the aggression and the immediate withdrawal of all Portu-

<sup>487</sup> S/9987, OR, 25th yr., Suppl. for Oct.-Dec. 1970, p. 51.

<sup>488</sup> S/9988, 1558th meeting, para. 7.

<sup>489</sup> S/9989, OR, 25th yr., Suppl. for Oct.-Dec. 1970, pp. 51-52.

<sup>490</sup> 1558th meeting, preceding para. 1.

<sup>491</sup> *Ibid.*, paras. 3.

<sup>492</sup> S/9988. See foot-note 488 above.

<sup>493</sup> 1558th meeting, paras. 7. 10.

guese and mercenary troops and all military equipment. The Council should also unequivocally condemn the Government of Portugal for the premeditated attack against the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the Republic of Guinea and should decide to send the troops necessary to restore peace and security in the area.<sup>494</sup>

After a suspension of the meeting for purposes of consultation, the President (Syria) called the Council's attention to the draft resolution<sup>495</sup> which had been submitted jointly by Burundi, Nepal, Sierra Leone, Syria and Zambia and which had been revised by the co-sponsors.<sup>496</sup>

The representative of Nepal, in introducing on behalf of its co-sponsors the revised five-power draft resolution,<sup>497</sup> whereby the Security Council would, *inter alia*, send a special mission to Guinea to report on the situation, stated that it was interim in nature and expressed confidence that the Council would take appropriate decisions upon receipt of all available evidence. He requested that the draft resolution be put immediately to the vote.<sup>498</sup>

The representative of the United States, referring to paragraph 4 of the draft resolution which provided that the special mission would be formed after consultation between the President of the Security Council and the Secretary-General, said that the Security Council might request the Secretary-General to send a representative to the area, a procedure which had often been used in the past. If, on the other hand, the sponsors preferred that the mission be composed of representatives of Governments, his delegation considered it important that all members of the Council be consulted. Accordingly, he proposed an amendment whereby the special mission would be formed after consultation among members of the Security Council.<sup>499</sup>

The United States amendment was put to the vote and was not adopted.<sup>500</sup> The vote was 3 in favour, none against, with 12 abstentions. The draft resolution was then put to the vote and was adopted<sup>501</sup> unanimously. The resolution read:<sup>502</sup>

**"The Security Council,**

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

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

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

**"2. Demands** the immediate withdrawal of all external armed forces and mercenaries, together with the military equipment used in the armed attack against the territory of the Republic of Guinea;

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

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

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

Decision of 8 December 1970 (1563rd meeting) : resolution 290 (1970)

On 3 December 1970, the Special Mission to the Republic of Guinea, established under resolution 289 (1970), submitted its report<sup>503</sup> to the Security Council. In its conclusions, the report stated that, in the best judgement of the Special Mission, the force of 350-400 men that invaded the Republic of Guinea in several ships on 22/23 November had been assembled in Guinea (Bissau) and was composed of naval and military units of the Portuguese armed forces acting in conjunction with Guinean dissident elements from outside Guinea.

In a letter<sup>504</sup> dated 4 December 1970 addressed to the President of the Security Council, the representative of Portugal, referring to the report of the Special Mission, declared that his Government had not ordered, authorized or consented to any military operations against the Republic of Guinea. Reiterating his Government's desire for peace and co-operation, particularly with those States contiguous to its territories, he said he considered it lacking in elementary justice for the Special Mission to have reached its conclusions or for the Security Council to pronounce itself without first informing the Portuguese Government of the findings. In view of this, his Government would reject any resolution seeking to establish the culpability of Portuguese entities or individuals in the situation.

At its 1559th meeting on 4 December 1970, the Security Council included<sup>505</sup> the report of the Special Mission in its agenda and considered it at the 1559th to 1563rd meetings held between 4 and 8 December. At the 1559th meeting, the Council decided to invite the representatives of Guinea, Algeria, Liberia, Mali, Mauritania, Mauritius, People's Republic of the Congo, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Sudan, United Republic of Tanzania, Yugoslavia, Ethiopia and United Arab Republic<sup>506</sup> to participate in the discussion. Subsequently, at the 1560th meeting on 5 December the representatives of Cuba and Southern Yemen,<sup>507</sup> at the 1561st meeting on 7 December the representatives of Uganda, India and Somalia,<sup>508</sup> and at the 1562nd meeting on 7 December the representatives of Haiti and Pakistan<sup>509</sup> were also invited to participate.

