



MAR 40 1971

UN/SA COLLECTION

# SECURITY COUNCIL OFFICIAL RECORDS

TWENTY-SECOND YEAR

# 1363<sup>rd</sup>

MEETING: 6 JULY 1967

NEW YORK

---

## CONTENTS

	<i>Page</i>
Provisional agenda (S/Agenda/1363) .....	1
Expression of thanks to the retiring President .....	1
Statement by the President .....	1
Adoption of the agenda .....	1
Letter dated 6 July 1967 from the Permanent Representative of the Democratic Republic of the Congo addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/8036) .....	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.

## THIRTEEN HUNDRED AND SIXTY-THIRD MEETING

Held in New York, on Thursday, 6 July 1967, at 5 p.m.

*President:* Mr. Endalkachew MAKONNEN (Ethiopia).

### Statement by the President

*Present:* The representatives of the following States: Argentina, Brazil, Bulgaria, Canada, China, Denmark, Ethiopia, France, India, Japan, Mali, Nigeria, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland and United States of America.

### Provisional agenda (S/Agenda/1363)

1. Adoption of the agenda.
2. Letter dated 6 July 1967 from the Permanent Representative of the Democratic Republic of the Congo addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/8036).

### Expression of thanks to the retiring President

1. The PRESIDENT: I should like to take this first opportunity of expressing to Ambassador Tabor of Denmark my sincere appreciation and that of all of his colleagues in the Security Council of the valuable services he has rendered as President during the month of June. I am sure that I speak with the full concurrence of my colleagues when I pay tribute to the statesmanlike manner in which he presided over our difficult meetings. As his immediate successor and as one who has a great deal to learn from the example of efficiency that he has set, it gives me great pleasure to express to him my sincere admiration and gratitude for his tireless courtesy and his dedication to the cause for which the Council stands.

2. Mr. TABOR (Denmark): Mr. President, I wish to express my gratitude and my very warm appreciation of the kind words you have just addressed to me. Permit me to take this opportunity of thanking you, and indeed all the members of the Council, for the co-operation extended to me by all of you and the assistance given me as President of the Council during our very difficult deliberations on the Middle East crisis in the month of June. We are today embarking upon a new problem, and may I say, Mr. President, that I am happy that the guidance of the Council's deliberations is in your able hands. I wish to assure you that you can always depend upon my full co-operation in the tasks ahead of you.

3. The PRESIDENT: I am sure the members of the Council would wish me to thank the representative of Denmark for the statement he has just made.

4. The PRESIDENT: This meeting of the Security Council has been convened at the urgent request of the Permanent Representative of the Democratic Republic of the Congo.

5. It will be recalled that yesterday I received a letter from the Permanent Representative of the Democratic Republic of the Congo transmitting the text of a message addressed to me by the President of the Democratic Republic of the Congo. Those communications have been distributed as Security Council document S/8031.

6. Early this afternoon I received a further letter from the Permanent Representative of the Democratic Republic of the Congo, in which he requested me to convene an urgent meeting of the Security Council in order to consider the question raised by his Government. The text of that letter has been circulated as Security Council document S/8036. After receiving the letter this afternoon, I immediately contacted all members of the Security Council and consulted them about the time when a meeting of the Council should be convened. I have endeavoured to meet the situation in accordance with the wishes of the majority of Council members.

### Adoption of the Agenda

*The agenda was adopted.*

**Letter dated 6 July 1967 from the Permanent Representative of the Democratic Republic of the Congo addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/8036)**

7. The PRESIDENT: In accordance with rule 37 of the provisional rules of procedure of the Security Council, I propose, with the consent of the Council, to invite the representative of the Democratic Republic of the Congo to participate without vote in the discussion of the item just included in the agenda at the request of his Government. Since there is no objection to that proposal, I now invite the representative of the Democratic Republic of the Congo to take a place at the Council table.

