

24 Portuguese military personnel, unlawfully kidnapped from Portuguese Guinea and detained in Guinea.

Later in the discussion, Portugal's representative denied Guinea's allegations of shelling supposed to have taken place on 10 September and 13 November 1969, and said his Government had no evidence of any air raid; or shelling alleged to have occurred over the previous six months. He claimed that three Portuguese Guinea villages had suffered four attacks on 12 and 17 December by shelling or by armed bands from Guinea. Whatever action Portuguese forces might have taken in reply, its representative emphasized, had occurred on Portuguese territory, and had always been exclusively in self-defence, the right to which was clearly enshrined in Article 51 of the United Nations Charter.⁴⁶

The representative of Guinea replied that Portugal had implicitly recognized its guilt for its acts of aggression. The fact was that Portugal was unwilling to admit the successes of the national army of liberation of Guinea (Bissau), which was now in effective control of a part of that territory. Frustrated by such reversals, Portugal had turned to indiscriminate bombing of the liberated part of the territory and neighbouring countries.

Concerning the release of the Portuguese military personnel claimed to be held in Guinea, the Guinean representative said that if there were such soldiers held by the national liberation movements, it was up to Portugal to enter into a dialogue with those liberation movements over their release.

During the course of the debate, the representatives of Algeria, Hungary, Nepal, Pakistan, the USSR and Zambia, among others, condemned Portugal for acts of aggression against Guinea which they said followed the pattern of active hostility against all the African countries adjoining Portugal's colonial territories of Angola, Mozambique and Guinea (Bissau). Behind the specific complaints, they stated, was Portugal's anachronistic colonial policy and its stubborn refusal to heed numerous United Nations resolutions.

The border clashes between Portuguese territories and the neighbouring African countries resulted inevitably from the activities of national freedom fighters whom all States had not

only a right but a duty to help, they argued. It was stated that the right of self-defence could not be invoked to perpetuate colonialism and to flout the right of self-determination and independence. Several speakers ascribed Portugal's intransigence to the material and moral support it obtained from its North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) partners and from South Africa and Southern Rhodesia.

Syria said that the situation caused by Portugal's perpetuation of colonialism and harassment of independent States in Africa had been declared by the United Nations to be a crime against humanity.

Before India's representative spoke, the Portuguese representative withdrew from the Council Chamber, stating that Portugal recognized no moral right for India to participate in the debate, since in 1961 it had committed premeditated aggression against Goa, an overseas province of Portugal, and had been condemned by the Council.

The representative of India said that he was not ashamed to declare that if colonies could not be liberated through peaceful efforts, then there was no alternative but to drive out the colonial power by force. In the case before the Council, he said, India's position was that the process of bilateral negotiation was not applicable because the United Nations was committed to the elimination of colonial régimes, and Portugal had refused to abide by that principle or to carry out any of the relevant resolutions adopted by the United Nations.

On 19 September, a draft resolution sponsored by Algeria, Nepal, Pakistan, Senegal and Zambia was submitted to the Council. By its operative paragraphs, the Security Council would: (1) deeply deplore the loss of life and heavy damage to several Guinean villages inflicted by the Portuguese military authorities operating from bases in Guinea (Bissau); (2) call upon Portugal to desist forthwith from violating the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the Republic of Guinea; (3) call upon the Portuguese authorities in Guinea (Bissau) immediately to release the Guinean civilian plane which was captured on 26 March 1968, together with the pilots thereon; (4) further call upon the Portuguese authorities in Guinea (Bissau)

⁴⁶See footnote 41.