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[Redacted]

7 April 1965



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INTELLIGENCE MEMORANDUM

TANZANIAN SUPPORT FOR THE CONGO REBELS

DIRECTORATE OF INTELLIGENCE

Office of Current Intelligence

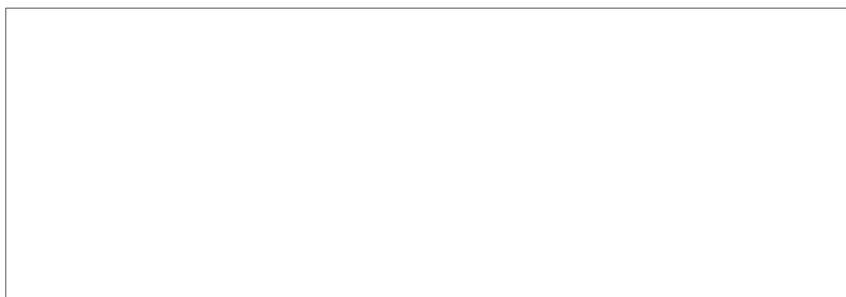
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Central Intelligence Agency
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INTELLIGENCE MEMORANDUM

Tanzanian Support For
The Congo Rebels

Summary

1. In retrospect, it is clear that Tanzania has been actively aiding the Congolese rebels at least since September of last year--well before the main radical African effort was organized. Tanzania has passed on Chinese and Soviet-supplied arms, apparently has provided training and facilities for Congolese insurgents, and has given the rebellion strong political support. Tanzanian ministers Kawawa, Kambona, and Lusinde have been the principal exponents of this policy, but President Nyerere has known and approved of it. Now that easy access to the rebels through Uganda and the Sudan has been cut off, the Dar es Salaam - Kigoma arms route may be the last hope for the rebel cause.

The Decision to Aid the Rebels

2. Tanzanians have been associated with the current rebellion in the eastern Congo at least since May 1964. It is unclear, however, whether aid to the rebels had Nyerere's sanction until July, when Tshombé came to power in Leopoldville. Nyerere and other Tanzanian leaders have long despised Tshombé, whom they consider a colonial puppet. Their sympathies since 1960 have been with Lumumba and his successors. In April 1961 the Tanganyikan minister of home affairs admitted publicly that goods were transitting Dar es Salaam for the "legitimate" Gizenga government in Stanleyville, and that goods for Tshombé then in Katanga were not being allowed through because "he is not recognized by anybody."

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3. The first known Tanzanian weapons delivery in 1964 occurred on 23 September,

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4. When the decision to deliver these arms was made cannot be precisely determined. It may have been as early as mid-June, when Vice President and Minister of Defense Kawawa was in Peiping negotiating an arms deal. The matter almost certainly was under consideration or review in Tanzania by late August, however. On 27 August, the foreign minister of Burundi, an active supporter of the Congolese rebels, held secret talks in Dar with Tanzanian authorities. Two days later, Foreign Minister Kambona, Interior Minister Lusinde, and two top security officials went to Kigoma, ostensibly to oversee the resettlement of some 2,000 refugees who had just fled across Lake Tanganyika from Albertville, then threatened by Congolese Government columns. Reporters who accompanied Kambona's party were sent back to Dar es Salaam. Since that time, Kigoma, often reported as a major rebel training area and as the Tanzanian end of a smuggling route, has been under tight security wraps.

5. Rebel "President" Gbenye in Stanleyville apparently was not informed of the arms deliveries until early October. A letter written by Gbenye sometime around 8 October (and picked up by US officials when the city fell) reveals that Gbenye had been visited by "Foreign Minister" Kanza, just arrived from Cairo, and Laurent Kabila, a prominent eastern Congolese rebel who had been in Peiping in August. Kanza told him that material for the rebels was collecting in Dar, and Kabila--not usually given to hyperbole--said that the insurgents had at their disposal "complete equipment for 2,000 men." Kabila further said that "part of this is reportedly in the Congo already, where a supposed General Shabani of Fizi wants to get hold of them." Shabani is in fact a rebel military figure at Fizi, which is across the lake from Kigoma.

6. The arms referred to may have arrived in Dar aboard the Chinese ship Heping, on 1 September. Most of its 650-ton cargo was delivered to Tanzanian troops on the mainland and on Zanzibar, but part of it was earmarked for another destination. It was speculated that the unaccounted-for arms were for Mozambique nationalists, but it now seems more likely they were for Congolese dissidents.

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Tanzania and the Radical Africans

7. As far as can be determined, Tanzania was the first African state to facilitate deliveries of material aid to the Congolese rebels. Other radical Africans were to follow Tanzania's lead. A coordinated radical program to overthrow Tshombé apparently was initiated in early October during the conference of nonaligned states held in Cairo, when a consortium was formed, which was eventually to include Egypt, Algeria, Mali, Guinea, Ghana, the Sudan, and Congo (Brazzaville), as well as the three East African states. On 10 October, Tanzania's Kawawa together with some Congolese rebels left the conference for Bujumbura, on Ben Bella's personal plane. The rebels disembarked and Kawawa returned to Cairo.

