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BOX NO. 0002  
FOLDER NO. 0009  
TOTAL ~~PAGE~~ ~~S~~ HEREIN 040

DOCUMENT NO. 001  
NO CHANGE IN CLASS.   
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CLASS. CHANGED TO: TS S C  
NEXT REVIEW DATE: 2010  
AUTHORITY: HR 70-2  
DATE: 14 APR 1990 REVIEWER: 011922

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# The Congo Rebellion

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Approved For Release 2000/09/13 : CIA-RDP78-02646R000300060001-8

## **The Congo Rebellion**

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Edited By the Press Service  
of the Democratic Republic of the Congo  
Leopoldville  
December 1964

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## **C O N T E N T S**

### **INTRODUCTION**

#### **A POLICY OF BROAD RECONCILIATION**

- Contacts with the National Liberation Committee
- Unacceptable Conditions
- Liberation of Political Prisoners
- Toward Pacification and Reconciliation
- The Outstretched Hand is Rejected
- Respect for Legality

#### **MASSACRES OF CONGOLESE**

- Testimonies :
  - Stanleyville
  - Kindu
  - Paulis
  - Lodja
  - Boende
  - Yangambi
- Witchcraft and Anarchy

#### **FOREIGN INTERVENTIONS**

- Brazzaville's Hospitality
- Arms and Propaganda from Communist Countries
- Algerian and Egyptian Support

#### **THE SEARCH FOR AN AFRICAN SOLUTION**

- Calls for Assistance from African Countries
- A Political Solution
- No Valid Negotiating Partners

#### **THE ALTERNATIVES**

- Bi-lateral Agreements
- The Volunteers
- The End of the Rebellion is Now in Sight

#### **THE HOSTAGES' FATE**

- The Appeals Made to the Rebels Remain Unanswered
- The Rescue Operation

#### **CONCLUSION**

#### **DOCUMENTS**

## Introduction

The rebellion in the Congo had its origin in August 1961 in the opposition which took form against the Government of National Union that grew out of the parliamentary conference at Lovanium.

From this period on, the leaders of the insurrection movement embarked on subversive activity against the established authority. The Government of Mr. Adoula reacted vigorously against these troublemakers, who made normal governmental activity impossible by their systematic opposition. Feeling no longer safe to carry on their illegal activity, they sought refuge in Brazzaville, capital of the neighboring republic. It was there, in October 1963, that they set up the subversive organization called the National Liberation Committee. This committee began open rebellion against the legal Leopoldville government by demanding the dismissal of the Chief of State and by the creation of a dissident provisional government.

The revolutionary group quickly began the organization of a popular uprising in the Congo. Successively, revolts against the legal authorities broke out in Kwilu, Lomami, and Kivu provinces. These movements spread subsequently over a large part of the country.

At the time the Government of Public Welfare came to power, three-fourths of the Congo had been affected in one way or another by the armed revolt directed against Mr. Adoula's government. The country was laid waste with fire and blood. Even Leopoldville itself was threatened by criminal outrages and plastic bombings. The revolt had the material and moral support of neighboring countries.

**One of the first tasks of Mr. Tshombe's government in the face of this catastrophic situation was to attempt to end the bloody fighting by political negotiations. He made a general appeal for all to join in the great work of national reconstruction and this appeal was widely heeded. Others, however, preferred to remain on the path of violence and anarchy. They set conditions which a responsible Chief of Government could not accept.**

**We will see in this brochure, which has no other aim than to bear witness to what has just happened in the Congo, how these events led to the human tragedy which today shakes the entire world.**

**It is planned to publish at a later date a more detailed brochure which will be the real « White Book » on the Rebellion.**

## A Policy of Broad Reconciliation

The Government of Public Welfare installed on July 10, 1964 by the President of the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Mr. Joseph Kasa-Vubu, planned to rally around the new ministers all the active forces of the nation.

From the day he took office, Prime Minister Moïse Tshombe has continually expressed his desire to carry out the instructions given to him by the Chief of State concerning the pacification of the country. In his view, moreover, and in that of his colleagues, this prime objective was indispensable to the economic and social rebirth that the whole nation longed for. On July 19, the Prime Minister stated :

*« My government is first of all a government of reconciliation, that is, of reconciliation on a national scale. Without this reconciliation, peace will not be possible for the Congo. Each of you must not only understand this, but work together so that we will no longer present, abroad and at home, the picture of a disunited family continually quarreling ».*

### Contacts with the National Liberation Committee (N.L.C.)

The Prime Minister increased his contacts with different political parties as soon as he was called upon to form the transitional government. He invited among others the leaders of the N.L.C. who were in exile in Brazzaville to join his cabinet, since they had promised their participation several weeks earlier.

One of these, Mr. André Lubaya, a founding member of the N.L.C., answered this invitation as an official emissary of the group, and became Minister of Public Health. He in turn spoke out in favor of the reconciliation that everyone so much hoped for. (See Annex No. 1).

To attempt to win the support of other N.L.C. leaders, Mr. Tshombe tried twice to go himself to Brazzaville. He was prevented from doing so by the government of that neighbouring country. (This fact was acknowledged by Mr. Charles Ganao, Minister of Foreign Affairs of Congo/Brazzaville, at the Conference of Ministers of Foreign Affairs of the Organization of African Unity at Addis Ababa last September).

### **Unacceptable Conditions**

The N.L.C. already split into several factions, set legally unacceptable demands as the condition for its participation in the government of Mr. Tshombe. Mr. Christophe Gbenye, president of this movement, demanded among other things the dismissal of the Chief of State, Mr. Joseph Kasa-Vubu, as well as the ouster of the highest military authorities of the country. The Government of Public Welfare could not accede to these demands. Their acceptance would have struck at the very foundation of the Congo state. One must remember in this regard that Mr. Kasa-Vubu had been confirmed in his presidential duties by the new national constitution worked out at Luluabourg at the beginning of the year and accepted with a large majority of votes by popular referendum.

### **Liberation of Political Prisoners**

Faithful to its promises made a few days earlier, the Government of Public Welfare liberated on July 17 more than 2,000 persons held for political reasons. Among them was Mr. Antoine Gizenga, the former Vice Prime Minister who had been interned for two and one half years.

On the occasion of this broad amnesty, which might well serve as an example for other countries, Mr. Tshombe stated :

*« My promise to liberate Mr. Gizenga was carried out today. I call upon all Congolese and above all to those who, led astray by false promises, are now creating disorder and spilling the blood of their brothers. Let them now put an end to fratricidal struggles and return to legal status, because, and I proclaim it loudly, the country needs them ».*

### **Toward Pacification and Reconciliation**

Less than eight days after taking office, the Prime Minister undertook a trip of reconciliation that took him to the eastern part of the country. He took the occasion to talk once again with rebel representatives so as to obtain the N.L.C.'s collaboration with his government. (See Annex N° 2). Unfortunately, he ran up against the intransigence of the rebel leaders who continued to demand the dismissal of the Chief of State and of his principal collaborators.

