Theme III: Conflict and Cooperation (1945-2000)

# Conflict and Cooperation (1945-2000)

# Topic 3: Congo Crisis (1960-1965)

SAJC History Unit, 2024

Learning Outcomes (from the Examination Syllabus)	4
Essential Questions for this topic:	4
Guiding Questions for this topic:	4
Introduction to Intra-state Conflicts	5
1.1 Understanding root causes	6
1.2 Illustration of complexity	6
1.3 Key terms and concepts	6
2. Overview of Case Study: The Congo Crisis	7
2.1 Background of the Congo Crisis	7
2.2 Post-Colonial Conflict	8
2.3 Key Issues of the Congro Crisis	9
3. Causes of the Congo Crisis	9
3.1 Political Causes	9
3.1.1 Post-Colonial Power Struggles	9
3.2 Economic Causes	10
3.2.1 Resource Wealth and Economic Exploitation	10

Saint Andrew's Junior College (2024)

**9174/01 H2 History Paper 1**Theme III: Conflict and Cooperation (1945-2000)

3.3	Eth	nnic and Religious Nationalisms	12
3.	3.1	Ethnic Tensions	12
3.	3.2	Religious Nationalism	12
3.4	Ide	eological Causes	13
4. Do	omes	tic Actors	15
4.1	Ke	y Domestic Actors	15
4.2	Int	eraction Between Domestic Actors and the Conflict Dynamics	19
5. In	terna	ational Actors	20
5.1	Be	gium's Role in the crisis	20
5.	1.1	Colonial Legacy and Initial involvement	20
5.	1.2	Military Intervention and International Criticism	22
5.	1.3	Withdrawal and Continued Influence	23
6. U	nited	State's Role in the crisis	23
6.1	Со	ld War Context	23
6.2	CIA	A Involvement and Lumumba's Assassination	24
6.3	Su	pport for Mobutu and the Anti-Communist Agenda	24
6.4	UN	Involvement	25
7. Sc	oviet	Union's Role in the crisis	26
7.1	US	SR's support for Patrick Lumumba	26
7.2	Со	ld War Dynamics	27
7.3	Aft	er Lumumba's Downfall	27
7.4	Su	pport for Lumumbists and Opposition Movements	28
Saint	Andrew	r's Junior College (2024)	5

9174/01 H2 History Paper 1
Theme III: Conflict and Cooperation (1945-2000)

8. Ch	allenges, Impact and Legacy	29
9 Co	nflict Management in the Congo Crisis	30
9.1	UN Operations in the Congo (ONUC 1960-1964)	30
9.2	Rise of Mobutu's Authoritarian Rule (1965)	33
10. Lo	ng-Term impacts of Conflict Management Strategies	33
10.1	Mobutu's Long Reign	33
11. Lessons Learnt		
11.1	Role of International Organisations	35
11	.1.1 UN's involvement	35
12. Co	mplexity of post-conflict reconstruction	35
12.1	Necessity of addressing underlying issues	35
14. Co	nclusion and Food for Thought	36

Theme III: Conflict and Cooperation (1945-2000)

# **Learning Outcomes (from the Examination Syllabus)**

#### Students are able to:

- evaluate causes of conflicts
- evaluate the roles of different actors in the development of conflicts over time
- evaluate the effectiveness of conflict management

# **Essential Questions for this topic:**

- Why did conflicts occur and how did they affect the international order?
- Why do countries/ethnic groups engage in war and conflict with one another?
- Why do wars and conflicts usually remain protracted and difficult to resolve?
- What are the consequences of war and conflict for affected countries and the region at large?
- How effective were the attempts to manage these conflicts?

# **Guiding Questions for this topic:**

- What were the primary causes of the Congo Crisis?
- Who were the key players involved in the Congo Crisis?
- What factors make intra-state conflicts particularly challenging to resolve?
- What was the role of the United Nations during the Congo Crisis?

Theme III: Conflict and Cooperation (1945-2000)

- How effective was the UN's ONUC mission in managing the Congo Crisis?
- How did Cold War dynamics influence the Congo Crisis?
- What role did international actors play in the Congo Crisis and how did their involvement shape the conflict?
- What were the significant outcomes of the Congo Crisis?
- How did ethnicity and regionalism contribute to the complexity of the crisis?
- What was the impact of the Congo Crisis on international law and peace processes?

# 1. Introduction to Intra-state Conflicts

- Intra-state conflicts are conflicts that take place within the borders of a single country, distinguishing them from inter-state conflicts, which involve multiple sovereign states. These conflicts typically involve a government facing opposition from various non-state actors, such as:
- Rebel Factions: Groups that challenge the government's authority, often seeking to overthrow the current regime, gain autonomy, or control resources.
- Ethnic Groups: Conflicts that arise when ethnic minorities or majorities seek greater rights, autonomy, or independence, often due to perceived or real marginalisation.
- Religious Communities: Religious groups might engage in conflict due to ideological differences, discrimination, or the desire to establish a state based on religious principles.

Theme III: Conflict and Cooperation (1945-2000)

#### 1.1 Understanding root causes

- Studying intra-state conflicts helps in identifying the underlying issues that lead to such conflicts, such as ethnic tensions, political power struggles, economic inequalities, and historical grievances. This understanding is crucial for developing strategies to prevent or resolve conflicts.
- By examining the Congo Crisis, one can see how these factors interact to create complex conflict situations that are often difficult to resolve.
- Intra-state conflicts are not confined within national borders; they often have regional and global implications. Refugee flows, cross-border insurgencies, and the involvement of foreign powers can destabilise neighbouring countries and even lead to broader regional conflicts.
- Many contemporary conflicts, such as the Syrian Civil War, the conflicts in Sudan, and the ongoing instability in the Democratic Republic of Congo, share characteristics with historical intra-state conflicts. Understanding past conflicts provides valuable insights into the dynamics of modern conflicts, helping policymakers, scholars, and international organisations address these challenges more effectively.

# 1.2 Illustration of complexity

• The Congo Crisis exemplify the complexity of intra-state conflicts. The crisis involved multiple actors with competing interests, both domestic and international. This show how internal struggles for power, resources, and identity can draw in external powers, leading to prolonged and devastating conflicts.

# 1.3 Key terms and concepts

- Intra-State Conflict: Conflicts occurring within a single country, involving the government and various internal groups, often driven by political, economic, ethnic, or religious factors.
- Secession: The act of a region or group attempting to break away from a country to form an independent state, often leading to conflict with the central government.

Theme III: Conflict and Cooperation (1945-2000)

- Ethnic Cleansing: The systematic and forced removal of ethnic or religious groups from a given territory, often involving violence and human rights abuses.
- Cold War Dynamics: The global struggle between the U.S. and Soviet Union, influencing conflicts around the world by supporting opposing factions.

# 2 Overview of Case Studies: The Congo Crisis

#### 2.1 Background of the Congo Crisis

- Congo was a major African state, 3rd in size among the African nations and 5th in terms of population and was formerly ruled by Belgium.
- The Congo Crisis arose out of the decolonisation process that began in the 1950s where many states were granted independence without the proper socio economic and political requisites and preparation necessary for independence.
- Compounding the problem was the existence of a major social and political discrepancy in the country the middle and upper echelons of the government and military were dominated by Belgians and other Europeans. There were few highly educated Congolese in a population of about 14 million at the time of independence.
- On 5 July 1960, the Congo was declared independent prematurely, without adequate preparation prior for self-rule by the natives.
- The Belgians were apprehensive of the political and security dangers inherent in a protracted pre-independence phase and uncertain of its capacity to manage them. Panicking at the first stirrings of African nationalism, the Belgians rushed to withdraw, allowing only six months between the announcement and the actual withdrawal.
- In July 1960, the Congolese National Army (ANC) mutinied against their Belgian officers, ushering in a period of civil disorder, violation and murder.
- Belgian forces took action to repress the riots, however, at this time, the Congo was already independent; therefore, this act was deemed as external intervention on the part of Belgium.

