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President: Mr. Mongi SLIM (Tunisia).

Address by Mr. Cyrille Adoula, Prime Minister of the Republic of the Congo (Leopoldville)

1. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): The General Assembly has met to hear an address by His Excellency Mr. Cyrille Adoula, Prime Minister of the Republic of the Congo (Leopoldville); I will ask the Chief of Protocol to escort him into the Assembly Hall.
2. I have great pleasure in welcoming the Prime Minister of the Republic of the Congo, who has asked to address the Assembly on the situation in his country. I am sure that the General Assembly will listen to his address with special attention in view of the continuing importance which the Organization attaches to the situation in the Republic of the Congo, and to the Republic's unity and independence in conditions of peace and stability.
3. I have the honour to invite the Prime Minister of the Republic of the Congo to the rostrum.
4. Mr. ADOULA (Prime Minister of the Republic of the Congo, Leopoldville) (translated from French): To bring peace and concord to mankind, to further the cause of the United Nations, and to make the principles of the Charter the basis of international relations, one man, the greatest of our time, Dag Hammarskjold, gave his life. We, the Congolese people, recognizing the immense service which he rendered to the peace and independence of the Congo, are determined that Mr. Hammarskjold's sacrifice shall not have been in vain.
5. The restoration of peace and concord within the Congo is the best tribute that my country can pay to him who died for freedom. The presence of the Head of the Government of the Republic of the Congo at this rostrum is striking proof of my country's recovery. It also gives the lie to all those who, ignoring the real interests of the Congolese people, seek to discredit our efforts and thus delay the ending of our tribulations.
6. No impartial observer can deny that in the last few months there has been a general recovery in the Congo beyond anything that might have been expected in view of the position in which we were left after the events of July 1960.
7. It will be remembered that, as part of the universal movement for the liberation of peoples which

shook the world after the Second World War, the Congolese people, after more than eighty years of servitude, demanded their rightful independence, and that Belgium had to admit our right to self-determination. It seemed at first that the former metropolitan country had realized the scope and the irreversible nature of our liberation movement. Alas, events were to prove otherwise: despite its granting of independence, a gesture of which the wisdom and realism were applauded by the whole world, Belgium seemed to break its promises and placed various obstacles in our way, thus bringing about the incidents of July 1960.

8. These were the start of a period of mourning and tears, of anarchy and confusion for the Congo. With the sudden departure of the Belgian officials, the administrative machinery broke down altogether and the system of production was seriously dislocated. Indeed, the position in every field was disastrous; after eighty years of Belgian occupation the Congo had only a few university graduates and very few skilled technicians and civil servants.

9. The Congolese Government of that time, led by our national hero, the late Patrice Lumumba, was well aware of the problem that had been created. Therefore, after appealing to the United Nations, it fought to repair a catastrophic situation with our own resources and the assistance of the United Nations and friendly countries.

10. At the same time, pressure was being brought against our national unity. Schemes were set on foot to detach certain provinces from the Republic. In this way it was hoped to bring pressure to bear on the Central Government and force it to accept certain conditions. We could not accept these and have not accepted them.

11. The Republic of the Congo has no hard feelings towards Belgium. As soon as we realized that there had been a change of policy towards us, we hastened to re-establish diplomatic relations; we stand ready to co-operate with Belgium loyally and sincerely.

12. The various Governments which have had to conduct the Congo's affairs were well aware that their responsibility was matched only by the difficulties to be overcome. Little by little, despite our meagre resources and despite disagreements fomented from abroad, we have been able to improve considerably a position which all judged to be desperate.

13. Several months ago a Government of National Union was set up, including all the political leaders. From the outset we bent our energies to a task which we knew to be very heavy; but we realized that the salvation of the Congo depended on our unity and on our ability to set aside our disagreements and hatreds, cease our quarrels, and think only of safeguarding our country, threatened on every side by the cupidity of some and the racial hatred of others.

14. Today, after several months of government, I should like to give an account of the situation in my country and to report to the Members of this Assembly on our achievements, our problems, and our needs.

15. Our chief preoccupation was and still is the restoration of national unity. Ever since my Government was formed, it has proclaimed its firm determination, its unswerving intention, to end the Katangese secession and all other attempts at diversion. I proclaim this intention once more from this rostrum. Whatever the consequences, by whatever means, we are unalterably resolved to restore the unity of the Republic and safeguard our territorial integrity.

16. As a government of union, we have always proclaimed our desire for national reconciliation. We have worked unceasingly in all possible ways to restore our unity in new-found peace and concord. We are still determined to solve our problems through an appeal to reason and through negotiations. Fully conscious of our responsibilities, we have always wished and we wish still to spare our people, already so sorely tried, the horrors of civil war.