The population itself applauded the representatives of the Government of Public Welfare as those who would finally bring them peace and tranquillity. Stanleyville itself and other cities gave the head of government an extraordinarily enthusiastic and spontaneous welcome (See Annex N° 3).

Mr. Tshombe asserted during this trip, *« I have made appeals for peace and harmony. I still hope that they will be heard. I am against the use of force I have said it and I repeat it ».*



### **The Outstretched Hand is Rejected**

However, the rebel leaders did not wish to accept the hand extended to them by the Government of Public Welfare. Quite the contrary, they took advantage of this conciliatory spirit and the cessation of military activity to extend their power and install their regime of terror in new areas. To the branch of peace they replied by brandishing the battle axe. The Prime Minister declared on August 8 : *« I am still leaving the door open to reconciliation but it must be understood that the patience of the Government has reached its limits. I have extended my hand for an entire month. Some responded to it, others profited by the situation to spread rebellion. The Government cannot permit this »*. In fact, on August 5, the rebels had taken Stanleyville.

### **Respect for Legality**

Although the Central Government was able to convince a large number of former opponents to join it in its constructive activities, it encountered an immovable opposition from certain elements bent on overthrowing the legal authorities.

After the Government's attempts to bring peace to the Congo, the leaders of the N.L.C. attacked the Prime Minister directly, which they had not done up until then. They could not forgive him for having refused to follow them into illegality. This compelled the Prime Minister to say : *« If I had made cause with the leaders of the rebellion in their political claims I might perhaps have been considered a great nationalist leader by those who today criticize and condemn me, but I would have betrayed the constitution and the confidence which President Kasa-Vubu had placed in me and my cabinet »*.

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## Massacres of Congolese

From the end of July on, the population of the regions affected by the rebellion was to discover the realities hidden behind the revolutionary slogans. While the legal government liberated political prisoners and encouraged by all possible means the positive collaboration of various parties, the insurgents installed a regime of pitiless terror.

The testimonies which follow, all of them gathered from refugees from rebel-held areas, illustrate precisely this development.

### Testimonies

Mr. Jean-Roger Ngumba, former confidant of « General » Nicolas Olenga, quotes the following words spoken by the Commander-in-Chief of the rebel troops : « *The Chinese Communists have killed millions and millions of people. This is why they succeeded. We must follow their example* ».

These threats were not empty ones. At Stanleyville they assassinated the mayor, Mr. Léopold Matabo, who was dismembered alive by the rebel cannibals at the public market ; the Provincial Secretary, Mr. Gabriel Baleté ; the former Minister of Interior, Mr. Georges Kokonyange ; the Director of the Provincial Ministry of Interior, Pierre Alamazani ; the mayor of the commune of Mangobo, Alfred Boningoli ; the chief of the arabized district, Sabiti Mabé ; the Editor-in-Chief of the local newspaper « La Gazette », Guillaume Zambite ; Abbé Etienne of the Prémontrés Order and all the Court Magistrates except Crispin Lubangi. Three of these magistrates were victims of the most savage acts of cannibalism.

More than 2,000 Congolese, the elite of the region, were massacred in Stanleyville, killed with machetes, beaten to death or burned alive. The Patrice Lumumba monument in the center of town served as altar for these bloody sacrifices and it is true that despite torrential equatorial rains the ground at this spot is still stained red from the blood of our compatriots.

A Pakistani refugee from Stanleyville gave his version of what he saw : « *One day the rebels led to the Lumumba monument a group of Congolese prisoners. All the population was forced to witness a horrible butchery : some of the prisoners had their feet cut off, others their legs, and still others their hands or their sexual organs which were then thrust into their mouths.*

» *Another day a Stanleyville resident who had numerous friends in the ranks of Stanleyville government officials, was taken 100 kms from the city and killed by five shots. They buried him half in the ground and half out,*

*leaving the upper part of his body above ground. We visited this spot with five of his friends and saw the bodies of several hundred Africans whose eyes had been gouged out and whose ears and noses had been cut off. We were horrified by this spectacle and our hearts ached deeply.*

*» This sight was so savage, so barbaric, that if you had seen it, you would have been sick for weeks ».*

Another refugee told of the circumstances of the death of Mr. Sylvere Bondekwe, the founder and president of a moderate political party in Stanleyville and a former journalist.

*Arrested during the first half of August, he was questioned by the rebels over a long period of time, severely mistreated and then led before the Lumumba monument with former mayor Matabo, to be shot with a group of more than ten other Congolese.*

*» The victims were made to kneel in front of the group of executioners who, armed with sub-machine guns, fired as usual on the unfortunate victims. M. Bondekwe, in spite of his wounds, and his weakened condition refused all help. He expressed in a loud voice his wish to die standing. He refused to kneel and was killed while asserting in a strong, calm voice his innocence and the purity of his ideals ».*

After the executions in front of the Lumumba monument become known abroad, Gaston Soumialot, « Minister of Defense » of the rebel government, banned them at this spot at the end of August. Executions were then conducted by drowning in the Tshopo river. Victims were thrown into the river hands and feet tied together.

In Kindu, capital of Maniema province, more than 800 personages and functionaries were assassinated without any form of legal process, as well as a large number of other civilians, among them the entire family of Colonel Benezetti, Commander of the Third Group of the Congolese Army.

In Paulis, the Governor of Uele Province, Mr. Mambaya, his provincial secretary, Mr. Joseph Tabolo, as well as members of Radeco, the party of Mr. Cyrille Adoula, civil servants, teachers, magistrates and military prisoners were executed in masse. Some were forced to drink gasoline after which the rebels disemboweled and burned them. The number of victims exceeded 4,000. At Bunia, Bumba, Uvira, Befale and in numerous other places, the same type of killings occurred.

An eye-witness, who himself had been the object of particularly brutal treatment, gave details of the systematic assassinations which occurred upon the arrival of the rebels in Paulis, in the northeastern part of the Congo.

*« On Thursday, August 20 », he said, « in the central square, Lieutenant Mathias Deo Yuma set up a microphone and addressed the crowd in extremely violent terms repeating over and over again the words, « Kasa-Vubu, Radeco, Adoula ». Congolese prisoners were gathered on the terrace of the*

*territorial offices. They were led to the center of the square. The Simbas made them lie down on the ground. At a sign from Deo the rebels jumped at these unfortunates and killed them. Some of the rebels were armed with sticks, others with machetes, still others with guns. The bodies were carried away by nurses in white shirts, loaded onto wheel-barrows and then thrown into the river not far away.*

*» Before this, the police band, which was also on the terrace, played a march, and the killers paraded onto the square gesturing with their bloody weapons while stepping over the bodies. Then dance records were played and youngsters of about 10 years of age forced people awaiting execution to dance and eat the ballots of the recent constitutional referendum. The systematic assassinations continued for a whole month ».*

At Lodja, in Sankuru province, the rebels celebrated their entry into the town by the execution of 70 of its leading figures. During the second week of their regime a systematic and pitiless extermination of all members of non-Lumumbist parties was carried out before the population assembled by force to watch the spectacles. On August 10, 12, and 19, high functionaries, officers of public services, commissaires, police officers, magistrates, teachers, and military prisoners were tortured, beaten to death or burned alive. On August 20 the administrator of the Lodja Hospital and three civilian assistants were beaten so badly that they died a few hours later.