Theme III: Conflict and Cooperation (1945-2000)

- To add to the political and social chaos, Moise Tshombe of Katanga, a major political leader in the Congo, declared Katanga province independent of the Congo government on 11 July 1960, with the help of Belgian forces.
- All these developments threatened the existence of the infant state. On 12 July 1960, within two weeks of independence, the Congo's prime minister Patrice Lumumba and its president Joseph Kasa-Vubu sought UN help to deal with a major crisis in the authority of the new state.

#### 2.2 Post-Colonial Conflict

- The Congo Crisis, unfolding between 1960 and 1965, was a turbulent and defining period in the history of the newly independent Democratic Republic of the Congo (then known as the Republic of the Congo). This crisis commenced almost immediately after the country gained independence from Belgian colonial rule on June 30, 1960.
- The rapid departure of the colonial power left a power vacuum, leading to internal conflicts among different factions. The sudden transition to self-governance was marred by political instability, secessionist movements, and foreign interference, casting a long shadow on the nation's nascent democracy.
- Key political figures, including Prime Minister Patrice Lumumba and President Joseph Kasavubu, became embroiled in power struggles, exacerbating the fragile state of the newly independent nation. Ethnic tensions amplified the discord, leading to violent outbreaks and secession attempts, most notably in the resource-rich Katanga province under Moise Tshombe. The United Nations intervened with peacekeeping forces, while Cold War dynamics saw the United States and the Soviet Union vying for influence in the region.
- The assassination of Lumumba in 1961, a tragic event, further inflamed the conflict. It wasn't until the rise of Joseph-Desiré Mobutu, later known as Mobutu Sese Seko, and his eventual coup d'état in November 1965, that a semblance of stability returned, albeit under dictatorial rule. The Congo Crisis left enduring scars on the nation, influencing its socio-political landscape for decades to come.

Theme III: Conflict and Cooperation (1945-2000)

# 2.3 Key Issues of the Congo Crisis

- **Regionalism and Secession**: The secession of the mineral-rich Katanga province, led by Moïse Tshombe, was a central issue in the crisis. This secession was driven by both local ambitions and external interests, particularly Belgium's desire to maintain control over Katanga's resources.
- **Cold War Dynamics**: The crisis occurred during the Cold War, with the U.S. and Soviet Union supporting different factions in Congo. Patrice Lumumba's alignment with the Soviet Union led to U.S. support for his opponents, including Joseph Mobutu, who eventually took control of the country.

# 3 Causes of the Congo Crisis

#### 3.1 Political Causes

#### 3.1.1. Congo Crisis: Post-Colonial Power Struggles

- Chaotic Transition to Independence: When Congo gained independence from Belgium on June 30, 1960, the transition was poorly managed. The country lacked experienced leaders, administrative structures, and cohesive national unity, leading to immediate instability. Belgium's abrupt withdrawal left a power vacuum that various factions sought to fill, leading to intense political struggles.
- Internal Power Struggles: Patrice Lumumba, Congo's first Prime Minister, aimed to unify the country and assert control over its vast territory. However, he faced opposition from several quarters, including President Joseph Kasa-Vubu, who represented a more conservative faction, and Joseph Mobutu, a military leader who would later play a pivotal role in Lumumba's downfall. Lumumba's attempts to centralize power and reduce regional autonomy alienated many regional leaders, who saw him as a threat to their interests. This led to a series of power struggles and political maneuvering, with different factions seeking to oust Lumumba and gain control of the government. These internal divisions were exacerbated by external pressures and Cold War dynamics.

Theme III: Conflict and Cooperation (1945-2000)

- The political landscape of the Congo at the time of independence was highly fragmented. Numerous political parties and movements emerged, each representing different regions, ethnic groups, and ideologies. This fragmentation made it challenging to form a cohesive government capable of addressing the country's pressing issues. The first post-independence government, led by Prime Minister Patrice Lumumba, was a coalition of various parties with differing agendas. This lack of unity within the government hindered its ability to implement effective policies and respond to crises. Political fragmentation also contributed to the proliferation of regional and local power centers, further undermining the authority of the central government.
- **Cold War Alignments**: Lumumba's decision to seek assistance from the Soviet Union when Western powers, including the United States, refused to help him, was driven by his desire to maintain Congo's sovereignty and resist neocolonial influence. However, in the context of the Cold War, this move was perceived as aligning Congo with the Eastern Bloc, intensifying both internal and external opposition. The United States, fearing Soviet influence in Africa, supported Lumumba's rivals, contributing to his eventual overthrow and assassination.

#### 3.2 Economic Causes

#### 3.2.1. Resource Wealth and Economic Exploitation

- **Vast Mineral Wealth**: Congo's immense mineral wealth, particularly in the Katanga region, made it a focal point for both domestic and international interests. Katanga's resources, including copper, cobalt, and uranium, were vital to the global economy, especially in the context of the Cold War.
- Copper and cobalt were critical for industrial production, while uranium was of strategic importance for nuclear weapons and energy. The control of these resources was a major concern for both domestic and international actors. Foreign mining companies, particularly those from Belgium and other Western countries, had significant investments in Katanga and were keen to protect their interests.
- **Secession of Katanga**: The roots of the Katanga secession can be traced back to the colonial era when Belgium ruled Congo. The Belgian administration had developed Katanga into a prosperous region due to its vast mineral wealth, particularly copper and uranium. The Union Minière du Haut Katanga (UMHK),

Theme III: Conflict and Cooperation (1945-2000)

a powerful mining company, played a central role in the province's politics and economy, significantly contributing to Congo's revenue

• Moïse Tshombe, leader of Katanga, declared the province's secession from Congo to protect its resources and maintain control over the lucrative mining industry. He argued that Katanga's wealth should benefit its people rather than being controlled by a distant and unstable central government. This secession, supported by Belgium and Western corporations, led to a major conflict as the central government sought to reintegrate Katanga.

**Complications**: **Belgian Support**: Belgium, seeking to maintain control over Katanga's valuable resources, supported the secession. This included the involvement of Belgian troops and mercenaries, which exacerbated the conflict.

- **Neo-Colonial Interests**: Belgium, along with other Western powers, had significant economic interests in Congo, particularly in Katanga's mining sector. The secession of Katanga received significant support from Belgium and Western corporations with vested interests in the region's mineral wealth. Belgium, which had maintained close ties with Katanga's mining industry, saw the secession as a way to protect its economic interests. Western corporations, including UMHK, also supported Tshombe's move, fearing that a centralised Congolese government might nationalise the mining industry. This external support provided Tshombe with the resources and legitimacy he needed to sustain the secessionist movement.
- The Cold War further complicated the situation, as the U.S. and its allies were determined to prevent these resources from falling under Soviet influence. The United States, viewing the Congo as strategically important due to its rich mineral resources and its location in the heart of Africa, quickly became involved in the crisis. The U.S. was particularly concerned about the potential for Soviet influence in the region, given the Congo's uranium deposits, which were crucial for nuclear weapons production. This intersection of economic interests and Cold War politics fuelled the crisis.

Theme III: Conflict and Cooperation (1945-2000)

#### 3.3 Ethnic and Religious Nationalisms

#### 3.3.1. Ethnic Tensions

- **Ethnic Diversity**: The Congo's ethnic diversity is vast, with over 200 ethnic groups residing within its borders. Among these, the Luba and Lulua are two of the most prominent. The Luba people primarily inhabit the Kasai region, while the Lulua are found in the same area but have distinct cultural and historical backgrounds. During the colonial period, the Belgian administration employed a strategy of "divide and rule," which involved manipulating ethnic divisions to maintain control over the population. This policy sowed seeds of mistrust and rivalry among different ethnic groups, creating a legacy of ethnic tension that would later erupt into conflict.
- Congo's ethnic diversity became a source of conflict as different factions sought to control regions rich in resources. The colonial practice of dividing and ruling had left a legacy of ethnic rivalry, which intensified after independence.
- **Power Vacuum and Escalation of Ethnic Violence**: The assassination of Lumumba created a power vacuum, leading to increased ethnic violence as various groups vied for control. Lumumba had been a unifying figure, and his absence led to a fragmentation of political power.
- As the central government weakened, ethnic militias began to form, often along tribal lines and the conflict took on an increasingly ethnic dimension, further destabilising the country. The formation of ethnic militias led to an escalation of violence. The violence was not just limited to skirmishes between militias; it also involved attacks on civilians, leading to widespread suffering and displacement.

