

# AIRGRAM

*Pol 23 - State Congo*  
FOR RM USE ONLY

RM/R	REP	AF
1		
ARA	EUR	FE
NEA	CU	INR
		5
E	P	IO
	1	2
L	FSO	AID
		20
	S/P	
AGR	COM	FRD
INT	LAB	TAR
TR	XMB	AIR
		5
ARMY	CIA	NAVY
3	10	3
OSD	USIA	NSA
31	83	
		NSC
		8

A-17

CONFIDENTIAL

AIR ~~POUCH~~

1965 NOV 2 HANDLING INDICATOR

TO : DEPARTMENT OF STATE

INFO: LEOPOLDVILLE, KIGALI, KAMPALA

Dept Please Pass DIA

RM/AN  
ANALYSIS & DISTRIBUTION  
BRANCH

WCC  
AOS

FROM : AmConsulate BUKAVU

DATE: October 29, 1965

SUBJECT: Banyarwanda Disturbances in North Kivu

REF : Contel 43 to Dept, 92 to Leo: 59 to Dept, 124 to Leo.

## Summary

A recent outbreak of violence in Masisi Territory, North Kivu, has resulted in at least two hundred deaths. The source of this violence has been friction between the Banyarwanda and the BaHunde. The Banyarwanda compose 85 to 90 per cent of the territory's population. The BaHunde minority, however, controls virtually all of the territorial governmental apparatus and, hence, the Banyarwanda. BaHunde administration of justice and Banyarwanda property has produced a number of legitimate Banyarwanda grievances. A pacification of the territory by the ANC and provincial police was necessary following an incident occurring on September 17 in which a BaHunde territorial administrator, three policemen, and two Banyarwanda were killed. Most of the deaths were a result of this "pacification". By October 1, an uneasy calm had returned to Masisi. The reporting officer, in a visit to Masisi and North Kivu Province October 4-10, found no evidence of significant numbers of refugees.

For its own political ends, the WaNande-controlled North Kivu Provincial Government seeks to picture the Banyarwanda as refugees (which they are not) and not as Congolese citizens (which they are). This complements the BaHunde position in Masisi Territory. No attempt has been made by the provincial government to correct or even recognize the grievances of the Banyarwanda. Instead, the North Kivu Government claims that there is a vast conspiracy organized by the "Rwandan emigres"

CONFIDENTIAL

FOR DEPT. USE ONLY

☒ In ☐ Out

FORM 4-62 D5-323

Contents and Classification Approved by:  
A. J. Navez, Principal Officer

ck:jgn 10/21/65

DECLASSIFIED

Authority 100 959000

1965 NOV 2 AM 11 13

COPYFLO-PBR

CONFIDENTIAL

Page 2  
A-17  
Bukavu

to attach the four territories having Banyarwanda inhabitants (Goma, Rutshuru, Masisi, and Walikale) to Rwanda. Although the reporting officer found evidence of Banyarwanda organization, the above stated goal appears to be imputed to the Banyarwanda by the North Kivu Government as a justification for further suppression.

Further suppression of the Banyarwanda could lead to an explosive situation. The estimated 280,000 Banyarwanda in Masisi Territory plus Banyarwanda groups in Goma, Rutshuru (over half the population), and Walikale Territories could be a threat to the security of the entire region and the GDRC. At present, there are no indications of rebel attempts to capitalize upon the dissatisfactions of the Banyarwanda. However, this group is presently the most attractive target for rebel recruitment in the Kivu.

#### Ethnic Background and Settlement of the Territory

When the Belgians arrived in the Congo, the area now comprising Masisi Territory was sparsely populated. It was inhabited in the north and west by BaNiang tribesmen, and in the east and south by BaHunde. With population problems in Rwanda-Burundi and the similarity of the Masisi highlands to large areas of Rwanda, the Belgian administration implemented from 1931 a resettlement program of Rwandese in the Congo (MIP - Mouvement de l'Installation de la Population). However, even earlier, from approximately 1918, the immigration to the Congo of Rwandan Hutus (known in the Congo as Banyarwanda) was continual, if irregular.

Relations between the arriving Banyarwanda and the established local tribes in the colonial period were generally good due to Belgian administration. In 1931, the Belgian administrator negotiated with the BaHunde Mwami an agreement which provided that all of the sub-chiefs in the territory occupied by the Banyarwanda would be Banyarwanda, though the land in theory would remain BaHunde-owned and that all the Banyarwanda chiefs would owe allegiance to the Mwami.