At the 1559th meeting on 4 December 1970, the representative of Nepal, in his capacity as Chairman of the Special Mission, introduced the report and expressed the hope that it would serve the purpose of fully clarifying the situation in order that the Security Council might take any further action considered necessary.<sup>510</sup>

The representative of Guinea\* recalled the series of violations of Guinea's sovereignty and territorial integ-

<sup>494</sup> 1 558th meeting, 15, 17, 18, 20, 25.

<sup>495</sup> S/9990, OR, 25<sup>th</sup> yr., 3<sup>rd</sup> Suppl. for Oct.-Dec. 1970, p. 52.

<sup>496</sup> 1558th meeting para. 79.

<sup>497</sup> S/9990/Rev.1, 1558th meeting para. 81.

<sup>498</sup> 1558th meeting, para. 82.

<sup>499</sup> 1558th meeting, paras. 8-1-86.

<sup>500</sup> *Ibid.*, para. 100.

<sup>501</sup> *Ibid.*, para. 101.

<sup>502</sup> Resolution 289 (1970).

<sup>503</sup> S/10009 and Add.1, OR, 25<sup>th</sup> yr., Suppl. for Oct.-Dec. 1970, pp. 73-77.

<sup>504</sup> S/10014, *ibid.*, p. 77.

<sup>505</sup> 1559th meeting, preceding para. 9.

<sup>506</sup> *Ibid.*, para. 94.

<sup>507</sup> 1560th meeting, para. 4.

<sup>508</sup> 1561st meeting, paras. 2, 92, 111.

<sup>509</sup> 1562nd meeting, paras. 3, 79.

<sup>510</sup> 1559th meeting, paras. 16-18.

ity by Portugal since 1961, which his Government had brought to the attention of the Council, and stated that thus the latest act of aggression was not an isolated incident but was rooted in the determination of imperialism to reestablish its hegemony and to deny African peoples their sovereignty and independence. The grave situation resulting from the persistence of the Portuguese colonial regimes in Guinea (Bissau), Mozambique and Angola constituted a constant threat to international peace and security and therefore the United Nations faced the issue not only of Portugal's aggressive policy against Africa but of what steps it should take to ensure respect for the principles in whose name the Organization had been founded.<sup>511</sup>

The representative of Algeria\* stated that the complaint before the Council was not just a complaint of Guinea but of all Africa and that Algeria considered itself as being directly concerned by the aggression against Guinea. He deplored the fact that, two weeks after that aggression, the Security Council had not yet taken any positive action to assist the victims of the aggression and to condemn the aggressors.<sup>512</sup>

The representative of Tanzania\* stated that the situation in Guinea, as determined by the Special Mission of the Security Council, constituted a threat to the peace and act of aggression within the meaning of Article 39 of the Charter. It was now incumbent upon the Security Council not only to condemn Portugal but also to take effective measures in accordance with the provisions of Articles 39 and 41.<sup>513</sup>

In the course of the discussion, calls for effective action by the Security Council under Articles 39,<sup>514</sup> 41<sup>515</sup> and, if necessary, 42<sup>516</sup> or under Chapter VII<sup>517</sup> of the Charter were also made by a number of other representatives.

At the 1562nd meeting on 7 December 1970, the President (USSR) informed<sup>518</sup> the members of the Council of a letter<sup>519</sup> of that date addressed to him by the representative of Portugal transmitting the text of an official communique issued that day by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Portugal. In it, the Portuguese Government had stated that the sources of information available to the Security Council's Special Mission had all been under the control of the Government of Guinea and that, in view of this disregard of the most elementary procedural principles, the conclusions of the Special Mission's report could not be acceptable.

At the same meeting, following a brief suspension, the representative of Burundi introduced a draft resolution<sup>520</sup> jointly submitted by Burundi, Nepal, Sierra Leone, Syria and Zambia.

<sup>511</sup> 1559th meeting, paras. 21-39, 45.

<sup>512</sup> *Ibid.*, paras. 52-56.

<sup>513</sup> *Ibid.*, paras. 102, 111-113.

<sup>514</sup> For text of relevant statement, see: 1560th meeting (PV): Yugoslavia,\* para. 73.

<sup>515</sup> For text of relevant statements, see: 1560th meeting: Southern Yemen,\* paras. 9, 13; USSR, paras. 139-140; Yugoslavia,\* para. 74.

<sup>516</sup> For text of relevant statements, see: 1560th meeting: Southern Yemen,\* para. 9; USSR, para. 140; Yugoslavia,\* para. 74.