#### 3.3.2. Religious Nationalism

• The roots of religious nationalisms in Congo can be traced back to the colonial period when Belgian authorities sought to impose Christianity on the indigenous population. This imposition often led to the suppression of traditional beliefs and practices, creating a sense of cultural alienation among the Congolese people. In response, many Congolese turned to syncretic religious movements that combined elements of Christianity with indigenous beliefs. These movements provided a sense of identity and resistance against

Theme III: Conflict and Cooperation (1945-2000)

colonial rule, laying the groundwork for the religious nationalisms that would emerge in the post-independence period.

- One of the most prominent figures in the religious nationalist movement in Congo was Simon Kimbangu. Kimbangu, a Baptist catechist, founded the Kimbanguist Church in the 1920s, which combined Christian teachings with traditional African beliefs. His movement gained significant traction among the Congolese population, who saw it as a means of resisting colonial oppression.
- Religious nationalisms played a multifaceted role in the crisis that engulfed Congo between 1960 and 1965. On one hand, these movements provided a sense of identity and solidarity for the Congolese people, who were grappling with the challenges of independence and the legacy of colonial rule. The Kimbanguist Church, for example, offered a unifying vision that combined religious and nationalistic elements, helping to foster a sense of collective purpose among its followers.
- However, religious nationalisms also contributed to the fragmentation and instability of the newly independent Congo. The Kimbanguist Church, for instance, often found itself at odds with the central government, which viewed the church's influence as a threat to its authority. This tension was exacerbated by the fact that the Kimbanguist Church had a significant following in the Bas-Congo region, which sought greater autonomy from the central government. The church's support for regional autonomy further fueled the secessionist tendencies that plagued Congo during this period, contributing to the broader crisis.

# 3.4 Ideological Causes

- The ideological aspect of the Congo Crisis was heavily influenced by Cold War dynamics. The ideological battle between communism and capitalism played out in Congo, with Lumumba's government seen as a potential ally of the Soviet Union and a threat to Western interests. This ideological struggle influenced foreign interventions, including the support given to rival factions by both the Soviet Union and Western powers.
- Lumumba was a nationalist and a Pan-Africanist who believed in the unity and self-determination of African nations. He was deeply influenced by the anti-colonial movements and the broader struggle against imperialism. His vision for the Congo was one of economic independence, social justice, and

Theme III: Conflict and Cooperation (1945-2000)

political sovereignty. Lumumba's ideological leanings made him wary of Western powers, particularly Belgium and the United States, which he perceived as neo-colonial forces seeking to maintain their influence over the Congo's vast natural resources.

- Lumumba initially sought assistance from the United Nations (UN) to quell the secessionist movements and stabilise the country. However, he grew increasingly frustrated with the UN's perceived inaction and bias towards Western interests. This frustration led him to seek support from the Soviet Union, which was eager to expand its influence in Africa. Lumumba's rhetoric and policies were perceived as leaning towards socialism, which made him a target of Western suspicion and intervention.
- The United States and its Western allies were alarmed and determined to prevent the spread of communism in Africa, viewing the continent as a critical battleground in the Cold War. The Soviet Union, on the other hand, sought to expand its influence by supporting anti-colonial movements and newly independent states that were sympathetic to socialist ideals. This ideological clash led to a series of interventions by both superpowers, each supporting different factions within the Congo.
- The ideological aspect of the Congo Crisis was further highlighted by the involvement of the Soviet Union and its allies. The Soviet Union provided military and logistical support to Lumumba's supporters, including the Simba rebels, who launched a major offensive in 1964. The Simba rebellion was characterised by its anti-Western and pro-socialist rhetoric, which attracted the attention of the United States and its allies. In response, the United States provided military assistance to the Congolese government, led by Joseph-Désiré Mobutu, who had emerged as a key figure in the fight against the rebels.
- Mobutu's rise to power was emblematic of the broader ideological struggle in the Congo. Initially a supporter of Lumumba, Mobutu shifted his allegiance to the West, positioning himself as a bulwark against communism. With the backing of the United States and Belgium, Mobutu consolidated his power, eventually becoming the President of the Congo (later renamed Zaire) in 1965. Mobutu's regime was characterised by its pro-Western stance and authoritarian rule, which ensured the continued support of Western powers throughout the Cold War.

Theme III: Conflict and Cooperation (1945-2000)

# **4 Domestic Actors**

# **4.1 Key Domestic Actors**

#### **Patrice Lumumba**

- **Prime Minister and Nationalist Leader**: Patrice Lumumba was a charismatic and nationalist leader who became Congo's first Prime Minister after its independence from Belgium in 1960. Lumumba's vision was to create a unified and sovereign Congo, free from neocolonial influence. He sought to centralise power and assert control over the entire country, which was fragmented along ethnic and regional lines. Lumumba believed that a strong central government was essential for maintaining national unity and fostering economic development. He was committed to eradicating the vestiges of colonialism and promoting social justice, economic self-sufficiency, and political sovereignty.
- Confrontation with Secessionists and Cold War Dynamics: Lumumba's efforts to unify Congo under his leadership clashed with regional leaders, particularly Moïse Tshombe of Katanga, who had secessionist ambitions. When Lumumba turned to the Soviet Union for support against these internal threats, it heightened tensions with the United States and Belgium, who viewed him as a potential ally of the Soviet bloc in the Cold War. This alignment with the Soviet Union, whether real or perceived, led to Western-backed efforts to undermine his government.
- Assassination and Martyrdom: In September 1960, Lumumba was dismissed from his position as Prime Minister by President Joseph Kasavubu, a move that was supported by Western powers. Lumumba's subsequent attempts to regain power were thwarted by a combination of internal opposition and external interference. In December 1960, Lumumba was captured by forces loyal to Colonel Joseph Mobutu, who had the backing of the CIA. Lumumba's transfer to Katanga, where he was brutally executed in January 1961, marked the tragic end of his leadership and the beginning of a prolonged period of instability and conflict in Congo.
- Lumumba's increasing isolation, both domestically and internationally, led to his arrest and eventual assassination in January 1961, with the complicity of Belgian officers and support from the United States. Lumumba's assassination removed a key unifying figure and plunged Congo further into

Theme III: Conflict and Cooperation (1945-2000)

chaos. His death also turned him into a symbol of anti-colonial struggle and a martyr for African nationalism.

• **Turning Point**: The assassination marked a significant turning point, leading to further instability and power struggles within Congo.

#### Moïse Tshombe

- **Leader of Katanga Secession**: Moïse Tshombe was the leader of the mineral-rich province of Katanga, which declared independence from Congo shortly after the country gained independence. Tshombe's secessionist ambitions were driven by both economic interests—particularly the control of Katanga's vast mineral wealth—and by regional and ethnic considerations.
- Katanga was rich in valuable resources such as copper, cobalt, and uranium, which were crucial to the global economy. The province's mineral wealth made it an economic powerhouse within Congo, and Tshombe sought to leverage this wealth to establish an independent state. By controlling Katanga's resources, Tshombe believed he could create a prosperous and stable nation, free from the political turmoil that plagued the rest of Congo.
- Katanga was home to a diverse population, including the Lunda, Luba, and other ethnic groups. Tshombe, a member of the Lunda ethnic group, sought to capitalise on regional and ethnic divisions to garner support for his secessionist movement. He portrayed the central Congolese government as dominated by other ethnic groups, particularly the Luba, and argued that Katanga's interests would be better served by an independent state.
- Tshombe's secessionist rhetoric resonated with many Katangans who felt marginalised by the central government. The promise of greater autonomy and control over their resources appealed to those who believed that Katanga's wealth was being exploited for the benefit of other regions. By framing the secessionist movement in terms of regional and ethnic identity, Tshombe was able to build a broad base of support within Katanga.
- **Belgian Support and Conflict with Lumumba**: Tshombe received substantial support from Belgium, which had significant economic interests in Katanga, as well as from Western corporations eager to maintain control over the province's resources.

