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CORRIGENDUM

United Nations Advisory Committee on the Congo

Verbatim Record of meeting No. 64, held on Saturday,
16 December 1961, at 10.30 a.m.

Sir Muhamad Zafrulla KHAN, Pakistan

Page 73-75, 8th line

Replace "him" by "the Secretary-General".

Secretary-General No 1

CONFIDENTIAL

Meeting No. 64
16 December 1961
ENGLISH

UNITED NATIONS ADVISORY COMMITTEE
ON THE CONGO

Meeting at United Nations Headquarters, New York,
on Saturday, 16 December 1961, at 10.30 a.m.

In the Chair: U THANT The Acting SECRETARY-GENERAL

<u>Members:</u>	Canada	Mr. RITCHIE
	Ceylon	Mr. PERERA
	Ethiopia	Mr. GEBRE-EGZY
	Federation of Malaya	Mr. KAMIL
	Ghana	Mr. QUAISON-SACKY
	Guinea	Mr. DIALLO
	India	Mr. JHA
	Indonesia	Mr. WIRJOPRANOTO
	Ireland	Mr. AIKEN
	Liberia	Mr. BARNES
	Mali	Mr. TRAORE
	Morocco	Mr. BENHIMA
	Nigeria	Mr. NGILERUMA
	Pakistan	Sir Muhammad ZAFRULLA KHAN
	Senegal	Mr. CISSE
	Sudan	
	Sweden	Mrs. ROSSEL
	Tunisia	Mr. BOURGUIBA
	United Arab Republic	Mr. LOUTFI

The Acting SECRETARY-GENERAL: At the last meeting of the Congo Advisory Committee I promised to consider, in consultation with you, the next steps to be taken in implementation of the Security Council resolution of 24 November. We finally worked out such a plan of implementation as I intended to discuss with you, after consulting with our colleagues in Leopoldville and Elisabethville, as also with the Central Government of the Republic of the Congo.

You are, however, aware of the campaign of violence and inflammatory speeches unleashed by Tshombe and his collaborators from the time that the Security Council resolution was adopted. You also are aware of the subsequent outrages, murders and ambush of United Nations personnel and of the plan to capture the airfield at Elisabethville and to prevent ONUC forces from communicating freely with each other. These events forced the United Nations to take defensive action regarding the progress of which General Rikhye will report to you shortly. To that extent the plan that we had in mind for implementation of the Security Council resolution of 24 November has been overtaken by events.

The objectives of the present operation have been set out in my public statement of 10 December, and especially in the penultimate paragraph, as follows:

"The purpose of the present military operations is to regain and assure our freedom of movement, to restore law and order, and to ensure that for the future the United Nations forces and officials in Katanga are not subjected to such attacks; and meanwhile to react vigorously in self-defense to every assault on our present positions, by all the means available to us. These military operations will be pursued up to such time, and only up to such time, that these objectives are achieved, either by military or other means, and we have satisfactory guarantees in this regard for the future, not only in Elisabethville but over the whole of Katanga. We shall also need to be satisfied that we shall be able to go ahead with the implementation of the Security Council and General Assembly resolutions, and especially the latest Security Council resolution of 24 November 1961, without let or hindrance from any source."

(The Acting Secretary-General)

That is the relevant part of the statement I released last Sunday, 10 December. Since the present operations were initiated, the propaganda, not only in Elisabethville but elsewhere, to misrepresent the present activities and exaggerate the loss of life and property suffered by civilians, has gathered momentum. We have tried our best to brief the newspapers at this end and to keep them informed of the true facts, and progress of the operations. Some of the newspapers and wire service agencies seem to have particularly biased reporters at the Congo end, and print their dispatches without any verification. I am amazed at the lack of regard for the normal standards of journalism by these newspapers and wire services.

Two days ago we received information that the radio station in Usumbura, Ruanda-Urundi, was also broadcasting some of these atrocity stories, and we have taken action to lodge an urgent protest with the Belgian authorities. There have also been many efforts to secure a cease-fire, especially now that it seems likely that the United Nations may succeed in achieving its short-term objectives.

I am sure that I am speaking for all of you when I say that we do not want one unnecessary casualty to be suffered, or one superfluous round of ammunition to be fired. To that extent I am always ready to consider reasonable proposals for a cease-fire, provided that our objectives are safeguarded. At the same time, I am sure that you will all agree that for us to stop short of our objectives at the present stage would be a serious setback for the United Nations. In this connexion I am having circulated to you a copy of a letter dated 14 December from Prime Minister Adoula to Mr. Linner. I should also mention that recent statements by Tshombe, Kibwe and others indicate that there is no eagerness on their part to have a cease-fire.

In regard to the cease-fire, you are aware, of course, of the position taken by the Government of the United Kingdom, because their attitude has been made public. I should also inform you that similar appeals for a cease-fire have been received from the representatives of Belgium and Greece, and that yesterday the President of Congo (Brazzaville) sent a communication to me, and to the President of the Security Council, calling for an urgent meeting of that Council with a view to deciding on an immediate cease-fire. The President of

(The Acting Secretary-General)

Malagasy Republic has also appealed for a cease-fire. In the same connexion, you must be aware of the exchange of letters on 8 December, by which the Government of the United Kingdom indicated their willingness to make a certain number of bombs available to us for use with the Canberra jets. You must also be aware of my subsequent letter, addressed to the Government of the United Kingdom, in which I withdrew the request for these bombs. The reasons for my decision, which had to be taken without consultation with members of the Advisory Committee, in view of the information I had that a governmental crisis was imminent in the United Kingdom over this bomb issue, have also been made known in my letter to Sir Patrick Dean.

(The Acting Secretary-General)

While on the same subject I must inform you that Tshombe sent a telegram to President Kennedy, in regard to which I was consulted. My attitude was that we would do everything in our power to facilitate a meeting between Prime Minister Adoula and Tshombe, provided it was held at a venue which was acceptable to the Prime Minister. My present thinking is that such a meeting might take place at Kitona and, once again, we have given assurances in regard to the personal security and safe conduct of Tshombe for the duration of these negotiations.

I know that you must be extremely anxious to have news of the progress of the operations and the assessment of the resources available to us. I will ask General Rikhye to give such an appreciation. You are all aware that I addressed a special appeal to all African countries to assist us with additional troops at this critical juncture. Thus far, I have received a favourable response only from Tunisia, which has so generously agreed to send us a contingent of 300 troops. I have already thanked Mr. Bourguiba for this. I have not yet received any reply from the President of Indonesia, to whom I also addressed a special appeal for troops some days ago.

Before giving the floor to General Rikhye, I should like to refer to two things. One is that Prime Minister Adoula has sent a letter to Union Minière regarding payment of taxes. A copy of the Prime Minister's letter is being circulated to you for your information. Secondly, I wish to refer to a question that I posed at our last meeting in regard to the release of verbatim records of the Advisory Committee meetings. I have given further thought to this matter and would recommend to you that we do release them to the members of the Security Council, in view of the direct responsibility they have in regard to the ONUC operations.

I will also ask for the distribution of a paper prepared by our legal office in regard to the legal provisions that can be applied to mercenaries who are apprehended.

I will now give the floor to General Rikhye. In view of the very confidential nature of his statement, I would like to suggest, if you all agree, that General Rikhye's statement be off the record. I give the floor to General Rikhye.

General Rikhye made a statement off the record and then continued as follows:

General RIKHYE: The sequence of events from which we have built up this information follows the Security Council's resolution of 24 November. On 25 November Tshombe called for a fight against the United Nations. On 26 and 27 November a so-called Colonel Alain, leader of the non-Katangese movement in Katanga, made inflammatory speeches in the various parts of the city. On 28 November Tshombe went to Camp Massart and called on the Katanga armed forces to fight the United Nations to the death. That evening ONUC representatives Mr. George Ivan-Smith and Mr. Brian Urquhart were arrested, beaten up, and you know the rest of that story. A Gurkha soldier was shot in the back and an officer of a Gurkha battalion was arrested and later removed from Elisabethville. On 2 December Katanga forces in Elisabethville stood to. On 2 December and 3 December road blocks were established in the area of the tunnel and certain other parts of the town as indicated, when several Swedish and Norwegian soldiers were captured. On 3 December, Kimba had a press conference in which he issued a last warning to the United Nations.

The same day, a Swedish medical team consisting of a Captain-Surgeon and an orderly were shot at at the tunnel, the orderly being killed and the officer captured. On 4 December a road block was established on the road junction leading to the airport. On 5 December that road block near the airport was re-enforced, a Dornier aircraft carried out reconnaissance and the gendarmerie near the airfield strengthened its position. ONUC headquarters was surrounded by the gendarmerie and it was at this stage that ONUC representatives felt that the United Nations would be obliged to take military action in order to remain with impunity in Elisabethville.

The tactics of the Katanga gendarmerie have been, in the main, to use civilians as cover. For instance, they established a machine gun and a mortar position in the mission house of the Seventh Day Adventists. They used Sabena officers and villas near the airport, which led to the arrest of certain Sabena civilians thought at that time to be mercenaries and since released. They have used a hospital as an observer and machine gun post. They have used the grounds of consuls, from where mortars have been firing at United Nations positions. They have used up to fifty cars, painted with the red cross and

(General Rikhye)

flying the Red Cross flag, carrying armed soldiers and machine guns, this fact having been acknowledged by Mr. Olivet, the representative of the International Red Cross in Elisabethville, who requested United Nations assistance in order to prevent the continuation of such activity.

(General Rikhye)

A group of mobile mortars under the command of a Portuguese mercenary has been going around the town and shooting at it from various points, on several occasions deliberately firing at non-United Nations targets in order to build up anti-United Nations feeling. Immediately after the mortaring Katanga Radio and other allied Radios and Press services put out news that the United Nations fired those particular mortars.

The psychological aspects of the war being waged against the United Nations has already been brought to your notice by the Secretary-General. From the military point of view I would like to submit that such reports, particularly to a person who gets two different accounts, makes that person inclined to try and arrive at a figure about half way. For instance, we have been giving out our casualty figures, which have been very slight, whereas the Press reports from the other side have indicated very heavy casualties. The average man in the street is inclined to take the middle line. He thinks that the United Nations is not disclosing its full casualties and that the Katangese possibly are exaggerating their casualties. Therefore, he thinks it should be about half way, which again is totally incorrect. We have put out our exact casualties as we are obliged to report to you accurately.

Civilians, that is, non-Katangese, who have been lately evacuating their families are joining in the fight as irregulars. Their tactics in the main are to fire at United Nations movements and, as soon as the United Nations starts to retaliate, to stop firing, to walk out of the house through a back door as a normal civilian. During the last few days Katangese and mercenaries have kept up incessant firing at the Baluba camp in order to cause panic. As you know, nearly forty to fifty thousand Balubas are herded into a very small camp and it is so easy to inflict heavy losses upon them. Up to this morning Baluba casualties have been 15 killed and 119 wounded. Katanga armed forces continue to use Union Minière telephone communications and other signal communications facilities. We also have an indication that some Dornier aircraft have used the Ndola Airport during the last forty-eight hours. It is understood that the use of this port was made under illegitimate cover.

(General Rikhye)

This has been brought to the notice of the British authorities who have now given us their assurances that they would try and prevent the use of Ndola even for such purposes. ONUC operations which started on 5 December are being carried out in phases. Phase One was: the build-up of our troops in Elisabethville; to clear the road-block near the airport; to clear the link road between the airport and ONUC Headquarters, and lastly, to clear the area of Headquarters.

Phase Two was: entering the town, the town being divided in two parts, and the United Nations Force also being organized in two parts. East of the town is the Irish-Swedish Brigade; West of the town is the Ethiopian-Indian Brigade. The local Commanders on both sides -- Colonel Wearn on the East and Brigadier Raju on the West -- are under the personal command of General MacEoin who arrived in Elisabethville to conduct these operations.

I would like to read out extracts of two reports which have been received from Elisabethville. The following is a report received late yesterday: The operation which was started early morning of 15 December has been planned in two phases. The first phase was the clearance of Avenue Stanley. This is the main road leading out of ONUC Headquarters in the northwest part of the town, towards the center of the town and Avenue Churchill, and in the area of the junction there is a very large stadium and theatre which has been a main centre of Katangese opposition. It also includes the capture of the ridge which is generally called the golf course area to the northwest of ONUC Headquarters and from where fire was being directed against ONUC Headquarters. This part was captured. This phase was completed successfully by 1100 hours local time Elisabethville.

The second phase of the operation includes the occupation of the Lido area, cutting off the Kipushi Road, which is cutting them off from their supply line to Rhodesia and physically assaulting Camp Massart. Simultaneously the Irish-Swedish Brigade was directed upon to capture the tunnel. At 2000 hours last night the second phase was under way. We have received a cable this morning informing us that our operations were proceeding successfully, and this report is up to 0600 local time at Elisabethville, which would be about midnight last night, New York time.

(General Rikhye)

The Lido area has been captured by the Ethiopian Battalion with little opposition, the gendarmerie withdrawing and leaving five dead. The tunnel area was captured by the Thirty-Sixth Irish Battalion. The Swedish Battalion is now engaged in an attack on Camp Massart and is encountering opposition. Our casualties up to this morning, that is, United Nations casualties, includes the total for the whole operation, which we are taking from 25 November: Sweden, 2 killed, 11 missing, 10 wounded; India, 6 killed, 1 missing, 13 wounded; Ireland, 3 killed, 24 wounded; Ethiopia, 2 killed, 2 wounded; Norway, 2 missing.

In the area of Manono the gendarmerie attempted to seize the town but they were repulsed in this and have been thrown out of the town completely, as well as from the area of the airport which was previously under joint United Nations-Katanga controlled. In other words, ONUC troops now completely control Manono.

As regards Kamina, we had reports that the Katanga gendarmerie, from the village of Kaminaville had deployed in the direction of Kamina. But they have not moved at all from those positions and the Baluba leader Kasongo Niembo, who is a friend of Tshombe has remained very quiet.

Concerning the Katanga air force, as you are aware, most of it destroyed on the ground. One Fournier and one Dove have been active to a small measure. We have been constantly after them and have been finding the various strips which they have been using, and we really have them on the run. They really have been quite ineffective. Although they did carry out another raid last night, it caused no damage ...

The Acting SECRETARY-GENERAL: Before I give the floor to members of the Committee, I should like to ask Mr. Narasimhan to supplement the statements just made by me and General Rikhye.

Mr. NARASIMHAN: I want to read out a cable which has just been received from Elisabethville, in view of the charges that have been so widely made and to some extent so widely reported about attacks on and casualties of civilians. This is a cable dated this morning at 1150 hours Elisabethville, which would make it about seven hours old. It says:

"Ethiopian battalion on Lido Ridge" -- you may recall that was the objective General Rikhye said earlier they were trying to reach today -- "continuously under heavy fire from snipers," -- and this is interesting -- "machine guns and occasionally mortars, from residences and office buildings west of Lido. Medium machine guns fire coming from direction of Union Minière installation. Fire seems to be directed from church itself which is in commanding position, as was case in September. Fire on Ethiopians has been so heavy that ONUC has had to give them mortar protection which so far has not been directed on the houses or buildings themselves. We are trying to warn all concerned by radio that continued use this residential area for attacks must necessarily be dealt with by normal military methods."

The cable adds:

"For your information Tshombe's house and US and UK consulates are on opposite side of Lido and are not involved."

Then Mr. Smith says:

"Guess what's behind the church? Medical institute of some kind."

That is the end of the message, but it adds:

"Reported that Swedish battalion now in Camp Massart".

You may recall that at 0600 hours this morning General Rikhye had the message that they were attacking Camp Massart and encountered this resistance. I thought this should also be on record.

Mr. QUAISON-SACKY (Ghana): I thank you for giving me the floor first, Mr. Secretary-General, because I have to leave in order to speak in the First Committee.

I want to thank you very sincerely for the clear and detailed account which was given this morning by you, Sir, and General Rikhye as to what is happening in Katanga. You have not been left in any doubt as to the support which my Government is giving you in this operation. In our view, the present operation, which was long overdue and should have been carried out earlier, should be fully supported by all Powers. I just want to read two paragraphs from a communique which my Government has issued in this regard. It reads as follows:

"It is, of course, not the function of the United Nations to wage war; but when their authority is called in question, their officers murdered, their officials cruelly assaulted and armed attacks on their troops are openly planned by mercenaries in the pay of a puppet, then the United Nations has a clear duty to use the force at its command to protect itself and to enforce the mandate of the Security Council. In such circumstances, it is essential that military action should be swift and decisive. Only thus can the loss of lives and property be minimized, the authority of the United Nations vindicated and the danger of further foreign intervention checked.

"The Government of Ghana, which lost fifty-two soldiers killed in one incident alone in the Congo, is as anxious as any other Power to see peace restored in the Congo. But no cease-fire can take place until the last mercenary is removed from Katanga, law and order is re-established, the puppet administration of Katanga disestablished and the territorial integrity of the Republic of the Congo, including Katanga Province, assured."

I have quoted these two paragraphs in order to emphasize our stand, Sir, and our support for you.

We are very happy that you are attempting to arrange a meeting between Tshombe and Adoula. But our view is that this should take place not on the basis of a cease-fire but as a result of the operation that is being conducted presently. The operation should go on and Tshombe must be made aware of the fact that if he does not play ball with the Central Government the operation will continue. Therefore, I do not think that any talks which would be held between the two men should mean a cease-fire. My Government actually does not think the United Nations itself should negotiate with Tshombe because he only represents a provincial government in the Congo. If there should be any talks, the United Nations can only act as a catalyst which, in fact, we know you are doing.

(Mr. Quaison-Sackey, Ghana)

There is another aspect to this problem of political settlement which possibly has not been considered, and that is the possibility of the members of Parliament in Katanga going to Leopoldville. In other words, there is no reason why there should not be an emergency meeting of Parliament in Leopoldville. There is no reason why the members of Parliament, the senators in Katanga, should not go now to Leopoldville and attend the Parliament. Therefore, we think that a meeting between the two men and a meeting of Parliament could take place simultaneously with the operation to remove the mercenaries from Katanga.

The view of my Government with regard to a Security Council meeting now is that there is no need for it. The Security Council resolution of 24 November was very clear in its terms, and I do not think any useful purpose would be served now if a Security Council meeting were called. Of course, Sir, we would comply with your own prerogatives and wisdom in this matter because you have a right to call a Security Council meeting if you so desire. But I do not think any Power should bring pressure upon you to call the Security Council into session when there is no need for it.

With regard to troops, I want to announce that General Otu, who was in the Congo, is leaving Accra for New York to talk with you and General Rikhye as to the sending of troops to the Congo, troop movements, and so on.

These are the points which I wanted to make. In conclusion, may I at this juncture convey my condolences and the condolences of my delegation and Government to the Governments of Sweden, India, Ireland, Ethiopia and Norway for the losses which they have suffered in Katanga in the course of the United Nations pursuit of peace.

I think we have now reached a very critical stage in our operations in the Congo. If the United Nations gives in in any way, I am afraid the whole purpose of the United Nations being in the Congo will have been completely destroyed. That is why we feel that all support should be given to you, Sir. In fact, there is no reason why you should not appeal to the great Powers not to send any arms whatever to Katanga. My Government feels that even now a certain amount of arms is coming into Katanga from certain quarters. We should like you to consult the great Powers one by one, in order to make this point to them. If possible, an investigation should be held in Katanga itself.

(Mr. Quaison-Sackey, Ghana)

These are the points which I thought I should make now. The operation should continue, but the door should not be closed to any political talks which can be held behind the scenes.

Mr. GEBRE-MEZAY (Ethiopia): I really do not have much to say, except to indicate our full support, Mr. Secretary-General, for the position you have taken.

On the question of the cease-fire, I do not believe that it is the task of any Government here to direct you to stop your work. I believe that the position of the United Kingdom is one that is not acceptable to us, and we have made known our position quite clearly.

In our view, the objectives of the United Nations must be attained, because the Organization can not go on suffering defeat after defeat. The consequences of another defeat, the consequences of vacillation, will be very serious. Therefore, I think the entire operation should continue until you achieve your objectives as outlined.

With regard to negotiations, there again we do not believe that the United Nations or any other Government should put Mr. Tshombe and Mr. Adoula on the same footing. If Mr. Tshombe wants to negotiate, he has to contact the Central Government. In this connexion also our position is quite clear.

I should like to speak quite seriously in respect of the question of troops. I would have thought that since action is now being taken all those countries which had troops in the Congo, and even those which did not have any in the Congo, would come to the rescue of the United Nations.

(Mr. Gebre-Egzy, Ethiopia)

Here I am bound to say quite frankly without any hesitation or reservation whatsoever that we expect all the African countries to come to the rescue of the United Nations and to come to the rescue of the Congo in order to make the United Nations operation a successful one.

In this connexion, I must be quite frank with you, Mr. Secretary-General, but it is not clear to me why the Ghanaian troops were not taken a long time ago. I have heard something to the effect that planes were not available. My information, however, is that the United States Government has been willing to give the planes. I heard this almost two weeks ago. I think there was a question of using one type or another type of aircraft. Of course, I am not a technician on planes, but all the same I feel very strongly that the Ghanaian troops, which have very kindly been offered by the Government of Ghana, should be taken directly to Katanga in order to help the troops there. My feeling is that unless this is done within the next two or three days, their arrival later on may not be of much use. The United Nations must have complete superiority of troops in Elisabethville, and I feel that this action should be taken immediately.

Speaking along the same line, I want to appeal to all African countries here and outside to help the United Nations materially and also by furnishing troops.

In this connexion, I want to express the appreciation of my Government to Tunisia for helping you, Mr. Secretary-General, when you needed help most.

Finally, I would like to ask you to issue, if it is possible, some sort of Press release about the Ethiopian troops having been attacked from a church. Many lies have been told about us and the truth, as it comes out now, should be made known to the public. I think this should be done immediately, because otherwise someone else might accuse the Ethiopians of destroying churches and I do not know what else.

Mr. NARASIMHAN: With regard to the last point made by the Ambassador of Ethiopia, the cable from which I read is a Press briefing cable which was addressed to Mr. Caruthers here. I saw a copy of it and I thought it was so important that I read it out. It has gone to them and action is being taken.

Mr. NGILERUMA (Nigeria): I wish to associate myself with those who have spoken before me in giving full support to the United Nations action in Katanga. Nigeria is giving full support militarily, financially and morally to the best of our ability. We are very sorry to see that the response to your appeal to the African countries to provide assistance has either been very slow or very small.

In this connexion, I would like to mention one thing which I think is relevant in the circumstances. When the big Powers, founder Members of the United Nations and members of the Security Council, speak or act in a manner discouraging to the activities of the United Nations and of the Secretary-General, it not only obstructs the activities of the United Nations but it might also weaken the moral of the small nations. When the small nations see that big countries like the United Kingdom and France speak in terms of preventing the use of their air space and in terms of withdrawing assistance which they have promised, this is received by all the countries of Africa with a sense of shock. All the African countries are very weak countries. We go to the Congo in order to support the United Nations, and in order to help the Secretary-General carry out the resolutions of the Security Council which were adopted by the Security Council on 24 November and at previous meetings. But it is rather amazing for all of us to see that members of the Security Council that sponsored or supported the resolutions are now opposing their implementation. This action will break not only the moral of the United Nations forces in the Congo but also the moral of the African countries that might have been thinking of contributing military or other forms of assistance. We feel that we are too weak to stand up to the opposition of the big Powers. We are sending our soldiers to the Congo in order to help the United Nations bring about peace and tranquillity. We are not sending them to be killed for nothing. If, after sending soldiers to the United Nations to help the Secretary-General achieve the minimum objectives as set out by the Security Council, some big Power members of the Security Council state that they are putting obstructions before us, I must admit that we cannot stand up to such big and strong opposition. That is why I think -- I do not know this for a fact, but I am guessing -- some of the African countries are hesitating to come out openly to assist the Secretary-General.

(Mr. Ngileruma, Nigeria)

With regard to the cease-fire, I am entirely in agreement with the previous speakers, the Ambassadors of Ghana and Ethiopia, that any cease-fire without the achievement of the objectives of the Security Council resolution means surrender by the United Nations. If the United Nations is to carry out the functions set out in the resolution adopted by the Security Council, there should not be any cease-fire until the minimum objectives, as you yourself, Mr. Secretary-General, have said, are achieved. You said until our objectives are safeguarded, but I would like to say until our objectives are achieved -- the minimum objectives should not only be safeguarded but they must be achieved.

