

This is a deplorable situation, and it prompts me to ask very seriously indeed: Is the United Nations incapable of assisting the Republic of the Congo to find a solution to its political problems? Must we perpetuate, in that unhappy country, the differences which plague us here?

#### Essential Condition of Success

This need not be so, I believe - but on one condition. This condition is that we admit the truth of what I have just been saying - that none of us can hope to win majority support here for the particular type of solution he favours for the Congo, or majority acceptance of the particular Congolese leader or faction he indorses. Once this is admitted, I believe that the United Nations can in fact leave the Congolese people to settle their own political problems - can even give them impartial and constructive assistance to that end.

It is clear that the United Nations cannot, and should not, remain indefinitely in the Congo. Perhaps it is not too early, therefore, to ask ourselves what minimum conditions of order, stability and security should be met before the task of the United Nations forces there can be completed. Looking forward to that day, we should be prepared to admit that the situation which the United Nations will leave in the Congo may be less than perfect. But is this so surprising? How many of us would claim that political conditions in our own country are ideal? Given their slender preparation and their underlying problems, should we expect more of the Congolese?

#### Contribution of Conciliation Commission

It is apt to be forgotten, I think, that one important effort has already been made in the direction of a political settlement. The Conciliation Commission was not - despite its commendable achievement in this field - primarily a fact-finding commission. The first task of the Conciliation Commission was to conciliate. It would appear, moreover, that it came very close to succeeding - I have in mind, particularly, the statement on this point by the distinguished representative of Ghana in his observations in Annex XX of the Commission's report. The Commission has, moreover, indicated a variety of ways in which the United Nations could assist the Congolese people to find a solution, and I commend them to the Assembly's attention.

Most particularly, I would urge upon all member states the wisdom of abandoning the sterile sort of dispute which seeks to discredit all but one or another favoured faction in the Congo on the grounds that the others have no valid claim to legality or constitutionality. The view of my Delegation is that legality and constitutionality have for so long been disregarded in the Congo that no faction is immune from this type of attack. This is not intended as criticism of any of the de facto authorities in the Congo. A wise Asian colleague in the Advisory Committee has remarked that legality is not apt to be a feature of revolutionary situations, and this is very true. At the same time I would urge the authorities in the Congo to return to legality and constitutionality in their actions as rapidly as possible. I would draw the Assembly's attention to the Conciliation Commission's recommendations in this connection, because this seems to me to be the best way, and possibly the only way, in which the views of the real sovereign authority - the Congolese people themselves - can be adequately taken into account.