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LETTER DATED 11 JANUARY 1961 FROM THE PERMANENT REPRESENTATIVE
OF THE UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS ADDRESSED TO THE
PRESIDENT OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL

I am forwarding to you herewith a statement of the Soviet Government dated 11 January 1961 concerning the need to terminate the Belgian trusteeship over Ruanda-Urundi and concerning the situation in the Congo.

I should be grateful if you would have this statement issued as an official United Nations document.

I have the honour to be, etc.

(Signed) V. ZORIN
Permanent Representative of the USSR
to the United Nations

STATEMENT OF THE SOVIET GOVERNMENT CONCERNING THE NEED TO
TERMINATE THE BELGIAN TRUSTEESHIP OVER RUANDA-URUNDI AND
CONCERNING THE SITUATION IN THE CONGO

The Soviet Government deems it necessary to draw the attention of all States and peoples to the following.

At the beginning of January 1961 acts of armed aggression against the Republic of the Congo were committed from the Territory of Ruanda-Urundi, which is under United Nations trusteeship. The organizer of these aggressive actions, the Government of Belgium, used the United Nations Trust Territory under Belgian administration for purposes of aggression and gave direct military assistance to the mercenary armed detachments of Mobutuists, placing Belgian aircraft and military and service personnel at their disposal.

These detachments were flown from the Congo (Luluabourg) to Ruanda-Urundi (Usumbura) in Belgian aircraft and then convoyed from the airfield at Usumbura to the frontier of the Republic of the Congo, in the vicinity of Bukavu, in Belgian vehicles. After the Mobutu gangs, having crossed the Congolese frontier, had been routed by Government troops of the Republic of the Congo, Belgian military units stationed in Ruanda-Urundi attacked these troops, together with the Mobutuists, in a number of areas of the Congolese Province of Kivu. The Belgian Ambassador at Brazzaville and the Belgian administering authorities in Ruanda-Urundi maintained official contacts with the Mobutuists in the preparation and execution of these acts of aggression.

Such acts are a direct continuation of Belgium's armed intervention against the Republic of the Congo, which constitutes a threat to the peace and security of the peoples. The use of the Territory of Ruanda-Urundi for purposes of aggression against the neighbouring Republic of the Congo demonstrates once again the refusal of Belgium and the countries members of the North Atlantic bloc (NATO), which are working hand in hand with it, to abide by the obligations which they have assumed towards the United Nations and their refusal to abide by the will of the peoples as expressed in the Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples which was adopted by the United Nations General Assembly at its fifteenth session.

The training of the Mobutu gangs and the execution of aggressive acts from the Territory of Ruanda-Urundi took place with the knowledge and manifest

connivance of the United Nations Command in the Congo. The report of the Special Representative of the Secretary-General in the Congo on this incident shows that the United Nations Command had no wish to take any steps to prevent the violation of the international status of Ruanda-Urundi and the despatch of Mobutu's parachutists to that Territory.

As may be seen from the official documents, Mr. D. Hammarskjold, the Secretary-General of the United Nations, and the United Nations Command in the Congo, which is under his authority, knew in advance of the plans to attack the Province of Kivu from Ruanda-Urundi. His Command did not prevent the airlifting of Mobutuist forces from Luluabourg to Ruanda-Urundi on 31 December 1960. The United Nations Force not only did not prevent the attack on Kivu but even tried to take steps to save the remnants of the beaten Mobutuist gangs.

Seeking to cover his tracks, Mr. D. Hammarskjold has addressed formal notes to the Belgian Government without actually taking any steps to put an end to these aggressive acts and to prevent any possibility of their repetition in the future. It is characteristic that in Mr. Hammarskjold's note verbale to the Belgian Mission to the United Nations dated 7 January, the acts of aggression committed against the Republic of the Congo from the Trust Territory of Ruanda-Urundi are in no way regarded as violations by Belgium of the United Nations Charter and of its international obligations. The note states that "The operation the attempt to invade the Congo has also led to a rise in tension which may undermine law and order and in particular endanger the European population, as may be anticipated from the fact that the recent incident gives indication of Belgian participation".

Later in the note, Mr. Hammarskjold reports to the Belgian aggressors, as it were, on what is being done to defend the Belgians in the Bukavu area, where the aggression had been committed: "The United Nations unit stationed at Bukavu consists at present of only one battalion of staff troops. Arrangements have been made, nevertheless, to ensure the greatest possible protection of human lives and of property in the event of a serious crisis". Thus, Mr. Hammarskjold provides a loop-hole in his note in case it should become necessary for him to expand the process of armed intervention in the domestic affairs of the Congo on the pretext of protecting the colonialists' property.

