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THE SITUATION IN THE REPUBLIC OF THE CONGO

Report of the United Nations Conciliation Commission
for the Congo

Documents communicated by Mr. Joseph Kasongo

1. Telegram dated 9 September 1960 addressed to the Secretary-General by the President of the Chamber of Representatives through the United Nations representative at Leopoldville

Sir,

The Chamber of Representatives of the Republic of the Congo meeting in an emergency session on 9 September 1960,

Conscious of its responsibilities towards the Nation,

A. Congratulates the UNITED NATIONS on the attitude which it has adopted vis-à-vis the Belgian Government against the delay in implementing the Security Council's resolutions concerning the Province of Katanga.

B. Requests the Secretary-General of the United Nations:

- (1) to free immediately the Congolese national broadcasting station, the arbitrary occupation of which constitutes interference in the country's domestic affairs;
- (2) to leave the supervision of the Republic's aerodromes to the Congolese National Army;
- (3) to negotiate only with the Central Government of the Republic;
- (4) to withdraw from the Congo all United Nations troops belonging to countries which are members of NATO and to replace them by troops from African countries only. This in consequence of the discovery of several Belgian soldiers among the United Nations troops now in the Congo and because Belgium is also a member of NATO;
- (5) to send a Commission to the Congo to supervise the implementation of the Security Council's resolutions on the spot;
- (6) not to reconvene the Security Council in connexion with the question of the Congo before the Council's earlier resolutions have been fully implemented.

C. Protests against:

- (1) the interference of United Nations troops in internal disputes in the Republic of the Congo;
- (2) any attempt to place our independent and sovereign State under the trusteeship of any body whatsoever.

2. Report of the Parliamentary Commission of the Chamber appointed for the reconciliation of the Head of State and the Head of the Government

Leopoldville, 9 September 1960

Gentlemen and distinguished deputies,

In consequence of the decision of the Head of State to dismiss the Prime Minister and some of the Ministers, the Chamber at its meeting of 8 September 1960 set up a Reconciliation Commission. Its aim is to get into touch in the first instance with his Excellency, the Head of State, and to have serious consultations with you, since the way must be paved for an agreement between him and the Government. Lastly, the Commission was to report to the National Assembly concerning the precise reasons justifying such a decision.

Your Commission consists of the following deputies:

Sébastien KAPONGO

Jason SENDWE

Chrysostome WEREKEMERE

André ANEKONZAPA

François FUMU-TAMUSO

Albert LUMANZA

Albert Maurice PAYAKA

On 9 September, at its meeting at 9 a.m., your Commission, before calling on the Head of State, designated Mr. WEREKEMERE as its spokesman in its negotiations with the Head of State and Mr. Jason SENDWE as its rapporteur.

The Head of State received your Commission, and the interview between the Head of State and the Parliamentary delegation lasted one hour and forty minutes. (We note incidentally that contrary to the rumour which was spread to the effect that the first lady of the land, the wife of his Excellency, the Head of State, had left for Belgium, Mrs. KASA-VUBU and her children are at the Residence. She was the first to welcome the Parliamentary delegation, to whose members she introduced all her children).

After seeing Mr. KINI, your Commission was received by the Head of State. The Residence is guarded by a great many African United Nations troops, together with some troops of the Congolese National Army. There are no European United Nations troops, but inside the building there were Belgian and French advisers.

Nor did your Commission see Mr. ILEO there. Seated facing the Head of State, your Commission observed that he had taken his decision with conviction, that he showed no signs of refusing to acknowledge the Parliamentary delegation. He even smiled while asserting that he was at the entire disposal of your Commission.

After thanking the Head of State for granting an interview to the deputies, the spokesman, expressing himself in clear terms, spoke as follows:

- (a) The Head of State was elected, with the confidence of the entire nation, to protect the unity and territorial integrity of the country.
- (b) Consequently, the Head of State, who had taken an oath to this effect in the presence of the nation and the National Assembly, was bound by his oath. He should not take any action without prior consultation with his Parliament as laid down in article 4 of the Loi Fondamentale, which stipulates that the Head of State and the two Chambers form the constituent authority, and article 15 which states that the legislative power shall be exercised, within the limits prescribed by the law, jointly by the Head of State, the Chamber of Representatives and the Senate.
- (c) Mr. WEREKEMERE reminded the Head of State that the nation was in danger of being colonized again, if not as a result of the return of the Belgians, probably by the United Nations. (Here the distinguished deputy disclosed to the Head of State certain facts about the UNITED NATIONS IN AMERICA, which he had observed while he was in the United States). Continuing his statement, the spokesman explained that the Congolese people definitely did not wish to come under the domination of the colonialists again or to be placed under United Nations trusteeship; whatever happened, they wanted to be absolutely independent.
- (d) The distinguished deputy drew the Head of State's attention to the fact that the entire nation wanted him to take effective measures at once to right the situation, which had been jeopardized by the dispute. For that purpose, the Chamber would be very grateful to the Head of State if he would explain to his Parliament the real reasons which led him to take the decision to dismiss the Government.
- (e) Mr. WEREKEMERE asserted that in the present circumstances Mr. ILEO would not be the most appropriate person to form a new Government.

After further explanations, your spokesman concluded with an assurance of the allegiance and devotion of the Chamber to the Head of State. He told him that the Chamber had voided the decision of the Head of State and that it had by no means approved the reply of the Head of the Government. The Chamber's only desire was that the Head of State and his Government should reach an agreement and be reconciled.

THE FOLLOWING IS THE REPLY OF THE HEAD OF STATE.

For his part, the Head of State, expressing himself clearly and plainly, said:

- (a) The Head of State places great reliance on the Chamber.
- (b) It is not the function of the Government, which derives its authority from the Chambers, to make laws but to implement them.
- (c) Our Government must not act with full powers, which would pave the way for a dictatorship. It must be subject to checks.
- (d) For the country, the Parliament is of more consequence than the Council of Ministers.
- (e) The Head of State emphasized his desire that the checks on the Government should be applied not by pressure or attacks but in a wise and constructive manner.
- (f) The Head of State is willing to work with the Government as in the past but the Parliament ought to scrutinize the Government's decrees, which call for certain comments. For instance, the ban on intercourse between the two neighbouring countries, the Congo (Brazzaville) and the Congo (Leopoldville) was imposed without the assent of the Head of State. One day the Head of State met the Minister concerned, asked him how such a decision had been taken and was told by the Minister that he had not been present at the meeting of the Council of Ministers.
- (g) The Head of State wishes to be consulted concerning any decision affecting the country. The same applies to the appointment of certain persons. He does not want to sign documents blindly.
- (h) He had not been aware of the despatch of troops to the Kasai and Katanga, even though he is the supreme commander of the Congolese army.
- (i) The Head of State informed the Commission that some Ministers had told him that meetings of the Council of Ministers are not always attended by all the Ministers but only by some.

Mr. SENDWE interrupted the Head of State to ask him whether he had means at his disposal to restore peace quickly in Katanga and the Kasai without resorting to war, as he himself had asked the Government of the Republic to request the United Nations Secretariat to provide him with a contingent of United Nations troops to protect him when he arrived in Katanga, since Tshombé and the Belgian troops there had very up-to-date weapons which they were using against the opposition. The Secretary-General of the United Nations had unfortunately refused to agree to this peaceable measure, and the representatives of the cartel who went there on that very day were still taking prisoners.

- (j) His Excellency asserted that he had peaceable and very swift ways of summoning Tshombé and Kalondji immediately. Negotiations with a parliamentary delegation are undoubtedly necessary to bring these two provinces into a united Congo without bloodshed. The Head of State is ready to summon them to a place selected by the Parliament in the near future.
- (k) The Head of State indicated that he was still in favour of the partition of Kasai province, or any other province, if the solution succeeds in restoring peace in the region.
- (l) Mr. SENDWE pointed out to the Head of State that, if these peaceable means existed, the Head of State should facilitate the journey of the deputies from Katanga present in the city to Elisabethville. The question of Katanga will be dealt with by all the Katangese including the customary chiefs, as the partition of Katanga is not a matter which can be decided by Tshombé or SENDWE. He drew the attention of the Head of State to the fact that the question of Katanga should be completely dissociated from that of the Kasai, and, adopting a similar approach, Mr. Kapongo said that careful consideration should be given to the matter before any decision was taken on the creation of two provinces in the Kasai.

In conclusion, the Head of State asked firstly for a list of Government decrees which call for certain comments, and, secondly, for the text of the proposal, accompanied by a supporting statement, which will enable him to settle the problems of Katanga and the Kasai immediately by peaceable means.

Thereupon your Commission left the Presidential residence.

Jason SENDWE,
Rapporteur.

Chrysostome WEREKEMERE,
Chairman.

3. Ordinance of 12 September 1960

We, Joseph KASA-VUBU, Head of State,

Having regard to the Loi fondamentale of 19 May 1960 and especially to article 22 thereof:

On the proposal of our Prime Minister,

HEREBY ORDER AS FOLLOWS

Article 1

The new government is composed as hereunder specified:

Mr. Joseph ILEO	Prime Minister
Mr. Justin BOMBOKO	Minister for Foreign Affairs
Mr. Cyrille ADOULA	Minister of the Interior
Mr. Jean BOLIKANGO	Minister of Information
Mr. Albert KALONJI	Minister of Justice
Mr. Pascal NKAYI	Minister of Finance
Mr. Vital MOANDA	Minister of National Defence
Mr. Paul BOLYA	Minister of Public Health
Mr. Marcel BISUKIRO	Minister of Foreign Trade
Mr. SONGOLO	Minister of Communications
Mr. Jean P. DERICOYARD	Minister of Public Works
Mr. Albert DELVAUX	Minister of Labour
Mr. Michel COLLIN	Minister of Public Instruction and National Education
Mr. Alois KABANGI	Minister of Planning
Mr. Jacques MASSA	Minister of Social Affairs
Mr. Alex MAHAMBA	Minister of Lands
Mr. Alphonse ILUNGA	Minister of Arts, Culture and Sport
Mr. Charles KISOLOKELA	Minister of State
Mr. André NGENGE	Minister of State
Mr. OTITA	Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs
Mr. Emmanuel KINI	Secretary of State for Justice

Mr. Vincent MBAKINI	Secretary of State for Mines and Power
Mr. Laurent MBARIKO	Secretary of State for the Interior
Mr. Antoine NGWENZA	Secretary of State for Arts, Culture and Sport

Article 2

In addition to those dismissed earlier by the Ordinance of 5 September 1960, the following Ministers and Secretaries of State of the former government are also removed from office:

Mr. Alphonse NGUVULU
Mr. Joseph LUTULA
Mr. MASENA
Mr. Grégoire KAMANGA
Mr. RUHADINGWA
Mr. Pierre MULELE
Mr. Maurice MPOLO
Mr. André MANDI
Mr. André TSHIBANGU
Mr. Maximilien LIONGO
Mr. Raphaël BATSHIKAMA

Article 3

Our Prime Minister is responsible for giving effect to this Ordinance, which shall enter into force immediately.