<sup>517</sup> For text of relevant statements, see: 1560th meeting: UAR,\* para. 60; 1561st meeting: Poland, para. 69; Somalia,\* para. 137; Syria, para. 50; Uganda,\* para. 8; Zambia, para. 20.

<sup>518</sup> 1562nd meeting, para. 4.

<sup>519</sup> S/10024, OR, 25th yr., Suppl. for Oct.-Dec. 1970, pp. 78-79.

<sup>520</sup> S/10030, 1562nd meeting, paras. 49, SO.

At the 1563rd meeting on 8 December 1970, the five-Power draft resolution was put to the vote and was adopted<sup>521</sup> by 11 votes to none, with 4 abstentions. The resolution<sup>522</sup> read:

**"The Security Council,**

**"Having considered with appreciation** the report of the Security Council Special Mission to the Republic of Guinea established under resolution 289 (1970) of 23 November 1970,

**"Having heard** further statements by the Permanent Representative of the Republic of Guinea,

**"Gravely concerned** that the invasion of the territory of the Republic of Guinea on 22 and 23 November 1970 from Guinea (Bissau) was carried out by naval and military units of the Portuguese armed forces, and by the armed attack against the Republic of Guinea on 27 and 28 November 1970,

**"Gravely concerned** that such armed attacks directed against independent African States pose a serious threat to the peace and security of independent African States,

**"Mindful** of its responsibility to take effective collective measures for the prevention and removal of threats to international peace and security,

**"Recalling** its resolutions 218 (1965) of 23 November 1965 and 275 (1969) of 22 December 1969 which condemned Portugal and affirmed that the situation resulting from the policies of Portugal both as regards the African population of its colonies and the neighbouring States adversely affects the peace and stability of the African continent,

**"Reaffirming** the inalienable right of the people of Angola, Mozambique and Guinea (Bissau) to freedom and independence in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations and the provisions of General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) of 14 December 1960,

**"Grieved** at the loss of life and extensive damage caused by the armed attack and invasion of the Republic of Guinea,

**"1. Endorses** the conclusions of the report of the Special Mission to the Republic of Guinea;

**"2. Strongly condemns** the Government of Portugal for its invasion of the Republic of Guinea;

**"3. Demands** that full compensation by the Government of Portugal be paid to the Republic of Guinea for the extensive damage to life and property caused by the armed attack and invasion and requests the Secretary-General to assist the Government of the Republic of Guinea in the assessment of the extent of the damage involved;

**"4. Appeals** to all States to render moral and material assistance to the Republic of Guinea to strengthen and defend its independence and territorial integrity;

**"5. Declares** that the presence of Portuguese colonialism on the African continent is a serious threat to the peace and security of independent African States;

**"6. Urges** all States to refrain from providing the

<sup>521</sup> 1563rd meeting, para. 155.

<sup>522</sup> Resolution 290 (1970).

Government of Portugal with any military and material assistance enabling it to continue its repressive actions against the peoples of the Territories under its domination and against independent African States;

"7. Culls upon the Government of Portugal to apply without further delay to the peoples of the Territories under its domination the principles of self-determination and independence in accordance with the relevant resolutions of the Security Council and General Assembly resolution 15 14 (XV) ;

"8. Solemnly warns the Government of Portugal that in the event of any repetition of armed attacks against independent African States, the Security Council shall immediately consider appropriate effective steps or measures in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Charter of the United Nations;

"9. Culls upon the Government of Portugal to comply fully with all the resolutions of the Security Council, in particular the present resolution, in accordance with its obligations under Article 25 of the Charter;

"10. Requests all States, in particular Portugal's allies, to exert their influence on the Government of Portugal to ensure compliance with the provisions of the present resolution;

"11. Requests the President of the Security Council and the Secretary-General to follow closely the implementation of the present resolution;

"12. Decides to remain actively seized of the matter."

Decision of 3 August 1971 (1573rd meeting) : resolution 295 (1971)

Decision of 26 August 1971 (1576th meeting):

#### Statement by the President

By letter<sup>523</sup> dated 3 August 1971 addressed to the President of the Security Council, the representative of Guinea stated that the intelligence service of his Government had intercepted conversations between units of Portuguese colonial forces discussing an imminent military aggression by Portugal against the Republic of Guinea, in particular against the main points along the frontier with Guinea (Bissau) and against Conakry, with the aim, presumably, of liberating those taken prisoner in the course of the aggression of 22 November 1970 against Guinea. In view of the imminent threat to international peace and security, he requested an immediate meeting of the Security Council.