At Boende, 600 Congolese workers from the Societe Hevea plantations were slain the same day. The rebels then turned to the specialists working for this company: 180 technicians had their throats cut. Eighteen were Malaysians and Indonesians who had come to the Congo to train young Congolese in the cultivation of rubber trees, Congolese overseers and functionaries were tied together, doused with gasoline and burned alive.

At Yangambi, where the main research station of the Institut de Recherches Agronomiques du Congo is located, the rebels killed the Territorial Administrator Mr. René Linzanza and went on to the Experimental Station and killed all the skilled Congolese personnel.

Mr. Eli Mbaka, the Territorial Administrator of Basoko who was able to flee to Léopoldville, made the following declaration: « *In my territory as in so many others all the public service officers, all the tribal chiefs, teachers, magistrates, policemen and people of note were massacred with very few exceptions* ».

### **Witchcraft and Anarchy**

It is necessary here to make brief mention of the immense degradation which the rebellion produced in the political and social structure of an entire region. In order to make fanatics of the young recruits of the « Popular Army », the leaders of the insurrection did not hesitate to have recourse to witchcraft. The rebel warriors who were called Simbas (lions) underwent ritual mutilation, wore amulets and were persuaded that they were invul-

nerable. During attacks they would yell « Mai-Mulele » or « Mai-Olenga », magic formulas which they believed would change their enemy's bullets into drops of water. The rebels also believed that if they died they would be resurrected three days later.

This witchcraft promoted killings among the Congolese population. Witnesses were present at scenes in the course of which victims were cut to pieces and disemboweled, the hearts serving subsequently as ritual food. This savagery was intentionally fomented by the leaders of the rebels: in their writings and in their declarations, they did not hesitate to say, as did Christophe Gbenye in one of his last official appeals to the population: « *We will make fetishes out of the hearts of Americans and Belgians and we will dress ourselves in their skins* ». (See Annex N° 6).

At Kindu it was common to see « General » Nicolas Olenga, Commander-in-Chief of the rebel forces, confer with a well known sorceress, Mama Onoma, and then make use of her prophesies to fanaticize the troops.

All this comes rather from chaos, anarchy and regression than from a revolutionary movement which was supposed to be fighting for the emancipation of the people and its moral and material well-being. It goes without saying that the « government » of Mr. Gbenye took no action of a social character whatsoever during its reign, but on the contrary the cruel acts, the abandonment of all respect for human life, stimulated, especially among the young, an increase in criminality and delinquency which nothing could restrain. (See Annex N° 7).

And yet, those responsible for this degradation have received the support of certain countries under the pretext that the rebels were fighting for the cause of Congolese nationalism.

## Foreign Interventions

The N.L.C., once installed in Brazzaville, immediately began looking for aid from foreign countries. Several delegations were sent to North Africa, Eastern Europe and Communist China. It will be recalled that the Soviet Embassy in Léopoldville was closed in November 1963 after the Congolese authorities had proved collusion between members of that Embassy and the N.L.C. in Brazzaville.

### Brazzaville's Hospitality

An N.L.C. mission led by Thomas Mukwidi went to Peking at the end of 1963 from Algiers, at the invitation of the Chinese Communist Embassy. A document found in Christophe Gbenye's effects after the liberation of Stanleyville appears to indicate that the mission returned to Brazzaville with financial assistance (See Annex N° 8). There were later reports of other such payments.

However, it was the Republic of Congo/Brazzaville that gave the insurrection its most important support from the beginning. The rebels set up at least two training camps for the N.L.C. on its territory. The one in Gamboma, located 350 kms northeast of Brazzaville, has been in operation since the end of 1963. With the cooperation of technicians from the Embassy of Communist China in Brazzaville, hundreds of rebels were given intensive instruction in guerilla warfare and techniques. A second camp of the same sort was established this year at Impfondo on the Congo River, 600 kms to the north of Brazzaville. It was from the Gamboma camp that an attack was launched by a group of rebels in July against the region around the Congolese town of Bolobo, 300 kms to the north of Léopoldville.

### Arms and Propaganda from Communist Countries

At Bolobo, the National Army seized Soviet-made munitions, instruction manuals on guerilla warfare and propaganda from Peking. (See Annexes 1, 9 and 10.)

Congolese Army units found Chinese munitions when they freed the town of Kindu in November, as well as machine guns and mortars of the same origin (see Annexes 11, 12 and 13) and a large amount of communist propa-

ganda was discovered at Stanleyville. Rifles of Czech manufacture were recovered at Kabambare.

### **Algerian and Egyptian Support**

On October 31, 1964 an Ilyushin-18 airplane without registration markings landed at Arua in Uganda territory, 30 kms from the Congolese frontier. Cases of munitions were unloaded from the aircraft and taken by truck towards the Congo border. It was later learned that the airplane had come from Dar-Es-Salaam and that it was in fact an Algerian aircraft.

On September 7th, Christophe Gbenye made this statement over Radio Stanleyville: *« Several of our officers have returned from Moscow, Cairo, Algiers, Ghana, Guinea, and Czechoslovakia. For those who are here we will do the same, that is to say, we will send them to be trained so they become officers worthy of the name ».*

Finally, in a speech made on November 28, 1964 in Algiers, the Algerian President, Mr. Ahmed Ben Bella, asserted that his government had supported the Stanleyville authorities in the past with men and arms and that he had the firm intention to continue this assistance in the future, in particular by the sending of volunteers. President Nasser made a similar promise on December 1.

Aerial reconnaissance carried out over Lake Tanganyika disclosed heavy traffic between Bujumbura, the capital of the Kingdom of Burundi, and Albertville, and between Kigoma, in the United Republic of Tanzania, and Baraka. In Bujumbura members of the N.L.C. got support from the Chinese Communist Embassy. Eye witnesses have reported that indoctrination courses and financial assistance were given there by the Chinese.

The U.A.R., Algeria, Mali and Guinea have never hidden their hostility toward the Leopoldville government or their support for the rebellion. The recent Addis Ababa conference was proof of the support the rebels received from certain member countries of the O.A.U. The same was true in Cairo at the conference of non-aligned countries, where Prime Minister Tshombe was even detained for several days on President Nasser's orders. Clearly, a group of foreign countries has wanted to place the representatives of the rebel regime on an equal footing with the legal government of the Congo, and have shown their sympathy and their support to the cause of the rebellion, though they do not hesitate to fight with all their power against any insurrectional activities in their own countries.