*At the invitation of the President, Mr. T. Idzumbuir (Democratic Republic of the Congo), took a place at the Council table.*

8. The PRESIDENT: The Council will now begin its consideration of the item included in its agenda this afternoon at the request of the delegation of the Democratic Republic of the Congo. The representative of that

country has asked to make a statement, and I now call on him.

9. Mr. IDZUMBUIR (Democratic Republic of the Congo) (*translated from French*): I am extremely sorry that, at a time when we were all looking forward to a little rest and reflection after the lengthy discussions that have just taken place in the Security Council and the General Assembly, my delegation finds it necessary to detain you still longer and to say something that will give you cause for further concern.

10. Allow me, Mr. President, before beginning my statement, to thank you for the diligence and promptness with which you granted the request of the President of the Republic that the Council should be seized of the aggression committed against the Democratic Republic of the Congo on 5 July 1967.

11. You will remember that in October 1966 the Security Council discussed the dangers and threats to the Congo inherent in the activities of the mercenaries who had been recruited in certain countries of western Europe and regrouped in Angola at the very frontier of the Democratic Republic of the Congo.

12. At that time also one section of the Congolese army, composed of former Katangese gendarmes, the men who had constituted the backbone of the secession in Katanga, had mutinied. The mutineers were supported by a section of mercenaries, most of whom had been in the service of the secessionist leaders in Katanga.

13. The time chosen for the present meeting of the former Katangese gendarmes leaves no doubt as to the purpose of the Machiavellian plan fostered by the international conspiracy of certain fascist and colonialist circles. With God's help that plan has failed. The mutiny of Stanleyville failed by dint of the determination of the Congolese Government and people to defend their freedom, their individuality and their dignity.

14. Today this danger has again become a reality. The invasion by foreign paratroopers of the city of Kisangani, the former Stanleyville, on 5 July 1967 is not an isolated event or an accident. It is part of a carefully prepared plan, which was to be preceded or accompanied by other acts, such as the sabotage of certain of the country's vital communications and of certain equally vital power stations.

15. It is not by chance that, during the last week of June, a number of foreigners, with the complicity of certain Congolese nationals, dynamited a bridge connecting the two sections of the railway line used for the transport of raw materials from the Katanga mines. They also dynamited the high-tension pylons supplying electricity to the ore-processing plants in the same region.

16. Some of those responsible for the plan have been arrested thanks to the vigilance of the local police and the co-operation of the neighbouring Governments, and here I should like to pay a special tribute to the Government of Zambia for arresting two Congolese accomplices who hoped to find refuge in its Territory.

17. One inevitably links up these two facts with the aerial invasion of which we are all aware and in which a person is implicated who has from the outset been the focal point of various attempts made by the international conspiracy to overthrow every Congolese régime which is determined to smash the monopolies of certain financial powers.

18. What actually are the aims of this conspiracy? Judging from the time chosen for this invasion, one cannot but connect it with the following circumstances. A few months ago the régime of President Mobutu successfully initiated a campaign to solve the country's basic problems, political stability and economic independence. A referendum on the Constitution has just been held, putting an end to the political confusion and establishing order. A popularly-inspired political movement with genuinely nationalist objectives and sound structures has just been set up on his initiative. An unprecedented effort has just been made on his instigation to return to the Congolese people what is theirs, with due regard to the rights of international co-operation. New rules for the exploitation of the Republic's principal mining resources have been drawn up, smashing a monopoly from which only a few foreign financial groups benefitted. A revamping of the monetary system has just been decreed, which has the support of the International Monetary Fund and should make it possible for the Congolese currency to take its rightful place as a valid instrument of national and international trade.

19. It is this series of measures to make the Congo a prosperous country, a peaceful country, a country with a great future, which displeased those who hanker for the colonial era, the old men's clubs of which the President of the Republic spoke, members of the huge international conspiracy which has ramifications throughout the world.

20. What has the conspiracy decided to do? It has decided to make things difficult for the new régime. It has decided to bring it down. It has decided to make it knuckle under and to replace it by a more docile régime headed by someone who would be a puppet rather than a leader, who would receive his instructions not from the Congolese people but from foreign peoples or clubs, not from Kinshasa but from foreign capitals.

