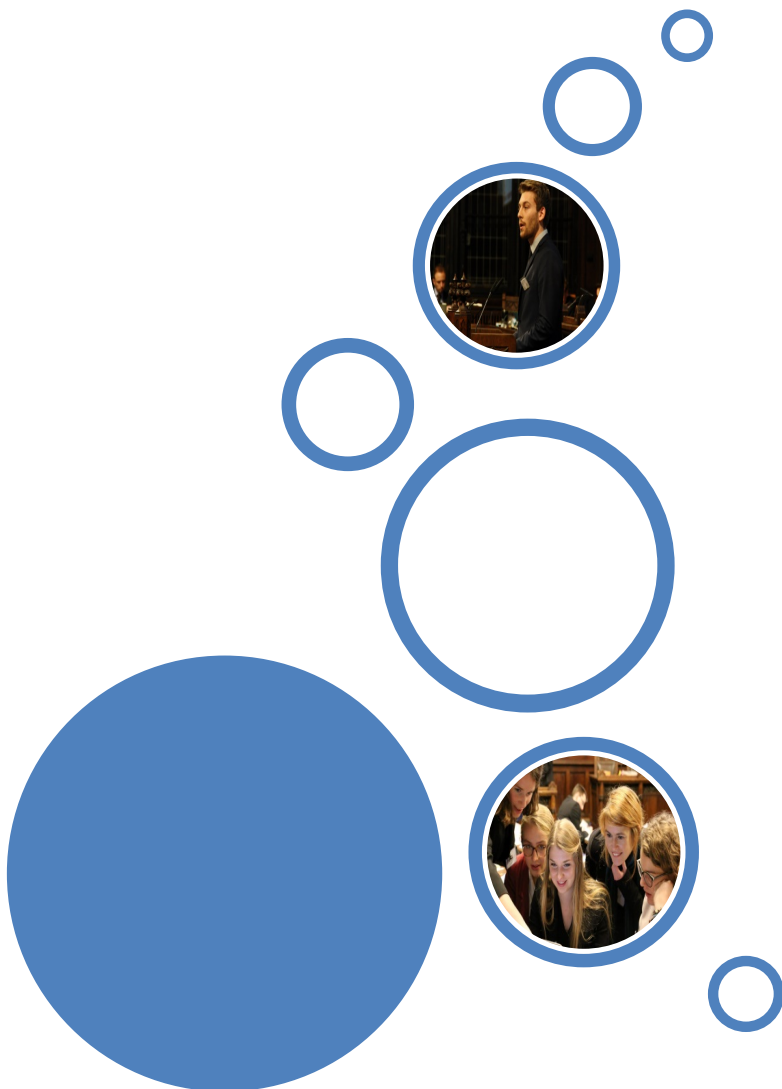




Erfurt, January 19-21, 2018

# Historical Security Council Background Guide 2018

Astrid Fastenrath and Christopher Pridat



# Staff-Team

## **Astrid Fastenrath (President)**

Astrid studies International Relations and World History with a main focus on the history of Decolonization and North America. During last year's seminar, she participated in EfMUN, GerMUN and NMUN and is now part of the organizational staff. She furthermore completed a seminar about the Congo Crisis. Her seminar paper focused especially on the implications the Congo Crisis held for the Cold War parties and vice versa.

## **Christopher Pridat (Vice President)**

Christopher studies International Relations and Public Law. He completed the MUN seminar last year as a participant and has since been a regular head delegate. He accompanied last semester's participants to Canada in November.

## **Markus Bianchi (Rapporteur)**

Markus Bianchi studies Political Science and Sociology. He is currently working as a Tutor for the TriMUN delegation. It is his second time to participate at EfMUN, but this time he will be serving as a chair.

Dear Delegates,

Welcome to this year's Model United Nations conference in Erfurt. We are pleased to introduce you to a Historical Security Council which will take you back into the year of 1960 and challenge you to find a solution for a decolonization process that resulted in one of its own biggest crises.

It was not long after becoming independent that bedlam broke loose within the newly established Republic of the Congo. The manifold and complex causes for the Congo Crisis can on the one side be traced back to a country with a multitude of regional, cultural and ethnical divisions and, consequently, a weak sense of national unity. On the other side, colonialism left the Congo burdened with political and economic dependency and a weak administration, all factors that had yet to be overcome. The Congo Crisis, however, would only be the beginning of a series of recurring conflicts within the same territory. As of today, the United Nations still deploys one of its biggest peacekeeping missions there (United Nations Organization Stabilization Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo, *MONUSCO*). As delegate of this committee it is your task to understand the Congo Crisis to your best ability and to consider options and possibilities which could pacify this newly independent state from the beginning.

Please be aware that this Background Guide does not substitute further research. Prior to giving you a better insight into the Security Council and its main tasks and prerogatives as well as an overview of the topic at hand, please take, furthermore, note of the following. While delving for the roots and implications of the Congo Crisis, keep in mind that our Security Council session takes place on July 13<sup>th</sup>, 1960. Everything that happens afterwards should be of no concern for you and the country you represent. That being said, try to avoid a retrospective view. Instead, strive to put yourself into the position of your country in the year of 1960 – with every ambition, problem, and possibility this might hold.

We wish you all the best in your preparations and look forward to seeing you at the conference!

