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Agenda item 85

THE SITUATION IN THE REPUBLIC OF THE CONGO

Report of the United Nations Conciliation Commission
for the Congo

Documents communicated by President Kasa-Vubu

Letter dated 31 January 1961 addressed to the Chairman of the Conciliation
Commission by President Kasa-Vubu

Leopoldville, 31 January 1961

Sir .

I have the honour to send you herewith the documentation I promised to provide you with at our last talk.

A list of the documents is attached.

Hoping you will receive them safely, I have the honour to be etc.

(Signed) J. KASA-VUBU

Head of State

List of documents transmitted to the Chairman of the
Conciliation Commission

Folder No. 1

1. Letter dated 12.9.60 from President N'Krumah "Merci..."
2. Letter dated 12.9.60 from President N'Krumah "La situation..."
3. Letter dated 12.9.60 from President N'Krumah "Vous trouverez..."
4. Letter dated 12.9.60 from President N'Krumah "I entirely..."
5. Telegram dated 25.9.60 President N'Krumah "Votre recente..."
6. Telegram dated 30.9.60 President Kasa-Vubu
to Mr. N'Krumah "Ai l'honneur..."
7. Letter dated 4.10.60 President Kasa-Vubu
to President N'Krumah
8. Note from the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Ghana.

Folder No. 2

1. Letter dated 15 August 1960 to the Soviet Union.
2. Letter dated 8 September 1960 to the People's Republic of China.
3. Letter dated 10.9.60 to the Ambassador of the Soviet Union.
4. Letter dated 14.9.60 to the People's Republic of China.
5. Agreement between the Soviet Union and the Republic of the Congo.

Folder No. 3 (Activities of dismissed Ministers)

1. Plan of action.
2. Tactical plan for the recovery of power.
3. Steps to be taken with all urgency (5 September).
4. Letter to Mr. Lumumba regarding his talks with Felix MOUNIE.
5. List of U.P.C. technicians.
6. Installation of radio transmitting set at the Czechoslovak Embassy.
7. Hearing National Defence - Mr. KAMITATU.
8. Mobilization and recruitment for National Army.
9. Telegram from Mr. GIZENGA to the Afro-Asian group in New York.
10. Appointment of Mr. MPOLO to the rank of Lieutenant-General.
11. Request to Stan for armed troops and reply from Mr. Finant.
12. Serious and irrevocable decision...
13. Letter from Mr. GIZENGA to the Provisional President at Coq.
14. Measures to be applied during the first stage of the dictatorship.

Folder No. 4

1. Act of repudiation by members of parliament from Orientale Province
belonging to the M.N.C. bloc.

Folder No. 5

Letters from members of parliament arrested at Stanleyville.

Folder No. 6

1. Letter dated 13 September from the inhabitants of Paulis.
2. Report on the political situation in Orientale Province.
3. Report on the situation in Orientale Province (Districts of Bas-Uele and
Haut-Uele).
4. Report on Orientale Province by Mr. OTHITA.

Folder No. 7 (various documents)

1. Photograph of Mr. Gregoire Mwamba.
 2. Photograph of the attack on Mr. NDELE A.
 3. Telegram from President Kasa-Vubu to the Heads of the independent African States.
 4. Communique concerning the vote in Parliament on 7.9.60.
 5. Communique dated 14.9.60 from Mr. ILEO, Prime Minister.
 6. Telegram dated 12 October 1960 to the President of the United Nations General Assembly.
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Letter dated 12 September 1960 addressed to Mr. Patrice Lumumba by President N'Krumah

Accra, 12 September 1960

Dear Patrice,

Thanks for yours, sent through Mr. Djin, concerning the refusal of my troops to allow you to seize Radio Leopoldville yesterday. It was an unfortunate affair, but I think the troops behaved like that because they are for the moment under the orders of the United Nations. I am fed up with the way the United Nations is treating you. But, as you may already know, I have taken some steps in the matter. I have asked the United Nations to hand over to you the National Broadcasting Station and the airports. I have also asked the United Nations to recognize you as Prime Minister and Head of the Government of the Republic of the Congo and have indicated that if it does not do so I shall withdraw my troops, who will then join yours, and at the same time I shall appeal to all the independent African States to withdraw their forces and to create a Pan-African High Command to assist your troops. We are taking tactical action so that whatever happens world opinion will support us.

I have asked Mr. Djin and some of my officers to assure you of my personal consideration in this matter and of their readiness to act in your favour as soon as I give them the sign.

Yours ever,

(Signed) Kwame N'Krumah

Letter dated 12 September 1960 addressed to the Secretary-General by President
N'Krumah

Accra, 12 September 1960

Dear Mr. Hammarskjöld,

The position in the Congo at the moment places Ghana in a most embarrassing and invidious situation vis-à-vis the legitimate Government.

Ghana originally went to the Congo to aid the legitimate Lumumba Government, which invited Ghana to assist Lumumba. When the United Nations went to the Congo on Lumumba's invitation, Ghana agreed to place her troops under United Nations command. The whole development since has perverted the real objective and seriously undermines Ghana's position in the eyes of the legitimate Government of the Congo Republic in that at present Ghana's troops are used almost exclusively as cat's paw against Lumumba, preventing him from using his own radio station. At the same time Radio Brazzaville, which is controlled by France, a permanent member of the Security Council, is allowed to indulge in the most violent propaganda against the legitimate Lumumba Government. Radio Elisabethville, which is in effect under Belgian control, is also allowed to indulge in similar propaganda. Thus Ghana is used virtually to tie Mr. Lumumba's hands behind him while a permanent member of the Security Council is allowed to whip him. In the circumstances, therefore, if Lumumba is not allowed to use his own radio station at Leopoldville for keeping the Congolese populace informed of the critical situation and thus mobilizing support for the legitimate Government of the Congo Republic of which he is the Head, Ghana would withdraw her troops forthwith from the United Nations command and reserves the right to place her troops in the Congo Republic entirely at the disposal of the legitimate Lumumba Government of the Congo Republic.

Yours very sincerely,

(Signed) Kwame N'Krumah

Letter dated 12 September 1960 addressed to Mr. Patrice Lumumba by President N'Krumah

Accra, 12 September 1960

My dear Patrice,

Enclosed you will find two communiques which will raise your spirits in this hour of trial through which you are passing: the first concerns General Alexander, my Chief of Staff, and the other my note to the Security Council on the subject of the diabolical attempt to deprive you of office, you and the Congo Government which was legally constituted and of which you are the legitimate Head.

Mr. Botsio and Mr. Welbeck, my emissaries, got back from Leopoldville yesterday and they have told me everything that is going on there. I am sending Mr. Welbeck back to you with this note about the policy to be followed in order to safeguard our position and preserve the unity of the Congo.

The first point that I should like to bring to your attention once again is that in view of the fact that you have had to set up an essentially coalition Government and have to deal with the problems of Tshombe, Kalonji, Kasa-Vubu and others hitherto concealed; in view of the fact that the colonialists and the imperialists are doing their utmost to regain their lost ground in the Congo, you cannot, brother, allow yourself the luxury of being stern and intransigent. Do not oust Kasavubu at the present time. That will give rise to great disturbances, especially at Leopoldville, just when you want everything to be calm there. Do not make an issue of this perfidy at the moment, or even of the treachery of Tshombe. The time will come when you can deal with them.

Let sleeping dogs lie. Leave these people alone for the moment. Similarly, do not make any new constitution now, I beg you. That would prejudice your position and give Tshombe and the dissidents a chance to stir up disorders.

Be "completely calm", establish the administration and consolidate your position before you take the next step. I should be the last to advise you to make any kind of compromise, but the highly critical situation in the Congo requires you to adopt what I should call "tactical action". That means that, without

agreeing to abandon any principle whatever, you should adopt methods that would enable you to work even with your most rabid political opponents, in order to gain time in which to CONSOLIDATE YOUR POSITION in the matter of organization ... i.e. of the Government and of the party, at the level both of the Central Government and of the Provincial Government, before taking any further step.

It is in the same spirit that I repeat, with all possible emphasis, what I have already told you, namely that you should not throw out the United Nations troops until you have CONSOLIDATED YOUR POSITION. That will be the time to ask them to go. I am aware of your difficulties vis-à-vis the United Nations, with whom, incidentally, we are not mincing matters, as you will see when you read the enclosed note to the Security Council. But if the United Nations forces leave now you will be unable to cope with the chaos that will follow and that will be fomented by the colonialist Powers, the Belgians and the other imperialists who are working with the reactionaries in the metropolitan country.

The third important point is that you must establish your administration rapidly, so that people have the feeling of security and of work to be done. You must immediately have immigration and domaines [translator's note: presumably "douanes" = customs] posts established at all sea ports and airports. Luckily there is the United Nations, which is well provided with funds and will come to your assistance. You must therefore set up the organization whose establishment you announced at your press conference two days ago, in order that you can take advantage of the aid promised. Secure that aid and keep it under your own control. Whatever political quarrels you may have with your opponents, starving and unemployed people cannot go on suffering hunger without reacting. They will soon act in response to him who can give them "bread and circuses", to use the saying of the ancient Romans, or who will simply promise to do so.

My dear Patrice, those are my three urgent suggestions. The situation is critical. If you make your mind up rapidly in this direction, the situation will be saved. If you procrastinate, there is no knowing what may happen. I beg you to take my suggestions into account and to tackle the domestic situation, which you alone can remedy, so long as you take my suggestions into account. At the external level, especially where the Security Council and the United Nations are concerned, leave matters to me. You may rest assured that on all questions I shall mobilize the Afro-Asian bloc and other friendly nations so that they will support you, as they are supporting you now that efforts are being made to oust you.

Now here are a few additional suggestions.

In the first place, your Cabinet is too large, but it would not be wise to reduce it at the present moment. For the time being your best course would be to set up some sort of an inner Cabinet, which you might call, for example, the Cabinet Committee and which could deal with urgent questions. The present emergency situation in the country, which makes it necessary for decisions to be taken rapidly, as in time of war, furnishes you with a reason for setting up such a body.

This, in my opinion, should be the composition of the Committee:

CABINET COMMITTEE

- | | |
|--|---------------|
| 1. Prime Minister and Minister for Defence and for Foreign Affairs | Chairman |
| 2. Deputy Prime Minister | Vice-Chairman |
| 3. Minister for the Interior | Member |
| 4. Minister for Local Government | Member |
| 5. Minister for Technical Assistance | Member |
| 6. Commander-in-Chief of the Army | Member |
| 7.) | |
| 8.) Three other Ministers | Members |
| 9.) | |

Cabinet Committee

Object:

1. To deal with the emergency situation.
2. Political and military affairs and airports.
3. Affairs in Katanga and Kasai.
4. Relations with the United Nations.
5. Technical assistance: approval of the policy and of the programme.
6. Urgent matters.

You will see that it is because of the urgency and the fact that you have a great deal to do with the United Nations and the Security Council etc. that I have added the portfolio of Foreign Affairs. But I advise you to seek two trustworthy colleagues, one for the office of Assistant Minister for Defence and the other for the office of Assistant Minister for Foreign Affairs, both of them under your direction.

You can hold ordinary Cabinet meetings with all your Ministers once a week for current Government affairs, but the inner Cabinet, i.e. the Cabinet Committee, should meet every day. You must, however, keep the Cabinet informed of the decisions taken and carried out. Some important matters that are dealt with by the Cabinet Committee must be submitted to the whole Cabinet for approval, in order to gain the full support of all your Ministers.

Your Technical Assistance Committee could be made up of the following:

Technical Assistance Committee

- | | |
|---|----------|
| 1. Deputy Prime Minister | Chairman |
| 2. Minister for Technical Assistance | Member |
| 3. Minister for Local Government | Member |
| 4. Minister for the Establishment | Member |
| 5. Minister for Labour | Minister |
| 6. Minister for Public Works | Member |
| 7. Minister for Industry | Member |
| 8. Minister for Mines and Natural Resources | Member |
| 9. Minister for Communications | Member |

Technical Assistance Committee

Object

To co-operate with the United Nations and other agencies and countries for the rapid and effective use of all technical assistance offered.

The Committee must meet every week together with the United Nations representatives in order to draw up programmes to be put into effect, which must first be submitted for Cabinet approval.

As the Chief Executive Officer of the programme, the Minister for Technical Assistance must have sufficient authority to enable him to take rapid and effective action within the framework of the programmes and of the approved policy.

Now, Patrice, I come to the question of the Force Publique. I admire what it has accomplished and I do not want it to be disarmed. Nevertheless, it is essential that it should have efficient and well-trained officers in order to fulfil your needs.

I earnestly beg you not to throw out the United Nations forces until you have trained a reliable Force Publique. They have strong provincial loyalties and there are groups among them who tend to follow the Ministers of their regions. Moreover, at the present time you have not enough provisions, supplies etc.

Hence, in view of what the imperialists are spending in Katanga and of the threats of Kalonji, Kasavubu and others, it is **POSITIVELY DANGEROUS**, brother, to rely completely on the Force Publique at this critical moment.

It is imperative that your officers should start training at once. Will you therefore let me have your answer to my offer to have your officers trained here in my Military Academy.

Lastly, a word from you on the Radio inviting all the Congolese to forget all their differences and to come together in the interest of the Nations will galvanize the reunited people, will re-establish you and will restore the peace that is necessary for promoting the development of the Congo. I beg you, my brother, to abide by my advice.