21. However, this conspiracy forgot one thing. It forgot that the régime of President Mobutu has the support of the Congolese people and that to succeed in the Congo one must reckon with the Congolese people since, in the final analysis, the people will have the last word.

22. In October 1966, when we discussed the problem in this very room, we heard denials, disclaimers and protests of innocence. This time, and even before we came to the Council, certain foreign capitals already felt it necessary to proclaim to the world their innocence, their non-complicity, their complete ignorance of any participation in the invasion of 5 July 1967.

23. You will certainly recall the proverb "he whom the shoe fits shall wear it".

24. What is behind these protests of innocence? Whom are they intended to convince and who is supposed to be

deceived? An objective analysis of what has just happened leaves no doubt about where the mercenaries were recruited, where they were trained, what were their regrouping stations and what may have precipitated their invasion plans.

25. Where were they recruited? It is not difficult to find an answer. As early as last October we reported cases of recruiting in different countries of western Europe. France was the only country to launch an operation to put a stop to the recruiting of mercenaries in its territory. The fact remains, however, that at the same time recruiting continued in certain other countries virtually with the knowledge, if not the complicity of the public authorities. We were told later that measures would be taken, but in the meantime what was done was done; the damage had been done. The recruiting was conducted openly at the time in restaurants, bars and public establishments by means of posters stating where to report and which persons to contact and giving full particulars of the qualifications required, which left no doubt as to the purpose of the recruiting agents.

26. It is astonishing that in those countries which have highly developed intelligence services, these services failed to find the clue which would have led them to the clubs which the recruiting was intended to benefit. No, the intelligence services were perfectly aware of the situation, but the exclusive club which the mercenaries were intended to serve was too powerful—so powerful that it was difficult and even impossible for the public institutions of some of those countries to take any action whatever against it. What is more, it looks as if the public institutions of certain countries had offered to co-operate. It was probably in the interest of both groups and that is why it is difficult for the Congolese authorities to take at face value the assurances of friendship and good intentions from certain Powers, while the same Powers allow people to organize networks for the recruitment of mercenaries, agree to their being supplied with travel facilities, allow them to pass through their territories or territories under their jurisdiction, despite the fact that they are fully aware of the ultimate intentions of the organization behind this activity and the aims it is pursuing in the Congo.

27. What, I ask myself, have we done to those Powers? Did they not extract enough profit during the colonial era from all their exploitation of my country's mineral wealth? Did they not make enough profit to beautify their cities and embellish their monuments? Have they not enough blood on their consciences? Have not enough people been killed to satisfy their cupidity? Is it not shameful for a civilization which calls itself Christian to persecute so relentlessly a small country whose only desire is to live in peace?

28. People will, of course, tell me that local and national legislation in certain countries does not prohibit those activities. Is there any country which has no laws to prevent its nationals from engaging in activities inconsistent with the international obligation to respect the sovereignty of other States? Is not this respect for the sovereignty of other States a fundamental obligation which all of us present here assumed when we signed the United Nations

Charter? Is it not better to prevent all the harm done by those nationals than to be obliged to crave indulgence for them and ask that allowances be made when they face their judges in the State they have wronged?

29. In conclusion I should like the Security Council to call upon all Member Governments to take measures to put an end in their territories and in the territories under their jurisdiction to all activities of that international mafia which plots against the sovereignty of Member States of this Organization, to prohibit in their territories the recruitment of mercenaries whose sole intention is to sow civil war, death, suffering and poverty among the peoples of Member States.

30. All we are asking is that these States comply with their obligations under the Charter, obligations which have found expression in various resolutions adopted by the General Assembly on the subject, *inter alia*, those calling upon Governments to refrain from intervening in any way in the internal affairs of sovereign states, which to my mind involves an obligation to prevent in their territories activities which jeopardize the sovereignty of the States Members of the Organization.

