

SOME SECRETS OF THE CONGO

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While we are sure our readers will be interested in this fascinating glimpse of what went on behind the scenes in the Congo, we should perhaps point out that we do not necessarily share the views of Mr. Howard, nor he ours.

IT TOOK A GREAT deal of ingenuity, effort, ill-will, hatred and downright double dealing to foster the murder, poverty, chaos, and destruction which have been the Congo's trademarks since independence day, June 30, 1960.

Such a disaster could not have been accidental. It could not have been the result of benevolent mismanagement. It had to be deliberate. Ignorance, lack of preparation, none of these singly or collectively could have produced the havoc. It took evil genius to get the job done. Some time this evil genius paraded under the title 'cold war'. Above all is the startling role played by two American Negroes.

The disruption of the independence of the Congo (Leopoldville) did not occur without a specific plan. Nor was it without a specific goal. Neither was it played out without specific actors.

The specific goal is to forever prevent the creation of a strong, wealthy, black-led Africa. To keep the wealth of the Congo out of black hands. To keep colonialism present in Africa forever, or certainly as long as it is possible. The plan is to keep it divided into small, ineffective, pauperized fragments, in other words Balkanize it. To destroy its effective leadership.

The actors are the representatives of those industrial and financial giants of Britain, France, Belgium, South Africa and the United States, who stand to benefit by Africa being pauperized, Balkanized and divided.

Let us go back and check the record. Certainly there was no lack of former experience. Nine African countries and twelve Asian countries had been brought to independence before the Congo. The African countries were Cameroun, Ghana, Guinea, Libya, Malagasy Republic, Morocco, Sudan, Togo, and Tunisia. They all reached independence with more or less peaceful transitions. Why not the Congo? Has nothing been learned in all this time? Was there not a sea of knowledge with which to dampen the hell-fires which flared up in the Congo? Or did someone actually feed the flames?

Since the independence of the Congo, eleven states have been carved out of the former French West Africa and French Equatorial Africa. Somalia, Sierra Leone, Tanganyika and Nigeria have reached their independence later. Liberia, Ethiopia and Egypt (U.A.R.) are older independent states. South Africa is not included in the present calculation since it presents another phase of the problem.

Thus, with all the experience available, and in these days of modern political techniques, it would seem utterly unnecessary to have the disruptions that have confronted the Congolese leaders in bringing their country to stability, a stability not yet attained.

What was so different about the Congolese people, as compared with the people of other countries in Africa, that made their transition to independence so loaded with difficulties? One could say the answer is a resounding '*Nothing.*' However, we cannot overlook the failure of Belgium, who, having the responsibility for so long, was terribly remiss in its obligation to train the Congolese people for what everyone knew would be their eventual independence.

The cause of the disruption, in part, lies in the determination of certain forces not to have successful African Governments anywhere in Africa, but certainly not in a country so large, so wealthy in natural resources and so strategically located as the Congo.

Experience has taught that there are at least two main sources of disruption in bringing an African country to independence. First, the existence of natural resources in the country, particularly mineral wealth. Second, a proportionately large white population.

There is fabulous mineral wealth in this former Belgian colony. But it is not only the mineral wealth within the country itself, but also its proximity to similar mineral wealth in areas still under colonial control. In the Congo, it is a case of its proximity especially to Northern Rhodesia and Angola, as well as its general area relationship to Mozambique, South West Africa and South Africa.

A survey (1957) of the mineral deposits of these countries discloses the following:

Congo: Three-fourths of the world's industrial diamonds. Copper is the country's most important mineral. Other minerals include gold, tin, zinc, silver and many of the elements used in creating atomic weapons, including bauxite.

Angola: Diamonds, copper, iron, phosphates and oil.

Mozambique: Gold, iron, coal, graphite, copper and bauxite.

Northern Rhodesia: Copper, zinc, lead and cobalt. The survey reports tremendous increases in the production of all minerals.

South West Africa: Diamonds (gem and industrial), copper, lead, zinc and manganese.

South Africa: Gold, diamonds (world's leading producer of gem diamonds), copper, lead, zinc, uranium, wide range of priceless stones, coal, iron, and all the material needed for alloying steel as well as platinum metals.

These mineral deposits found in common in these states and the necessity for their development and control creates certain political overtones occasioned by the organizations of capital for their extraction, processing and marketing. This results in the development of certain kinds of industrial and financial giants. Among these giants exercising control are Union Miniere du Haut-Katanga, Ltd., Committee Special du Katanga, Society General de Belgique, and Tanganyika Concessions, Ltd. The control of these organizations is mainly in the hands of Belgian, British, French, South African, and United States industrial and financial interests, and those interests demonstrate their strength on occasions in their behind-the-scenes operations.