Turn to me whenever you are doubtful about what you should do. My brother, we have been setting the pace for quite a while now and we know how to handle the imperialists and the colonialists. The only colonialist or imperialist I trust is a dead one. If you do not wish to acquiesce in the ruin of the Congo, follow the advice I have just given you. Have implicit confidence in me, brother. I shall not deceive you. Your stand in favour of a United Congo and African Unity gives you great value in my eyes. Your friend Mr. Djin is there to help you in every possible way. You could not have a truer admirer or supporter than he. Have confidence in him, as indeed you have had so far. He will serve you.

Patrice, I have examined the situation in the Congo very carefully. If you fail, you will have only yourself to blame, and it will be because you have not been willing to face the facts, or what the Germans call "real politics". Your failure will be a terrible blow to the African liberation movement and you cannot afford to fail. Your policy, which is to "get rid of your opponents forthwith" will be a failure. You must adopt "tactical action". Remember that the forces that are ranged against you are countless. But the balance is tilted in your favour and you will succeed if only you show care and tact in facing the present situation.

God bless you!

Yours affectionately,

(Signed) Kwame N'Krumah

Letter dated 12 September 1960 addressed to Mr. Patrice Lumumba by President N'Krumah

Accra, 12 September 1960

My dear Patrice,

I entirely appreciate your point of view and see and understand the difficult position in which you find yourself vis-à-vis the Ghana troops in Leopoldville. I also find myself in an embarrassing and invidious position in respect of the way in which my Ghana troops are being used in the Congo, though I have been fighting like mad day and night on your behalf.

As you will see from the text of the note which I have a moment ago sent to the Secretary-General of the United Nations and which I quote below for your information, I have already taken steps to deal with the situation. I entreat you to be patient and calm. Everything will end well provided neither you nor I take any precipitous step. If Ghana troops are to be placed completely at your disposal, then you and your Government must find some way to declare that in this struggle, Ghana and the Congo are one. Only thus would it be possible for my Ghana troops to operate legitimately with the Congolese forces.

The following is the text of my letter to Mr. Hammarskjöld:

(Here follows the letter reproduced on page 5 .)

Yours very sincerely,

(Signed) Kwame N'Krumah

Note dated 26 September 1960 addressed to President Kasa-Vubu by
Mr. N. A. Welbeck, Minister in charge of the Ghanaian Embassy

Leopoldville, 26 September 1960

Mr. N. A. Welbeck, the Minister in charge of the Ghanaian Embassy, presents his compliments to His Excellency Mr. Kasa-Vubu, President of the Republic of the Congo, and has the honour to transmit to him herewith the text of a telegram sent by Osagyefe Dr. Nkrumah, President of the Republic of Ghana, who is at present in New York.

The Minister takes this opportunity to present his respects to the President of the Republic of the Congo.

Transmitted 25 September 1960

PRIORITY

NA/402 For President Kasu-Vubu from Osagyefe.

- (1) Your recent telegram received.
- (2) All the Independent African States are concerned about the Congolese crisis.
- (3) It is for that reason that the requests for military assistance that the legitimate Government of the Congo, of which you and Lumumba are President and Prime Minister respectively, made to all the Independent African States were accepted and granted under the auspices of the United Nations.
- (4) Without the consent of the accredited Government nothing can prevent the exercise of that responsibility solemnly undertaken to the people of the Congo.
- (5) It therefore behoves all the Independent African States to come to the assistance of the legitimate Government of Lumumba and to protect it against any act of subversion on the part of the unfounded military authority of Mobutu whose sole objective is to supplant it by the pro-imperialists who support the illegal claims of Ileo; claims, moreover, which have neither the support of Parliament nor the confidence of the majority of the Congolese people.
- (6) My troops in the Congo will continue to give assistance to the legitimate Government of the Congo, of which you and Lumumba are respectively President and Prime Minister in accordance with the decision of the Congolese Parliament. Their loyal services are not in any way for the benefit of one single individual as you claim but for the benefit of the legally constituted and recognized Government of Lumumba.
- (7) I advise you not to let yourself be used as a pawn in the intrigues of the colonialists and imperialists and in the political struggle for supremacy as also in the tactics of divide and rule. Here are the points which I suggested yesterday in my speech in the United Nations on the situation in the Congo a copy of which I am sending you by air under separate cover. It is therefore in your own interest and in the interest of the whole world that you and Lumumba who form the legitimate Government of the Congo should openly declare your agreement with the line of conduct

I have proposed. These proposals and others for the whole of Africa will be the basis of Ghana's action in the United Nations during this session in our efforts to help the Congo. The following are the six points:

- (i) That the Command of the United Nations forces must be changed and replaced by a stable Command with explicit and unequivocal instructions to uphold the legitimate Government led by Kasa-Vubu as President and Lumumba as Prime Minister whose jurisdiction must be recognized throughout the Republic of the Congo. That is to say, the present composition of the United Nations Command must be changed and the composition of the United Nations forces under military and administrative Command must be so arranged that they will be formed of contingents of the troops of the Independent African States that are at present in the Congo.
- (ii) That the Central Government must be fully supported as the legitimate Government of the Congo with the total support of the United Nations.
- (iii) That all private armies including those under the command of Belgian officers must be disarmed immediately and that the Congolese National Army must be regrouped and reorganized for training in order that it may eventually play its proper part as the national army of the Republic of the Congo until such time as the Central Government decides that it has no further need of the United Nations forces.
- (iv) That this new United Nations Command must uphold the Central Government in order to restore respect for the law and the maintenance of public order in the Congo in accordance with the first resolution of the Security Council which gave Ghana and the other Independent African States confidence to place their troops under the United Nations Command.
- (v) That the United Nations must guarantee the territorial integrity of the Republic of the Congo in accordance with the provisional constitution accepted at the time of its accession to independence.
- (vi) That all financial aid and technical assistance to the Republic of the Congo must be negotiated with the only legitimate Government of the Republic of the Congo and provided through the United Nations, guaranteed and supervised by a Committee of Independent African States appointed by the Security Council and responsible to the United Nations.

Telegram dated 30 September 1960 addressed to President N'Krumah by President Kasa-Vubu

Leopoldville, 30 September 1960

Have honour acknowledge receipt your telegram of twenty-five September nineteen hundred and sixty transmitted by your representative. Your telegram has singularly disappointed me. Disappointment shared by Congolese population in observing interference Ghanaian and Guinean troops in domestic affairs and your statements not in conformity with the true aspirations Congolese people. It is obvious that you are completely ignorant Congolese problems in all their aspects and situation Congo especially basis of present crisis. If you were aware of all the facts of the problem your advice would be given with prudence and reserve rather than constituting a categorical stand which I repeat is quite foreign to the question. I venture to advise you to obtain objective information on the situation in the provinces of Kivu Stanleyville Equateur Kasai Leopoldville. Ask what state these provinces have been in during the two and a half months of the existence of the Lumumba Government. Ask about the terrorism and banditry created at instigation of Lumumba. Ask about the social situation in the Congo for the all too many unemployed and suffering people brought about in two months by Lumumba's rash action despite my repeated advice. Ask about the massacres of tens of thousands of women men children in Kasai. You speak of Lumumba's popularity in the Congo. Ask all about that first. Dear African brother Ghana stood high in the eyes of the Congolese people. Do not spoil all chances of an understanding between Ghana and the Congo. My concern is for the higher interest and happiness Congolese people who must remain independent and outside all external influence whencesoever it may come. The imperialists and colonialists did not manage to win me over at the time of the Belgian occupation. They will not do so today when we are already independent. Respects.

Joseph KASA-VUBU

PRESIDENT REPUBLIC CONGO

Letter dated 4 October 1960 addressed to President N'Krumah by President Kasa-Vubu and Mr. Justin Bomboko

Leopoldville, 4 October 1960

Sir,

We have the honour to inform you that the Government of the Republic of the Congo at Leopoldville finds itself obliged to declare Mr. A.Y.K. DJIN, your Ambassador to the Congo, as also Mr. WELBECQ, the Minister, persona non grata.

Certain documents and information that have come to our knowledge show clearly that these diplomats have interfered in a marked and inadmissible way in the purely domestic affairs of the Republic of the Congo.

The same measure has been decided upon in the case of Mr. BOTSIO, the Ghanaian Minister for Agriculture, whom in one of your letters to Mr. Lumumba, the ex-Prime Minister, you presented as one of your emissaries.

We have the honour to be etc.

Joseph KASA-VUBU

President of the Republic

JUSTIN BOMBOKO

By the President of the Republic,
Minister for Foreign Affairs

Communication for the Secretary, for the attention of President Kasa-Vubu, from the Secretary, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Accra.

The Minister for Foreign Affairs has received a message supposedly signed by the President of the Republic of the Congo and addressed to the President of the Republic of Ghana. President N'Krumah wishes to state however that he refuses to take official cognizance of any document that does not come from the legitimate Government of the Republic of the Congo. President N'Krumah finds it particularly unfortunate that the message, if indeed it is authentic, has apparently been signed by an individual named Justin Bomboko who calls himself Minister for Foreign Affairs. I am consequently instructed to ask you to draw President Kasa-Vubu's attention, in the first place, to the need to ensure that all official documents are authenticated in accordance with the constitution of the Republic of Ghana; in the second place, the President has given orders that the attention of President Kasa-Vubu should be drawn to the very undesirable international complications that will follow if he attempts to interfere unlawfully in matters which are within the competence of the legitimate Government of the Republic of the Congo. The President takes note of the observation allegedly made by President Kasa-Vubu to the effect that certain documents and information have come to his knowledge that prove beyond all doubt that the Ghanaian mission to the Republic of the Congo has interfered in an inadmissible manner in the domestic affairs of the Congo. The President wishes it to be emphasized to President Kasa-Vubu that the Government of Ghana used its good offices in connexion with Congolese affairs in the first place to ensure the election of President Kasa-Vubu as Head of State. Subsequently the President maintained correspondence with President Kasa-Vubu on numerous occasions in order to offer his assistance in the dangerous and difficult situation in which the Congo found itself. Nevertheless, in order that the role played by the Government of Ghana may not be misunderstood, the President proposes to publish all the correspondence he has addressed to the President and the Prime Minister of the Republic of the Congo. In this connexion, the President of Ghana hopes that President Kasa-Vubu will consent to his letters to President N'Krumah being published.

Letter dated 15 August 1960 addressed to the Government of the Soviet Union
by the Government of the Republic of the Congo

Leopoldville, 15 August 1960

The Government of the Republic of the Congo would be grateful if you would state what immediate assistance your Government could furnish to it direct in the following respects:

1. Aircraft for the transport of troops and their crews;
2. Troop transport lorries;
3. Various high-quality weapons;
4. Up-to-date military transmission equipment;
5. Food supplies for troops in the field.

This urgently needed assistance is required immediately to enable the Government of the Republic of the Congo to ensure the integrity of the territory of the Republic, which is seriously threatened.

I attach copies of the letters addressed by my Government to Mr. Dag Hammarskjold on 14 and 15 August 1960.

(Signed)

P. LUMUMBA

PRIME MINISTER OF THE
REPUBLIC OF THE CONGO.

Letter dated 8 September 1960 addressed to the Government of the People's Republic of China by the Government of the Republic of the Congo

8 September 1960

1,944/CAB./P.M.

The Government of the Republic of the Congo would be grateful if you would state what immediate assistance your Government could furnish to it in the following respects:

1. Personnel (volunteers);
2. Arms (various weapons - the necessary ammunition - fighter aircraft (helicopters) - various guns - tanks - armoured cars);
3. Finances: the sums needed to meet immediate pressing expenses;
4. Rations: rice, flour and canned goods.

This urgently needed assistance is required immediately to enable the Government of the Republic of the Congo to ensure the integrity of the territory of the Republic, which is seriously threatened.

For the Prime Minister:

(Signed) Antoine GIZENGA

Deputy Prime Minister

Letter dated 10 September 1960 addressed to the Ambassador of the Soviet Union
by Mr. A. Gizenga

10 September 1960
1989/CAB./P.M.

Sir,

In view of the events which are taking place:

In view of the arrangements made by the Secretary of the United Nations with a view to placing the Congo under United Nations trusteeship, the Government of the Republic of the Congo authorizes your country to use the veto so long as the resolutions of 14 July 1960 have not been fully implemented.

I have the honour to be, etc.

(Signed) A. GIZENGA

Deputy Prime Minister
of the Republic of the Congo

Letter dated 14 September 1960 addressed to the Prime Minister of Affairs of State
of the People's Republic of China by Mr. A. Gizenga

14 September 1960

2038/Cab./P.M.

Your Excellency,

In the name of the Congolese Government, and through Your Excellency, I have the honour to thank the Government of the People's Republic of China for having granted us the assistance referred to in your message of the 12th instant.

I take this opportunity to inform you that the Congolese Government relies greatly on the assistance of your country, as you can rely on ours.

Our Government is prepared to enter into relations of friendship and good understanding between the two countries. Your action at this tragic time in the history of the Congo is a token of sympathy and support for our country.

I have the honour to be, etc.