Sincerely,

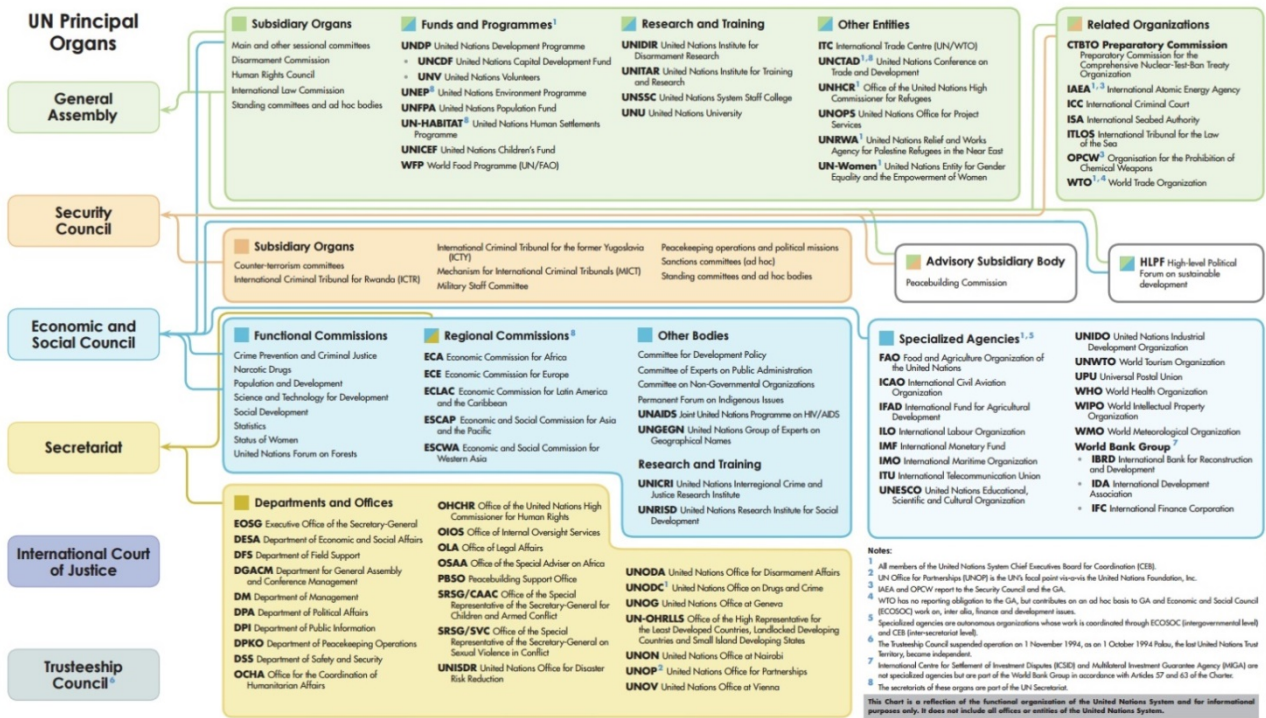
Astrid Fastenrath, Christopher Pridat & Markus Bianchi

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## **ABBREVIATIONS**

<i>ABAKO</i>	Alliance des Bakongo
<i>ANC</i>	Armée Nationale Congolaise
<i>CONAKAT</i>	Confédération des Associations Tribales du Katanga
<i>IPU</i>	Inter-Parliamentary Union
<i>MNC</i>	Mouvement National Congolais
<i>UMHK</i>	Union Minière du Haut Katanga



The Security Council is, as one of the six principal organs of the United Nations, responsible for maintaining international peace and security. In 1960, it was albeit quite a new international body. However, before taking a closer look at the Security Council's composition of the year in question, we need to look at the general evolvement of an internationally responsible peacekeeping organ. Only then, can we better understand the setting of the Security Council fifteen years after the Second World War and the functions and powers it was endowed with.

## COMMITTEE OVERVIEW

### Evolution of an International Peacekeeping Body before World War I

The idea of an intergovernmental body overseeing worldwide conflicts and offering a mediation tool for the respective nations involved emerged long before June 1945. William Randall Cremer and Frederic Passy founded the Inter-Parliamentary Union (IPU) in 1889. Its main objective was to induce the parliament's governments towards the peaceful settlement of conflicts. By way of example, it supported the two The Hague Peace conferences from 1899 and 1907, initiated by Tsar Nicholas II. The IPU, thus, portrayed a very early form of government-based pacifism.<sup>1</sup>

The movement of the second half of the 19th century also produced another type of pacifist organization. The International Peace Bureau was officially founded in 1891. It was, however, not an organization constituted through governments but consisted of peace societies which emerged during this time episode. Both organizations, nonetheless, failed to prevent World War I.

Amidst this war, the Women's International League of Peace and Freedom met at The Hague in 1915. As a result of this conference, "18 Final Recommendations to End the War and Foster Peace" were submitted to numerous heads of states.<sup>2</sup>

### Interwar period

Some of those recommendations would find their match within the US-American President Woodrow Wilson's 14 Points from 1918. Wilson, in turn, strongly influenced the creation and adaptation of the Covenant of the League of Nations on 29 April 1919. This Covenant included three main objectives for the League of Nations: "[...] to ensure collective security, to assure functional cooperation and to execute the mandate of peace treaties."<sup>3</sup> As a part of the Peace Treaty of Versailles, the League of Nations only became effective when said Treaty did in 1920. Its 32 original members were also signatories of the latter.