It may be asked why it was necessary for the Belgian colonialists and those standing behind their backs, including their creature, the bandit Mobutu, to organize aggression against the Republic of the Congo from the Territory of Ruanda-Urundi with the help of Mr. D. Hammarskjold?

The explanation is to be found first of all in the serious change which has recently taken place in the situation in the Congo. The Congolese people are more and more resolutely opposing the colonialists of every shade and their henchmen, and giving the legitimate Government ever greater support. The arrest of the Prime Minister, Mr. P. Lumumba, the national hero of the Congolese people, and of a number of other prominent Congolese statesmen has shown the Congolese people and the other peoples of Africa that the Western Powers do not want real independence for the Congo but want matters to go no further than fictitious independence and the establishment of a puppet regime relying directly on the support of Belgian-United States colonialists and foreign bayonets. The name of Patrice Lumumba has already become a symbol of the struggle for the liberation of the Congo and all Africa.

The just struggle of the Congolese people for independence has been raised to a new and higher level by the establishment at Stanleyville of the provisional seat of the Government of the Congo, now headed by Mr. A. Gizenga, the Deputy Prime Minister. Together with Oriental Province and the Province of Kivu, which have become the strongholds of the resistance of the Congolese people to foreign aggression, more and more areas of the country, including three-fourths of the Province of Katanga inhabited by the Baluba tribe, are rallying to the legitimate Government. In other provinces of the Republic of the Congo too, according to reports in the foreign Press, the Mobutuist mutineers and the imperialist interventionists hold only isolated points, and that thanks to the indirect and sometimes direct support of the United Nations Command. The aggression in the Congo, which has taught the people harsh and bitter lessons, has thus led to the growth of national resistance and to the consolidation of the patriotic forces and the improvement of their battle-fitness. The Congolese earth is scorching the feet of the colonialists.

This state of affairs has clearly alarmed the powerful foreign monopolies established in the Congo and the champion of their interests, Mr. D. Hammarskjold, who on 5 January set out on a special visit to Leopoldville where, according to

Press reports, he discussed with the United Nations Command their further "strategy" for crushing the national-liberation movement in the Congo. In effect, plans are being made for expanding intervention.

In this connexion, the Soviet Government considers it necessary to draw attention to the fact that this is not the first time that Mr. D. Hammarskjold has deliberately distorted the purposes and functions of the United Nations executive machinery and of the United Nations Force, dispatched by a number of States to the Congo at the request of the Government of the Congo in accordance with the Security Council's resolution of 14 July 1960. In a statement dated 7 December 1960 which was circulated to members of the United Nations Security Council, Mr. Hammarskjold emphasized that the purpose of sending the United Nations Force to the Congo was to afford protection within the borders of the Congo to lives and property which were in jeopardy after the breakdown of the national security system, in order to eliminate the circumstances invoked in defence of the military intervention by Belgium.

From that statement by Mr. Hammarskjold it would appear that the United Nations Force was sent to the Congo for the purpose of replacing the military intervention of Belgium by the intervention of the United Nations Force to "protect the lives and property" of Belgians and other whites in the Congo, although it is well known that Mr. Hammarskjold has never shown any concern for the protection of the lives and property of Congolese citizens and even, in fact, helped to bring about the arrest of the Prime Minister and the leaders of the Congolese Parliament.

The Soviet Government wishes to state that it cannot agree with Mr. Hammarskjold's interpretation of the resolution of the Security Council. The purpose of that resolution, as is known, was to halt imperialist aggression against the Congo. The political line pursued by Mr. Hammarskjold is actually an attempt to ensure extra-territorial status for the Belgians and other colonialists in the Congo. Surely it is outrageous that when the power of the legitimate Government of the Congo becomes consolidated at Stanleyville, the United Nations Command begins to calculate how many Europeans live in Stanleyville and throughout Oriental Province and what reinforcements will have to be sent there to protect the property interests of those persons. And this is being done in the name of the United Nations, which, at its Assembly, resolutely called for the liquidation of colonialism in all its forms and manifestations.

In blatant violation of the Assembly resolution, the colonizers and their assistants such as Hammarskjold consider it possible to cast aside all restraint and to pursue a policy in the Congo based on discrimination between individuals on the basis of the colour of their skin. If an inhabitant of the Congo is black, no attention is paid to his rights or demands, even if he is the Prime Minister or a parliamentary deputy elected by the people. If an inhabitant is white, then every effort has to be made to protect him at the expense of the United Nations and punitive or protective expeditions are dispatched even if the white man in question is the most brazen and infamous pillager and colonial depredator. What is the policy of Mr. Hammarskjold and the Command of the United Nations Force in the Congo if not a manifestation of colonialism, and colonialism of the oldest and most reprehensible kind?