For the Prime Minister:

(Signed) A. Gizenga
Deputy Prime Minister

Agreement between the Soviet Union and the Republic of the Congo

A G R E E M E N T

between the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the Government of the Republic of the Congo concerning assistance furnished gratis to the Government of the Republic of the Congo

The Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the Government of the Republic of the Congo

with a view to developing and reinforcing the friendly relations between the two countries on the basis of the principles of equality of rights and respect for sovereignty, as agreed between the Parties,

have agreed on the following:

A R T I C L E I

The Government of the Soviet Union undertakes vis-à-vis the Government of the Republic of the Congo:

- (a) To place at the disposal of the Government of the Congo, in the third quarter of 1960 and for a period not exceeding one year, a mixed aviation unit consisting of 10 "IL-14" aircraft (transport model), 5 "AN-12" aircraft, 10 "AN-2" aircraft and 5 "MI-4" helicopters (transport model), with crews, an operational direction group and a staff of engineers and technicians for the maintenance of the aircraft and helicopters;
- (b) To dispatch the necessary spare parts and the material required for the operation of these aircraft and helicopters, the necessary ground equipment, radiocommunication and radionavigation instruments, special cars, repair material, fuel oil and lubricating oil;
- (c) To provide sufficient rations to supply 10 thousand men for 6 months;
- (d) To deliver 30 radio sets with the necessary quantity of spare parts.

A R T I C L E 2

The Government of the Soviet Union undertakes to dispatch to the Republic of the Congo:

- (a) The necessary number of instructors with interpreters to assist the Government of the Republic of the Congo to train Congolese units to operate and utilize the equipment supplied;
- (b) Soviet experts to assist in settling questions concerning the assistance furnished to the Government of the Republic of the Congo;
- (c) Soviet experts to assemble and run-in the civil aircraft and helicopters which will be forwarded in parts by sea to the Congo.

A R T I C L E 3

The Soviet experts, the necessary spare parts and other material and equipment shall be dispatched to the Congo and the rations and radio sets shall be delivered by the Government of the USSR as assistance given gratis to the Government of the Republic of the Congo.

A R T I C L E 4

The Government of the Republic of the Congo shall state in advance where and when the material to be furnished should be dispatched and the Soviet experts mentioned in articles 1 and 2 should arrive. It shall be responsible for the unloading at the port of arrival of the aircraft, helicopters and other equipment, their transport to the place where they are to be assembled and the security of the cargoes; it shall supply the necessary manpower for uncrating the aircraft and helicopters and for any other additional work.

A R T I C L E 5

The Government of the Republic of the Congo shall give the necessary co-operation to the Soviet experts sent on mission to the Congo to perform their functions. Similarly the Government of the Congo shall give these experts any necessary co-operation with regard to housing, transport, communications, medical treatment etc. during their stay in the Congo.

It is understood that the expenses incurred by the Soviet experts during their stay in the Congo shall be borne by the Soviet Party.

A R T I C L E 6

The present agreement shall come into force on the day of its signature.

Done at Léopoldville on 1960 in two copies, in Russian and French, each text being equally valid.

FOR THE GOVERNMENT
OF THE REPUBLIC OF THE CONGO

FOR THE GOVERNMENT
OF THE UNION OF SOVIET
SOCIALIST REPUBLICS

(Signed) A. GIZENGA

(Signed) M. JAKOVLEV

P. LUMUMBA

National Chairman of the M.N.C.

Plan of action

1. Mr. Kasa-Vubu having been deposed, proceed:
 - (a) To arrest Kasa-Vubu this very evening, in order to forestall his taking similar action with regard to the members of the Government;
 - (b) To arrest Mr. Ileo;
both having prejudiced the safety and integrity of the Territory.
2. The Council of Ministers must grant full authority, either to the President of the Council and the Minister of N.D. or, at a pinch, to a limited Council, to carry out the urgent steps which the Government will be compelled to take.
3. Get into touch immediately with friendly countries with a view to obtaining their military support in the event of the U.N. taking a stand.
4. Intensifying military action in Katanga so as to prevent Mr. Kasa-Vubu's getting in touch with Tshombé, who must be arrested within 24 hours.
5. Keep a close watch on the Government's actions.
6. Immobilize the provincial governments for their support in the struggle (sic).

TACTICAL PLAN FOR THE RECOVERY OF POWER (BY LUMUMBA)

During the meeting of the small Ministerial Committee P. LUMUMBA, the Prime Minister, set forth the various steps in the programme for the recovery of power drawn up in consultation with our friends.

The Prime Minister admitted that the present situation was unsatisfactory, but added that the worst of the crisis was over and that the most serious danger had been averted owing to the fact that Colonel MOBUTU had not dared to take the steps suggested to him by our enemies.

1st step: Divide our adversaries.

(A) The conflict between the bakongo and the other ethnic groups at Léopoldville must be exacerbated.

At present, we can count on the batetela and the bapende. The hatred of the Lulua for the Baluba must be rekindled; at the present time the Lulua seem to be losing interest.

We must keep KAMITATU in fear of the victory of KASA-VUBU and ILEO by convincing him that it would result in the division of the Province of Léopoldville and hence in the loss of his position as President. KAMITATU must arouse the bambala. He must persuade KULUMBA, the Provincial Minister, to support him, which would ensure the support of the Bayaka.

We should give the Bayaka some provocation to induce them to take our side against the Bakongo. We might have Peti-Peti murdered, or at least seriously wounded, and give out that it was done by the Bakongo; this would spike the guns of DELVAUX, who has allied himself with the Abako.

As a return for his appointment, KANZA Daniel must persuade the bangala and bayaka burgomasters to take action against the bakongo by telling them that KASA-VUBU's victory would mean the loss of their positions. Rumours of the fraudulent appointment of Bakongo burgomasters by KASA-VUBU should be started.

The Prime Minister will also try to influence LUTULA, who is an otétela and should remember that fact. He will promise him the office of First Burgomaster.

(B) The bangala too must be incited against the bakongo, notwithstanding BOLIKANGO's manoeuvres.

Mr. MPOLO will be responsible for the Lac people. He will press the Lac provincial deputies to declare themselves for LUMUMBA and to ask that Lac should be separated from Léopoldville Province.

We must get in touch again with BOLYA (Labour, Bolamba) to muster the Mongos who are loyal to us. They will make every effort to rekindle the dispute between the bangala and the Bakongo.

A false rumour must be started that KASA-VUBU is shortly going to replace the ILEO Government by a 100 per cent Abakist Government.

2nd step: Reconciliation with Colonel MOBUTU

We must inspire Colonel MOBUTU with distrust of the members of the College of High Commissioners, who are against us, particularly CARDOSO and NUSSEBAUMER, by persuading him that they are working against him and only for KASA-VUBU.

We must make MOBUTU believe that the Catholics are plotting, with ILEO's support, to seize the power for themselves. Remind him that the Prime Minister, like himself, belonged to the liberal party.

Tell our military comrades to send a deputation to MOBUTU to complain that KASA-VUBU and the ILEO Government have not been neutralized and the High Commissioners are not neutral. Persuade him that that might provoke war among the troops. Payments will again have to be made to the non-commissioned officers to lead the men in that direction.

3rd step: Policy of prestige

The Prime Minister will increase the number of his public appearances. Our Guinean friends will give us their support and organize a reception. Journeys outside the town will not be announced in advance, to avoid the possibility of arrest, but Comrade NZUZI will post members of our secret police at key points.

Every effort must be made to prevent the Commissioners General and ILEO's Ministers from working in peace. Our MNC youth police must create disturbances and even kill people. By means of our statements and press conferences we must keep the people in a state of uneasiness.

4th step: Prevent the economic revival and the recovery of the country

The College of Commissioners must be prevented from achieving any results, particularly economic recovery which would reduce unemployment, for the people might make comparisons which would be unfavourable to our Government. It would be only too easy for our adversaries to claim that it was we who sowed anarchy and they who re-established order and prosperity.

Hence our supporters must create disturbances wherever they can, especially against the Europeans to prevent their returning to the Congo. Above all prevent the return of the Belgian school-teachers. Try to induce the troops or the police to take action by denouncing Europeans as spies. We must try to arrange that agents and clerks are not paid by the Government. Everywhere we must arouse their dissatisfaction.

5th step: Foreign policy

Our friends of Guinea and Ghana have undertaken to keep impressing upon the Afro-Asian group that we are the only legal Government.

They are going to suggest the idea of reconciliation with KASA-VUBU and to play the part of supposedly neutral arbiters. They have proposed this so as to give us time to regain our authority. Subsequently we shall get rid of the traitor KASA-VUBU and the other traitors. It is simply a matter of timing, as in the earlier case of BOLIKANGO.

But it will be difficult to get our adversaries, who have become suspicious, to accept the idea of reconciliation. Thus we too must appear to be indifferent. This will facilitate the arbitration manoeuvre.

6th step: The United Nations

Our friends again urge us not to attack the United Nations. On the contrary, we must try to obtain its support, since it is a power. We must persuade it that we are more ready than our adversaries to accept its trusteeship. But our friends agree that that should be only temporary.

Léopoldville, 5 September 1960

STEPS TO BE TAKEN WITH ALL URGENCY

N.B. VERY URGENT

AS EARLY AS POSSIBLE

WITHOUT DELAY THERE IS IMMINENT DANGER

THE STEPS ARE AS FOLLOWS:

1. Officially sever all communications with Brazzaville, including ferry service, telegrams, Customs inspection, etc.
 2. Keep a tight hand on the Congolese (National) Army.
 3. Cut off all radio communications with the interior of the Congo on the subject of KASAVUBU's statement while continuing to broadcast Mr. LUMUMBA's statement, continuing for several (illegible).
 4. IMMEDIATE COUP D'ETAT TONIGHT
Arrest the man KASAVUBU after the Council of Ministers.
 5. Convene the two Houses to amend the Fundamental Law, which empowers the Head of the State alone to depose the Prime Minister and the other Ministers, which is Dictatorship.
 6. Appeal immediately to Russia if absolutely necessary.
 7. Sever all communications with EUROPE and elsewhere:

TELEX
TELEGRAMS
TELEPHONE and OTHER
 8. No press conference, no-one to be admitted to see the Prime Minister. Publication of all newspapers to be prohibited.
 9. URGENT
Curfew at 5 p.m. from (date illegible); all these measures to be applicable to WHITES AND BLACKS EQUALLY.
 10. Telegrams to be sent to the Congolese Army in all the 5 provinces.
 11. Immediate appeal to the 5 Provincial Presidents in special council at Léopoldville.
 12. Convene urgently the Councils of Ministers in the Prime Minister's office at Léopoldville.
 13. Put into effect the full powers granted to the Government by the Senate at its meeting of 29 August 1960.
-

Letter dated 5 September 1960 to Mr. Patrice Lumumba

Leopoldville, 5 September 1960

My dear Antoine,

I have received Comrade Félix Moumié and had a long talk with him.

I agreed to the following:

1. The employment in the service of the Republic of the Africans a list of whom has been communicated to you. Arrangements should therefore be made immediately to send them air tickets for their journey.
2. The establishment at Leopoldville of a U.P.C. Office under the direction of Comrade Moumié himself.

You can make all the necessary arrangements for drawing up a concrete programme in accordance with our comrades' proposals.

"The signature is illegible but comparison with other documents in this file enables it to be identified as that of Mr. Lumumba."

List of technicians promised by the U.P.C. as assistance to
the Republic of the Congo

1. Dr. NDONGO DIYE, Physician and Surgeon,, at present at the Charles Nicole Hospital, TUNIS.
2. NDONGO Jacqueline, State-registered midwife, Charles Nicole Hospital, Tunis.
These two are living together and have two children, one of them over five years old.
3. Thomas Meloné, Professor of Philosophy, at present at Grenoble (France); married, no children.
4. Jean Martin TCHAPTCHET, Teacher of History and Geography, married, at present at Clermon-Ferrand (France).
5. Woungly (?) MASSAGA, Teacher of mathematics, married, 2 children, one of five years old, at present at Clermont-Ferrand (France).
6. NKODOK, bsachelor of laws, holder of a diploma from the National School of Administration, married, one child, at present in Paris.
7. Dr. MONKAM Jean-Marie, Physician, Sanitation Specialist, married, 3 children, two of them over 5 years old, at present at Bordeaux.

N.B. Nos. 3, 4 and 5 are also journalists and work with our youth organization.

Leopoldville, 1.9.60

Dr. Félix Roland Moumié, Chairman U.P.C.

(Signature illegible)

Installation of radio transmitting set at the Czechoslovak Embassy

A U T H O R I Z A T I O N

The Government of the Republic of the Congo authorizes His Excellency the Ambassador of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic to instal in his Embassy a radio transmitting set which will enable him to communicate direct with the Minister for Foreign Affairs at Prague.

FOR THE PRIME MINISTER:

(Signed) A. GIZENGA

DEPUTY PRIME MINISTER

EMBASSY OF THE CZECHOSLOVAK SOCIALIST REPUBLIC

Authorization by the Government of the Republic of the Congo

The Government of the Republic of the Congo authorizes the Embassy of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic to instal in the Embassy a radio transmitting set which will enable it to communicate direct with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs at Frague.

Leopoldville, September 1960.

Hearing National Defence - Mr. Kamitatu

REPUBLIC OF THE CONGO

MINISTRY OF NATIONAL DEFENCE

Leopoldville, 10 September 1960

No. 27/CAB/D.N.T.

NOTE TO THE PRIME MINISTER, MINISTER OF NATIONAL DEFENCE

SUBJECT: HEARING GRANTED TODAY BY THE COMMITTEE OF NATIONAL DEFENCE TO MR. KAMITATU, PRESIDENT OF THE PROVINCIAL GOVERNMENT OF LEOPOLDVILLE

I have the honour to inform you that in the course of the hearing granted to him Mr. KAMITATU requested your authorization to carry out the military occupation of the Province of Léopoldville, and in particular the BAS CONGO, with the co-operation of the Ministers KULUMBA Joseph and LETA Norbert.