The Covenant of the League of Nations did establish the Council which was responsible for settling international disputes which Member States brought before it. Its decisions, however, were not binding. Except for the possibility of sanctions under certain circumstances, the parties of a conflict were thus responsible for finding a peaceful conclusion to a conflict. Nonetheless, the League of Nations was able to arbitrate during several conflicts as e.g. in 1920 during the dispute about the Aaland Islands or during the Greco-Bulgarian conflict in 1925.

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<sup>1</sup> Historical overview according to UNOG Library, Registry, Records and Archives Unit, [https://www.unog.ch/80256EDD006B8954/\(httpAssets\)/36BC4F83BD9E4443C1257AF3004FC0AE/\\$file/Historical\\_overview\\_of\\_the\\_League\\_of\\_Nations.pdf](https://www.unog.ch/80256EDD006B8954/(httpAssets)/36BC4F83BD9E4443C1257AF3004FC0AE/$file/Historical_overview_of_the_League_of_Nations.pdf), pp. 1.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., p. 2.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., p. 3.

## World War II

Contrary to those successful reconciliation efforts, the League of Nations failed to settle some of the biggest conflicts during its 25 years of existence, as e.g. the Manchurian crisis of 1932, the Italian annexation of Ethiopia in 1935 and the German aggressions in Europe after the rise of Nazism. Following their respective encroachments, Germany and Japan withdrew from the League of Nations in 1933 and 1935 respectively. A premonition for the upcoming conflicts was the failure of the Disarmament Conference in 1932. The Disarmament Conference, as included within the Geneva Protocol on the Pacific Settlement of International Disputes from October 1924, eventually convened in 1932. Its failure is mostly attributed to the countries' lack of commitment to forego the authority over their armament levels. Following the mindset of the outgoing 19<sup>th</sup> and beginning 20<sup>th</sup> century, they, instead, attributed their country's security to the amount and refinement of weapons they were able to provide.

Even though 43 states were still members of the League of the Nations by the end of World War II, it was unable to sufficiently uphold its main objectives. Its last Assembly was held on 8 April 1946, shortly before its remaining properties were transferred to the United Nations through a Preparatory Commission by the San Francisco Conference and the Supervisory Commission of the League of Nations. The 43 remaining Member States voted unanimously for the cessation of the League's existence by 20 April 1946.

## Mandate of the Security Council

After the devastations of World War II, the International Community founded once again a body with the main objective to ensure peace: The United Nations. Before the League of Nations officially ceased to exist, the United Nations were granted full access to the League of Nations' assets through a final transfer dating 18 April 1946 signed by Sean Lester and Włodzimierz Moderow.<sup>4</sup>

According to the United Nations Charter, the primary responsibility for international peace and security resides with the Security Council, one of the six principal organs of the United Nations. Chapter V of the charter contains its duties and prerogatives which are once again specified in Chapter VI, VI, VII and XII.<sup>5</sup>

The Security Council first convened on 17 January 1946 at Church House, Westminster, London, United Kingdom. Since then, its permanent residence was moved to the United Nations Headquarters in New York City, United States of America. It is of utmost importance that a representative of each of its current constituent delegations is present at all times in case of emergency meetings.<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>4</sup> overview according to UNOG Library, Registry, Records and Archives Unit, *Historical Overview of the League of Nations*, pp. 1-14.

<sup>5</sup> United Nations, *UN Charter*.

<sup>6</sup> United Nations, Security Council, *What is the Security Council*, 2017.

## Functions and Powers

Some of the Security Council principal objectives are the development of friendly relations among nations, to cooperate while solving international problems and the promotion of human rights and finally to be the center for harmonizing the actions of states.<sup>7</sup> Member States are obliged under Article 25 of the UN Charter to carry out the Security Council's decisions as they are stated within the latter's resolutions. Consequently, decisions made by the Security Council are binding. Chapter VI, first and foremost, outlines the possibility of recommendations by the Security Council in order to ensure the peaceful settlement of disputes. Chapter VII then allows for the Security Council to "[...] determine the existence of any threat to the peace, breach of the peace, or act of aggression [...]"<sup>8</sup> and to decide the means by which to pacify it. Article 41 and 42 offer a catalogue of more severe measures ranging from the termination of economic or diplomatic relations to armed action undertaken by Member States of the United Nations. Article 42, correspondingly, specifies the duties of Member States to the Security Council and its peacekeeping missions.

## The Security Council in 1960

The United Nations Under-Secretary for Political Affairs at that time, Ralph Bunche, declared already in February of 1960 the same year as the "Year of Africa".<sup>9</sup> He would be proven right: within the same year, Cameroun, Central African Republic, Chad, Congo (Brazzaville), Congo (Leopoldville), Cyprus, Dahomey, Gabon, Ivory Coast, Malagasy Republic, Mali, Niger, Nigeria, Senegal, Somalia, Togo and the Upper Volta would all as newly independent states become Members of the United Nations.<sup>10</sup>

In 1960, the Security Council of the United Nations consisted of eleven Members. The Republic of China, France, The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, The United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland and The United States of America all held a permanent membership. Six additional, non-permanent members, were elected by the General Assembly.<sup>11</sup> Elected Members were Argentina, Ceylon, Ecuador, Italy, Poland and Tunisia. The presiding officer in July 1960 was the Ecuadorian Jose A. Correa.<sup>12</sup> Given the perpetual decolonization process, the Security Council was in 1960 primarily concerned with the admission of new Member States to the United Nations and occurring instabilities and conflicts within those newly independent countries.<sup>13</sup>

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<sup>7</sup> Ibid.