17. At the same time, our desire for peace in no way signifies that we are willing to compromise on the principle of this unity. The Central Government of the Republic of the Congo, fortified by the unanimous support of Parliament and the nation, is determined, in the face of the blind intransigence of the secessionists, to restore our national unity by every means in our power. We are not waging war on Katanga; we make no distinction between our brothers in Katanga province and those in the other provinces. It is our duty to defend our unity and our integrity against the machinations of those parasites who take their orders from abroad. We simply wish to restore the rule of law in Katanga province. We wish to put an end to the extortion and extermination visited upon our brothers in Katanga by an unruly "gendarmérie" and a handful of mercenaries eager to avenge on the Congolese people their failures in other parts of Africa.

18. We cannot tolerate the turning of our soil into a happy hunting-ground for adventures of every kind. Our struggle cannot cease until the country is free of mercenaries and its unity completely restored. Our victory over the mercenaries will be a victory for the whole of civilization over the barbarian and totalitarian evil which threatens freedom and democracy everywhere.

19. I take this opportunity of appealing to the United Nations and its Member States for the greater military assistance which we need in order to put the resolutions of the Security Council on peace in the Congo into full effect. I realize that the assistance of this kind which we have already received is considerable, and I wish to assure the Organization and those countries which have lavished it upon us of the gratitude of the Congolese Government and people. We have valued their assistance the more because we know it to be given free of propaganda and without any thought of compensation or political advantage. We are grateful to them for their solidarity and for the efforts which they have made, often from slender resources and sometimes even at the risk of endangering their own national independence, to help us to protect ours.

20. These countries have expressed in action, by supplying men and material and by financing the

United Nations operations in the Congo, their faith, their devotion to the principles of the Charter, and their determination to see the newly-independent peoples develop without interference by foreign Powers.

21. I desire to pay a solemn tribute here to all those who have given their lives that the Congo may live united and free. The restoration of national unity, which has always been one of our chief concerns, has not distracted us from the country's other especially urgent problems. We have devoted ourselves energetically to restoring internal order. The maintenance of public security is a constant national imperative for us. We deplore the recent incidents which have cost the lives of innocent victims. My Government is working resolutely to restore public order and to enable all inhabitants of the Congo, nationals and aliens alike, to use those freedoms which they are guaranteed by law with full security for their persons and property.

22. My Government has restored the authority of the Constitution and is determined not to tolerate any action or intervention which might disturb the smooth functioning of the public authorities, no matter who is involved or what means we have to use. It cannot allow the general interest to be sacrificed and our republican institutions imperilled to satisfy personal ambition.

23. In order to have at its disposal an effective instrument for the maintenance of public order, the Government has embarked resolutely on the complete reorganization of the Congolese National Army. Although we have restored unity of command, brought most of the dissident groups under control, and re-established some discipline among the ranks, we still have a great deal to do. In our view, the training of officers is of vital importance. The sending of officers abroad and the organization of training courses within the Congo are proof of our determination to bring about a degree of efficiency in our Army commensurate with its many tasks: the restoration and maintenance of our national unity, and, in collaboration with the civil authorities, the maintenance of security and public order within our frontiers.

24. I seize this opportunity to make an urgent appeal to the United Nations for more assistance in this particular field. We are determined to make the Congolese National Army, whose numbers will be strictly limited by the need to maintain domestic security, an effective instrument for the defence of public order and the integrity of the Republic, outside all political struggles, whose sole task will be to help to maintain order and public security under the rule of law.

25. The Government has been faced with a very grave economic and social crisis. The public finances were in a deplorable situation, there was a large budget deficit, production was completely paralysed by the voluntary and deliberate departure of the Belgian technicians, and unemployment was widespread. Of course, this situation was largely due to the political instability and insecurity rife in certain parts of the Congo. But it is often forgotten that many of our difficulties also arose from the loss of the revenue drawn by the State from its natural wealth, in particular from the mines. Certain foreign companies refused to pay the State those duties and charges to which they were subject by law, and at the same time paid out large sums of money to finance the operations of the secessionist authorities. The Government is de-

terminated not to allow foreign companies, which for many years have over-exploited our natural wealth for their sole advantage and against the interests of the Congolese people, to interfere in our internal affairs and deprive the State of its legitimate share in the use of those resources.

26. The Government, which is responsible for safeguarding our wealth and ensuring its use for the benefit of our people, will take all necessary steps to defend its rights. This does not mean, however, that we intend to deprive these companies, and all who wish to participate in developing our resources, of the fruits of their labours and their investments.

27. We have also prepared a genuine plan of economic recovery. We are determined to choke off inflation, reduce the budget deficit, and restore our economy to provide work for all our people. To this end an austerity programme has been drawn up and laid before Parliament. In economics as elsewhere the Government, which has devoted itself since it took office to the preparation of a national recovery plan, will act firmly and energetically to ensure that once order, peace and the rule of law are restored, all inhabitants of the Congo regardless of their nationality can enjoy living conditions which will permit them to develop to the best of their ability.

