

Sudan, Togo, Tunisia, Uganda, the United Arab Republic, the United Republic of Tanzania, Upper Volta and Zambia. The letter stated that those 36 Governments were demonstrating their solidarity with the sister State of Senegal in conformity with the provisions of the charter of the Organization of African Unity (OAU), and were also expressing Africa's concern at the threats and acts of aggression constantly committed by Portugal against the African States bordering on the territories under Portuguese domination.

The Security Council considered Senegal's complaint between 4 and 9 December. The representatives of Guinea, Liberia, Madagascar, Mali, Mauritania, Morocco, Portugal, Saudi Arabia, Sierra Leone, Syria, Tunisia, the United Arab Republic and Yemen were invited, at their request, to participate in the debate without the right to vote.

Senegal submitted another complaint on 7 December for consideration by the Council. That complaint, which concerned renewed shelling of Samine and further casualties, was considered with the previous one.

During the Council's discussions, the representative of Senegal cited numerous provocative violations of Senegal's sovereignty and territorial integrity by Portuguese forces between 8 April 1963 and November 1969, during which period the Security Council had adopted two resolutions—on 24 April 1963 and 19 May 1965<sup>43</sup>—both deploring such activities. Notwithstanding those resolutions, Portugal had in fact intensified its aggression, he charged. Between January and November 1969, the incidents had become more frequent and more serious, with Portuguese armed forces violating Senegalese air space and firing on Senegalese villages every month.

If Portugal were to continue its provocations, the representative of Senegal said, his country would have no choice but to resort to force in order to impose respect of its territorial sovereignty and integrity.

The representative of Portugal then asked three questions of the representative of Senegal: (1) whether or not anti-Portuguese organizations dedicated to violence had been allowed to operate from bases in Senegal; (2) whether or not Samine was such a base; and (3) whether

or not Senegal had contacted Portugal on its complaint before notifying the Security Council.

In reply to the questions posed by Portugal, the representative of Senegal stated that there were in Senegal approximately 50,000 refugees from Guinea (Bissau) who were supervised by the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, that the casualties at Samine had been civilians, and that Senegal had no need to contact Portugal with regard to the incident, since it had addressed itself to the Security Council.

The representative of Portugal explained that the significance of his questions, which he said had not been answered, was to ascertain whether in the case at issue the Portuguese forces had attacked or had reacted in self-defence. Since the beginning of the year, he stated, there had been many border violations involving firing of mortars and heavy artillery from Senegal, and armed attacks in which Senegalese troops had sometimes participated. The crux of the problem, he maintained, was that all such incidents resulted from armed attacks by anti-Portuguese organizations that were allowed to operate from bases inside Senegal, of which Samine was one. Portugal had limited itself to actions strictly in conformity with the needs of its rightful duty of self-defence.

Portugal's policy, he went on, had always been to respect scrupulously the sovereignty and territorial integrity of neighbouring countries; but in pursuit of invading raiders retreating to those countries, an error might have occurred along extensive and poorly demarcated borders. In his view, Senegal should have contacted Portugal so that a bilateral investigation and settlement through conciliation could have taken place. Portugal had no interest in antagonizing any African country and had unsuccessfully tried to seek co-operation and to conclude non-aggression pacts with the countries neighbouring its territories. However, those countries were avowedly hostile to Portugal and were aiding and encouraging violence against Portuguese territories in Africa.

With regard to the United Nations resolutions which had been referred to, the Portu-

<sup>43</sup> See Y.U.N., 1963, p. 26, text of resolution 178 (1963) of 24 April 1963; and Y.U.N., 1965, p. 136, text of resolution 204(1965) of 19 May 1965.