In his opinion the KASA-VUBU problem is one that will extend to other provinces. In view of that consideration, he foresees that to leave the KASA-VUBU group at liberty, consisting of:

KASA-VUBU
MOANDA, Vital
KINGOTOLO
DIOMI
NZENZA-LANDU

would be tantamount to contravening the interests, first of the Province of Léopoldville and secondly of the Central Government and the whole Congo.

Mr. KAMITATU asks for 2,000 troops to carry out his plan. He would prefer troops from Stanleyville Province, KIVU-MANIEMA and Kwilu District. He suggests that you should authorize general recruiting in these Provinces, the preference being given to former members of the Force Publique. The purpose of this is to ensure that these different Districts shall not be left unprotected.

In my view this is an excellent idea. It will avert possible further criticism of the Central Government following upon this occupation. At the same time it will lead to a solution of the present crisis, which I have always regarded as a purely military problem.

I hope that President KAMITATU's request will be granted without delay; in order to enable him to assume this heavy responsibility, he should be appointed Colonel in command of the troops.

(Signed) B. DIAKA
CHIEF OF THE COMMITTEE OF
NATIONAL DEFENCE

Mobilization and Recruitment for National Army

REPUBLIC OF THE CONGO

MINISTRY OF NATIONAL DEFENCE

Leopoldville, 13 September 1960

No. 35/Cab/dn

NOTE FOR THE PRIME MINISTER,
MINISTER OF NATIONAL DEFENCE

I have the honour to inform you that, having studied the problem of the present crisis, I venture to urge the adoption of a policy of directed mobilization.

It is clear that all the difficulties which confront our young Republic are due to the fact that our National Army is known by both friendly nations and enemy nations to be weak in manpower and arms. That is why the Belgian Army was able to invade our Territory. It is also this weakness which has enabled the TSHOMBE problem to develop as it has. The attitude of KALONDJI, BOLIKANGO and even of Mr. KASA-VUBU can be explained only in the light of this weakness.

Lastly, is it not this weakness which explains the presence of U.N. troops which are today plotting against the established authority?

It must be realized that the present situation threatens to divide our National Army into four camps:

1. the supporters of the policy of KASA-VUBU (the BAKONGO)
2. " " " " " " KALONDJI (the BALUBA)
3. " " " " " " BOLIKANGO (the BANGALA)
4. " " " " " " GOVERNMENT.

I consider that the present crisis can be solved only by a trial of strength. For I do not believe that the KASA-VUBU, KALONDJI and BOLIKANGO group will reverse their decision. Nor do I believe that the legally constituted Government will willingly cede its authority.

I maintain my previous proposals for the establishment of a supplementary force of 50,000 troops within six months. Recruiting should be in the following proportions: 15,000 troops in Stanleyville Province, 12,500 in the Kwango-Kwilu and Lac Léopold II Districts, 12,500 in Kivu-Maniema Province and 10,000 in Kasai Province (among the Lulua - Basongo, Batetela and Bakuba, etc.)

To conceal the fact that such recruiting is being carried out, I suggest the establishment of a number of civilian camps where citizens aged between 18 and 25 will be given intensive military training. That will avoid fresh criticisms of the Government and is expected to provide a preliminary solution of the problem of unemployment. On the basis of the budget for the National Army for the financial year 1960, a budget of +2,000,000,000 francs should be anticipated.

I hope that you will approve this proposal, which is the Nation's only hope of salvation, and I hope to receive orders for the immediate realization of this plan.

(Signed) B. DIAKA

CHIEF OF THE COMMITTEE OF
NATIONAL DEFENCE

Telegram dated 12 September 1960 from Mr. A. Gizenga to the Afro-Asian Group
Security Council United Nations New York

Top priority

No. 1995/cab/pm of 12 September 1960

Inform you arrest Mr. Lumumba Prime Minister of Legal Government by U.N. forces at Léopoldville with help some military personnel supporting the Opposition. This action which constitutes a coup d'état by U.N. hiding behind Opposition entails serious consequences. Warn you if he is not freed within six hours unprecedented bloodshed for which U.N. alone will bear responsibility. Government presided over by Mr. Lumumba only legal Government supported by entire Congolese people and appointed by Parliament can be replaced only by Congolese Parliament. No justification for this coup d'état at time when Security Council in session seeking peaceful solution. Congolese troops coming to his assistance repulsed by U.N. forces. Situation disastrous and if no liberation measures taken within time-limit stated the country will be plunged into war which will threaten international peace and may be beginning of a war.

Have honour etc.

A. Gizenga Deputy Prime Minister
Republic of the Congo.

Appointment of Mr. Mpolo to the rank of lieutenant-general

DECREE OF APPOINTMENT

We, the Ministers meeting in Council,

In accordance with articles 23 and 33 of the fundamental law of 19 May 1960 relating to the structure of the Congo,

In view of the urgency of the matter,

DECIDE

Article 1: The rank of lieutenant-general of the Congolese National Army is conferred upon Mr. MPOLO Maurice.

Article 2: Mr. MPOLO Maurice shall retain the post of Minister for Youth.

Done at Léopoldville, 13 (715) September 1960.

Signed:

P. Lumumba
Prime Minister

A. Gizenga
Deputy Prime Minister

(Other signatures illegible)

Ministers

Telegram dated 15 September 1960 addressed to President Finant

Léopoldville, 15 September 1960

No. 2051/CAB/PM

Radio No. 733

On receipt of this telegram send urgently armed troops to Léopoldville -
situation very serious.

(Signed) (illegible)

p.p. Patrice LUMUMBA

PRIME MINISTER

See attached reply

Telegram addressed to Prime Minister Lumumba by President Finant

I have received the telephone message asking me immediately to send troops to Léopoldville. But U.N. refuse to send armed troops by air. Would send pilots but they say they do not know how they can go to Léo without authorization their ambassadors. There are many troops at Stan. I am staying here with about two hundred of them armed with modern rifles to protect Gombau and Watsa. Most of modern rifles are in Katanga, Luluabourg and Bakwanga. I have no more rifles and cartridges, God. I have 1420 troops who have returned from Katanga and Ruanda-Urundi. Readimi Narana rifles and Ralayi cartridges. If I receive U.N. authorization to send troops by air I will send them to Léo immediately even tonight. U.N. and ambassadors must be approached for authorization for pilots to transport troops. My principal private secretary will come to Léo with Soviet representative to make all arrangements on the spot. Give this telegram to the Prime Minister.

Finant Provincial President

Stan.

Serious and irrevocable decision reached 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 present deplorable political situation of the country;

Considering the ceaseless interference of the United Nations authorities in the Country's problems;

Considering the continual backstairs intrigues of these authorities in favour of KASAVUBU - ILEO - TSHOMBE - KALONJI;

Considering that the U.N. and the Security Council have ignored my telegram asking for aircraft, arms and ammunition:

(1) DECLARE THE UNITED NATIONS MISSION IN THE CONGO TO BE A FAILURE.

(2) IN THE NAME OF THE GOVERNMENT and the ENTIRE NATION, and by virtue of the FULL POWERS bestowed upon me, decide to take the following steps:

- (a) The Secretary-General of the U.N. is requested to withdraw his technicians and troops within one week from today, without any discussion, from the whole Territory of the Republic;
- (b) The leaders of the Government will themselves freely make arrangements to obtain elsewhere the technical and military assistance they wish for the Congo;
- (c) If, despite this decision, the U.N. continues its destructive activities in the Congo, it will soon see the blood of its technicians and troops being shed;
- (d) Before the time-limit of a week has elapsed, Soviet forces will undoubtedly be in the Congo;

forcibly to expel the U.N. from our Republic if that organization turns a deaf ear and refuses to withdraw completely within the prescribed time-limit,

to solve the KASAVUBU-TSHOMBE-KALONJI-ILEO question and all similar political questions by force, so that the political balance shall willy-nilly come down on the side of the "LUMUMBA" Government, which must be recognized as the only legal Government.

Lastly, I draw the attention of all observers to this U L T I M A T U M, which is meant for those who are responsible for the situation, it being understood that if necessary I shall not hesitate to call in the DEVIL to save the country, which is in danger of sinking into anarchy, since I am convinced that with the unreserved support of the SOVIETS I shall win the day in spite of everything.

Léopoldville, 16 September 1960

(Signed) P. Lumumba

Prime Minister

Letter addressed to the President of Equateur Province, Coquilhatville, by Mr. Gizenga

Sir,

I am writing to you from Stanleyville, where I arrived on 14 October 1960 by road from Léopoldville, for the purpose of enlightening the people and their leaders about the reality and the causes of the events in Léopoldville and the exact aims pursued by those who instigated them and thus caused the Crisis.

I arrived at Stanleyville just when events there reached a crucial stage but unfortunately one day after Mr. FINANT, the Provincial President, had been deported to Kasavubu's prison at Luzumu (Léopoldville) at the orders of Mobutu; I was just able by the skin of my teeth to save the situation in the 3rd Congolese army group, which was already beginning to be infected by Mobutu's policy.

I hope to be able to visit you for the same purpose, if that is still possible within the next few weeks. But to avoid your having to await my arrival before doing anything, I shall make some good suggestions now about how you can help the Government to resume its activities, despite the determined efforts of Kasavubu and Mobutu.

Since the great mass of the people, who do not know what is happening but in spite of everything are faithful to the Government and have not responded to the illegal activities of Kasavubu, seem by their silence to approve his attitude, we must see to it that there is an awakening and that the whole people demonstrate in favour of their Government and demand its return to power.

That would be more effective if the demonstration were accompanied by positive action in the form of a general strike at one week's notice. The strike should cause a work stoppage in all private undertakings run by Whites, who are in fact the chief plotters in the Kasavubu affair and supply him with funds to suborn the Congolese troops, corrupt them and thus lead them to their doom by the criminal policy of appealing to them to lay down their arms when they would be made prisoners by Belgian and other Paras.

If that is not done the foreign observers will believe that since the Congolese people do not react, they agree with Kasavubu's absurdities. Thus they would be inclined for that reason to accept the criminal murderer Kasavubu.

Do not hesitate to shoulder your responsibilities, as you have done up to now, but going further this time. We must arrange that the date of the strike shall be the same everywhere so as to strike a blow at the morale of the intriguing Europeans; this might cause them to support the return of the legal Government of Patrice LUMUMBA. I emphasize that speedy action is necessary to save the country.

Have courage; I hope to see you soon if all goes well.

(Signed) Antoine GIZENGA
DEPUTY PRIME MINISTER
of the Republic of the Congo

Letter dated 15 September 1960 addressed to the Presidents of the Provincial Governments (ALL) except Katanga by Prime Minister Lumumba

Léopoldville, 15 September 1960
STRICTLY CONFIDENTIAL

SUBJECT: Measures to be applied during the first stages of the dictatorship

Sir,

I have the honour and the pleasure to inform you that with a view to the rapid restoration of order in the country, the House of Representatives and the Senate, meeting in special session on 13 September of this year, decided to grant the Government full powers.

FULL POWERS should be understood to mean that the Government is free to act as it thinks fit in all respects, for the purpose of suppressing abuses, disorders and any action which is contrary to the will of the Government over which I have presided legally since the attainment of Independence by the Congo.

Thus it is for the nationalist members of both the Central and Provincial Governments to take advantage of this unique opportunity to bring order into the country and impose respect for the established authorities.

The most effective and direct means of succeeding rapidly in our task may be summarized as follows:

1. establish an absolute dictatorship and apply it in all its forms;
2. terrorism, essential to subdue the population;
3. proceed systematically, using the army, to arrest ALL MEMBERS OF THE OPPOSITION, I will be personally responsible for those at Léopoldville including the Head of the State and his close supporters. A few weeks ago, in view of the present situation in Katanga and Sud-Kasai, I sent the National Army to arrest TSHOMBE and KALONDJI and even to kill them if possible. (If these two and Mr. K... were to be disposed of, the problems that face us would be solved without any difficulty).
4. Imprison the Ministers, deputies and senators, who sometimes abuse their parliamentary immunity. In such a case I should be glad if you would not spare them but arrest them all without pity and treat them with ten

times more severity than ordinary individuals.

5. Revive the SYSTEM OF FLOGGING and give the rebels 10 lashes, morning and evening, for a maximum of 7 consecutive days.

N.B. Double the number in the case of Ministers, senators and deputies, reducing the number gradually according to the condition of each individual.

6. Inflict profound humiliations on the people thus arrested, in addition to the obligatory treatment described above. For example, strip them in public, if possible in the presence of their wives and children. Make them carry heavy loads and force them to walk about in that state. In case of such a walk, however, drawers may be worn.

7. In view of the seriousness of the situation of the country, which is in danger of sinking into anarchy, it would be well to imprison repeated offenders in underground cells or prisons for at least 6 months, never allowing them out to breathe fresh air.

N.B. If some of them succumb as a result of certain atrocities, which is possible and desirable, the truth should not be divulged but it should be announced, for instance, that Mr. X. has escaped and cannot be found.

8. Those who do not succumb in prison should not be released for at least a year. In this case they shall be exiled to a country to be determined by me in agreement with certain foreign countries which have already signified their agreement in principle.

* * *

Some of the Provincial Presidents will say that the measures described are severe. In reply I would point out to them that certain politicians have attained power by means of dictatorship. Moreover, the measures of execution that I have indicated above constitute only the first stage of the basic regime that we hope will succeed in the Congo. The second stage will be to destroy anyone who criticizes us.

To avoid any ill-treatment of people of our ideology who might not be known to you, you should communicate to me from time to time a list giving full particulars of all the people you may have imprisoned, so that I can instruct you as to the appropriate treatment for each individual.

