



UNITED NATIONS
SECURITY
COUNCIL



Distr.
GENERAL

S/5010
1 December 1961
ENGLISH
ORIGINAL: FRENCH

NOTE VERRALE DATED 1 DECEMBER 1961 FROM THE PERMANENT DELEGATION OF
THE REPUBLIC OF THE CONGO (LEOPOLDVILLE) ADDRESSED TO THE ACTING
SECRETARY-GENERAL

The Permanent Delegation of the Republic of the Congo (Leopoldville) presents its compliments to the Secretary-General of the United Nations and would request him to communicate to States Members of the United Nations the text of the address delivered on 28 November 1961 by Mr. Cyrille Adoula, Prime Minister of the Republic of the Congo (Leopoldville).

The Permanent Delegation of the Republic of the Congo (Leopoldville), has the honour to be, etc.

Address delivered by Mr. Cyrille Adoula, Prime Minister of the
Republic of the Congo on 28 November 1961

Men and women of the Congo,

Last Sunday, at Elisabethville, Mr. Tshombe, at his last gasp, called upon the people to make war by all possible means on the United Nations forces, because, he alleges, the Security Council has just declared war on him.

A reply to this aggressive and hysterical speech was made on that same day by Mr. Ileo, your Minister for Information; but Mr. Ileo was not able to tell you the whole story. I shall tell you the whole story today, men and women of the Congo; and I shall speak to you with calm and resolution. There is no need for me to shout or scream like Mr. Tshombe - who is very wrong when he proclaims that the Government suffered a vote of no confidence on account of the tragedy at Kindu.

As you know, and as Mr. Tshombe is aware, the contrary is the case. In my broadcast message of 16 November I expressed the indignation of the Government and the people at the crimes committed by certain elements of the National Army. It is true that on Monday, 20 November 1961, a motion was tabled in Parliament in which my message was described as insulting to the army and interpreted as implying the cessation of the Government's police operation against the Elisabethville rebellion.

I doubt whether this motion was Congolese in origin, since it indicates a way of thinking which does not fit in with Congolese realities. I asked for a hearing last Wednesday in the House of Representatives and last Friday in the Senate. All members of the Government were present. On behalf of the Government, I gave an account of what had been achieved since 2 August, and of the difficulties encountered in our efforts to solve other problems. I had no difficulty, since what I was saying was the truth, in convincing both Houses, firstly, that to punish those who have committed crimes is in fact to defend the army's honour and not to insult it, and secondly, that the crushing of the Katanga secession remains in the forefront of the Government's efforts. The sponsor of the motion was compelled to withdraw it, and the Government left each House to the unanimous applause of its members.

As you see, men and women of the Congo, the Central Government, unfortunately for Mr. Tshombe, emerged victorious and strengthened from this test, a test inspired - as I repeat, and as the Government will not forget - by certain foreign influences.

Mr. Tshombe also alleges - I quote his words - that my Government represents nothing but a clique or privileged persons ready to sell themselves to anyone provided that they can remain in power. That is an outright libel and a vile insult which does no honour to its author. Everyone who knows me knows that both in the performance of my present functions and in the course of my political past I have retained my honesty. If Mr. Tshombe does not know it, I am a free man, one who has never sold himself to anyone and will never do so - whereas Mr. Tshombe is squandering our national wealth by paying each of his Ministers a salary of a million and a half a year, by purchasing foreign mercenaries for insensate sums of money, and by pouring out funds by the ten million in his efforts to buy the support of certain foreign Governments. On the other hand, I may add, the masses of Katangese workers are still paid at rates lower than the minimum legal wage. But I have more important work to do than waste further time refuting Mr. Tshombe's lucubrations.

I should like to tell you what progress we have made with regard to the Katangese secession. First of all, what is the meaning of the Security Council's vote last Friday in New York? Its meaning is that the United Nations is determined to support the Central Government, and indeed to intensify its aid in order to put an end to the Katangese secession - if necessary by force. Thus, your Central Government, which is the legitimate and legal organ of the Republic of the Congo as a whole enjoys the full support of the United Nations. We are grateful to the United Nations for that fact. Moreover, the Government intends to see that the mandate assigned by the Security Council to the United Nations Secretary-General is carried out in consultation, indeed in agreement, with the Congolese Government; and this agreement will apply not only to the principles of action, to the plans, but also the execution of the plans at every stage.

If I speak in this way, it is not because the Government does not trust the United Nations. On the contrary, we are favourably, indeed very favourably

disposed towards U Thant, the new Secretary-General; but we are a sovereign and independent nation, and there can be no question of anyone's doing as he likes in our country.

Besides, the termination of the Katangese secession is the business of the Congolese Government, Parliament and people before being that of the United Nations. Between the United Nations and the Congolese Government, therefore, there must be not only consultation, agreement, but co-operation in a joint effort.

The Government, for its part, has deployed the National Army, a large army, along the frontiers of Katanga. A strong detachment has penetrated into the interior of Katanga and has occupied Albertville, the most important centre in North Katanga. Albertville is controlled by the Central Government, and will always remain so. Recently, we have authorized the United Nations to arrest, at any time or place, the many foreign mercenaries who even since September have been flowing into Katanga and are gravitating around Tshombe. Once arrested, these mercenaries will be handed over to Congolese justice.