Theme III: Conflict and Cooperation (1945-2000)

- The economic interests driving Tshombe's secession were not solely his own. Foreign mining companies, particularly the Belgian mining giant Union Minière du Haut Katanga, had significant investments in Katanga's mineral resources. These companies were concerned about the potential nationalisation of their assets by the central Congolese government and saw Tshombe's secession as a way to protect their interests. As a result, they provided financial and logistical support to Tshombe's secessionist movement, further fueling the conflict.
- Tshombe's secession was a direct challenge to Lumumba's efforts to maintain Congo's territorial integrity, leading to a major internal conflict that drew in foreign intervention.
- Role in Congo's Fragmentation: Tshombe's actions contributed to the fragmentation of Congo and prolonged the crisis. Although his secessionist state was eventually defeated by UN forces, Tshombe remained a significant figure in Congolese politics. He later became Prime Minister of Congo in 1964, but his tenure was short-lived, and he was eventually forced into exile.

#### Joseph Mobutu

- Military Leader and Power Grab: Joseph Mobutu, a colonel in the Congolese army, initially supported Lumumba but soon positioned himself as a key player in the power struggle that followed Congo's independence. Mobutu, with his military background and apparent willingness to align with Western interests, emerged as a suitable candidate to counter Lumumba's influence. Backed by the CIA and other Western powers who feared Lumumba's ties to the Soviet Union, Mobutu led a coup in September 1960, effectively sidelining Lumumba and taking control of the government. Mobutu's actions effectively sidelined Lumumba and allowed him to consolidate power. The coup was not just a military manoeuvre but also a strategic political move that involved garnering support from various factions within the country. Mobutu's ability to navigate the complex political landscape and his willingness to align with Western interests played a crucial role in his success.
- **Establishing Dictatorial Rule**: Following the coup, Mobutu gradually consolidated his power, eventually declaring himself president in 1965. He established a one-party state and adopted the name Mobutu Sese Seko. His regime was characterized by authoritarian rule, with a strong emphasis on centralising power and suppressing dissent. Mobutu's leadership style was

Theme III: Conflict and Cooperation (1945-2000)

marked by a blend of traditional African customs and modern political strategies, which he used to legitimise his rule. He also embarked on a campaign of "authenticity," promoting African culture and renaming the country Zaire in 1971. His rule was characterised by widespread corruption, human rights abuses, and the suppression of political opposition, leading to decades of internal conflict and instability.

- **Impact on Congo's Future**: Mobutu's authoritarian regime, supported by Western powers due to his anti-communist stance during the Cold War, left a legacy of economic mismanagement, political repression, and social division that continued to plague Congo long after his overthrow. His manipulation of ethnic divisions and reliance on patronage further entrenched the cycle of violence and instability in the region.
- Mobutu's economic policies were marked by rampant corruption and mismanagement, which had devastating effects on the Congolese economy. Upon seizing power, Mobutu nationalised many foreign-owned businesses and industries, a move that was intended to reduce foreign influence and increase national control over resources. However, these nationalised enterprises were often handed over to Mobutu's cronies, who lacked the expertise to manage them effectively. This led to a decline in productivity and efficiency, causing the economy to stagnate. Moreover, Mobutu's regime was notorious for its kleptocracy. The president and his inner circle embezzled vast sums of money from the state treasury, diverting funds meant for public services and infrastructure development into their personal accounts. This widespread corruption eroded public trust in the government and crippled the country's economic potential.
- Mobutu's authoritarian rule was characterised by severe political repression. He established a one-party state, with his party, the Popular Movement of the Revolution (MPR), as the sole legal political entity. Opposition parties were banned, and dissent was brutally suppressed. Mobutu's security forces, including the notorious Special Presidential Division, were responsible for numerous human rights abuses, including arbitrary arrests, torture, and extrajudicial killings. The regime also maintained tight control over the media, ensuring that only pro-Mobutu propaganda was disseminated. Independent journalists and media outlets faced harassment, censorship, and closure. This stifling of free expression created an atmosphere of fear and intimidation, where citizens were unable to voice their grievances or demand accountability from their leaders.

Theme III: Conflict and Cooperation (1945-2000)

• One of the most insidious aspects of Mobutu's rule was his manipulation of ethnic divisions to maintain power. The DRC is home to a diverse array of ethnic groups, and Mobutu exploited these divisions to create a system of patronage that ensured loyalty to his regime. He favoured certain ethnic groups over others, granting them political positions, economic opportunities, and other privileges. This favouritism bred resentment and tension among different communities, sowing the seeds of conflict that would later erupt into violence. Mobutu's divide-and-rule tactics also involved pitting ethnic groups against each other to distract from his regime's failures and consolidate his grip on power. By fostering ethnic rivalries, Mobutu was able to weaken potential opposition and maintain control over the country. However, this strategy had long-term consequences, as it deepened social divisions and contributed to the cycle of violence and instability that has plagued the DRC.

# 4.2 Interaction Between Domestic Actors and the Conflict Dynamics

- The interactions between Lumumba, Tshombe, and Mobutu were central to the unfolding of the Congo Crisis. Lumumba's efforts to unify the country clashed with Tshombe's secessionist ambitions, leading to a prolonged and bloody conflict. Mobutu's military intervention, backed by Western powers, eventually tipped the balance of power, but at the cost of plunging Congo into decades of authoritarian rule and instability. The rivalry between these domestic actors was not just a power struggle but also a reflection of the broader ideological, ethnic, and economic tensions that defined post-colonial Congo.
- In the Congo Crisis, domestic actors played pivotal roles in shaping the course of the conflicts. Their actions were influenced by a combination of personal ambitions, ideological convictions, and the broader social and political context of their respective countries. The struggles between these key figures were not just about control of the state but were also emblematic of deeper issues related to national identity, ethnic divisions, and the legacy of colonialism and communism. Understanding the motivations and actions of these domestic actors is crucial for comprehending the complexities of these two devastating conflicts.

Theme III: Conflict and Cooperation (1945-2000)

# **5 International Actors**

• The Congo Crisis (1960-1965) was a period of intense political upheaval, conflict, and foreign intervention in the newly independent Republic of the Congo (later renamed the Democratic Republic of the Congo). International actors, particularly Belgium and the United States, played significant roles during this crisis.

# **5.1** Belgium's Role in the Crisis

#### 5.1.1. Colonial Legacy and Initial involvement

- Colonial Power: Belgium's involvement in the Congo began with King Leopold II's personal ambition to establish a colonial empire. In 1885, the Berlin Conference recognized Leopold's claim to the Congo Free State, a vast territory in Central Africa. Under Leopold's rule, the Congo Free State became notorious for its brutal exploitation of the local population. The extraction of rubber and ivory led to widespread atrocities, including forced labor, mutilation, and mass killings. The international outcry against these abuses eventually forced the Belgian government to take control of the Congo Free State in 1908, renaming it the Belgian Congo.
- Despite the change in administration, the exploitation of the Congo's resources continued under Belgian colonial rule. The Belgian government implemented policies that prioritized economic extraction over the welfare of the Congolese people. The colonial administration established a system of forced labor, known as "corvée," which required Congolese men to work on infrastructure projects, plantations, and mines. This system perpetuated the cycle of exploitation and hindered the development of local communities.
- In January 1959, widespread protests erupted in Leopoldville (now Kinshasa), the capital of the Belgian Congo. The protests were met with violent repression by Belgian authorities, resulting in numerous casualties. The events in Leopoldville marked a turning point in the struggle for independence, as they highlighted the deep-seated grievances of the Congolese population and the urgent need for political change.
- In response to mounting pressure, the Belgian government convened the Round Table Conference in Brussels in January 1960. The conference brought together Congolese political leaders and Belgian officials to negotiate the terms of independence. The discussions were contentious, with disagreements over

Theme III: Conflict and Cooperation (1945-2000)

the timeline for independence and the distribution of power. Despite these challenges, the conference ultimately resulted in an agreement to grant the Congo independence on June 30, 1960.

