

New Constitution in Force. - Government Forces' Successes against Rebels. - "People's Republic," established in Stanleyville. - Relations with Neighbouring Countries. - External Military Aid. - Extraordinary Session of O.A.U. Council of Ministers. - Meeting of O.A.U. Congo Conciliation Commission.

The referendum on the new Constitution of the Democratic Republic of the Congo ended on July 10 and was reported to have resulted in approval by 92 per cent of the voters. When the new Constitution was promulgated early in August, President Kasavubu said that while the *loi fondamentale* had been drawn up "by alien hands" and was "unsuited to Congolese conceptions and views," the new basic law had been evolved "by Congolese for Congolese" and had been accepted by all.

M. Munongo, the Minister of the Interior, announced on Oct. 12 that the country's first general elections, both for the Lower House of Parliament and for the 21 Provincial Assemblies, would be held between Feb. 1 and 15, 1965.

M. Michel Struelens (36), a Belgian and former Public Relations Officer in New York for M. Tshombe's Katanga Government, had been appointed on Aug. 3 personal adviser on foreign affairs to the Prime Minister, the Congolese Embassy in Washington, and the Congolese Permanent Delegation at the United Nations.

The formation of a "People's Republic of the Congo" was announced in Stanleyville on Sept. 7, with M. Christophe Gbenye as "Prime Minister" and M. Gaston Soumialot as "Defence Minister." In making this announcement M. Gbenye gave a warning that anarchy would prevent other countries from granting recognition to the new regime and that Roman Catholic missionaries should not be attacked, saying that he himself was "a good Catholic." The appointment of M. Thomas R. Kanza, former Congolese Charge d'Affaires in London, as "Foreign Minister" of the rebel Government was announced in Stanleyville on Sept. 15.

Despite an appeal by U Thant to allow the evacuation of non-Congolese from Stanleyville, the insurgent authorities, though having given permission on Sept. 3 for a U.N. aircraft to land there, later withdrew that permission. Following an appeal for the treatment of many persons wounded in the fighting early in August, a Swiss airliner chartered by the International Red Cross took four doctors and medical supplies to Stanleyville on Sept. 25.

M. Antoine Gizenga, who had been released from detention on July 16, was placed under house arrest in Leopoldville on Oct. 2. He had previously announced on Aug. 28 the formation of a

new party, the Unified Lumumbist Party, which he claimed had been joined by M. Andre Lubaya (Minister of Health). In his statement he had attacked M. Tshombe's Government for using force against the rebels, asserted that "the present *de facto* Government has shown itself incapable of finding a political solution to the country's problems," and condemned "the military aggression of the U.S.A. and Belgium against our defenceless people."

The weekly journal *Jeune Afrique* was banned in Leopoldville on Sept. 18 after it had published the programme of the National Liberation Committee, because some of its articles were considered "liable to endanger public order and peace in the Congo."

During the period August to early November the Tshombe Government succeeded in most areas of the country in containing the rebellion led by the National Liberation Committee; while the rebels occupied a few more towns, the Government forces were able to reduce considerably the territory controlled by the Committee, especially in North Katanga, where they recaptured almost all important centres.

The nature of the fighting, however, was such that the International Committee of the Red Cross appealed on Sept. 18 to all combatants in the Congo to observe the humanitarian principles of the Geneva Conventions. Giving many authenticated reports of brutality and murder, the International Committee pointed out in particular that the lives of combatants who surrendered must be spared, that the wounded should be cared for, that the civilian population should not be attacked, especially from the air, and that the taking of hostages, summary executions, and reprisals were prohibited.

The 250-man garrison at Paulis, about 300 miles north-east of Stanleyville, went over to the rebel side on Aug. 11. The rebels also succeeded in capturing Boende, a town between Stanleyville and Coquilhatville, on Sept. 5, but made little progress in their thrusts towards the latter town.