If these instructions, which should be put into effect immediately on receipt of this letter, are scrupulously carried out, I am sure that we shall triumph.

In conclusion, I would point out that this letter should be communicated only to those authorities under your orders in whom you have entire confidence.

(Signed) P. LUMUMBA
Prime Minister.

Act of repudiation of members of parliament from Orientale Province belonging to the M.N.C. bloc

Solemn statement of the position adopted by the members of parliament from Orientale Province who belong to the M.N.C. Lumumba bloc

We the undersigned, Senators and Deputies of the political group MNC/LUMUMBA, from Orientale Province:

Whereas Mr. LUMUMBA was received favourably and with open arms, at the political level, by all the inhabitants of Orientale Province,

Whereas the confidence placed in Mr. LUMUMBA and in the Mouvement National Congolais was the result of the ardent struggle waged by this movement against the colonialist regime,

Whereas the sole objective pursued by the active members of the MNC/LUMUMBA was to wipe out colonialism and replace it by a regime of FREEDOM GUARANTEED TO EVERY CITIZEN,

Whereas the population of Orientale Province did not wage the struggle against that even MORE FORMIDABLE form of colonialism, to wit the oppression of the people as practised by PEKIN and MOSCOW communism,

Whereas the Congolese people abhor any form of oppression of the people, and particularly that of the Hungarian people by Russian communism and that of the Tibetan people by Chinese communism,

Whereas even before independence the attention of the Congolese had been drawn on many occasions to the fact that LUMUMBA manifested certain communist leanings,

Whereas it has been revealed recently, with AUTHENTIC DOCUMENTS to support it, that the policy practised by LUMUMBA in the Congo and more particularly in Orientale Province is based upon pure dictatorship leading straight to communism,

Whereas it is now established that it was in complete ignorance of LUMUMBA's real political leanings that the population of Orientale Province blindly gave him all their confidence,

Whereas on 16 September 1960 and by a SERIOUS AND IRREVOCABLE DECISION, taken without the knowledge of the Government and Parliament, Mr. LUMUMBA: declared the UN mission in the Congo to be a FAILURE, whereas the whole world admires the tremendous work of this Organization, which is tackling its task of pacification in an efficient way;

appealed to the RUSSIANS to THROW OUT THE U.N. WITHOUT MORE ADO;
asked the world Organization to withdraw its technicians and its forces,
in order to REPLACE THEM BY SOVIET TECHNICIANS AND TROOPS;
declared that if the U.N. would not clear out, it would soon see the
blood of its technicians and troops being shed;

Whereas this SERIOUS AND IRREVOCABLE DECISION really threatens to bring
about a THIRD WORLD WAR on our territory,

Whereas this threat is confirmed by the requests to the communist countries
for: troop-transport aircraft with "Soviet" crews, fighter aircraft (helicopters),
various guns, tanks, armoured cars, various high-quality weapons, up-to-date
military broadcasting equipment, the money required for urgent expenses, etc.

Whereas the N.B. in the CONFIDENTIAL letter of 15 September 1960 to
President FINANT states that "it is thanks to the serious threats he utters all
the time that the political balance is inclining in his favour",

Whereas in his "STRICTLY CONFIDENTIAL" circular of 15 September 1960, sent,
in the first place, to President FINANT of Orientale Province alone, Mr. LUMUMBA
ordered a series of ACTS OF TERRORISM, in particular:

- (1) the establishment of the DICTATORSHIP,
- (2) TERRORISM towards the population,
- (3) the ARBITRARY arrest of the members of the opposition with the help
of the National Army,
- (4) the arrest of certain MINISTERS, DEPUTIES AND SENATORS, regardless of
parliamentary immunity,
- (5) the restoration of the inhuman punishment of FLOGGING, from which the
victory over colonialism should have freed the country once and for all,
- (6) shameful humiliations, specified with real sadism,
- (7) the establishment of the TORTURE of confinement in an UNDERGROUND PRISON
for a minimum of SIX MONTHS,
- (8) incitement to the MURDER OF POLITICAL PRISONERS,
- (9) the intention to banish those who survive imprisonment to foreign countries
which are accomplices in this cruel policy.

Whereas at the close of the "ANKUTSHU" congress, held in secret at Lodja before Independence and presided over by LUMUMBA, the latter circulated a "BREVILIARY" to the ANKUTSHU people only, according to which he was going to do all he could to make use of INFLUENTIAL elements of other races, as INSTRUMENTS OF PROPAGANDA, in order to ensure his ELECTORAL SUCCESS, and subsequently would as far as possible give the positions of command and direction to HIS "ATETELA" BROTHERS,

Whereas, although he is an ATETELA, from Katako-Kombe, Sankuru District, Kasai Province, LUMUMBA claims to be the SUPREME ruler of the Congo and particularly of Orientale Province, which, according to his own words, is already in HIS HANDS (and hence in communist hands),

Whereas everything that was said in this breviary is unquestionably to be observed and confirmed today,

Whereas by reason of this far-fetched claim Mr. LUMUMBA obtained from RUSSIA a first instalment of fifteen fighter aircraft and 100 lorries, plus a contingent of Soviet troops disguised as civilians,

Whereas the hundred lorries were intended in particular for the JEUNESSE LUMUMBISTE, to enable them to play at "GANGSTERS" and spread terrorism throughout the country,

Whereas these young people are in possession of pocket and other arms, secretly distributed,

Whereas Mr. LUMUMBA declared in his "STRICTLY CONFIDENTIAL" letter of 15 September last that "the second stage of the action to establish the dictatorship will consist in DESTROYING ANYBODY WHO CRITICIZES HIM",

Whereas this is so true that Mr. LUMUMBA does not hesitate to incite both the MASSES and the YOUNG PEOPLE and to set them against any person or any Member of Parliament who does not share his political opinions,

Whereas it is because of such threats that the majority of the Members of Parliament continue, against their will, to give him their support,

Whereas the wily LUMUMBA presented the COMMUNIST National Movement to us under the label of "CONGOLESE NATIONAL MOVEMENT",

Whereas Mr. LUMUMBA has been financed by the communist countries to the extent of several thousand million in order to enable him to maintain his position and his policy, in particular by corrupting the National Army and bringing it into politics,

Whereas the RUSSIANS are really scattered throughout Orientale Province under the label of "technicians", as Mr. LUMUMBA proudly acknowledged in the afore-mentioned confidential letter,

* * * * *

CONSIDERING THAT IT IS OUR DUTY, as elected representatives of the people, to enlighten public opinion in Orientale Province, which has been duped for so long by the Master demagogue,

CONSIDERING THAT BEFORE INDEPENDENCE there were no purely Congolese political parties in the real sense of the term but movements to liberate the Congolese people from the Belgian colonialist yoke, and that it is therefore the prerogative of the Congolese freely to establish their own real political parties, not modelled on Eastern or Western lines,

CONSIDERING THE SERIOUS INSULT LUMUMBA HAS HURLED at the inhabitants of Orientale Province, whom he has called SHEEP TO BE LED BY THE NOSE,

CONSIDERING THE IRREFUTABLE TESTIMONY OF VICTIMS who have finally managed to escape from Orientale Province,

CONSIDERING THAT THE CRUEL THREATS uttered in the confidential document issued by Mr. LUMUMBA have been and are still being carried out in all their harshness throughout our Province,

CONSIDERING THAT THE POSITION WE HAVE ADOPTED IS NOT BASED SOLELY UPON THE DOCUMENTS that have been shown to come from Mr. LUMUMBA's Office but more particularly on the INHUMAN TREATMENT which has been meted out in Orientale Province on his orders, such as atrocities and arbitrary arrests of time-honoured customary authorities and of members of the opposition,

CONSIDERING THE INHUMANLY SERIOUS ACTS mentioned above and many others which we cannot enumerate for it would make this document unduly lengthy,

* * * * *

WE SOLEMNLY DECLARE

(1) That the documents we have mentioned are IRREFUTABLE; indeed, they are corroborated by the fact that they are being fully put into effect in Orientale Province.

- (2) That consequently WE PUBLICLY DISSOCIATE OURSELVES BOTH FROM THOSE CRIMINAL INSTRUCTIONS AND FROM THE ACTS WHEREBY THEY ARE BEING PUT INTO EFFECT.
- (3) That in consequence WE DEFINITELY WITHDRAW, as from today, OUR PARLIAMENTARY SUPPORT from Mr. LUMUMBA.
We urge the people NOT TO GO ON BEING HOODWINKED BY THE DEMAGOGIC SPEECHES of LUMUMBA, who is Krushchev's No. 1 apostle and an intimate friend of N'KRUMAH and SEKOU-TOURE.
- (4) THAT IN VIEW OF THE THREATS hanging over Orientale Province we ask the people of that Province TO REFUSE TO LISTEN any more to LUMUMBA and his accomplices and to remain completely calm.
- (5) WE APPEAL TO THE CONSCIENCE OF THE CONGOLESE PEOPLE and of ALL THE FREE PEOPLES of the world to DENOUNCE WITH US THESE VIOLATIONS OF HUMAN RIGHTS.
- (6) THAT IT IS ESSENTIAL FOR THE WELL-BEING OF THE CONGOLESE PEOPLE THAT LUMUMBA SHOULD BE REMOVED FROM OFFICE, as a PREREQUISITE for the restoration of PEACE and TRANQUILLITY in our young Republic.
- (7) Our intention of TRAVELLING THROUGHOUT ORIENTALE PROVINCE in the near future, in order PUBLICLY to unmask the COMMUNIST TREACHERY OF LUMUMBA.

Done at Leopoldville, 1 October 1960.

Letters from members of parliament arrested at Stanleyville

Stan, Camp Ketele, 19/10/60

To His Excellency the Head of State
Sir,

We regret to inform you that we were all arrested as soon as we left the aircraft.

We are imprisoned in the Ketele concentration camp, where we are being subjected to unbelievable treatment.

The sine qua non for our release is the return to Stan of Mr. Finant, Mr. Fataki and Mr. Jangarra. Yet we are not responsible for the arrest of those officials.

Among the measures you may consider for obtaining our release, try as far as possible to avoid sending the army here from Leo, for if that were done the affair might degenerate into a mutual attack and we should be the first ones threatened by it.

It would be advisable to consider other peaceful means, in order to enable us to meet in parliament without delay.

Do not arrest the person concerned at Leo while we are here at Stan.
Contact U.N. without delay in order to obtain our immediate release.

Greetings to all our friends and families,

(Ten signatures)

Members of Parliament under arrest

A. Songolo
C. Danga
Illegible
Othita, J.P.
Fataki, S.

Fele, J.
Illegible
Iloko V.
Azanga
Mandiongwe, M.

Camp Ketele, Stan, 20/10/60

To His Excellency the Head of State

Sir,

The Night of 19/20 October was a night of terrible suffering for us. As a result of rumours that Colonel Mobutu had arrived at Stan with his army, the gendarmes from this place went off to the airport in battle kit and it was we who were going to be the first victims.

That we awoke this morning of 20/10 safe and sound is due to the fact that the news of Colonel Mobutu's arrival at Stan was denied, otherwise you would have heard that some of us had already been gathered to our fathers.

We are actually experiencing from day to day the harsh measures of the first stage of the dictatorship mentioned in the confidential letter of Lumumba.

We learn from a reliable source that Lumumba is in permanent contact with Gizenga.

By means of which we are in ignorance, the ex-Prime Minister is still dictating to Mr. Gizenga atrocity measures to use against us.

It would even appear that Mr. Lumumba has ordered that we should be simply exterminated and that Gizenga and Salumu received this order with enthusiasm. These last two are thus only waiting for the means of carrying it out.

Well, they may not have to go far to look for such means, for the whole army is turning against us in an inexplicable way.

This means that we are all in danger, especially Mr. Songolo, who is threatened with death every moment.

Lastly, if you do not convene parliament in extraordinary session to adopt a motion for our immediate and unconditional release, we can tell you straight away that we shall not all be here on the day of our release.

If you agree to our proposal for an extraordinary meeting of Parliament (Chamber and Senate meeting together), the only item on the agenda would be the following: "Immediate and unconditional release of the ten Members of Parliament from Orientale Province imprisoned at the order of Lumumba".

At the moment we are writing this to you, it has been confirmed that we are soon to be transferred to an isolated and unknown spot, where we shall be executed.

This letter would thus be our last

If you do not receive any more letters from us, it will mean that our transfer and execution have already been carried out.

Here and now, therefore, we bid you "ADIEU" and send greetings to all our families and acquaintances and especially to our parliamentary colleagues, whom we ask to carry on the work in our place.

Finally, we shall soon be executed because we have fought communism.

Down with communism.

Long live freedom.

Hail the probable death of the ten Members of Parliament.

Once again, ADIEU.

(Ten signatures)

A. SONGOLO

FELE, Josias

ILOKOV

OTHITA, J.P.

AZANGA, A.

Illegible

Illegible

FATAKI

MANDIONGWE, M.

DANGA CYE

Camp Ketele, 20/10/60

To His Excellency Mr. Kasa-Vubu

In our note of yesterday, we informed you that during the first days of our arrest we were told that the sine qua non for our release was the return of Mr. Finant and his associates to Stan.

Despite the atrocious sufferings we are undergoing here, we feel, after mature reflexion, that if Finant came to see us here our fate would be much more serious than ever.

We therefore ask you to use all peaceful means to obtain our release without delay, without Finant coming to see us in this state.