(Mr. Ngileruma, Nigeria)

Of course, it would be a good thing for the United Nations to arrange political negotiations between the Central Government and Mr. Tshombe, provided the Central Government is agreeable, such negotiations to be held at a place acceptable to the Central Government. There is no point in agreeing to all the suggestions of Mr. Tshombe. The views of the Central Government must prevail. Therefore, the meetings should be held at any time and at any place acceptable to the Central Government.

Since the Security Council resolution of 24 November was adopted and the Secretary-General began to carry out the mandate given to him, the attitude of the United States has been very good and we appreciate it. That is the way the other big Powers should act. But although it is not my duty to enter into the question of the politics of the United States, I should like to mention one small point. We read in the newspapers that certain politicians are leveling strong criticism against the stand of the United States. It seems to me that the general public in the United States is really misinformed as to what is going on in Africa. They know very little of what is taking place there, and I am sure that the general public do not read the documents of the United Nations. Probably they rely on certain papers, some of which are biased against the United Nations, and some of them anti-United Nations. I do not think that the public are properly informed. Therefore, I do not believe that some of the criticism of the stand taken by the United States should be taken seriously; the people in the Government know more about the activities of the United Nations and of what is happening in Africa, particularly in the Congo. Therefore, such criticism should not be taken too seriously and the morale of the United States Government should not be broken. We Africans -- and I think that I speak for all of us at this table -- very much appreciate the stand of the United States Government.

It is now time for us to appeal to the big Powers to do their best to co-operate with the Secretary-General, to co-operate with the United States, morally, financially and militarily. Otherwise their public statements will break the morale of all small nations, including perhaps small European nations. Africans, Asians and Europeans who have sent their troops to the United Nations sent them in order to bring peace and tranquillity. No one would agree to send his brother to be killed in a foreign country. When I say "a foreign country" I have in mind

(Mr. Ngilemma, Nigeria)

the European countries which have sent their troops to the Congo; being an African myself, I would never refer to Africa as "a foreign country". But I am sure that those small European countries which sent their troops to help the Congo to settle its problems sent them in order to help the Congolese themselves in a friendly atmosphere.

The objectives of the Security Council resolution of 24 November are very simple and very clear. I would draw the Committee's attention to paragraph 4 which reads as follows:

"Authorizes the Secretary-General to take vigorous action, including the use of requisite measures of force, if necessary, for the immediate apprehension, detention pending legal action and/or deportation of all foreign military and paramilitary personnel and political advisers not under the United Nations Command, and mercenaries as laid down in paragraph A-2 of the Security Council resolution of 21 February 1961."

This was the mandate given to the Secretary-General, and if the Katanga authorities refuse to co-operate with the Secretary-General he has no alternative but to implement the mandate given to him by the Security Council. Therefore, the use of force is, in my opinion, legal.

I do not agree with the arguments of certain countries or certain politicians who say that the operations of the United Nations in Katanga are illegal; they do not follow the documents of the United Nations. What else can the Secretary-General do when the Katanga authorities refuse to co-operate? He has no alternative but to carry out his duties.

Therefore, I would say that there is no need to call a meeting of the Security Council to discuss any matter since the mandate given to you, Mr. Secretary-General, on 24 November and on previous occasions, is clear. Those who ask for a meeting of the Security Council are merely suggesting that a cease-fire should be negotiated unconditionally, and I repeat that any unconditional cease-fire means surrender by the United Nations; and if the United Nations fails in Katanga and in the Congo this time, the future of the Organization will be at stake. It will endanger not only the Congo, but also the whole of Africa, and perhaps the whole world. I feel sure that if the United Nations fails in the Congo, East-West will begin to struggle, and then the whole of Africa will become the battle-ground of East and West.

(Mr. Ngileruma, Nigeria)

Hence we must do everything possible in support of the United Nations and in support of the Secretary-General, not only here, but also outside the United Nations, where we must defend you, Mr. Secretary-General. When people begin to criticize the Secretary-General's activities, saying that they are illegal, we must not remain quiet. We must keep explaining to the people, particularly the Americans. The stand of their Government is most co-operative, but the masses, I am quite sure, are misinformed and misguided. They rely on the newspapers. They do not take any interest in reading United Nations documents or in holding discussions for the purpose of finding out what is going on. Therefore, we must support the Secretary-General.

Mr. JHA (India): I shall begin by making some preliminary remarks.

I was greatly struck by the statements made by you, Mr. Secretary-General, and General Rikhye, and I would suggest -- and this, of course, could be decided at the end of the meeting -- that these statements, properly edited, should be released as a United Nations document. I think that they are very informative. You have put the position very clearly and, after such editing as you might think necessary and as, of course, may be dictated because of the nature of these statements, I would consider it desirable to have these statements, as a United Nations document, released extensively to the press. They make absolutely clear the motivation behind the United Nations action and make clear what our objectives are and show the whole approach of the Secretary-General and the United Nations forces in the Congo to the entire complex question of the problems in the Congo.

(Mr. Jha, India)

Your statement also clears the air and gives the lie to a great many insinuations and allegations made about the motives of the United Nations, about their opposition to conciliation and all that kind of thing. I would suggest that you consider it and perhaps at the end of the meeting you might let us know how you feel about it.

The statements made by the Secretary-General and his assistants are extremely important. I would have preferred to study them in greater detail, but perhaps I could make a few preliminary comments.

In the first place, I should like to express on behalf of my delegation our profound admiration for the way that the United Nations Forces in the Congo are carrying out the mandate of the Security Council under your leadership and your instructions. I think that when the history of our times is written this will be a glorious chapter, a chapter of great co-operation of Asian and African countries in the common cause of peace and of strengthening of the United Nations. I should like to say on behalf of my Government that we feel very honoured and proud that our forces are fighting side by side with the forces of Ethiopia, Sweden, Ireland and other countries in this very difficult task, a task which requires great sacrifice and in which they are really fighting for the cause of peace and the United Nations.

Our troops have suffered casualties. They form the largest contingent in the Congo, and naturally the brunt of the burden of the fighting falls on them very largely. There are troops of other countries which have suffered casualties and we certainly owe a great tribute to all of them. I should like to express my sympathy to the delegations here for the loss of the personnel from their countries.

The statements made this morning resolve themselves, if I may say so, in various categories or compartments. First, there is the military situation which was very clearly stated by Brigadier Rikhye. He has quite rightly, if I may say so, pointed out that it is not possible for the limited number of troops in Katanga to carry on and achieve all the objectives, short-term and long-term, against forces which are well-equipped and, what is worse from our point of view, which are led by determined, ruthless mercenaries from Europe and Europe certainly has great experience of war -- whether that is a tribute to them I do not know.

(Mr. Jha, India)

So the military situation is something which we cannot ignore altogether. I would certainly agree with my colleagues here who have suggested that every effort should be made to bring reinforcements, more arms and equipment and everything else that may be necessary in that connexion because we feel that there can be no half-way course in this kind of operation. We had to start military operations against the mercenaries and the Katanga gendarmerie. This has really to be carried on to a successful conclusion not in the sense of destroying that army, but in achieving all the objectives which the Security Council resolutions lay upon the Secretary-General and the United Nations and, what is more, to ensure that there is no repetition of this kind of attack against the United Nations. I say this because, let us suppose, that the fighting ceases tomorrow and that there was a so-called cease-fire -- which seems to be bandied about a great deal in many quarters. What happens after that? The Katanga forces, the mercenaries, get a respite; they build themselves up again. They increase their armaments, they get aircraft; then the next time the same problems will arise and they have the advantage over the United Nations.

This is not a mere theoretical surmise because things happened in September and the United Nations had a cease-fire. It was expected that the cease-fire would be observed. As you know, the cease-fire has been criticized by many Governments, even many Governments which are not normally hostile to the United Nations. The cease-fire was undertaken in good faith. It was felt by the Secretariat -- you were not then in your position -- which took the advice of this Committee, and we all felt, "Well, we are, after all, in favour of peace and let us test the good faith of these people, let us trust in their word". So a cease-fire was arranged. However, from the very moment of the cease-fire, the cease-fire started being broken and breached by Tshombe and others.

So my Government is quite definite on this. We cannot face another situation like that. When we say this we have a right to say it because we have about 5,000 troops in the Congo and we would not agree to a premature cease-fire which means that after a little while you face the same situation in worse circumstances; you provide a chance for the Katangans and the mercenaries to build up, and they have every possibility of building up as there are great Powers and small Powers which today are giving them much open support, and a lot of covert support in arms in moral, in political support and all that.

(Mr. Jha, India)

So we cannot face that situation and we should like to say firmly that our Government would be very disturbed at any kind of premature cease-fire. Of course, we accept that the United Nations is not really carrying out a warlike mission there. We are not out there to conduct war, to conquer Katanga or even to conquer Katanga for the Central Government; that is not our function. But it is the duty of the United Nations to see that its forces are not subjected to the same kind of humiliating treatment, the same kind of attacks, the same kind of breach of faith to which they have been subjected in recent months. I would respectfully beg you, on behalf of my Government, to bear that in mind. I know that your views are very much the same as our views, but I do feel it necessary to reiterate this on behalf of my Government.

The second aspect that arises from what has been stated this morning and from the course of events during the last week or ten days is the political aspect of the Congo. In regard to the political aspects of the Congo situation, let us first take the internal one. Now, it is common ground that we all agree -- and this is a fact that has been affirmed and re-affirmed in United Nations resolutions -- that it is for the Congolese themselves to settle their differences. We are all therefore in favour of what has been termed "conciliation". We are all in favour of a strong Central Government, a unified Congo -- because on that the United Nations is quite firm -- whose independence and whose territorial integrity has been affirmed and re-affirmed many times. On that there can be no compromise. But subject to the maintenance of the unity, territorial integrity and independence of the Congo, we naturally hope and expect that the Congo will function on the basis of goodwill, conciliation among all its parties and peoples.

So I wish to make it clear that we have no objection at any time to any kind of conciliation between Mr. Tshombe and the Central Government or Mr. Gizenga and the Central Government or even between Mr. Gizenga and Mr. Tshombe. After all, these are the same people, they have to live together in one Congo. So I would say that we are not at all opposed -- in fact, we welcome efforts by certain governments, and here I might mention the United States Government, whose position in the whole of this business has been very clear, very honourable and, as my colleague from Nigeria has said, it has really been very heartening for the United Nations and for all of us.

(Mr. Jha, India)

So when they want to take any measures, to use their immediate influence, their great influence, for bringing about a meeting between Tshombe and Adoula, and when you yourself are prepared to give, and far as possible, assistance for that purpose, we have no objection; in fact, we welcome such a move. But we feel that there can be no conciliation except within the framework of the unity, the territorial integrity and the independence of the Congo. Of course, it is for Mr. Adoula to meet Mr. Tshombe on any terms that he wishes, but I should think that no meeting would be fruitful or consistent with the purposes of the United Nations unless Mr. Tshombe acknowledges unequivocally, and is advised by his many friends outside to acknowledge unequivocally, the authority of the Central Government and the unity and integrity of the Congo.

With regard to the political aspects, I would like to mention now what I might call the external political aspects of this whole question. Here I have already mentioned the very welcome, the very noble support, if I may say so, of the United States Government to the current Congo operations and to the measures taken by you, Mr. Secretary-General. But on the other hand, what do we see? There is opposition ranged against the United Nations by a large number of big Powers -- Powers as to which we always suspected that they were not loyal to the objectives of the United Nations although they did sometimes pay lip-service; they paid lip-service in the Security Council and outside, but we always had those suspicions about them. The present operation has revealed their motivations and brought them absolutely into the open. We have, here, for instance, the matter of the United Nations wanting to get ammunition for certain aircraft in the Congo. I do not know the exact nature of the transaction, but I am sure, Mr. Secretary-General, that you did not want it for nothing, that you were prepared to pay for it. But what do we find? A whole complex of political controversies arose around it. The British Parliament reverberated with the noise created by Members who did not want it, and the British Government themselves prevaricated and even tried to impose conditions upon the use of this ammunition, as if you, Mr. Secretary-General did not know how to use these bombs and as if you could not be trusted to exercise discretion in the use of these bombs in conformity with the purposes of the United Nations. All sorts of attacks were made on the United Nations. The very nature of the United Nations

(Mr. Jha, India)

operations was questioned. It was said that the United Nations had no business in using force; that force was against the very ethos of the United Nations. All such kinds of things were said.

However, Mr. Secretary-General, I believe I agree with you entirely: you adopted a very honourable course, and certainly you may have saved the British Government from collapsing -- I do not know about that -- when you very wisely withdrew that request.

It is a strange situation. It is something that has created an extremely bad impression in my country and in many countries of Asia and Africa. From the moment that these operations were started and it was seen that the United Nations was doing well this time, that it was well equipped and had the situation well in hand, there was a nibbling at these processes; statements started appearing in high quarters and approaches started being made to you that there ought to be a cease-fire. But a cease-fire for what purpose? The very countries which have been advocating a cease-fire have never once condemned Tshombe, have never told him to acknowledge unequivocally the unity and territorial integrity of the Congo, have never told the mercenaries to walk out, have never offered one bit of help to the United Nations in carrying out the resolutions of 21 February and 24 November to round up the mercenaries. Here we have an impressive list of these mercenaries -- very impressive -- and it certainly looks very much like a war between colonial Europe and Asia and Africa. I am referring, of course, to the document that was issued by your Press Services. There you give the names of some 189 persons, and you have asked the various Governments to tell you exactly who these people are and whether they are mercenaries or what.

This is really the most objectionable feature of the whole situation, and we feel very disturbed about it. I am speaking very frankly now. We have here a closed meeting and I think we ought to speak frankly on these matters, and I have got to put to you what we feel, we of India. There has been unconcealed hostility to the United Nations and there have been reports of a great deal of help -- this is our information -- coming to Katanga through Angola -- a train-load of supplies, equipment, ammunition, etc. There have been reports of mortars supplied from Rhodesia and of trained people going from there to use these mortars. There have been reports, of course, of Katangese aircraft which have subsequently bombed,

(Mr. Jha, India)

or tried to bomb, United Nations airfields, finding shelter and making the usual logistic preparations in Angola. But there I was glad to hear that the British have given their assurances that this sort of thing will not be done.

This sort of thing, however, is going on. How does it fit into the United Nations picture? We have the resolution of 21 February, of the Security Council, which specifically calls upon all States to extend their facilities and to co-operate with the United Nations in the implementation of that resolution. We have the resolution of 24 November 1961, which is very clear; paragraph 7 of its operative section

"Calls upon all Member States to refrain from promoting, condoning, or giving support by acts of omission or commission, directly or indirectly, to activities against the United Nations ..." (S/5002, page 2)

And paragraph 10 of the operative part of the same resolution

"Urges all Member States to lend their support, according to their national procedures, to the Central Government of the Republic of the Congo, in conformity with the Charter ..." (Ibid., page 3)

Surely, giving support to Katanga is not giving support to the Central Government of the Republic of the Congo.

Paragraph 11 of that resolution

"Requests all Member States to refrain from any action which may directly or indirectly impede the policies and purposes of the United Nations in the Congo and is contrary to its decisions and the general purpose of the Charter." (Ibid., page 3)

What, therefore, is the situation? Here you have the non-big-Power, uncommitted countries of the world, the resources of which are very limited, giving of their men, their resources and their unflinching loyalty to the United Nations. But you have also the big Powers of Europe, wealthy and possessing plenty of power and resources, not carrying out -- specifically not carrying out -- the provisions of the resolutions of the Security Council. Article 25 of the Charter states that all Members shall co-operate, shall give assistance in helping in the implementation of the resolutions of the Security Council.

(Mr. Jha, India)

So the situation is very serious for the United Nations, Mr. Secretary-General. It is a situation which to us really appears extremely critical. It is an extraordinary situation when, practically, Asia and Africa are ranged against colonial Europe. That is the situation in Katanga: colonial Europe is overtly or covertly giving assistance in frustrating the objectives of the United Nations, frustrating or making ineffective the resolutions of the United Nations, and in doing so, going directly contrary to the wishes of the countries of Asia and Africa -- for here I think I can say that without any distinction the countries of Asia and Africa are in favour of, and strongly support, you and the United Nations operations in the Congo.

This situation does not augur well for the United Nations or for the maintenance of good relations among vast areas of the world. We read this morning about a decision by the Government of France not to allow aircraft going into the Congo to fly over their territory, United Nations aircraft among them. I would like to know how this fits in. How does this fit in with the United Nations resolution I have just read out?

(Mr. Jha, India)

It is a direct act of violation, and act of hostility to the United Nations, and I think we should be justified in inquiring very politely from the French -- for they are a polite people, their very language is polite -- how they reconcile this with their membership of the United Nations, their permanent membership of the Security Council and the resolutions that have been adopted by the General Assembly.

Are we small Powers alone to bear the brunt of the responsibilities of the United Nations? It is really an impossible situation, and time we spoke out. We do not like normally to speak out in such a way because we know that there are difficulties: most nations have their own preconceived notions and positions. Therefore, it is not a tradition of my delegation to speak out and hurt different countries, to throw bricks and that kind of thing. But this is a very dangerous situation. Here we have our five thousand troops, part of the United Nations force, seriously endangered and fighting in hostile territory. It is very difficult to fight in the country of another people. They do not want to wage this kind of warfare. They have been obliged to do so in the interests of the United Nations, for the maintenance of peace, yet here we have other nations doing everything possible to see that this fight of the United Nations is a failure, that these men are killed, that they disappear from the Congo. That is really what it comes to, and we have to consider it in that light. There can be no condoning this kind of behaviour on the part of many countries who are Members of the United Nations, certainly not countries which have been designated as big Powers.

Now I come to the question of the cease-fire. As I have said, I do not like the expression. This is an operation by the United Nations for the maintenance of law and order, and there are no belligerents ranged against each other. There cannot be. Katanga cannot be a belligerent. It is not a State. It is a rebel group. It is a rebel, dissident group, fighting the Central Government and, of course, this time, fighting the United Nations. We cannot give it the status of being a participant in a cease-fire. The only question is as to when the United Nations should halt, or modify, its current operations. In other words, when should you give the order to go through with, or to stop the course of present plans, which General Rikhye has laid before us. That is the only question.

(Mr. Jha, India)

It is not a matter of a cease-fire, and we will not accept that it is. Of course, in common parlance, one may speak of a cease-fire, but it can never be that. It is not a war between two States. It is merely a question of law and order and the United Nations simply have the duty to restore this, and to repel attacks against them.

As I have said, the objective of the United Nations is peace. No one wishes to fight. The United Nations really did not go into the Congo to fight a major war. At the same time, as I said earlier, unless one can be sure that there is no repetition of the kind of thing which forced the United Nations into the present situation -- unless the possibility of that kind of thing were delimited -- I do not see that any change in the United Nations attitude would really be justified, subject always to capabilities, military and otherwise, on which I cannot say very much. I should think that the minimum that is necessary for a cease fire would be the rounding up of mercenaries. They must surrender -- they must be caught or surrender -- because as long as they are there we shall not have peace in the Katanga. General Rikhye has very rightly pointed out that this is the hard core. They are reckless people and adventurers. They are receiving huge amounts of money. They are financed by the Katangese Government, by the Union Minière. These people have so much at stake, and it is such a comfortable thing for them to get all this money, this luxury, that they are prepared to risk a great deal.

Certainly, we think that there can be no possibility of eliminating attacks on the United Nations unless the Katanga gendarmerie goes to the barracks and lays down its arms. I do not say that we should undertake military operations in order to disarm them. That would probably be beyond our capacity, but unless Mr. Tshombe and the others who control them -- or pretend to control them -- persuade, order or force them to do that, they will remain there with all their arms and equipment roaming about sniping, and perhaps some of the mercenaries will again excite them and we shall have a repetition of exactly the situation that we have now, under more adverse circumstances, because by then they will have built up their military strength with the help of people who are supporting them, morally at least, at present.

(Mr. Jha, India)

Secondly, in regard to the cease-fire and the negotiations that Mr. Tshombe and Mr. Adoula are likely to have, as I said earlier, we are entirely in favour of these talks. They must talk to settle their differences, but they are really parallel matters. There is no organic connexion between them. One cannot say that the very moment Mr. Tshombe begins talking with Mr. Adoula all firing must cease. I do not see any connexion between the two. Once we do that we give a breathing space to the gendarmerie and others. Mr. Tshombe's past behaviour has shown that he is not altogether a reliable customer. The two courses, in our opinion, are parallel. One has to decide, having regard to the objectives of the current United Nations operations in Katanga, when there should be a cessation, a modification, a halting. The talks can go on also. Mr. Tshombe has done nothing to encourage us in the belief that he has really changed. The inflammatory speeches continue. In regard to his statement on 26 November, it will be recalled that at that time I pointed out that this seemed to me to be extremely dangerous; that we must be prepared now for the worst. At that time the hostilities had not started, but evidently it was all pre-planned. The kind of incitement contained in those statements continues. Even today, I believe, I read some statement that they would fight to the last, that they would do this, that or the other, and even Tshombe, I believe, has been making similar statements. So, really, where is the guarantee that, just because he begins talking everything will be alright, and the operations should cease?

Again, I think Mr. Tshombe should be persuaded by your representatives in the Congo, and by others -- I hope by the United States -- to make a categorical declaration that he accepts the fundamental law, and that his negotiations will take place within that framework. Secondly, that he should order all of the gendarmerie to go into the barracks, and promise that in future there will be no incitement against the United Nations -- promise, as well, to hand over mercenaries to the United Nations for disarming and deportation. Unless he makes these statements I see no connexion between the talks that may take place and the current operations in the Congo. The two are parallel, and if they meet at all they meet at infinity.

(Mr. Jha, India)

I am sorry that I have spoken at such length but many points are raised by your statement, and by the statements of Mr. Narasimhan and General Rikhye. I agree with the Ambassador of Ethiopia that we should give the maximum currency to the camouflage the cover that the mercenaries and the Katangese gendarmes are using -- the cover of civilian personnel, churches and Red Cross vehicles -- give them maximum publicity, though I am not sure how much of that we shall get. One of the most tragic aspects of this whole matter is the corruption of the international Press, the way in which they have tried to misrepresent the United Nations, the way in which they have tried to traduce it, the way in which they have given comfort to its enemies.

Mr. BARNES (Liberia): My delegation is very grateful for the information conveyed to us this morning by you, Mr. Secretary-General, and by General Rikhye and Mr. Narasimhan concerning the United Nations operations in the Congo.

First of all, I would like to express our condolences to those members of the United Nations whose forces have sustained losses and injuries in these operations. I am sure that they will take consolation from the fact that their nationals died for a worthy cause which is devoted to peace in Africa.

My delegation was one of the co-sponsors of this resolution of 24 November 1961 which conferred upon you authority to take vigorous action, including the requisite measure of force, to expel mercenaries from Katanga. We consider these mercenaries to be the backbone of Mr. Tshombe's secession. I want to assure you that my delegation stands foursquare behind this resolution, that my Government fully supports you in the action which you have taken to implement this resolution in an effort to expel these mercenaries and restore law and order in Katanga.

I must reveal that some approaches have been made to my Government concerning this matter of a cease-fire. But the position of the Government of Liberia is that no cease-fire is feasible until the objectives of the Security Council resolution of 24 November have been achieved, that is, the expulsion of these mercenaries and the restoration of law and order.

I noticed this morning that the representative of Nigeria said, in speaking this morning -- perhaps I misunderstood him -- that the members of the Security Council, while being the architects of this resolution, were not supporting it. I presume he referred to those Members of the United Nations who we all know are opposing the United Nations resolution in this respect.

Mr. NGILERUMA (Nigeria): "Some Members", I said.

Mr. BARNES (Liberia): I would like to assure you that my delegation is determined to lend its support to the restoration of law and order in the Congo because as long as the situation continues, there will be no peace in Africa. We consider that any cease-fire at this time would have the negative effect of

assuring the secession of Katanga because if there is a cease-fire, that would be either a tacit or expressed admission of the failure of the United Nations in these operations. As a matter of fact, who would sue for the cease-fire; would it be the United Nations? If the United Nations were to sue for the cease-fire, that would be an admission of its failure and the secession would thereby be assured.

The second negative effect that a cease-fire would have is that it would cause the civil war which the United Nations has been attempting to prevent. We have a letter from Mr. Adoula in which he rejects out of hand, and rightly so, this offer by the United Kingdom to arrange a cease-fire in Katanga. Naturally, if there is a cease-fire, I would not preclude the possibility that the Central Government would undertake -- even though I presume that in its present state it might not be prepared to do so -- an invasion of Katanga with disastrous effects to it and you would then have a civil war in the Congo.