<sup>8</sup> United Nations, *UN Charter*, Article 39.

<sup>9</sup> Hobbs, Nicole (2014). "The UN and the Congo Crisis of 1960".

<sup>10</sup> United Nations, *Growth in United Nations membership, 1945-present*, 2017.

<sup>11</sup> Encyclopaedia Britannica, *United Nations Security Council*, 2017.

<sup>12</sup> United Nations, Security Council, *Membership since 1946*, 2017.

<sup>13</sup> United Nations, Security Council, *Resolutions adopted by the Security Council in 1960*, 2017.



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# THE CONGO QUESTION OF 1960

## The Congo Free State

The foundation for the structures and events which eventually led to the Congo Crisis in 1960 was laid during the colonialization of the Congolese territory. In the late 19<sup>th</sup> century, King Leopold II of Belgium partook in the European strive for colonies. Starting in 1876, Leopold acquired land of the Congo, disguising his colonial desires as a humanitarian mission to civilize the Congolese people.<sup>14</sup> Thus, he founded the International Association of the Congo to serve as the non-governmental organization which would be used to control and exploit the Central African colony.<sup>15</sup> Henry Morton Stanley who led the expeditions into the mostly unexplored territory negotiated treaties with tribal leaders: In exchange for property rights for their land, they would receive gifts as well as the guarantee for continuous peace.<sup>16</sup> Due to widespread illiteracy, many of them signed treaties without fully grasping the specific implications of the agreement.<sup>17</sup> More and more parts of the Congo became private property of the Belgian king. However, Leopold's colony was not officially recognized by the other Western powers at that time, such as Austria-Hungary, France, the German Empire, the Netherlands, the Ottoman Empire, Portugal, the Russian Empire, Spain, the United Kingdom, the United States - until 1885 when the Treaty of Berlin was signed at the Berlin Conference. Different motives and inter-state power struggles drove these imperialist nations to support the Belgian king's claim. The Congo Free State came to be.

## Colonial Reign of Terror

Administration of the territory which was about eighty times the size of Belgium eventually proved to be very expensive and Leopold II hoped yet to profit from his colony in the near future.<sup>18</sup> Aiming to maximize profits, he introduced a system where vacant land would either belong to the state or to concessionary companies which would then exploit its resources and produces.<sup>19</sup> As a consequence, communal land usage, shifting cultivation and other indigenous and formerly applied concepts were neglected and disrespected.<sup>20</sup> In addition, he ordered that taxes should be collected from the Congolese which, due to a lack of currency, were paid in labor.<sup>21</sup> Driven by greed for profit

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<sup>14</sup> Gifford, Paul (1971). *France and Britain in Africa. Imperial Rivalry and Colonial Rule*, New Haven: Yale University Press, pp. 221–260.

<sup>15</sup> Rorison, Sean (2012). *Congo: Democratic Republic – Republic*, Bradt Travel Guides, p. 63.

<sup>16</sup> Meredith, Martin (2014). *The Fortunes of Africa: A 5,000-Year History of Wealth, Greed, and Endeavor*, New York City: Public Affairs, p. 334.

<sup>17</sup> Fitzmaurice, Andrew (2014). *Sovereignty, Property and Empire, 1500-2000*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 287-288.

<sup>18</sup> Anstey, Roger (1966). *King Leopold's Legacy. The Congo under Belgian Rule 1908-1960*, London: Oxford University Press, p. 4.

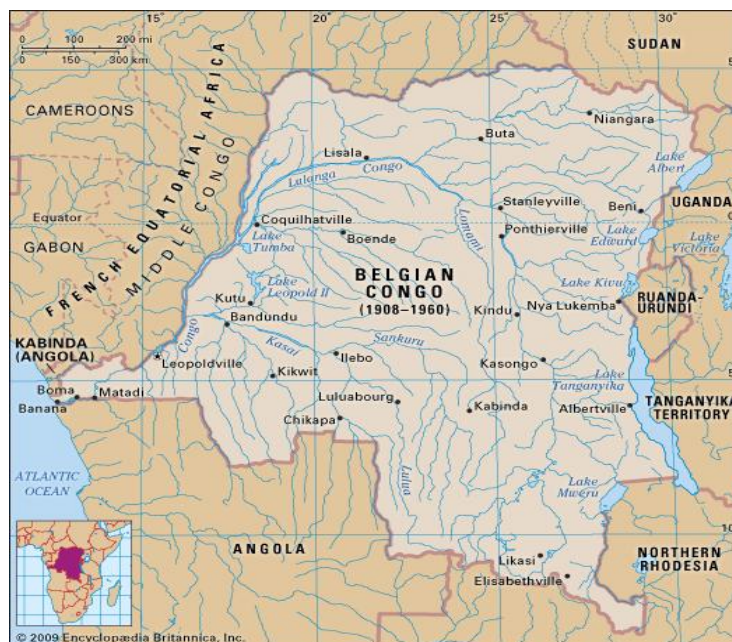
<sup>19</sup> Ibid.

<sup>20</sup> Ibid., p. 5.