8. Since that time, Tanzania has participated in several meetings concerning the Congo rebellion. The first, held at Dar on 16 October, was attended by Nyerere, Kenya's President Kenyatta, Uganda's Prime Minister Obote, Zambia's President Kaunda, and the radical Burundi Prime Minister Nyamoya, who arrived in Dar on a Tanzanian plane. The Burundi foreign minister who had visited Dar in late August arrived earlier in October.

9. On 30 October, Lusinde, two senior Tanzanian intelligence officers, and the Algerian ambassador to Dar met Kanga in Nairobi. Apparently they discussed the first consortium-organized arms delivery, which was then aboard an Algerian transport plane. The plane, which had arrived in Dar on the 29th, was to fly to Arua in Uganda on 31 October.

10. Other top-level meetings involving Tanzania and concerning aid to the Congo rebels occurred on 18 November, 23 December, and 13 January. Following the last, which was held in Mbale, Uganda, and was attended by Gbenye, Nyerere publicly extolled the rebel leader, saying that Gbenye was "as responsible as any African leader that I have met...committed to the same objectives of African freedom and African dignity...as everyone else is." (Kenyatta was less impressed.)

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11. At the secret meetings and in public, Tanzanian leaders have been in the vanguard of those urging greater support for the rebels. Kambona recently reaffirmed Tanzanian solidarity with the insurgents and intimated that the struggle in the Congo may take "ten years."

Arms Deliveries and Smuggling Routes

12. Since the Heping visit, two other Chinese arms-bearing freighters have docked in Dar: the Lao Dong on 13 November, and the Xing Hou on 6 February. The Chinese munitions deliveries probably total about a thousand tons. Most were used to re-equip a Tanzanian battalion, but some went to the rebels.

13. Soviet weapons deliveries to the Tanzanian mainland have amounted to over 250 tons, carried aboard the ships Beshtau and Nicolai Burdenko, which docked in Dar on 30 October and 7 February respectively, and on five Soviet planes which landed in Dar in March. As with the Chinese-supplied arms, the Soviet shipments probably went to both the Tanzanian Army and the rebels.

14. Two Egyptian cargo planes also landed in Dar in March.

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15. Most rebel-bound arms reach Kigoma by railroad. There is evidence that some are trucked from the port at Dar to a loading station at least 100 miles west, apparently to avoid observation. Twenty trucks, including fifteen of Chinese Communist manufacture, have license plates and registrations identical to twenty Public Works Division vehicles. The former group run up a great deal of mileage, but the official records show only the low mileage of the latter group which never leaves the Dar es Salaam area. It appears that the Tanzanians want to conceal the fact that the vehicles are being used for some irregular purpose.

16.

a railroad car with Chinese munitions

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"consigned to Burundi" left Dar for Kigoma on 23 November. These munitions (perhaps from the Lao Dong) apparently arrived in Kigoma shortly thereafter. Part of the shipment was then sent to Burundi, some by truck and some over Lake Tanganyika. Heavy arms-laden vehicles were seen arriving in Burundi in mid-December at about the same time that ten large wooden boxes were reportedly spotted on a Burundi-bound lake steamer. One of the boxes, which broke open, contained three Czech machine guns.

17. In late December, the Burundi King impounded 79 tons of arms which [redacted]

[redacted] transitting Burundi for the rebels.

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[redacted] packing cases had Chinese labels. They included recoilless rifles, bazookas, and over 900,000 rounds of ammunition.

18. There have been frequent reports since September of smuggling across Lake Tanganyika from Kigoma to the Fizi area. [redacted]

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[redacted] the fishing boat Grecusa was being used on the route. [redacted]

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[redacted] two other vessels, "AB 85/OCB and AB 816 NB," as involved in the arms trade. [redacted]

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[redacted] the Fizi rebels were receiving supplies over the lake at a rate of about 80 tons a month. The estimate seems plausible.

19. For some time Communist-made arms have been seized around the periphery of the Fizi salient, but detailed descriptions are lacking because of limited US access to the area. An AP news correspondent, however, observed in late March that a Congolese battalion southwest of Fizi was armed with captured Czech rifles and ammunition. On 23 January, mercenaries north of Fizi captured a 120-mm. mortar (perhaps one of six off-loaded from the Beshtau in Dar on 30 October), and several drums of potassium chloride and acid (used for making Molotov cocktails) marked "Tanganyika."

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20. Reports of training of Congolese rebels have come in since last fall, but they are difficult to substantiate because of the security restrictions around Kigoma.

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21. Estimates of the number of Congolese insurgents trained in Tanzania range as high as 3,000. On occasion Chinese military advisers have been reported in Kigoma. Last September seven Chinese instructors arrived in Dar to give six-month training to the Tanzanian Army battalion equipped with Chinese arms. The program is reportedly complete, but as far as is known, these Chinese are still on the Tanzanian mainland. There are other Chinese military advisers on Zanzibar.