Another negative result would be that a cease-fire would affect, in large measure the effectiveness of the United Nations itself. We know what effect the arrangement of this cease-fire had upon the prestige of the United Nations. Therefore we believe that these operations ought to be carried out to a conclusion.

With regard to the question of the meeting of Mr. Adoula and Mr. Tshombe, certainly there have been previous Security Council resolutions to the effect that any political solution of the Congolese situation must be one that is determined by the Congolese people themselves. Therefore we do not preclude the possibility of a meeting. However, if there is a meeting between these two men, it must certainly be predicated on assurances by Mr. Tshombe that the mercenaries will be expelled from the Congo and that Katanga will be reunited with the Congo. Therefore, Mr. Secretary-General, if you are taking any initiative in this direction we will support this meeting between Mr. Adoula and Mr. Tshombe in that context. But Mr. Tshombe will have to state that he will cooperate with the United Nations in an attempt to have the mercenaries expelled from the Congo and will co-operate in the reunion of Katanga with the Congo.

I was rather disturbed this morning over the revelations made to us that because of the paucity or inadequacy of United Nations troops, victory in Elisabethville cannot be clearly assured. Evidently, if the United Nations operation is to succeed, we must have troops. General Rikhye has pointed out to

us that the troops which are now in operation need rest and that there are no fresh troops with which to replace them. It seems to me that a further appeal must be made to the African States in particular, as well as to Asian and other States of the United Nations who are in a position to offer troops, to strive to make troops available as soon as possible. A prolonged operation in the Congo will have certain disastrous effects on the United Nations from the standpoint of material, manpower and finances. So that if Africa, Asia and other States which are contributing troops in the Congo will see the clear need for making fresh troops available, they will themselves be contributing to victory in the Congo. A knock-out blow must be administered as early as possible in these operations against the Katangese, that is to say, to the mercenaries. As I said, the United Nations is not fighting the Katangese; they are fighting these mercenaries and these mercenaries are in the forefront of opposition to the United Nations forces. Therefore we should, as far as we are able to, make our forces available to knock out these mercenaries, for as long as they are in Katanga -- and naturally they are being highly paid because of the resources of the Union Minière which are made available to them -- the secession of Katanga will be strengthened. I should like to join those delegations which have appealed to the other members of our group here and other Members of the United Nations to contribute as many troops as they possibly can toward these operations.

I again assure you, Mr. Secretary-General, that my Government supports you in these operations and that we are, naturally, prepared to do whatever we can in order to assure the victory of the United Nations in these operations.

Mr. BOURGUIBA (Tunisia) (interpretation from French): To begin with, I should like to voice the sympathy of my Government to the people of Sweden, Norway, Ireland, Ethiopia and India for the heavy tribute which they have had to pay for the mission of peace that is being conducted by the United Nations. I fear that we may have additional occasion to express our sympathy to these Governments, but I believe that the cause for which these men fell is worth their

sacrifice. However, for the sacrifice to have been worthwhile, we must make certain that they have not fallen in vain.

The situation as described this morning by you, Mr. Secretary-General, and your direct assistants, leads me to distribute these questions into three categories: a military one, a political one and a psychological one which would serve as a backdrop for this entire drama.

With regard to the military question, my Government and I, short of being accused of cynicism, would not hesitate to say that after the various adventures and tribulations suffered by the United Nations in the Congo, there is no longer any time for and there can no longer be any question of half measures.

(Mr. Bourguiba, Tunisia)

There can no longer be any question of half measures. I would even put it quite crudely, that whatever the sentiments that the present situation in Katanga may arouse among interpreters and critics, of good or bad faith, the work that has been started must be finished regardless of everything. Criticism or no criticism, it is time to go all the way. But in order that the job be completed it is necessary, nay indispensable, that the appeals you have addressed to certain Governments should have tangible echoes, especially as regards enhancing the means and potential and resources for which the United Nations has appealed quite properly.

My Government has endeavoured, within the limits of its means, material means on the one hand and political on the other, having in mind the situation that prevails in Tunisia, to respond -- I shall not use the word "favourably", but I shall simply use the word "honestly", "decently". On the same question of the means at the disposal of the United Nations, I should like in passing to bring out some points which you, Mr. Secretary-General, and your assistants have made. This relates to the outrageous assistance being granted by Rhodesia. I am not using the phrase "Rhodesian Government" as regards pinning responsibilities. But it is a patent fact that ammunition and means are going through or coming from Rhodesia to help and to bolster the gangs which direct the action against the United Nations. If I understand correctly, moreover, Rhodesian airfields have been systematically used by the few aircraft used by Katanga against the United Nations.

I believe that in some situations like this one a useful purpose may be served in remembering the principle of hot pursuit. It is a matter, of course, of international legal definition, but it would be useful for Rhodesia to be made to realize -- and not just by diplomatic representations -- that it is playing with fire.

On the political plane, since the outset of the responsible resolution, which forced the United Nations to meet the attacks of the Katangese authorities, we have witnessed a doffing, a removing, of the masks on the part of some of the great Powers which in the Security Council did not dare register their opposition to the resolution, which resolution in fact gives you, Mr. Secretary-General, discretionary power of judgement and action. They did not dare to oppose that

(Mr. Bourguiba, Tunisia)

text in the Security Council. But no sooner was the text implemented, then they had to drop the mask, thus demonstrating that the positions they assumed in the Security Council were only for public consumption and that in fact they were not in agreement at all. So much so that the momentum of the force opposed to our action is most powerful.

Pressures are being applied upon you, Mr. Secretary-General, and pressures, I imagine, are being applied upon the various Governments on whose aid you have counted. I have no compunction in saying that this is dishonest; it is indecent. The Press campaigns or parliamentary campaigns, or what have you -- and I am thinking of the rather sad farce which took place in the House of Commons in London -- seek to foist a ceasefire upon you and seek to foist upon the Central Government of the Congo negotiations on a certain basis. Speaking of a ceasefire, I believe that the September experience is eloquent enough, so much so that it makes one rule out the very principle of a ceasefire.

One can have a ceasefire with people in whose word one can have some faith when it is given. The ceasefire of September came at a moment of United Nations weakness, but it was used by our adversaries in order to prepare to do worse. As for negotiations, the precedents of various negotiations, conversations, conferences and even agreements with people who are now trying to run Katanga demonstrate that their word is not worth anything and that the solemnity of their signature is without value.

When some parties are trying to impose this upon you, whom do these parties think they are deluding? Even granting that there were negotiations, do law officers or policemen, when they are in hot pursuit of a delinquent or a criminal, or when they have invested him in his lair, give up at that point? So much for negotiations.

Through the telegram of an African Chief of State an attempt is now being made to cause the Security Council to gather. Is this an even more formal attempt to impose a ceasefire? As far as my delegation is concerned, we feel that the Security Council's resolutions, especially the last one, are eloquent enough and speak for themselves. They cover the problems adequately. So that there is simply no cause for a renewal or a resumption of the discussions or the deliberations on this subject.

(Mr. Bourguiba, Tunisia)

To wind up this political aspect of the question, I think it would be indecent to vouchsafe to Tshombe and his assistants a status which would make him speak with the Central Government of the Congo on a footing of equality.

Let me turn to the psychological aspect of what is happening. Much has been said of the lack of accuracy and honesty of the Press reports relating to the situation in Katanga. Now this is not calculated to surprise us by any chance. Of course not. Unfortunately, we went through a similar experience some months ago. But what is worse is the attitude of certain Governments of the great Powers, the Governments of the United Kingdom and France which have been sabotaging the purposes of the United Nations resolutions by their very actions. And I should like to pick up the thoughts expressed by the representative of Nigeria. Their actions have served to demoralize or have endeavoured to demoralize the United Nations Forces which feel that they have no moral backing in the work they have to do, and they also discourage any readiness which other Governments may have had to respond favourably to the pressing appeal for aid which we have addressed to them.

For some days now we have been watching a novel kind of development. Until now -- and this is worthy of praise, and we wish to express our gratification at this -- the Government of the United States of America has displayed in these developments an attitude which can only deserve our unstinted praise, our expression of satisfaction and gratitude. I am speaking both as an African and as a Member of the United Nations in general.

(Mr. Bourguiba, Tunisia)

However, for the past few days, we have noticed in the Press and on the international scene certain manoeuvres applying pressure on the Government of the United States to impel it to alter its stand. I would refer to the latest meeting in Paris, at which allied policy on Berlin was discussed and, for instance, such questions as the Berlin question were used as a means of applying pressure -- or, still more, of applying obstruction -- as regards the problem of the Congo and what assistance should be granted or withheld in this regard. This is very serious, because it gives the impression to the small States -- and we are a host of small States which are far weaker than the great Powers -- of being used as pawns on the European political chess-board.

I join with my colleagues who have suggested -- and I would rather stress it more strongly -- that we undertake a counter-attack in the fields of publicity and propaganda in order to explain to the people of those countries, and especially of the United States, the host country of the United Nations, that it is not merely a question of humanity which impels certain countries to call for a cease-fire. After all, the United States went through a four-year civil war to prevent a secession. If I may be permitted to digress on a matter which has nothing to do with the problem of Katanga itself but which has a bearing on the problem involved I would point out that some countries do not demonstrate the same kind of humanity when hundreds of thousands of Algerians are killed, but when a few dozen mercenaries are pursued or expelled, when a few irresponsibles who are playing their game express indignation, they are upset. There is something intolerable about this where, since the United Nations itself is involved, the destiny and the prestige of the United Nations are at stake.

These are the observations I thought it useful to make on behalf of my delegation. Believe me, my Government will continue to stint no effort in offering such assistance as is within its capabilities for the fulfilment and completion of your mission, Mr. Secretary-General, and we shall make every effort to assist you to counterbalance all the efforts made to apply pressure upon you and against the United Nations effort.

Mr. CISSE (Senegal) (interpretation from French): I shall be very brief, because it is rather late. On behalf of the delegation of Senegal, I should like to associate myself with the expressions of sympathy that have been addressed to the United Nations troops that have fallen victoriously for the cause of peace under the banner of the United Nations.

(Mr. Cisse, Senegal)

The present discussion on the Congo has a particular character in view of the gravity of the situation and also because of certain noxious activities with which we are faced in pursuing the noble purposes of our efforts in the Congo.

I must say from the outset that my delegation wishes to congratulate you, Mr. Secretary-General, on your determination to carry out the resolutions of the Security Council and of the General Assembly. However, I should like to point out one fact, namely, that the President of the Republic of Senegal, who is also the President of the group of twelve States of the African Union and Malagasy, has received a telegram relating to negotiations between Mr. Tshombe and Mr. Adoula.

The Government of Senegal, as has been stated at this session by its President, recognizes only one authority in the Congo: the Central Government which is headed by Mr. Adoula. The Government of Senegal wishes to make it clear that its policy is always one in pursuit of peace and negotiation, but that it will not intervene as regards any negotiation whatever unless it is specifically requested to do so by the United Nations and by the Central Government of the Congo.

I wanted to give you this information, Mr. Secretary-General, and I should like to conclude by informing you that Senegal supports you in this regard within the framework of the decisions taken by the General Assembly and the Security Council.

Mr. PERERA (Ceylon): My Government has also instructed me to express the sympathy of the Government and people of Ceylon with those States that have contributed to the United Nations Command in the Congo and that have suffered grievous losses.

The position has been very well stated this morning by Ambassador Jha of India and, if I may be permitted to say so, we endorse everything that he said. Further, Ambassador Jha has put the case for the continued operation very well.

We are indeed at a critical point in this matter, and any effort which we could now make to the ultimate fulfilment of the resolutions adopted by the Security Council should be made now and not at a later stage. We are disturbed by certain features on the international scene. One which has been referred to already is the attempt by the international Press, if I may put it that way, to build up Tshombe and also to build up Katanga with a romantic halo by stating that the Katangan people are justified in opposing the United Nations. This, we think, is not only reprehensible but also a direct attack on the purposes for which the United Nations decided to send troops to the Congo.

(Mr. Perera, Ceylon)

The Government of Ceylon played a not inconsiderable role in respect of the resolutions of 21 February and 24 November. It has, therefore, like all other Member States of the United Nations, but perhaps a little more, having been responsible to some extent for those resolutions, an added responsibility. We stand by the paragraphs of the resolutions which clearly reaffirm the basis upon which the present operation is taking place.

We go a little further. The only justification for the existence of United Nations troops in the Congo has been clearly set out in the original resolution of 21 February and has been reaffirmed in the resolution of 24 November.

Therefore, if we cannot fulfil our purposes, we might as well get out. But that is not the position now. We cannot, within reason, get out. There is almost an open declaration of war against the United Nations by certain Powers, as Ambassador Jha said, some acting overtly and others covertly. It is a challenge, and that is what makes the situation so serious.

I listened with great attention to what General Rikhye said in regard to the present position of the operation. There is a build up in the Press both in this country and in what we might call "colonial Europe" that the enemy is the United Nations, whereas in fact it is Katanga, led by Tshombe. It is quite obvious that Tshombe, who is a mere puppet -- no one can deny this -- backed by certain colonial Powers, has dared to defy and oppose the United Nations.

It is this very man who has been talking now of cease-fires or attempts by certain interested parties to bring about mediation between the Central Government of the Congolese Republic and Katanga, led by Tshombe. Are we correct, according to the resolutions of the Security Council, in authorizing you, Mr. Secretary-General, or in any way giving you implied authority to follow such a procedure?

As has been pointed out by Ambassador Jha, a cease-fire as such in law should be between equals on a certain basis. But that is not the case here. I think that in military history there have been examples of cease-fires in order to bury the dead on both sides. But that is not the case here. Here a cease-fire will be used by Tshombe -- and undoubtedly he is not a man who can be taken at his word -- to further arm himself against the United Nations. In these circumstances, we believe any attempt at a respite which would enable Tshombe to arm himself further should be rejected.

(Mr. Perera, Ceylon)

There is also another aspect which arises from General Rikhye's report, and that is that civilian installations, such as houses and churches, are being used for attacks and sniping at the United Nations troops. Although the military commanders on the spot are the best judges of the situation, in this context the Government of Ceylon feels that if civilian installations are being used for that purpose, adequate retaliation is also justified. I think that this is a case which falls within international rules regarding warfare. A civilian cannot seek protection if he enters into a conflict on the basis of attacking. A civilian can only be protected, according to the rules of warfare, if he behaves as a civilian and, in that case, of course, an attack by the other side would not be justified.

But in this particular instance this is not true. We have been told that civilian installations are being used, whether by the Katangese or the foreign personnel or some of the Belgian settlers who are still in Katanga. We feel, Mr. Secretary-General, that this aspect must be dealt with. If it is not dealt with, we shall never be able to fulfil the purposes of the original resolution as well as the purposes of the resolution of 24 November.

Finally, as to the relationship between a so-called cease-fire and the military operation itself, of course, the Congolese people will ultimately have to decide their own political future. This was not stated in the resolutions. The resolutions were adopted on the basis of the protection of the territorial integrity and the political unity of the Congo. We feel that we must not lose sight of that fact. And in this respect we wholly condemn a cease-fire as being quite unnecessary.

Also, a clear mandate has now been given to you. That mandate is contained in the resolutions. Speaking for the Government of Ceylon, we do not feel that any further mandate is necessary on this question. If any further mandate is necessary at all, it would be the mandate you would have to give, if the need arose, to the military commanders as to how they should act with respect to the Belgian civilians or the Katangese civilians who are firing upon United Nations troops and are really attacking them.

That being the case, Mr. Secretary-General, we do not think it is necessary to have further meetings of the Security Council. I do not think that the resolution of 24 November could be improved upon in any way. Every aspect has been

(Mr. Perera, Ceylon)

covered. Thus as we look at this resolution, both in its preambular paragraphs and in its operative paragraphs, we feel that all aspects have been covered. In the present context of things, there is nothing which a new meeting of the Security Council or any meeting of the Assembly could adopt.

As has been very well stated by Ambassador Jha, it is not a question of belligerency. The mission of the United Nations in the Congo has been clearly stated. That mission is a mission of peace. But in that mission certain actions have to be taken in the context of what is presently happening in the Congo. And certainly what is happening in the Congo is quite clear to all. What is happening in the outside world is also clear.

I do not wish to refer to the decisions which have been taken by various legislative bodies either in the United Kingdom or elsewhere the purposes of which have been to tie the hands of the United Nations -- and that means your hands, Mr. Secretary-General -- in respect of a decision of the Security Council. At least it has been an attempt to slow down this "process", if I may use that word, or to impair the effectiveness of these resolutions.

We should not be deterred by such actions. If armaments are necessary for the continued operation of the United Nations forces, and they are not forthcoming from sources that were approached originally, Mr. Secretary-General, we must explore other sources. That is the position of the Government of Ceylon in that matter.

(Mr. Perera, Ceylon)

Finally, we think that even those nations that have placed their fullest confidence in you and given their fullest support to the extent of their resources, would be disheartened if for a moment we do anything which would detract from the resolutions and then, far from getting further help, we might have less help or no help at all.

That being the case, I submit on behalf of the Government of Ceylon that any kind of talks that may take place as between the Congolese Prime Minister or any one else, whether in the form of mediation or direct talks, should be completely unrelated to the operation. The operation must go on. If at all, we must try to prevent any kind of talks of this nature, knowing very well who Tshombe is, what he was as far back as 1 July 1960 and what he is now. There has been enough material provided in the documents of the United Nations which show that this man began without a single bullet or a gun, and today we find him fully armed.

That is the case, Mr. Secretary-General, and those are the views of the Government of Ceylon.

Sir Muhammad ZAFRULLA KHAN (Pakistan): Mr. Secretary-General, we are grateful to you and to your colleagues, General Rikhye and Mr. Narasimhan, for the detailed information that you have furnished us this morning, some of which we have not yet had time to study. We shall study it with interest and attention in detail.

We associate ourselves with what has been said by some of our colleagues in appreciation of and by way of condolence with regard to the casualties suffered by the forces of the Governments and the peoples who are partaking in the military operations in the Congo. We also venture to felicitate them on the fact that their nations have played a glorious part in the struggle which has much greater significance today, in view of the developments that are taking place, than was hitherto attached to it.

We are disquieted not by the military situation in the Congo, which can be managed without any very great difficulty, though we do appreciate that the United Nations forces operate under disadvantages and handicaps as against the Katanga forces which have advantages, facilities and a position which is much more favourable than that of the United Nations forces, but what disquiets us

(Sir Muhammad Zafrulla Khan, Pakistan)

is a division within the United Nations, a division which is appearing more and more as a challenge to the very continuance and existence of the United Nations. We hope that it will be adequately met, but in that respect the responsibility is to some degree shifting. We ought to take note of that and we ought to prepare ourselves to meet that responsibility. If I may put it bluntly, I may be wrong but I believe the situation is developing where some of the Powers are saying in effect, though not in words, "You have an increasing voting power in the United Nations, now see also whether you can run it on that basis". We have to furnish the answer. Unfortunately, the operations in the Congo are being sought to be made a test in respect of that challenge. We have to take up that challenge or we have to pack up not only in the Congo but also in New York.

In that respect, I, so far as it in me lies as the representative of Pakistan, can assure you and the United Nations of our full support. But again I shall be forgiven if I point out not that we do not fully share the responsibility of what we have joined in undertaking, but that an effective answer must come from the African States. They must take on a much greater share of the effective prosecution of these operations. I do not mean to belittle the share that they have hitherto taken, but in view of this challenge, as I said, the responsibility is shifting and they must be prepared to take on that responsibility to give an answer, "Yes, we have the votes and we also have the responsibility; we know the responsibility and we shall discharge that responsibility to the full". What they and we do not have we cannot produce, and that is on the financial side. But what we have we should be prepared to commit more effectively. I think we should make up our minds with regard to that matter.

Long before I began to feel this very keenly, I mentioned to one of our colleagues round the table, and I am sure he will recall it, not on this ground but generally also, that the time had come when in order to make our voices effective in this respect we must increase our commitments with regard to the Congo and with regard to the forces that have to be committed there. I shall say no more on that subject.

(Sir Muhammad Zafrulla Khan, Pakistan)

With regard to the cease-fire, I agree with all that has been said by my colleagues. I cannot appreciate, I cannot even understand, these efforts behind the scenes to bring about a cease-fire. What is the objective? Do they want the Secretary-General or his representative to approach Mr. Tshombe and to say, "Well, we have made a mistake; now can we sit down and stop this fighting". Have we made a mistake? Are we prepared to admit a mistake? What is the object? There is no attempt to persuade Mr. Tshombe to withdraw from his position so that the purposes of achieving the objectives placed upon him and the United Nations as a duty and an obligation by the Security Council might be achieved without further bloodshed. Surely the appeal has been made in the wrong direction. It is a different direction in which that appeal has to be made, and of that there is no sign.

I shall submit very respectfully to you, Mr. Secretary-General, what I did respectfully submit to two or three of your colleagues -- Mr. Narasimhan was one of them -- at a previous meeting, namely that we are unfortunately very weak on the side of publicity. At that time I could not urge it with as much strength as I wanted to because the United Nations had no chief in power. Now that you are in power I trust that you will look into this matter. A good deal of what we are told here puts a completely different aspect upon what is going on there -- and we have in respect of those matters a cast iron case -- but we do not see that case at the time when we ought to see it in the press. Surely the press is not so hostile to the United Nations that it would not print these things. I think that we should be more on our toes in presenting these things to the press so that public opinion both in this country and abroad should have their perspective set right with regard to this matter, and I trust that you will pay the necessary attention to this aspect of the matter also.

Let us hope, therefore, that our military effort will be intensified, for time is against us and not in our favour. We shall not, relatively speaking, grow stronger in the Congo. Our numbers might increase, but the numbers and the material on the other side might increase more quickly, and we shall therefore grow weaker as time passes.

(Sir Muhammad Zafrulla Khan,
Pakistan)

Therefore, our efforts should be intensified so that the time will come when pourparlers can honourably start, when Mr. Tshombe says: I undertake that all military resistance to the achievement of the objectives laid down by the Security Council shall cease on my side, and I undertake to co-operate in carrying out those objectives, namely, the evacuation of all mercenaries, the restoration of law and order, making it possible for the United Nations Force to pursue the objectives laid upon it by the United Nations. Then the process of conciliation can start, and I shall conclude by saying that when that process starts, I hope it will not be forgotten that the United Nations itself also has set up a machinery for the purposes of conciliation.

Mr. WIRJOPRANOTO (Indonesia): My intervention will be brief since the speakers who have preceded me have set forth many points which I can endorse fully.

I should like to recall my statement at a previous meeting of this Committee that we are entering a new stage in our own Committee. I would draw attention to the fact that up to now the Committee has shown unanimity and sincerity with regard to the United Nations operations in Katanga. This was not always the case in the past, but now it is hoped that this united action or consensus of the Committee will continue until the Congo operation has been completed. This constitutes a big "plus" in the situation.

At the same time, however, I must state with regret that there is also a "minus" point. I cannot say at this stage whether the situation will continue or whether it is only an episode. I refer to the position of some of the big Powers -- which are not communistic at all -- concerning the Congo operation. Some big Powers, which are not at all communistic, have shown an ugly face. These are the die-hard colonialists. They constitute the obstacles in the Congo operation. And this is the "minus" in our action.

I should like to say a few words in this connexion. Personally, I wish to pay my respects to Dr. O'Brien, who has had the courage to say something about this. Perhaps some countries and some groups will condemn him, but I think that history will mark the name of Dr. O'Brien for his courage in this matter.

(Mr. Wirjopranoto, Indonesia)

Because of the position of the die-hard colonialists, the big Powers which claim to be the leaders of the world, we of the small countries are here for the purpose of helping these big Powers to come back to the right path. Some of the small Powers of Africa, Asia, and even Europe are united, are comrades in arms in Katanga for the purpose of fighting an evil -- in fact, for fighting the remnants of colonialism. It is a satisfaction to us that the United States joins in this action in the sense that it is continuing to lend support in our fight against a terror in Katanga.

What we are doing in Katanga is no more and no less than trying to implement fully the Resolutions of the Security Council. In this we are united. As I recalled at our previous meeting, it is essential that we should be and should remain united with the Central Government, and I have noted here proof that such co-operation still holds. I hope that this kind of co-operation and collaboration with the Central Government will be maintained.