<sup>21</sup> Ibid., p. 6.

and not restricted by any legislation, the colonizers demanded this labor in an arbitrary manner.<sup>22</sup> Strict quotas for products such as rubber were enforced and if they were not fulfilled, the workers were often mutilated or even killed, resulting in mass atrocities committed against the Congolese people.<sup>23</sup> Estimates say that in the Congo Free State about half of its population, about ten million people, died due to hunger, declining birth rates, disease and crimes committed by the colonizers.<sup>24</sup> Periodic reports of abuses by the Belgian administration started to reach Europe, resulting in a fact-finding commission initiated by the United Kingdom.<sup>25</sup> In 1904, the commission confirmed the crimes committed in the Congo with the publication of the Casement Report.<sup>26</sup> Its author, Roger Casement, then founded the Congo Reform Association, aiming to further expose the crimes committed in the Congo Free State.<sup>27</sup> After a public outcry and international pressure, King Leopold II yielded the Congo to the Belgian state in 1908 and the parliament annexed the Congo Free State on 15 November 1908 as the Belgian Congo.<sup>28</sup>

## The Belgian Congo after 1908



Historical map of the Belgian Congo (1908–60).

Encyclopædia Britannica, Inc

<sup>22</sup> Ibid.

<sup>23</sup> Ibid., p. 7.

<sup>24</sup> Hochschild, Adam (2006). *King Leopold's Ghost: A Story of Greed, Terror, and Heroism in Colonial Africa*, London: Pan Books, pp. 226–232.

<sup>25</sup> Anstey, Roger (1966). *King Leopold's Legacy*, p. 11.

<sup>26</sup> Ibid., p. 12.

<sup>27</sup> Ibid., p. 14.

<sup>28</sup> Ibid., p. 16.

## Reforms and economic development

Belgium had obtained a territory with overall poor administration as a result of fragmentation in tribal institutions, ignorance of custom, lack of good administrators and the unfair and unsustainable character of the economic system.<sup>29</sup>

Under the new Belgian administration, reforms to improve the overall situation were made albeit moderately. Forced labor was officially abolished, though still practiced, and the education and health system were improved. Still, the Congolese people was paternalized by its Belgian colonizers<sup>30</sup> and racial segregation was common.<sup>31</sup> During World War I, demand for copper increased, a mineral which could be found en masse in Katanga, the southern province of the Congo. After the war and during the economic boom in the 1920s, investments in the Congo increased - its economy flourished and new infrastructure was constructed.<sup>32</sup> Cotton, oil palms, coffee, cacao, and rubber were grown on large plantations administered by Belgian companies and the mining industry expanded as well since plenty of copper, gold, diamonds and cobalt were available in the Belgian colony.<sup>33</sup> During the years of the Great Depression, demand for these products diminished and numbers of unemployment rose.<sup>34</sup> Because of World War II, however, the Congolese economy recovered thanks to an increased demand of industrial and agricultural goods.<sup>35</sup> Besides, the Congo became a major supplier of uranium for the United States and their nuclear program.<sup>36</sup> While the economy underwent an overall positive development and reforms were introduced, social structures remained the same. Thus, resistance from within the Congolese population against Belgium was still imminent. Rebellions and anti-European sentiments were fostered through different religious and ideological groups such as the movement of Kimbanguism.<sup>37</sup> Political associations of any kind were prohibited, yet political clubs such as the Alliance des Bakongo (ABAKO) were starting to form.<sup>38</sup>

## Political aspirations

During the 1940s and 1950s Belgium further invested in urbanization and development programs in the Congo, bringing forward a new middle class and a big wage labor force. Accordingly, this new wealth led to increased political activity within the Congolese population and a large-scale

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<sup>29</sup> Ibid. pp. 46-47.

<sup>30</sup> Encyclopædia Britannica, *The Belgian Congo*, <https://www.britannica.com/place/Belgian-Congo>.

<sup>31</sup> Roxborough, Angus. *Belgians confront colonial past*, BBC News, <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/africa/4332605.stm>.

<sup>32</sup> Encyclopædia Britannica, *The Belgian Congo*, <https://www.britannica.com/place/Belgian-Congo>.

<sup>33</sup> Ibid.

<sup>34</sup> Anstey, Roger (1966). *King Leopold's Legacy. The Congo under Belgian Rule 1908-1960*, London: Oxford University Press, pp. 109.

<sup>35</sup> Renton, David; Seddon, David; Zeilig, Leo (2007). *The Congo: Plunder and Resistance*, London: Zed Books. p. 66.

<sup>36</sup> Anstey, Roger (1966). *King Leopold's Legacy. The Congo under Belgian Rule 1908-1960*, London: Oxford University Press, pp. 102-121.

<sup>37</sup> Encyclopædia Britannica, *The Belgian Congo*, <https://www.britannica.com/place/Belgian-Congo>.