By 1960, there were between 210,000 and 280,000 Banyarwanda in Masisi Territory. The latter figure is accepted by the North Kivu Government as the present population. The BaHunde population is currently estimated at between ten and thirty thousand. The former figure is accepted by the North Kivu

CONFIDENTIAL

DECLASSIFIED

Authority *NYO 959000*

CONFIDENTIAL

Page 3  
A- 17  
Bukavu

Government, while the latter is claimed by the BaHunde. There are approximately 10,000 other inhabitants who are assumed to be primarily BaNianga. Thus, of Masisi's approximately 300,000 population, the Banyarwanda compose 85 to 90 per cent.

Suppression of the Masisi Banyarwanda -- Independence Through the 1965 Elections

Between 1960 and 1962, all Banyarwanda sub-chiefs were replaced by BaHunde, contrary to the 1931 agreement (probably a moot point with Congolese independence). The net effect of this change was that all local courts, administration and police became BaHunde-controlled. Since local courts in almost all cases rule according to tribal custom, this was hardly acceptable to the Banyarwanda with different customs from the BaHunde.

With the split of the Kivu into three provinces in 1962, the Banyarwanda became involved with the Goma/Rutshuru dispute between North Kivu and Central Kivu. The Banyarwanda were accused by the North Kivu government of fomenting violence in Masisi to force the Central Congolese Government to proclaim an "état d'urgence". The "état d'urgence" was allegedly sought so that a referendum could determine in which province Masisi Territory would be included. The degree of Masisi Banyarwanda involvement in the dispute, to say the least, is and was problematical. All that can be said with certainty is that there was in 1962-63 frequent violence in Masisi.

The Banyarwanda have never been represented in the various provincial governments in proportion to their numbers. In the 1960 elections, only two of 12 deputies from Masisi were Banyarwanda. When Kivu Province was split, both of these deputies voted against the creation of the Province of North Kivu. These two deputies (Francois NVUYEKURE and Jean Nepomucene RWIYEREKA) were and are now considered as subversives by the North Kivu Government. Both of them are presently residing in Central Kivu.

Political suppression of the Banyarwanda, however, only became acute with the 1965 elections. In both the 1960 and 1964 elections, the vast majority of Banyarwanda were considered citizens and allowed to vote. The charges that the Banyarwanda are refugees and not Congolese citizens are a result of the political maneuvering in the most recent elections.

DECLASSIFIED

Authority *MM 959000*

CONFIDENTIAL



CONFIDENTIAL

Page 4  
A- 17  
Bukavu

The three principal political parties active in Masisi Territory are PANACO (Parti National Congolais), FROCONKI (Front Commun du Nord Kivu), and UNORKI (Union du Nord Kivu). The territory is divided into two chefferies with PANACO strongly organized in BANYUNGU Chefferie and FROCONKI strongly organized in WASHALI Chefferie. In the 1965 elections, these two political parties excluded Banyarwanda candidates from their lists (with one FROCONKI exception), though both parties had promised that Banyarwanda would be included. Banyarwanda leaders discovered on the day before the deadline for filing that they had been excluded.

The Banyarwanda response on the eve of the filing deadline (March 17) was to organize UNORKI as a party to present Banyarwanda candidates. Eleuthère NKINAMUBANZI from Rutshuru Territory was elected president. The party then filed a list of six candidates for provincial deputies in Masisi Territory and a list of three candidates for National Deputies. (See Appendix A for the list of candidates.)

Considering the large Banyarwanda majority in Masisi, PANACO and FROCONKI were confronted by the possibility of overwhelming defeat by the loosely organized UNORKI. These two parties protested to the provincial Bureau principal de vote that the Banyarwanda candidates were not Congolese citizens. FROCONKI was in an excellent position to influence the Bureau, as its national president is Benezeth MOLEY, then Governor of North Kivu. In any event, the Bureau principal de vote ruled that five of the six UNORKI candidates for provincial deputy were not Congolese citizens.

UNORKI responded by asking all Banyarwanda in the territory to unite in supporting the one remaining candidate, Stanislar GATABAZI, on the UNORKI list for provincial deputy. At the same time, the party appealed to the Tribunal de Première Instance in Bukavu. The court ruled that all five candidates were, in fact, Congolese citizens, and that the Bureau principal de vote had acted illegally in excluding them. However, this judgment was not made until after the elections had been conducted in North Kivu. UNORKI then submitted the court judgment to the Cour d'Appel in Leopoldville. This court in August returned all submitted documents to UNORKI with a short ambiguous statement indicating in effect that they were returning all documents.

DECLASSIFIED

Authority *11/11 959000*

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

Page 5  
A- 17  
Bukavu

In the election, Gatabazi was not elected in spite of the overwhelming Banyarwanda majority in the territory. Though the Banyarwanda had little difficulty voting in 1960 and 1964, this was not the case in 1965. Any Banyarwanda who was born in the Congo or who had spent ten years in the Congo was, according to the 1960 Constitution, a citizen and, if male, entitled to vote. In the registration process, however, BaHunde administrators indiscriminantly stamped refugee in the identity cards of Banyarwanda effectively excluding them from the polls. Additional Banyarwanda, who did not have the refugee stamp in their documents, were turned away from the polls. For the Banyarwanda who were able to vote, there are indications that their ballots were not counted. At almost all of the polling places, the BaHunde administrators refused to allow UNORKI poll watchers (witnesses) to be present either for the voting or the tallying of the ballots.