Early in August they attempted to take Bukavu, which had been surrounded by them since May, but after the intervention of two fighter aircraft allegedly flown by Cuban exiles, which had taken off from an aerodrome in Rwanda, the rebels did not advance further. They resumed the attack on Bukavu on Aug. 19-20, however; in fierce fighting Government troops led by Colonel Leonard Mulamba, later reinforced by 150 former Katangese gendarmes flown in, held the town and repulsed the rebels, who retreated westwards on Aug. 21. Casualties exceeded 300, including a number of Belgians, and much damage was inflicted on the city. Two French U.N. officials stationed at Bukavu, M. Jean Plicque of the I.L.O. and M. Francois Preziosi of the Office of the High Commissioner for Refugees, were killed on Aug. 17 by Watutsi refugees (who had joined the Congolese rebels) while visiting a refugee camp at Kalonge.

Centres reoccupied by Government forces included the raft Junction of Kabalo (North Katanga), on Aug. 17; Kapora, about 60 miles west of Baudouinville, on Aug. 18; Albertville, on Aug. 30; Manono and Mitwaba, south-west of Albertville, on Sept. 2; Kongolo, the last rebel stronghold in North Katanga, on Sept. 17; Lisala, the capital of Moyen-Congo, which had changed hands several times, on Sept. 15; Lodja, the capital of Sankuru Province, on Oct. 6; Lulimba, 120 miles north of Albertville, where 14 British missionaries were freed, also on Oct. 6; Uvira, in Central

Kivu, on Oct. 7; Lomela, north of Lodja, and Bumba, 300 miles west of Stanleyville, late In October; Kibombo, in Maniema Province, on Nov. 5; Kindu, the capital of Maniema and the principal town between Stanleyville and Albertville, as well as Kalima, about 90 miles east of Kindu, on Nov. 6; and Ikela, about 185 miles from Stanleyville, also on Nov. 6. The retreating rebels took with them as hostages 29 Austrian and German priests (including Martin Adolf Bormann, son of the former Nazi leader) as well as 15 European plantation workers.

In Albertville, which M. Soumialot and other rebel leaders had left on Aug. 17, chaotic conditions prevailed for about a fortnight. A first attempt to enter the city on Aug. 27 by a mercenary commando led by Major Michael Hoare failed, but after heavy fighting Government troops occupied Albertville on Aug. 30; twenty-eight European hostages were freed and many hundreds of rebels killed.

At Uvira the local rebel leader, Colonel Bidalira, appealed to the Organization of African Unity to take measures to stop the "bombardment of markets and factories in the area carried out since Aug. 26 by American aircraft taking off from Rwanda, territory." The Bishop of Uvira, Mgr. Scarlati, sent an appeal to Burundi asking the U.S. and Belgian authorities "to cease immediately all bombardment in the Uvira region" to save the lives of Europeans, including himself, who were held as hostages and "maltreated." In mid-September the Bishop was escorted by rebel guards to Bujumbura to enable him to pursue his request and to save the lives of about 30 hostages, who were eventually freed when Government forces took Uvira.

The British Acting High Commissioner in Uganda, Mr. T. W. Ashton, advised all British missionaries in the Northern Congo on Aug. 28 to "move out of the danger areas" into Uganda "while there is still time." On Aug. 30 it was reported that all dependants of U.N. personnel, and also all U.N. technical missions at outlying provincial stations, were being withdrawn, while early in September 48 U.S. missionaries and technical assistants fled from Ubangi Province to the Central African Republic.

Despite instructions by rebel leaders that Europeans should not be harmed, many were threatened and injured, and some were killed by rebel troops. Seventy priests and missionaries, including Bishop Pierard of Beni, arrived in Kampala (Uganda) on Oct. 5 after Beni, a town in the Eastern Congo, had been taken by the rebels. A U.N. aircraft conveying U.N. experts from Luluabourg to Lodja was attacked on Oct. 9 by rebels, who killed a mechanic on board.

The tension already existing between the two Congo Republics continued during the same period, while fresh differences arose between Congo-Leopoldville on the one side and Mall and Burundi on the other.

Late in July rebels operating from Brazzaville territory temporarily established a bridgehead across the Congo River at Bolobo, N.N.E. of Leopoldville. While President Massemba-Debat of Brazzaville accused M. Tshombe on Aug. 15 of "interference" in Brazzaville's Internal affairs, the latter gave "a last warning" that he would take "extreme measures" unless Brazzaville ceased all aid to the rebels.