## The Search for an African Solution

The President of the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Mr. Joseph Kasavubu and his government have never ceased to proclaim their conviction that an essentially African solution had to be found to the problems of the Congo. Thus, the Congolese Chief of State expressed, in a message addressed to the Organization of African Unity at the end of August, his wish to see the problems of the Congo solved with the assistance of the O.A.U. (See Annex N° 14).

The O.A.U. in response to this request took up the question in an extraordinary session of its Council of Ministers, September 5 — 10, at Addis Ababa.

The final resolution which was adopted without opposition created an « ad hoc » commission to support and encourage the efforts of the Government of the Congo and its policy of national reconciliation. The assembly had taken note beforehand of Mr. Tshombe's declaration which listed the steps already under way to reach a general pacification of the country, a prior condition necessary for its economic rehabilitation.

### Calls for Assistance from African Countries

During the work of this session, Mr. Tshombe made an appeal to his African brothers for their help in reestablishing order and tranquillity throughout the whole of Congolese territory. These were his words :

*« Instead of criticizing and condemning, come instead and assist me in a peaceful policy to maintain order and territorial integrity, a policy which can only benefit all of Africa. Almost all of you have to face in your own countries, a problem of rebellion similar to that of the Congo. You thus know its nature and its complexity. In a spirit of broad African solidarity, help my government to put an end to the disorder and agitation which are bleeding the Congo and which constitute a menace for all African countries ».*

With this in view, the Congolese delegation proposed that certain African countries conclude with the Léopoldville Government bilateral military accords. This would have speeded up the reestablishment of peace in the Congo and have been an African solution with its modalities decided upon by Africans themselves.

This proposal was rejected by 18 votes against 17. The Congo was thus refused the help it requested from brother African countries and stood alone

with its problem of maintaining order in a country of nearly a million square miles, the largest in Central Africa.

### **A Political Solution**

The O.A.U. did propose the assistance of an « ad hoc » commission composed of representatives from nine African countries to find a political solution for its internal and external difficulties.

Even though this infringed on the full national sovereignty of the Congo, the Government of Public Welfare, in a spirit of understanding and conciliation, not only accepted the idea but said that it was ready to encourage and facilitate the commission's work. The Government stated unequivocally that it was ready to collaborate loyally with the « ad hoc » commission and that it would be happy to receive it in Léopoldville. (See Annex N° 15).

But though the commission, by the very terms of the Addis Ababa resolution, should have come immediately to the Democratic Republic of the Congo and neighboring countries, it in fact never crossed Congolese frontiers, nor those of the Republic of Congo/Brazzaville or of the Kingdom of Burundi. It thus did not fulfill the mission which had been assigned to it by the O.A.U. Council of Ministers to aid the Congo in finding peace.

The Léopoldville Government did not fail to remind the commission that it was ready to welcome it and to facilitate its work to the limit of its ability.

### **No Valid Negotiating Partners**

The Government of the Democratic Republic of the Congo could not accept to deal on an equal basis with the rebels who, as we have seen above, could hardly be valid spokesmen because of the crimes and acts of genocide for which they bore responsibility. The entire world today knows to what point horror may go when men's basest instincts are unchained. If Africa had offered the Congo the assistance which it requested through the O.A.U., it would perhaps not be suffering today from the crimes of the rebel regime.

## The Alternatives

After the meetings of Addis-Ababa and Nairobi, the Government of Public Welfare of the Democratic Republic of the Congo could certainly congratulate itself on the understanding which a large number of African countries had shown for its problems.

During this period, though, the rebellion had been gaining ground. The region of Coquilhatville, some 400 kilometers to the north of the Congolese capital, had been invaded by the insurgents. Luluabourg, capital of the former province of the Kasai, was threatened. The massacre of thousands of innocent Congolese citizens increased in ferocity. Support of the rebellion by foreign powers was increasing day by day.

What would the sovereign government of any nation have done under such conditions?

### The Bilateral Agreements

It had become clear that the Leopoldville Government would have to call on those countries with which it had signed bilateral military assistance agreements. In taking such action, it was only following the example of many other countries that found themselves in similar situations.

It is worth recalling at this point that the last United Nations contingents left the Congo on June 30, 1964. At that time, no one had requested the maintenance of the UN forces and no one, in fact, had contemplated making such a request because of the financial difficulties confronting the world organization.

Well before the departure of the UN troops, the preceding Government had concluded military aid agreements with several countries, notably Belgium, Israel, Italy, and the United States, providing for intensive instruction and training for an increasing number of officers and soldiers, and for logistic support. But the reorganization of a military force the size of the Congolese Army is evidently a long-range project and is not entirely completed as of today.

Under these circumstances, the Government of Public Welfare was led to seek greater assistance from Belgium and the United States. It did so on the basis of agreements concluded in 1963 which are mentioned above.

The assistance these two countries were to give was limited. Belgian assistance included the sending of non-operational military advisers, responsible

for the training of Congolese cadres and for logistic assistance to Congolese headquarters staffs. The United States furnished material and means of transportation.

### **The Volunteers**

To put an end to the rebellion, the Congo needed experienced soldiers to reinforce its Army. It would be pointless to list here all the countries which in the course of their histories have been obliged to call upon professional foreign soldiers. It must be emphasized, though that it was only after having exhausted all other possibilities that the Government of the Public Welfare, conscious of its responsibility to the people, proceeded to recruit volunteers. This recruitment was carried out on an individual basis. No agreements were made between governments. The Government of Public Welfare, in conformity with the terms of the resolution adopted by the Addis Ababa conference, will certainly discharge these volunteers as soon as possible and send them back to their respective countries.

### **The End of the Rebellion is Now in Sight**

Today the National Congolese Army is undertaking the last phase of its struggle against the rebels to liberate our national territory and to safeguard the integrity of the nation. Three months ago, three-fourths of the country was occupied or threatened by the revolutionary regime. Today, only a small part of the national territory is still in the insurgents' hands. Everywhere, Government forces are advancing. Stanleyville, the heart of rebel-held territory, was liberated Tuesday, the 24th of November. Today, the knell of the rebel movement has been sounded.

## The Hostages' Fate

Most foreign residents in the Congo decided to remain where they were, despite the rebel invasion. As non-combatants, they hoped that the rebels would permit them to carry on their normal day-to-day affairs.

This was unfortunately not the case.

Many foreign residents suffered from acts of brutality similar to those that the Congolese population had fallen victim to from August onward. Some were shot to death. Others died after having been savagely beaten. Three Belgians and two Dutchmen were massacred in Boende in October, at the time of the withdrawal of the rebels. At Kindu, four Europeans, among whom were a father and his two sons, and at Lolo a Protestant missionary, suffered the same fate.