These interests exercise their influence on the political activities both of their respective governments and the United Nations. Also, with their unlimited financial resources, in the process they organize agencies to influence public opinion. One of these agencies created here in the United States to influence public opinion is a group called 'American Committee For Aid To Katanga Freedom Fighters'. The aim of this particular operation is to undermine United States governmental support of the United Nations operations in the Congo. Their basic and long-term goal is to prevent the unification and peaceful transition of an African country, the Congo, to independence.

With typical 'Madison Avenue techniques' they capitalize on the current 'Negro Freedom Struggle' and amazingly enough, though the ultimate result will be the Balkanization and destruction of an African country, the 'Committee' has a Negro chairman, Max Yergan.

The 'Committee' brings together a combination of individuals who have been outstanding in their individual records for opposition to American Negro and African freedom and progress. The list includes Senator James O. Eastland (D. Miss.), Senator J. Strom Thurmond (D. S. Car.), Senator Richard Russell (D. Ga.), Senator Thomas J. Dodd (D. Conn.), Max Yergan and George S. Schuyler. Yergan and Schuyler are Negroes.

It is worth while to review the record of these men in matters affecting the American Negro and the African. 'Eastland of Mississippi' is almost a curse word on the lips of American Negroes. He comes from a state that is outstanding for its opposition to social progress for Negroes, or any extension of civil rights to its Negro citizens. To date (1962) not a single public school has been desegregated in Mississippi, although the United States Supreme Court decision outlawing segregation in public facilities was handed down in 1954. In 1944 and since, Eastland has filibustered against all anti-poll tax bills in the Senate. In 1948, he broke with the Democratic Party and joined the Dixiecrat Party because of the 'civil rights planks' in the Democratic Party platform. The State of Mississippi has been the most cruel state of all in its persecution of 'freedom fighters'. It is openly admitted that the leadership for Mississippi's adamancy against 'Negro rights' stems from Senator Eastland.

Senator Strom Thurmond of South Carolina was the leader of the Dixiecrat movement in the South and was the candidate for the Presidency of the United States on the Dixiecrat Party ticket in 1948. Here are some of the principles stated in the Dixiecrat Party platform which Strom Thurmond embraced and enunciated:

'We stand for the segregation of the races and the racial integrity of each race . . . We oppose the elimination of segregation, the repeal of miscegenation statutes, the control of private employment by federal bureaucrats called for by the misnamed civil rights program. We favor home rule, local self-government and a minimum interference with individual rights.

'We oppose and condemn the action of the Democratic Convention in sponsoring a civil rights program calling for the elimination of segregation, social equality by federal fiat, regulation of private employment practices, voting and local law enforcement.

'We affirm that the effective enforcement of such a program would be utterly destructive of the social, economic and political life of the Southern People, and of other localities in which there may be differences of race, creed or national origin in appreciable numbers.'

In 1957 Senator Strom Thurmond filibustered in the United States

Senate against pending civil rights legislation for twenty-four hours and eighteen minutes. The filibuster record.

Senator Richard Russell of Georgia, in several sessions of Congress, has masterminded practically all of the opposition to efforts designed to weaken the filibuster hold on Senate procedures held by southern and northern Negro-haters in the Senate. He has been a relentless foe of all civil rights bills in the Senate. His opposition to Supreme Court decisions favoring desegregation in schools and public transportation cases is legend. It is common knowledge in high political circles that his strong anti-Negro sentiments have kept him from consideration for higher posts in the government.

Senator Dodd, of Connecticut, is known in big money circles as a representative of Anaconda Copper. For some time it has been reported that Anaconda Copper and a South American copper combine are uniting to take over Union Miniere du Haut-Katanga. It is also reported that that was his mission in Katanga in the fall of 1961. Actually, the Senator was being entertained in Elizabethville on November 28, 1961, when Katangese para-commandos broke into his party and beat up two United Nations officials, Brian Urquhart and George Ivan Smith. One must question the attitude of the Senator towards the brutal beating given these two United Nations servants judging from his reported statements. First, he was reported as about to review his former glowing commendatory remarks about the peaceful, law-abiding administration of his 'boy' Tshombe. Realizing that such an about-face might play havoc with his 'mission', he swallowed again and stuck to his thesis: 'Tshombe was running a most peaceful and successful administration in Katanga. Really the only peaceful and business-like operation in all the Congo and he really deserves our support.'