Leopoldville, 12 September 1960

By the Head of State
Joseph ILEO
Prime Minister

4. Resolutions adopted at the joint meeting of the two Chambers
on 13 September 1960

Leopoldville, 13 September 1960

The Chamber of Representatives and the Senate, meeting together in special session, have resolved as follows:

Having regard to the gravity of the present situation arising out of the action taken by the Head of State and the Government between 5 September 1960 and the present day:

Whereas the existence of two governments, namely, a LUMUMBU government (LAWFUL) and the ILEO government (UNLAWFUL) is likely to result in anarchy which might cause the disintegration of the Republic of the Congo;

Whereas the unlawful government has already taken a number of measures, including the following:

- (a) the press conference held by Mr. ILEO, former President of the Senate, the presumptuous Prime Minister of the UNLAWFUL government;
- (b) the sending by the same government of a delegation, led by Mr. Justin BOMBOKO, former Minister of Foreign Affairs, to represent the Republic of the Congo in the Security Council, although he could not fail to be aware of the existence of the lawful government which is alone legally and undeniably competent to represent the country;
- (c) the violent manoeuvres of Mr. Jean BOLIKANGO, an accused person, at present released on conditional liberty, who has to answer the charge of prejudicing the internal security of the State, and who without official capacity or authority took over the NATIONAL RADIO with the intent of misleading the public and of provoking disturbances, despite the fact that he was a Deputy;
- (d) the publication of an ordinance naming the ministers in the unlawful government (ILEO).

Whereas, furthermore, by a note dated 9 September 1960 issued by the Cabinet of the Head of State and signed LUYEYE, the latter transmitted instructions to Parliament flouting the prerogatives of the national political institutions, in particular point 6, paragraph 3 of the said instructions;

Whereas by solemn oath on the day of his investiture the Head of State swore before the nation to observe the laws of the Congolese nation, to maintain national independence and the integrity of the territory (article 34 of the Loi fondamentale of 19 May 1960); and the ordinances issued conflict with these objectives;

Whereas, as part of their duties and pursuant to article 51 of the Loi fondamentale of 19 May 1960, the Chambers alone are competent to interpret legislation;

Considering the reports drawn up by the Parliamentary Commission appointed with a view to reconciling the Head of State and the Prime Minister in the matter of the disputes which have arisen between them;

Noting that the various contacts made by the Parliamentary Commission have given us reason to hope that a reconciliation might be achieved between the two political antagonists referred to above, whereas after having given those promises, the Head of State published declarations announcing the formation of an unlawful government and issued the relevant ordinances;

Whereas the higher interest of the nation must prevail over any individual interest. When the whole country is in peril, the Parliament must take its responsibilities as a sovereign institution placed above any speculation by the parties concerned.

Considering that the present situation threatens to degenerate into a fratricidal civil war in which our nation would be the loser, and ill-intentioned foreign parties would benefit.

Whereas there is reason to fear a crisis of authority which would be exploited by the international observers;

The Chambers, meeting in special session on 13 September 1960, have resolved as follows:

- (1) The two Chambers meeting together on this day, grant FULL POWERS to the lawful government headed by Mr. Patrice LUMUMBA, Prime Minister of the Government of the Republic of the Congo, to bring to an end the alarming situation prevailing in the country to the extent that such FULL POWERS may be required in the present crisis.
- (2) A Parliamentary Council composed of the President of the House of Representatives, the President of the Senate, three Deputies selected at the meeting and three Senators, is hereby appointed for the purpose of supervising action by the Government under the present FULL POWERS, and the Government may not take measures in regard to important matters without the prior approval of the said Council.
- (3) The Commission shall report to the Parliament on the action taken by the Government and the circumstances motivating such measures, with a view to the possible revocation of the said powers.
- (4) The present resolutions shall take effect immediately.

THE PRESIDENT OF THE HOUSE

THE PRESIDENT OF THE SENATE

5. Open letter dated 14 September 1960 addressed to Mr. Joseph Kasa-Vubu, President of the Republic of the Congo, Leopoldville, by Mr. J. Kasongo, President of the Chamber of Representatives and Mr. J. Okhito, President of the Senate

Your Excellency,

Since 7 September 1960, the Chamber of Representatives has had before it the dispute between you and the Government in which we have vested authority.

The Chamber of Representatives held a meeting forthwith and unanimously approved the appointment of a Reconciliation Commission to meet you and the Prime Minister in order to find a basis for agreement, in the higher interest of the Congolese nation.

You raised no objection to the desires expressed by the Assembly, and made suggestions which we considered constructive.

The two Chambers, meeting in joint session, vested authority in the lawful Government (the Lumumba Government), with a Parliamentary Council to exercise control over the Government. The National Assembly forthwith sent the Presidents of our two Houses of Parliament together with the Reconciliation Commission in order to bring to your notice the desires of the nation, which are: PEACE IN THE CONGO, in agreement between the Head of State and the Lumumba Government.

You stated that you agreed with the Parliament and wished to see the draft text for the reorganization of the Cabinet and to return to the presidential residence this evening in order to put an end to the dispute.

To our great disappointment we have just received an Ordinance bearing your signature, and countersigned by ILEO, placing Parliament in recess.

There can be only two possible explanations. Either you are repudiating the sovereignty of Parliament, or, unknown to you, papers are being signed in your name by devils.

You must be aware that ILEO has no authority to act in any ministerial capacity whatsoever, having never been recognized by Parliament.

Any document issued by that person in the name of the Congolese Government is invalid, as is any attempt to procure the arrest of the Prime Minister pursuant to any document not submitted to the Chamber. That would be a serious offence.

The international observers have recognized the procedure followed by the Parliament in this matter as a very wise one. Today, you are placing the country in a grave situation. You are the first to betray our country's integrity and our national sovereignty.

The Parliament requires one thing from you for the peace of the Congo: it is that you should forthwith make an official declaration, in writing and signed by you, retracting all these illegal measures.

The Parliament is prepared to take a sovereign decision, without appeal.

We must learn your decision immediately.

Please accept the assurances of our highest consideration.

J. KASONGO

PRESIDENT OF THE CHAMBER
OF REPRESENTATIVES

J. OKITHO

PRESIDENT OF THE SENATE

ORDINANCE

We, Joseph KASA-VUBU, Head of State,

Having regard to the Loi Fondamentale of 19 May 1960, and in particular to articles 31 and 70 thereof;

Having regard to the confusion currently prevailing in the minds of the people, which threatens our country;

On the proposal of our Prime Minister,

HEREBY ORDER AS FOLLOWS:

Article 1

The legislative chambers, meeting in ordinary session in September, shall be in recess for one month

Article 2

Our Prime Minister shall be responsible for carrying out this Ordinance, which shall take effect immediately.

Leopoldville, 14 September 1960

By the Head of State,

J. ILEO

Prime Minister

6. Ministerial reorganization proposed by the Parliamentary Commission on 14 September 1960

Prime Minister	:Patrice LUMUMBA
Deputy Prime Minister	:Cyrille ADOULA
Minister of Foreign Affairs	:Jean WAREGEMERE
Minister of the Interior	:Antoine GIZENGA
Minister of Information	:Mulele PIERRE
Minister of Justice	:Remy MWAMBA
Minister of National Defence	:Christophe GBENYE
Minister of Public Health	:KAMANGA Grégoire
Minister of Commerce and Industry	:BISUKIRO Marcel
Minister of Communications	:SONGOLO Alphonse
Minister of National Education	:KAPONGO Sébastien
Minister of Public Works	:MOANDA Vital
Minister of Economic Affairs	:BOLIKANGO Jean
Minister of Finance	:NKAY Pascal
Minister of Labour	:KASHAMURA Anicet
Minister of Social Affairs	:MASSA Jacques
Minister of Lands	:MICHEL Collin
Minister of Agriculture	:KALONDJU Albert
Minister of Arts	:ILUNGA Alphonse
Minister of State	:KISOLOKELA
Minister of State for the Civil Service	:BOLYA Paul
Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs	:LENGEMA Marcel
" " " for Justice	:KINI Emmanuel
" " " for the Interior	:SHABANI André
" " " for Art and Culture	:NGWENZA Antoine
" " " to the Presidency	:LUMBALA Jean
" " " for Information	:BOLAMBA Roger Antoine
" " " for Finance	:TSHIBANGU
" " " for Foreign Trade	:KIWEWA Antoine
" " " for Internal Trade	:LUTULA
" " " for Mining and Power Resources	:RUDAHINDWA Admond
" " " for National Defence	:KABANGI NUMBI

EMBASSIES:

UNITED NATIONS

FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY, AND COMMON MARKET

BELGIUM

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

FRENCH WEST AFRICA

NORTH AFRICA

UNITED ARAB REPUBLIC

:Thomas KANZA

:MAHAMBIA Alexandre

:KABANGI Aloys

:M'BUYI Joseph

:MANDI André

:PINZI Arthur

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7. Letter dated 14 September 1960 addressed to the Prime Minister, the President of the Senate and the President of the Chamber of Representatives, by Mr. R. Mwamba, Minister of Justice, transmitting to them Mr. Rom's record of interrogation

I have the honour to communicate herewith a copy of the record of interrogation of Mr. Rom, Procureur Général, drawn up this day.