As the rebel army was pushed back, the state of mind of their leaders and of the militant rebels was marked by increased fanaticism. Their intention apparently was to utilize the non-Congolese population for blackmail, in the hope of gaining a favorable cease-fire, as well as political concessions.

Stanleyville Radio announced on August 31 that « *The Americans and the Europeans would be kept as hostages until Tshombe decided to stop using mercenaries* ». The same day, the rebel « general » Olenga addressed a message to Mr. Thant, Secretary General of the United Nations, which clearly indicated that foreigners would be kept as prisoners in Stanleyville in order to protect the city against « bombings ».

In the last weeks the threats of violence grew wilder and on October 5 the « Defense Minister » proclaimed his intention to bury 12 Americans alive for each Congolese killed.

The real danger in which foreign non-combatants were living increased during the final weeks preceding the rescue operation. As central government forces penetrated rebel-controlled territory, the insurgents took their vengeance upon their unarmed hostages, men women and children. Three foreigners held in Kibombo were massacred on November 3. It was clear, at the time of the lightning liberation of the city of Kindu on November 5, that the 70 hostages held there were about to suffer the same fate.

## The Appeals Made to the Rebels Remain Unanswered

On October 15, Prime Minister Tshombe had warned the rebels against executing a single hostage. He said that such acts would bring dishonor to the rebels and to the Congo in the eyes of the world and that they would be subject to severest punishment. The same day, October 15, Mr. Kenyatta called upon the rebels, in the name of humanitarian principles, not to execute the foreign hostages. On October 21, Mr. Tshombe invited Red Cross observers to come to the Congo to check on the observance of the Geneva Conventions, particularly those regarding the treatment of prisoners and the illegality of taking hostages. (See annex no. 16).

Solemn representations on behalf of the civilian population were made by the United Nations, the International Committee of the Red Cross, and by His Holiness Pope Paul VI. None of the appeals was answered by the rebel leaders. It was the same for the appeal made on November 21 by 13 signatory nations of the 1949 Geneva Conventions. These Conventions, to which the Congo is committed, expressly prohibit the taking of hostages. (See annex no. 17).

The rebels refused to observe the Geneva Conventions and the basic principles of human rights accepted by all civilized nations. A telegram that was addressed last October 30 by the rebel « General » Nicolas Olenga to his commander in Kindu is unmistakable proof of this :

*« Adresse : Major Tshenda, Oscar, Kindu  
« 301046/z Stan No. 6.1/64 revotel s/n stop  
« Americans Belgians must be guarded in safe place stop in case region  
bombed exterminate all without asking for explanation.  
Sent by : General Olenga (signature) (See annex No. 18).*

## The Rescue Operation

On November 24, the day Stanleyville was retaken by the Congolese National Army, a humanitarian mission was begun to liberate several thousand hostages held in Stanleyville and in Paulis. Authorized by the Congolese Government, this action had as its sole purpose the saving of those who were prisoners and who were in danger of death. The 500 Belgians parachutists who successfully carried out the humanitarian rescue mission were transported by American Air Force planes.

Altogether in four days operations, the parachutists saved nearly 2,000 persons of some twenty different nationalities (see annex no. 19). Included among these were a sizeable number of Congolese.

However, the rebels had the time to carry out bloody massacres. Firing indiscriminately and at close range on men, women and children, they killed more than 30 persons in Stanleyville. On the left bank of the city, 28 missionaries, nuns and civilians were tortured to death and savagely mutilated.

At Paulis, 18 European civilians and members of the clergy were beaten to death with clubs and broken bottles, not to mention the dozens of individual cases of murder under the most frightful circumstances. By December 4, 1964, some 103 foreign civilians had been killed in the Congo as a result of the armed rebellion.

The Belgian troops and American planes were strictly limited to carrying out the humanitarian mission assigned to them. There can be no question here of « military intervention », since the operation took place with the full agreement of the Government which wanted first, to assume its responsibilities for its own citizens, and secondly, for those of other nations.

It is of course known that all personnel sent to participate in the rescue operation at Stanleyville and at Paulis were withdrawn from the Congo four days after their arrival in the country.

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24

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## **Conclusion**

**This new trial which has struck the Congo such a blow and has come on top of all those which have so cruelly affected the Congo over the past four years, does not make us despair for the future. On the contrary, it increases our determination to overcome obstacles and face up to adversity.**

**The nation will survive, no matter what happens, as a great nation bound to play a major role in the family of African peoples.**

**The Congo is a vast country blessed with incalculable riches and populated by 15 million people who constitute an even greater wealth. By its geographical position and the immensity of its territory, it will inevitably become a force to be reckoned with. The government has every intention of leading it resolutely in this direction and towards a rediscovered national grandeur and dignity.**

**Once public order has been restored—and we have seen what enormous difficulties the Government of Public Welfare has had to face—it will prepare for the national elections which will give the people the chance to chart their destiny themselves. These elections are scheduled for next February.**

**As concerns Africa, the Government remains faithful to the principles of the Organization for African Unity which must lead all territories of Africa to their full independence and complete national sovereignty. The Congo is proud of its own independence and has the duty to help all those who have not yet benefited from it to achieve their own in turn.**

**It is by suffering that the soul of a nation is forged. The Congo has had no small measure of sufferings during recent years,**

**but they will have taught the country how to become master of its own destinies and how to direct them in a way most closely conforming to our national hopes. The Government intends to give the Congolese people new reasons for hope and for belief in a better life. The country will exert all its energies toward this end, with the help of its African brothers, but we will hold firm to our inalienable rights to maintain a free and independent existence.**

**The Congo is convinced that the preceding pages will help friendly nations to better understand it, to share its difficulties, and also to associate themselves with its reasons for hope.**

**To bring about the happiness of an entire people is an exciting task which can only be done successfully in a climate of warm sympathy and wide understanding on the part of all those who know that human fellowship is not an empty phrase.**

# Documents

Annexe N° 2

### Contacts with the N.L.C.

Mr. Andre Lubaya, the official representative of the N.L.C., signed an agreement on July 3 with Mr. Moise Tshombe who was at the time charged by the Chief of the Congolese state Mr. Joseph Kasavubu, with the mission of looking into the possibility of forming a government. Following is the text of this agreement :