Max Yergan has been described, by the Congo Information Officer of the Central Government at the United Nations, as 'a man who sees a communist behind every bush'. Yergan is a bitter critic of United States support of the United Nations, which support he describes as 'anxiety to outbid every communist show of anti-colonial zeal'.

He criticized the United States for the support of a resolution passed by the United Nations General Assembly which 'urged that immediate steps be taken to grant full independence to all African colonial areas without any condition or reservations in accordance with their freely expressed will and desire, without any distinction as to race, creed, or color, in order to enable them to enjoy complete independence and freedom'. Yergan was opposed to that resolution,

which was approved by a vote of eighty-nine in favor, none against, and nine abstentions. Australia, Belgium, Dominican Republic, France, Portugal, Spain, Union of South Africa, and the United Kingdom abstained.

The United States in a later action after the matter was passed by that overwhelming vote, 'urged Portugal to conform to the United Nations Resolution'.

Yergan is said to be the head of a private research organization called Africa Consultants. He reports that he visited Angola twice in 1961. These trips were undoubtedly made as the head of Africa Consultants, and at the expense of the Portuguese Government.

Yergan has repeatedly written and made statements in support of the policies of the South African Government as they affect the cruelly treated indigenous people of the Republic of South Africa.

Yergan in criticizing United States policy on African questions says: 'Washington cannot even pretend that it has put principle above expediency, its actions have been too transparently bids for Afro-Asian popularity.' Obviously Yergan is opposed to United States support for African independence, except on Yergan's terms, which must be Salazar's terms and Prime Minister Verwoerd's terms. He adheres strictly to the Portuguese and South African lines. Africans could hardly find less hope for their future than is set up by these bitter enemies of African independence.

George Schuyler is head of the China Lobby in the United States. He too is a bitter critic of United States policy in African matters. He too was in Angola in 1961. He has written and made radio speeches where he said: 'Intelligent Africans see through American support of terrorists as a cheap and fraudulent action.' Undoubtedly some Africans, to serve their own selfish purposes, may have said as much, but certainly that is not the opinion of intelligent and accepted African leadership.

Schuyler is hardly less vicious in his attacks on United States support of African independence than is Yergan. He is also a bitter critic of American Negro youth 'freedom fighters'. How the term 'freedom fighters' ever found its way into the name of the Eastland, Thurmond, Russell, Dodd, Yergan, Schuyler supported Committee to help Tshombe is difficult to figure out. Certainly none of them, according to their records, could possibly care less about freedom for Africans or American Negroes.

The second source of disruption in bringing an African country to independence is the presence within their country of a substantial European (white) population. Algeria, the Republic of South Africa,

and Southern Rhodesia are excellent illustrations. It is, of course, not the presence of the white population alone that poses the problem but the fact that the white population is always able to enlist the military support needed from their ancestral lands.

The white man will not live with any non-white man any place on a basis of equality, be it Africa, Asia or the United States, until he is compelled to do so. The white man, in entirely too many instances, has never given up the idea that he is God and therefore is entitled to preference. The African is determined that in his own land, *his home*, he is going to be equal of every other man there. The white man is making a determined last stand not to permit him to do so. These two seemingly irresistible forces may yet bring the world to a cataclysmic end. It does not yet appear that it will not do so.

It is interesting to note the role being enacted by the governments of those financial interests most heavily involved industrially and financially in the Congo, and in the 'stop Africa independence movement'. The role of each government has been apparently independent, but certainly they were interlocking and complementary.

The role of the Government of the United Kingdom in backing Tshombe is completely denied verbally by the United Kingdom government, but their actions speak louder than their words. While voting for resolutions supporting the unity of the Congo and making speeches in that direction, under pressure from their extreme right wing, the British government withdrew their promise to furnish bombs for the jets being manned by the Indians, which were sorely needed to counter Tshombe's jets, and they refused the Ethiopian jet planes on their way to help the hard-pressed United Nations forces in Katanga, the right to refuel in Uganda. These two moves alone could have been fatal to the United Nations cause in the Congo.

Another role of the British right wing was obviously to exert pressure on Hammarskjold, apparently designed to halt the implementation of a United Nations resolution which they opposed.

Informed circles at the U.N. have known for a long time that there was a force in the United Nations more powerful than the Security Council or the General Assembly. The implementation of important resolutions often failed if certain big powers did not wish them carried out, in spite of the fact that they had received the required majorities.