31. We in the Congo believe that the invasion of our territory by foreign paratroopers leaves no doubt as to the reality of the dangers and threats which we brought to your knowledge in this very room in October of last year.

32. We believe it is incumbent upon you, the members of the Council, to remind all States of their fundamental obligations, particularly in virtue of the Charter, and to call upon them to discharge those obligations by taking effective measures to put an end to the recruitment and training of these mercenaries, whose aim is to violate the sovereignty of sovereign States generally, and of the Democratic Republic of the Congo in particular.

33. Mr. President, you have received the message that the President of the Democratic Republic of the Congo has sent you in your capacity as President of the Security Council. At this stage we ask you to secure the co-operation of all Member States in guaranteeing to the Congolese people which has lost so many of its young men since 1960, life and everlasting peace.

34. Mr. FEDORENKO (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*translated from Russian*): The Security Council has listened very carefully to the statement by the representative of the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Mr. Idzumbuir, on a topic which must inevitably give rise to serious concern.

35. At a later stage the Soviet delegation is intending to make a formal statement of its position on the substance of the item under consideration; but even at the present stage it cannot refrain from drawing attention to one aspect of this question in the situation that has arisen. We all know that here in the Security Council, and later in the General Assembly, the United Nations has been and still is considering the situation which has arisen in the Middle East as a result of Israel's aggression against the Arab States.

36. May I recall that the Soviet delegation has repeatedly stressed, *inter alia*, that the aggressor must not be allowed to count on obtaining any gains or reaping any fruits from his crimes? For us and, we imagine, for all Members of the United Nations, this is a matter of fundamental importance. Yesterday it was the Arab States which were the victims of an aggressive attack; today the Security Council is considering another dangerous situation that has arisen in central Africa, in the Democratic Republic of the Congo.

37. In this specific context we should like to draw attention to the fact that the forces of aggression must not be encouraged, and must not be allowed to expect their criminal acts to go unpunished or will be connived at. The forces of aggression must not be given prizes; and the United Nations, especially the Security Council, must take this circumstance into account, draw the appropriate conclusions and take the necessary steps to put an end to the activities of the forces of aggression.

38. Mr. BUFFUM (United States of America): The United States too will, I am sure, be speaking in more detail on the substance of this problem, as our consideration of the complaint received today from the representative of the Congo [S/8036] proceeds. However, I should like today to make a few brief comments.

39. First, I should like to welcome you, Mr. President, to the Presidency of the Council. We are all, I am sure, very well aware of the tremendously valuable contributions made by Mr. Makonnen to the work of the Council in his capacity as Permanent Representative of Ethiopia, and I believe we would all share the view that the Council is indeed most fortunate to have the exceptional qualities possessed and demonstrated by him at its service during this very difficult period.

40. In the same context I should like to join in the appreciation which you, Mr. President, have already expressed so eloquently for the truly outstanding service of your predecessor during the month of June, Ambassador Hans Tabor of Denmark. The Presidency fell to him in what has without question proved to be one of the most historically important months in the history of the Security Council and—I think it is fair to add on behalf of us all—one of the most exhausting months. Through all the days and nights on which we met, Mr. Tabor's skill, his devotion to duty and his sense of fairness never left him and, without question, he deserves much of the credit for the important success of the Council in achieving a cease-fire. Here again, I believe that all members of the Council would agree that we should express thanks to him for the admirable service which he rendered to us and to the United Nations during that very difficult time.

41. We readily agreed to an urgent meeting of the Security Council this afternoon to consider the complaint from the Government of the Democratic Republic of the Congo charging that forces from outside its own country have fomented disturbances in the eastern part of the Congo and, with the co-operation of dissident local military elements, have apparently gained control of several important cities. These charges are indeed serious ones and they deserve our most careful consideration. Certainly, the

type of actions that have been alleged would contravene not only the spirit but also the letter of the United Nations Charter. The strong opposition of the Government of the United States to intervention by one State in the internal affairs of another has been demonstrated repeatedly. Such interference, whether it be with armed forces or through subversion or other less obvious means, cannot be countenanced. If any foreign Government is in fact aiding and abetting those in the Congo who are seeking by force to wrest control of certain areas from the legitimate authorities, such action would clearly violate the Charter and accepted principles of international law. All Member States should, in our judgement, refrain from any such activities and take appropriate measures to discourage their nationals from participating in them.