The vote total for Masisi Territory officially was 23,823. PANACO won four provincial assembly seats with 9,395 votes. FROCONKI won six seats with 11,469 votes. UNORKI, with 1,137 votes, won no assembly seats. (The remainder of the votes went to individual candidates.) Assuming an absolute minimum of 50 to 75 thousand eligible Banyarwanda voters in the territory and loose UNORKI organization, the vote totals indicate considerable fraud.

The net effect of the suppression of the Banyarwanda in the 1965 elections was to reinforce the positions of the BaHunde administrators in the territory. The election created the general impression among the BaHunde and other tribal groups that the Banyarwanda were not Congolese citizens and that this made their property ripe for expropriation.

#### Recent Violence in Masisi

Fragmentary reports of localized violence have been filtering out of Masisi since July. The most serious incident occurred either September 17 or 18 at NYAMITABA, northwest area of Masisi. The BaHunde chef de poste at Nyamitaba, accompanied by three policemen, took from two merchants at the local market the equivalent of a cow carcass. When they refused to pay for the meat, a brawl ensued. Upon the order of the chef de poste, the three policemen fired into the two to three hundred Banyarwanda at the market killing two of them. After the police exhausted their ammunition, the crowd killed them and the chef de poste.

CONFIDENTIAL

DECLASSIFIED

Authority *AND 959000*

CONFIDENTIAL

Page 6  
A- 17  
Bukavu

Following the incident at Nyamitaba, ANC and provincial police reinforcements were sent into the troubled Burungu-Nyamitaba-Mweso triangle. One of their first actions was to execute all the prisoners in the Mweso jail. The director of the Lever tea plantation at Mweso reported that 86 Banyarwanda were killed on a bridge between the plantation and Mweso.

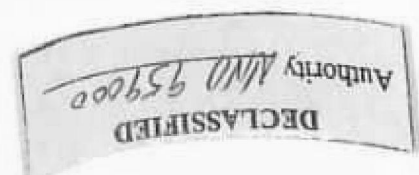
ANC and police pacification was not limited to the most troubled triangle area. There is considerable doubt about whether later incidents were actually caused by Banyarwanda or were the result of the pacification drive itself. BaHunde administrators and police probably seized upon present difficulties as an opportunity to eliminate troublesome Banyarwanda leaders and confiscate Banyarwanda property (particularly cattle).

In the area west of the village of MASISI (central Masisi Territory), tribal disturbances appeared to be limited to the burning of Banyarwanda villages and the confiscation of cattle by the BaHunde.

It is difficult to estimate the number of deaths caused by this uprising. The provincial government estimates that between 160 and 200 people were killed between September 17 and October 1. This estimate is probably low. On October 9, while visiting Mweso, the reporting officer asked the officer who had commanded the ANC unit at Mweso until October 5 for his estimate of casualties. He said that it was impossible to count the number killed as his soldiers in the bush killed anyone carrying a spear. He laughed at provincial government casualty estimates.

The recent violence appears to have subsided for the moment. European planters and Congolese merchants have been freely moving in the territory since the ANC removed its roadblock at SAKE (southern Masisi Territory on the principal access road from Goma) on October 4. The reporting officer drove through what had been the most troubled portion of the territory without any difficulty whatsoever October 8 and 9. The ANC garrison at Mweso reported that everything had been calm since October 1. They added, however, that it was not safe to drive through the area at night, because there were still large numbers of Banyarwanda hiding in the hills, and they occasionally descended into the valleys at night.

CONFIDENTIAL





CONFIDENTIAL

Page 7  
A- 17  
Bukavu

### Refugees

The reporting officer found no evidence of large numbers of refugees fleeing Masisi Territory. Mwami Daniel NDEZE (Grand Chief of the Banyarwanda who resides in Rutshuru) said on October 7 that there were 100 refugees in Rutshuru. American missionaries from the Mission Baptiste du Kivu (MBK) station at SINGA (approximately 15 to 20 kilometers north of the Masisi frontier in a Banyarwanda tribal area) reported 20 to 25 refugees living on mission property as of October 8. MBK missionaries at KIHINDO (extreme southern Masisi Territory) said that there were several wounded Banyarwanda in their mission hospital. Thirty refugees are living at the Singa Mission. In addition to these refugees on the periphery of Masisi Territory, there is a small group of Banyarwanda political leaders hiding in KISENYI, Rwanda.