28. No impartial observer can deny that, since the convening of Parliament and the constitution of the present Government of National Union, the position of my country has improved sharply and there has been genuine recovery in all fields. The progress achieved so far is a happy augury for the future of our country. Although many problems remain to be solved, although innumerable difficulties demand urgent decisions, we are determined to face them with the same energy, the same determination and the same faith in our country's future. We shall take up the duties entrusted to us by Parliament and the people, moved only by a desire for the public weal, and we shall provide for all, in friendly reconciliation and dignity, the conditions for real betterment.

29. The duties which we shoulder at this crucial moment in our history oblige us to speak from this rostrum with the frankness which we have always tried to observe both towards our own people and in our relations with other States. Those representatives who think my words too blunt must excuse me. From the day of its independence the Republic of the Congo has proclaimed its unswerving attachment to the United Nations Charter and the noble principles there set forth. My country has suffered and sacrificed too much to attain and safeguard its own freedom not to be in the forefront of those countries which uphold and defend the sovereignty of States. It knows too well the price of the international brotherhood which has been demonstrated towards it not to regard co-operation between States and peoples as the foundation of its policy.

30. It is precisely because we desire the strengthening of peace throughout the world and a friendly co-operation among all peoples that we have chosen the path of non-alignment. Free of complexes and with an open mind, we desire to establish friendly relations with all peoples. We desire to safeguard our freedom of choice in all circumstances, for we believe it is the only means of lessening the antagonisms of the white race and of strengthening peace throughout the world.

31. I hardly need to stress that, among the principles set forth in the Charter, we attach special importance to that which proclaims the equality of peoples and their right to self-determination. It is in order to make this principle a reality that we have pledged and pledge once more our solidarity and support to all our brothers in Africa and elsewhere who still suffer from foreign oppression and racial hatred.

32. In the face of the irresistible and irreversible tide of popular liberation, some States persist in maintaining a system of exploitation which has the whole international community arrayed against it. It is because the Congo is convinced that it is serving the cause of peace that it will not hesitate to give its full support, both moral and material, to all peoples who are fighting for their freedom and dignity.

33. Our geographical position, our ideology and our principles impose upon us a duty of solidarity which we cannot evade in respect of other peoples not yet independent. Every day, especially in Algeria, Angola and South Africa, hundreds die for freedom, justice and dignity.

34. The United Nations is bound to act immediately to stop the bloodshed which is decimating the innocent populations of these territories.

35. Despite its present difficulties the Congo, because it has suffered too much from colonial domination with all the scorn for human dignity that this entails, will always be on the side of those who fight to make a living reality of freedom, dignity and racial equality. The Congo is well aware that its geographical position in the heart of Africa gives it a special responsibility. At the present moment, Africa is the target of international greed and intrigue. We are at too momentous a turning-point in the history of our continent to stand aloof from its evolution and the struggles for which it is the prize.

36. We have set as our first objective, therefore, the liberation of the African continent from all foreign domination. Africa cannot participate in the strengthening of international peace until it has recovered its own internal peace. At the same time we have set our course towards a united Africa; this unity is also our best defence, our chief reason for hoping for a better life and true independence.

37. We all know that we are only parts of a whole; we have fought, suffered and triumphed together. The future of Africa will be shaped by the will of its permanent inhabitants, proud of their freedom of choice. Once unified and reconciled, Africa's co-operation with the other continents will be more firmly based. It will be able to deal more effectively with the legacy of economic dependence and political subjection, in other words with under-development.

38. For centuries Africa has been an inexhaustible source of wealth and profits for the former colonial Powers. Now it is increasingly in need of the most lavish aid from all the developed countries. The fight against under-development is a task of human brotherhood which must be fulfilled outside political opportunism and strategic competition. All the peoples of Africa are ready to welcome aid from anywhere, provided that it does not impair our freedom to decide for ourselves.

39. While throughout the world a minority lives in wealth and comfort while the majority lives in hunger,

poverty and illiteracy, world peace will always be threatened.

40. The African continent is destined to be a land of encounter and reconciliation. It hides immense wealth still unexploited, and immense moral values which have remained intact. By nature it aspires to international co-operation and solidarity.

41. The dangers which hang over the world on every side are immense. A large part of mankind goes perpetually hungry; thousands are deprived of the benefits of knowledge; whole peoples still suffer in their flesh and blood for freedom and racial equality. What is even worse, the world is in danger at every moment of plunging into a war which would mean the end of the human race.

42. Yet the grounds for hope are as strong as the dangers which threaten us. Man carries within him-

self the moral resources to make the reasons for yesterday's despair yield tomorrow's triumphs. Together we should and we can build a world from which hatred, hunger and illiteracy will be banished, a world founded on justice, equality and prosperity, a world in which man freed of fear for the morrow may find the conditions for his fulfilment. This is, at all events, the only hope for the survival of the human race.

43. The PRESIDENT (translated from French): I thank the Prime Minister of the Republic of the Congo for the important statement he has just made to the General Assembly, in which he dealt not only with the situation in the Republic of the Congo but also with the grave problems which the whole of mankind must face today.

The meeting rose at 4.20 p.m.