Mali was charged by M. Tshombe early in August with having issued a diplomatic passport to Colonel Pakassa, whom he accused of directing the insurrection from Brazzaville. The Malian Minister of the Interior, M. Ousman Ba (speaking for President Keita, who was absent in Algeria-elow), made it clear on Aug. 18 that Mali did not support the Tshombe Government, stressing on the contrary that Mali did “not hide its sympathies for the Congolese rebels.”

The Government of Burundi refused from mid-August onwards to admit any Belgian or U.S. refugees from Congo-Leopoldville, announcing that this refusal would apply to all countries giving military aid to Congo-Leopoldville or to Rwanda.

It was officially announced in Leopoldville on Aug. 18 that all nationals of Congo- Brazzaville and of Burundi, and also those of Mali who were “involved in subversive activity,” would be expelled from the country because of the aid their countries were giving to the Congolese insurgent movement. On the following day police and troops rounded up nationals of the three countries in order to move them to Brazzaville by ferry; it was thought that up to 25,000 people might be involved.

The military operations of the Congolese Government against the insurgents were greatly helped by the supply of U.S. aircraft and the arrival of a few hundred White mercenaries, recruited mainly in Southern Africa.

It had been disclosed on Aug. 11 that the U.S.A. would increase its military and economic assistance to the Congo without, however, sending troops. Mr. G. Mennen Williams, Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs, had talks with M. Tshombe in Leopoldville ca Aug. 14, and two days later M. Tshombe asked for the supply of long-range reconnaissance aircraft. The Pentagon confirmed on Aug. 19 that it was sending to the Congo “a small number” of *B-26-K* bombers to be piloted by Americans and to be used for reconnaissance of rebel positions. Before their arrival there were said to be about 30 U.S. aircraft in the Congo—six *T-28* single-engine fighters, reported to be piloted by anti-Castro Cubans; 11 *C-47* transport planes; six *H-221* helicopters; three *H-34* helicopters at the disposal of the U.S. Ambassador in Leopoldville; and four *C-130 Hercules* transport planes “on temporary assignment for transport functions,” which had arrived in Leopoldville on Aug. 13 with 50 U.S. paratroopers to guard them and 56 Air Force maintenance staff.

Both the Soviet Union and Communist China denounced “U.S. intervention” in the Congo—the former in a statement issued by Tass on Aug. 25, and the latter in a declaration on Aug. 18 by Mr. Tseng Yung-chuan, Vice-Minister of Foreign Affairs.

Although it was officially stated in Leopoldville on Aug. 24 that the Government had “no intention of recruiting mercenaries to fight the rebels,” a first group of 30 Belgians, Frenchmen, and other Europeans arrived there the same day, saying that they were mercenaries and had come to fight against the rebels. At the same time a former Katanga mercenary, Mr. Alistair Wicks, who said that he worked under orders from the Congo, began recruiting mercenaries in Salisbury (Southern Rhodesia), while in Johannesburg Mr. Patrick O’Malley set up an office as the Congolese Government's “chief mercenary recruiting agent in South Africa,” offering monthly salaries “well in excess of £100” for six months and, in case of death, a payment of £7,000 to

next-of-kin. By Aug. 30 about 250 mercenaries had arrived at Kamina by air, but all recruiting stopped on Sept. 2, allegedly upon the recruiting agents' own decision.

Dr. Verwoerd, Prime Minister of South Africa, had previously given a warning that unlimited recruiting was undesirable because of South Africa's manpower shortage. M. Tshombe announced on Sept. 4 that South Africans who had come to the Congo and offered their services would be sent home, adding that some of them had "put out propaganda against the national interest," which could not be tolerated. Mercenaries returning to South Africa subsequently complained of bad food, inadequate weapons, scarcity of medical supplies, no contracts, and little money.

A South African Air Force transport plane brought food and medical supplies to Leopoldville on Aug. 22; Dr. Verwoerd explained that the Congolese Government had asked for these supplies and that the South African Government had agreed to provide them "for humanitarian reasons." In Cape Town, Colonel Casimir Topor-Staszak said on Sept. 2 that he had come to South Africa as the head of President Kasavubu's military advisory committee to raise support for a mobile medical unit for the Congolese Army.