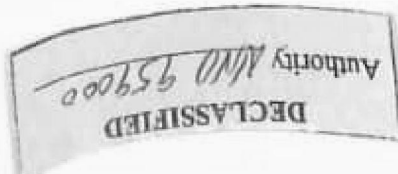
Although there is no serious refugee problem at the present time, there is a good possibility that there will be in four to six months. Planters and missionaries of the region informed the reporting officer that because of the troubles in the region since July, many Banyarwanda had not planted their crops. This combined with extensive loss of livestock may eventually bring famine to the area.

### Attitude of the North Kivu Government and Banyarwanda Organization

Governor PALUKU frankly summed up the attitude of the North Kivu Government when he told the reporting officer on October 6, "I have nothing to gain and everything to lose. It is an affair between the BaHunde and the Banyarwanda." In terms of his WaNande tribal background and short-run political expediency, the governor would be foolish to aid the Banyarwanda. The Banyarwanda are the only other tribal group in the province of sufficient size potentially to threaten the WaNande hegemony.

BaHunde domination of Masisi certainly aids Paluku's political position in the province. Up to the present time, the North Kivu Government has made only a series of empty gestures toward conciliation and mediation between the two groups. For example, a seven-member commission of reconciliation was established. It was composed of one Banyarwanda, two BaHunde, three WaNande (with a WaNande chairman) and one colon. The composition speaks for itself. Aside from the arrest of several BaHunde, the only action taken by the North Kivu Government was to ask for and receive more troops for the territory.

CONFIDENTIAL



Provincial government public statements and items in the official propaganda organ, "La Voix du Nord-Kivu", consistently stress two themes: (1) The Banyarwanda are imigreees and not Congolese citizens; and (2) There is a Banyarwanda organization called KANYARWANDA (Unity of all Rwandese) whose goal is the inclusion of Goma, Rutshuru, Masisi, and Walikale Territories in Rwanda. The North Kivu authorities contend that this movement has established a parallel governmental organization to the North Kivu provincial government. The ANC garrison in Masisi Territory has a list of 76 individuals who are allegedly functionaires in this government. North Kivu has announced at various times that the organization is headed by Herman Francois Kivaye MITIBURO, Théodomire NZAMUKWEREKA, Eleuthère NKINAMUBANZI, and Sylvestre KAZUBA.

On October 9, the reporting officer interviewed Nkinamubanzi (see Appendix B for biographic report) in Kisenyi, Rwanda, where he is presently a refugee. Nkinamubanzi was not particularly forthcoming about Banyarwanda activities in the last several months. After reviewing the 1965 elections and the formation of UNORKI (of which he is president), he denied that there was a "KANYARWANDA" organization. He admitted in the next breath, however, that he is president of an organization called ABIBUBYE. He said that the organization's name could be translated as unity. He declined to comment on the organization's activities, stating that he was opposed to violence and civil disorder. When asked about a parallel organization to the North Kivu government, he denied the existence of any such organization. He said that the charges probably originated in the fact that the Banyarwanda in Masisi Territory had organized tribal courts to decide cases according to Banyarwanda tribal custom. In the tribal context, this appears as a natural outgrowth of the BaHunde replacement of all Banyarwanda sub-chiefs and in itself does not imply "a larger Banyarwanda organization".

Given the sparcity of information, it is not possible to determine the nature, strengths, and weaknesses of Banyarwanda organization. There has never been any strong organization among the Banyarwanda above that of the clan. Banyarwanda in the Congo are from numerous different clans (variously estimated from 60 to 200 clans). With no strong traditional organization as a base, early attempts at organization may be futile. However, common grievances and oppression can over a longer period of time provide the impetus for a strong Banyarwanda organization.



Conclusion

With the North Kivu Government behind the BaHunde in their domination of the Banyarwanda, the situation in Masisi Territory can only become more acute. The only courses of action open to the Banyarwanda are submission or organization and resistance. The Banyarwanda appear to have chosen the latter after learning in the 1965 elections that cooperation was not an alternative. The nature of this organization and the type of resistance are yet to be seen. The ANC method of pacification, however, suggests that the resistance will be in the form of violence.

The BaHunde-Banyarwanda tribal dispute is only the exposed surface of an iceberg. The real dispute is between the two largest ethnic groups in the Province -- the Banyarwanda and the WaNande. At the present time, only the WaNande are unified and organized in the AWABELO party (Association de BaNande de Beni et Lubero). This organization has in five years risen from humble origins to control the North Kivu Government. The WaNande are using the small BaHunde tribe to suppress the political expression of the Banyarwanda who are numerically superior and their greatest potential rivals. As yet, the Banyarwanda leaders have not realized that their real difficulty is with the WaNande and not the BaHunde.

*André J. Navez*  
André J. Navez  
American Consul

Attachments: *et al*

1. Appendix A
2. Appendix B