The essence of our action in Katanga is to establish a healthy basis for law and order, because law and order are essential for the benefit of the whole Congo. But I am astonished that our efforts to lay the foundation for law and order are being obstructed. A certain country -- the United Kingdom is here written -- is asking for a cease-fire. The Press is also making noises concerning a cease-fire.

I had the opportunity a few days ago in another room to state our views concerning a cease-fire. My delegation strongly opposes such an idea. In your statement, Mr. Secretary-General, at the beginning of this meeting, you said that you were ready for a cease-fire, provided the objectives would be safeguarded. I agree with the representative of Nigeria that the word "safeguarded" should be changed. In addition, I do not agree with your statement that you are ready for a cease-fire. No, it is not possible, Mr. Secretary-General, it is not possible to have a cease-fire with terror.

(Mr. Wirjopranoto, Indonesia)

I might understand it if the other party in the country was a government that was recognized in international relations; in that case the problem of a cease-fire would be different -- assuming that there is a need for a cease-fire. But we are confronted by gangs. So I hope, Mr. Secretary-General, that you will, as the representative of India has proposed, publish your statement as a United Nations document, if you agree. But please think over the idea of a cease-fire.

I am not very happy about matters in Katanga because our operation is meeting with some handicaps. We are trying to capture the mercenaries or to cause them to leave the Congo, leave Katanga. But these people are mixed up with the population, and that is the biggest handicap, I understand fully. Therefore, we cannot escape having some bad results. There may be some innocent civilians who will be hurt or killed, but I think we have to accept that. I am not so happy about that. I cannot consider Mr. Tshombe, however, as an innocent civilian, I must consider him as somebody who has brains, who is able to make calculations -- and in this matter he is making very bad calculations.

In any event, there is the fact that Tshombe is there; I think that Tshombe is responsible for all this. In this connexion we expect our friends from Africa, who are also against any kind of bloodshed, to bring some pressure on Tshombe to accept the United Nations operation in Katanga, as we have done before through persuasion, through negotiation, to change his mind in the sense that Tshombe should accept the United Nations operation. We expect this pressure to be brought from our friends from Africa for the purpose of helping the United Nations operation. To a certain extent, Tshombe is a dangerous man.

I think, however, that the Union Minière is more dangerous than Tshombe. The Union Minière is a State within a State and is responsible for all these bad things. I think it is also a matter of time before the power of the Union Minière will be liquidated by the United Nations forces. In this connexion, the United Nations forces are really fighting against colonialism in Africa.

I do not see any reason for having a meeting of the Security Council because such a meeting would only help to promote confusion, and enough confusion already exists.

(Mr. Wirjopranoto, Indonesia)

Mr. Secretary-General, you mentioned in your statement an appeal, a request to President Sukarno to send troops to Katanga for the Congo. I should like to be frank with you. Before you made this request, we had already stated that we were going to reconsider our position when we withdrew our troops from the Congo. This means that we are thinking about sending our troops again to the Congo. You asked me why you have not received an answer up until now. I should like to tell you, Mr. Secretary-General, that there are some complications in our political situation in Indonesia. After our defeat of the Netherlands proposals here in the United Nations, the Netherlands now continues its political provocations. It is now going to ask to form a state within a state there; this we cannot accept. It is a matter of "to be or not to be" for us. In this case we also are fighting colonialism in our country. But I think that it is a matter of time only, and I hope it will be a short time. On 19 December, this month, President Sukarno will make a very important statement on this matter. Therefore, in this connexion, I do hope we will have an answer concerning your request.

Finally, Mr. Secretary-General, I should only like to say that our delegation, our Government and our people give full support to your actions and conduct to end the terror. What I can say to you is this: Go ahead, no hesitation, and may God bless you.

Mr. LOUFI (United Arab Republic): I shall merely make a few observations owing to the lateness of the hour.

To begin with, I should like to state that I agree with the preceding speakers. I also wish to associate myself with the condolences conveyed to the countries which have endured human losses in soldiers, which have lost men in this war which has been launched against the United Nations in Katanga.

My delegation was a co-sponsor of the resolution of 24 November in the Security Council. As we did in the Security Council, we ask that this resolution be implemented. In this regard, I wish to congratulate you, Mr. Secretary-General, for the way in which you have begun to carry out this resolution. You have done so, as the resolution says in fact, with vigour.

I am also grateful to you, Mr. Secretary-General, as well as General Rikhye and Mr. Narasimhan, for the information you have given us, information which is extremely useful and which deserves careful consideration by us.

Mr. KAPONGO (Congo, Leopoldville)(interpretation from French): First of all, Mr. Secretary-General, I should like to thank you for inviting me to participate in this meeting which is dealing with the question of my country. My delegation was very happy to note that you are dealing with this question which is our concern, and my country renews its earnest thanks for having convoked, on the occasion of any change in the situation in the Congo, the Advisory Committee in order to obtain its advice and counsel as to what it is best to do in the present situation. The confidence that the young Republic of the Congo has in the United Nations is fully justified.

(Mr. Kapongo, Congo (Leopoldville))

My delegation wishes to request you to continue this vigorous and just action, and to say that we cannot find sufficiently warm terms in which to express our appreciation.

But another far from negligible fact has appeared to aggravate a situation already very bad. If the United Nations has had to resort to the use of force in Katanga, it was because it had no alternative but to expel the mercenaries.

In this affair, the United States of America has not been slow in coming to our aid. I do not wish to recount the history of the matter, but ever since the discovery of the Congo the United States has been the only country in the world to support us, and even assisted the Belgians while they were in the Congo. As early as 1884, France, Germany and England wanted to invade the Congo and take possession of it, for Belgium was a small nation, and it was always the United States which helped us. We still affirm that. My delegation, together with my nation and its people, once more repeats its thanks to one of the great countries of the world, the United States.

We are grateful for the action of the United Nations aimed at overcoming the secession. But we are today amazed at the intervention of a group of dissident politicians in the United States, all mercenaries in the service of the Société générale belge, who are spreading about false statements in all the newspapers and even forming organizations in opposition to our country. I beg of you, Mr. Secretary-General, and I beg of all the representatives present here, that you have confidence in our Government. Do not believe what these people say. These manoeuvres are, in fact, copied from the tactics which Washington learned in order to free the United States from the English yoke. It is always the same old policy. We find here again the United Kingdom making attacks and exerting pressure on the United Nations. You know quite well that the principal company in the Union minière is the Société du Katanga, in which the United Kingdom is a stockholder. These financiers are always eager to get their hands on Katanga to divide up the profits to the detriment of the people.

We have confidence in you, Mr. Secretary-General, and in order to demonstrate this confidence I should like to read to you the text of a telegram which our Government has just addressed to the nineteen members of this Advisory Committee:

(Mr. Kabongo, Congo (Leopoldville))

"The Government and people of the Congo are threatened by a coalition of certain imperialist countries trying to enslave the Congo. These countries are at present actively endeavouring to prevent the application of the resolutions of the Security Council. Thousands of human beings have been killed by mercenaries and by the Katangese gendarmerie with the knowledge of outsiders. Hundreds of villages have been burned. Tens of thousands of refugees fleeing from the atrocities of Tshombe's followers are daily being bombarded by mortars. All of this has failed to touch the sensitive souls of the colonialists or to arouse the indignation of Heads of State who today echo the calls to defend the servants of the private interests. The Congo cries out: Beware of the incalculable consequences of this blind policy! The Congo does not stand for war or conquest of any kind but it does demand respect for its territorial integrity and for the resolutions of the United Nations. In the face of the danger which threatens the United Nations and whole of Africa, we ask the support of your Government. With highest expressions of esteem on the part of my Government, Bomboko, Minister for Foreign Affairs".

(Mr. Kapongo, Congo (Leopoldville))

It is needless for me to go on any further, for this telegram interprets the feelings of the whole Congolese people. We can but repeat with insistence that you yourselves are witnesses to the evil intentions and the inhumane actions of those who at present call themselves the liberators of the people.

The Congolese have never had the intention of keeping the Congo entirely for themselves. That would be indeed very difficult for us to do, for we could not exploit the country by ourselves, not having the means to do so. But ever since its discovery, applying the principle of the open door, we have allowed and still allow all countries to work in our land. We are astonished to see the great Powers interfere in this question. We urgently request, indeed we beg, the United Nations to come to our assistance in this unhappy situation.

I know, Mr. Secretary-General, that you will be told that your life is in danger. The death of your predecessor justifies such fears. But have courage: the Congo will one day thank you, the Congo will cause your name to go down in posterity.

We have learned with deep emotion that friendly countries, sister countries who have generously come to the aid of the Congo, have lost men in defence of our country. In the name of my Government and my delegation, I assure these countries of our deep and sincere sympathy. We ask them only to take account of our situation. We are men; we shall do our duty and pay our debt of gratitude.

In the matter of the secession of Katanga, our Government refuses to engage in any negotiations with Tshombe until Katanga is again returned to us. We therefore beg the United Nations not to arrange a cease-fire in order to allow our Prime Minister and Tshombe to meet. This is not a good solution, for it would give Tshombe an opportunity, as usual, to prepare himself. He is a man without faith. Never has any head of State -- as he calls himself -- been known to lie in such a shameless fashion. The tactics used by the United Kingdom and the pressures which it is trying to bring to bear on the Secretary-General are but a manoeuvre to allow Tshombe to get ready for another attack on us. It would be a pity if a country was allowed to be against the United Nations. That has never happened. A general once said to Hitler, "No one can expect to conquer the whole world". That could also be applied to Tshombe.

(Mr. Kapongo, Congo (Leopoldville))

I do not wish to take up the Committee's time any longer. These are the views of my Government, that even if negotiations are in progress the United Nations should continue its operations until our objective is attained. My Government will then be ready to negotiate with Tshombe and thus to enable the Congo to live in peace.

Mr. NGILERUMA (Nigeria): I am taking the floor again because I wish to expel a small misapprehension in the mind of my friend, Mr. Barnes, the representative of Liberia. When I said that the Members of the Security Council, founders of the United Nations, were not co-operative I was surely not referring to the Afro-Asian members of that Council. After all, they do not come within the category of big Powers. I was referring to some of the big Powers who were not co-operating, and therefore I should like to expel the misapprehension from his mind.

At the same time, I should like to refer to one or two points, which I consider to be very important, that were raised by my friend, the representative of India. He said that the Acting Secretary-General should get in touch with the French delegation to find out what the papers had published about the prevention of use of air space. I should like to emphasize this point, because in the papers which we were reading this morning there was a reference to the Sahara: that the French are trying not only to prevent the use of air space in France, but in the Sahara also. The question of Sahara is a controversial one. I do not know whether it is under the sovereignty of France, whether it is their property, therefore, it would be very interesting for us Africans to know whether they are very serious about this matter. We should like to know for certain.

The representative of India raised another point in connexion with the ceasefire. I should like to emphasize that in any negotiations a ceasefire is an opportunity given to Mr. Tshombe and his supporters, not only in Rhodesia but other neighbouring countries, to build up strength again and attack once more the United Nations. The previous ceasefire, last October, was broken by the Katangese. Therefore, it is very essential for us to know that no chance will be given to them to build up strength again, and attack once more -- because we are not quite sure of Mr. Tshombe's sincerity.

The representative of Indonesia said that African countries should use their good offices to influence Tshombe to negotiate with the Central Government. I should like to point out that he is not acting on his own. He is acting under the authorities who are interested -- big Powers again -- in Union Minière, and who have investments there. If Mr. Tshombe had been left alone I am quite sure he would have got in touch with the Central Government and settled the problem.

(Mr. Ngileruma, Nigeria)

It is a pity that he is not left to himself, but is acting under the direction of the big Powers interested in Union Minière. In connexion with the big Powers, I should like to mention again that we read in the paper this morning that at a meeting in Paris, Canada and Norway supported America in its stand. We must be very grateful to Canada and Norway for siding with America in this very good stand which we Africans believe will settle the problem of Katanga. We are very grateful to them.

I should also like to associate myself with other speakers in extending the condolences of our Government to India, Sweden, Ireland and Ethiopia for the loss of soldiers that they have sustained in the cause of peace, and in their effort to restore peace and tranquility to Africa. I am quite sure that their death has been a noble one; that their names will live on in the records of world history.

Finally, I should like to thank you, Mr. Acting Secretary-General, General Rykhe and Mr. Narasimhan for the very clear picture you have given to us. We shall study it and refer it to our Governments for study also, so that they may be in a position to guide us. In order to emphasize my point that Mr. Tshombe is not acting on his own, I should like with your permission, Mr. Acting Secretary-General, to read a small article which appeared in "News from Nigeria", a Government publication issued by the Information Division, Federal Ministry of Information, Nigeria on the thirteenth of this month. It is entitled, "On the Brink of War" and reads:

"World opinion is that Tshombe is at best a puppet of some foreign powers, at worst an ambitious political rascal who wants power at all costs.

"The world also knows that it is only the Central Government that can unite the country, and that without national unity the Congolese must suffer endlessly, helping thus to place mankind perilously on the brink of war.

"How in the face of these no longer disputed facts the United Nations can continue to play a role of uncertainty in the Congo and only because a few vested interests, whose greatest champion is Britain, will not allow firm action beats the imagination.

"Britain's case, of course, is that it is not in accordance with the Charter and spirit of the United Nations to interfere, by force, in the internal dispute of any country.

"As far as we understand it, however, the principal purpose of the United Nations is to avert war and to destroy, if it can and before it germinates, the seed of strife and disorder anywhere and everywhere.

(Mr. Ngileruma, Nigeria)

"Were that not the ultimate aim and objective of the world organisation, few would consider its membership worth their while."

What the Nigerian people are trying to say is that if the countries which were the founders of the United Nations are not co-operative their existence in this Organization is useless; that they should either co-operate, giving the fullest support, or take a stand that will be known to the whole world. I have mentioned this before; and many friends from Asia, India, Pakistan and Indonesia have stated that Africa should take an initiative in the affairs of the Congo. I should like to mention to my friends that we appreciate their co-operation, but at the same time would remind them that all the countries of Africa are small, new and very weak. We have not sufficient armies. This is why we say that big countries should not make public statements which will break morale. Though we have small armies, we are determined to support the United Nations financially, militarily and morally to the best of our ability, but I would emphasize that when a neighbouring country such as that of Sir Roy Welensky under the aegis of the British makes all kinds of unfriendly statements, and tries to undermine the authority of the United Nations, it is in Africa, a neighbour of the Congo, and will break the morale of all small African countries. That is why we are not in a position to increase our armies, or to do what we should have liked to do if we had been in a strong position.

The Acting SECRETARY-GENERAL: I have two more speakers on the list, after which I will give the floor to the representative from Liberia.

Mrs. ROSSEL (Sweden): First of all, I would like to thank all those who have expressed their condolences to my Government for the loss of Swedish lives in Katanga; I would also like to extend our condolences to those other Governments who have had similar losses of soldiers' lives.

The Swedish Government would like to reaffirm its confidence in the manner in which you are carrying out the task of implementing the resolutions of the Security Council. We believe that you are doing the best you can and judging all the activities to the best of your ability. The Swedish Parliament is behind the Swedish Government in its support of the Congo activities. We know that the main purpose of our presence in the Congo is to restore law and order, through negotiation and conciliation first of all. We regret as much as anyone the fighting that has occurred and is now going on, but it certainly is not the fault of the United Nations that this is the case.

We have noticed with appreciation that there seem to be possibilities of a meeting between Mr. Tshombe and Mr. Adoula and that he does not seem to press for a cease-fire as a condition for talks to take place. Of course, the United Nations should be instrumental in arranging such a meeting. We have also heard that the United Nations troops have now reached Camp Massart. I do hope that we will very soon have news about the prisoners. We have followed what has happened to them with great anxiety and would like to be informed as soon as possible. We hope that the news will be good.

In these last days there have been difficulties in the refugee camps, both within the camps and between the refugees and attacks from the outside. I hope that it is quiet now and that there will be order and tranquillity.

You, Mr. Secretary-General, and many of those who have spoken have said that we need more forces soon. I would like to endorse your appeal to all countries, members of this Committee and to other countries, who can give us forces, as I said, as soon as possible because we need them immediately. We also need money and material.

(Mrs. Rössel, Sweden)

I would like to end this very brief statement by saying that I agree that we also need more publicity and accurate information. We have seen some change, in that information is better and more accurate but we need an even greater improvement.

Finally, I would like to say, as many others have said, that we appreciate the stand taken by the United States and we agree with the statement that was made by Mr. Rusk on 13 December.

There are, of course, many other things which I should like to say here but we have had opportunities in the past and I am sure we will be given further opportunities in the future to discuss with you, Mr. Secretary-General, and with your staff certain details of the work that is going on.

Mr. RITCHIE (Canada): If I speak very briefly, it is not because there are not a number of questions that have been raised today upon which I would like to dwell but because of the lateness of the hour.

First of all, on behalf of the Canadian Government I would like to express heartfelt condolences to those who lost troops in the Congo in this last operation.

I would also like to say, Mr. Secretary-General, how much we appreciate and how heartily we support the wise, steady and determined guidance which we have had from you during these last trying days.

We are to some extent encouraged by General Rikhye's report of the now-gathering speed of the action which is being taken, as we understand it, to restore the safety of our United Nations forces in Elisabethville and to keep open the necessary communications on which the entire effort in the Congo depends. We cannot, of course, contemplate a situation in which Tshombe's forces will be able to renew the kind of harassment which precipitated the present crisis.

With regard to the longer-term aims in the Congo, we may talk of peace; that is our object. And we may also talk of victory and defeat. It seems to my Government that in the long term the only United Nations victory in the Congo would be a victory for the forces of conciliation and the unity of the Congo. In that connexion, we very much welcome the initiatives which have been made for bringing Premier Adoula and Mr. Tshombe together and we hope very much that this meeting may have a fruitful outcome because we feel that conciliation is the weapon of the United Nations. We also feel that the only real defeat that the United Nations could experience in the Congo would be the continuance and spreading of violence and bloodshed in that unhappy country.

Mr. BARNES (Liberia): I merely wish to assure my colleague and brother from Nigeria that it was a mistake on the part of my delegation to even have suggested that Nigeria could even have thought that Liberia was not giving support to the resolution of the Security Council.

Also, I was wondering whether it would not be useful to make available to all Members of the United Nations a summary of our proceedings here in this Committee, as is done to the Security Council members.

In addition, I have been wondering whether the Secretary-General might not want to issue a Press statement, since this is a private meeting, to the Press concerning the reaction of the Advisory Committee to issues such as the cease-fire and the meeting between Mr. Adoula and Mr. Tshombe. Perhaps this would counteract to some extent the propaganda against the United Nations and give a correct version of our meeting here to the Press. There is always a possibility that what happens here will be distorted. The Press receives an inkling of what happens here and that information is more or less distorted.

The Acting SECRETARY-GENERAL: I just want to take a few minutes of your time by way of winding up. Several interesting points have been raised in the course of the discussions and I shall take up these points one by one.

I am happy to note that a number of members of this Committee have expressed their thanks to the United States Government for its co-operation with the United Nations activities in the Congo and its appreciation of our objectives. I want to take this opportunity of expressing my grateful thanks to the United States Government for this appreciation, understanding and co-operation. I also want to offer my grateful thanks to the countries of Asia and Africa which have come out solidly behind me and behind the United Nations operations in the Congo, as revealed by a public statement released immediately after their meeting the day before yesterday.

Regarding the question of the cease-fire, which has occupied the major portion of our discussions this morning and this afternoon, let me clarify my position. I said in my statement earlier that "I am ready to consider reasonable proposals for a cease-fire provided that our objectives are safeguarded. At the same time I am sure the Committee will agree that for us to stop short of our objectives at the present stage would be a serious setback for the United Nations". The point I wanted to make was this. If there are reasonable proposals from responsible quarters, I am prepared to consider these proposals. It has never been my intention and it is not my intention at present to contact Tshombe directly or to communicate with him in any way. When I said "reasonable proposals", I was thinking only in terms of proposals emanating from responsible quarters. These proposals should be in conformity with the relevant parts of the Security Council and General Assembly resolutions, and they should particularly relate to the unity and territorial integrity of the Congo and the eviction of mercenaries. When such proposals come to my knowledge, I intend to give them very serious consideration.

Of course, in my endeavours to implement the resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council, and particularly the Security Council resolution of 24 November 1961, I always try to be guided by considerations which include giving due regard to the wishes of the Central Government of the Congo and having the benefit of the advice of this Committee. I can assure you

that I will never agree to comply with any wish or proposal from any quarter without recourse to these very necessary channels of advice. Of course, the sole purpose of the United Nations in launching our present operations in the Congo was based on the desire of the Central Government of the Republic of the Congo, and I will never lose sight of this fact. In this present problem of a cease-fire or a temporary suspension of military operations, or whatever form you may call it, I can assure the Committee that due regard will be paid to the wishes of the Central Government of the Congo and that I will never commit myself in any way without having the benefit of the advice of this Committee.

According to the latest information, which came to us a few hours ago, Tshombe has fled from Elisabethville. Of course, this information is not yet confirmed, but perhaps it may be of very great material assistance to me and to you in considering this aspect of our operations.

As far as the views of the Central Government of the Congo are concerned, this has been made clear by the document which was released earlier this morning. Prime Minister Adoula's letter addressed to Mr. Linner is self-evident. Of course, whatever decision I may wish to make in regard to this question of cease-fire or the temporary suspension of activities for a certain time -- for instance, twenty-four hours or forty-eight hours -- will be based on the Prime Minister's wish, and of course I will be primarily guided by the advice which you have so very kindly just offered to me.

I shall now come to the next point. As regards the declaration by France denying the overflight of United Nations aircraft over its territory, I am taking immediate action, in the light of the Security Council resolutions and particularly the resolution of 24 November 1961. I understand that the Government of the Congo (Brazzaville) has also today withdrawn permission to allow the United Nations air flights over its territory. I am also giving immediate attention to this in the light of the Security Council resolution of 24 November.

Regarding my earlier request for troops, particularly from the countries of Africa, I just want to add one word. My feeling -- of course, after consultation with our military and civilian advisers and our representatives on the spot -- is

that the United Nations will be able to implement the resolutions of the Security Council in a very short period of time if we have ground forces, immediately, of the size we had last year. It is the view of our advisers that as far as the eviction of foreign mercenaries in Katanga is concerned, if we have the necessary strength that we had last year, the United Nations will be able to implement this particular aspect of the resolution in two months.

(The Acting Secretary-General)

So let me appeal to you once again to make the necessary requests to your respective Governments to supply the United Nations with the necessary resources so that the United Nations will not be burdened unnecessarily, both financially and materially, in the Congo.

About the reported encouragement given to Tshombe by the Government of Rhodesia, I have conveyed all available information to the representative of the United Kingdom, and only this morning I had the opportunity to convey to him the latest information we received from that quarter, expressing my concern over this information. Of course it would not be to the advantage of the United Nations in the pursuit of its operations if I revealed the nature of the information we received this morning, and I hope the Committee will bear with me.

Regarding the release of statements, particularly my statement and Brigadier Rikhye's statement, to the Press and the public as suggested by the representative of India, I think it is the consensus of opinion here that this proposal is endorsed by the Committee. That is my understanding, and, if so, I will see to it that my statement and Brigadier Rikhye's statement will be made available to the Press this afternoon. Of course, as usual, Mr. Narasimhan and Brigadier Rikhye will brief the Press on the relevant substance of our discussions today, apart from the release of these two statements.

Regarding the transport of Ghanaian troops to the Congo, I have to report that there are still some technical difficulties, and very shortly a General from Ghana is arriving here and he will enter into immediate consultations with Brigadier Rikhye. I hope I shall be in a position to report fully to this Committee at our next meeting.

Regarding the condition of the Swedish prisoners now detained by Tshombe's men in Elisabethville, presumably they were removed by the Katangese troops when Camp Massart fell into our hands today. As you perhaps know, these Swedish soldiers are believed to be in an African commune just outside Elisabethville. When the Katangese gendarmerie evacuated Camp Massart it is believed that they took them with them. Of course I will make any further news available to the Committee as soon as the news is made available to us.

(The Acting Secretary-General)

Regarding the request of the Government of the Congo (Brazzaville) for the convening of a Security Council meeting, it is outside my competence to make any observations, but my information is that all the great Powers are against the idea of convening a Security Council meeting.

I hope I have covered all the main points raised by the members of this Committee. I will see that another meeting of the Advisory Committee is called as soon as circumstances warrant it. Thank you very much for your kind attention.

The meeting rose at 2.35 p.m.