- However, the transition to independence was poorly managed, with significant power remaining in the hands of Belgian administrators, and the Congolese government was ill-prepared for self-governance. The Congolese government, led by Prime Minister Patrice Lumumba and President Joseph Kasa-Vubu, faced significant challenges in establishing effective governance. The lack of experienced administrators and the absence of a cohesive national identity hindered the new government's ability to address the country's pressing issues.
- **Katanga Secession**: The Belgian colonial administration had developed extensive mining operations in Katanga, creating a strong economic dependency on the province. When Congo gained independence in June 1960, the Belgian government and corporations feared losing control over these valuable resources.
- Shortly after independence, the mineral-rich province of Katanga, led by Moïse Tshombe, declared independence from the Congo with the support of Belgium. Belgian interests were heavily invested in Katanga and the Belgian government, alongside Belgian corporations, supported the secession both militarily and economically.
- The Belgian government, concerned about the stability of its former colony and the protection of Belgian citizens, deployed troops to Katanga under the pretext of maintaining order. However, these troops also provided military support to Katanga's separatist forces, bolstering Tshombe's position. By backing Tshombe, the Belgian corporations such as Union Minière du Haut Katanga (UMHK) aimed to safeguard their economic interests and maintain control over Katanga's mineral wealth.
- Conflict with the Central Government: Belgium's support for Katanga deepened the crisis by undermining the authority of the central Congolese government, led by Prime Minister Patrice Lumumba. Lumumba's government faced immense challenges in asserting its authority over the entire country, and the secession of Katanga further weakened its position.
- The presence of Belgian military advisors and mercenaries in Katanga bolstered Tshombe's forces and made it difficult for the central government to

Theme III: Conflict and Cooperation (1945-2000)

regain control of the province. This external support not only prolonged the conflict but also undermined the legitimacy of Lumumba's government. The central government's inability to assert control over Katanga was seen as a sign of weakness, both domestically and internationally.

• Patrice Lumumba's vision for the Congo was one of national unity and independence from foreign influence. He sought to build a strong, centralised government that could address the country's numerous challenges, including economic development, social cohesion, and political stability. However, Lumumba's efforts were constantly undermined by external interference, particularly from Belgium and he viewed Belgian actions as an extension of colonial control.

#### 5.1.2. Military Intervention and International Criticism

- Belgium's direct military involvement, particularly in Katanga, drew international criticism, especially from African nations and the Soviet Union, who saw it as neocolonial interference. Belgium's actions contributed to the Cold War dynamics of the crisis, with the Soviet Union offering support to Lumumba.
- African nations, many of which had recently gained independence themselves, were particularly vocal in their criticism of Belgium's actions. They saw Belgium's intervention as a blatant example of neocolonialism, where former colonial powers continued to exert influence over newly independent states. The Organisation of African Unity (OAU), established in 1963, was a platform for African nations to express their collective opposition to neocolonialism and support for the Congo's sovereignty.
- The Soviet Union also condemned Belgium's involvement in the Congo Crisis. The Cold War context of the crisis meant that any conflict in the developing world was seen through the lens of the East-West rivalry. The Soviet Union viewed Belgium's actions as part of a broader Western strategy to maintain control over former colonies and prevent the spread of communism. In response, the Soviet Union offered support to Patrice Lumumba, who was seen as a potential ally in the global struggle against Western imperialism.

Theme III: Conflict and Cooperation (1945-2000)

#### 5.1.3. Withdrawal and Continued Influence

• Under pressure from the United Nations and international community, Belgium eventually withdrew its troops. However, Belgian influence remained strong through its support of Congolese factions opposed to Lumumba, and it continued to exert economic influence in Katanga. The UN's involvement in Congo was a double-edged sword. On one hand, it helped to prevent a full-scale civil war and provided a semblance of stability. On the other hand, the presence of UN forces was seen by some Congolese factions as an extension of foreign interference, further complicating the situation. The UN's inability to fully address the root causes of the conflict, including the enduring influence of Belgium, limited its effectiveness in bringing about lasting peace.

# 6 United States' Role in the Congo Crisis

#### 6.1 Cold War Context

- Strategic Interests: The Congo Crisis occurred at the height of the Cold War, and the United States viewed the Congo as a strategically important country due to its vast mineral resources, particularly uranium, which was crucial for nuclear weapons production. The Shinkolobwe mine in Katanga was a significant source of uranium, and during World War II, it had supplied the material used in the Manhattan Project.
- The U.S. feared that if the Congo fell under Soviet influence, it would become a Communist stronghold in Africa. In response to the escalating crisis, the United States adopted a multifaceted approach that combined diplomatic, economic, and covert actions. Initially, the U.S. supported the United Nations' efforts to stabilise the Congo. The UN deployed a peacekeeping mission, known as ONUC (Opération des Nations Unies au Congo), to restore order and prevent the secession of Katanga. The U.S. provided significant financial and logistical support to ONUC, viewing it as a means to counter Soviet influence without direct military intervention.

Theme III: Conflict and Cooperation (1945-2000)

• **Opposition to Patrice Lumumba**: Patrice Lumumba, the Congo's first prime minister, was perceived by the United States as being sympathetic to the Soviet Union due to his appeals for Soviet assistance after Western powers, including the U.S., refused to help him suppress the Katanga secession. This perception led to a shift in U.S. policy as the U.S. to view Lumumba as a threat to its interests in Africa.

#### 6.2 CIA Involvement and Lumumba's Assassination

- The U.S., through the CIA, became deeply involved in efforts to remove Lumumba from power. The CIA provided financial and logistical support to Joseph Mobutu (later Mobutu Sese Seko) and his faction, enabling them to stage a coup against Lumumba in September 1960. Mobutu's coup marked the beginning of a protracted power struggle in the Congo, with various factions vying for control. The CIA's support for Mobutu was part of a broader strategy to install a pro-Western government in the Congo and counter Soviet influence in the region.
- The CIA also had plans to assassinate Lumumba, although the exact role of the U.S. in his eventual assassination remains a subject of historical debate. Lumumba was captured and executed by forces loyal to Katanga in January 1961, with the complicity of Belgian officers and the knowledge of U.S. officials.

# 6.3 Support for Mobutu and the Anti-Communist Agenda

• After Lumumba's assassination, the U.S. supported the rise of Joseph Mobutu, who became the de facto leader of Congo. Mobutu was seen as a reliable anti-Communist ally who could maintain stability in the region. The U.S. was willing to overlook his regime's human rights abuses and corruption as long as he remained a bulwark against Soviet influence in Africa. The U.S. provided Mobutu with military and economic aid, helping him consolidate power.

Mobutu eventually took full control of the country in 1965, establishing a dictatorial regime that would last for over three decades. The end of the Cold War in the early 1990s marked a turning point for Mobutu's regime. With the collapse of the Soviet Union, the strategic importance of Congo diminished, and the U.S. began to distance itself from Mobutu. The withdrawal of American support, combined with growing internal opposition and economic decline, weakened Mobutu's grip on power.