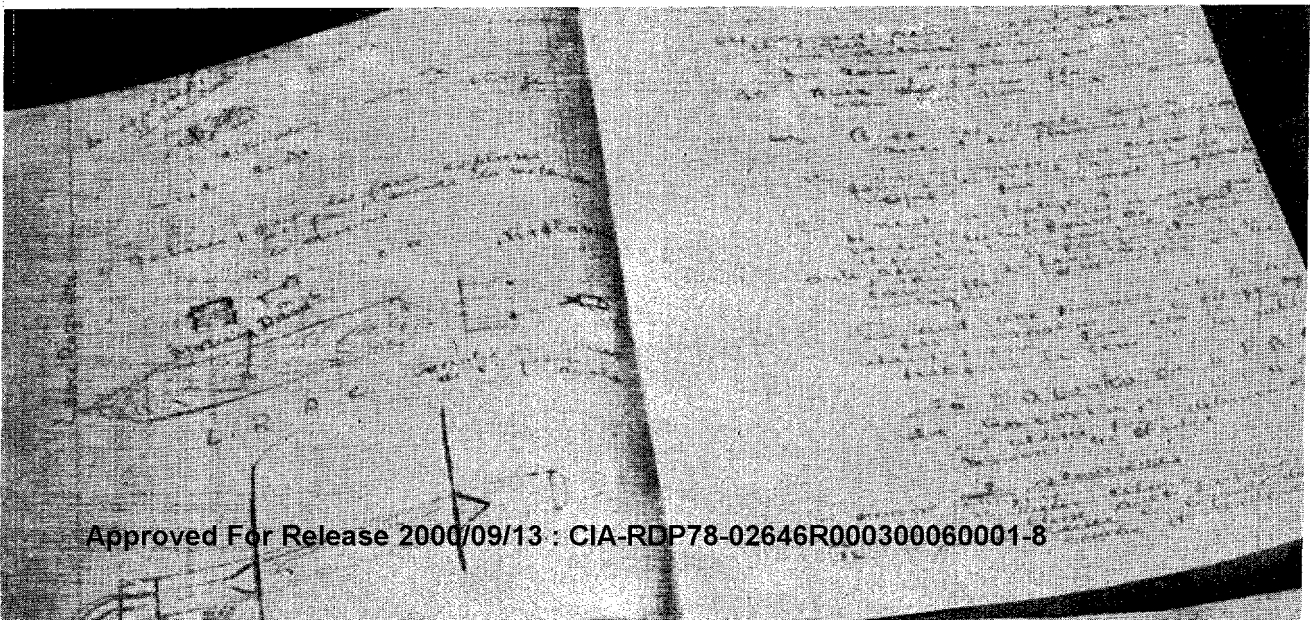
*« It has been agreed that the N.L.C. give its complete support to the undertaking of Mr. Moise Tshombe in his efforts to end chaos and anarchy in the Congo and to Mr. Tshombe's policy of national reconciliation which must lead to the liberation of Mr. Antoine Gizenga and of the other political detainees and to the return of those in exile.*

*« The Committee of National Libération agrees to participate in the government of transition and believes and that its presence in this government will assist in putting an end to all acts of violence ».*

A few days later a schism occurred in the Committee of National Liberation. Some accused Mr. Lubaya of being a traitor to the cause of revolution. Speaking in the name of Mr. Gbenye they demanded the dismissal of Mr. Kasavubu as a preliminary condition to all agreements. This demand was clearly irreconcilable with respect for legality.



*While these political negotiations were going on, military instruction went on without a let-up at the Gamboma camp in the Congo/Brazzaville. The photograph shows an manual on guerilla warfare found on a rebel taken prisoner at Bolobo. The notebook is open at a chapter on « Handling of the Bazooka and Rocket Launcher ».*



Annex No. 2



*In July of this year while in Bujumbura, during a reconciliation trip which was to take him to several points in the eastern part of the country, Mr. Tshombe met with the representatives of the N.L.C. He is seen here in discussion with one of its leaders, Mr. Focas Bwimbi. The Prime Minister at this time still hoped to put an end to the rebellion by peaceful means.*

Annex No. 3



*Mr. Tshombe received an enthusiastic and spontaneous welcome from the population of Stanleyville at the end of July.*



Annex No. 4

*The arrival of the rebels anywhere in the Congo was accompanied by bloody killings and scenes of horror. In this photograph are the bodies of three Congolese civilians shot by the rebels at Lodja.*

Annex No. 5

*Members of the National Congolese Army captured at Paulis by the rebels were cruelly tortured. Several among them had their ears cut off; others were castrated.*



Annex No. 8

Léopoldville, le

Ce 9 mars 1964.

B.P. 4058

56

~~73~~  
Camarade,

J'ai bien reçu votre lettre datée d'Alger. En ce qui concerne Mr. X..., vous connaissez ma prudence à ce sujet. Il m'appartiendra plutôt de vous conseiller à ne pas faire beaucoup d'éloges de Mr. X... Ce qui reste cependant à considérer ce sont les moyens que ces pays mettent à notre disposition pour mener la lutte. Ils nous recommandent la prudence - d'accord - mais il ne faut pas perdre de vue que le conseiller n'est pas l'acheteur.

Examinez dans vos entretiens notre situation et mesurez nos possibilités d'avenir. Nous ne voulons pas faire à Brazzaville plusieurs années. N'oubliez pas, d'ailleurs ce n'est que normal, les deux Congo doivent arriver à normaliser leurs relations de voisinage; et de ce fait nous ne pouvons pas constituer un obstacle pour cette affaire. Dans des jours très prochains, vue notre division interne, Brazzaville finira par déposer les bras et nous laisse à la merci des fascistes de Léopoldville.

( Vous n'êtes pas allé pour faire de nouveau très longtemps et revenir sans un résultat concret. Je vous informe que les Mukidi sont rentrés de leur mission ~~ZA~~ avec 10.500 dollars reçus de la Chine. Voyez-vous cher camarade, l'avance que les amis semblent avoir sur nous )

En ce qui concerne la conférence Afro-Asiatique, je serais partisan à ce que vous y assistiez, car c'est une occasion de prendre sur place des contacts avec plusieurs pays. Mais nous voulons d'abord être en possession du rapport de votre mission. Quant aux instructions à vous donner et se rapportant à la conférence d'Alger, je vous signale que n'étant pas en possession du ticket et de l'ordre du jour de la conférence, il m'est fort difficile de vous faire parvenir l'ordre de mission ainsi que les instructions y afférentes.

• J'attends toujours le ticket comme vous me l'aviez dit.

Nous sommes à votre attente et surtout à celle d'un résultat positif afin de relever notre moral.

À Douala ne faites pas longtemps pour revenir regretter de nouveau votre absence à Cotonou.

J'aime vous lire régulièrement.

Votre ami.