CORRIGENDUM

United Nations Advisory Committee on the Congo

Verbatim Record of meeting No. 64, held on Saturday,
16 December 1961, at 10.30 a.m.

Sir Muhamad Zafrulla KHAN, Pakistan

Page 73-75, 8th line

Replace "him" by "the Secretary-General".

CONFIDENTIAL

Meeting No. 64
16 December 1961
ENGLISH

UNITED NATIONS ADVISORY COMMITTEE
ON THE CONGO

Meeting at United Nations Headquarters, New York,
on Saturday, 16 December 1961, at 10.30 a.m.

<u>In the Chair:</u>	U THANT	The Acting SECRETARY-GENERAL
<u>Members:</u>	Canada	Mr. RITCHIE
	Ceylon	Mr. PERERA
	Ethiopia	Mr. GEBRE-EGZY
	Federation of Malaya	Mr. KAMIL
	Ghana	Mr. QUAISON-SACKY
	Guinea	Mr. DIALLO
	India	Mr. JHA
	Indonesia	Mr. WIRJOPRANCTO
	Ireland	Mr. AIKEN
	Liberia	Mr. BARNES
	Mali	Mr. TRAORE
	Morocco	Mr. BENHIMA
	Nigeria	Mr. NGILERUMA
	Pakistan	Sir Muhammad ZAFRULLA KHAN
	Senegal	Mr. CISSE
	Sudan	
	Sweden	Mrs. ROSSEL
	Tunisia	Mr. BOURGUIBA
	United Arab Republic	Mr. LOUTFI

The Acting SECRETARY-GENERAL: At the last meeting of the Congo Advisory Committee I promised to consider, in consultation with you, the next steps to be taken in implementation of the Security Council resolution of 24 November. We finally worked out such a plan of implementation as I intended to discuss with you, after consulting with our colleagues in Leopoldville and Elisabethville, as also with the Central Government of the Republic of the Congo.

You are, however, aware of the campaign of violence and inflammatory speeches unleashed by Tshombe and his collaborators from the time that the Security Council resolution was adopted. You also are aware of the subsequent outrages, murders and ambush of United Nations personnel and of the plan to capture the airfield at Elisabethville and to prevent ONUC forces from communicating freely with each other. These events forced the United Nations to take defensive action regarding the progress of which General Rikhye will report to you shortly. To that extent the plan that we had in mind for implementation of the Security Council resolution of 24 November has been overtaken by events.

The objectives of the present operation have been set out in my public statement of 10 December, and especially in the penultimate paragraph, as follows:

"The purpose of the present military operations is to regain and assure our freedom of movement, to restore law and order, and to ensure that for the future the United Nations forces and officials in Katanga are not subjected to such attacks; and meanwhile to react vigorously in self-defense to every assault on our present positions, by all the means available to us. These military operations will be pursued up to such time, and only up to such time, that these objectives are achieved, either by military or other means, and we have satisfactory guarantees in this regard for the future, not only in Elisabethville but over the whole of Katanga. We shall also need to be satisfied that we shall be able to go ahead with the implementation of the Security Council and General Assembly resolutions, and especially the latest Security Council resolution of 24 November 1961, without let or hindrance from any source."

(The Acting Secretary-General)

That is the relevant part of the statement I released last Sunday, 10 December. Since the present operations were initiated, the propaganda, not only in Elisabethville but elsewhere, to misrepresent the present activities and exaggerate the loss of life and property suffered by civilians, has gathered momentum. We have tried our best to brief the newspapers at this end and to keep them informed of the true facts, and progress of the operations. Some of the newspapers and wire service agencies seem to have particularly biased reporters at the Congo end, and print their dispatches without any verification. I am amazed at the lack of regard for the normal standards of journalism by these newspapers and wire services.

Two days ago we received information that the radio station in Usumbura, Ruanda-Urundi, was also broadcasting some of these atrocity stories, and we have taken action to lodge an urgent protest with the Belgian authorities. There have also been many efforts to secure a cease-fire, especially now that it seems likely that the United Nations may succeed in achieving its short-term objectives.

I am sure that I am speaking for all of you when I say that we do not want one unnecessary casualty to be suffered, or one superfluous round of ammunition to be fired. To that extent I am always ready to consider reasonable proposals for a cease-fire, provided that our objectives are safeguarded. At the same time, I am sure that you will all agree that for us to stop short of our objectives at the present stage would be a serious setback for the United Nations. In this connexion I am having circulated to you a copy of a letter dated 14 December from Prime Minister Adoula to Mr. Linner. I should also mention that recent statements by Tshombe, Kibwe and others indicate that there is no eagerness on their part to have a cease-fire.

In regard to the cease-fire, you are aware, of course, of the position taken by the Government of the United Kingdom, because their attitude has been made public. I should also inform you that similar appeals for a cease-fire have been received from the representatives of Belgium and Greece, and that yesterday the President of Congo (Brazzaville) sent a communication to me, and to the President of the Security Council, calling for an urgent meeting of that Council with a view to deciding on an immediate cease-fire. The President of

(The Acting Secretary-General)

Malagasy Republic has also appealed for a cease-fire. In the same connexion, you must be aware of the exchange of letters on 8 December, by which the Government of the United Kingdom indicated their willingness to make a certain number of bombs available to us for use with the Canberra jets. You must also be aware of my subsequent letter, addressed to the Government of the United Kingdom, in which I withdrew the request for these bombs. The reasons for my decision, which had to be taken without consultation with members of the Advisory Committee, in view of the information I had that a governmental crisis was imminent in the United Kingdom over this bomb issue, have also been made known in my letter to Sir Patrick Dean.

(The Acting Secretary-General)

While on the same subject I must inform you that Tshombe sent a telegram to President Kennedy, in regard to which I was consulted. My attitude was that we would do everything in our power to facilitate a meeting between Prime Minister Adoula and Tshombe, provided it was held at a venue which was acceptable to the Prime Minister. My present thinking is that such a meeting might take place at Kitona and, once again, we have given assurances in regard to the personal security and safe conduct of Tshombe for the duration of these negotiations.

I know that you must be extremely anxious to have news of the progress of the operations and the assessment of the resources available to us. I will ask General Rikhye to give such an appreciation. You are all aware that I addressed a special appeal to all African countries to assist us with additional troops at this critical juncture. Thus far, I have received a favourable response only from Tunisia, which has so generously agreed to send us a contingent of 300 troops. I have already thanked Mr. Bourguiba for this. I have not yet received any reply from the President of Indonesia, to whom I also addressed a special appeal for troops some days ago.

Before giving the floor to General Rikhye, I should like to refer to two things. One is that Prime Minister Adoula has sent a letter to Union Minière regarding payment of taxes. A copy of the Prime Minister's letter is being circulated to you for your information. Secondly, I wish to refer to a question that I posed at our last meeting in regard to the release of verbatim records of the Advisory Committee meetings. I have given further thought to this matter and would recommend to you that we do release them to the members of the Security Council, in view of the direct responsibility they have in regard to the ONUC operations.

I will also ask for the distribution of a paper prepared by our legal office in regard to the legal provisions that can be applied to mercenaries who are apprehended.

I will now give the floor to General Rikhye. In view of the very confidential nature of his statement, I would like to suggest, if you all agree, that General Rikhye's statement be off the record. I give the floor to General Rikhye.

General Rikhye made a statement off the record and then continued as follows:

General RIKHYE: The sequence of events from which we have built up this information follows the Security Council's resolution of 24 November. On 25 November Tshombe called for a fight against the United Nations. On 26 and 27 November a so-called Colonel Alain, leader of the non-Katangese movement in Katanga, made inflammatory speeches in the various parts of the city. On 28 November Tshombe went to Camp Massart and called on the Katanga armed forces to fight the United Nations to the death. That evening ONUC representatives Mr. George Ivan-Smith and Mr. Brian Urquhart were arrested, beaten up, and you know the rest of that story. A Gurkha soldier was shot in the back and an officer of a Gurkha battalion was arrested and later removed from Elisabethville. On 2 December Katanga forces in Elisabethville stood to. On 2 December and 3 December road blocks were established in the area of the tunnel and certain other parts of the town as indicated, when several Swedish and Norwegian soldiers were captured. On 3 December, Kimba had a press conference in which he issued a last warning to the United Nations.

The same day, a Swedish medical team consisting of a Captain-Surgeon and an orderly were shot at at the tunnel, the orderly being killed and the officer captured. On 4 December a road block was established on the road junction leading to the airport. On 5 December that road block near the airport was re-enforced, a Dornier aircraft carried out reconnaissance and the gendarmerie near the airfield strengthened its position. ONUC headquarters was surrounded by the gendarmerie and it was at this stage that ONUC representatives felt that the United Nations would be obliged to take military action in order to remain with impunity in Elisabethville.

The tactics of the Katanga gendarmerie have been, in the main, to use civilians as cover. For instance, they established a machine gun and a mortar position in the mission house of the Seventh Day Adventists. They used Sabena officers and villas near the airport, which led to the arrest of certain Sabena civilians thought at that time to be mercenaries and since released. They have used a hospital as an observer and machine gun post. They have used the grounds of consuls, from where mortars have been firing at United Nations positions. They have used up to fifty cars, painted with the red cross and

(General Rikhye)

flying the Red Cross flag, carrying armed soldiers and machine guns, this fact having been acknowledged by Mr. Olivet, the representative of the International Red Cross in Elisabethville, who requested United Nations assistance in order to prevent the continuation of such activity.

(General Rikhye)

A group of mobile mortars under the command of a Portuguese mercenary has been going around the town and shooting at it from various points, on several occasions deliberately firing at non-United Nations targets in order to build up anti-United Nations feeling. Immediately after the mortaring Katanga Radio and other allied Radios and Press services put out news that the United Nations fired those particular mortars.

The psychological aspects of the war being waged against the United Nations has already been brought to your notice by the Secretary-General. From the military point of view I would like to submit that such reports, particularly to a person who gets two different accounts, makes that person inclined to try and arrive at a figure about half way. For instance, we have been giving out our casualty figures, which have been very slight, whereas the Press reports from the other side have indicated very heavy casualties. The average man in the street is inclined to take the middle line. He thinks that the United Nations is not disclosing its full casualties and that the Katangese possibly are exaggerating their casualties. Therefore, he thinks it should be about half way, which again is totally incorrect. We have put out our exact casualties as we are obliged to report to you accurately.

Civilians, that is, non-Katangese, who have been lately evacuating their families are joining in the fight as irregulars. Their tactics in the main are to fire at United Nations movements and, as soon as the United Nations starts to retaliate, to stop firing, to walk out of the house through a back door as a normal civilian. During the last few days Katangese and mercenaries have kept up incessant firing at the Baluba camp in order to cause panic. As you know, nearly forty to fifty thousand Balubas are herded into a very small camp and it is so easy to inflict heavy losses upon them. Up to this morning Baluba casualties have been 15 killed and 119 wounded. Katanga armed forces continue to use Union Minière telephone communications and other signal communications facilities. We also have an indication that some Dornier aircraft have used the Ndola Airport during the last forty-eight hours. It is understood that the use of this port was made under illegitimate cover.

(General Rikhye)

This has been brought to the notice of the British authorities who have now given us their assurances that they would try and prevent the use of Ndola even for such purposes. ONUC operations which started on 5 December are being carried out in phases. Phase One was: the build-up of our troops in Elisabethville; to clear the road-block near the airport; to clear the link road between the airport and ONUC Headquarters, and lastly, to clear the area of Headquarters.

Phase Two was: entering the town, the town being divided in two parts, and the United Nations Force also being organized in two parts. East of the town is the Irish-Swedish Brigade; West of the town is the Ethiopian-Indian Brigade. The local Commanders on both sides -- Colonel Wearn on the East and Brigadier Raja on the West -- are under the personal command of General MacEoin who arrived in Elisabethville to conduct these operations.

I would like to read out extracts of two reports which have been received from Elisabethville. The following is a report received late yesterday: The operation which was started early morning of 15 December has been planned in two phases. The first phase was the clearance of Avenue Stanley. This is the main road leading out of ONUC Headquarters in the northwest part of the town, towards the center of the town and Avenue Churchill, and in the area of the junction there is a very large stadium and theatre which has been a main centre of Katangese opposition. It also includes the capture of the ridge which is generally called the golf course area to the northwest of ONUC Headquarters and from where fire was being directed against ONUC Headquarters. This part was captured. This phase was completed successfully by 1100 hours local time Elisabethville.

The second phase of the operation includes the occupation of the Lido area, cutting off the Kipushi Road, which is cutting them off from their supply line to Rhodesia and physically assaulting Camp Massart. Simultaneously the Irish-Swedish Brigade was directed upon to capture the tunnel. At 2000 hours last night the second phase was under way. We have received a cable this morning informing us that our operations were proceeding successfully, and this report is up to 0600 local time at Elisabethville, which would be about midnight last night, New York time.

(General Rikbye)

The Lido area has been captured by the Ethiopian Battalion with little opposition, the gendarmerie withdrawing and leaving five dead. The tunnel area was captured by the Thirty-Sixth Irish Battalion. The Swedish Battalion is now engaged in an attack on Camp Massart and is encountering opposition. Our casualties up to this morning, that is, United Nations casualties, includes the total for the whole operation, which we are taking from 25 November: Sweden, 2 killed, 11 missing, 10 wounded; India, 6 killed, 1 missing, 13 wounded; Ireland, 3 killed, 24 wounded; Ethiopia, 2 killed, 2 wounded; Norway, 2 missing.

In the area of Manono the gendarmerie attempted to seize the town but they were repulsed in this and have been thrown out of the town completely, as well as from the area of the airport which was previously under joint United Nations-Katanga controlled. In other words, ONUC troops now completely control Manono.

As regards Kamina, we had reports that the Katanga gendarmerie, from the village of Kaminaville had deployed in the direction of Kamina. But they have not moved at all from those positions and the Baluba leader Kasongo Niembo, who is a friend of Tshombe has remained very quiet.

Concerning the Katanga air force, as you are aware, most of it destroyed on the ground. One Fournier and one Dove have been active to a small measure. We have been constantly after them and have been finding the various strips which they have been using, and we really have them on the run. They really have been quite ineffective. Although they did carry out another raid last night, it caused no damage ...

The Acting SECRETARY-GENERAL: Before I give the floor to members of the Committee, I should like to ask Mr. Narasimhan to supplement the statements just made by me and General Rikhye.

Mr. NARASIMHAN: I want to read out a cable which has just been received from Elisabethville, in view of the charges that have been so widely made and to some extent so widely reported about attacks on and casualties of civilians. This is a cable dated this morning at 1150 hours Elisabethville, which would make it about seven hours old. It says:

"Ethiopian battalion on Lido Ridge" -- you may recall that was the objective General Rikhye said earlier they were trying to reach today -- "continuously under heavy fire from snipers," -- and this is interesting -- "machine guns and occasionally mortars, from residences and office buildings west of Lido. Medium machine guns fire coming from direction of Union Minière installation. Fire seems to be directed from church itself which is in commanding position, as was case in September. Fire on Ethiopians has been so heavy that ONUC has had to give them mortar protection which so far has not been directed on the houses or buildings themselves. We are trying to warn all concerned by radio that continued use this residential area for attacks must necessarily be dealt with by normal military methods."

The cable adds:

"For your information Tshombe's house and US and UK consulates are on opposite side of Lido and are not involved."

Then Mr. Smith says:

"Guess what's behind the church? Medical institute of some kind."

That is the end of the message, but it adds:

"Reported that Swedish battalion now in Camp Massart".

You may recall that at 0600 hours this morning General Rikhye had the message that they were attacking Camp Massart and encountered this resistance. I thought this should also be on record.

Mr. QUAISON-SACKEY (Ghana): I thank you for giving me the floor first, Mr. Secretary-General, because I have to leave in order to speak in the First Committee.

I want to thank you very sincerely for the clear and detailed account which was given this morning by you, Sir, and General Rikhye as to what is happening in Katanga. You have not been left in any doubt as to the support which my Government is giving you in this operation. In our view, the present operation, which was long overdue and should have been carried out earlier, should be fully supported by all Powers. I just want to read two paragraphs from a communique which my Government has issued in this regard. It reads as follows:

"It is, of course, not the function of the United Nations to wage war; but when their authority is called in question, their officers murdered, their officials cruelly assaulted and armed attacks on their troops are openly planned by mercenaries in the pay of a puppet, then the United Nations has a clear duty to use the force at its command to protect itself and to enforce the mandate of the Security Council. In such circumstances, it is essential that military action should be swift and decisive. Only thus can the loss of lives and property be minimized, the authority of the United Nations vindicated and the danger of further foreign intervention checked.

"The Government of Ghana, which lost fifty-two soldiers killed in one incident alone in the Congo, is as anxious as any other Power to see peace restored in the Congo. But no cease-fire can take place until the last mercenary is removed from Katanga, law and order is re-established, the puppet administration of Katanga disestablished and the territorial integrity of the Republic of the Congo, including Katanga Province, assured."

I have quoted these two paragraphs in order to emphasize our stand, Sir, and our support for you.

We are very happy that you are attempting to arrange a meeting between Tshombe and Adoula. But our view is that this should take place not on the basis of a cease-fire but as a result of the operation that is being conducted presently. The operation should go on and Tshombe must be made aware of the fact that if he does not play ball with the Central Government the operation will continue. Therefore, I do not think that any talks which would be held between the two men should mean a cease-fire. My Government actually does not think the United Nations itself should negotiate with Tshombe because he only represents a provincial government in the Congo. If there should be any talks, the United Nations can only act as a catalyst which, in fact, we know you are doing.

(Mr. Quaison-Sackey, Ghana)

There is another aspect to this problem of political settlement which possibly has not been considered, and that is the possibility of the members of Parliament in Katanga going to Leopoldville. In other words, there is no reason why there should not be an emergency meeting of Parliament in Leopoldville. There is no reason why the members of Parliament, the senators in Katanga, should not go now to Leopoldville and attend the Parliament. Therefore, we think that a meeting between the two men and a meeting of Parliament could take place simultaneously with the operation to remove the mercenaries from Katanga.

The view of my Government with regard to a Security Council meeting now is that there is no need for it. The Security Council resolution of 24 November was very clear in its terms, and I do not think any useful purpose would be served now if a Security Council meeting were called. Of course, Sir, we would comply with your own prerogatives and wisdom in this matter because you have a right to call a Security Council meeting if you so desire. But I do not think any Power should bring pressure upon you to call the Security Council into session when there is no need for it.

With regard to troops, I want to announce that General Otu, who was in the Congo, is leaving Accra for New York to talk with you and General Rikhye as to the sending of troops to the Congo, troop movements, and so on.

These are the points which I wanted to make. In conclusion, may I at this juncture convey my condolences and the condolences of my delegation and Government to the Governments of Sweden, India, Ireland, Ethiopia and Norway for the losses which they have suffered in Katanga in the course of the United Nations pursuit of peace.

I think we have now reached a very critical stage in our operations in the Congo. If the United Nations gives in in any way, I am afraid the whole purpose of the United Nations being in the Congo will have been completely destroyed. That is why we feel that all support should be given to you, Sir. In fact, there is no reason why you should not appeal to the great Powers not to send any arms whatever to Katanga. My Government feels that even now a certain amount of arms is coming into Katanga from certain quarters. We should like you to consult the great Powers one by one, in order to make this point to them. If possible, an investigation should be held in Katanga itself.

(Mr. Quaison-Sackey, Ghana)

These are the points which I thought I should make now. The operation should continue, but the door should not be closed to any political talks which can be held behind the scenes.

Mr. GEBRE-EGZY (Ethiopia): I really do not have much to say, except to indicate our full support, Mr. Secretary-General, for the position you have taken.

On the question of the cease-fire, I do not believe that it is the task of any Government here to direct you to stop your work. I believe that the position of the United Kingdom is one that is not acceptable to us, and we have made known our position quite clearly.

In our view, the objectives of the United Nations must be attained, because the Organization can not go on suffering defeat after defeat. The consequences of another defeat, the consequences of vacillation, will be very serious. Therefore, I think the entire operation should continue until you achieve your objectives as outlined.

With regard to negotiations, there again we do not believe that the United Nations or any other Government should put Mr. Tshombe and Mr. Adoula on the same footing. If Mr. Tshombe wants to negotiate, he has to contact the Central Government. In this connexion also our position is quite clear.

I should like to speak quite seriously in respect of the question of troops. I would have thought that since action is now being taken all those countries which had troops in the Congo, and even those which did not have any in the Congo, would come to the rescue of the United Nations.

(Mr. Gebre-Egzy, Ethiopia)

Here I am bound to say quite frankly without any hesitation or reservation whatsoever that we expect all the African countries to come to the rescue of the United Nations and to come to the rescue of the Congo in order to make the United Nations operation a successful one.

In this connexion, I must be quite frank with you, Mr. Secretary-General, but it is not clear to me why the Ghanaian troops were not taken a long time ago. I have heard something to the effect that planes were not available. My information, however, is that the United States Government has been willing to give the planes. I heard this almost two weeks ago. I think there was a question of using one type or another type of aircraft. Of course, I am not a technician on planes, but all the same I feel very strongly that the Ghanaian troops, which have very kindly been offered by the Government of Ghana, should be taken directly to Katanga in order to help the troops there. My feeling is that unless this is done within the next two or three days, their arrival later on may not be of much use. The United Nations must have complete superiority of troops in Elisabethville, and I feel that this action should be taken immediately.

Speaking along the same line, I want to appeal to all African countries here and outside to help the United Nations materially and also by furnishing troops.

In this connexion, I want to express the appreciation of my Government to Tunisia for helping you, Mr. Secretary-General, when you needed help most.

Finally, I would like to ask you to issue, if it is possible, some sort of Press release about the Ethiopian troops having been attacked from a church. Many lies have been told about us and the truth, as it comes out now, should be made known to the public. I think this should be done immediately, because otherwise someone else might accuse the Ethiopians of destroying churches and I do not know what else.

Mr. NARASIMHAN: With regard to the last point made by the Ambassador of Ethiopia, the cable from which I read is a Press briefing cable which was addressed to Mr. Caruthers here. I saw a copy of it and I thought it was so important that I read it out. It has gone to them and action is being taken.

Mr. NGILERUMA (Nigeria): I wish to associate myself with those who have spoken before me in giving full support to the United Nations action in Katanga. Nigeria is giving full support militarily, financially and morally to the best of our ability. We are very sorry to see that the response to your appeal to the African countries to provide assistance has either been very slow or very small.

In this connexion, I would like to mention one thing which I think is relevant in the circumstances. When the big Powers, founder Members of the United Nations and members of the Security Council, speak or act in a manner discouraging to the activities of the United Nations and of the Secretary-General, it not only obstructs the activities of the United Nations but it might also weaken the moral of the small nations. When the small nations see that big countries like the United Kingdom and France speak in terms of preventing the use of their air space and in terms of withdrawing assistance which they have promised, this is received by all the countries of Africa with a sense of shock. All the African countries are very weak countries. We go to the Congo in order to support the United Nations, and in order to help the Secretary-General carry out the resolutions of the Security Council which were adopted by the Security Council on 24 November and at previous meetings. But it is rather amazing for all of us to see that members of the Security Council that sponsored or supported the resolutions are now opposing their implementation. This action will break not only the moral of the United Nations forces in the Congo but also the moral of the African countries that might have been thinking of contributing military or other forms of assistance. We feel that we are too weak to stand up to the opposition of the big Powers. We are sending our soldiers to the Congo in order to help the United Nations bring about peace and tranquillity. We are not sending them to be killed for nothing. If, after sending soldiers to the United Nations to help the Secretary-General achieve the minimum objectives as set out by the Security Council, some big Power members of the Security Council state that they are putting obstructions before us, I must admit that we cannot stand up to such big and strong opposition. That is why I think -- I do not know this for a fact, but I am guessing -- some of the African countries are hesitating to come out openly to assist the Secretary-General.

(Mr. Ngileruma, Nigeria)

With regard to the cease-fire, I am entirely in agreement with the previous speakers, the Ambassadors of Ghana and Ethiopia, that any cease-fire without the achievement of the objectives of the Security Council resolution means surrender by the United Nations. If the United Nations is to carry out the functions set out in the resolution adopted by the Security Council, there should not be any cease-fire until the minimum objectives, as you yourself, Mr. Secretary-General, have said, are achieved. You said until our objectives are safeguarded, but I would like to say until our objectives are achieved -- the minimum objectives should not only be safeguarded but they must be achieved.