<sup>38</sup> Ibid.

nationalist independence movement started to emerge.<sup>39</sup> This movement was, however, divided since it consisted of several political parties with divergent ideological views. Two major parties were the Mouvement National Congolais (MNC) and ABAKO.<sup>40</sup> Their previously limited influence grew drastically, when riots broke out in the capital of the Congo, Léopoldville, on 4 January 1959 after the Force Publique, the police and military force of the Congo since 1885, had resorted to the use of force against a political demonstration.<sup>41</sup> Riots, demonstrations and minor breaches of law became more frequent and Congolese who had avoided politics now became active participants in the nationalist movement.<sup>42</sup> Belgian authorities noted a wish for strong internal autonomy but had hoped that some more years would pass before an independent Congolese nation would emerge, so that they could further profit from the Congo's resources.<sup>43</sup> Still, they took the initiative: A conference in Brussels was held from 20 January to 20 February 1960 where the leaders of major Congolese parties as well as Belgian officials sat at the same table.<sup>44</sup> Despite objections and concerns from the Belgian side, the first elections would be held in May 1960 and the date of 30 June 1960 was agreed upon as the day that the Republic of the Congo would become independent.<sup>45</sup> In the rush of the debate, matters such as ethnic and federal structures or the future role of Belgium could not be settled by the disputing factions.<sup>46</sup>

Despite several campaigns and accusations against Patrice Lumumba, the leader of the left MNC, his party reached the majority in the first Congolese elections.<sup>47</sup> Belgium which encouraged these campaigns against the now soon-to-be prime minister wanted to remain as close to the status quo as possible after independence.<sup>48</sup> This would mean an independent state with very close ties to its "mother state" which was also a shared interest by United States administration which hoped to further secure Congolese uranium – a status quo which Lumumba openly challenged.<sup>49</sup> Nevertheless, Belgian efforts did not cease: In order to form a national unity government, leaders of other parties, such as Joseph Kasavubu of the ABAKO, were taken into consideration to lead the to-be nation.<sup>50</sup> In the end, after no solution where Kasavubu would be prime minister could be agreed upon, it was Patrice Lumumba who was elected prime minister and Kasavubu who would be president of the Congolese state.<sup>51</sup>

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<sup>39</sup> Freund, Bill (1998). *The Making of Contemporary Africa: The Development of African Society since 1800* (2nd ed.), Basingstoke: Palgrave-Macmillan, pp. 198-199.

<sup>40</sup> Zeilig, Leo (2008). *Lumumba: Africa's Lost Leader*, London: Haus, p. 70.

<sup>41</sup> Ibid.

<sup>42</sup> Ibid., pp. 70-73.

<sup>43</sup> Ibid., p. 76.

<sup>44</sup> Ibid., p. 88.

<sup>45</sup> Ibid.

<sup>46</sup> Ibid., pp. 89-91.

<sup>47</sup> Kent, John (2010). *America, the UN and Decolonisation. Cold War conflict in the Congo*, New York, NY: Routledge, p.12.

<sup>48</sup> Ibid.

<sup>49</sup> Ibid., p. 13.

<sup>50</sup> Ibid., p. 14.

<sup>51</sup> Ibid., p. 15.

## The Republic of the Congo: The Aftermath of Independence

### Mutiny and Belgian intervention

On 30 June 1960, the Belgian Congo achieved its independence and became the Republic of the Congo, as Belgium had promised. In his speech on Congolese independence during the proclamation ceremony, prime minister Patrice Lumumba attacked the Western colonialism even though the new republic would still be in need of former colonial institutions to guarantee a smooth transition<sup>52</sup>. The Force Publique as well as many Belgians in powerful administrative positions could not be replaced right away. It would still take some time for the Republic of the Congo to instruct their own administrative apparatus with high-qualified professionals. While the Congolese expected immediate change after the independence, Belgian officials were reluctant to feel challenged in their superior positions.<sup>53</sup> Commander of the Force Publique, Lieutenant-General Émile Janssens, claimed for instance that the newly acquired independence would not result in change of the military status quo, resulting in resentment and anger of his soldiers in command who had hoped that their rank and salary would improve.<sup>54</sup> Taking action, parts of the Force Publique raised a mutiny on 5 July 1960, only five days after independence day.<sup>55</sup> As a consequence, Lumumba dismissed Janssen, transformed the Force Publique into the Armée Nationale Congolaise (ANC),<sup>56</sup> promoted Victor Lundula and Joseph-Désiré Mobutu and gave them command of the army.<sup>57</sup> Nevertheless, the Congolese government failed to stop the ongoing revolt. On the contrary, attacks against the remaining Belgians became more frequent in the chaos of the mutiny.<sup>58</sup> In order to protect its citizens, Belgium sent national troops to the Republic of the Congo on 9 July without the Republic of the Congo's consent, not only straining relations between the two nations but as well between the prime minister and the president.<sup>59</sup> Whereas the latter did not see a threat in Belgium's reactions, Lumumba saw it as a reimposition of colonialism and as an infringement of the sovereignty of the young Congolese nation.<sup>60</sup> At the same time, the United States amongst others initiated efforts to include the United Nations as a cooperative and mediating force between Belgium and the Congo.<sup>61</sup>

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<sup>52</sup> Zeilig, Leo (2008). *Lumumba: Africa's Lost Leader*, London: Haus, pp. 96-100.

<sup>53</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 102.

<sup>54</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 103.

<sup>55</sup> Gondola, Didier (2002). *The History of Congo*, Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood, p. 118.

<sup>56</sup> Zeilig, Leo (2008). *Lumumba: Africa's Lost Leader*, London: Haus, p. 104.

<sup>57</sup> Renton, David; Seddon, David; Zeilig, Leo (2007). *The Congo: Plunder and Resistance*, London: Zed Books, p. 113.

<sup>58</sup> Gondola, Didier (2002). *The History of Congo*, Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood, p. 118.

<sup>59</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 119.

<sup>60</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>61</sup> Kent, John (2010). *America, the UN and Decolonisation. Cold War conflict in the Congo*. New York, NY: Routledge, p. 15.