We beg you to be so kind as to ensure the safety of all our families, to dissuade them from joining us at Stan, to see that they are given the necessary assistance and to advise them to remain calm.

We stress the fact that our lives are in great danger.

Do not let Colonel Mobutu come to Stan for the moment: it would be the worst thing that could happen.

With God's help we shall see each other again.

We do not know whether all the notes we write to you will reach you.

Please excuse the paper and ink we are using to write to you.

(Ten signatures)

The Parliamentary delegation

ILOCKO
Illegible
J. FELE
FATAKI
DANGA Cy

Illegible
MANDIONGWE, M.
Illegible
Illegible
A. AZANGA

Gizenga and Salumu are exerting all their influence to arouse both the masses and the army against us, to such an extent that we are living in complete insecurity. Our lives are in danger at every moment. Each second that passes is for us...

We enclose for your attention the issue of the newspaper UHURU. You will see from it the lie that is at the base of their propaganda against us. Because of this false governmental list, the life of Mr. Songolo is heavily threatened by the army people. We would whether we shall all emerge alive...

Letter dated 13 September 1960 addressed to the President of the Republic and the President of the Senate by the inhabitants of Paulis

Paulis, 13 September 1960

Sir,

We respectfully take the liberty of informing you of the tragic situation of the population of the chief town of Haut-Uele District, brought about by the false intrigues whose perpetrators we venture to denounce. The leaders of the M.N.C. have decided to eliminate their political opponents of the P.N.P. On Sunday, 4/9/60, all the customary chiefs, including Mopa Francois, a deputy in the House of Representatives, two clerks in the Administration and an assistant (moniteur) were arrested.

These people are being subjected to incredible tortures: 24 lashes every day. Some of them are now on the point of death. You would really think you were under the communist regime. It is unthinkable that our brothers in the opposition should be ill-treated in this way now that we are running our own affairs. It is inconceivable that the authorities of Stanleyville and Yangala Camille, District Commissioner of Haut-Uele, should have ordered the arrest of the P.N.P. leaders for no valid reason.

As we write these lines, the whole population of the chiefdom of Kopa, Danga, A handrombi, seized with panic, have fled to the forest for several days. Others have been obliged to obtain the magical M.N.C. card in order to save their skins. Every man and woman has to pay 60 francs, children, even babies, 20 francs. Is that independence, the exploitation of Congolese by Congolese? Is that independence, a reign of terror and a policy of intimidation?

Another anti-democratic thing: Yangala Camille intends to remove all the customary chiefs from office, because they belong to the P.N.P.

As for the troops, they know nothing of discipline, which should be their whole life. All they care about is pillage and rape, as in a conquered country! What disciplined soldiers they are!

Your Excellency and honourable Senators, the people of Paulis, the calmest in the Republic since our struggle for independence, are now disillusioned by the arbitrary arrests. We wonder anxiously what this is leading to.

It is quite clear that unless vigorous steps are taken we shall rush headlong into a communist regime, with a single party. All efforts are being concentrated on turning the whole population into supporters of the M.N.C.. They want to show the world that the whole of Orientale Province is pro-Lumumba.

Who will save us from this danger? Your Excellency and honourable Senators, why were you elected, to serve Lumumba or to serve the country? Are you afraid of losing your position or is it better to save the country? The situation in Orientale Province is serious and will become the No.1 problem of Congolese policy. We have only one word to say on the matter: the colonialists may have enslaved us for eighty years, but we shall not allow our racial brothers to enslave us in the same way. Lumumba thinks he is the one and only liberator, but others will do exactly the same thing to get rid of his influence.

Do not let anyone try to throw dust in the eyes of the world Press by telling it that Orientale Province is calm and pro-Lumumba. If it appears to be so, it is because of the intrigues practised by paid men. The people are today well aware of the reaction of Mr. ? [type not clear], who was arrested last August.

Your Excellency and gentlemen, unless vigorous steps are taken against the Lumumba Government, particularly the removal from office of Mr. Yangala Camille, the District Commissioner of Haut-Uele, we shall witness the disappearance of many intellectual citizens, as in Russia.

We demand the immediate release of those who have been arrested and have now been transferred to Stanleyville, and a senatorial commission to undertake an inquiry and to verify the looting in the residence of each customary chief; we demand the removal from office of Yangala Camille, the District Commissioner of Haut-Uele; we demand the immediate withdrawal of all the troops at present in Paulis and their replacement by those of Com??ri [type not clear]; we want the Provincial President and Yangala, his District Commissioner, to be summoned to explain those arrests.

We want the state of emergency under which all power is given to the army to be brought to an end. We hope that the present Government will revise its policy and afford us the protection of our customary chiefs.

Your Excellency, unless vigorous measures are taken against the Lumumba government and a strict control imposed upon it, unending fratricidal wars will break out throughout the country.

The happiness or misery of the country will depend upon your decision.

The inhabitants of Paulis
regardless of party.

REPORT ON THE POLITICAL SITUATION IN ORIENTALE PROVINCE

For the President of the Republic of the Congo

Since the achievement of national independence Orientale Province has been experiencing a worse situation than that under European colonialism.

That Province, administered entirely by M.N.C. leaders, is at present subjected to a reign of terror that has forced many citizens to flee to Leopoldville and elsewhere, abandoning their property and their families.

Modelling themselves on communist methods, the provincial authorities are doing their utmost to stifle the opposition, in order to remain in power as long as possible. They know that otherwise their reign will be short-lived, because instead of earning the confidence of the electors they extorted it from inexperienced men by promises that could not be fulfilled.

In fact the people, disappointed at now finding themselves unemployed, at having to go on paying taxes, at not being able to travel at the expense of the State and at not seeing those who died on 30 June restored to life, soon reacted in favour of the parties which had conducted their electoral campaign honestly.

That explains the persecution organized by the authorities at Stanleyville against the chief members of the P.N.P. and a number of customary chiefs.

Police, gendarmerie, military police, the security service - such are the means that these authorities use unscrupulously to degrade and ill-treat their fellow citizens.

The list of "men to destroy" was accordingly drawn up for Stanleyville and the Haut-Congo District by Mr. FINANT Jean-Pierre, President of the Provincial Government, and Mr. SABITI François, Provisional Minister for the Ten-Year Plan.

Mr. BABADET, President of the Provincial Assembly, and Mr. BOCHELEY, National Deputy, took the Bas-Uele District in hand, while Mr. YANGALA Camille, a man with little to recommend him, who was taken from obscurity for the office of District Commissioner, undertook the Haut-Uele.

At Stanleyville itself, KILANGALANGA, KANGAKOTO and SALO Felix, police superintendents, carried out arrests on the instructions of Mr. Finant and handed their victims over to the gendarme "executioners", who had received orders to do what they liked with those "criminals".

It was Mr. BONDEKWE, Mr. LEBAUD and Mr. DUBUKA, the members of the former P.N.P. provincial committee, who were chosen to inaugurate this sorry campaign.

Having been arrested without the necessary formalities, they were tortured and confined in the prison at Camp Sergent Ketele, whence they emerged four days later without any police report or record of interrogation.

They were seized again two days later and taken to the central building with other people of similar political views: Mr. Likungu Leon, Mr. Mozaiso Joseph, Mr. Motta Louis, Mr. Salehe Donat, Mr. Matchingi Titus, Mr. Alimasi Fidele, Mr. Boningoli Antoine, Mr. Egomu Honore, Mr. Kalonda Stephane, Mr. Asumani Tembwe, Mr. Helali, Mr. Sefu Makando, Mr. Soku, Mr. Nushiri Sabiti and Mr. Dauda Pierre.

Thanks to the intervention of the Parquet, they were released, some after four days, the more "dangerous" after nine days in prison. No sentence was pronounced on them on that occasion.

Meanwhile persecution was in full swing in the different communes of the town.

List in hand, police superintendents, accompanied by armed policemen, spread terror in the offices and houses of the people they were looking for. It was with glee that they discharged their task, which consisted in striking, handcuffing and exposing to public contempt everyone they arrested, no matter what his social rank.

Finally, the last round-up took place at Mr. Takis's bar at 7.30 p.m. on 23 August. Forty people, who were peacefully drinking their beer, were arrested by SALO Felix, a police superintendent, and taken to the cell in the gendarmerie, which was thenceforth to house all the "undesirables" picked up in the four corners of the Province. The Sergent Ketele camp thus became a veritable concentration camp.

This centre, which was considered to be particularly well equipped for torturing refractory prisoners, was later to receive BHOUNDE Joseph, a deputy arrested during the parliamentary recess, as also the chiefs and notables of the Districts of Buta and Paulis.

(See the attached special report on those two Districts)

In order to excite the rage of the troops against the political prisoners, the authorities described these innocent men as "traitors", "supporters of Tshombe" and men who had sold themselves and were plotting to restore Belgian colonialism in the Congo.

Thus forty, fifty and sometimes sixty people were huddled into a room measuring 6 by 6 metres, without any light or any kind of bedding.

During the day they were forced to perform the most arduous work, while humiliating tasks (such as cleaning the W.C.) were reserved for their leaders.

The punishment of flogging was restored for their benefit.

Mr. Motta and Mr. Bondekwa, representatives of FUNA and the P.N.P. respectively, were literally flagellated during the night of 25 August.

As it sometimes happened that father and son shared this wretched fate, there were some heartrending scenes, as for instance when the one was martyred before the weeping eyes of the other, who was unable to intervene. Such was the case with Mr. Ibambi Alphonse of Stan and Mr. Mbage Raphael and their parents.

What can we say of the case of Mr. EDINGALI A., who was flogged naked, in the presence of members of his family? It was an agonizing spectacle, which caused his daughter Marie, who was several months pregnant, to miscarry.

We may add that, to break the record in cruelty, a gendarme made all the prisoners lie on their backs and, wearing his boots, he trod brutally on them, watering their faces lavishly.

As a result of this savage and inhuman treatment, a number of the inmates of Camp Ketele had to be admitted to hospital.

The military and judicial authorities, roused by public opinion, examined the affair, unfortunately three weeks later, and ordered the release of the prisoners, who were all declared innocent.

Other arrests:

The chain of arrests covered the following sub-districts: Basoko, Isangi, Bafwasende, Banalia, Aketi, Bondo, Ange, Buta, Bambesa, Paulis, Wamba, Niangara, Dungu, Watsa, Faradje and Aba.

Dozens and dozens of citizens were thus molested, mocked, flogged, tortured and imprisoned without any plausible reason.

* * * * *

In the above we have rapidly sketched the sombre picture of the brutality to which a number of personalities of Orientale Province have been subjected by an authority which has shamefully abused its powers.

As you see, life is impossible in Orientale Province, especially for those who are not members of the M.N.C. Consequently it is essential that the situation should be remedied without delay.

We hope that these lines will receive the kindly attention of the President of the Republic and that those responsible, namely Mr. FINANT, Mr. BABADET, Mr. BOCHELEY, Mr. YANGAIA and Mr. SABITI, will account before the Courts for the "arbitrary arrests", "bodily tortures" and other scandals recorded in this report, the more so since these acts have seriously prejudiced freedom of opinion, which should be guaranteed to all the citizens of the Republic.

Leopoldville, 30 September 1960

BONDEKWE, S.D.

EDINDALI, A.

KUPA, F.

LOPES, A.

Certified true copy (Signed) A. Lopes,
30/12/60

Report on the situation in Orientale Province (Districts of Bas-Uele and Haut-Uele)

SITUATION IN THE DISTRICTS OF BAS-UELE AND HAUT-UELE

On 22 August 1960 Mr. BOCHELEY Davidson Egide, National Deputy, sent each of us an invitation, to which was attached a black list of persons to be arrested.

In response to this invitation, a meeting was held in the morning at the District Office at Buta. After a long discussion, Mr. Bocheley told us that we were not charged with any offence and that therefore he could not carry out the arrests he had anticipated.

The following is a list of the first arrests in the sub-districts of Buta and Bambesa:

- | | | |
|-----|---------------------|---|
| 1. | APONZA Amand | Customary chief at Titula |
| 2. | EKOLOPANGONGO J. | " " " Dingila |
| 3. | ENKIBE Nestor | " " " Bambese |
| 4. | MOMI Jerome | " " " Titule |
| 5. | NEBAZA Leon | " " " Zobia |
| 6. | ZEBEA Pierre | " " " Buta |
| 7. | MAMBAMBU Simon | Chief, Buta Sector |
| 8. | MONZIKATEBE Leopold | Chief, C.E.C., Buta |
| 9. | EDINDALI Andre | Chief, tradesman, pensioner of Office of Clerk of the Court |
| 10. | LOPES Antoine | " , Secretary of Directorate at Stan |
| 11. | LUALABA Albert | " , Judicial Inspector at Buta |
| 12. | ALIPANAGAMA Patrice | " , Secretary of <u>Parquet</u> at Buta |
| 13. | MAYANI Evariste | " , Tax collector C.E.C. at Buta |
| 14. | MAYIMA Andre | " , Agent for Belgika at Buta |
| 15. | MURIAS Andre | " , Secretary C.E.C. at Buta |
| 16. | GRANDATAMBWA Marcel | " , Clerk C.E.C. at Buta |
| 17. | MBAKA Elio | " , Sub-district Administrator at Mambesa |
| 18. | MBAGE Raphael | " , Tax collector Titule Chiefdom |
| 19. | NGBAGULU Raphael | " , tradesman at Kumu/Titule |
| 20. | ONGA | " , Agent I.N.E.A.C. at Bambesa |
| 21. | NOMBWA Joseph | " , employee Tomaz at Buta |
| 22. | ENSONGO Albert | " , foreman, C.E.C. at Buta |

Arbitrary arrests and imprisonments at Buta

Nevertheless, on 23 August 1960, at the order of Mr. Bocheley and under the command of the Superintendent of Police, the gendarmerie arrested all those whose names appeared on the above-mentioned black list.