(Mr. Ngileruma, Nigeria)

Of course, it would be a good thing for the United Nations to arrange political negotiations between the Central Government and Mr. Tshombe, provided the Central Government is agreeable, such negotiations to be held at a place acceptable to the Central Government. There is no point in agreeing to all the suggestions of Mr. Tshombe. The views of the Central Government must prevail. Therefore, the meetings should be held at any time and at any place acceptable to the Central Government.

Since the Security Council resolution of 24 November was adopted and the Secretary-General began to carry out the mandate given to him, the attitude of the United States has been very good and we appreciate it. That is the way the other big Powers should act. But although it is not my duty to enter into the question of the politics of the United States, I should like to mention one small point. We read in the newspapers that certain politicians are leveling strong criticism against the stand of the United States. It seems to me that the general public in the United States is really misinformed as to what is going on in Africa. They know very little of what is taking place there, and I am sure that the general public do not read the documents of the United Nations. Probably they rely on certain papers, some of which are biased against the United Nations, and some of them anti-United Nations. I do not think that the public are properly informed. Therefore, I do not believe that some of the criticism of the stand taken by the United States should be taken seriously; the people in the Government know more about the activities of the United Nations and of what is happening in Africa, particularly in the Congo. Therefore, such criticism should not be taken too seriously and the morale of the United States Government should not be broken. We Africans -- and I think that I speak for all of us at this table -- very much appreciate the stand of the United States Government.

It is now time for us to appeal to the big Powers to do their best to co-operate with the Secretary-General, to co-operate with the United States, morally, financially and militarily. Otherwise their public statements will break the morale of all small nations, including perhaps small European nations. Africans, Asians and Europeans who have sent their troops to the United Nations sent them in order to bring peace and tranquillity. No one would agree to send his brother to be killed in a foreign country. When I say "a foreign country" I have in mind

(Mr. Ngileruma, Nigeria)

the European countries which have sent their troops to the Congo; being an African myself, I would never refer to Africa as "a foreign country". But I am sure that those small European countries which sent their troops to help the Congo to settle its problems sent them in order to help the Congolese themselves in a friendly atmosphere.

The objectives of the Security Council resolution of 24 November are very simple and very clear. I would draw the Committee's attention to paragraph 4 which reads as follows:

"Authorizes the Secretary-General to take vigorous action, including the use of requisite measures of force, if necessary, for the immediate apprehension, detention pending legal action and/or deportation of all foreign military and paramilitary personnel and political advisers not under the United Nations Command, and mercenaries as laid down in paragraph A-2 of the Security Council resolution of 21 February 1961."

This was the mandate given to the Secretary-General, and if the Katanga authorities refuse to co-operate with the Secretary-General he has no alternative but to implement the mandate given to him by the Security Council. Therefore, the use of force is, in my opinion, legal.

I do not agree with the arguments of certain countries or certain politicians who say that the operations of the United Nations in Katanga are illegal; they do not follow the documents of the United Nations. What else can the Secretary-General do when the Katanga authorities refuse to co-operate? He has no alternative but to carry out his duties.

Therefore, I would say that there is no need to call a meeting of the Security Council to discuss any matter since the mandate given to you, Mr. Secretary-General, on 24 November and on previous occasions, is clear. Those who ask for a meeting of the Security Council are merely suggesting that a cease-fire should be negotiated unconditionally, and I repeat that any unconditional cease-fire means surrender by the United Nations; and if the United Nations fails in Katanga and in the Congo this time, the future of the Organization will be at stake. It will endanger not only the Congo, but also the whole of Africa, and perhaps the whole world. I feel sure that if the United Nations fails in the Congo, East-West will begin to struggle, and then the whole of Africa will become the battle-ground of East and West.

(Mr. Ngileruma, Nigeria)

Hence we must do everything possible in support of the United Nations and in support of the Secretary-General, not only here, but also outside the United Nations, where we must defend you, Mr. Secretary-General. When people begin to criticize the Secretary-General's activities, saying that they are illegal, we must not remain quiet. We must keep explaining to the people, particularly the Americans. The stand of their Government is most co-operative, but the masses, I am quite sure, are misinformed and misguided. They rely on the newspapers. They do not take any interest in reading United Nations documents or in holding discussions for the purpose of finding out what is going on. Therefore, we must support the Secretary-General.

Mr. JHA (India): I shall begin by making some preliminary remarks.

I was greatly struck by the statements made by you, Mr. Secretary-General, and General Rikhye, and I would suggest -- and this, of course, could be decided at the end of the meeting -- that these statements, properly edited, should be released as a United Nations document. I think that they are very informative. You have put the position very clearly and, after such editing as you might think necessary and as, of course, may be dictated because of the nature of these statements, I would consider it desirable to have these statements, as a United Nations document, released extensively to the press. They make absolutely clear the motivation behind the United Nations action and make clear what our objectives are and show the whole approach of the Secretary-General and the United Nations forces in the Congo to the entire complex question of the problems in the Congo.

(Mr. Jha, India)

Your statement also clears the air and gives the lie to a great many insinuations and allegations made about the motives of the United Nations, about their opposition to conciliation and all that kind of thing. I would suggest that you consider it and perhaps at the end of the meeting you might let us know how you feel about it.

The statements made by the Secretary-General and his assistants are extremely important. I would have preferred to study them in greater detail, but perhaps I could make a few preliminary comments.

In the first place, I should like to express on behalf of my delegation our profound admiration for the way that the United Nations Forces in the Congo are carrying out the mandate of the Security Council under your leadership and your instructions. I think that when the history of our times is written this will be a glorious chapter, a chapter of great co-operation of Asian and African countries in the common cause of peace and of strengthening of the United Nations. I should like to say on behalf of my Government that we feel very honoured and proud that our forces are fighting side by side with the forces of Ethiopia, Sweden, Ireland and other countries in this very difficult task, a task which requires great sacrifice and in which they are really fighting for the cause of peace and the United Nations.

Our troops have suffered casualties. They form the largest contingent in the Congo, and naturally the brunt of the burden of the fighting falls on them very largely. There are troops of other countries which have suffered casualties and we certainly owe a great tribute to all of them. I should like to express my sympathy to the delegations here for the loss of the personnel from their countries.

The statements made this morning resolve themselves, if I may say so, in various categories or compartments. First, there is the military situation which was very clearly stated by Brigadier Rikhye. He has quite rightly, if I may say so, pointed out that it is not possible for the limited number of troops in Katanga to carry on and achieve all the objectives, short-term and long-term, against forces which are well-equipped and, what is worse from our point of view, which are led by determined, ruthless mercenaries from Europe and Europe certainly has great experience of war -- whether that is a tribute to them I do not know.

(Mr. Jha, India)

So the military situation is something which we cannot ignore altogether. I would certainly agree with my colleagues here who have suggested that every effort should be made to bring reinforcements, more arms and equipment and everything else that may be necessary in that connexion because we feel that there can be no half-way course in this kind of operation. We had to start military operations against the mercenaries and the Katanga gendarmerie. This has really to be carried on to a successful conclusion not in the sense of destroying that army, but in achieving all the objectives which the Security Council resolutions lay upon the Secretary-General and the United Nations and, what is more, to ensure that there is no repetition of this kind of attack against the United Nations. I say this because, let us suppose, that the fighting ceases tomorrow and that there was a so-called cease-fire -- which seems to be bandied about a great deal in many quarters. What happens after that? The Katanga forces, the mercenaries, get a respite; they build themselves up again. They increase their armaments, they get aircraft; then the next time the same problems will arise and they have the advantage over the United Nations.

This is not a mere theoretical surmise because things happened in September and the United Nations had a cease-fire. It was expected that the cease-fire would be observed. As you know, the cease-fire has been criticized by many Governments, even many Governments which are not normally hostile to the United Nations. The cease-fire was undertaken in good faith. It was felt by the Secretariat -- you were not then in your position -- which took the advice of this Committee, and we all felt, "Well, we are, after all, in favour of peace and let us test the good faith of these people, let us trust in their word". So a cease-fire was arranged. However, from the very moment of the cease-fire, the cease-fire started being broken and breached by Tshombe and others.

So my Government is quite definite on this. We cannot face another situation like that. When we say this we have a right to say it because we have about 5,000 troops in the Congo and we would not agree to a premature cease-fire which means that after a little while you face the same situation in worse circumstances; you provide a chance for the Katangans and the mercenaries to build up, and they have every possibility of building up as there are great Powers and small Powers which today are giving them much open support, and a lot of covert support in arms in moral, in political support and all that.

(Mr. Jha, India)

So we cannot face that situation and we should like to say firmly that our Government would be very disturbed at any kind of premature cease-fire. Of course, we accept that the United Nations is not really carrying out a warlike mission there. We are not out there to conduct war, to conquer Katanga or even to conquer Katanga for the Central Government; that is not our function. But it is the duty of the United Nations to see that its forces are not subjected to the same kind of humiliating treatment, the same kind of attacks, the same kind of breach of faith to which they have been subjected in recent months. I would respectfully beg you, on behalf of my Government, to bear that in mind. I know that your views are very much the same as our views, but I do feel it necessary to reiterate this on behalf of my Government.

The second aspect that arises from what has been stated this morning and from the course of events during the last week or ten days is the political aspect of the Congo. In regard to the political aspects of the Congo situation, let us first take the internal one. Now, it is common ground that we all agree -- and this is a fact that has been affirmed and re-affirmed in United Nations resolutions -- that it is for the Congolese themselves to settle their differences. We are all therefore in favour of what has been termed "conciliation". We are all in favour of a strong Central Government, a unified Congo -- because on that the United Nations is quite firm -- whose independence and whose territorial integrity has been affirmed and re-affirmed many times. On that there can be no compromise. But subject to the maintenance of the unity, territorial integrity and independence of the Congo, we naturally hope and expect that the Congo will function on the basis of goodwill, conciliation among all its parties and peoples.

So I wish to make it clear that we have no objection at any time to any kind of conciliation between Mr. Tshombe and the Central Government or Mr. Gizenga and the Central Government or even between Mr. Gizenga and Mr. Tshombe. After all, these are the same people, they have to live together in one Congo. So I would say that we are not at all opposed -- in fact, we welcome efforts by certain governments, and here I might mention the United States Government, whose position in the whole of this business has been very clear, very honourable and, as my colleague from Nigeria has said, it has really been very heartening for the United Nations and for all of us.

(Mr. Jha, India)

So when they want to take any measures, to use their immediate influence, their great influence, for bringing about a meeting between Tshombe and Adoula, and when you yourself are prepared to give, and far as possible, assistance for that purpose, we have no objection; in fact, we welcome such a move. But we feel that there can be no conciliation except within the framework of the unity, the territorial integrity and the independence of the Congo. Of course, it is for Mr. Adoula to meet Mr. Tshombe on any terms that he wishes, but I should think that no meeting would be fruitful or consistent with the purposes of the United Nations unless Mr. Tshombe acknowledges unequivocally, and is advised by his many friends outside to acknowledge unequivocally, the authority of the Central Government and the unity and integrity of the Congo.

With regard to the political aspects, I would like to mention now what I might call the external political aspects of this whole question. Here I have already mentioned the very welcome, the very noble support, if I may say so, of the United States Government to the current Congo operations and to the measures taken by you, Mr. Secretary-General. But on the other hand, what do we see? There is opposition ranged against the United Nations by a large number of big Powers -- Powers as to which we always suspected that they were not loyal to the objectives of the United Nations although they did sometimes pay lip-service; they paid lip-service in the Security Council and outside, but we always had those suspicions about them. The present operation has revealed their motivations and brought them absolutely into the open. We have, here, for instance, the matter of the United Nations wanting to get ammunition for certain aircraft in the Congo. I do not know the exact nature of the transaction, but I am sure, Mr. Secretary-General, that you did not want it for nothing, that you were prepared to pay for it. But what do we find? A whole complex of political controversies arose around it. The British Parliament reverberated with the noise created by Members who did not want it, and the British Government themselves prevaricated and even tried to impose conditions upon the use of this ammunition, as if you, Mr. Secretary-General did not know how to use these bombs and as if you could not be trusted to exercise discretion in the use of these bombs in conformity with the purposes of the United Nations. All sorts of attacks were made on the United Nations. The very nature of the United Nations

(Mr. Jha, India)

operations was questioned. It was said that the United Nations had no business in using force; that force was against the very ethos of the United Nations. All such kinds of things were said.

However, Mr. Secretary-General, I believe I agree with you entirely: you adopted a very honourable course, and certainly you may have saved the British Government from collapsing -- I do not know about that -- when you very wisely withdrew that request.

It is a strange situation. It is something that has created an extremely bad impression in my country and in many countries of Asia and Africa. From the moment that these operations were started and it was seen that the United Nations was doing well this time, that it was well equipped and had the situation well in hand, there was a nibbling at these processes; statements started appearing in high quarters and approaches started being made to you that there ought to be a cease-fire. But a cease-fire for what purpose? The very countries which have been advocating a cease-fire have never once condemned Tshombe, have never told him to acknowledge unequivocally the unity and territorial integrity of the Congo, have never told the mercenaries to walk out, have never offered one bit of help to the United Nations in carrying out the resolutions of 21 February and 24 November to round up the mercenaries. Here we have an impressive list of these mercenaries -- very impressive -- and it certainly looks very much like a war between colonial Europe and Asia and Africa. I am referring, of course, to the document that was issued by your Press Services. There you give the names of some 189 persons, and you have asked the various Governments to tell you exactly who these people are and whether they are mercenaries or what.

This is really the most objectionable feature of the whole situation, and we feel very disturbed about it. I am speaking very frankly now. We have here a closed meeting and I think we ought to speak frankly on these matters, and I have got to put to you what we feel, we of India. There has been unconcealed hostility to the United Nations and there have been reports of a great deal of help -- this is our information -- coming to Katanga through Angola -- a train-load of supplies, equipment, ammunition, etc. There have been reports of mortars supplied from Rhodesia and of trained people going from there to use these mortars. There have been reports, of course, of Katangese aircraft which have subsequently bombed,

(Mr. Jha, India)

or tried to bomb, United Nations airfields, finding shelter and making the usual logistic preparations in Angola. But there I was glad to hear that the British have given their assurances that this sort of thing will not be done.

This sort of thing, however, is going on. How does it fit into the United Nations picture? We have the resolution of 21 February, of the Security Council, which specifically calls upon all States to extend their facilities and to co-operate with the United Nations in the implementation of that resolution. We have the resolution of 24 November 1961, which is very clear; paragraph 7 of its operative section

"Calls upon all Member States to refrain from promoting, condoning, or giving support by acts of omission or commission, directly or indirectly, to activities against the United Nations ..." (S/5002, page 2)

And paragraph 10 of the operative part of the same resolution

"Urges all Member States to lend their support, according to their national procedures, to the Central Government of the Republic of the Congo, in conformity with the Charter ..." (Ibid., page 3)

Surely, giving support to Katanga is not giving support to the Central Government of the Republic of the Congo.

Paragraph 11 of that resolution

"Requests all Member States to refrain from any action which may directly or indirectly impede the policies and purposes of the United Nations in the Congo and is contrary to its decisions and the general purpose of the Charter." (Ibid., page 3)

What, therefore, is the situation? Here you have the non-big-Power, uncommitted countries of the world, the resources of which are very limited, giving of their men, their resources and their unflinching loyalty to the United Nations. But you have also the big Powers of Europe, wealthy and possessing plenty of power and resources, not carrying out -- specifically not carrying out -- the provisions of the resolutions of the Security Council. Article 25 of the Charter states that all Members shall co-operate, shall give assistance in helping in the implementation of the resolutions of the Security Council.

(Mr. Jha, India)

So the situation is very serious for the United Nations, Mr. Secretary-General. It is a situation which to us really appears extremely critical. It is an extraordinary situation when, practically, Asia and Africa are ranged against colonial Europe. That is the situation in Katanga: colonial Europe is overtly or covertly giving assistance in frustrating the objectives of the United Nations, frustrating or making ineffective the resolutions of the United Nations, and in doing so, going directly contrary to the wishes of the countries of Asia and Africa -- for here I think I can say that without any distinction the countries of Asia and Africa are in favour of, and strongly support, you and the United Nations operations in the Congo.

This situation does not augur well for the United Nations or for the maintenance of good relations among vast areas of the world. We read this morning about a decision by the Government of France not to allow aircraft going into the Congo to fly over their territory, United Nations aircraft among them. I would like to know how this fits in. How does this fit in with the United Nations resolution I have just read out?

(Mr. Jha, India)

It is a direct act of violation, and act of hostility to the United Nations, and I think we should be justified in inquiring very politely from the French -- for they are a polite people, their very language is polite -- how they reconcile this with their membership of the United Nations, their permanent membership of the Security Council and the resolutions that have been adopted by the General Assembly.

Are we small Powers alone to bear the brunt of the responsibilities of the United Nations? It is really an impossible situation, and time we spoke out. We do not like normally to speak out in such a way because we know that there are difficulties: most nations have their own preconceived notions and positions. Therefore, it is not a tradition of my delegation to speak out and hurt different countries, to throw bricks and that kind of thing. But this is a very dangerous situation. Here we have our five thousand troops, part of the United Nations force, seriously endangered and fighting in hostile territory. It is very difficult to fight in the country of another people. They do not want to wage this kind of warfare. They have been obliged to do so in the interests of the United Nations, for the maintenance of peace, yet here we have other nations doing everything possible to see that this fight of the United Nations is a failure, that these men are killed, that they disappear from the Congo. That is really what it comes to, and we have to consider it in that light. There can be no condoning this kind of behaviour on the part of many countries who are Members of the United Nations, certainly not countries which have been designated as big Powers.

Now I come to the question of the cease-fire. As I have said, I do not like the expression. This is an operation by the United Nations for the maintenance of law and order, and there are no belligerents ranged against each other. There cannot be. Katanga cannot be a belligerent. It is not a State. It is a rebel group. It is a rebel, dissident group, fighting the Central Government and, of course, this time, fighting the United Nations. We cannot give it the status of being a participant in a cease-fire. The only question is as to when the United Nations should halt, or modify, its current operations. In other words, when should you give the order to go through with, or to stop the course of present plans, which General Rikhye has laid before us. That is the only question.

(Mr. Jha, India)

It is not a matter of a cease-fire, and we will not accept that it is. Of course, in common parlance, one may speak of a cease-fire, but it can never be that. It is not a war between two States. It is merely a question of law and order and the United Nations simply have the duty to restore this, and to repel attacks against them.

As I have said, the objective of the United Nations is peace. No one wishes to fight. The United Nations really did not go into the Congo to fight a major war. At the same time, as I said earlier, unless one can be sure that there is no repetition of the kind of thing which forced the United Nations into the present situation -- unless the possibility of that kind of thing were delimited -- I do not see that any change in the United Nations attitude would really be justified, subject always to capabilities, military and otherwise, on which I cannot say very much. I should think that the minimum that is necessary for a cease fire would be the rounding up of mercenaries. They must surrender -- they must be caught or surrender -- because as long as they are there we shall not have peace in the Katanga. General Rikhye has very rightly pointed out that this is the hard core. They are reckless people and adventurers. They are receiving huge amounts of money. They are financed by the Katangese Government, by the Union Minière. These people have so much at stake, and it is such a comfortable thing for them to get all this money, this luxury, that they are prepared to risk a great deal.

Certainly, we think that there can be no possibility of eliminating attacks on the United Nations unless the Katanga gendarmerie goes to the barracks and lays down its arms. I do not say that we should undertake military operations in order to disarm them. That would probably be beyond our capacity, but unless Mr. Tshombe and the others who control them -- or pretend to control them -- persuade, order or force them to do that, they will remain there with all their arms and equipment roaming about sniping, and perhaps some of the mercenaries will again excite them and we shall have a repetition of exactly the situation that we have now, under more adverse circumstances, because by then they will have built up their military strength with the help of people who are supporting them, morally at least, at present.

(Mr. Jha, India)

Secondly, in regard to the cease-fire and the negotiations that Mr. Tshombe and Mr. Adoula are likely to have, as I said earlier, we are entirely in favour of these talks. They must talk to settle their differences, but they are really parallel matters. There is no organic connexion between them. One cannot say that the very moment Mr. Tshombe begins talking with Mr. Adoula all firing must cease. I do not see any connexion between the two. Once we do that we give a breathing space to the gendarmerie and others. Mr. Tshombe's past behaviour has shown that he is not altogether a reliable customer. The two courses, in our opinion, are parallel. One has to decide, having regard to the objectives of the current United Nations operations in Katanga, when there should be a cessation, a modification, a halting. The talks can go on also. Mr. Tshombe has done nothing to encourage us in the belief that he has really changed. The inflammatory speeches continue. In regard to his statement on 26 November, it will be recalled that at that time I pointed out that this seemed to me to be extremely dangerous; that we must be prepared now for the worst. At that time the hostilities had not started, but evidently it was all pre-planned. The kind of incitement contained in those statements continues. Even today, I believe, I read some statement that they would fight to the last, that they would do this, that or the other, and even Tshombe, I believe, has been making similar statements. So, really, where is the guarantee that, just because he begins talking everything will be alright, and the operations should cease?

Again, I think Mr. Tshombe should be persuaded by your representatives in the Congo, and by others -- I hope by the United States -- to make a categorical declaration that he accepts the fundamental law, and that his negotiations will take place within that framework. Secondly, that he should order all of the gendarmerie to go into the barracks, and promise that in future there will be no incitement against the United Nations -- promise, as well, to hand over mercenaries to the United Nations for disarming and deportation. Unless he makes these statements I see no connexion between the talks that may take place and the current operations in the Congo. The two are parallel, and if they meet at all they meet at infinity.

(Mr. Jha, India)

I am sorry that I have spoken at such length but many points are raised by your statement, and by the statements of Mr. Narasimhan and General Rikhye. I agree with the Ambassador of Ethiopia that we should give the maximum currency to the camouflage the cover that the mercenaries and the Katangese gendarmes are using -- the cover of civilian personnel, churches and Red Cross vehicles -- give them maximum publicity, though I am not sure how much of that we shall get. One of the most tragic aspects of this whole matter is the corruption of the international Press, the way in which they have tried to misrepresent the United Nations, the way in which they have tried to traduce it, the way in which they have given comfort to its enemies.

Mr. BARNES (Liberia): My delegation is very grateful for the information conveyed to us this morning by you, Mr. Secretary-General, and by General Rikhye and Mr. Narasimhan concerning the United Nations operations in the Congo.

First of all, I would like to express our condolences to those members of the United Nations whose forces have sustained losses and injuries in these operations. I am sure that they will take consolation from the fact that their nationals died for a worthy cause which is devoted to peace in Africa.

My delegation was one of the co-sponsors of this resolution of 24 November 1961 which conferred upon you authority to take vigorous action, including the requisite measure of force, to expel mercenaries from Katanga. We consider these mercenaries to be the backbone of Mr. Tshombe's secession. I want to assure you that my delegation stands foursquare behind this resolution, that my Government fully supports you in the action which you have taken to implement this resolution in an effort to expel these mercenaries and restore law and order in Katanga.

I must reveal that some approaches have been made to my Government concerning this matter of a cease-fire. But the position of the Government of Liberia is that no cease-fire is feasible until the objectives of the Security Council resolution of 24 November have been achieved, that is, the expulsion of these mercenaries and the restoration of law and order.

I noticed this morning that the representative of Nigeria said, in speaking this morning -- perhaps I misunderstood him -- that the members of the Security Council, while being the architects of this resolution, were not supporting it. I presume he referred to those Members of the United Nations who we all know are opposing the United Nations resolution in this respect.

Mr. NGILERUMA (Nigeria): "Some Members", I said.

Mr. BARNES (Liberia): I would like to assure you that my delegation is determined to lend its support to the restoration of law and order in the Congo because as long as the situation continues, there will be no peace in Africa. We consider that any cease-fire at this time would have the negative effect of

assuring the secession of Katanga because if there is a cease-fire, that would be either a tacit or expressed admission of the failure of the United Nations in these operations. As a matter of fact, who would sue for the cease-fire; would it be the United Nations? If the United Nations were to sue for the cease-fire, that would be an admission of its failure and the secession would thereby be assured.

The second negative effect that a cease-fire would have is that it would cause the civil war which the United Nations has been attempting to prevent. We have a letter from Mr. Adoula in which he rejects out of hand, and rightly so, this offer by the United Kingdom to arrange a cease-fire in Katanga. Naturally, if there is a cease-fire, I would not preclude the possibility that the Central Government would undertake -- even though I presume that in its present state it might not be prepared to do so -- an invasion of Katanga with disastrous effects to it and you would then have a civil war in the Congo.