## Secession of Katanga

The crisis deteriorated even further when the southern province of Katanga seceded on 11 July 1961 which was claimed to be facilitated and backed by the Belgians.<sup>62</sup> The State of Katanga was to be led by Moïse Tshombe, the leader of the Confédération des Associations Tribales du Katanga (CONAKAT), who wanted no part in the chaos in the Republic of the Congo.<sup>63</sup> The province never had a close relationship to the rest of Congo because of separate administration under colonial rule and ethnic distinction from other Congolese people.<sup>64</sup> First and foremost, economic aspects were the reason.<sup>65</sup> On the one hand, the province wanted to keep the wealth from its minerals in the region, while Belgium on the other hand feared the nationalization of the Belgian company Union Minière du Haut Katanga (UMHK) which controlled the majority of the mineral production in Katanga.<sup>66</sup>

## Congo's request for aid

Eventually, Lumumba's cabinet requested the United States' assistance on July 12<sup>th</sup> in 1960.<sup>67</sup> This request was denied by President Dwight. D. Eisenhower since aid should only be provided through the UN.<sup>68</sup> Subsequently, seeing no other viable option, the Republic of the Congo formally requested the UN Secretary-General Dag Hammarskjöld to send UN troops to assist in the national crisis as well as against Belgian "aggression", a term used by the Congo government for the unwelcome deployment of Belgian troops.<sup>69</sup>

Having noted the crisis in the Republic of the Congo with greatest concern, the Secretary General asked the president of the United Nations Security Council, Jose A. Correa, to convene an emergency meeting to be held on 13 and 14 July 1960.<sup>70</sup>

## The internal conflict: A struggle for power

Inside of the newly independent Republic of the Congo, some political parties were trying to restore order while others were using the chaos to their advantage in order to gain and expand influence. Even inside the joint government of the Congo, tensions and power struggles were building up.

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<sup>62</sup> Nugent, Paul (2004). *Africa since Independence: A Comparative History*, New York: Palgrave-MacMillan, p.85.

<sup>63</sup> Ibid.

<sup>64</sup> Turner, Thomas (2007). *The Congo Wars: Conflict, Myth, and Reality (2nd ed.)*, London: Zed Books, p. 28.

<sup>65</sup> Nugent, Paul (2004). *Africa since Independence: A Comparative History*, New York: Palgrave-MacMillan, pp. 85-69.

<sup>66</sup> Kent, John (2010). *America the UN and Decolonisation. Cold War conflict in the Congo*. New York, NY: Routledge. p.8.

<sup>67</sup> Kent, John (2010). *America, the UN and Decolonisation. Cold War conflict in the Congo*. New York, NY: Routledge. pp. 16.

<sup>68</sup> Ibid.

<sup>69</sup> Ibid., p.18.

<sup>70</sup> S/4381, July 13, 1960, UNBIS.

Lumumba's Mouvement National Congolais was a national party trying to represent all Congolese people. Thus, the MNC had support throughout the whole Congo which was the reason for the party's success.<sup>71</sup> The majority of its members followed the moderate course of its leader and favored a strong centralized government. Especially Western powers regarded the MNC with suspicion, assuming several members including Lumumba to have contact with communists.<sup>72</sup> The most direct rival of the MNC was Kasavubu's Alliance des Bakongo (ABAKO) which represented a more conservative stance, favoring a federal system for the Republic of the Congo. In contrast to the MNC, the ABAKO was more radical and based on ethno-religious nationalism.<sup>73</sup> Nevertheless, the party was part of Lumumba's government coalition and a driving force behind the nation's independence. The Congo Crisis would put a strain on the rather unstable coalition of these very different partners.<sup>74</sup>

The CONAKAT under the leadership of Moïse Tshombe was a party solely founded for the interests of the Katanga region in the south of the country.<sup>75</sup> Due to the close economic relationship between the province and Belgium during its colonial rule, Tshombe supported a pro-Western approach and opposed the Congo's growing enmity towards its former colonizer.<sup>76</sup> The secession on 11 July 1960 which was never officially recognized only proved how far Katanga and the rest of the Congo had shifted apart, not only driving a deeper wedge between them but also destabilizing the young nation even further.<sup>77</sup>

Secessionist tendencies could also be seen in parts of the province of Kasai.<sup>78</sup> There, former MNC member Albert Kalonji had rallied the support of his own ethnic group, after he split off from Lumumba's party.<sup>79</sup> His faction was known as the MNC-Kalonji and advocated a system of strong federalism and the division of the Kasai province according to ethnic groups.<sup>80</sup> However, Kalonji's proposition failed and his party grew even more resentful towards the central government in Léopoldville, accusing them of ethnic discrimination.<sup>81</sup>

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<sup>71</sup> Zeilig, Leo (2008). *Lumumba: Africa's Lost Leader*, London: Haus, p. 65.

<sup>72</sup> Kent, John (2010). *America, the UN and Decolonisation. Cold War conflict in the Congo*, New York, NY: Routledge, p. 8.

<sup>73</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 7.

<sup>74</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 15.

<sup>75</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 8.

<sup>76</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>77</sup> Nugent, Paul (2004). *Africa since Independence: A Comparative History*, New York: Palgrave-MacMillan, p. 85.

<sup>78</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 86.

<sup>79</sup> Zeilig, Leo (2008). *Lumumba: Africa's Lost Leader*, London: Haus, pp. 82-85.