(Signed) R. Mwamba,
Minister of Justice

Record of interrogation

the fourteenth day of September one thousand nine hundred and sixty,
Before us, MWAMBA Remy, Minister of Justice of the Republic of the Congo,

There appeared Mr. ROM René, Procureur Général of the Appeal Court of
Leopoldville,

Of whom we asked the following questions:

- Q. Do you admit that on 6 September 1960 you signed an order compelling the attendance of the Prime Minister, Mr. Patrice Lumumba?
- A. Yes, under moral pressure.
- Q. In what circumstances did you sign this order?
- A. One of the Head of State's cars carrying Mr. Denis came to fetch me from my office at 10 a.m.
- Q. Did you take with you the forms for such an order when they came to fetch you?
- A. No.
- Q. Where did you get that printed form?
- A. As I refused to write the order personally, the Head of State ordered me to take his car, in which two Congolese, whose names I did not know, were seated, to fetch the warrant for arrest. Instead of getting this warrant for arrest, I fetched an order to compel attendance instead of a warrant for arrest.
- Q. How did you come to sign this order?
- A. As they would not be satisfied with the letter that I wrote in their presence, to be handed to Mr. Lumumba, and as I refused to sign a warrant for arrest, I freed myself from the pressure exercised upon me by signing an order to compel his attendance.
- Q. Why did you not inform me immediately after you had signed?
- A. I did immediately inform the deputy head of your office, whose private telephone number I knew, whereas I did not know your private telephone number. I did likewise with Mr. Grootaert, the deputy head of the Prime Minister's office. And I then telephoned directly to the Prime Minister's Office and reported in full detail to Mr. Elongo Medard there, asking him to inform the Prime Minister immediately.

Q. You told me on the evening of Monday, 12 September 1960 in the presence of General Lundula and Colonel Mobutu that you had informed Secretary of State Liongo about the matter on Saturday, 10 September 1960.

A. That is correct. I took advantage of the fact that Mr. Liongo had called me to his office for another matter to speak to him about this.

Q. Why did you not write to me directly and immediately precisely about this matter?

A. Because I trusted the deputy head of your office and I was expecting to be summoned by you at any minute.

We heard Mr. Emile JABON, Deputy Head of the Office of the Ministry of Justice, of whom we asked the following questions:

Q. You have just heard the statements by Procureur Général ROM; what have you to say about them?

A. Procureur Général Rom telephoned me and said that he had been taken to the Head of State, where he had remained from 10 a.m. to 12.20 a.m. and that he had been directed by the Head of State to arrest the Prime Minister. I told him that the Prime Minister should be informed immediately and I reported the conversation to the Secretary of State. There was no talk of signing a warrant or order.

We then heard Secretary of State, Maximilien LIONGO, of whom we asked the following questions:

Q. Mr. Jabon, Deputy Chief of Office, states, in fact in your presence, that he informed you of his earlier telephone conversation with Procureur Général Rom. Do you confirm this statement?

A. On the afternoon of Friday, 9 September 1960, Mr. Jabon, Deputy Head of Office, when talking to me about his insecure position, informed me that the Procureur Général had been taken to the Head of State and kept there from 10 a.m. to 12.20 a.m. without being able to go home, and his wife was worried because she did not know what had happened to her husband. Mr. Jabon did not mention any warrant to me. In the morning of Saturday, 10 September 1960 I telephoned about 9 a.m. to the Procureur Général to ask him to assent to his appointment as Chairman of the Film Censorship Board; during this telephone conversation, I expressed my surprise about what I had learned from Mr. Jabon, that he had been held at the residence of the Head of State on Tuesday, 6 September 1960 and that he had not visited the Minister of Justice's office to report the situation. I asked him to be good enough to visit me at my office that day or on the Monday morning and tell me what had happened. The Procureur Général suggested that he should come about quarter-to-twelve on Saturday. And he did so.

Q. Is it true that the Procureur Général informed you during your conversation that he had signed an order to compel the attendance of Mr. Patrice Lumumba, t Prime Minister?

A. No, he only spoke to me about a warrant for arrest which he said he had refused to sign in the absence of a judicial enquiry.

To Procureur Général ROM:

Q. What have you to say about the statements of Secretary of State LIONGO?

A. There is no contradiction between my statement and that of the Secretary of State.

Q. What about the statements by Mr. Jabon?

A. Same reply. There is only a lack of explanation.

Q. What sort of explanation?

A. A political explanation which does not concern the Procureur Général but of which I wished to inform the Minister of Justice and the Prime Minister in person.

Q. When did you receive this "political news" and when did you wish to inform me?

A. I did not mean "news", but an explanation relating to the events on 6 September 1960.

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I notified the Procureur Général of my decision to suspend him from his duties until further notice.

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The Procureur Général added:

The Minister cannot be unaware of the extent to which I and my family are being abused, even to the point of dishonour, in the entire Belgian press for my loyalty to the Lumumba government, to such a pitch that even my daughter, who has qualified at the University in her first year of medicine, has been asked by her professor to stay in the Congo and not to return to the University of Louvain lest her presence should cause a disturbance. It is therefore improbable that I could have acted against this government.

Note by the Minister of Justice:

Since the Procureur Général states that he is loyal to the Lumumba Government, it would have been more loyal to that Government to refuse to sign the order to compel the attendance of the Prime Minister and it might seem even worse disloyalty to wait from the 6 to 12 September 1960, the date on which Mr. Lumumba was arrested, before reporting these facts.

There appeared:

Emile JABON,
Deputy Head of Office

Réné ROM,
Procureur Général

Maximilien LIONGO,
Secretary of State

Remy MWAMBA,
Minister of Justice

Note: We have taken the following documents from the file in the possession of Procureur Général ROM

- letter signed by Mr. ILEO of 6/9/1960;
- Ordinance of the Head of State of 5/9/1960;
- Copy of the Procureur Général's letter to Deputy Lumumba of 6/9/1960;
- A copy of the order to appear of 6/9/1960 signed O.M.P. Rom.

ORDINANCE

We KASA-VUBU Joseph, Head of State:

Having regard to the Loi Fondamentale of 19 May 1960, and in particular to article 22 of the same

HEREBY ORDER:-

Article 1

Mr. LUMUMBA Patrice, member of the Chamber of Representatives, is hereby dismissed from his office as Prime Minister and from all his other ministerial duties.

Article 2

Mr. MWAMBA Remy, Mr. GEBENYE Christophe, Mr. KASHAMURA Anicet, Mr. BOLAMBA Antoine, Mr. GIZENGA Antoine and Mr. LUMBALA Jacques are hereby dismissed from their offices as Minister of Justice, Minister of the Interior, Minister of Information, Secretary of State in the Ministry of Information, Deputy Prime Minister and Secretary of State in the Prime Minister's Office, respectively.

Article 3

Mr. ILEO Joseph, Senator, is hereby appointed Prime Minister, Minister of National Defence and Minister of Justice.

Article 4

Our Prime Minister, Mr. ILEO Joseph, shall be responsible for carrying this Ordinance into effect, which shall enter into force immediately.

Leopoldville, Monday 5 September 1960, 7 p.m.

(Signed) THE HEAD OF STATE

By the Head of State
Justin BOMBOKO,
Minister of Foreign Affairs;
Albert DELVAUX,
Minister.

Leopoldville, 6 September 1960.

To the Procureur Général of the Appeals Court of and at LEOPOLDVILLE.

Sir,

I have the honour hereby to direct you immediately to arrest Mr. LUMUMBA Patrice, member of the Chamber of Representatives, on the following charge:

That, after having been removed from his office as Prime Minister on 5 September 1960 by ordinance of the Head of State, countersigned by Ministers DELVAUX Albert and BOMBOKO Justin, he did on that day, from 9 p.m. to 10 p.m., utter from the Congolese National Broadcasting Station public and violent speeches inciting the people to overthrow the established authorities and the lawful régime established by the Loi Fondamentale of 19 May 1960.

(Signed) Joseph ILEO,
Prime Minister and Minister
of Justice

ORDER TO COMPEL ATTENDANCE

(Decree of 11 July 1923 - Art. 31)

We, Agent of the Attorney General's Office at the Court of First Instance at LEOPOLDVILLE,

Having seen the papers in the proceedings against Deputy Patrice LUMUMBA, charged with inciting the people against the established authorities in breach of article 186 of the Penal Code,

whereas the person charged is not present and his attendance is necessary:

Under article 31 of the Decree of 11 July 1923

hereby direct and order that the aforesaid Mr. Patrice LUMUMBA be arrested and brought before us. We require all members of the Force Publique to furnish assistance, by force if necessary, for the purpose of giving effect to this order which we have signed.

Leopoldville, 6 September 1960

(signed)

The Agent of the Attorney General's Office.

REPUBLIC OF THE CONGO
OFFICE OF THE PROCUREUR GENERAL

Leopoldville, 6 September 1960

To Mr. Patrice LUMUMBA, Deputy,

Residence of the Prime Minister

LEOPOLDVILLE

Sir,

I have just received from Mr. Joseph ILEO, Senator, now Prime Minister, Minister of National Defence and Minister of Justice, a charge against your person with a request to take immediate action in pursuance thereof on the following grounds: "That after having been removed from his office as Prime Minister on 5 September 1960 by Ordinance of the Head of State, countersigned by Ministers DELVAUX Albert and BOMBOKO Justin, he did on that day from 9 p.m. to 10 p.m. utter from the Congolese National Broadcasting Station public and violent speeches inciting the people to overthrow the established authorities and the lawful régime established by the Loi Fondamentale of 19 May 1960."

This charge relates to a serious breach of article 186 of the Penal Code and I am obliged to institute an immediate enquiry.