Another negative result would be that a cease-fire would affect, in large measure the effectiveness of the United Nations itself. We know what effect the arrangement of this cease-fire had upon the prestige of the United Nations. Therefore we believe that these operations ought to be carried out to a conclusion.

With regard to the question of the meeting of Mr. Adoula and Mr. Tshombe, certainly there have been previous Security Council resolutions to the effect that any political solution of the Congolese situation must be one that is determined by the Congolese people themselves. Therefore we do not preclude the possibility of a meeting. However, if there is a meeting between these two men, it must certainly be predicated on assurances by Mr. Tshombe that

the mercenaries will be expelled from the Congo and that Katanga will be reunited with the Congo. Therefore, Mr. Secretary-General, if you are taking any initiative in this direction we will support this meeting between Mr. Adoula and Mr. Tshombe in that context. But Mr. Tshombe will have to state that he will cooperate with the United Nations in an attempt to have the mercenaries expelled from the Congo and will co-operate in the reunion of Katanga with the Congo.

I was rather disturbed this morning over the revelations made to us that because of the paucity or inadequacy of United Nations troops, victory in Elisabethville cannot be clearly assured. Evidently, if the United Nations operation is to succeed, we must have troops. General Rikhye has pointed out to

us that the troops which are now in operation need rest and that there are no fresh troops with which to replace them. It seems to me that a further appeal must be made to the African States in particular, as well as to Asian and other States of the United Nations who are in a position to offer troops, to strive to make troops available as soon as possible. A prolonged operation in the Congo will have certain disastrous effects on the United Nations from the standpoint of material, manpower and finances. So that if Africa, Asia and other States which are contributing troops in the Congo will see the clear need for making fresh troops available, they will themselves be contributing to victory in the Congo. A knock-out blow must be administered as early as possible in these operations against the Katangese, that is to say, to the mercenaries. As I said, the United Nations is not fighting the Katangese; they are fighting these mercenaries and these mercenaries are in the forefront of opposition to the United Nations forces. Therefore we should, as far as we are able to, make our forces available to knock out these mercenaries, for as long as they are in Katanga -- and naturally they are being highly paid because of the resources of the Union Minière which are made available to them -- the secession of Katanga will be strengthened. I should like to join those delegations which have appealed to the other members of our group here and other Members of the United Nations to contribute as many troops as they possibly can toward these operations.

I again assure you, Mr. Secretary-General, that my Government supports you in these operations and that we are, naturally, prepared to do whatever we can in order to assure the victory of the United Nations in these operations.

Mr. BOURGUIBA (Tunisia)(interpretation from French): To begin with, I should like to voice the sympathy of my Government to the people of Sweden, Norway, Ireland, Ethiopia and India for the heavy tribute which they have had to pay for the mission of peace that is being conducted by the United Nations. I fear that we may have additional occasion to express our sympathy to these Governments, but I believe that the cause for which these men fell is worth their

sacrifice. However, for the sacrifice to have been worthwhile, we must make certain that they have not fallen in vain.

The situation as described this morning by you, Mr. Secretary-General, and your direct assistants, leads me to distribute these questions into three categories: a military one, a political one and a psychological one which would serve as a backdrop for this entire drama.

With regard to the military question, my Government and I, short of being accused of cynicism, would not hesitate to say that after the various adventures and tribulations suffered by the United Nations in the Congo, there is no longer any time for and there can no longer be any question of half measures.

(Mr. Bourguiba, Tunisia)

There can no longer be any question of half measures. I would even put it quite crudely, that whatever the sentiments that the present situation in Katanga may arouse among interpreters and critics, of good or bad faith, the work that has been started must be finished regardless of everything. Criticism or no criticism, it is time to go all the way. But in order that the job be completed it is necessary, nay indispensable, that the appeals you have addressed to certain Governments should have tangible echoes, especially as regards enhancing the means and potential and resources for which the United Nations has appealed quite properly.

My Government has endeavoured, within the limits of its means, material means on the one hand and political on the other, having in mind the situation that prevails in Tunisia, to respond -- I shall not use the word "favourably", but I shall simply use the word "honestly", "decently". On the same question of the means at the disposal of the United Nations, I should like in passing to bring out some points which you, Mr. Secretary-General, and your assistants have made. This relates to the outrageous assistance being granted by Rhodesia. I am not using the phrase "Rhodesian Government" as regards pinning responsibilities. But it is a patent fact that ammunition and means are going through or coming from Rhodesia to help and to bolster the gangs which direct the action against the United Nations. If I understand correctly, moreover, Rhodesian airfields have been systematically used by the few aircraft used by Katanga against the United Nations.

I believe that in some situations like this one a useful purpose may be served in remembering the principle of hot pursuit. It is a matter, of course, of international legal definition, but it would be useful for Rhodesia to be made to realize -- and not just by diplomatic representations -- that it is playing with fire.

On the political plane, since the outset of the responsible resolution, which forced the United Nations to meet the attacks of the Katangese authorities, we have witnessed a doffing, a removing, of the masks on the part of some of the great Powers which in the Security Council did not dare register their opposition to the resolution, which resolution in fact gives you, Mr. Secretary-General, discretionary power of judgement and action. They did not dare to oppose that

(Mr. Bourguiba, Tunisia)

text in the Security Council. But no sooner was the text implemented than they had to drop the mask, thus demonstrating that the positions they assumed in the Security Council were only for public consumption and that in fact they were not in agreement at all. So much so that the momentum of the force opposed to our action is most powerful.

Pressures are being applied upon you, Mr. Secretary-General, and pressures, I imagine, are being applied upon the various Governments on whose aid you have counted. I have no compunction in saying that this is dishonest; it is indecent. The Press campaigns or parliamentary campaigns, or what have you -- and I am thinking of the rather sad farce which took place in the House of Commons in London -- seek to foist a ceasefire upon you and seek to foist upon the Central Government of the Congo negotiations on a certain basis. Speaking of a ceasefire, I believe that the September experience is eloquent enough, so much so that it makes one rule out the very principle of a ceasefire.

One can have a ceasefire with people in whose word one can have some faith when it is given. The ceasefire of September came at a moment of United Nations weakness, but it was used by our adversaries in order to prepare to do worse. As for negotiations, the precedents of various negotiations, conversations, conferences and even agreements with people who are now trying to run Katanga demonstrate that their word is not worth anything and that the solemnity of their signature is without value.

When some parties are trying to impose this upon you, whom do these parties think they are deluding? Even granting that there were negotiations, do law officers or policemen, when they are in hot pursuit of a delinquent or a criminal, or when they have invested him in his lair, give up at that point? So much for negotiations.

Through the telegram of an African Chief of State an attempt is now being made to cause the Security Council to gather. Is this an even more formal attempt to impose a ceasefire? As far as my delegation is concerned, we feel that the Security Council's resolutions, especially the last one, are eloquent enough and speak for themselves. They cover the problems adequately. So that there is simply no cause for a renewal or a resumption of the discussions or the deliberations on this subject.

(Mr. Bourguiba, Tunisia)

To wind up this political aspect of the question, I think it would be indecent to vouchsafe to Tshombe and his assistants a status which would make him speak with the Central Government of the Congo on a footing of equality.

Let me turn to the psychological aspect of what is happening. Much has been said of the lack of accuracy and honesty of the Press reports relating to the situation in Katanga. Now this is not calculated to surprise us by any chance. Of course not. Unfortunately, we went through a similar experience some months ago. But what is worse is the attitude of certain Governments of the great Powers, the Governments of the United Kingdom and France which have been sabotaging the purposes of the United Nations resolutions by their very actions. And I should like to pick up the thoughts expressed by the representative of Nigeria. Their actions have served to demoralize or have endeavoured to demoralize the United Nations Forces which feel that they have no moral backing in the work they have to do, and they also discourage any readiness which other Governments may have had to respond favourably to the pressing appeal for aid which we have addressed to them.

For some days now we have been watching a novel kind of development. Until now -- and this is worthy of praise, and we wish to express our gratification at this -- the Government of the United States of America has displayed in these developments an attitude which can only deserve our unstinted praise, our expression of satisfaction and gratitude. I am speaking both as an African and as a Member of the United Nations in general.

(Mr. Bourguiba, Tunisia)

However, for the past few days, we have noticed in the Press and on the international scene certain manoeuvres applying pressure on the Government of the United States to impel it to alter its stand. I would refer to the latest meeting in Paris, at which allied policy on Berlin was discussed and, for instance, such questions as the Berlin question were used as a means of applying pressure -- or, still more, of applying obstruction -- as regards the problem of the Congo and what assistance should be granted or withheld in this regard. This is very serious, because it gives the impression to the small States -- and we are a host of small States which are far weaker than the great Powers -- of being used as pawns on the European political chess-board.

I join with my colleagues who have suggested -- and I would rather stress it more strongly -- that we undertake a counter-attack in the fields of publicity and propaganda in order to explain to the people of those countries, and especially of the United States, the host country of the United Nations, that it is not merely a question of humanity which impels certain countries to call for a cease-fire. After all, the United States went through a four-year civil war to prevent a secession. If I may be permitted to digress on a matter which has nothing to do with the problem of Katanga itself but which has a bearing on the problem involved I would point out that some countries do not demonstrate the same kind of humanity when hundreds of thousands of Algerians are killed, but when a few dozen mercenaries are pursued or expelled, when a few irresponsibles who are playing their game express indignation, they are upset. There is something intolerable about this where, since the United Nations itself is involved, the destiny and the prestige of the United Nations are at stake.

These are the observations I thought it useful to make on behalf of my delegation. Believe me, my Government will continue to stint no effort in offering such assistance as is within its capabilities for the fulfilment and completion of your mission, Mr. Secretary-General, and we shall make every effort to assist you to counterbalance all the efforts made to apply pressure upon you and against the United Nations effort.

Mr. CISSE (Senegal) (interpretation from French): I shall be very brief, because it is rather late. On behalf of the delegation of Senegal, I should like to associate myself with the expressions of sympathy that have been addressed to the United Nations troops that have fallen victoriously for the cause of peace under the banner of the United Nations.

(Mr. Cisse, Senegal)

The present discussion on the Congo has a particular character in view of the gravity of the situation and also because of certain noxious activities with which we are faced in pursuing the noble purposes of our efforts in the Congo.

I must say from the outset that my delegation wishes to congratulate you, Mr. Secretary-General, on your determination to carry out the resolutions of the Security Council and of the General Assembly. However, I should like to point out one fact, namely, that the President of the Republic of Senegal, who is also the President of the group of twelve States of the African Union and Malagasy, has received a telegram relating to negotiations between Mr. Tshombe and Mr. Adoula.

The Government of Senegal, as has been stated at this session by its President, recognizes only one authority in the Congo: the Central Government which is headed by Mr. Adoula. The Government of Senegal wishes to make it clear that its policy is always one in pursuit of peace and negotiation, but that it will not intervene as regards any negotiation whatever unless it is specifically requested to do so by the United Nations and by the Central Government of the Congo.

I wanted to give you this information, Mr. Secretary-General, and I should like to conclude by informing you that Senegal supports you in this regard within the framework of the decisions taken by the General Assembly and the Security Council.

Mr. PERERA (Ceylon): My Government has also instructed me to express the sympathy of the Government and people of Ceylon with those States that have contributed to the United Nations Command in the Congo and that have suffered grievous losses.

The position has been very well stated this morning by Ambassador Jha of India and, if I may be permitted to say so, we endorse everything that he said. Further, Ambassador Jha has put the case for the continued operation very well.

We are indeed at a critical point in this matter, and any effort which we could now make to the ultimate fulfilment of the resolutions adopted by the Security Council should be made now and not at a later stage. We are disturbed by certain features on the international scene. One which has been referred to already is the attempt by the international Press, if I may put it that way, to build up Tshombe and also to build up Katanga with a romantic halo by stating that the Katangan people are justified in opposing the United Nations. This, we think, is not only reprehensible but also a direct attack on the purposes for which the United Nations decided to send troops to the Congo.

(Mr. Perera, Ceylon)

The Government of Ceylon played a not inconsiderable role in respect of the resolutions of 21 February and 24 November. It has, therefore, like all other Member States of the United Nations, but perhaps a little more, having been responsible to some extent for those resolutions, an added responsibility. We stand by the paragraphs of the resolutions which clearly reaffirm the basis upon which the present operation is taking place.

We go a little further. The only justification for the existence of United Nations troops in the Congo has been clearly set out in the original resolution of 21 February and has been reaffirmed in the resolution of 24 November.

Therefore, if we cannot fulfil our purposes, we might as well get out. But that is not the position now. We cannot, within reason, get out. There is almost an open declaration of war against the United Nations by certain Powers, as Ambassador Jha said, some acting overtly and others covertly. It is a challenge, and that is what makes the situation so serious.

I listened with great attention to what General Rikhye said in regard to the present position of the operation. There is a build up in the Press both in this country and in what we might call "colonial Europe" that the enemy is the United Nations, whereas in fact it is Katanga, led by Tshombe. It is quite obvious that Tshombe, who is a mere puppet -- no one can deny this -- backed by certain colonial Powers, has dared to defy and oppose the United Nations.

It is this very man who has been talking now of cease-fires or attempts by certain interested parties to bring about mediation between the Central Government of the Congolese Republic and Katanga, led by Tshombe. Are we correct, according to the resolutions of the Security Council, in authorizing you, Mr. Secretary-General, or in any way giving you implied authority to follow such a procedure?

As has been pointed out by Ambassador Jha, a cease-fire as such in law should be between equals on a certain basis. But that is not the case here. I think that in military history there have been examples of cease-fires in order to bury the dead on both sides. But that is not the case here. Here a cease-fire will be used by Tshombe -- and undoubtedly he is not a man who can be taken at his word -- to further arm himself against the United Nations. In these circumstances, we believe any attempt at a respite which would enable Tshombe to arm himself further should be rejected.

(Mr. Perera, Ceylon)

There is also another aspect which arises from General Rikhye's report, and that is that civilian installations, such as houses and churches, are being used for attacks and sniping at the United Nations troops. Although the military commanders on the spot are the best judges of the situation, in this context the Government of Ceylon feels that if civilian installations are being used for that purpose, adequate retaliation is also justified. I think that this is a case which falls within international rules regarding warfare. A civilian cannot seek protection if he enters into a conflict on the basis of attacking. A civilian can only be protected, according to the rules of warfare, if he behaves as a civilian and, in that case, of course, an attack by the other side would not be justified.

But in this particular instance this is not true. We have been told that civilian installations are being used, whether by the Katangese or the foreign personnel or some of the Belgian settlers who are still in Katanga. We feel, Mr. Secretary-General, that this aspect must be dealt with. If it is not dealt with, we shall never be able to fulfil the purposes of the original resolution as well as the purposes of the resolution of 24 November.

Finally, as to the relationship between a so-called cease-fire and the military operation itself, of course, the Congolese people will ultimately have to decide their own political future. This was not stated in the resolutions. The resolutions were adopted on the basis of the protection of the territorial integrity and the political unity of the Congo. We feel that we must not lose sight of that fact. And in this respect we wholly condemn a cease-fire as being quite unnecessary.

Also, a clear mandate has now been given to you. That mandate is contained in the resolutions. Speaking for the Government of Ceylon, we do not feel that any further mandate is necessary on this question. If any further mandate is necessary at all, it would be the mandate you would have to give, if the need arose, to the military commanders as to how they should act with respect to the Belgian civilians or the Katangese civilians who are firing upon United Nations troops and are really attacking them.

That being the case, Mr. Secretary-General, we do not think it is necessary to have further meetings of the Security Council. I do not think that the resolution of 24 November could be improved upon in any way. Every aspect has been

(Mr. Perera, Ceylon)

covered. Thus as we look at this resolution, both in its preambular paragraphs and in its operative paragraphs, we feel that all aspects have been covered. In the present context of things, there is nothing which a new meeting of the Security Council or any meeting of the Assembly could adopt.

As has been very well stated by Ambassador Jha, it is not a question of belligerency. The mission of the United Nations in the Congo has been clearly stated. That mission is a mission of peace. But in that mission certain actions have to be taken in the context of what is presently happening in the Congo. And certainly what is happening in the Congo is quite clear to all. What is happening in the outside world is also clear.

I do not wish to refer to the decisions which have been taken by various legislative bodies either in the United Kingdom or elsewhere the purposes of which have been to tie the hands of the United Nations -- and that means your hands, Mr. Secretary-General -- in respect of a decision of the Security Council. At least it has been an attempt to slow down this "process", if I may use that word, or to impair the effectiveness of these resolutions.

We should not be deterred by such actions. If armaments are necessary for the continued operation of the United Nations forces, and they are not forthcoming from sources that were approached originally, Mr. Secretary-General, we must explore other sources. That is the position of the Government of Ceylon in that matter.

(Mr. Perera, Ceylon)

Finally, we think that even those nations that have placed their fullest confidence in you and given their fullest support to the extent of their resources, would be disheartened if for a moment we do anything which would detract from the resolutions and then, far from getting further help, we might have less help or no help at all.

That being the case, I submit on behalf of the Government of Ceylon that any kind of talks that may take place as between the Congolese Prime Minister or any one else, whether in the form of mediation or direct talks, should be completely unrelated to the operation. The operation must go on. If at all, we must try to prevent any kind of talks of this nature, knowing very well who Tshombe is, what he was as far back as 1 July 1960 and what he is now. There has been enough material provided in the documents of the United Nations which show that this man began without a single bullet or a gun, and today we find him fully armed.

That is the case, Mr. Secretary-General, and those are the views of the Government of Ceylon.

Sir Muhammad ZAFRULLA KHAN (Pakistan): Mr. Secretary-General, we are grateful to you and to your colleagues, General Rikhye and Mr. Narasimhan, for the detailed information that you have furnished us this morning, some of which we have not yet had time to study. We shall study it with interest and attention in detail.

We associate ourselves with what has been said by some of our colleagues in appreciation of and by way of condolence with regard to the casualties suffered by the forces of the Governments and the peoples who are partaking in the military operations in the Congo. We also venture to felicitate them on the fact that their nations have played a glorious part in the struggle which has much greater significance today, in view of the developments that are taking place, than was hitherto attached to it.

We are disquieted not by the military situation in the Congo, which can be managed without any very great difficulty, though we do appreciate that the United Nations forces operate under disadvantages and handicaps as against the Katanga forces which have advantages, facilities and a position which is much more favourable than that of the United Nations forces, but what disquiets us

(Sir Muhammad Zafrulla Khan, Pakistan)

is a division within the United Nations, a division which is appearing more and more as a challenge to the very continuance and existence of the United Nations. We hope that it will be adequately met, but in that respect the responsibility is to some degree shifting. We ought to take note of that and we ought to prepare ourselves to meet that responsibility. If I may put it bluntly, I may be wrong but I believe the situation is developing where some of the Powers are saying in effect, though not in words, "You have an increasing voting power in the United Nations, now see also whether you can run it on that basis". We have to furnish the answer. Unfortunately, the operations in the Congo are being sought to be made a test in respect of that challenge. We have to take up that challenge or we have to pack up not only in the Congo but also in New York.

In that respect, I, so far as it in me lies as the representative of Pakistan, can assure you and the United Nations of our full support. But again I shall be forgiven if I point out not that we do not fully share the responsibility of what we have joined in undertaking, but that an effective answer must come from the African States. They must take on a much greater share of the effective prosecution of these operations. I do not mean to belittle the share that they have hitherto taken, but in view of this challenge, as I said, the responsibility is shifting and they must be prepared to take on that responsibility to give an answer, "Yes, we have the votes and we also have the responsibility; we know the responsibility and we shall discharge that responsibility to the full". What they and we do not have we cannot produce, and that is on the financial side. But what we have we should be prepared to commit more effectively. I think we should make up our minds with regard to that matter.

Long before I began to feel this very keenly, I mentioned to one of our colleagues round the table, and I am sure he will recall it, not on this ground but generally also, that the time had come when in order to make our voices effective in this respect we must increase our commitments with regard to the Congo and with regard to the forces that have to be committed there. I shall say no more on that subject.

(Sir Muhammad Zafrulla Khan, Pakistan)

With regard to the cease-fire, I agree with all that has been said by my colleagues. I cannot appreciate, I cannot even understand, these efforts behind the scenes to bring about a cease-fire. What is the objective? Do they want the Secretary-General or his representative to approach Mr. Tshombe and to say, "Well, we have made a mistake; now can we sit down and stop this fighting". Have we made a mistake? Are we prepared to admit a mistake? What is the object? There is no attempt to persuade Mr. Tshombe to withdraw from his position so that the purposes of achieving the objectives placed upon him and the United Nations as a duty and an obligation by the Security Council might be achieved without further bloodshed. Surely the appeal has been made in the wrong direction. It is a different direction in which that appeal has to be made, and of that there is no sign.

I shall submit very respectfully to you, Mr. Secretary-General, what I did respectfully submit to two or three of your colleagues -- Mr. Narasimhan was one of them -- at a previous meeting, namely that we are unfortunately very weak on the side of publicity. At that time I could not urge it with as much strength as I wanted to because the United Nations had no chief in power. Now that you are in power I trust that you will look into this matter. A good deal of what we are told here puts a completely different aspect upon what is going on there -- and we have in respect of those matters a cast iron case -- but we do not see that case at the time when we ought to see it in the press. Surely the press is not so hostile to the United Nations that it would not print these things. I think that we should be more on our toes in presenting these things to the press so that public opinion both in this country and abroad should have their perspective set right with regard to this matter, and I trust that you will pay the necessary attention to this aspect of the matter also.

Let us hope, therefore, that our military effort will be intensified, for time is against us and not in our favour. We shall not, relatively speaking, grow stronger in the Congo. Our numbers might increase, but the numbers and the material on the other side might increase more quickly, and we shall therefore grow weaker as time passes.

(Sir Muhammad Zafrulla Khan,
Pakistan)

Therefore, our efforts should be intensified so that the time will come when pourparlers can honourably start, when Mr. Tshombe says: I undertake that all military resistance to the achievement of the objectives laid down by the Security Council shall cease on my side, and I undertake to co-operate in carrying out those objectives, namely, the evacuation of all mercenaries, the restoration of law and order, making it possible for the United Nations Force to pursue the objectives laid upon it by the United Nations. Then the process of conciliation can start, and I shall conclude by saying that when that process starts, I hope it will not be forgotten that the United Nations itself also has set up a machinery for the purposes of conciliation.

Mr. WIRJOPRANOTO (Indonesia): My intervention will be brief since the speakers who have preceded me have set forth many points which I can endorse fully.

I should like to recall my statement at a previous meeting of this Committee that we are entering a new stage in our own Committee. I would draw attention to the fact that up to now the Committee has shown unanimity and sincerity with regard to the United Nations operations in Katanga. This was not always the case in the past, but now it is hoped that this united action or consensus of the Committee will continue until the Congo operation has been completed. This constitutes a big "plus" in the situation.

At the same time, however, I must state with regret that there is also a "minus" point. I cannot say at this stage whether the situation will continue or whether it is only an episode. I refer to the position of some of the big Powers -- which are not communistic at all -- concerning the Congo operation. Some big Powers, which are not at all communistic, have shown an ugly face. These are the die-hard colonialists. They constitute the obstacles in the Congo operation. And this is the "minus" in our action.

I should like to say a few words in this connexion. Personally, I wish to pay my respects to Dr. O'Brien, who has had the courage to say something about this. Perhaps some countries and some groups will condemn him, but I think that history will mark the name of Dr. O'Brien for his courage in this matter.

(Mr. Wirjopranoto, Indonesia)

Because of the position of the die-hard colonialists, the big Powers which claim to be the leaders of the world, we of the small countries are here for the purpose of helping these big Powers to come back to the right path. Some of the small Powers of Africa, Asia, and even Europe are united, are comrades in arms in Katanga for the purpose of fighting an evil -- in fact, for fighting the remnants of colonialism. It is a satisfaction to us that the United States joins in this action in the sense that it is continuing to lend support in our fight against a terror in Katanga.

What we are doing in Katanga is no more and no less than trying to implement fully the resolutions of the Security Council. In this we are united. As I recalled at our previous meeting, it is essential that we should be and should remain united with the Central Government, and I have noted here proof that such co-operation still holds. I hope that this kind of co-operation and collaboration with the Central Government will be maintained.