42. As these charges are serious ones, the Council will quite naturally wish to be fully informed of the facts of the situation and we trust that the Government of the Democratic Republic of the Congo will make every effort to ascertain the full facts and keep us informed of developments as they occur. In the meantime, the United States believes that it is incumbent on all of us to do nothing that would further exacerbate the situation there.

43. Since the day the Congo became independent, the United States has been prominent among those that have supported and assisted the Government of that nation to develop strength and stability in order to ensure the security and well-being of the Congolese people. We have made these efforts both through the United Nations and through mutually agreed bilateral arrangements. This record, if I may say so in all humility, is one of which my Government is proud and it is for this reason as well that we are deeply disturbed over any threat to the steady progress which has been made in the Congo.

44. We firmly support the efforts of the Central Government in the Congo to restore order and to exercise its legitimate authority throughout the country. We deplore any attempts by outside forces to interfere with those efforts. I am sure that this will also prove to be the attitude of other members at this Council table and feel confident that within a short time it will again be possible for all the people of the Congo to live in peace and free from fear, as they so richly deserve.

45. Mr. KEITA (Mali) (*translated from French*): My delegation is very pleased that the representative of Ethiopia is presiding over the Council. Apart from the personal and fraternal feelings which bind us, you, Mr. President, represent Addis Ababa, you represent Ethiopia, you represent the headquarters of the Organization of African Unity. To the Republic of Mali, the Organization of African Unity represents that indispensable African unity without which our continent cannot survive for long and we must have no illusions in that respect.

46. We believe that it is in the Organization of African Unity, to which your country is host, that we shall find the catalyst, the means and the strength on which the African States will draw just to be able to live—and I say “just to be able to live” because some nations even deny them that right.

47. Thus, Mr. President, as the representative of Ethiopia, you have been chosen to symbolize that African unity of which Emperor Haile Selassie is one of the greatest champions. I should like to take this opportunity of asserting that Africa can and must make a valuable contribution to the international community. The Africa that is described as savage and primitive, by that token, will contribute an element of wholesomeness and naturalness—and I stress the word naturalness—to our community.

48. Because it is primitive, no one can deny that our continent is closer to human nature. We believe that man is by nature a warm and loving creature, as I have already told the Council, although I do not mean to say that those qualities are exclusively reserved for the African countries. However, we must point out that civilization, or what some like to call civilization—material and technological progress—cannot be imagined without the host of unknown factors which we all know exist. That is why we believe that Africa, which is regarded as poor because our own capabilities have not yet enabled us to evaluate and exploit its resources, is as rich a continent as the others; that is why some consider it a reservoir against the time when the resources of other continents will have been exhausted.

49. We all know that our continent possesses definite material wealth and we also believe that we have riches of another kind precisely because we are primitive and savage. I refer to our general sensitivity, love, feeling, and our morality.

50. Thus I wish to point out that we do have something to contribute, particularly to the United Nations, in respect of morality and justice. I have taken the liberty of directing those remarks to you, Mr. President, as the representative of Ethiopia, and my delegation hopes that this Council will be able to accomplish very fruitful work under your enlightened guidance.

51. My delegation does not intend to speak on the substance of the problem which the representative of the Democratic Republic of the Congo has just described. However, while we reserve the right to speak again, we wish at this point to express our full sympathy and support—our staunchest support—to the Democratic Republic of the Congo, which once again has been the scene of distressing events brought about through imperialist wheeling and dealing.

52. A few days ago, I might even say a few hours ago, the United Nations, exploiting the full confidence which all nations, particularly the young nations, have in it presented a sad and shameful spectacle in dealing with what is for the Organization a routine problem.