*A letter found in the personal effects of rebel leader Gbenye in Stanleyville. The text, despite its ambiguous nature, proves the aid given to the rebellion by Peking. The marked paragraph refers to \$10,500 received by the N.L.C. in Communist China. Though the sender of this letter took the precaution of not naming his correspondent nor of signing his name, the number of a post box in Brazzaville is given. It is that of the National Liberation Committee.*

Annex No. 9

*Explosives of Soviet manufacture captured in liberated town of Bolobo after the failure of an attack launched from the Gamboma camp in Congo/Brazzaville. The rectangular packages bear the Russian inscription «Троилловая Шашка» which may be translated as «Packages of T.N.T.».*



Annex No. 10

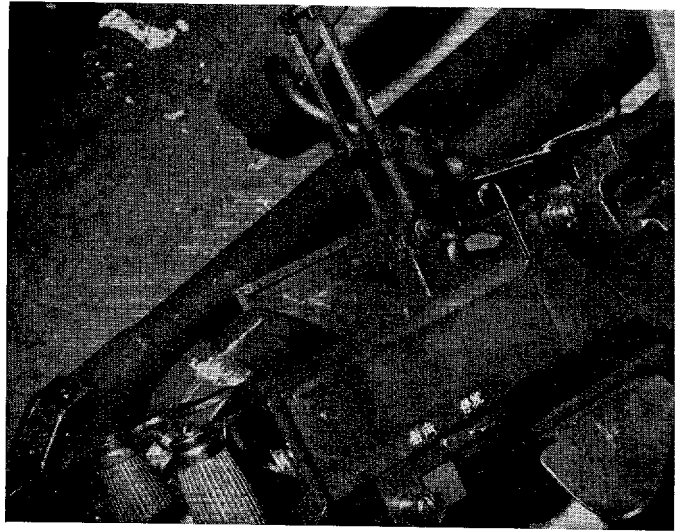
*Chinese Communist propaganda literature found in many cities and towns in the rebel zone. The photograph shows copies of the propaganda pamphlet «Pékin Information» sent in plain wrappers to thousands of Congolese addresses.*





Annexes Nos 11, 12 and 13

*At the outset of the rebellion, the Chinese Communists helped the Congolese rebels with advise and money, later on following with arms and munitions. At Kindu and Stanleyville the Congolese Army found heavy machine guns and munitions coming from Peking among the weapons abandoned by the rebels. The photographs show specimens of this armament. The photograph on the right is a close-up view of the machine gun pictured above.*



Annex No. 14

**Telegram from the Chief of State Mr. Joseph Kasavubu to Mr. Diallo Telli, Secretary General of the Organization of African Unity, dated August 26, 1964, requesting an extraordinary session on the Congo**

« I refer to the message of the Prime Minister and Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Central Congolese Government who believe that solution to present problem must be found within Organization African Unity stop.

« Consequently request immediate convocation O.A.U Council of Ministers in extraordinary session at Organization headquarters stop Request Your Excellency transmit to all member states our request so that meeting may be held latest September 5, notwithstanding provisions Article 16 internal statutes Council of Ministers stop High consideration full stop ».

(signed) The President of the Democratic Republic of the Congo,  
Joseph Kasa-Vubu

Annex No. 15

**Speech by the Prime Minister Mr. Moise Tshombe to the members of the Ad Hoc Commission at Nairobi (excerpt)**

« Mr. President,  
« Brother delegates,

« If the Chief of State of the Democratic Republic of the Congo called upon the Organization of African Unity it is because he has placed his confidence in it and also because we believe in African unity. However, in order that the work of this Commission might be completed with positive results, it would not be advisable for it to go beyond the mandate assigned to it by the Council of Ministers of the Organization of African Unity at Addis Ababa. The Council decided, pursuant to the terms of Article 5 of the resolution adopted, to set up and sent to the Congo/Leopoldville, to Burundi, and to the Congo/Brazzaville, an Ad Hoc Commission placed under the leadership of Mr. Jomo Kenyatta, which would have as its mandate :

a) to support and encourage the efforts of the Government of the Democratic Republic of the Congo designed to bring about national reconciliation in conformity with paragraphs 2 and 3 of the Resolution ; and

b) to seek all means possible to re-establish normal relations between the Democratic Republic of the Congo and its neighbors, especially Burundi and the Republic of the Congo/Brazzaville.

« It is in this spirit, and with the wish to have the Commission succeed, that the Congolese Government is ready to give its support and entire collaboration.

Annex N° 16

**Letter from the Prime Minister to Mr. Leopold Boissier,  
President of the International Committee of the Red Cross,  
Geneva, concerning compliance with the Geneva Conventions**

*« On October 21, I stated clearly the wish of the Government of the Democratic Republic of the Congo to observe the Geneva Conventions and to carry out humanitarian measures which would spare the civilian population all unnecessary suffering. In the same way I made an appeal to those in illegal rebellion against my Government also to respect these Conventions and to protect human life.*

*« Pursuant to the spirit of this declaration I have ordered my air force to limit its activities to military objectives and not to attack cities and heavily-populated locations which might place the civilian population in danger.*

*« Thus by this letter I invite you to designate an impartial observer to come immediately to Leopoldville to observe and verify that my Government is following the provisions of my declaration made yesterday and those of this letter. I promise you the entire cooperation of my government which will grant all facilities necessary for the completion of this observation mission.*

*« I also urgently request that you do everything possible also to send an observer to Stanleyville to the same end, and to verify that the rebel authorities are also carrying out the relevant provisions of the Geneva Conventions. To aid you in this demarche I have today sent a letter to the President of the Ad Hoc Commission of the Organization of African Unity, His Excellency Mr. Jomo Kenyatta, which requests his active support to assure the agreement of the rebels to cooperate in the carrying out of these arrangements ».*

*Leopoldville, October 13, 1964*

*(Signed) M. Tshombe »*

Following this letter the International Red Cross sent a special representative to Leopoldville. However he was never authorized by Mr. Gbenye to go to Stanleyville.

Annexe No. 17

### **Excerpt from the Geneva Conventions on Protection of War Victims (1949)**

#### **Article 3**

In the case of armed conflict not of an international character occurring in the territory one of the High Contracting Parties, each Party to the conflict shall be bound to apply, as a minimum, the following provisions :

(1) Persons taking no active part in the hostilities, including members of armed forces who have laid down their arms and those placed *hors de combat* by sickness, wounds, detention, or any other cause, shall in all circumstances be treated humanely, without any adverse distinction founded on race, colour, religion or faith, sex, birth or wealth, or any other similar criteria.

To this end, the following acts are and shall remain prohibited at any time and in any place whatsoever with respect to the above-mentioned persons :

(a) violence to life and person, in particular murder of all kinds, mutilation, cruel treatment and torture ;

(b) taking of hostages ;

(c) outrages upon personal dignity, in particular humiliating and degrading treatment ;

(d) the passing of sentences and the carrying out of executions without previous judgment pronounced by a regularly constituted court, affording all the judicial guarantees which are recognized as indispensable by civilized nations.

(2) The wounded and sick shall be collected and cared for.

An impartial humanitarian body, such as the International Committee of the Red Cross, may offer its services to the Parties to the conflict.

The Parties to the conflict should further endeavour to bring into force, by means of special agreements, all or part of the other provisions of the present Convention.