Theme III: Conflict and Cooperation (1945-2000)

#### Consequences:

- **Relative Stability**: Mobutu's rise brought a degree of stability to Congo, but at the cost of establishing a repressive and corrupt dictatorship.
- **Long-Term Instability**: Mobutu's authoritarian rule laid the groundwork for future conflicts, as his regime was marked by severe corruption, human rights abuses, and economic mismanagement.

#### **6.4** UN Involvement:

- The United States also supported United Nations operations in the Congo (ONUC), which were aimed at stabilising the country. The UN's mandate included preventing the secession of Katanga and maintaining peace.
- ONUC's operations were further complicated by the lack of coordination and cooperation among the major powers involved. The U.S. and Belgium had different objectives and strategies, which often led to conflicting actions on the ground. While the U.S. supported ONUC's efforts to maintain the territorial integrity of the Congo, Belgium's support for Katanga's secession undermined these efforts. Additionally, the Soviet Union's involvement, through its support for Lumumba, added another layer of complexity to the mission.
- Despite these challenges, ONUC made significant efforts to stabilise the Congo and prevent the secession of Katanga. The mission deployed thousands of peacekeepers from various countries, who worked to restore order and provide humanitarian assistance. ONUC also facilitated negotiations between the central government and Katanga, although these efforts were often hampered by the intransigence of Tshombe and his supporters.
- The turning point in ONUC's mission came in 1961, following the assassination of Patrice Lumumba. Lumumba's death, which was widely believed to have been orchestrated by his political rivals with the support of foreign powers, led to increased instability and violence in the Congo. In response, the UN Security Council authorised ONUC to use force if necessary to prevent the secession of Katanga and restore order. This marked a significant shift in the mission's mandate, as ONUC moved from a purely peacekeeping role to a more robust peace enforcement operation.

Theme III: Conflict and Cooperation (1945-2000)

 Under the new mandate, ONUC launched several military operations against Katanga's secessionist forces. These operations, which included airstrikes and ground assaults, were aimed at dismantling Tshombe's military capabilities and reasserting the central government's control over the province. The use of force by ONUC was controversial and faced criticism from various quarters, including some member states and humanitarian organisations. However, it ultimately succeeded in bringing an end to the secession of Katanga in 1963.

# 7 Soviet Union's Role in the Crisis

# 7.1 USSR's Support for Patrice Lumumba

- **Ideological Alignment**: Patrice Lumumba, the first Prime Minister of the Republic of Congo, was seen by the Soviet Union as a potential ally in Africa due to his anti-colonial stance and his willingness to seek support from the Soviet bloc. Although Lumumba was not a Communist, his rhetoric about Congo's independence and his resistance to Western influence aligned with Soviet anti-imperialist ideology.
- Military and Economic Aid: After the Congo's independence in 1960, Lumumba faced immediate challenges, including the secession of the Katanga province and the mutiny of the army. When Western powers, including the United States and Belgium, refused to assist him, Lumumba turned to the Soviet Union for help. The Soviets responded by providing military equipment, technical advisors, and economic aid to Lumumba's government. This support was intended to help Lumumba restore order and resist the secessionist movements, particularly in Katanga, which was backed by Belgian interests.
- The Soviet Union's military support to Lumumba's government included the provision of arms, ammunition, and other military equipment. This support was crucial in bolstering the capabilities of the Congolese army, which was struggling to contain the mutiny and the secessionist movements. In addition to military equipment, the Soviets also sent technical advisors to assist in training and organising the Congolese forces. The presence of Soviet advisors was intended to enhance the effectiveness of the Congolese military and improve its ability to maintain order and security.

Theme III: Conflict and Cooperation (1945-2000)

 In addition to military support, the Soviet Union provided economic aid to Lumumba's government. This aid was aimed at stabilising the Congolese economy, which had been severely disrupted by the secession of Katanga and the army mutiny. The economic assistance included financial support, technical expertise, and resources to help rebuild the country's infrastructure and promote development. The Soviet economic aid was intended to strengthen Lumumba's government and reduce its dependence on Western powers.

# 7.2 Cold War Dynamics

- **Proxy Conflict**: Congo's geographical location in the heart of Africa made it a strategic asset for both superpowers. The country bordered several other African nations, and its stability or instability had the potential to influence the entire region. The United States and the Soviet Union both sought to expand their spheres of influence in Africa, and the Congo was seen as a key battleground in this struggle. By supporting different factions within the Congo, the superpowers aimed to secure their interests and prevent the other from gaining a foothold in the region.
- **International Influence**: The Soviet Union's support for Lumumba was part of a broader strategy to expand its influence in Africa and to win over newly independent countries to the Soviet sphere. The Congo was seen as a key country in this effort due to its size, resources, and geopolitical importance.

#### 7.3 After Lumumba's Downfall

- **Soviet Reaction**: After Lumumba was deposed in a coup led by Joseph Mobutu, who was supported by the CIA, and subsequently assassinated in January 1961, the Soviet Union condemned the actions of the United States, Belgium, and their Congolese allies. The Soviets viewed Lumumba's assassination as a direct attack on a legitimate leader and an example of Western imperialism.
- The Soviet Union used the incident to highlight the hypocrisy of Western powers, who professed to support democracy and self-determination but were willing to undermine these principles when it suited their interests.

Theme III: Conflict and Cooperation (1945-2000)

- **UN Involvement**: The Soviet Union was highly critical of the United Nations' role in the Congo Crisis, particularly after Lumumba's removal from power. The Soviets argued that the UN was biased toward Western interests and that it failed to protect Lumumba's government from foreign intervention. hey contended that the structure of the UN Security Council, with its permanent members and veto power, allowed Western powers, particularly the United States, to exert undue influence over the organisation's decisions. This, they argued, was evident in the UN's handling of the Congo Crisis. This led to tensions between the Soviet Union and other members of the UN Security Council.
- The removal of Lumumba and his subsequent assassination in January 1961 further deepened the Soviet Union's mistrust of the UN. The Soviets argued that the UN had failed in its mandate to protect the legitimate government of the Congo and had instead allowed foreign powers to interfere in the country's internal affairs. This, they contended, was a clear indication of the UN's bias towards Western interests.
- In response to the Soviet Union's criticism, other members of the UN Security Council, particularly the Western powers, defended the organisation's actions. They argued that the UN had acted impartially and within the bounds of its mandate. They contended that the complexities of the Congo Crisis, including the internal political dynamics and the involvement of various external actors, made it difficult for the UN to take more decisive action. Furthermore, they argued that the UN's primary objective was to restore peace and stability in the Congo, rather than to support any particular faction or government.

# 7.4 Support for Lumumbists and Opposition Movements

- **Continued Involvement**: After Lumumba's death, the Soviet Union continued to support Lumumba's followers, known as Lumumbists, who opposed Mobutu and other pro-Western forces in Congo. The Soviets provided assistance to various factions that sought to carry on Lumumba's legacy and resist Mobutu's regime.
- **Covert Support**: The Soviet Union, along with some of its allies, provided covert support to rebel groups in the Congo, although this support was limited compared to its initial backing of Lumumba. The goal was to undermine Mobutu's pro-Western government and keep alive the possibility of a socialist-oriented government in Congo.

Theme III: Conflict and Cooperation (1945-2000)

# 8 Challenges, Impact and Legacy

- **Neocolonialism and Cold War Proxy Conflict**: The involvement of Belgium and the United States in the Congo Crisis is often viewed as an example of neocolonialism and Cold War geopolitics playing out in Africa. The crisis highlighted how newly independent African states were vulnerable to external manipulation and interference.
- **Cold War Tensions**: The Soviet Union's involvement in the Congo Crisis heightened Cold War tensions in Africa, making the Congo one of the earliest and most significant arenas of East-West competition on the continent. The crisis exemplified how newly independent states could become entangled in the global rivalry between the superpowers.
- **Soviet Influence in Africa**: Although the Soviet Union ultimately failed to secure a long-term ally in the Congo after Lumumba's death, its involvement in the crisis set the stage for continued Soviet efforts to influence African politics. The Soviets would go on to support various liberation movements and socialist governments across Africa in the following decades.
- **Long-term Consequences**: The foreign interventions during the Congo Crisis had long-lasting consequences for the country. The assassination of Lumumba and the rise of Mobutu led to decades of authoritarian rule, economic mismanagement, and conflict, which have had enduring effects on the Democratic Republic of the Congo's development.
- **Humanitarian Impact**: The Congo Crisis, exacerbated by the involvement of external powers like the Soviet Union, led to widespread violence, instability, and suffering in Congo. The Cold War dynamics often overshadowed the Congolese people's aspirations for peace and stability, and the crisis left a legacy of conflict and authoritarianism in the country.