May I ask you to be kind enough to call at my office as soon as you receive this communication.

When delivering this communication to you the bearer will confirm to you at the same time the tenor of the Ordinance issued on 5 September by the Head of State, a copy of which is enclosed for your information.

I await you in my office and ask you to accept, Deputy, the assurance of my highest esteem.

(Signed): R. ROM
Procureur Général

COPY

Office of the Prime Minister

Leopoldville

SERIOUS AND IRREVOCABLE DECISION TAKEN BY THE
GOVERNMENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF THE CONGO

I, the undersigned, P. LUMUMBA, President of the Government of the Republic of the Congo;

In view of the deplorable state of political affairs prevailing in the country;

Considering the continuous interference of the United Nations authorities in the problems of the country;

Considering the plots which these authorities are continually hatching in the corridors on behalf of KASA-VUBU - ILEO - TSHOMBE - KALONJI;

Considering that the United Nations and the Security Council are paying no heed to my telegram requesting aircraft, arms and munitions;

- (1) I DECLARE THE MISSION OF THE UNITED NATIONS IN THE CONGO TERMINATED.
- (2) ON BEHALF OF THE GOVERNMENT and of the ENTIRE NATION and by virtue of the FULL POWERS VESTED IN ME, I hereby decide to take the following measures:
 - (a) the Secretary-General of the United Nations is invited to withdraw, without discussion and from the entire territory of the Republic, his technical experts and armed forces within a week from to-day's date;
 - (b) the persons responsible for the Government will manage, freely, to find elsewhere the technical and military assistance which they wish to bring to the Congo;
 - (c) if the United Nations continues its destructive activities in the Congo despite this decision, that Organization will soon see the shedding of the blood of its experts and of its armed forces;
 - (d) before the expiry of the one week's time limit Soviet forces will inevitably be in the Congo in order to:

evict the United Nations from our Republic, should that Organization turn a deaf ear and refuse completely to evacuate the country within the time limit granted; solve by force the Kasa-Vubu - Tshombé - Kalonji - Ileo question and all similar political questions so that the political balance is weighted, either peaceably or forcibly, to the side of the Lumumba Government, which alone ought to be recognized as lawful.

Lastly, I draw the attention of those observing this nation to this U L T I M A T U M, which I notify to those responsible for the situation, declaring that if it is necessary to call on the DEVIL to save the country which is in danger of being overwhelmed by anarchy, I will do so without hesitation, convinced as I am that with the total support of the SOVIETS I shall emerge triumphant despite everything.

Leopoldville, 16 September 1960

(Signed) P. LUMUMBA

Prime Minister

8. Letter dated 17 September 1960 addressed to the President of the Chamber of Representatives and to the President of the Senate at Leopoldville by Mr. P. Lumumba, Prime Minister

Gentlemen,

I have the honour to refer to the conversation which I have just had with you and to confirm that I had no part in the drafting of the document which you showed me. The document in question is undoubtedly a forgery prepared by my adversaries with a view to harming my interests, as is their wont.

I have never taken any decision outside the Council of Ministers; and we held no meeting on 16 September.

This document was typed on two machines with different type faces. Furthermore, the heading is "President of the Government of the Republic" - a title which I have never used; I always sign as "Prime Minister".

This document was undoubtedly drawn up by those who brutally expelled the Ambassador of the Soviet Union without consulting the Government and Parliament. Is it rational to break off diplomatic relations with a great country such as the Soviet Union and in such a humiliating way without consulting Parliament?

What is the significance of our policy of neutrality now?

There is a patent move to keep the Congo under the economic domination of the imperialist powers at any cost. That is a dangerous course, for it leads to the gradual loss of our sovereignty.

Realizing the seriousness of their brutal, blundering acts, those responsible seek by under-handed methods to discredit the man they wish to destroy.

I could never compromise the future of the Congo by taking such a dangerous course. I have only the interests of the inhabitants of this country at heart.

At the outset of the incidents I addressed a spontaneous appeal to the United Nations for assistance. Parliament approved my request. Consequently, I cannot forgo that assistance without first consulting Parliament.

It has been my policy to work with Parliament in a team spirit. My Government will take no important decision without consulting the recently appointed Parliamentary Commission.

I request that a court of inquiry be held in order to investigate the origins of this forgery; it constitutes a libellous attack on my honour.

I have the honour to be, etc.

P. Lumumba.
Prime Minister.

9. Letter dated 22 September 1960 addressed to the Special United Nations Representative at Leopoldville by Mr. J. Okhito, President of the Senate and Mr. J. Kasongo, President of the Chamber of Representatives.

Sir,

We have just been informed of the resolution adopted in connexion with the admission of the Republic of the Congo to the United Nations.

It appears from this resolution that, with the object of safeguarding law and order and the public peace in the Congo and owing to the present circumstances, the Congolese National Army should be disarmed for six months.

This being the case, we request you to give effect at once to the resolution in question, particularly so far as the armed forces of Leopoldville are concerned.

We would also point out that any delay in this operation might result in the country's falling into chaos and anarchy, an eventuality for which you would automatically share responsibility.

We have deemed it necessary to address you in these frank terms so that you can take the necessary steps at once in a spirit of pacification.

We also witnessed the humiliating expulsion of the ministers from their homes this afternoon to provide space for the State commissioners. As this is an abnormal situation, we should be grateful if you would take the necessary steps to ensure the safety of all the Ministers of the Central Government and their property, by having their residences guarded by United Nations forces.

We have the honour to be, etc.

J. OKHITO
President of the Senate

J. KASONGO
President of the Chamber of Representatives

10. Letter dated 3 October 1960 addressed to the President of the Republic of the Congo by Senator S. Mouponde, on behalf of the Customary Chiefs

Sir,

By virtue of the customary power vested in me, I must take the liberty - with every justification - of informing you of my great disappointment regarding your conduct in the crisis through which the Republic is now passing.

You are not unaware that Colonel MOBUTU recently declared it as his policy to paralyze the Head of State, the Prime Minister and the two rival governments as well as Parliament. The terms of that declaration are clear and cannot be interpreted to mean that the Head of State is to escape that neutralization. The Head of State ignores the fact that it is impossible for him to exercise the powers which MOBUTU has taken away from him and which are concentrated entirely in the CONGOLESE NATIONAL ARMY. What is abundantly clear is the fact that no institution other than the NATIONAL ARMY now has any power.

I am therefore greatly disappointed to see that while all these neutralized institutions remain inactive, the Head of State, by contrast, sees fit to adopt harsh measures and uses armed force to silence the people and to carry out despotic arrests of Members of Parliament, who are the rightful representatives of the people, the fountainhead of power.

You knew as well as I did that MOBUTU was not elected by any part of the population and that he cannot, therefore, speak for and in place of the people. Colonel MOBUTU's decision is ineffective unless approved by you. You had yourself approved the measure neutralizing you adopted by Colonel MOBUTU. What is incomprehensible and inadmissible is the fact that, having approved the measure preventing the exercise of your functions, you could then, contradicting yourself, continue to exercise the power taken away from you.

You push your illegality to the point of absurdity by letting a government continue to function and by setting up a college of minors under the designation of Commissioners-General without the consent of Parliament, whose power is derived directly from the people and which is the supreme body among the institutions of the Republic. **UNIQUE IN THE HISTORY OF MANKIND!!!!**

When you dare to speak of the ILEO government, can you tell me on what you base your claim regarding its position? I quite agree that ILEO, like any other elected representative of the people, can organize a team of candidates, but it can never have the right to call itself a government until the people, through their elected representatives, approve it. Will the people apply to the residence of the Head of State for supplies and for the moral and physical support which they expect from their lawful Government? If it is true that ILEO formed a popular government then why does it not appear before the people? Is it a government for the people?

The Republic expressed its choice freely, through the system of representation, the system of democracy. I am referring to "power by the people". Only the people, then, have the right to power and the right to elect to public office. Consequently, the people, who hold the power, cannot allow anyone else to supplant them and to lead them, even by force, where they do not wish to be led.

You and your personal government disregard the power of the people. You use measures of intimidation to silence the people. You use the people's own force, the force of the Congolese Nation, to prevent them from speaking and even from entering Parliament, the forum for their deliberations. You use your influence to have anyone who does not share your political opinions arrested by the Mukongo Youth.

The course of events has clearly shown that you were not in the service of the people but in that of only a part of the people, specifically that of the Bakongo. For you are Head of State in order to concern yourself - even though you have been divested of power - with small matters such as the appointment of a first Burgomaster!!! All your activity has revealed incoherence and ill will.

While you are living outside the law, you are shouting legality from the rooftops. It has been clearly shown that you have betrayed the confidence which the people placed in you. For that very reason we cannot follow you blindly as your protégés do because of their fanatic slogan "Fana mbuta muntu katelele".

You may try in vain to control us in the manner of Louis XIV.

I was born a Customary Chief and throughout my life I have never seen or heard of an old man meeting the devil; nor have I ever seen a chief arrest a thief or his wife accused of misbehaviour. It is children who meet the devil and sow confusion and panic. The chief does not arrest; he gives orders to his court to arrest the guilty. As for you, you have made yourself a sower of confusion, and have even gone so far as to introduce politics into the army. To further your schemes, you go so far as to make commitments with the Belgians, the French, the English, the Americans and even the Devil himself. You have sold yourself by committing the Republic, which has just attained its independence at great cost.

All your plots have been revealed. Your manoeuvres, however secret they may be, do not escape us.

1. Mr. "E", under the label of the United Nations, makes you an offer of \$100 million which you accept, promising in return to permit the occupation of our country by the United Nations. If there was an assistance agreement, such an agreement should have been concluded only with the Government. What Minister would countersign such an undertaking? The evidence is now clear. The United Nations, called by the Lumumba Government to maintain law and order in the Republic, which was first disturbed on 3-4 July 1960 by the Belgians, and then by you, when you authorized the JABAKO to replace the militia, has become a commercial and industrial concern and even offered loans to our citizens?!!!