At the 1573rd meeting on 3 August 1971, the Security Council included<sup>524</sup> the item in the agenda and considered the question at the 1573rd and 1576th meetings on 3 and 26 August 1971. At the 1573rd meeting the representative of Guinea was invited<sup>525</sup> to participate in the discussion.

At the 1573rd meeting on 3 August 1971, the representative of Guinea\* recalled that his country had been the victim of aggression by Portugal for twelve years, including the most recent incident on 22 November 1970. At that time the Special Mission sent to Guinea by the Security Council had found incontrovertible evidence of Portuguese acts of aggression and, on the

basis of its report the Security Council, in resolution 290 (1970), had strongly condemned Portugal for its invasion of Guinea and had decided to remain actively seized of the matter. Notwithstanding that resolution, Portuguese violations of Guinea's territory had continued. In view of the new serious acts of aggression being prepared against it, the Government of Guinea had decided to take preventive action and to draw the Council's attention to the situation in time so that it might take appropriate and effective steps.<sup>526</sup>

At the same meeting, the representative of Somalia introduced a draft resolution,<sup>527</sup> jointly submitted by Burundi, Sierra Leone, Somalia and Syria, whereby the Security Council would, *inter alia*, decide to send a "special representative of the Security Council" to Guinea to consult with the authorities and to report on the situation immediately.

Following a brief suspension of the meeting, the representative of Somalia stated that the draft resolution had been revised as a result of consultations so that the Security Council would decide to send a "special mission of three members of the Security Council" rather than a "representative".<sup>528</sup> The draft resolution was then put to the vote and was adopted<sup>529</sup> unanimously. The resolution<sup>530</sup> read:

#### "The Security Council,

"Taking note of the letter addressed to the President of the Security Council by the Permanent Representative of Guinea,

"Having heard the statement of the Permanent Representative of Guinea,

"Bearing in mind that all States Members of the United Nations must refrain in their international relations from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any State, or in any other manner inconsistent with the purposes of the United Nations,

"1. Affirms that the territorial integrity and political independence of the Republic of Guinea must be respected;

"2. Decides to send a special mission of three members of the Security Council to Guinea to consult with the authorities and to report on the situation immediately;

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

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

In a letter<sup>531</sup> dated 4 August 1971 to the President of the Security Council, the representative of Guinea requested that the dispatch of the Special Mission established under resolution 295 (1971) be postponed. Subsequently, in a letter<sup>532</sup> dated 12 August 1971, he informed the President of the Council that his Government was prepared to receive the Special Mission as soon as possible.

<sup>526</sup> *Ibid.* paras. 9-23.

<sup>527</sup> S/1028 I, 1573rd meeting paras.40-41.

<sup>528</sup> 1573rd meeting paras.68-70.

<sup>529</sup> *Ibid.* para.80.

<sup>530</sup> Resolution 295 (1971).

<sup>531</sup> S/10283, OR, 26thyrSuppl. for July-Sept. 1971, p. 42.

<sup>532</sup> S/10287, *ibid.*, p. 44.

<sup>523</sup> S/10280, OR, 26th yr., Suppl. for July-Sept. 1971, pp. 41-42.

<sup>524</sup> 1573rd meeting. preceding para. 5.

<sup>525</sup> *Ibid.*, para. 5.

At the 1576th meeting on 26 August 1971, the President (Italy) read out the following statement expressing the consensus of the Council, which was approved without objection:<sup>533</sup>

“It is the consensus of the Security Council that the Special Mission called for in resolution 295 (1971) should be composed of two members of the Council instead of three. The Special Mission will proceed to Conakry to consult the Government of the Republic of Guinea on its complaint and will report back to the Council as soon as possible.”

Decision of 30 November 1971 (1603rd meeting) :

**Statement by the President**

On 14 September 1971, the Security Council Special Mission to the Republic of Guinea established under resolution 295 (1971) submitted its report.<sup>534</sup> The report described the meetings at which Guinean officials had given detailed accounts of Guinea's complaint and had responded to questions by the members of the Special Mission as well as documentary and other material relating to that complaint submitted to the Special Mission by the Government of Guinea.

In a letter<sup>535</sup> dated 29 September 1971 addressed to the President of the Security Council, the representative of Portugal stated that a perusal of the report of the Special Mission had made it clear that the Mission had found no evidence to support Guinea's charges concerning imminent military aggression by Portugal but showed that the alleged intercepted conversations on which Guinea had based its complaint had taken place between two Guinean nationals. He expressed regret that the Security Council should have been asked to convene on such vague and misleading information.