It resulted in significant human suffering, including violence, displacement, and the loss of life. The foreign actors involved, particularly Belgium and the U.S., have faced historical scrutiny for their roles in exacerbating the crisis and contributing to the instability of the region.

• The Congo Crisis serves as a stark example of how international actors, driven by geopolitical and economic interests, can profoundly influence the trajectory of post-colonial states, often with devastating consequences for the local population.

Theme III: Conflict and Cooperation (1945-2000)

• The Soviet Union's involvement in the Congo Crisis was a key part of its broader Cold War strategy in Africa. By supporting Patrice Lumumba and his government, the Soviet Union aimed to counter Western influence and promote its own ideological and geopolitical interests. However, the failure to secure a lasting influence in Congo, particularly after Lumumba's assassination, highlighted the complexities and limitations of Soviet intervention in the region. The Congo Crisis remains a poignant example of how Cold War rivalries played out in the Global South, often with devastating consequences for the local populations.

# 9 Conflict Management in the Congo Crisis

#### 9.1 UN Operations in the Congo (ONUC 1960-1964)

- **Overview**: On July 14, 1960, the UN Security Council adopted Resolution 143, establishing the United Nations Operation in the Congo (ONUC). The mission's mandate was to ensure the withdrawal of Belgian forces, maintain law and order, and provide technical assistance to the Congolese government. ONUC was also tasked with preventing the secession of Katanga and other provinces, thereby preserving the territorial integrity of the Congo.
- The United Nations Operation in the Congo (ONUC) was the UN's first large-scale peacekeeping mission. It was established to stabilise the Congo following its independence and to prevent the secession of the mineral-rich Katanga province.
- The situation in Katanga reached a critical point in 1961 when UN Secretary-General Dag Hammarskjöld embarked on a mission to negotiate a peaceful resolution to the crisis. Tragically, Hammarskjöld's plane crashed under mysterious circumstances, resulting in his death. The loss of Hammarskjöld was a significant blow to the UN and the ONUC mission. In the aftermath of his death, the UN adopted a more robust approach to the Katanga crisis. Under the leadership of Hammarskjöld's successor, U Thant, ONUC launched a series of military operations to neutralize Tshombe's forces and reintegrate Katanga into the Congo.
- The military operations in Katanga, known as "Operation Rumpunch" and "Operation Grand Slam," were among the most significant and controversial aspects of the ONUC mission. These operations involved direct combat between UN forces and Katangese troops, marking a departure from the

Theme III: Conflict and Cooperation (1945-2000)

traditional peacekeeping role of the UN. The use of force by ONUC was justified on the grounds of maintaining international peace and security and preventing the disintegration of the Congo. However, the operations also raised questions about the limits of UN intervention and the principles of sovereignty and non-interference.

#### **Challenges and Achievements:**

- **Initial Successes**: ONUC initially succeeded in stabilising certain areas and preventing the immediate collapse of the Congolese state. ONUC's deployment helped to quell some of these disturbances, providing a semblance of order in a highly volatile situation. The presence of international peacekeepers acted as a deterrent to further violence and gave the central government the breathing space it needed to establish its authority.
- One of the primary objectives of ONUC was to support the central government of the Congo. At the time, the government was struggling to assert control over the vast and diverse country. The mission provided essential support in terms of logistics, training, and even direct military assistance. This support was vital in enabling the government to function and to project its authority across the country. Without ONUC's intervention, it is likely that the central government would have collapsed, leading to a complete disintegration of the Congolese state.
- Maintaining the territorial integrity of the Congo was another critical goal of ONUC. The secessionist movements in Katanga and South Kasai posed a significant threat to the unity of the country. These regions were rich in natural resources, and their secession would have had severe economic and political repercussions. ONUC's efforts in these regions were aimed at preventing their secession and ensuring that they remained part of the Congo. The mission's success in this regard was mixed, but it did manage to prevent the immediate breakup of the country.
- The chaos and violence that followed Congo's independence had led to a severe humanitarian crisis, with thousands of people displaced and in dire need of assistance. ONUC provided essential humanitarian aid, including food, medical supplies, and shelter. This aid was crucial in alleviating the suffering of the Congolese people and in preventing a further deterioration of the situation.

Theme III: Conflict and Cooperation (1945-2000)

- **Challenges**: The mission faced significant challenges, including limited resources, logistical difficulties, and complex Cold War politics. The involvement of the Soviet Union and the United States turned the mission into a proxy battlefield, complicating the UN's efforts.
- The vast and difficult terrain of the Congo also posed significant challenges for ONUC. The dense tropical rainforests, which cover much of the country, made it difficult to establish and maintain supply lines. The rainy season, which lasts for several months, rendered many roads impassable and increased the risk of diseases such as malaria. The United Nations had to invest significant resources in building and maintaining infrastructure, such as roads and airstrips, to support the mission. This diverted resources from other critical areas, such as providing humanitarian assistance and supporting the Congolese government.
- The United Nations had to navigate a highly fragmented political landscape, with various factions vying for power. The central government in Leopoldville was weak and struggled to assert control over the country. Regional leaders, such as Moise Tshombe in Katanga, sought to establish their own authority and were often unwilling to cooperate with the central government or the United Nations
- These competing interests of USA and USSR in Congo often led to disagreements within the United Nations about the best course of action. Contributing countries also had their own national interests and priorities, which sometimes conflicted with the objectives of the mission.
- Reintegration of Katanga: ONUC's involvement led to the eventual reintegration of Katanga into Congo in 1963, marking a partial success. The reintegration of Katanga into the Congo in 1963 was a significant achievement for ONUC. The UN forces managed to neutralize the secessionist forces and restore the central government's control over the province. This success was achieved through a combination of military pressure and negotiations, culminating in the signing of the Kitona Agreement in December 1962, which paved the way for Katanga's reintegration. The reintegration of Katanga was a testament to the effectiveness of international intervention in resolving internal conflicts.
- However, the reintegration of Katanga did not resolve the underlying issues that plagued the Congo. The country remained deeply divided along ethnic, regional, and political lines. The central government struggled to assert its

Theme III: Conflict and Cooperation (1945-2000)

authority over the vast and diverse territory, leading to continued instability. However, this did not resolve the underlying issues, and the country remained unstable.

• **End of ONUC**: The mission concluded in 1964, with the rise of Mobutu Sese Seko soon after. The UN Security Council passed Resolution 199 on December 30, 1964, formally ending ONUC's mandate. The resolution acknowledged the progress made in restoring stability and expressed confidence in the Congolese government's ability to maintain order. The withdrawal of UN forces was completed by June 1964, marking the end of the mission. While ONUC prevented the complete disintegration of Congo, the long-term resolution of the conflict was incomplete, and the groundwork for future instability was laid.

# 9.2 Rise of Mobutu's Authoritarian Rule (1965)

- **Mobutu's Coup**: Following the departure of ONUC, Joseph Mobutu, with support from Western powers, staged a coup in 1965, establishing himself as the authoritarian ruler of Congo (later renamed Zaire).
- **End of the Crisis**: Mobutu's rule brought an end to the immediate conflict but at the cost of establishing a corrupt and repressive regime. While his rise brought short-term stability, it also set the stage for future conflicts due to the systemic corruption, economic decline, and political repression that characterised his rule.