The Soviet Government considers it possible and necessary to establish friendly relations between whites and blacks in Africa on the basis of equality and respect for the sovereignty of African States. The independent countries of Africa must not be denied any of the rights enjoyed by other States. This applies in equal measure to the Congo and Senegal, Nigeria and the Union of South Africa, Rhodesia and Kenya. Genuinely equal relations in conformity with United Nations principles must be established among the inhabitants of Africa without any discrimination by whites or blacks. Only in this way can a bridge be built, linking these two numerically unequal sections of the population in African countries.

The course into which Mr. Hammarskjold and his masters are attempting to impel the United Nations is an unsound colonialist course. It augurs nothing but the further kindling of strife, hostility and hatred among races, peoples and tribes. If Mr. Hammarskjold has any fears for the fate and property of certain white colonialists in the Congo with whom he has closer affinities, would it not be better and cheaper to use United Nations forces to withdraw all these colonialists from the Territory of the Congo in one move, leaving in that country, by voluntary agreement, only those who display a readiness to collaborate honestly with the Congolese in the building of an independent Congolese State, to comply with the laws and regulations issued by the authorities of the Republic of the Congo and to help the Congolese people in overcoming the heavy consequences of the colonial yoke. Undoubtedly, many such honest and true friends of the Congolese people will be found among the whites in all countries, including Belgium, as is clearly

shown, inter alia, by the general strike now in progress in that country, a strike directed against the same large monopolies which are oppressing the Congolese people.

The peoples of Africa are beginning to realize more and more clearly, on the strength of their own experience, that they can no longer rely on help from the present executive machinery of the United Nations for the protection of the independence and sovereign rights of the Republic of the Congo and of other African States, and that their legitimate rights and interests can be secured only by the united forces of the independent African States and their many friends throughout the world.

An important milestone in the struggle for the liberation of Africa from the fetters and bonds of colonialism was the recently concluded conference of Heads of independent African States at Casablanca. The "Casablanca charter" adopted by the conference expresses the growing resolve of the African peoples to strengthen their unity and to intensify their struggle against old and new forms of colonialism, against the imperialist policy of dividing African countries, peoples and tribes and fomenting dissension among them, against the promotion of separatist movements and puppet governments, and against the strengthening of colonial domination in its new forms in the economic, military and political fields.

The Soviet Government fully supports the resolution on the situation in the Congo, which was adopted at the Casablanca conference and which calls, first and foremost, for the immediate disarming and disbandment of the mercenary gangs of Mobutu, the release from imprisonment of the Prime Minister, Mr. P. Lumumba, and of other members of the Congo Parliament and Government, the convening of Parliament, the handing over to the lawful government of all civilian and military airfields, radio stations and other installations, and the adoption of other measures with a view to ending colonial aggression in the Congo.

The Soviet Government endorses the view of the Heads of the independent African States on the need to take the most urgent steps to assist the independent Republic of the Congo. The effectiveness of these steps primarily depends on the unity and resolution of the African States and on joint efforts by all peace-loving countries of Asia, Europe and Latin America. The more speedily and energetically all possible moral and material support is given to the lawful Government of the Republic of the Congo in its struggle for the country's political

independence and sovereignty, the sooner will a just solution be found to the question of the Congo and the sooner will a breeding ground of war be eliminated in this part of Africa. Conclusions should also be drawn from the inadmissible use of the Trust Territory of Ruanda-Urundi for the purposes of aggression.

The Soviet Government considers it necessary:

1. To deprive Belgium of all rights and powers with respect to the Trust Territory of Ruanda-Urundi and to grant this Territory immediate independence in accordance with the insistent demands long expressed by the population of the country.
2. To demand from the Belgian Government prompt compliance with the resolutions on the Congo previously adopted by the United Nations Security Council and the immediate withdrawal of Belgian armed forces and civilian personnel from the territory of the Republic of the Congo.
3. To take, through the United Nations, the necessary steps for the normalization of the situation in the Republic of the Congo in accordance with the recommendations made on the Congo question at the conference of Heads of African States at Casablanca.

The Soviet Government considers it necessary that these questions, which are directly related to the maintenance of peace and security, should be discussed without delay at a meeting of the Security Council and, if necessary, at an emergency session of the United Nations General Assembly. The Soviet Government considers that it is the duty of all Members of the United Nations to extend help without delay to the people of the Congo in their just struggle for freedom and national independence.