The application of the preceding provisions shall not affect the legal status of the Parties to the conflict.



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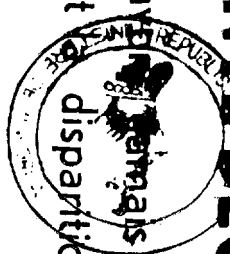
# 'LE MARTYR'

ORGANE DE COMBAT DU CONSEIL NATIONAL DE LIBERATION SECTION DE L'EST  
 Editeur responsable : **Gaston SOUMIALOT**  
 « LA PATRIE OU LA MORT »

Conditions d'Abonnement	
Congo	5.000 1.500 7.500
Belgique	7.000 - 8.700 2.000
Autres p.	10.000 5.300 2.700
Le numéro hors abonnement	
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Le numéro (1) fr	

## LE CHEF DE L'ETAT S.E. CHRISTOPHE GBENYE DECLARE :

« La lutte continue et elle est devenue tres importante. Nous n'avons voulu que brûler, mais l'arrivée à Stanleyville des Américains signifierait les Belges et Américains qui sont sous notre surveillance ».



« The Martyr », a bi-weekly published in Stanleyville during the rebel occupation, was the press organ of the N.L.C. The November 14-15 edition published an article by Mr. Christophe Gbenge openly inciting the population to the most savage kind of massacres. The enclosed paragraph is translated on page 14 of the text. In column 3, Mr. Gbenge writes that the 300 Americans and 800 Belgians « we have in our claws » will all be massacred in case of bombing attacks.

Personne n'ignore que la de l'imperialisme tout en util. Leurs biens sont respectés. Nous avons sous nos griffes M. Spack a déclaré que le plus de 300 américains et plus de 800 belges mis en résidence surveillée et dans des endroits dangereux. Au moultre bombardé- Colonel Decoster de l'Assistance militaire de nos régions et de notre capitale révolutionnaire, dirigent les opérations de l'A.N.C. contre la République Populaire du Congo. Nous lui répondons que nous avons des preuves irréfutables. M. Decoster est chargé par M. Spack de diriger les opérations belges au Congo à cause de son expérience acquise à la guerre de Corée. La Corée nous a transmis l'expérience de la guerre de Corée, et le Congo nous a transmis leur sécurité est assurée. Nous serons prochainement à M. Decoster commandant des Belges et des américains.

Nous fabriquerons des trichés avec les cœurs de nos amis et belges, et nous habillerons des peaux des belges et américains.

Les prêtres belges qui ont pris à Kinshasa et à Beni ont mes contre les complices.

Ils ont massacré plusieurs Simba. Ces prêtres belges ont mis en doute la charité que prêche l'Eglise Catholique et desormais nous considérons tous les prêtres belges, c'est-à-dire l'inter page 17



Annex No. 7

*The leaders of the rebellion did not hesitate to arm very young Congolese to carry out the most horrible crimes. They have endangered the youth of the country for an entire generation. This is surely one of their most serious crimes against the nation. The photograph in the upper right shows a « commander » who was leader of an execution squad in Stanleyville. The « Simbas » covered themselves in animal skins to ward off evil spirits and all believed in the magic power of « dawa » given to them by sorcerers who had great influence over the rebel forces (lower photograph).*



2000/09/13  
BELGISCH CONGO

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785 A  
Télégramme  
Telegram

Privé ordinaire  
Gewoon particulier  
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ACCEPTATION  
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Nr. \_\_\_\_\_  
Mots \_\_\_\_\_  
Woorden \_\_\_\_\_  
Stuur \_\_\_\_\_  
Uur \_\_\_\_\_  
Paspoort \_\_\_\_\_  
Paspoort \_\_\_\_\_

Annex No. 18

Photocopy of the telegram addressed by the rebel « General » Olenka to his Commander in Kindu on October 30. The English text of the telegram is given on page 22.

Dans son intérêt, l'expéditeur est prié d'écrire lisiblement.  
De afzender wordt, in zijn belang, verzocht leesbaar te schrijven.

Vote d'acheminement : *OFF PRIORITE ABSOLUE*  
Omschrijving :

Indications de service : *MAJOR TBHENDA Oscar*  
Dienstaanwijzingen : *KINDU*

Taxe par mot fr. congolais	TOTAL fr. congolais
Taxe per woord Congolese fr.	TOTAAL Congolese fr.

Reçu de dépôt  
Ontvangbewijs

R. P.

Transmis à \_\_\_\_\_  
Overgemaakt aan \_\_\_\_\_

à \_\_\_\_\_ h. \_\_\_\_\_ m.  
De Telegrafist.

Indications aux télégraphistes : Expéditeur : M  
Niet overgezende aanwijzingen : Afzender :

Mod. 64 - T.1.

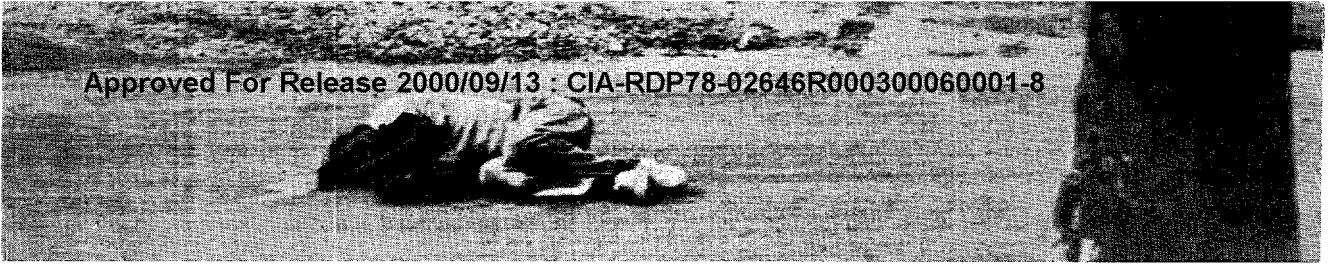
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*nr 10/1/64 revokel s/n.*  
*stop Américains Belges doivent*  
*être gardés au lieu sur stop*  
*en cas bombardement région*  
*exterminer tous sans demande*  
*expl. Olenka*  
*le Général OLENKA*  
*J.L. 301127 bym*

Annex N° 19

The first wounded hostages to escape from the killings at Stanleyville are transported by an American transport aircraft to Leopoldville, a frightful reflection of the tragedy which occurred a few hours earlier when more than a score of persons were shot in cold blood.



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*On a now still street, the body of a lone Congolese victim of rebel killers... Dr. Paul Carlson, a medical missionary shot down in the Stanleyville massacre of Nov. 24... A Congolese soldier kneeling in a courtyard crowded with the bodies of those who fell to wanton rebel bullets... Three pictures, a tragic and eloquent epitaph to a regime that called itself revolutionary but was in fact a reign of primitive reaction and rampant savagery.*



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