These arbitrary arrests were made either at the dwelling of those concerned or at their place of work.

In a modern State it is unthinkable that a member of the Legislative Assembly and a National Deputy could arrogate to himself the powers of the judicial authorities or the executive and proceed to the arrest of his fellow citizens, including many customary chiefs, officials, political leaders and even some deputies who enjoy parliamentary immunity.

What is more, Mr. BABADET A., President of the Assembly at Stanleyville, made a special journey to Buta for the express purpose of making these arrests, the order for which apparently came from Leopoldville.

What were the crimes that warranted these arrests?

Despite the fact that Mr. Bocheley acknowledged that there was no charge against us, the police superintendent who made the arrests had the following reference on all the committal orders: "Jeopardizing the security of the State", referring to a so-called ministerial order which had been declared illegal by Parliament. This reference by the police superintendent constitutes an offence of slanderous denunciation, because:

not one of the eight chiefs arrested has committed any action that is contrary to public order and tranquillity;

all the leaders and other personalities have ceased to have anything to do with politics, for the P.N.P. disappeared completely from Orientale Province after the last elections, as a result of the terrorism operated in that Province by the M.N.C.;

no demonstration or meeting, either public or private, has taken place;

both the chiefs and the other personalities arrested have had no other wish than to collaborate with the Government.

The only "serious offence", the only "ignominious crime" that is held against them is the fact that they were members of the P.N.P. and had not supported the M.N.C. Lumumba during the electoral campaign.

In fact, when the U.N. military authorities came to inquire about these arrests, Mr. Babadet told them, in the courtyard of the Buta prison in the presence of the administrative personnel of the establishment and of all the prisoners, that: "these men were arrested because they belong to the P.N.P."

Moreover, instead of the regulation police report, some of the prisoners were subjected to a party questionnaire, which had been drawn up in advance and presumably came from the same source as Mr. Bocheley's black list, and which included the following questions: What do you think of the M.N.C. Lumumba? What do you think of Mr. Lumumba, the Prime Minister, and of his Government? What would you have done if the P.N.P. had come to power? What difference is there between the M.N.C. and the P.N.P.? etc.etc.

Imprisonment and ill-treatment at Buta

On 23 August we were arrested by the gendarmes, beaten, hurled into lorries like so many sacks and driven to the police station, then thrown into prisons flooded with water, and abandoned, with nothing to eat or drink, until the 25th. As a result of this Mr. Mayani Evariste and Mr. Ensongo Albert had to go into hospital.

At 11 a.m. on 25 August we were taken from the cells. Dressed in prison clothes we were made to work, guarded by gendarmes with loaded rifles and fixed bayonets.

Each of us in turn was soundly thrashed, to provide an amusing spectacle for the public. The gendarmes forced old Chief Aponza ([? figure not clear] years of loyal service) to run despite his great age. As he did not run fast enough, blows were rained upon him with a club. He fainted and could not be revived until the doctor came, who ordered him into hospital immediately.

Chief Mambambu Simon was cruelly beaten and dragged along the ground and he received serious injuries all over his body.

When Chief Nebaza Leon was arrested, Mr. Bocheley ordered all his wives and daughters to be raped in the presence of the unhappy chief.

Barbarity at Paulis

Mr. KUPA François, a customary chief and national deputy, was arrested at his home at 11 p.m. on 2 September, by order of Mr. YANGA Camille, the District Commissioner at Paulis. While arresting him, one of the gendarmes hit him on the head with a rifle butt, with such force that he fell in a faint.

Other chiefs and personalities of the region were also arrested and taken to the Paulis prison.

The days of 2, 3, 4 and 5 September were days of hard labour.

On 6 September Mr. Yangala brought fifty gendarmes from Stan and at once started arresting the chiefs who had come to Paulis to welcome their new District Commissioner.

Mr. Yangala ordered Chief Kupa to be stripped and made to work naked on the road. Thus Chief Kupa was disgraced in public.

Mr. Yangala also ordered the gendarmes to rape Chief Kupa's wife (each of the fifty gendarmes was to rape the poor woman twice). Thanks to the intervention of a brave soldier, Kupa's wife was spared this unspeakable barbarity.

Mr. Yangala went so far in his atrocities as to order the gendarmes to kill Kupa's children. By a miracle, the children were saved.

Mr. Yangala also had all Chief Kupa's personal effects taken away by lorry, those that could not be taken being destroyed. He also seized two cars belonging to Chief Kupa.

On 7 September the martyrdom of the prisoners began. Chief Kupa and all his companions in misery (forty-eight people) were given twenty-five lashes in the morning and twenty-five in the evening; this went on for four days.

Despite the deep festering wounds caused by the continual lashing, despite their buttocks torn to ribbons, the prisoners were compelled to work.

On 13 September Mr. Yangala decided to have them transferred to Stanelyville.

At the sight of this hideous human herd, the Commandant of Camp Ketele got in touch with the Colonel, the Group Chief. The latter, sick at heart

and deeply touched, invited Mr. Finant, the President of the Provincial Government, to come and see for himself the appalling and piteous state the prisoners were in. The authorities immediately decided to release them.

Chief Kupa was taken to Leopoldville, where he was put into hospital at once.

Another prisoner, Mr. Ngbamwa Jean, an official at Paulis, has just undergone a surgical operation and is still in hospital at Paulis.

At the present moment we do not know what has happened to other prisoners who suffered the same torture as Chief Kupa. We fear the worst, for there were a number of old Chiefs among them ...

In order to throw all possible light upon this sad and sorry affair, we reproduce here the words spoken by Mr. Babadet A., the President of the Provincial Assembly of Orientale Province, when he visited the Buta prison on 25 August. Having brought us from our cells, Mr. Babadet declared in public:

"I have already had sixty members of your party arrested at Stanleyville. I came to Buta to have you arrested and flogged. Finding you in prison, I order the gendarmes to watch you closely. You are going to work hard and those who disobey will be flogged and thrown into a dark cell. Your case is very serious, he added, you will be transferred to the prison at Stanleyville. Some of you will be sentenced to six months' imprisonment and others will be executed."

List of the first arrests in the District Haut-Uele

1. KUPA Francois - Chief C.I. Mabede and National Deputy, Paulis
2. EBANDROMBI Achille - Chief C.I. Medje, Paulis
3. ABONGONIASI Gabriel - Chief C.I. Mongomasi, Paulis
4. DANGA Modeste - Chief, C.I. Azanga, Paulis
5. OKONDO - Chief C.I. Okondo, Niangara
6. NGBAMWA Jean - Official, Paulis
7. IKUTSU Oscar - Agent C.V.C., Paulis
8. BANGBA Jean Pierre - Cashier B.C.B., Paulis
9. MOSAKI Reginald - Clerk C.V.C., Paulis
10. YANIONGO Albert - Hospital, Niangara
11. EBOSIRI Joseph - Clerk Xenellis, Paulis

12. GATA - Chief C.I. Mangbela, Niangara
13. KONIEBADI Pierre - Sub-Chief C.I. Okondo, Niangara
14. ABANAGOMO Nazaire - Chief C.E.C., Wamba
15. ABUSA - Chief C.I. Abusa, Wamba
16. NGASA - Chief C.I. Kereboro, Niangara
17. KIBO - Notable C.I. Manziga, Niangara

Leopoldville, 30 September 1960

BONDEKWE, S.E.

EDINDALI, A.

KUPA, F.

LOPES, A.

Certified true copy

(Signed) A. Lopes

30/12/60

Report on Orientale Province by Mr. Othita

REPORT TO HIS EXCELLENCY THE HEAD OF STATE OF THE REPUBLIC OF THE CONGO
SUBJECT: COMMUNISM IN ORIENTALE PROVINCE

Following an interview I had on 18 September 1960 with Mr. NGBANGALA Sylvain, national deputy, concerning the information received from KUPA François, a customary chief who is also a national deputy, on the political situation in the whole of Orientale Province, where I come from, and especially the facts about the pure communism that is being forged in the Districts of Haut Uele (by Mr. YANGALA Camille, District Commissioner of the MNC) and Bas Uele (by Mr. BOCHELEY Davidson, national deputy of the Lumumba political group), I have the honour to inform you of the following illegal acts.

A. DISTRICT OF HAUT UELE

Mr. YANGALA, District Commissioner of Haut Uele, received orders from the Head of the Central Government to persecute all the customary chiefs who were not members of the MNC and all the leaders and active members of the PNP throughout the regions in the North of Orientale Province, in order to enable communism to have full sway.

The man in question arranged for the arbitrary arrest of Mr. ABUSA Lazare, Chief of the C.E.C. of Niangara, and all the big customary chiefs of the District, including Chief KUPA François, a member of the House of Representatives belonging to the PNP political group, who was subjected to tyranny and was the victim of inhuman acts. Our honourable colleague was given fifty lashes a day. He was stripped and the lashes given on his person, before the eyes of his horrified subjects. As a result of these illegal acts, Mr. KUPA, a citizen and a national deputy, is at present in the Clinique Elisabeth here at Leopoldville. He will need several days of medical care. Furthermore, Mr. KUPA owns two cars, both of which were seized by Mr. YANGALA, and his belongings have been distributed freely among the Lumumbist troops in the Paulis camp.

Mr. TUSE Marcel and Mr. YANIONGO Albert Felix, both members of the PNP and respectively Sub-District Administrator at Niangara and certified male nurse in the same place, together with a number of customary chiefs and two members of the Provincial Council, were arrested for the same reason.

As a result of this tyrannical treatment, the great customary chief UKUDO and Mr. NGBANGA Jean, who has just completed a course of instruction in Belgium, are now on the point of death.

B. DISTRICT OF BAS UELE

Mr. BOCHELEY Davidson, National Deputy, accompanied by a squad of Lumumbist troops placed at his disposal, carried out the same acts of terrorism in the District of Bas Uele: arbitrary arrest of a number of customary chiefs, flogging etc. Many active members of the PNP were the victims of these illegal acts, among them Mr. LOPES Antoine, Provincial Chairman of this party. All these innocent people were taken to the chief town of the Province.

Mr. BOCHELEY, who himself recounted these anti-democratic operations, is at present here at Leopoldville. He is an advocate of communism in Orientale Province and is not a true representative of the Congolese people.

C. DISTRICT OF HAUT CONGO (Stan)

We hear that in Stan the active members of the PNP are being imprisoned by Mr. FINANT, the Provincial President. The same thing is happening in the sub-districts (territoires) of Basoko and Isangi, where all the customary chief's belonging to the opposition party are arbitrarily ill-treated and imprisoned.

It should be pointed out that the same thing is going on in Yangambi, where the Chief of the C.E.C. of that place, three grade IV officials and several assistants are under supervised residence, the real reason being that they are members of the PNP. Where is the freedom of opinion that the MNC preached yesterday? Today it is dictatorship that reigns in Orientale Province.

D. PERSONAL CONSIDERATIONS

It is clear from this interview that the measures advocated by Mr. LUMUMBA and carried out by Mr. FINANT are unquestionably leading to terrorism and pure communism throughout our Province. We, the elected representatives of the nation and true sons of this Province, protest vehemently against these two men, who are not natives of Orientale Province at all (one being an Atetela and the other an American mulatto) and who are doing their utmost to jeopardize the future of our dear Province.

These measures call for the following comments, with a view to remedying these illegal acts:

- (1) Mr. LUMUMBA and his communist supporters should be exiled, in order to enable the natives of Orientale Province to run their province for themselves.
- (2) Congolese troops should be sent to Orientale Province at once to replace the Lumumbist troops who are at present operating there.
- (3) All political prisoners should be released forthwith, including Mr. Pierre LIFENYA and Mr. Emmanuel LIFENYA and all the customary chiefs and their followers in the PNP.
- (4) The property belonging to the PNP political prisoners who have been victims of the acts described above should be restored.
- (5) Punishment should be meted out to Mr. BOCHELEY Davidson, Deputy, the advocate of the anti-democratic terrorists orders leading to pure communism which the people of Orientale Province have been experiencing during the last three months.

Your Excellency, we did not ask for independence in order to be arbitrarily ill-treated in an effort to force us onto the road to communism. We true natives of Orientale Province, putting aside our political opinions, shall be deeply grateful to you if you will kindly take the necessary action against these illegal acts. The whole country has been living in unprecedented misery and anguish.

(Signed) OTHITA, J.P.

Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs

20.9.60

(Attached to photograph No. 1)

REPUBLIC OF THE CONGO

In Kasai, despite the presence of United Nations troops, the terrorists led by the M.N.C., Mr. Patrice Lumumba's political party, continue massacring the civilian population - men, women and children.

This photograph shows Mr. Grégoire Mwamba, a Maluba of Kasai; the infamous Lumumbists first savagely cut off his hands and then basely murdered him.

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No. 91.3/1960/503

(9.11.60 - Congopresse)

Photograph of the attack on Mr. NDELE A.

Telegram dated 11 September 1960 addressed to the Heads of the independent African States by President Kasa-Vubu

Léopoldville, 11 September 1960

After two months of independence, we realized that the first Government did not deserve the confidence placed in it by the Congolese people.

It has not attempted to deal with the country's vital and urgent problems, such as the maintenance of order, work for everyone and the respect of fundamental freedoms.