53. Therefore, how can we help draw certain conclusions? On 4 July 1967 our Organization stooped so low as to honour the idea that aggression pays. Yes, this Organization, which claims to be dedicated to peace and justice, was incapable of identifying the aggressor in a conflict of unspeakable proportions and consequences; secondly, the United Nations was incapable of condemning aggression; thirdly, it could not even bring itself to demand the withdrawal of the Israel troops now occupying Arab

territory by force to the bases they occupied on 4 June 1967.

54. If that could happen, it follows that all kinds of abuse and aggression may be tolerated. We must understand that the bankruptcy demonstrated by our Organization on 4 July is an augury of tragic events of which the current Congolese situation is only the beginning.

55. However, as we have always emphasized, particularly at the Council's 1346th meeting, we do not and never shall support the principle—especially in this building—that young nations should wait to be put through every trial and tribulation at the whim of one Power or another. The bankruptcy of the United Nations to which I refer was desired and engineered by some Members of this Organization, and even though, temporarily, they can boast of illusory success, how can they understand the moral revulsion they inspire! It is most unfortunate that every day, self-interest seems to be triumphing over idealism and morality in this Organization. And it is very demoralizing, particularly for young States.

56. Thus it is not surprising that we can see a connexion between the present situation of the African traitor, Tshombe, and the aggression being carried out against the Congo. Considering the spectacle the United Nations made of itself in the General Assembly on 4 July 1967, is it now going to endorse the idea that might makes right in violation of all the tenets of the Charter? Those who may not know that Israel's aggression against the Arab countries is a form of imperialist aggression against all peace-loving countries and particularly against the young third world States of Africa and Asia. It would be a mistake to interpret it otherwise. The Congo is one of the richest countries on the African continent and its wealth has made it a permanent attraction for those groups which care nothing for morality and law and whose only aim is imperialist exploitation by any means available.

57. Yesterday it was the United Arab Republic, an African country, a dynamic member of the Organization of African Unity; today it is the Democratic Republic of the Congo which will shortly play host to all Africa at the coming summit conference. Is that not ample proof to all African countries, to all African brothers, of the determination of some groups to doom them to servitude and submission? It seems very ironic, but also very sad, that at a time when Israel is hanging out its victory banners and continuing to annex territory in the Gaza Strip and other Arab lands, with typical arrogance, such subversion and aggression are being unleashed against the Democratic Republic of the Congo because of Tshombe, murderer of the patriot Patrice Lumumba, who was a martyr to the noblest of causes—African independence.

58. Yet, those who blamed the Secretary-General in the Middle East crisis have the gall to complain loudly that our distinguished Secretary-General—who, more than anyone here, has an unswerving devotion to the ideals of our Charter—is responsible for the situation in the Congo. These days, we have been fed outrageous insults, we have been spared no atrocity. Most of all, it has been boldly insinuated that the Secretary-General—a man who, as we all

know, lives and works only for peace and to safeguard the noble ideals of the Charter—was responsible for the Middle East crisis because he took a lucid, reasonable and firm decision, worthy only of a man of his stature.

59. At this point I should like to reaffirm the full confidence and esteem which my delegation and my Government have for the Secretary-General, who embodies the sense of sacrifice and justice.

60. As I have already said, the Congo today is the victim of the same kind of aggression which struck the United Arab Republic yesterday. It is aggression against Africa, and until the United Nations courageously and honestly takes the decisions it must take, all African countries and all young nations must realize that their right to live in peace and tranquility will be denied. I still remember, as though it were yesterday, that the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Democratic Republic of the Congo appealed to this Council, during his visit here in 1966, to leave the Congo in peace in order that it should be allowed to build and to develop. They are the demands and aspirations of all African States. But some do not want them to be realized. My delegation hopes to speak in greater detail at a later stage of the debate.