It was announced in Leopoldville on Aug. 17 that the Congolese Government had asked Ethiopia, Liberia, the Malagasy Republic, Nigeria, and Senegal to send troops to the Congo to help in the light against the rebels. Mr. Mennen Williams, who had included the question of help from other African Governments in his talks with M. Tshombe, said on Aug. 18 that the U.S.A. would contribute to the cost of maintaining non-Congolese African troops in the Congo.

The Ethiopian Foreign Minister, Mr. Ketema Yifru, announced on Sept. 21 that Ethiopia would not accede to M. Tshombe's request for aid unless it were channelled through the O.A.U. The Nigerian Government took the same attitude and proposed that other African States should join in any such plan and grant similar aid, but that the troops supplied should not be placed under the command of the Congolese General Staff. President Tsiranana (then in Paris) stated that the Malagasy Republic was "too small a country" to give military aid to the Congo, but added that it was prepared to give every technical and social assistance at its disposal, including the sending of doctors and of food supplies.

In the meantime M. Tshombe had also unsuccessfully appealed to the U.N. Secretary-General for help, alleging interference by Communist China in the Congo.

In a Note sent to U Thant on Aug. 20 M. Tshombe complained that Communist China was exploiting the situation in order "to maintain a permanent centre of subversion on Congolese soil." Alleging that Chinese embassies in African countries were co-ordinating subversive activities and sending supplies and men, and that *Ilyushin* aircraft from China were reported to have arrived in Stanleyville, M. Tshombe asked the Secretary-General to assist in curbing the infiltration of agents and rebels from Burundi and Congo- Brazzaville. U Thant, however, replied that he was not competent to take such action and that any complaint by the Congolese Government against its neighbours would have to be addressed to the security Council.

M. Lubaya, the Congolese Minister of Health, was sent on a mission to other African States, going first to Accra and arriving in Cairo on Aug. 26.

Several appeals were made to the O.A.U. to consider the situation in the Congo, as well as the relations between M. Tshombe's Government and neighbouring countries.

The Brazzaville Government called on Aug. 19 for an O.A.U. commission of inquiry into the strained relations between the two countries, the Leopoldville Government making a similar appeal on the following day. A special commission to inquire into the Congo situation was demanded on Aug. 24 by Guinea, the Ivory Coast, Liberia, and Sierra Leone.

Meeting in Algiers, President Ben Bella and President Modibo Keita of Mali agreed on Aug. 22 to request the Secretary-General of the O.A.U., M. Diallo Telli, to convene an early extraordinary session of the Organization's Council of Ministers; by Aug. 29 this request had been supported by 23 O.A.U. members. President Kasavubu, who had asked that the Council of Ministers should meet not later than Sept. 5, requested on Sept. 1 a postponement of the extraordinary session until Sept. 17, but this was refused by M. Diallo Telli. In the meantime Mr. Mammo Tadesse, Ethiopian Minister of State, had returned from Leopoldville on Aug. 27 after talks in which he attempted to persuade M. Tshombe to submit the Congo's dispute with her neighbours to the O.A.U. and not to use mercenaries from Southern Africa.

Before leaving for Addis Ababa with about 60 advisers, M. Tshombe declared on Sept. 4 that his Government's object in asking for the extraordinary session of the O.A.U. Council of Ministers was to expose "the tragic situation" created in the Congo by "a rebellion supported from neighbouring countries—Congo- Brazzaville and Burundi whom we hold responsible"—and to appeal to "Africa's conscience" to "help to remove... the subversive activities of two erring sister-States." At the same time he announced that all White mercenaries would be sent home.

The session, opening on Sept. 5, was attended by representatives of 34 African member-countries as well as by a delegation of observers of the National Liberation Committee led by M. Egide Bocheley-Davidson and including M. Leonard Kakaze and Mme. Andree Blouin, who had been secretary to Patrice Lumumba in 1961.

M. Diallo Telli, who before the opening of the session was sworn in as first Administrative Secretary-General of the O.A.U., said that it was important to evolve machinery to keep the Congo problem "under continuous and close scrutiny and, in the process, separated from the large context of the cold war." He stressed that "more than any other group" the O.A.U. must find the final solution to the crisis.

Emperor Haile Selassie, opening the session, said that Africa "must act now to expunge this running sore from the African scene," but stressed that this could be done only in an "objective and dispassionate spirit" and "in accordance with the principles enunciated in the O.A.U. Charter."