The country was on the brink of anarchy and destitution and something had to be done to save it. Therefore, on 5 September, together with Mr. BOMBOKO, our Minister for Foreign Affairs, and in strict accordance with the fundamental law which serves as a provisional constitution, we reached the serious decision to depose the Prime Minister, the Deputy Prime Minister and five other ministers, who were betraying the real interests of the Congolese people and leading them in a direction contrary to their fundamental aspirations.

Composition of new Government will be announced shortly. In the meantime the only legal and legitimate Government is that presided over by Mr. ILEO Joseph.

We therefore request you to deal only with the real Government and not with Mr. LUMUMBA, the ex-Prime Minister, and the other deposed ministers, whose attempts to continue governing are simply a usurpation of power.

In the name of the Congolese people we thank the African States for the military and technical assistance they have generously afforded to our young independent State within the framework of the U.N.

Our great desire is that the relations between the Republic of the Congo and all the independent African States should continue to be harmonious and should even be reinforced, for the sake of the happiness of our African peoples.

(Signed) Joseph KASA-VUBU

President of the Republic of the Congo

Communique concerning the vote in Parliament on 7 September 1960

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF THE CONGO

The following is a statement of the legal situation resulting from the votes cast on 7 September by the House of Representatives and on 8 September by the Senate:

1. By ordinance of 5 September, countersigned by the Ministers BOMBOXO and DELVAUX, the President of the Republic deposed Mr. LUMUMBA and six other Ministers or Secretaries of State from all their ministerial functions.
2. The same ordinance appointed Mr. ILEO Joseph Prime Minister, Minister for National Defence and Minister for Justice. The legal Government is therefore that presided over by Mr. ILEO and composed of all the Ministers and Secretaries of State who have not been deposed.
3. The Government thus remodelled will have to appear before each House in order to obtain a vote of confidence, article 42 of the fundamental law.
4. What then is the meaning of the votes cast on 7 and 8 September by the two Houses? Obviously the vote does not mean that the Houses refuse to bestow their confidence on the legal Government presided over by Mr. ILEO, since before the vote is taken the Government must first appear before both Houses and it has not yet done so article 42 of the fundamental law.
5. Nor does the vote mean that the Houses support Mr. Lumumba's Government, since Mr. Lumumba is no longer a Minister. It may be well to recall that Ministers are appointed not by the Houses but by the Head of the State - article 22 of the fundamental law.
6. Still less do the votes of the Houses mean that the Houses have annulled the deposing ordinance of 5 September. The legislature has its functions; the executive equally has its functions. The Legislature and the Executive each exercise their own functions, quite independently of each other. More specifically, the Houses have no authority to annul an ordinance issued by the Head of the State - articles 14 and 17 of the fundamental law.

All that the Houses can do, if certain deputies or senators are dissatisfied with an ordinance issued by the Head of the State, is to request explanations from the Ministers who have countersigned the instrument and, if they wish to do so, to deposit a motion of censure of those ministers; the motion of censure cannot be voted on until 48 hours after it was deposited. This rule was not observed.

In conclusion, the vote of the Houses cannot be regarded as a mere recommendation or the expression of a wish that the Head of the State should reconsider his decision. But the vote of the Houses has not annulled and legally cannot annul the deposing ordinance. Legally, Mr. Lumumba has been deposed and remains deposed.

In accordance with the fundamental law, the situation is that the Government presided over by Mr. ILEO must appear as soon as possible before each House and that it will then be for the Houses to adopt or reject a motion of confidence in the Government.

Communique dated 14 September from Mr. ILEO, Prime Minister

Mr. LUMUMBA, a deputy, yesterday convened a joint meeting of the two Houses.

By so doing he abused the good faith of the deputies and senators and once again rode roughshod over the fundamental law, which however he does not hesitate to appeal to when it suits him.

In accordance with the fundamental law, articles 15 and 50 and a contrario articles 11, 33, 77 and 102, there are only three cases in which the House and the Senate can meet and debate jointly:

- (1) to elect the Head of the State;
- (2) to decide on the capital and the place where the constituent shall meet;
- (3) to decide on the official language.

With the exception of those three cases, any joint meeting of the two Houses is illegal and any resolution adopted is null and void, regardless of the number of those present and the number of votes obtained.

The meeting held yesterday by the two Houses was therefore completely illegal and the so-called vote on the full powers is invalid.

This is not my decision or that of the Head of the State; it is decided by the fundamental law. You know that the fundamental law is our provisional constitution and that it contains the rules that we must all observe. - the House of Representatives, the Senate, the Head of the State and the Ministers [if] we do not wish to sink into complete anarchy and ruin.

x

x x

Naturally the Government over which I have the formidable honour of presiding should appear as soon as possible before each House in turn, to obtain a vote of confidence.

But a number of deputies and senators from three provinces have not yet been able to reach Léopoldville. You know from my activities as President of

the Senate how deeply I respect the functions and the prerogatives of the Houses. The Council of Ministers, which shares this feeling, considers that time must be given for all or almost all those who have been elected by the Nation to reach Léopoldville, so that each House, representing the whole country, can in the light of all the facts decide sovereignly whether to give its confidence to the new Government or to withhold it.

Until each House can meet, all powers have already been conferred upon the new Government by the sole decision of the Head of the State, in accordance with the fundamental law. The Government has taken office. It has dispelled the thick fog disseminated by the former Government and is restoring order and peace in the country. This is the first task of a Government worthy of the name in any country.

It frequently happens in democratic countries that owing to circumstances a new Government is unable to appear before the Houses until several weeks have elapsed.

There is nothing unusual in that and it is perfectly in accordance with the fundamental law.

x
x x

Since the Presidents of the two Houses have deliberately ignored the fundamental law, the Head of the State has been compelled to issue an ordinance, dated today, adjourning the Houses for one month.

Telegram dated 12 October 1960 to the President of the United Nations General Assembly

Leopoldville, 12 October 1960

1. Despite our cables dated 15 and 19 September to the Secretary-General of the United Nations, we note that the United Nations is again impeding the execution of judicial proceedings which are completely legal, although the discharge of a legal function is essentially and exclusively a domestic matter and the Charter prohibits the United Nations from intervening in matters within the domestic jurisdiction of an independent State.

2. Already on 15 September 1960 a Ghanaian military detachment prevented an arrest which was legally entirely in order. Your Representatives at Leopoldville then stated that the United Nations would not oppose the execution of a warrant for arrest duly issued by the competent judicial authority and would, on the contrary, facilitate its execution. The opposition offered yesterday by the United Nations to the execution of a warrant for the arrest of Mr. Lumumba issued by the Deputy Attorney-General and on the orders of the Attorney-General is therefore completely incomprehensible to us. Your Representative first demanded that the warrant for arrest should also be signed by the Chief of State, which is illegal for, under the laws of the Congo as of other countries, a warrant for arrest is issued solely by a magistrate of the Parquet. We complied with this illegal request. Your Representative then invoked Lumumba's parliamentary immunity as a deputy, whereas it is not for the United Nations to interpret our laws and, furthermore, under article 66 of the Basic Law, parliamentary immunity does not cover flagrant délit. Mr. Lumumba is liable to prosecution for a number of offences under the ordinary law, in particular, for the criminal and prolonged confinement without food or drink of a large number of Congolese in the cellars of his house, for example, Mr. Lois Bundebele, Director of the Leopoldville Airport, a confinement which resulted in death for a number of still unidentified individuals. Other offences are, for instance, the usurpation of the functions of Prime Minister after his dismissal (article 123 of the Penal Code), the issuing of orders for the arrest of Minister Delvaux on 7 September despite the fact that in no circumstances may proceedings be taken against a Minister of the Central Government without the authorization of one of the Chambers (article 40 of the Basic Law). He has also on many occasions and in particular on 9 October publicly

incited the population against the legally constituted powers and the established civil and military authorities (articles 186 et seq. of the Penal Code). It does not take a lawyer to appreciate the flagrant nature of these crimes and offences. By offering forcible opposition, the United Nations is directly conniving at crimes under the ordinary law and is indirectly encouraging Lumumb'a few supporters to continue acts of banditry and terrorism. By thus impeding the normal operation of the courts and contributing to the chaos in the Congo, the United Nations is discrediting itself in the eyes of Congolese and international public opinion.

3. The United Nations attitude astonishes us all the more in that your Special Representative at Leopoldville has acted to the contrary in many instances in which it was nevertheless a matter of protecting law and order. Among other examples, United Nations forces have looked on impassively at the slaughter of thousands of unarmed civilians, men, women and children, at Bakwanga, whereas this culpable inertia is liable to criminal penalties in many countries. On 7 September the United Nations refused protection to the Minister for Foreign Affairs, Bomboko, pursued despite ministerial immunity by soldiers sent by Lumumba. We also point out to you that upon arrest, Parliamentarians Bolikango, Fele and others, United Nations took no trouble to ascertain whether those arrests were legal whereas they aroused keen feelings among the population.

4. From all the foregoing it is plain that the attitude adopted yesterday by the United Nations indicates either marked bad faith, or no less marked ignorance of our laws, or unacknowledged motives of international policy which run counter to vital Congolese interests.

5. With regard to the second hypothesis (above), we wish to inform you that contrary to Anglo-Saxon principle it is the Chief-of-State who, in the Congo as in Belgium, effectively appoints Ministers, dismisses them or accepts their resignation. The role of the Chambers is thereafter to extend or refuse their confidence to the Government so appointed. The Government must present itself before the Chambers as soon as possible but sometimes circumstances prevent a new Government from presenting itself before some time has passed. For example, the existing Belgian Government did not present itself before the Chambers until three weeks after being formed. Immediately upon its formation, and even before presenting itself to Parliament, the Government is invested with all its powers

and has as strict duty the maintenance and, if necessary, restoration of order. This principle is that of our basic law which was given to us by our delegates to the round-table conference and by Belgian Parliament. We point out to you here that the Congolese people possess an innate keen sense of legality and of written laws. We point out to you that aforesaid constitutional principle was fought by Mr. Lumumba, aided by foreign countries, and that the Chambers being by then in complete confusion it was found necessary on 14 September to adjourn the Chambers for a month. Since then, the Army has intervened and has imposed a Council of young university technicians as competent as they are devoted to the public service. This de facto situation became de jure through the Constitutional Legislative Decree of 11 October 1960 which, until the Council of General Commissioners completes its task, suspends the activity of the Chambers and of Mr. Ileo's lawful Government and confers on the aforesaid Council the legislative function of the former and the executive power of the latter, the powers of the Chief-of-State remaining unchanged. In other respects, the basic laws and the remainder of the legislation are maintained in force. As soon as possible, the Constitutional Legislative Decree will be repealed and the Chambers and the lawful Government reinstated in the exercise of their powers. This reinstatement will be fixed at the appropriate time by the Chief-of-State and the Council of General Commissioners independently of any interference or pressure from foreign Powers and, in particular, from the United Nations.

6. If the negative attitude of the United Nations is dictated by necessities of international policy, we should like to point out: (1) that retention of the post of a single Secretary-General cannot be set off against protection of an individual in the Congo in defiance of the aspirations and vital interests of the Congolese people and contrary to its laws and institutions; (2) that in Africa the countries which are anxious at all costs and in so self-interested a manner to protect one single individual here are a tiny minority in relation to the other independent States; (3) that among the Asian countries, the President of India fully understood the position of the Congolese people when he said just recently in the United Nations that the Congo could not be placed under the trusteeship of any foreign country nor of the United Nations; (4) that we are first and foremost Congolese and only secondarily Africans.

7. We feel we must inform you once again that our lawful act of authority of 5 September does not in any sense imply - in spite of the superficial and naive notion of many foreigners - rivalry between two men but is the reflection of the fundamental aspirations of the mass of the people to enjoy the public freedoms and provincial autonomy laid down in our two basic laws; to put an abrupt stop to the steady, gradual rise of dictatorship and methods of oppression and subjugation of the individual well-known to certain far-off countries but distasteful to the Bantu mentality: to see the Government cope with the real problems of unemployment, education, restarting of undertakings, etc. instead of merely taking long trips, making high-sounding, hollow speeches and even seeking military glory in civil war. You will have noticed that the Eastern Province, believed by some to be rotten to the core is on the way to recovery by its own efforts.

8. Consequently, (1) we raise one final, solemn protest against the unacceptable not to say ludicrous interference of the United Nations in the purely internal and largely judicial affairs of the independent State of the Congo, (2) more specifically, we do not admit the right of the United Nations to intervene by discussing the interpretation of our domestic laws, to hamper in an outrageous manner the regular functioning of justice or to hinder the orderly solution of the present difficulties in accordance with our aspirations and our institutions, (3) we request that a legal office of some ability be attached to the United Nations Representative at Leopoldville, (4) if the United Nations Representative at Leopoldville is no longer capable today or tomorrow of controlling the military contingents of certain countries, we denounce the aggression and invasion of the Congolese territory by these countries and urge the United Nations immediately to take the measures called for. On its side, the Congolese army will accept its responsibilities, (5) we wish to inform you that we are resolved to defend to the bitter end the independence obtained so dearly by our country, and to reject trusteeship in whatever form and from whatever Power it emanates.

Joseph Kasavubu
President of the Republic of the Congo

Justin Bonboko
President of the Council of Commissioners
General and Commissioner General for
Foreign Affairs

Certified true copy,
Leopoldville, 13 October 1960.

(Signed) C. NZAU

Principal Private Secretary
to the Head of State