# 10 Long-term Impacts of Conflict Management

# 10.1 Mobutu's Long Reign:

• Corruption and Economic Decline: Mobutu's rule led to widespread corruption and economic decline, which devastated Congo's infrastructure and social systems. Corruption under Mobutu was not merely a byproduct of his rule; it was a fundamental aspect of his governance. Mobutu institutionalized corruption, creating a patronage system where loyalty was rewarded with access to state resources. Government officials, military officers, and even ordinary citizens were encouraged to engage in corrupt practices to secure their positions and livelihoods. This pervasive corruption permeated every level of society, from the highest echelons of government to local administrations.

Theme III: Conflict and Cooperation (1945-2000)

- The economic policies implemented during Mobutu's rule were characterised by mismanagement and exploitation. The nationalization of key industries, such as mining and agriculture, was intended to generate revenue for the state. However, these industries were often mismanaged, with profits siphoned off by Mobutu and his inner circle. The lack of reinvestment in these sectors led to their decline, resulting in decreased productivity and economic stagnation.
- The social systems in Congo also suffered immensely under Mobutu's rule. Education and healthcare, two critical pillars of social development, were severely neglected. Schools and hospitals were underfunded and understaffed, leading to a decline in the quality of education and healthcare services. The lack of investment in these sectors resulted in a poorly educated and unhealthy population, further hampering economic growth and development.
- The human cost of corruption and economic decline under Mobutu's rule was staggering. Poverty rates soared as the economy faltered, and basic necessities became scarce. The lack of infrastructure and social services led to a decline in living standards, with many Congolese struggling to access clean water, adequate nutrition, and healthcare. The pervasive corruption also eroded trust in public institutions, leading to social fragmentation and a sense of hopelessness among the population. The systemic issues created by Mobutu's regime set the stage for the First and Second Congo Wars, making Congo one of the most conflict-ridden regions in the world.
- Legacy of External Intervention: The legacy of external intervention during the Congo Crisis, particularly the involvement of Cold War powers, has left a lasting impact on Congo's stability, with continued economic exploitation and political instability. During the Cold War, Mobutu positioned himself as an ally of the West, particularly the United States, which provided him with substantial financial and military support. This support was often given with little regard for the internal governance of the country, allowing Mobutu to continue his corrupt practices with impunity. The international community's complicity in propping up Mobutu's regime contributed to the prolonged suffering of the Congolese people.

# 11 Lessons Learned

#### 11.1 Role of International Organisations

#### **UN's Involvement:**

- **UN's Role**: The United Nations played a significant role in the Congo Crisis. In Congo, the ONUC mission was the UN's first large-scale peacekeeping effort, aimed at stabilising the country and preventing secession. Despite challenges, it demonstrated the potential of international organisations to intervene in intra-state conflicts.
- One of the critical challenges ONUC faced was the lack of a clear and robust mandate. The initial resolution authorised the use of force only in self-defense, limiting the peacekeepers' ability to take proactive measures to stabilise the situation. This restriction hampered the mission's effectiveness and allowed the conflict to persist. The UN's reluctance to intervene decisively in the internal affairs of a sovereign state further complicated the mission, as it struggled to balance its peacekeeping role with respect for Congo's sovereignty.
- **Lessons**: It showed the critical importance of early intervention and coordinated international efforts. Delayed action, as seen in both conflicts, can result in greater human suffering and more complex post-conflict challenges.

# 12 Complexity of Post Conflict Reconstruction

# **12.1** Long and Complex Process

- **Sustained International Support**: Rebuilding a nation after conflict, as seen in Congo, is a prolonged and challenging process. It requires not only international financial and technical assistance but also a long-term commitment to support governance, infrastructure, and social reconciliation.
- **Local Commitment**: While international support is crucial, local commitment to peacebuilding is equally important. In the Congo crisis, the effectiveness of reconstruction efforts depended heavily on the willingness of local leaders and communities to engage in the process of reconciliation and nation-building.

Theme III: Conflict and Cooperation (1945-2000)

- **Challenges**: Post-conflict reconstruction often faces challenges such as entrenched corruption, ongoing ethnic tensions, and the legacy of war crimes, all of which can undermine efforts to build a stable and peaceful society.
- The legacy of the Congo Crisis continues to affect the Democratic Republic of Congo, with ongoing conflicts, economic challenges, and political instability. The events of the crisis set the stage for future wars and shaped the country's modern history.

# 13 Conclusion and Food for Thought

- The Congo Crisis, spanning from 1960 to 1965, was a tumultuous period that underscored the complexities of decolonization, Cold War politics, and internal ethnic divisions. As the newly independent Congo sought to navigate its path to self-governance, it was met with a myriad of challenges that tested the resilience and unity of its people. The crisis began with the abrupt departure of Belgian colonial rulers, leaving a power vacuum that various factions sought to fill. This power struggle was exacerbated by the Cold War, as both the United States and the Soviet Union vied for influence in the region, often supporting opposing sides in the conflict.
- The assassination of Prime Minister Patrice Lumumba, a pivotal figure in the Congo's independence movement, marked a significant turning point in the crisis. Lumumba's death not only highlighted the deep-seated political rivalries within the country but also drew international condemnation and further complicated the Congo's quest for stability. The subsequent rise of Joseph Mobutu, who eventually established a dictatorial regime, demonstrated the lengths to which individuals and groups would go to secure power in the volatile environment
- Ethnic tensions also played a critical role in the Congo Crisis. The secession of the mineral-rich Katanga province, led by Moise Tshombe, illustrated the economic and political fragmentation within the country. The central government's struggle to reintegrate Katanga highlighted the challenges of maintaining national unity in the face of regional aspirations for autonomy. The involvement of United Nations peacekeeping forces, while aimed at stabilising the situation, often found itself entangled in the complex web of local and international politics.

Theme III: Conflict and Cooperation (1945-2000)

- The Congo Crisis ultimately resulted in significant human suffering, with widespread violence, displacement, and economic disruption. The legacy of the crisis continued to shape the Congo's political landscape for decades, as the country grappled with the consequences of its turbulent early years of independence. The crisis also served as a stark reminder of the broader challenges faced by newly independent African nations during the decolonisation era, as they sought to build cohesive and stable states amidst external pressures and internal divisions.
- Reflecting on the Congo Crisis invites us to consider the broader implications of decolonisation and the responsibilities of former colonial powers. The abrupt withdrawal of Belgian authorities left the Congo ill-prepared for self-governance, raising questions about the ethical obligations of colonial rulers to ensure a smooth transition to independence. Furthermore, the crisis underscores the dangers of external interference in the internal affairs of sovereign nations. The Cold War rivalry between the United States and the Soviet Union often exacerbated local conflicts, with little regard for the long-term consequences for the affected populations.
- The role of international organisations, such as the United Nations, in conflict resolution also warrants examination. While the UN's involvement in the Congo Crisis aimed to restore peace and stability, its efforts were often hampered by the competing interests of member states and the complexities of the situation on the ground. This raises important questions about the effectiveness of international interventions and the need for a more nuanced understanding of local dynamics in conflict zones.
- Finally, the Congo Crisis highlights the importance of addressing ethnic and regional divisions in nation-building efforts. The secession of Katanga and the subsequent conflict demonstrated the challenges of forging a unified national identity in a diverse and divided society. As we reflect on the Congo's experience, it is crucial to consider how inclusive governance, equitable resource distribution, and respect for regional autonomy can contribute to lasting peace and stability in post-colonial states.
- In conclusion, the Congo Crisis serves as a poignant case study of the complexities and challenges of decolonisation, the impact of Cold War geopolitics, and the importance of addressing internal divisions in nationbuilding. As we continue to study and learn from this period, it is essential to apply these lessons to contemporary conflicts and the ongoing efforts to promote peace and stability in the global community.