M. Tshombe asked on Sept. 6 that those countries which wanted to aid the Congo should be permitted to respond to its appeal and pointed out that African troops would enable him "to

dispense with the services of those whose presence is embarrassing to us”; such troops, he said, would be stationed in regions “already pacified” and would thus set free Congolese troops for use against the rebels. If he obtained such aid, he would hold elections as soon as order had been restored. He concluded by presenting a dossier accusing Congo- Brazzaville and Burundi of supporting the rebels, but also said that he had not come “to make accusations or begin a polemic.”

M. Charles David Ganao, the Brazzaville Foreign Minister, firmly denied that his country had provided any aid to the rebels.

Mr. Kojo Botsio, the Ghanaian Foreign Minister, suggested an immediate cease-fire in the Congo and the neutralization of all Congolese armed forces; this should be followed by a conference of all leaders of the Congolese political parties under the auspices of the O.A.U. and the setting-up of a Provisional Government which would organize “fair and peaceful” elections under O.A.U. supervision, while an “African peace force” should be maintained in the Congo until the elections were completed.

Mr. Joseph Murumbi, Kenya Minister of State, suggested on Sept. 7 (*a*) that an O.A.U. delegation should be sent to Washington, Moscow, Peking, and Brussels to ask the four Governments concerned to cease all interference in Congolese affairs; (*b*) that a committee of eight to ten countries should invite the Congolese Government and the “warring factions” to a round-table conference to find a means of political reconciliation; (*c*) that in terms of a 10-point plan there should be an immediate cease-fire and the withdrawal of all mercenaries and all foreign troops, aircraft, and military personnel; and (*d*) that all O.A.U. member-countries should finance a peace-keeping force to set up offices in Leopoldville, Stanleyville, and Elisabethville and to work in co-operation with the Central Congolese Government.

[An NLC declaration signed by M. Bocheley-Davidson and M. Gabriel Yumbu and distributed on Sept. 8 called for the immediate resignation of M. Tshombe's Government and a round-table conference in an African country other than the Congo to set up a Prov

After several sessions of a seven-nation drafting commission, a compromise resolution was adopted early on Sept. 10 by 27 votes to nil with six abstentions (Congo-Leopoldville, Liberia, Nigeria, Senegal, Sierra Leone, and Togo). The resolution:

Appealed to the Congolese Government to cease recruiting White mercenaries immediately, and to expel all mercenaries in the Congo “as soon as possible”;

Noted M. Tshombe's undertaking to guarantee the security of combatants who laid down their arms, and with this in view appealed to “all those now fighting in the Congo to cease hostilities”;

Urged all Congolese political leaders “to seek, by all appropriate means, to restore and consolidate national reconciliation”;

Established a 10-nation Commission under the chairmanship of Mr. Kenyatta (Prime Minister of Kenya) with the object of (*a*) assisting the Congolese Government to achieve national

reconciliation of all political parties, and (b) bringing about normal relations between the Congo and its neighbours, especially Burundi and Congo- Brazzaville; the Commission's members were to be Cameroon, Ethiopia Ghana, Guinea, Kenya, Nigeria, Somalia, Tunisia, the U.A.R., and Upper Volta;

Invited the Commission to submit its reports to the Administrative Secretary-General;

Appealed “strongly to all Powers at present intervening in the internal affairs of the Congo” to cease their interference;

Requested all member-States to “refrain from any action that might aggravate the situation in the Congo or worsen relations with its neighbours”; and

Requested the Administrative Secretary-General to assist the Commission in accomplishing its mission.

The resolution contained no decision on M. Tshombe's request for African troops because a motion to sanction the dispatch of such troops had been narrowly defeated, with Ethiopia abstaining and Madagascar absent—a fact which was believed to have led to M. Tshombe's abstention from voting on the resolution. On the other hand the resolution contained no call for an “immediate cease-fire” and said nothing about the proposed Commission's powers, President Kasavubu having sent a message that it should on no account have jurisdiction to help to mediate between Congolese parties.