At the 1586th meeting on 29 September 1971, the Security Council included<sup>536</sup> the Special Mission's report in the agenda and considered it at that meeting and at the 1603rd meeting on 30 November 1971. At the 1586th meeting the representative of Guinea was invited<sup>537</sup> to participate in the discussion.

At the 1586th meeting on 29 September 1971, the representative of Syria, one of the two members of the Special Mission, introduced<sup>538</sup> the report.

The representative of Guinea\* stated that the report was a faithful record of observed facts which clearly indicated the continuing threat posed by Portugal to the security of his country. He appealed to the Security Council to ensure the security of Guinea by enforcing General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) which guaranteed the right of self-determination to all peoples and by applying the necessary sanctions to Portugal in order to ensure its compliance with the relevant resolutions of the Council.<sup>539</sup>

At the 1603rd meeting on 30 November 1971, the President (Poland), with the authorization of the members of the Council,<sup>540</sup> made the following statement of consensus on behalf of the Council:<sup>541</sup>

<sup>533</sup> 1576th meeting, paras. 4-5. See *OR, 26th yr., Resolutions and Decisions of the Security Council 1971, p. 4.*

<sup>534</sup> S/10309/Rev.1, *OR, 26th yr., Special Supplement No. 4.*

<sup>535</sup> S/10344, *OR, 26th yr., Suppl. for July-Sept. 1971, p. 69.*

<sup>536</sup> 1586th meeting, preceding para. 92.

<sup>537</sup> *Ibid.*, para. 92.

<sup>538</sup> *Ibid.*, paras. 94-101.

<sup>539</sup> *Ibid.*, paras. 109-112.

<sup>540</sup> 1603rd meeting, para. 5.

<sup>541</sup> Decision of 30 November 1971, *OR, 26th yr., Resolutions and Decisions of the Security Council 1971, p. 5.*

“It will be recalled that on 3 August the Security Council decided to dispatch a Special Mission to the Republic of Guinea. The Special Mission, consisting of the representative of Syria, Ambassador George J. Tomeh and the deputy representative of Argentina, Minister Julio César Carasales, visited Guinea from 30 August to 2 September 1971 and held extensive consultations with officials of the Government of Guinea.

“In those consultations, the Guinean authorities co-operated fully with the Special Mission and extended to it all the facilities necessary for the successful achievement of its task.

“Upon its return to New York and in accordance with its terms of reference, the Special Mission submitted its report to the Security Council, circulated as document S/10309. The Council began its first examination of the report of the Special Mission at its 1586th meeting on 29 September 1971.

“It is evident from this report that there is continuing concern in Guinea regarding the possibility of renewed acts against that country's territorial integrity and political independence similar to those which led to the events of November 1970. In this respect, the view has been expressed by the Government of Guinea that action should be taken by the Security Council to prevent Portugal from violating the territorial integrity and political independence of Guinea.

“It is also clear that the failure by Portugal to apply the principle of self-determination, including the right to independence, in Guinea (Bissau) is having an unsettling effect on conditions in the area.

“The Security Council, having taken note with appreciation of the report of the Special Mission and of the representations made by the Government of Guinea, reiterates paragraph 1 of resolution 295 (1971) which ‘affirms that the territorial integrity and political independence of the Republic of Guinea must be respected’.”

QUESTION OF BAHRAIN

INITIAL PROCEEDINGS

In a report<sup>542</sup> dated 28 March 1970, the Secretary-General informed the members of the Security Council that, in response to requests by the Governments of Iran and the United Kingdom and following extended consultations with the two parties, he had agreed to exercise his good offices in a matter pertaining to Bahrain. In agreeing to that, he had in mind that such action by the Secretary-General, at the request of Member States, had become customary in United Nations practice and in certain situations had proved to be a valuable means of relieving and preventing tension which could otherwise be prolonged or aggravated by premature disclosure and public debate.

The report contained the text of an announcement issued by the Secretary-General, after consultation with the parties, in which the Secretary-General outlined the events leading to his decision to exercise his good offices and quoted the terms of reference agreed upon by the Governments of Iran and the United Kingdom as follows: “Having regard to the problem created by the differing views of the parties concerned about the

<sup>542</sup> S/9726, *OR, 25th yr., Suppl. for Jan.-March 1970, pp. 175-176.*