2. On 13 September 1960, assisted by Dr. Dubois, Bolikango, Dondo and Ileo, you brought 5,000 machine guns and a total of 10,000 revolvers including those requisitioned in Mr. De Wolff's motorboat. To what army were these weapons delivered?

On the other hand, if Gizenza and Lumumba requisition munitions for the interests of all the inhabitants against any foreign aggressor, they are accused of Communism and every other sin. You are urged to list these weapons in the inventory of the National Army immediately.

On the same day you asked Abbé Youlou for 25 well equipped aircraft to bombard Kikwit, where the members of the PSA are more numerous, thereby reducing them from a majority to a minority, for the benefit of the ABAKO minority, in order to carry out your plan for the Mukongo government in Leopoldville province. Of course, the PSA is an insurmountable obstacle to your plans, in that it helps to keep Mr. Lumumba in the post of Prime Minister.

You may be surprised to learn that one of your aircraft sent to destroy Kikwit was captured because you did not heed the protests against your plan by the Communists of Brazzaville. As your plans are still frustrated by the presence of Ghanaian and Guinean troops you will do everything possible to prevail upon the so-called representative of the Secretary-General of the United Nations at Leopoldville, who is in fact helping you to attain your goal, to withdraw them. We shall therefore protest vehemently against the withdrawal of the troops of these two African countries and shall insist that, instead, the ones who should be withdrawn are the United Nations soldiers from European countries and particularly Mr. DAYAL.

3. Dismissing Prime Minister Lumumba legally, but incorrectly, you ordered the NATIONAL ARMY to be disarmed so that the United Nations alone can provide the militia. Fortunately, our military, who are familiar with your intrigues, did not obey that order; you proved how you had sold this country to the United Nations. When you realized that the army was slipping from your control, however, you set about buying it, using gifts supplied to you by the United Nations, which was afterwards to occupy the country (your request for United Nations TRUSTEESHIP).

4. The first manoeuvre having failed, you had to appeal to another force, the 750 Belgian Parachute Commando troops stationed at Brazzaville, until your position was more secure,

On 1 October 1960 you did not hesitate to order the withdrawal of 24 million francs from the Banque Centrale Nationale to buy back the allegiance of your Bakongo soldiers at Camp Leopold and Thysville. This order was not countersigned by any minister. What are you doing for the other soldiers of your National Army if you pay only those who have sold you their allegiance? You are only seeking civil war and the balkanization of the Republic. Afterwards, in case of failure, you will escape to France where your friend Croquez is waiting for you and is now preparing your place with your family. We are in possession of the letter which he sent you.

5. Your goal of giving all the key posts to the Bakongo with Nzenza Landu at the head of the Government is not unknown to us. You have clearly proved it by the interminable appointments to the posts of Minister of National Defence and First Burgomaster and that of Colonel of Parliament MOANDA.

6. Your advisers urge you to shout louder to be heard; we cannot ignore them. The Couraf is there to bear witness.

After all this, how can you still claim that you are the head of a State of fourteen million people when you are in fact only the head of your 800,000 Bakongo. The Bangala and the Bayaka, whom you wish to corrupt, have seen through your designs precisely because of the many previous examples of your tribalist behaviour. The Bangala will never eat mfumbwa in order to become Bakongo. And the Bayaka, though they eat mfumbwa like the Bakongo, have never forgotten how you treated them and how you wish to treat them once you have them under your control!

Unfortunately for you, the Congo will never fall into the hands of Kasa-Vubu, Bolikango, Iléo, Kalondji, Tshombe, Moanda, Nzeza Landu, Dondo, Kingotale, and Diomi, as you believe. It will remain one and indivisible until Parliament decides otherwise, and it will always belong to the native Congolese.

As customary chief and senator I cannot stand idly by while the people place their trust in a Head of State who, disregarding the power of the people, constantly spreads anarchy and disorder. I ask the people, the source of power, to withdraw unconditionally the trust which it has mistakenly voted to place in you. As you have sold out to the Belgians and their associates and because in order to remain independent you have to have 750 Belgian commando parachutists and UN troops from European countries, you have disappointed us and therefore no longer deserve the position of Head of State. You have no diplomatic tact whatever. You have no line of conduct other than to pursue the ABAKO policy which you sponsor, as a Head of State of citizens who do not share your opinion.

Mr. KASA-VUBU, relinquish the throne humbly and go live in peace with the billions which you have received from Mr. "H".

From the moment when the people realized that you had committed an act of treason by selling your country to the capitalists, it was indignant to see the country headed by its common enemy.

The "KONGO dia NTOTILA", which in any case no longer exists except in your dreams, has never belonged to you. If you know history, who is the king who left the Congo for Rome by foot and who died there? Was he a Mukongo? He was a Mutsamba-Mumbala, whom you hate bitterly to this day - is that not true? This kingdom belongs to the Mutsamba and not to the Mukongo.

You are trifling with the people, but the people will soon be jeering at you.

As to your arbitrary arrests of GIZENGA, MPOLO, MPAKASA and MUNANGA, in order to have them executed in Katanga by your associate TSHOMBE and your recent arrest of YUMBU and many others from Kwilu-Kwango, to have them murdered in your own realm, Thysville - these put you on a footing with le Roi Soleil himself.

Since you are king, be good enough to sign a document declaring civil war on the Bayaka and on all those who oppose you, the king.

We give you a final warning that unless our adjutant MUNANGA Gabriel, who was removed from the gendarmarie camp, formerly the airforce camp, in mid-September 1960, is returned to us within ten days from the date of receipt of this letter, we shall order every Mukongo, including you, who is encountered in the streets, or in public or private places, even at home, to be attacked.

Cling to your position with your arms and munitions and we shall hold ours without munitions; we shall see who will win.

In conclusion I will say, Mr. Head of State, that your conduct can no longer be taken seriously. To trifle with the people through its Parliament, the supreme body of the country, is an unforgivable offence.

Mr. KASA-VUBU, can you tell me how many times you have tried in vain in Belgium to obtain independence? How many press conferences have you held since you returned from Belgium?

Besides, if we had known when you came to us with your requests that you would bring us to such a sorry pass, you would never have been accepted as Head of State.

It is useless to tell you to change your methods at once. You must stop organizing militia among the Mukongo youth in order to arrest decent people. What does the people gain from the disturbances which you are continually causing? Why do you wish to set against one another people who have always lived together on friendly terms.

I know you too well to be able to defend you in the eyes of the world. I am not unaware that you are the one whom the ambitious leaders of ABAKO persuade, illegally, to sign documents committing the entire Republic. Mend your ways and all will be well.

As Customary Chief, on my death my son will succeed me on the traditional throne, but can you say the same of yourself?

Once you have adopted a policy of fairness and strictest neutrality with respect to the parties, there will be nothing to prevent our placing our confidence in you again.

I have the honour to be, etc.

(Signed) Senator MOUNPONDO S.

For the Customary Chiefs.

11. Letter dated 7 October 1960 addressed to Colonel J. Mobutu, Chief of Staff of the Congolese Army by Mr. J. Kasongo, President of the Chamber of Representatives

Colonel :

It is highly regrettable for me to note that you are employing armed force to prevent Parliament, the most representative body in the country, from meeting for the purpose of hearing the voice of the Nation, while at the same time you are freely permitting a pro-colonialist press to spread hatred among the children of this country.

I am aware that there is such a thing as freedom of the press, but it should have certain limits.

At a time when the situation is becoming more and more unsettled and when the country is still in danger, it is impossible to tolerate the uncontrolled publication of the newspaper "COURRIER D'AFRIQUE", which does nothing but foment disorder and hatred in the minds of our citizens.

I am not opposed to the publication of this newspaper, but I want it to print facts, events and stories which are true.

At the present time, this newspaper publishes only lies devoid of all foundation.

The fact that you are preventing the nation's elected representatives from studying conditions in the Congo is sufficient proof of your intention to let this beautiful country of ours relapse into colonialism.

Whatever side you may support, I ask you to give Parliament complete freedom to right the situation.

It is undeniable that certain governments are being established, or have already been established; these governments will never function without being invested by Parliament.

In order that anyone wishing to form a government can present it to the country's Parliament, it is urgently necessary that the Chambers should resume their normal activities.

Since I do not question your patriotism, I hope that you will understand the need for what has been said above.

I have the honour to be, etc.

J. KASONGO

President of the Chamber
of Representatives

12. Letter dated 10 October 1960 addressed to Mr. Joseph Mobutu, head of the National Congolese Army, by Mr. Joseph Kasongo, President of the Chamber

Dear Colonel :

With reference to my letter of 7 October 1960, I have the honour, in the light of various visits paid me by several representatives and in view of the events which are becoming more serious every day, to request you to permit the opening of Parliament so that it can resume its meetings and so that we can attend to our unfinished business, that concerning the constitution, for example.

Although we understood the implications of the position which you assumed by neutralizing both the Head of State and the Prime Minister, we thought that you were going to ally yourself with Parliament, an institution which represents the nation, with a view to improving the critical situation which is making us a laughing-stock in the eyes of the world.

I regret to note, however, that my above-mentioned letter was so worded as to leave my intentions open to misinterpretation to the point where you were offended, although it is far from my mind to put things in such a way. If you have misunderstood my letter, which is very possible, I shall frankly correct it and deal exclusively with the business concerning Parliament. Only, I did not think that you would misinterpret facts which I mentioned merely for the purpose of showing you the other side.

I should like to remind you, Colonel, that everything depends on the way in which you continue to view the situation. If you think - in accordance with the plan of certain agents of the United Nations - that the Congo can remain one week longer without a government and without permitting Parliament to meet, you know as well as I do that there is the risk that our enemies will profit by our mistake, judge us incapable of governing ourselves and, as a result, place us under the trusteeship of the United Nations or some other Power. You no longer have any doubts, I am sure, that it was the U.N. people who drove back your first contingent of troops who were supposed to go abroad for training. You will tell me, perhaps, that this is not possible, for our army will not stand for it! But are we the ones to pay the price, which would be nothing less than the loss, by massacre, of these poor innocent men's lives?