An illustration of this British pressure was the visit of Lord Lansdowne to the Congo shortly before the death of Hammarskjold. Under the guise of an inspection trip, the visit was obviously made

in order to put pressure on Hammarskjold to halt United Nations military action in Katanga. When it was desirable to put pressure on the Secretary-General, all that was necessary was for Lord Lansdowne at the right moment to inquire of Hammarskjold, 'How many Permanent Members of the Security Council he thought he could afford to offend.' The Russians were already boycotting him and another Security Council member against him might prove fatal. This is the same Lord Lansdowne who 'insisted' on Hammarskjold journeying to Ndola to meet and negotiate with Tshombe. A trip never completed, for it was on this trip that Hammarskjold lost his life.

The United Kingdom Government bears the responsibility for the foreign affairs of the Central African Federation, of which Northern Rhodesia is a part. The Prime Minister of the Federation, Sir Roy Welensky, has been involved in actions which on the surface at least seem to lend credence to reports that his government was rendering assistance to the Katanga government. Mr. Welensky's government has been adamant in its refusal to permit United Nations representatives to enter Northern Rhodesia and inspect check points along the Northern Rhodesia-Congolese border, to prevent the further flow of arms and ammunition into Katanga for the support of Tshombe. This action, of course, raises the question as to the reliability of British claims that it supports U.N. actions in the Congo operation.

France's role in opposition to the Congo operation is, of course, consistent with her persistent position against having almost anything to do with the Congo affair. Except for a few votes in the Security Council of the United Nations in the early days of the Congo operation, France has abstained. This has been especially so when any specific action to help unify the Congo was under consideration. French-made fighter planes have found their way into the Katanga 'air force'.

France prior to 1960 administered her two largest areas on the African continent, French Equatorial Africa and French West Africa, as French 'overseas' territories. When pressure for independence became irresistible, instead of creating two large viable states in Africa as she had administered them, they were split up and Balkanized into eleven non-viable states called the French Community. France retained responsibility for foreign affairs and defense. Once Balkanized these areas became potential pawns in French foreign policy.

Admittedly, the military leadership of Tshombe's mercenaries

has been and continues to be French. At one point recruiting for Tshombe's mercenaries was openly carried on in France.

The role of Belgium, of course, has been that of a party in interest. Belgium has been constantly at odds with the United Nations in the matter of getting mercenaries out of the Congo. Belgian nationals have returned to the Congo since their first exodus after independence. Belgium's most effective role has been in the industrial and financial fields. Union Miniere, though internationally owned, has been Belgian operated.

Belgium's early role in preventing the success of a Government in the Congo that it did not like and Belgium's role in co-operation with the United States in ousting the Lumumba Government and substituting the Mobutu-Kasavubu military regime, is one of the neatest undercover operations ever inflicted upon a disadvantaged people. This was done primarily by financial manoeuvres. The National Bank of Belgium by the simple move of refusing the right of its subsidiary, the Central Bank of the Congo, to loan any money to the Congo Government without the prior consent of the National Bank of Belgium, kept the Lumumba Government from functioning or being able to pay its army and thus maintain security. Belgium kept this up long enough for Mobutu to be installed, whom the business interests financed, so he could take over the Congolese Army and oust Lumumba. The ousting of Lumumba was an absolute necessity if the Congo was going to be kept out of African hands. Not only must he be ousted but he must be got out of the way. For so long as he remained on the political scene he remained a threat to white domination of the Congo and the rest of Africa.

In discussing the role of the United States in the Congo one must distinguish between the roles played by the Eisenhower Administration and the role played by the Kennedy Administration. Because there is a distinct difference. The Eisenhower program was a 'cold war' operation and carried out for the benefit of the co-operating business interests with no concern for the interests of the Congolese people. The West early developed a distaste for Lumumba and decided that he was not going to remain Prime Minister irrespective of the mandate of the Congolese elections or the wishes of the Congolese people.