61. The PRESIDENT (*translated from French*): I should like to thank my colleague and friend, the representative of Mali, for the expressions of friendship and fraternity that he was good enough to address to me and my country. I can assure him personally, and his great country as well, that those feelings are reciprocal.

62. Mr. SEYDOUX (France) (*translated from French*): I am very happy to associate myself with those of my colleagues who have already expressed their gratitude to the retiring President for his very able conduct of our debates during a most difficult period. We are also pleased, Mr. President, that in these parlous times the Council is working under the guidance of such an experienced diplomat, a man whose demonstrated ability and authority are appreciated by everyone here, and if I may add, particularly by the representative of a country which has long enjoyed friendly relations with his country.

63. Mr. President, when at the request of the representative of the Democratic Republic of the Congo you asked us to meet in this emergency Security Council session, the French delegation immediately responded favourably. We found Mr. Idzumbuir's statement most interesting and we thank him for having presented it so objectively and calmly. We should, of course, be very pleased if he could supplement the very valuable information he has given us on the facts of the matter and the course of events in the Congo. Our colleague and friend, Mr. Idzumbuir, was good enough to mention the efforts my country made a few months ago to close a mercenary camp in the Department of Ardèche, so can have no doubt about my delegation's approach to that very serious situation, or about the concern of all other delegations, I am sure. We hope, then, that the additional information we shall receive concerning the causes of the events in the Congo and their repercussions will enable the Council to discuss the matter and exercise its responsibilities as intelligently as possible.

64. Mr. IYALLA (Nigeria): It does not require many words from me, Mr. President, to extend to you our congratulations and to express to you the pleasure which the representative of Nigeria takes in your assumption of the duties of President of the Security Council. It is an honour which we share with you. We are confident that you will do great justice and honour to the position on your own account, on behalf of Ethiopia, on behalf of all of us in Africa, and even on behalf of all the Member States on this Council.

65. This Council has now heard the account of the serious matter which has been brought to our attention by the representative of the Democratic Republic of the Congo in his moving and very eloquent statement.

66. On the basic considerations raised by the subject before this Council, there can be no doubt where my delegation and Government stand, both here and in Africa. I think I should spare the Council an exposition of our detailed views on this issue at this particular meeting. I only asked for the floor to suggest that perhaps at this stage of our meeting today it might be profitable for the Council, having heard the representative of the Congo, to adjourn. This would enable further contacts among delegations to take place and would give us time to consider the details, as well as the further steps which might be taken by this Council in the light of the serious matters we have heard about here. My suggestion is, of course, predicated on the hope that you, Mr. President, might perhaps make further contacts with members of this Council and fix an early date on which we might reconvene.

67. Lord CARADON (United Kingdom): I certainly agree that it would be well to continue our discussion when we have had time to reflect on the report which has been made to us today and when we have further information before us. I would not, however, wish this opportunity to pass without saying how delighted my delegation is that you, Mr. President, have assumed the direction of our affairs. We regard you, if I may very respectfully say so, as a very worthy representative of a great and historic country, and we know from our experience of your time amongst us that you will continue to earn the respect and indeed the admiration of the membership of this Organization.

68. I would also wish to say something that I have had opportunities of saying before—and here I am sure I speak for every member of this Council and for the very many people who have watched our proceedings in recent weeks. I wish to express my very respectful gratitude and admiration for the way in which Ambassador Tabor of Denmark conducted our proceedings at a critical and difficult time.

69. May I be permitted, before we disperse, to make one trivial comment? While we have been listening to the speeches this afternoon with rapt attention, I have composed these immortal lines which I dedicate to the representative of Denmark:

*For a speech or a sermon,  
We might choose Mount Hermon,  
But for deeds and for labour,  
We swear by Mount Tabor.*



I dedicate these important lines to the distinguished Ambassador and it can be seen that I have well occupied my time this evening.

70. I would only, with great restraint, make one comment on one or two of the speeches we have heard this evening. I would say it is perhaps odd that the representatives who refused a week or two ago to deal with the question of the Middle East in this Council, when the question was relevant, insist on raising it today, when it is not.