I hope that you, like myself and all other citizens, are concerned about saving our country's face. We must all give priority to the higher interests of the Nation. Moreover, your position on this point should be explained.

After reading this letter, please disabuse yourself of any misunderstandings which were on the point of arising so that we can view the problems in a clearer light, approach them with complete objectivity and restore the political security which is the only means of creating a better social and economic life, now at a standstill.

With the assurance of my patriotic sentiments.

Joseph KASONGO

President of the Chamber

13. Letter dated 17 October 1960 addressed to the United Nations representative at Leopoldville by Mr. Joseph Kasongo, President of the Chamber

Sir,

I am told that Colonel Mobutu has stationed a detachment of troops from Thysville at the Ndjili airport with orders to arrest deputies and senators of the Lumumba party.

Since these persons enjoy parliamentary immunity, such arrests cannot be carried out without the prior authorization of the Chamber of which they are members.

Consequently, I request you to station U.N. troops at this point for the protection of the deputies and senators who are now in the interior and who will be arriving at Leopoldville very shortly.

Would you please also ask Colonel Mobutu to inform you in what prison these innocent persons are being held.

Thanking you in advance, I am, etc.

Signed : Jos. KASONGO

President of the Chamber

14. Letter dated 19 October 1960 addressed to the United Nations representative at Léopoldville by Mr. Joseph Kasongo, President of the Chamber

Sir,

I understand that the transport companies, particularly Sabena, have been given a list of members of Parliament who are not loyal to Mr. Kasa-Vubu

Innocent deputies returning to Léopoldville are taken directly to Luzumu prison without having been convicted of any crime.

In the interests of protecting human rights and freedoms and the safety of deputies who enjoy parliamentary immunity, I would be very grateful to you if the U.N. would assign its troops to maintain order and public safety at all critical points in Congolese territory.

Thanking you in advance, I have the honour to be, etc.

J. KASONGO

President of the Chamber

15. Letter dated 25 October 1960 addressed to the College of Commissioners General at Léopoldville by Mr. Joseph Kasongo, President of the Chamber

Gentlemen,

In the name of the Congolese Parliament and in the name of the Nation, I take the liberty to remind you of your civic and patriotic duties.

When Colonel Mobutu appealed to you to work for our country, all members of Parliament thought that you were going to concern yourselves exclusively with technical matters.

To my great regret, I note that you have abandoned your role as technicians and instead are assuming political authority which was never granted you by the Congolese people.

You ignore the fact that an elected representative of the people may not necessarily be a university professor, just as a person holding political power cannot become a technician. In no country have university faculties ever been in a position to use illegal means to place themselves in power. This usurpation of authority will not go unpunished and the history of the Congo will tell who was right.

Colonel Mobutu has claimed that he is neutralizing the government, the Head of State (?) and Parliament. But we have seen that this is sheer hypocrisy. Your mandate from the - neutralized - Head of State creates a dilemma: either Colonel Mobutu's action has not neutralized anything, in which event the government and Parliament are still in power; or else Mobutu has voided all the constituent power and your mandate from Mr. Kasa-Vubu is ineffective and consequently stupid. I would like to know, then, whether your appointment to power derives from the Head of State or from Colonel Mobutu. The decisions of either of these two persons - decisions which may commit the Congo - have no force of law, since any law, in order to be legally valid, must emanate from the legislative branch.

The Congolese Parliament, the legislative body, is neutral; it cannot be the hireling of any political party but remains devoted to the higher interests of the nation. As technicians, you should act as free judges to make the leaders, who are your seniors - in spite of you - realize their responsibilities. But this, alas! you have not done, which has shocked us deeply.

You have clearly and unequivocally pronounced yourselves against the sovereign institution of the Congolese nation. You have trampled under foot the democracy which is admittedly ours under the United Nations Charter. You are insulting the Congolese people and all Africa.

You turn out laws, you amend the Loi fondamentale governing the structure of the Republic of the Congo; you make it impossible for Parliament to meet; you deprive citizens of the rights of freedom, the right to move freely in their own country; you deny the people's elected representatives the right to freedom of expression and opinion. You keep the people's elected representatives prisoners at Léopoldville and prevent them from going to their own constituencies and provinces. And while doing this you dare to say that you are working for the good of the Congo!

Each of you is individually answerable for the acts of all, and I must remind you that in the near future you and those who have recognized your illegal authority will have to render an account to the Congolese nation. I tell you this quite freely and appeal to your sense of patriotism.

I would be greatly obliged if you would reply to me through your Council of Commissioners General, speaking for the responsibilities of the College as a whole and those of the persons composing this College in particular.

I have the honour to be, etc.

Joseph KASONGO

President of the Chamber.

16. Letter dated 25 October 1960 addressed to the Secretary-General of the United Nations at New York, through his Special Representative at Leopoldville, by Mr. Joseph Kasongo, President of the Chamber of Representatives

Sir,

On the occasion of the fifteenth anniversary of the establishment of the United Nations, I have the great honour to present to you, on behalf of the Congolese Parliament and on my own behalf, my sincere congratulations on the United Nations work in the Congo.

The Congolese Government (Lumumba Government), avoiding the shedding of its people's blood and schisms deliberately prepared by the Belgian colonialist occupying power, requested United Nations assistance, both military, financial and technical, during a disturbed state of affairs. This assistance was offered by the United Nations and was accepted by the Central Government as stated in the resolutions of 17 July and 9 August 1960.

There were indeed some misunderstandings due, unfortunately, to differing views which prevailed as between certain leaders of the Government and the United Nations, misunderstandings which were happily allayed by explanations on either side, and normal relations would have been established if the disputes of the present crisis had not arisen.

The celebrations which you are planning in the Congo should be the forerunner of the re-establishment of this political security for which we are so anxious. We have repeatedly urged that it is the armed forces of the United Nations which should help the lawful government recognized by Parliament to fight the anarchy of Leopoldville which is the root of our present insecurity. It is very logical that if someone is in favour of security, he cannot tolerate insecurity or advocate both at the same time.

The lofty and overriding task of the United Nations in the Congo is to work together with the power democratically established in accordance with the structure of the nation to make a reality of this independence within the unity and the integrity of the country. The reverse would be a defeat, which could not fail to be reflected in bloody disorders, civil and fratricidal wars, banditry or terrorism and ultimately a world war.

The Congolese Parliament, conscious of its responsibilities to the Congolese nation and the international community, has realized that and has clearly shown its sense of the general interest and democratic freedoms and has performed its duty by avoiding all violence which might lead to consequences that might be salutary, but would be regrettable in that they would cost the lives of the innocent Congolese masses. That is why the Parliament has never ceased asking the United Nations to help it to meet and settle on a sound basis this political crisis which is leading the country into a situation fraught with economic and social woes.

The instigators of anarchy and of the disturbances among which we are now living have the temerity to issue illegal laws and are violating the existing laws in order to achieve their aim, which is to procure the Congo's relapse into servitude and recolonialization.

On behalf of the people represented by Parliament and on behalf of the Congolese nation, we strongly protest against the attitude of the Commissioners-General and against any support that may be given them. We declare an enemy of the Congo any nation which supports the College of Commissioners-General morally, technically or financially, and all the trouble-makers, led by Colonel MOBUTU and Mr. KASA-VUBU. Any commitment entered into by these persons, now recognized as enemies of the Congolese people, will never be honoured by the Congo.

May United Nations day be the prelude to the accomplishment of the onerous and important mission which all the neutral and disinterested nations expect the United Nations to perform.

I express again to you the confidence that the Parliament - representing the Congolese nation - reposes in the United Nations for its success in restoring to power the democratically elected central government and in the technical and financial assistance which the Congo expects of it.

I have the honour to be, etc.

(Signed) KASONGO, Joseph
President of the Chamber.

17. Letter dated 27 October 1960 addressed to the Special Representative of the United Nations at Leopoldville by Mr. Joseph Kasongo, President of the Chamber of Representatives

Sir,

I have learned from broadcasts that Deputies SONGOLO, ZAMBE, BAELONGANDI, OTITA, DANGA have been arrested at Stanleyville by the armed forces and that Mr. FINANT Jean Pierre, President of the Stanleyville Provincial Government, has been imprisoned at LUZUMU for nearly a month.

Since these Deputies enjoy parliamentary immunity, I ask you to intervene and see to it that they are released and sent to Léopoldville and that Mr. Finant Jean Pierre is also released and returns to his duties at Stanleyville.

I have the honour to be, etc.

(Signed) KASONGO Joseph,
President of the Chamber.

18. Letter dated 28 October 1960 addressed to Mr. Joseph Kasa-Vubu, Head of State of the Republic of the Congo, by Mr. Joseph Kasongo, President of the Chamber

Your Excellency,

On learning of all the fine propaganda which you are making for loyalty and justice, I must regretfully convey to you, on behalf of the Chamber of Representatives, my protests regarding the abuses of power constantly committed by you.

You declared the two Chambers in recess for one month from 14 September to 14 October 1960. I believed that you were taking that step, which was never approved by us, in the higher interest of the nation.

I telephoned you on 13 October 1960 to ask you to allow the Parliament to sit; you replied that you would think the matter over!?

On your own initiative, you set up a College of Commissioners General to replace the democratically established institutions. As a result of this establishment of armed force, a wave of terrorism has swept into Leopoldville; there have been arbitrary arrests, atrocious tortures, women and children have been raped, and theft is common.

Despite their parliamentary immunity, deputies and senators are liable to shameful molestation and arbitrary arrest.

Under some pretext a so-called military coup d'état was arranged by Colonel Mobutu with the alleged object of neutralizing the Head of State, the Government, and the Parliament. As we have seen, however, the action was aimed only at the Parliament and the Government, for on your own you have continued to issue laws and ordinances, countersigned by ministers in whom the Parliament has vested no authority.