The essence of our action in Katanga is to establish a healthy basis for law and order, because law and order are essential for the benefit of the whole Congo. But I am astonished that our efforts to lay the foundation for law and order are being obstructed. A certain country -- the United Kingdom is here written -- is asking for a cease-fire. The Press is also making noises concerning a cease-fire.

I had the opportunity a few days ago in another room to state our views concerning a cease-fire. My delegation strongly opposes such an idea. In your statement, Mr. Secretary-General, at the beginning of this meeting, you said that you were ready for a cease-fire, provided the objectives would be safeguarded. I agree with the representative of Nigeria that the word "safeguarded" should be changed. In addition, I do not agree with your statement that you are ready for a cease-fire. No, it is not possible, Mr. Secretary-General, it is not possible to have a cease-fire with terror.

(Mr. Wirjopranoto, Indonesia)

I might understand it if the other party in the country was a government that was recognized in international relations; in that case the problem of a cease-fire would be different -- assuming that there is a need for a cease-fire. But we are confronted by gangs. So I hope, Mr. Secretary-General, that you will, as the representative of India has proposed, publish your statement as a United Nations document, if you agree. But please think over the idea of a cease-fire.

I am not very happy about matters in Katanga because our operation is meeting with some handicaps. We are trying to capture the mercenaries or to cause them to leave the Congo, leave Katanga. But these people are mixed up with the population, and that is the biggest handicap, I understand fully. Therefore, we cannot escape having some bad results. There may be some innocent civilians who will be hurt or killed, but I think we have to accept that. I am not so happy about that. I cannot consider Mr. Tshombe, however, as an innocent civilian, I must consider him as somebody who has brains, who is able to make calculations -- and in this matter he is making very bad calculations.

In any event, there is the fact that Tshombe is there; I think that Tshombe is responsible for all this. In this connexion we expect our friends from Africa, who are also against any kind of bloodshed, to bring some pressure on Tshombe to accept the United Nations operation in Katanga, as we have done before through persuasion, through negotiation, to change his mind in the sense that Tshombe should accept the United Nations operation. We expect this pressure to be brought from our friends from Africa for the purpose of helping the United Nations operation. To a certain extent, Tshombe is a dangerous man.

I think, however, that the Union Minière is more dangerous than Tshombe. The Union Minière is a State within a State and is responsible for all these bad things. I think it is also a matter of time before the power of the Union Minière will be liquidated by the United Nations forces. In this connexion, the United Nations forces are really fighting against colonialism in Africa.

I do not see any reason for having a meeting of the Security Council because such a meeting would only help to promote confusion, and enough confusion already exists.

(Mr. Wirjopranoto, Indonesia)

Mr. Secretary-General, you mentioned in your statement an appeal, a request to President Sukarno to send troops to Katanga for the Congo. I should like to be frank with you. Before you made this request, we had already stated that we were going to reconsider our position when we withdrew our troops from the Congo. This means that we are thinking about sending our troops again to the Congo. You asked me why you have not received an answer up until now. I should like to tell you, Mr. Secretary-General, that there are some complications in our political situation in Indonesia. After our defeat of the Netherlands proposals here in the United Nations, the Netherlands now continues its political provocations. It is now going to ask to form a state within a state there; this we cannot accept. It is a matter of "to be or not to be" for us. In this case we also are fighting colonialism in our country. But I think that it is a matter of time only, and I hope it will be a short time. On 19 December, this month, President Sukarno will make a very important statement on this matter. Therefore, in this connexion, I do hope we will have an answer concerning your request.

Finally, Mr. Secretary-General, I should only like to say that our delegation, our Government and our people give full support to your actions and conduct to end the terror. What I can say to you is this: Go ahead, no hesitation, and may God bless you.

Mr. LOUTFI (United Arab Republic): I shall merely make a few observations owing to the lateness of the hour.

To begin with, I should like to state that I agree with the preceding speakers. I also wish to associate myself with the condolences conveyed to the countries which have endured human losses in soldiers, which have lost men in this war which has been launched against the United Nations in Katanga.

My delegation was a co-sponsor of the resolution of 24 November in the Security Council. As we did in the Security Council, we ask that this resolution be implemented. In this regard, I wish to congratulate you, Mr. Secretary-General, for the way in which you have begun to carry out this resolution. You have done so, as the resolution says in fact, with vigour.

I am also grateful to you, Mr. Secretary-General, as well as General Rikhye and Mr. Narasimhan, for the information you have given us, information which is extremely useful and which deserves careful consideration by us.

Mr. KAPONGO (Congo, Leopoldville)(interpretation from French): First of all, Mr. Secretary-General, I should like to thank you for inviting me to participate in this meeting which is dealing with the question of my country. My delegation was very happy to note that you are dealing with this question which is our concern, and my country renews its earnest thanks for having convoked, on the occasion of any change in the situation in the Congo, the Advisory Committee in order to obtain its advice and counsel as to what it is best to do in the present situation. The confidence that the young Republic of the Congo has in the United Nations is fully justified.

(Mr. Kapongo, Congo (Leopoldville))

My delegation wishes to request you to continue this vigorous and just action, and to say that we cannot find sufficiently warm terms in which to express our appreciation.

But another far from negligible fact has appeared to aggravate a situation already very bad. If the United Nations has had to resort to the use of force in Katanga, it was because it had no alternative but to expel the mercenaries.

In this affair, the United States of America has not been slow in coming to our aid. I do not wish to recount the history of the matter, but ever since the discovery of the Congo the United States has been the only country in the world to support us, and even assisted the Belgians while they were in the Congo. As early as 1884, France, Germany and England wanted to invade the Congo and take possession of it, for Belgium was a small nation, and it was always the United States which helped us. We still affirm that. My delegation, together with my nation and its people, once more repeats its thanks to one of the great countries of the world, the United States.

We are grateful for the action of the United Nations aimed at overcoming the secession. But we are today amazed at the intervention of a group of dissident politicians in the United States, all mercenaries in the service of the Société générale belge, who are spreading about false statements in all the newspapers and even forming organizations in opposition to our country. I beg of you, Mr. Secretary-General, and I beg of all the representatives present here, that you have confidence in our Government. Do not believe what these people say. These manoeuvres are, in fact, copied from the tactics which Washington learned in order to free the United States from the English yoke. It is always the same old policy. We find here again the United Kingdom making attacks and exerting pressure on the United Nations. You know quite well that the principal company in the Union minière is the Société du Katanga, in which the United Kingdom is a stockholder. These financiers are always eager to get their hands on Katanga to divide up the profits to the detriment of the people.

We have confidence in you, Mr. Secretary-General, and in order to demonstrate this confidence I should like to read to you the text of a telegram which our Government has just addressed to the nineteen members of this Advisory Committee:

(Mr. Kasongo, Congo (Leopoldville))

"The Government and people of the Congo are threatened by a coalition of certain imperialist countries trying to enslave the Congo. These countries are at present actively endeavouring to prevent the application of the resolutions of the Security Council. Thousands of human beings have been killed by mercenaries and by the Katangese gendarmarie with the knowledge of outsiders. Hundreds of villages have been burned. Tens of thousands of refugees fleeing from the atrocities of Tshombe's followers are daily being bombarded by mortars. All of this has failed to touch the sensitive souls of the colonialists or to arouse the indignation of Heads of State who today echo the calls to defend the servants of the private interests. The Congo cries out: Beware of the incalculable consequences of this blind policy! The Congo does not stand for war or conquest of any kind but it does demand respect for its territorial integrity and for the resolutions of the United Nations. In the face of the danger which threatens the United Nations and whole of Africa, we ask the support of your Government. With highest expressions of esteem on the part of my Government, Bomboko, Minister for Foreign Affairs".

(Mr. Kapongo, Congo (Leopoldville))

It is needless for me to go on any further, for this telegram interprets the feelings of the whole Congolese people. We can but repeat with insistence that you yourselves are witnesses to the evil intentions and the inhumane actions of those who at present call themselves the liberators of the people.

The Congolese have never had the intention of keeping the Congo entirely for themselves. That would be indeed very difficult for us to do, for we could not exploit the country by ourselves, not having the means to do so. But ever since its discovery, applying the principle of the open door, we have allowed and still allow all countries to work in our land. We are astonished to see the great Powers interfere in this question. We urgently request, indeed we beg, the United Nations to come to our assistance in this unhappy situation.

I know, Mr. Secretary-General, that you will be told that your life is in danger. The death of your predecessor justifies such fears. But have courage: the Congo will one day thank you, the Congo will cause your name to go down in posterity.

We have learned with deep emotion that friendly countries, sister countries who have generously come to the aid of the Congo, have lost men in defence of our country. In the name of my Government and my delegation, I assure these countries of our deep and sincere sympathy. We ask them only to take account of our situation. We are men; we shall do our duty and pay our debt of gratitude.

In the matter of the secession of Katanga, our Government refuses to engage in any negotiations with Tshombe until Katanga is again returned to us. We therefore beg the United Nations not to arrange a cease-fire in order to allow our Prime Minister and Tshombe to meet. This is not a good solution, for it would give Tshombe an opportunity, as usual, to prepare himself. He is a man without faith. Never has any head of State -- as he calls himself -- been known to lie in such a shameless fashion. The tactics used by the United Kingdom and the pressures which it is trying to bring to bear on the Secretary-General are but a manoeuvre to allow Tshombe to get ready for another attack on us. It would be a pity if a country was allowed to be against the United Nations. That has never happened. A general once said to Hitler, "No one can expect to conquer the whole world". That could also be applied to Tshombe.

(Mr. Kapongo, Congo (Leopoldville))

I do not wish to take up the Committee's time any longer. These are the views of my Government, that even if negotiations are in progress the United Nations should continue its operations until our objective is attained. My Government will then be ready to negotiate with Tshombe and thus to enable the Congo to live in peace.

Mr. NGILERUMA (Nigeria): I am taking the floor again because I wish to expel a small misapprehension in the mind of my friend, Mr. Barnes, the representative of Liberia. When I said that the Members of the Security Council, founders of the United Nations, were not co-operative I was surely not referring to the Afro-Asian members of that Council. After all, they do not come within the category of big Powers. I was referring to some of the big Powers who were not co-operating, and therefore I should like to expel the misapprehension from his mind.

At the same time, I should like to refer to one or two points, which I consider to be very important, that were raised by my friend, the representative of India. He said that the Acting Secretary-General should get in touch with the French delegation to find out what the papers had published about the prevention of use of air space. I should like to emphasize this point, because in the papers which we were reading this morning there was a reference to the Sahara: that the French are trying not only to prevent the use of air space in France, but in the Sahara also. The question of Sahara is a controversial one. I do not know whether it is under the sovereignty of France, whether it is their property, therefore, it would be very interesting for us Africans to know whether they are very serious about this matter. We should like to know for certain.

The representative of India raised another point in connexion with the ceasefire. I should like to emphasize that in any negotiations a ceasefire is an opportunity given to Mr. Tshombe and his supporters, not only in Rhodesia but other neighbouring countries, to build up strength again and attack once more the United Nations. The previous ceasefire, last October, was broken by the Katangese. Therefore, it is very essential for us to know that no chance will be given to them to build up strength again, and attack once more -- because we are not quite sure of Mr. Tshombe's sincerity.

The representative of Indonesia said that African countries should use their good offices to influence Tshombe to negotiate with the Central Government. I should like to point out that he is not acting on his own. He is acting under the authorities who are interested -- big Powers again -- in Union Minière, and who have investments there. If Mr. Tshombe had been left alone I am quite sure he would have got in touch with the Central Government and settled the problem.

(Mr. Ngileruma, Nigeria)

It is a pity that he is not left to himself, but is acting under the direction of the big Powers interested in Union Minière. In connexion with the big Powers, I should like to mention again that we read in the paper this morning that at a meeting in Paris, Canada and Norway supported America in its stand. We must be very grateful to Canada and Norway for siding with America in this very good stand which we Africans believe will settle the problem of Katanga. We are very grateful to them.

I should also like to associate myself with other speakers in extending the condolences of our Government to India, Sweden, Ireland and Ethiopia for the loss of soldiers that they have sustained in the cause of peace, and in their effort to restore peace and tranquillity to Africa. I am quite sure that their death has been a noble one; that their names will live on in the records of world history.

Finally, I should like to thank you, Mr. Acting Secretary-General, General Rykhe and Mr. Narasimhan for the very clear picture you have given to us. We shall study it and refer it to our Governments for study also, so that they may be in a position to guide us. In order to emphasize my point that Mr. Tshombe is not acting on his own, I should like with your permission, Mr. Acting Secretary-General, to read a small article which appeared in "News from Nigeria", a Government publication issued by the Information Division, Federal Ministry of Information, Nigeria on the thirteenth of this month. It is entitled, "On the Brink of War" and reads:

"World opinion is that Tshombe is at best a puppet of some foreign powers, at worst an ambitious political rascal who wants power at all costs.

"The world also knows that it is only the Central Government that can unite the country, and that without national unity the Congolese must suffer endlessly, helping thus to place mankind perilously on the brink of war.

"How in the face of these no longer disputed facts the United Nations can continue to play a role of uncertainty in the Congo and only because a few vested interests, whose greatest champion is Britain, will not allow firm action beats the imagination.

"Britain's case, of course, is that it is not in accordance with the Charter and spirit of the United Nations to interfere, by force, in the internal dispute of any country.

"As far as we understand it, however, the principal purpose of the United Nations is to avert war and to destroy, if it can and before it germinates, the seed of strife and disorder anywhere and everywhere.

(Mr. Ngileruma, Nigeria)

"Were that not the ultimate aim and objective of the world organisation, few would consider its membership worth their while."

What the Nigerian people are trying to say is that if the countries which were the founders of the United Nations are not co-operative their existence in this Organization is useless: that they should either co-operate, giving the fullest support, or take a stand that will be known to the whole world. I have mentioned this before; and many friends from Asia, India, Pakistan and Indonesia have stated that Africa should take an initiative in the affairs of the Congo. I should like to mention to my friends that we appreciate their co-operation, but at the same time would remind them that all the countries of Africa are small, new and very weak. We have not sufficient armies. This is why we say that big countries should not make public statements which will break morale. Though we have small armies, we are determined to support the United Nations financially, militarily and morally to the best of our ability, but I would emphasize that when a neighbouring country such as that of Sir Roy Welensky under the aegis of the British makes all kinds of unfriendly statements, and tries to undermine the authority of the United Nations, it is in Africa, a neighbour of the Congo, and will break the morale of all small African countries. That is why we are not in a position to increase our armies, or to do what we should have liked to do if we had been in a strong position.

The Acting SECRETARY-GENERAL: I have two more speakers on the list, after which I will give the floor to the representative from Liberia.

Mrs. ROSSEL (Sweden): First of all, I would like to thank all those who have expressed their condolences to my Government for the loss of Swedish lives in Katanga; I would also like to extend our condolences to those other Governments who have had similar losses of soldiers' lives.

The Swedish Government would like to reaffirm its confidence in the manner in which you are carrying out the task of implementing the resolutions of the Security Council. We believe that you are doing the best you can and judging all the activities to the best of your ability. The Swedish Parliament is behind the Swedish Government in its support of the Congo activities. We know that the main purpose of our presence in the Congo is to restore law and order, through negotiation and conciliation first of all. We regret as much as anyone the fighting that has occurred and is now going on, but it certainly is not the fault of the United Nations that this is the case.

We have noticed with appreciation that there seem to be possibilities of a meeting between Mr. Tshombe and Mr. Adoula and that he does not seem to press for a cease-fire as a condition for talks to take place. Of course, the United Nations should be instrumental in arranging such a meeting. We have also heard that the United Nations troops have now reached Camp Massart. I do hope that we will very soon have news about the prisoners. We have followed what has happened to them with great anxiety and would like to be informed as soon as possible. We hope that the news will be good.

In these last days there have been difficulties in the refugee camps, both within the camps and between the refugees and attacks from the outside. I hope that it is quiet now and that there will be order and tranquillity.

You, Mr. Secretary-General, and many of those who have spoken have said that we need more forces soon. I would like to endorse your appeal to all countries, members of this Committee and to other countries, who can give us forces, as I said, as soon as possible because we need them immediately. We also need money and material.

(Mrs. Rössel, Sweden)

I would like to end this very brief statement by saying that I agree that we also need more publicity and accurate information. We have seen some change, in that information is better and more accurate but we need an even greater improvement.

Finally, I would like to say, as many others have said, that we appreciate the stand taken by the United States and we agree with the statement that was made by Mr. Rusk on 13 December.

There are, of course, many other things which I should like to say here but we have had opportunities in the past and I am sure we will be given further opportunities in the future to discuss with you, Mr. Secretary-General, and with your staff certain details of the work that is going on.

Mr. RITCHIE (Canada): If I speak very briefly, it is not because there are not a number of questions that have been raised today upon which I would like to dwell but because of the lateness of the hour.

First of all, on behalf of the Canadian Government I would like to express heartfelt condolences to those who lost troops in the Congo in this last operation.

I would also like to say, Mr. Secretary-General, how much we appreciate and how heartily we support the wise, steady and determined guidance which we have had from you during these last trying days.

We are to some extent encouraged by General Rikhye's report of the now-gathering speed of the action which is being taken, as we understand it, to restore the safety of our United Nations forces in Elisabethville and to keep open the necessary communications on which the entire effort in the Congo depends. We cannot, of course, contemplate a situation in which Tshombe's forces will be able to renew the kind of harassment which precipitated the present crisis.

With regard to the longer-term aims in the Congo, we may talk of peace; that is our object. And we may also talk of victory and defeat. It seems to my Government that in the long term the only United Nations victory in the Congo would be a victory for the forces of conciliation and the unity of the Congo. In that connexion, we very much welcome the initiatives which have been made for bringing Premier Adoula and Mr. Tshombe together and we hope very much that this meeting may have a fruitful outcome because we feel that conciliation is the weapon of the United Nations. We also feel that the only real defeat that the United Nations could experience in the Congo would be the continuance and spreading of violence and bloodshed in that unhappy country.

Mr. BARNES (Liberia): I merely wish to assure my colleague and brother from Nigeria that it was a mistake on the part of my delegation to even have suggested that Nigeria could even have thought that Liberia was not giving support to the resolution of the Security Council.

Also, I was wondering whether it would not be useful to make available to all Members of the United Nations a summary of our proceedings here in this Committee, as is done to the Security Council members.

In addition, I have been wondering whether the Secretary-General might not want to issue a Press statement, since this is a private meeting, to the Press concerning the reaction of the Advisory Committee to issues such as the cease-fire and the meeting between Mr. Adoula and Mr. Tshombe. Perhaps this would counteract to some extent the propaganda against the United Nations and give a correct version of our meeting here to the Press. There is always a possibility that what happens here will be distorted. The Press receives an inkling of what happens here and that information is more or less distorted.

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The Acting SECRETARY-GENERAL: "I just want to take a few minutes of your

time by way of winding up. Several interesting points have been raised in the course of the discussions and I shall take up these points one by one.

I am happy to note that a number of members of this Committee have expressed their thanks to the United States Government for its co-operation with the United Nations activities in the Congo and its appreciation of our objectives. I want to take this opportunity of expressing my grateful thanks to the United States Government for this appreciation, understanding and co-operation. I also want to offer my grateful thanks to the countries of Asia and Africa which have come out solidly behind me and behind the United Nations operations in the Congo, as revealed by a public statement released immediately after their meeting the day before yesterday.

Regarding the question of the cease-fire, which has occupied the major portion of our discussions this morning and this afternoon, let me clarify my position. I said in my statement earlier that "I am ready to consider reasonable proposals for a cease-fire provided that our objectives are safeguarded. At the same time I am sure the Committee will agree that for us to stop short of our objectives at the present stage would be a serious setback for the United Nations". The point I wanted to make was this. If there are reasonable proposals from responsible quarters, I am prepared to consider these proposals. It has never been my intention and it is not my intention at present to contact Tshombe directly or to communicate with him in any way. When I said "reasonable proposals", I was thinking only in terms of proposals emanating from responsible quarters. These proposals should be in conformity with the relevant parts of the Security Council and General Assembly resolutions, and they should particularly relate to the unity and territorial integrity of the Congo and the eviction of mercenaries. When such proposals come to my knowledge, I intend to give them very serious consideration.

Of course, in my endeavours to implement the resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council, and particularly the Security Council resolution of 24 November 1961, I always try to be guided by considerations which include giving due regard to the wishes of the Central Government of the Congo and having the benefit of the advice of this Committee. I can assure you

that I will never agree to comply with any wish or proposal from any quarter without recourse to these very necessary channels of advice. Of course, the sole purpose of the United Nations in launching our present operations in the Congo was based on the desire of the Central Government of the Republic of the Congo, and I will never lose sight of this fact. In this present problem of a cease-fire or a temporary suspension of military operations, or whatever form you may call it, I can assure the Committee that due regard will be paid to the wishes of the Central Government of the Congo and that I will never commit myself in any way without having the benefit of the advice of this Committee.

According to the latest information, which came to us a few hours ago, Tshombe has fled from Elisabethville. Of course, this information is not yet confirmed, but perhaps it may be of very great material assistance to me and to you in considering this aspect of our operations.

As far as the views of the Central Government of the Congo are concerned, this has been made clear by the document which was released earlier this morning. Prime Minister Adoula's letter addressed to Mr. Linner is self-evident. Of course, whatever decision I may wish to make in regard to this question of cease-fire or the temporary suspension of activities for a certain time -- for instance, twenty-four hours or forty-eight hours -- will be based on the Prime Minister's wish, and of course I will be primarily guided by the advice which you have so very kindly just offered to me.

I shall now come to the next point. As regards the declaration by France denying the overflight of United Nations aircraft over its territory, I am taking immediate action, in the light of the Security Council resolutions and particularly the resolution of 24 November 1961. I understand that the Government of the Congo (Brazzaville) has also today withdrawn permission to allow the United Nations air flights over its territory. I am also giving immediate attention to this in the light of the Security Council resolution of 24 November.

Regarding my earlier request for troops, particularly from the countries of Africa, I just want to add one word. My feeling -- of course, after consultation with our military and civilian advisers and our representatives on the spot -- is

that the United Nations will be able to implement the resolutions of the Security Council in a very short period of time if we have ground forces, immediately, of the size we had last year. It is the view of our advisers that as far as the eviction of foreign mercenaries in Katanga is concerned, if we have the necessary strength that we had last year, the United Nations will be able to implement this particular aspect of the resolution in two months.

(The Acting Secretary-General)

So let me appeal to you once again to make the necessary requests to your respective Governments to supply the United Nations with the necessary resources so that the United Nations will not be burdened unnecessarily, both financially and materially, in the Congo.

About the reported encouragement given to Tshombe by the Government of Rhodesia, I have conveyed all available information to the representative of the United Kingdom, and only this morning I had the opportunity to convey to him the latest information we received from that quarter, expressing my concern over this information. Of course it would not be to the advantage of the United Nations in the pursuit of its operations if I revealed the nature of the information we received this morning, and I hope the Committee will bear with me.

Regarding the release of statements, particularly my statement and Brigadier Rikhye's statement, to the Press and the public as suggested by the representative of India, I think it is the consensus of opinion here that this proposal is endorsed by the Committee. That is my understanding, and, if so, I will see to it that my statement and Brigadier Rikhye's statement will be made available to the Press this afternoon. Of course, as usual, Mr. Narasimhan and Brigadier Rikhye will brief the Press on the relevant substance of our discussions today, apart from the release of these two statements.

Regarding the transport of Ghanaian troops to the Congo, I have to report that there are still some technical difficulties, and very shortly a General from Ghana is arriving here and he will enter into immediate consultations with Brigadier Rikhye. I hope I shall be in a position to report fully to this Committee at our next meeting.

Regarding the condition of the Swedish prisoners now detained by Tshombe's men in Elisabethville, presumably they were removed by the Katangese troops when Camp Massart fell into our hands today. As you perhaps know, these Swedish soldiers are believed to be in an African commune just outside Elisabethville. When the Katangese gendarmerie evacuated Camp Massart it is believed that they took them with them. Of course I will make any further news available to the Committee as soon as the news is made available to us.

(The Acting Secretary-General)

Regarding the request of the Government of the Congo (Brazzaville) for the convening of a Security Council meeting, it is outside my competence to make any observations, but my information is that all the great Powers are against the idea of convening a Security Council meeting.

I hope I have covered all the main points raised by the members of this Committee. I will see that another meeting of the Advisory Committee is called as soon as circumstances warrant it. Thank you very much for your kind attention.

The meeting rose at 2.35 p.m.