M. Tshombe stated after the vote that he regarded the outcome as “a victory for the Congo”; although the O.A.U. had refused to accept him in Cairo, the legitimacy of his Government was now “plainly accepted.” He reaffirmed the “solemn adherence” of his country to the O.A.U. Charter and added that he would seek to carry out the resolution “in the light of our sovereignty, our territorial integrity, and our inalienable right to national independence.”

The Commission appointed in terms of the resolution met in Nairobi on Sept. 18 for the first time. Its chairman, Mr. Kenyatta, had on Sept. 15 appealed to the Congolese Government forces as well as to their opponents to lay down their arms and to give him immediate and maximum co-operation; he had also invited representatives of both Congo Republics and of Burundi, as well as M. Diallo Telli, to the Commission's first meeting.

Mr. Kenyatta, opening the meeting, said that “for a victory to be lasting it must be shared, for rarely in history does one side gain the whole victory.”

M. Tshombe, however, said that although his Government would “scrupulously respect” the Addis Ababa resolution, it would not accept any interference in the internal affairs of the Congo nor any decision which would place the rebels on a footing of equality with his Government. He added that he interpreted the resolution's clause on stopping the fighting as referring to fighting on the part of the rebels, but he later agreed to facilitate contacts between the Commission and the rebel leaders.

Mr. Kenyatta read out on Sept. 20 an interim communique containing a five-point agreement between the Governments of Leopoldville, Brazzaville, and Burundi, whereby they invited the Commission to visit their territories and undertook to “facilitate contacts deemed necessary by the Commission with the leaders of the fighting parties and to encourage national reconciliation in the Congo” in accordance with the decisions made at the Addis Ababa session of the O.A.U. Council of Ministers. The Leopoldville Government also agreed to facilitate the ending of hostilities on its territory,

A resolution introduced by Ghana and adopted by the Commission requested the three Governments to furnish detailed reports, including concrete proposals by the Leopoldville Government for “national reconciliation,” in order to ease the Commission's task.

M. Tshombe said afterwards that his Government continued “to regard the rebels as rebels,” adding that if the Commission decided to receive any representatives of the insurgents in Nairobi after his departure it would militate against the principles of the O.A.U. Charter. The Commission nevertheless decided on Sept. 23 to hear M. Kanza. “Foreign Minister” of the Stanleyville regime, who merely demanded the participation of members of his Government in an expanded Congolese Government. The Commission also heard four other rebel leaders—M. Laurent Kabila (described as President of the Revolutionary Movement of the Eastern Congo), M. Bocheley-Davidson, Colonel Pakassa, and M. Gabriel Yumbu.

Mr. Kenyatta announced on Sept. 22, on a Ghanaian proposal supported by M. Diallo Telli, that an O.A.U. delegation led by Mr. Murumbi, and including Ministers from Ghana, Guinea, Nigeria, and the U.A.R., would fly to Washington on Sept. 24 to ask President Johnson to cease sending U.S. military supplies, equipment, and men to the Congo.

This announcement was followed by an immediate protest from M. Tshombe who, having returned to the Congo, said on Sept. 23 that such a step would run counter to the spirit and letter of the O.A.U. Charter and to the resolution of the Council of Ministers, and who insisted that the Commission should limit itself to supporting the “efforts of the legal Government of the Democratic Republic of the Congo.” President Kasavubu informed the O.A.U. the same day that the Congo would no longer conform to the Organization's decisions because of its “manifest interference in the purely internal affairs of the Congo.”

The U.S. Government advised the Committee on Sept. 23 that it could not receive its delegation without participation by the Congolese Government, the latter stating on Sept. 25 that it “refused categorically” to take part in any conversation between the U.S. Government and the O.A.U. delegation. When Mr. Kenyatta subsequently sent three delegates to Washington, President Johnson declined to receive them on the grounds that a similar mission should be sent to Peking. Mr. Dean Rusk, however, saw the delegates on Sept. 30; a communique issued afterwards promised U.S. co-operation in bringing about national reconciliation in the Congo, and underlined that the O.A.U. delegates had come on a goodwill mission without intending to discuss matters affecting the sovereignty of the Congo, such as the question of U.S. military assistance.—(Le Monde, Paris - New York Times - Ethiopian Information Bulletin- Malagasy Embassy, London - Times Daily Telegraph - Guardian - Cape Times)

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