The elementary rules of democracy are no longer respected by you. You have trampled underfoot the people's will. You consider the Congolese Parliament as non-existent and thus you are installing the very despotism and dictatorship with which you yourself reproached Mr. Lumumba.

You were one of the participants at the political round-table meeting at Brussels. You are one of the heroes of the independence of the Congo. You are ignoring the fact that the Congo opted in favour of the parliamentary system. You have nothing to hold against the Congolese Parliament, otherwise you would have taken the action open to you under the Loi fondamentale and called the Chambers into session to warn them against, or inform them of, what was happening.

Our citizens are at present being treated like beasts of burden, because they do not follow some particular line.

You have forgotten that you should place yourself above any tribe, ethnic group or political faction in order to merit your place as first citizen of the Congolese nation.

In the name of the nation, as represented by its elected deputies, I categorically dissociate myself from the serious consequences which your present attitude involves for the country. To repudiate the sovereignty of the Parliament which vested you with the powers of Head of State implies repudiation of the rights of the Congolese people. To permit any intruder to sabotage the legal institutions of the nation clearly accounts for your co-operation with the west in order to hand the Congo back for recolonization or neo-colonialism.

All that is on your head. Your patriotic conscience and sense of duty towards the nation of the Congolese people must be a source of great reproach for you. Time will tell who was right.

Then there are your Western advisers who continue to abuse and undermine our institutions; the Nation is closely following your actions, for which you alone are responsible.

For whereas you thought you were taking into your own hands all legislative, executive and judicial powers, in fact you cannot take any action which commits the Congo and the Government.

To-morrow the conflicts which afflict our institutions will no longer be settled by your advisers, who are hostile to the Congo, but by us, nationals of this country.

A government which no longer recognizes the separation of power can be described only as despotic and dictatorial; you alone are responsible for that.

I appeal once more to your sense of patriotism and nationalism to endeavour, in all conscience, and by placing yourself above all influence, to free yourself from partisan domination and to recognize the sovereignty of the Parliament. If you chase away the people's elected representatives, they will all eventually come running back, for each of them has his own constituency, which cannot be disputed.

Under the pretext of adjourning the Chambers you have suppressed them, without making any provision for the return of the elected representatives to their constituencies. It would have been more human on your part to consider that outside the Parliament the deputies and senators have families to whom they should return if they have nothing to do at Leopoldville. I also appeal to your Christian conscience to consider them as your fellow-men and to release them from this political prison in which you are detaining them arbitrarily.

Any delay in putting an end to the crisis will spell the economic, social and political death of the Congo.

I have finished, I have said enough.

I hope that you will give all due attention to this matter and that the fact that I have written it will not merely add to the instability which we are all experiencing at Leopoldville, or in the rest of the country.

Please accept the assurances of my respectful sentiments and devotion.

J. KASONGO

President of the Chamber

19. Letter dated 28 October 1960 addressed to the Secretary-General of the United Nations, in New York, by Mr. Joseph Kasongo, President of the Chamber

Sir,

In the name of the Parliament and people of the Congo, allow me to express my appreciation of your clear-sightedness.

I am convinced that this time you have found the solution. You have lanced the plague-spot which afflicted the Congo.

The Central Government of the Congo appealed to the United Nations because it had rejected the idea of direct assistance from Belgium and had realized that Belgium was launching aggressive action against the Republic of the Congo, which has been a sovereign State since 30 June 1960.

In referring to a so-called treaty of friendship, Belgium seems to overlook its own violations of such a treaty, if indeed it ever existed; for Belgium has never handed back all the material and financial assets which it was improperly retaining, whereas in fact and in law they belong to the Republic of the Congo.

The draft treaty signed provisionally by the Central Government and Belgium, which was subject to ratification by the Congolese Parliament, has been broken and violated by the Belgian Government in the following ways:

1. The Belgian aggression of 4 July 1960, whereas Belgium had absolutely no right on any pretext whatsoever to send troops to the Congo except in response to an express request by the Central Government (through the Ministry of National Defence) and with the approval of the Congolese Parliament;
2. The military and financial assistance given to the provisional government of Katanga to encourage the secession of that territory which cannot be separated from the Republic of the Congo in its unity and integrity.
3. The military and financial assistance given to Mr. Albert Kalondji, one of the leaders in Kasai, to enable him to proclaim an autonomous state of South Kasai, consisting only of a territory in the Kabinda district; the borders of that territory are still disputed by the Lulua on the one hand, and the Basonge, Bakete and Kanyoka on the other.

The real purpose throughout was to safeguard the interests of the Société Générale de Belgique which works the diamond deposits in that area.

4. The removal of Inforcongo from the administrative services of the State of the Republic of the Congo in order to make subversive and false propaganda against the Congolese Government. That body is known to be financed by Congo funds but is alleged to have been transformed into a Belgian State-sponsored company since 1 January 1960. From the information

available to us, it appears that Inforcongo is financed by the "Assistance Fund for under-developed countries". Can Belgium explain this conversion and malversation of funds intended for the Congo, in order to conduct an anti-Congo campaign?

5. The fact of having given financial assistance to Mr. Kasa-Vubu, Mobutu and the clique of the Commissioners General in order to organize the coup d'état which caused the present crisis;

6. The fact of having withdrawn from the Reserve Bank of New York the Congo's gold (belonging to the Central Bank), unknown to the Congolese Government, in order to use those funds to destroy the Congo, instead of strengthening the good relations and friendship which Belgium alleges it still enjoys in the Congo.

According to press and radio reports, Belgium alleges that it cannot agree to withdraw its troops and so-called technicians from the Congo because of the treaty signed between the two countries! Last July, the Congolese Parliament and the Government decided to consider any such treaty as void and to consider diplomatic relations with Belgium as severed, until such time as Belgium recognized the inviolable sovereignty of the Republic of the Congo.

In law, that treaty is null and void, since it has never been ratified by the Congolese Parliament.

If Belgium should wish to give assistance to the Congo as a Member of the United Nations, it ought to do so through the United Nations. It has been unable to do so, for the United Nations would never agree to Belgian military and financial assistance being given to Tshombe and Kalondji in order to destroy the Central Government and to balkanize the Congo.

Still on the subject of the treaty with Belgium, we would say that the assistance should be offered to the Central Government of the Congo, not to certain individuals or to the Provincial Government of Katanga. The treaty has been violated by its own authors - the Belgian Government - and has consequently become null and void.

The Belgians left the Congo like thieves, taking away whatever funds there were in the safes and in the various agencies, without the slightest regard for the Congolese patrimony which they were administering.

During our visit to America, we discovered that Belgium had withdrawn from the International Bank the sum of 120,000 million francs for the account of the Congo. That sum has never been used for the projects planned. It is now serving to finance a campaign of disturbances, anarchy and terrorism in the Congo. It is thanks to the intervention of the United States ambassador in Leopoldville that we escaped being bombed by the Belgians.

Today the position of the Belgians is quite clear; their intention is to chase the United Nations out of the Congo so that, through their emissaries Tashombe, Kasa-Vubu, Kalondji, Mobutu, Bomboko and his accomplices, they can carry out their plan of sabotage and terrorism in the Congo in order to re-conquer our country.

Through its elected representatives, the Congolese nation puts its trust in the United Nations and the work the latter is doing in the Congo; it gives full support to the Secretary-General and hopes that he will spare no effort to re-establish political security in the Congo and restore the legislative and executive power to a position in which it can save the country from the ruin which now threatens.

The Western propagandists accuse the United Nations of plotting because the international authorities were no longer willing to follow blindly those who disguise themselves as anti-communists.

I assure you of the support of the Congolese Parliament, which will co-operate in all sincerity in order to banish all these trouble-makers from the Congo. The strength of the United Nations lies in the re-establishment of political security, in accordance with the legally recognized democratic institutions, so that the lawful and democratic Government can take action.

With renewed thanks, I have the honour to be, etc.

(Signed) J. KASONGO

President of the Chamber.

20. Letter dated 2 November 1960 addressed to the College of Commissioners General, Leopoldville, by Mr. Joseph Kasongo, President of the Chamber

Gentlemen,

Further to our letter of 25 October 1960, we have followed with great attention and taken careful note of your political broadcasts over the national broadcasting system.

We would remind you once again that your activities, as you yourselves confirm, must be confined exclusively to technical matters. That does not mean that you are at liberty to spread hatred in the country by the use of equipment installed with the taxes of all the citizens.

If you want to form a political party, which you are fully entitled to do, please do not continue to use Congolese money. You should establish yourselves openly and frankly as a political party and cease to hide behind this title of technical experts.

It is with regret that we have once again to express our misgivings as regards the serious consequences which will ensue from your destructive and bitter propaganda. The country did not train you to do all this harm and make trouble. Your activities will not continue to go unpunished indefinitely. The policy of dividing the people and stirring up hatred which you are pursuing with the financial support of your Belgian friends is known throughout Africa. You are taking a stand against our African brothers, who undertook in the first instance to provide us with military, technical and financial aid when your Belgian friends and fathers were fighting against us! ! ? ? You are totally devoid of any spirit of nationalism and patriotism because you see everything from the point of view of your personal interests and your morbid pride is making you ignominious and ridiculous.

At the present time, wherever United Nations forces and assistance are needed in the country, you are manifestly opposing the United Nations in general and the friendly countries of Africa in particular, in order to serve the interests of Belgium and its foster-mother, the Société Générale de Belgique.

Your blackmail in regard to Communism, which you are now spreading throughout the country cannot justify your ignominious and criminal activities against the democratic and sovereign institutions of the Congo. Have you yet detected the existence of a single Congolese communist political party? If communism exists, it is you who are spreading it. Belgium, which serves as a screen for your activities and does not want communism in the Congo, has a communist party and communist deputies of its own. Your defence of Belgium is totally unwarranted as Belgium has never forbidden its citizens to be communists. What it has never been able to achieve for itself it will not be able to achieve for the Congo! !