<sup>80</sup> Nzongola-Ntalaja, Georges (2007). *The Congo, From Leopold to Kabila: A People's History* (3rd ed.), New York: Palgrave, p. 105.

<sup>81</sup> *Ibid.*



## **Belgium: interests of a former colonial ruler**

With the transition to a complete Congolese administration still underway, many Belgians still held the same political positions as before.<sup>82</sup> The same was true for Belgian companies some of which have existed since the time of the Congo Free State and still dominated the Congolese economy.<sup>83</sup> This was much to the dismay of the Congolese who still felt paternalized even after independence had been achieved.

The economic interest of Belgium played a major role in their intervention during the crisis. Even after independence, it profited immensely from the companies in the Republic of the Congo which were not seldom linked to the Belgian state.<sup>84</sup> Especially in the mining sector investments were considered highly lucrative. Corporations such as the UMHK which operated in Katanga and shaped the region economically were effectively controlled by the Belgian state and thus were an important source of income for Brussels.<sup>85</sup> This did not end with Congolese independence - the companies still had a lot of influence as they were able to affect political decisions.<sup>86</sup> Despite the Congo's independence, institutional and economical dependencies similar to those under the colonial rule still existed.<sup>87</sup>

Furthermore, not just economic hegemony hindered the transition to complete independence. After the mutiny of the Force Publique and the resulting attacks against Belgian citizens as well as other Europeans in the Congo, Belgium sent national troops to the Congo. The troops, however, were sent without prior notice in an attempt to protect its remaining citizens there. This meant a violation of the Treaty of Friendship which forbid Belgian military presence without the consent from the Congolese government.<sup>88</sup> These troops began to occupy few Congolese cities, leading to fighting between them and Congolese forces.<sup>89</sup> As of 13 July 1960, it had yet to be seen whether the intention was about the protection of Belgian citizens or rather about reverting to the pre-independence state of Belgian hegemony.<sup>90</sup>

## **Conclusion**

### **Context: A crisis of many interests**

The Congo Crisis takes place amidst an early phase of the Cold War. Alliances and political objections were widespread between the members of the Security Council. In a new sort of a "Scramble for

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<sup>82</sup> Williams, Susan (2016). *Spies in the Congo*, New York: Public Affairs, p. 75.

<sup>83</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 76.

<sup>84</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 76–77.

<sup>85</sup> Vanthemsche, Guy (2012). *Belgium and the Congo, 1885–1980*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 180-183.

<sup>86</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 184.

<sup>87</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 186.

<sup>88</sup> Urquhart, Brian (1972). *Hammaraskjold*, New York: Alfred A. Knopf, pp. 392-395.

<sup>89</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>90</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 395.

Africa”, two blocs were seeking to establish and renew ties with newly independent – and often outspoken – countries against the backdrop of an increasingly changing United Nations. In 1960 alone, 17 countries became independent. Correspondingly, the number of Member States at the United Nations more than doubled from 51 in 1945 to 117 in 1960.<sup>91</sup>

This being the case, delegates will find themselves confronted with, as a matter of fact, more than one crisis. First of all, the Congo was undergoing an internal postcolonial transformation. The Belgian troops, thus, were not the sole destabilizing factor in a country already undergoing massive administrative, economic and political changes.<sup>92</sup>

Secondly, the Congo Crisis took place on an international stage from its onset, not merely as a conflict brought before the United Nations, but also as an increasingly intertwined dispute with a partly real and partly rhetorically constructed Cold War dimension. The idea of neutralism wasn't new in 1960, but the Congo as a strategically important African country was not granted to use it to its advantage.<sup>93</sup>

For a critical understanding of the Congo crisis, thus, it is necessary to understand the different dimensions as outlined above and the role of the diverse UN agents, Member States and institutions that effectively partook in its early course. Finally, we may permit ourselves in closing to be reminded of the implications the Congo crisis would hold for the United Nations. Herein we may subsume the deployment of its biggest peacekeeping operations hitherto, but also the severe criticism it would receive for seemingly favoring former Western colonial powers over newly independent states. A sustainable solution, hence, can only be achieved through offering postcolonial support without succumbing to Cold War power struggles while also acknowledging the political realities of the time.

## FURTHER READING

To understand your country's policy regarding the Security Council and the topic at hand in the year of 1960, you should take a closer look at diplomatic correspondence and official United Nations protocols and resolutions. A lot can already be gained through assessing the verbal discourse as displayed by the respective representatives at the United Nations. You should also try to grasp your country's stance on (de-)colonization and their specific economic and political interests in Africa.

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<sup>91</sup> Bradley, M. P. (2010). *Decolonization, the global South, and the Cold War, 1919–1962*. In: Melvyn P. Leffler, Odd Arne Westad (Ed.): *The Cambridge History of the Cold War*, Cambridge University Press, pp. 465.

<sup>92</sup> Hobbs, Nicole (2014). *"The UN and the Congo Crisis of 1960"*, p. 6.

<sup>93</sup> Namikas, Lise (2013). *Battleground Africa: Cold War in the Congo, 1960-65*, Washington: Woodrow Wilson Center Press, pp. 10.

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*This should be the starting point for every further research regarding the Security Council and its situation within the United Nations. Of special importance are Articles 23-26 with regard to its function and power and Articles 27-32 which explain the Security Council's Voting Procedure. Chapter VI and VII outline the Security Council's mandate and, hence, possible measures imposed by it.*

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