22. Information concerning Tanzanian "volunteers" serving with the Congolese rebels is likewise vague. Tanzanians were reported in the Congo south of Bukavu last May, but their presence has never been confirmed.

[redacted] said that some of the rebels who occupied [redacted] from May to October spoke English--and "therefore" were Tanzanian.

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Prospects

23. Now that the rebellion in the northeast appears to be crumbling, in part because of the interdiction of the Sudanese and Ugandan arms routes, pressure to use the Tanzanian route is likely to grow. Since early March, in fact, the use of the Dar-Kigoma route appears to have increased. Rail traffic is said to be heavy, and a restricted air corridor has been established from Kigoma in the direction of Dar. The Kigoma airstrip apparently is to be extended.

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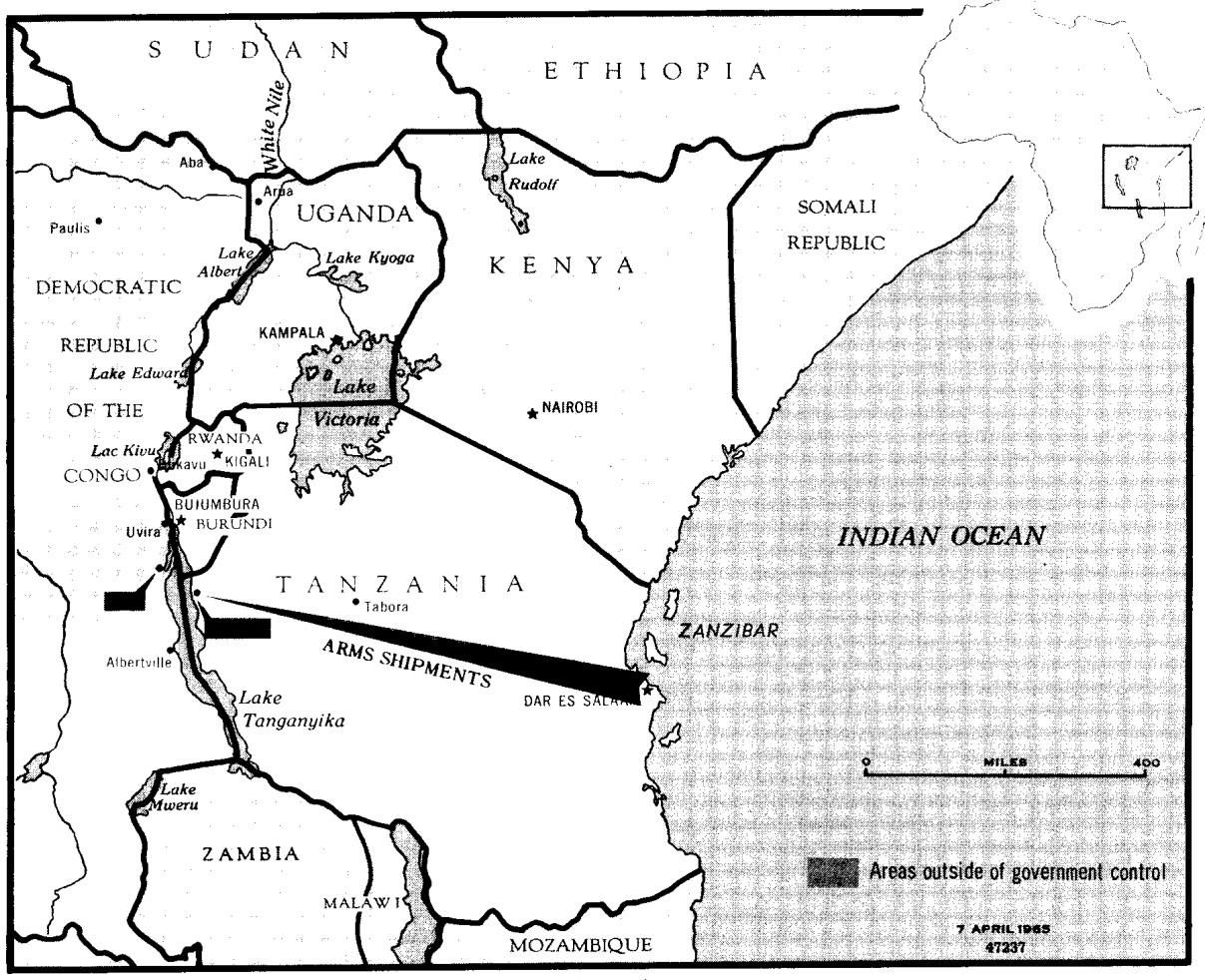
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24. Tanzanian efforts to supply the rebels may be frustrated, however. In early March the Congolese Government mounted a lake patrol--now consisting of eight vessels--and several suspect smuggling boats have been sunk. Also, access through Burundi continues to be denied and Congolese troops still hold Uvira, astride the main road between Burundi and the Congo.

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