Charity begins at home. You talk of slaughter in Katanga and the Kasai, while you collaborate with Tshombé and Kalondji, who are the main murderers responsible for these massacres. Your broadcasts have never condemned the atrocities and murders committed by Tshombé at all or your own acts of terrorism and sabotage at Leopoldville.

You must stop telling lies which will not benefit you in any way.

We tell you, by virtue of our rights as the elected representatives of the Congolese people, that you are wholly responsible for the troubles which our country is experiencing today and you will be severely punished for it. You are defying international rulings passed at the request of the Congolese Parliament over which you are riding rough-shod, and the international organization will pass sentences which unquestionably will not be to your credit.

We believed that because you had been to the university you would be capable of understanding and seeing where your duties and rights must stop. Your functions are those of technicians; political duties, which carry with them responsibilities, are vested solely in the elected representatives of the people, who alone can commit the Congo politically, through its Parliament, a fact of which you seem to be unaware. You have precisely the same rights as all the other citizens, and no more. By ignoring these, the most elementary principles of democracy, you have shown yourselves unworthy to speak in the name of our country; you have no political mandate whatsoever. Your acts of violence and violation of the lawful institutions of the State are degrading and discrediting you more and more.

Any country, any nation and any organization which gives you its moral, technical and financial support is by the same token an enemy of the nation and of the lawful democratic institutions of the Congo. Your actions and your commitments on behalf of the Congo are purposeless and ineffectual as they will never be ratified by the Parliament unless you produce definite tangible evidence and cogent reasons to justify them. You will find that difficult to do, knowing who has incited you unlawfully and by violence to seize all the constitutional powers of the country, powers with which its democratic representatives were invested, since all power must normally be derived from the nation.

We have finished and have nothing more to say.

We have the honour to be, etc.

Joseph Kasongo,
President of the Chamber.

21. Letter dated 5 December 1960 addressed to Mr. Joseph Kasa-Vubu, President of the Republic of the Congo, by Mr. Joseph Kasongo, President of the Chamber of Representatives

Sir,

The political crisis through which our country is now passing and which constitutes such a serious threat to its integrity and independence compels all those to whom the people have entrusted a share in its authority, all those who are deeply devoted to this land, the Congo, where in the comparatively recent past, we all suffered the humiliations of the colonialist regime, to endeavour to do everything possible to avert the danger.

For my part, loyal to my oath, free of any partisan spirit, and placing myself above situations created by individual interests to the detriment of the general interest, I am at your entire disposal to seek with you, calmly and in a full awareness of our joint responsibilities, a solution to the crisis which the people of all parts of the country are impatiently awaiting.

These people, you know it as well as I do, beyond the artificially created differences dividing them, which are the result of a combination of interests which are not those of the Congolese nation, desire peace and freedom. It is our duty to fulfil their wishes and to satisfy their lawful aspirations. Furthermore, we have only, by setting them the example, to show them the road to unity to convince them that they should follow it resolutely for the well-being and prosperity of the Congo.

It was with sympathy, of which you have just had evidence in the United Nations, that the whole world welcomed our independence and followed our first steps along the difficult path of freedom. It is our duty to ourselves, to those whom we represent and who have shown their confidence in us and to our children to whom we must hand down an independent, united, peaceful and prosperous Congo, not to disappoint this international community of which we have been full members since the historic date of 30 June 1960.

As President of the Chamber of Representatives and voicing, I am convinced, the patriotic feelings of the elected representatives of the nation, I would draw your attention to the incalculable consequences of a political crisis, which must be ended without delay. It is for the Head of State and the Parliament, the lawful organs of the nation's sovereignty, to solve this crisis wisely.

Now is the time, as you said in the moving appeal which you made to the Congolese people on the day on which you took office, to forget the issues which divide us and to think only of those uniting us.

In the conviction that you will receive this letter in the same spirit of patriotic self-denial which has led me to write it, I have the honour to be, etc.

Joseph KASONGO,
President of the Chamber of Representatives

22. Telegrams communicated by Mr. Joseph Kasongo

On 17 January 1961 Mr. Joseph Kasongo communicated to the Commission, for its information, thirty-six telegrams of various dates between 5 August and 15 September 1960. These telegrams, most of which are addressed to the Chamber of Representatives or its President, while some are to the Head of State and the Prime Minister, are summarized below.

Summary of thirty-six telegrams, dated 5 August to 15 September, addressed to Parliament, mainly to the Chamber of Representatives or its President, and some also to the Prime Minister and Head of State

Six do not refer to the main political events:

The President of the Kivu Provincial Assembly (Bukavu 8 August) requests information on a civil service matter.

The Stanleyville "com. group" (Stanleyville, 8 September), with General Lundula's approval, complains that UN troops, although in sympathy, prevent it from intervening, and demands control of all aerodromes.

Bunia councillors (Bunia, 10 September) seek Government intervention and the arrest of certain Belgians causing trouble in Ituri.

Customary chiefs of Dimbelenge (Luluabourg, 13 September) complain of livestock requisitioning by soldiers.

Kindu (13 September) and Lisala (13 September) deputies complain they cannot obtain air transport to Leopoldville.

Two express support for Mr. Kasa-Vubu:

Lemba Mayumbe, on behalf of the Mukongo people, (Lukula 8 September) congratulates Mr. Kasa-Vubu and upholds his dismissal of Mr. Lumumba.

Boma elders (Boma, 9 September) repudiate the Lumumba Government and support Mr. Kasa-Vubu and Mr. Ileo.

Two addressed to Mr. Kasongo express confidence in Parliament:

Anamongo (Luluabourg, 12 September) and deputy Katshunga (Kikwit, 8 September), who also urges reconciliation and points out that association with the two European blocs would lead to fratricidal strife, whereas the people want peace and unity.

Twenty-six express support for Mr. Lumumba:

The people of Kwilu and Kwange (Kikwit, 9, 10 and 14 September) demand Mr. Kasa-Vubu's immediate removal.

In three telegrams from Luputa dated 8 September, the customary chiefs of Mweneditu and the people of Kaminkina and Kanioka, deplore Mr. Kasa-Vubu's rash move and expect Parliament to find a solution, and the Balubakat urges a conciliation, pointing out that the "elite" are too young and naive.

The people of Kivu-Maniema (Bukavu, 8 September and Kindu, 9 September) describe Mr. Kasa-Vubu's action as a false move, reject his arguments and urge consultation with the people on the subject of a new Prime Minister.

The people of Kazumba (Kazumba, 8 September) protest against Mr. Kasa-Vubu's action and enjoin him to respect article 20 of the Loi Fondamentale.

The workers of Cobelmin Moga (Kalima, 9 September) declare that Mr. Lumumba's dismissal will lead to disorders and blame Mr. Tshombé and Mr. Kalondji for the bloodshed at Bakwanga.

The Kasai Front Commun (Luluabourg, 12 September) acclaim Parliament's vote of confidence in Mr. Lumumba, refuse to recognize Mr. Ileo, demand that Mr. Kasa-Vubu be replaced by Daniel Kanza, oppose the division of Kasai into two Provinces and urge that Luluabourg be made the Congolese capital.

The Kasai Union Nationale (Luluabourg, 10 and 13 September) acclaim Parliament's vote of confidence in Mr. Lumumba, condemns Mr. Kasa-Vubu as a tool of Belgian imperialists and the United Nations, repudiates Mr. Ileo's government as illegal and undemocratically imposed with the help of the United Nations, which is warned against interference.

The Mouvement pour l'Unité Basonge (Luluabourg, 12 September) declares that the dissolution of Mr. Lumumba's government will lead to bloodshed and urges that Mr. Kasa-Vubu be replaced by Daniel Kanza.

The Kasai Provincial Government (Luluabourg, 13 September) will secede from any central authority other than the Lumumba Government and will oppose any imperialist or communist interference.

The Jeunesse Kasaienne (Luluabourg, 13 September, 2 telegrams) regards Mr. Lumumba as the only elected nationalist leader, demands the dismissal of Mr. Kasa-Vubu and Mr. Bolikango, repudiates Mr. Ileo's government as illegal and anti-democratic, condemns federation and suggests a separate Republic consisting of Kasai, Kivu, Orientale and part of Leopoldville Province, with Mr. Lumumba as President.

The Kanioka political movement (Luluabourg, 13 September) condemns Mr. Kasa-Vubu's dictatorial behaviour. If he cannot agree with Parliament he must yield his place to Daniel Kanza.

The Kasai MNC - Lumumba (Luluabourg, 13 September) repudiates the Head of State and the Ileo Government as anti-democratic and condemns interference by United Nations troops.

The people of Namoya (Namoya, 12 September) express support for the Lumumba Government, unity and the Congolese Army.

The Ituri MNC (Bunia, 12 September), on behalf of one million people, protests against the arbitrary dissolution of the Lumumba Government and condemns separatism.

The North Sankuru people (Kole, 12 September) support Parliament's stand against Mr. Kasa-Vubu's dictatorial actions and urge it to protest against United Nations interference.

One telegram (Bukavu, 12 September) gives the text of a statement broadcast on 10 September by Mr. Mirohu, President of the Kivu Provincial Government, denying that his Government supported Mr. Kasa-Vubu. It would maintain its association with the Central Government, if the provincial autonomy provided for in the Loi Fondamentale was respected. It supported the Lumumba Government, but it would not accept any government formed by Mr. Ileo or the admission of communists or capitalist imperialists to the Congo.

The Dima people (Banningville, 14 September) protest against the unconstitutional Ileo Government and call for new elections if the Lumumba Government is not maintained.

The Bakuba of Mweka (Mweka, 15 September) protest against the dissolution of the Lumumba Government and blame Mr. Kasa-Vubu's federalism and the personal ambitions of some nationalists for all the troubles.

23. Records of meetings of the Chamber of Representatives

On 17 January 1961 Mr. Joseph Kasongo communicated to the Commission for its information the records of the meetings of the Chamber of Representatives held on 17, 20, 21, 24 and 27 June; 7, 12, 13, 14, 15, 18, 19, 20 and 21 July, and 1, 5, 7, 8, 9 and 13 September 1960.