One of the Government's last measures has been to send Mr. Sendwe, the Deputy Prime Minister, as Special Commissioner-General to Katanga, where a state of emergency has been decreed. Mr. Sendwe will of course remain a Deputy Prime Minister. He will receive the instructions of the Minister for the Interior through me. He will set up his quarters at first in a town in North Katanga chosen by himself according to the circumstances. As Special Commissioner-General he will have direct authority over all units of the National Army in Katanga and over the civil authorities and the police.

There can be no doubt whatsoever that Deputy Prime Minister Sendwe, an unchallenged leader in Katanga and one of the principal artisans of national reconciliation, will succeed in his important mission of administering the peoples and preserving the economic potential of Katanga, as that province is restored to our hands. For the task is to pacify North Katanga; the task is one of reconstruction, not of destruction. I have already asked Air-Congo to re-establish direct air communication between Leopoldville and Kabalo/Albertville as soon as possible. The Government has already restored the Congolese currency, by the tens of millions, to circulation in North Katanga.

I should also like to address a warning to the thousands of Europeans, and in particular the Belgians, who live in Katanga and participate in its economy.

Mr. Tshombe calls upon them to fight with him against the United Nations forces. This is certainly an admission that without the whites Mr. Tshombe would be unable to pursue his dreams of secession. As a matter of principle, however, the Central Government is in no wise opposed to the presence of the whites in Katanga for the purposes of its economic development, but it does feel obliged to repeat the solemn warning that was addressed to them on Sunday by Minister Ileo when he said that the whites in Katanga must keep themselves scrupulously aloof from Congolese political problems and above all must not take up arms. Otherwise, the Government will be compelled to treat them like mercenaries and to ask the United Nations to treat them as such.

Belgium is finally deciding to put an end to its equivocal policy. In New York, Mr. Spaak, the Belgian Minister for Foreign Affairs, keeps saying that he desires an understanding with Leopoldville, but he paradoxically continues to insist on the sovereignty and independence of Katanga. Belgium seems to have finally realized that the present frontiers of the Congo must be maintained and that nothing is to be gained in promoting the dismemberment of that State.

In view of this positive attitude on the part of Belgium, the House of Representatives decided yesterday, that is to say, Monday, in a vote that was almost unanimous, to adopt the motion of Deputy Kimvay for the renewal of diplomatic relations with Belgium. The adoption of this motion cannot help but to induce the Belgian nationals in Katanga to remain neutral and in particular to refrain from combating the Central Government and the forces of the United Nations.

Furthermore, Sir Roy Welensky, together with the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, must stop his direct interference in our affairs and his defiance of the conscience of the world by disregarding the resolutions of the Security Council, for his remarks of last Saturday that the United Kingdom will live up to its responsibilities can only be construed in that sense.

If Sir Roy Welensky is acting in good faith, he must be ill-informed. If that is not the case, he is unaware of the facts or is being deceived when he accuses us of being communists. I state unequivocally that the Central Government is not communistic. The people at Leopoldville are not communists. I should like on this occasion to remind Sir Roy Welensky of a very common practice in the courts of his country, the United Kingdom. It can be reduced to the expression that the defendant does not have to say that he is not a communist, but the prosecution must prove he is.

The Government of which I am the head, and I say advisedly the head, practises a policy of non-alignment. It is not in the tow of communist tendencies, whether open or camouflaged, nor of those of the capitalist imperialists. Should not Sir Roy Welensky admit why he does not do the same in his country? We are first and foremost Congolese, and then, before considering either East or West, we are Africans. Non-alignment is not a decoy or a mirage. It is a positive attitude and is in conformity with our aspirations, our principles and our interests. And we intend, regardless of what happens, to persevere in this stand.

Men and women of the Congo - and I am here addressing my remarks more particularly to the people of Katanga, to all the people of Katanga - you have been suffering for many months. You are suffering because you are subjected to the police regime of Elisabethville. You are suffering because your destiny is to remain an integral part of the historical heritage of the independent State of the Congo and because you desire at all costs to remain part of a united Congo. You are suffering because your leaders are not defending your cause or your interests.

Has not Tshombe, after all, declared that the Katangan people are ready to die for their "leader"? Yes, for their leader, that is to say, for one person and his interests. For us a cause is not noble when thousands of men sacrifice their lives for one person. If, some day, I should call upon the Congolese people to take up arms and fight, the only purpose in doing so would be to safeguard the interests of the entire nation. I say to the Congolese people of Katanga that we are suffering with you and that, strengthened by your determination and your aid, we will deliver you from the ignoble subjugation of Tshombe and his accomplices. We will deliver you from the consequences of that unfortunate and hopeless adventure.

I ask you to give a most cordial welcome to Deputy Prime Minister Sendwe, who is going to be with you, and I ask you to regard him as the true representative of the Central Government and as your legitimate representative. I ask you to give an enthusiastic welcome to the soldiers of the Congolese National Army. Under the authority of Deputy Prime Minister Sendwe, the army has no other mission but to pacify the province of Katanga and to protect the lives and property of all persons, whether they be white or black.

Men and women of the Congo, the hour of deliverance and of general reconciliation has sounded, and I count on your co-operation to ensure that the Republic of the Congo and its six united provinces will live.