71. Mr. KEITA (Mali) (*translated from French*): In my country there is a saying that the word is the only thing which, though an infant, may give birth to its mother. We also say in my country that when you arrive somewhere and you find food prepared, it is difficult to know whether the food really is meant for you; however, when words are spoken it is usually fairly easy to guess whether they are meant for you.

72. I should therefore like to reply to the observations of the distinguished and eminent poet of the United Kingdom. On the first day of our consultations concerning a cease-fire, when my delegation urged that the question of the immediate withdrawal of troops should be incorporated in the draft resolution to be submitted to the Council, I had the opportunity of discussing this point with the President of the Council, who was then the representative of Denmark, and to say to him: "You talk about a cease-fire; but there are two armies facing each other; there are armed soldiers, equipped with destructive weapons and ready to fight. You are asking for a cease-fire, but you are not asking those soldiers to withdraw. What are they going to do with those weapons? Play with them?"

73. The Danish representative is here now and can correct me if I am mistaken. My point was that in calling for a cease-fire between two opposing armed camps it is imperative not only to demand a cease-fire, but also to insist on the most practical factor in a cease-fire, i.e., that the weapons should be removed, that the armed confrontation should be eliminated, and that both sides should withdraw to their original positions.

74. That happened on Monday, the first day of our consultations with the President of the Security Council. That was my delegation's position.

75. Having said that, I should like to add that I am not a prophet. If, in certain circumstances, having been warned by X or Y one can be sure, and even has proof, that there is going to be a clash, if one is perhaps involved in the situation and later finds good reasons for not allowing the clash to occur, he can urge all the more strongly that it be prevented. But that was not true in my case because, I repeat, I am no prophet. I had no idea that events would take that course, that Israel was to launch its aggression on a particular day at a particular time. Some countries had had wind of this from one source or another. For example, the United Arab Republic had assured the representatives

of the Soviet Union and the United States that it would never initiate aggression against any one, that it would never be the first to attack. But I was not privy to that secret.

76. The PRESIDENT: Before I address the Council on the question of the organization of our work, and assuming that there are no other speakers on the item before us, I should like to say that one thing which the President of a Council does not want to be is unpopular, especially on the first day of his ascendancy to the high position of President of a Council of this distinction. At the same time, I should like to address an appeal to all members of the Council to help me in my work and to help the Council to get on with the job at hand by keeping as much as possible within the limits of the item before us. I know that it is difficult to keep exactly within limits in discussing international problems because they are often interrelated, and problems that have been in our minds as recently as yesterday and are still in our minds are bound to come up whenever we discuss questions of a similar nature in other parts of the world. Nevertheless, although I realize that that is inevitable in many cases, I should like to appeal to all representatives to keep as much as possible within the context of the subject matter which is before us. I feel that this would be in the interests of our work and I would appeal to all representatives to co-operate in this respect.

77. Mr. KEITA (Mali) (*translated from French*): I thank you for all that you have just said, Mr. President. It was most wise and worthy of you. Allow me, however, to recall that I studied at a French school and I learned what is taught in all schools in the world, including French and British schools, that you cannot make omelets without breaking eggs.

78. The PRESIDENT: I should like to thank the representative of Mali for his wise contribution.

79. Coming back to the organization of the work of the Council and pursuing the suggestion that has already been made by a number of members of the Council in the course of our discussion, I should like to know the Council's wish. I would venture to suggest that since today we have had the benefit of receiving the communication of the representative of the Democratic Republic of the Congo and also of hearing preliminary comments from a number of delegations, the best thing for us to do would be to allow ourselves some time for consultation and for studying the report that has been placed before us by the delegation of the Democratic Republic of the Congo. If the Council agrees, we might hold our next meeting tomorrow afternoon at 4 o'clock, by which time we shall be in a position to resume our consideration of this very important matter that is before us.

80. Since there is no objection, the Council will meet tomorrow afternoon at 4 o'clock.

*The meeting rose at 7.10 p.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.

---