The functional operation was carried out by Ambassador Timberlake. With the United Kingdom, Belgian and French support a wedge was driven between Kasavubu and Lumumba and there has never been a moment's peace in the Congo since. According to Andrew Tully, who wrote *C.I.A.* (1962), Kasavubu was advised by

the Central Intelligence Agency 'that he had the right to remove Lumumba and dissolve the government'. According to the 'loi Fondemantle' Kasavubu did not have such power without the consent of Parliament, but the West was in a position to make his decisions stick. And they did. Kasavubu, whom Tully wrote 'sat at the feet of the C.I.A.', announced the removal of Lumumba as Prime Minister. The C.I.A. created Kasavubu and Mobutu in the image they wished and they have remained so. Quoting Tully further, 'Mobutu, a one-time stringer for Agence France Press in Leopoldville and a former sergeant in the Force Publique under the Belgians, it seems safe to say was "discovered" by the C.I.A.' It was common knowledge among informed sources in the Congo that during the month of August 1960 Mobutu was a constant night-time visitor at the United States Embassy in Leopoldville. Shortly afterwards he turned up with enough money to undermine the Lumumba Government; being able to pay the army and take over.

In spite of the fact that a Parliament has been reconvened and a government has been set up, the C.I.A. control of the situation through 'their men', Kasavubu and Mobutu, has never been broken. Typical of divide-and-rule technique, however, these two have never been permitted to get too close together. When the Kasavubu-Bomboko-Ileo group arrested Tshombe and brought him to Leopoldville, it was Mobutu who released him.

Quoting Tully further, referring to conditions after the reconvening of Parliament and the creation of the Adoula Government, 'when unity appeared, British and European mining interests stepped in behind the scenes in Katanga and encouraged Tshombe to resist United Nations efforts to bring Katanga back into the fold. The shameless and bloody period which followed, climaxed in the death of Hammarskjold in a suspicious plane crash while a new wave of bitterness swept the Congo'.

Undoubtedly the most significant role played by the C.I.A. was the break-up of the conciliation between Kasavubu and Lumumba. During October 1960, a conciliation agreement was worked out between Kasavubu and Lumumba by a Conciliation Commission appointed by the Parliament and ably assisted by a United Nations representative. Lumumba showed me one of the original signed copies of the agreement and gave me a copy of it, which I still have in my possession. Mr. Okito, President of the Senate, who was later murdered with Lumumba, and who was also a member of the Conciliation Commission, verified the signature of Kasavubu and others, including his own, on the agreement.

On the day the agreement was signed and witnessed, it was agreed that Kasavubu and Lumumba would go on the radio and together announce their reconciliation to all the Congo. Cars were standing in front of their respective residences ready to take them to the radio station, when Kasavubu received a telephone call. After that telephone call Kasavubu refused to go along to the radio station to make the announcement.

Sources in the Congo, in a position to know, say that Ambassador Scott of the United Kingdom, Ambassador Timberlake of the United States, Mr. Linner of the United Nations, and Colonel (now General) Mobutu were together at the time that that telephone call came to Kasavubu. It is a known fact that the United Nations representative who assisted in negotiating that conciliation was a few days afterward shipped off to Kivu Province. Undoubtedly, that telephone call was the most devastating telephone call ever put through on an African telephone. That decision may have led eventually to the death of Mr. Hammarskjold.

It seems reasonable to deduct from subsequent actions that the Kennedy Administration has embarked upon a different foreign policy than the one in existence under Eisenhower. Ambassador Timberlake has been removed and United States policy seems dedicated to the creation of a United Congo. But, it should be remembered that business men call the tune in the Congo, not politicians. Actually, on occasion business men use the political machinery to carry out policies quite contrary to announced political goals. Such is the reality of the 'cold war' which has torn the Congo wide open and keeps it so.

The Congo situation cannot be considered in isolation. While for the moment the Congo is the focal point of most attention, Northern Rhodesia and other parts of the Central African Federation are rapidly forging their way into the spotlight. The problem there is the same—mineral wealth and the determination of certain forces to see that this wealth does not come under the control of Africans.

The efforts to divide Katanga from the rest of the Congo have a two-fold purpose. First, to salvage the mineral wealth of Katanga, Northern and Southern Rhodesia, and South West Africa for the colonial powers, and second, to halt the forward progress of African nationalism.

The events mentioned here are but a few skeins in the web that has entangled contemporary Africa as the people and leaders on that continent continue the struggle to free all of Africa from the last vestiges of colonialism.

All of Africa must be released from any form of colonialism. What has been said here, however, should provide some insight into the last desperate struggle being made by those who hate to see the old order change. Nevertheless, the forces of history cannot be checked, and though it may take more time in some places than was anticipated, Africa will be free.

WHERE OUR RICHES GO

'Our continent is probably the richest in the world for minerals and industrial and agricultural primary materials. From the Congo alone, Western firms exported copper, rubber, cotton, and other goods to the value of 2,773 billion dollars in the ten years between 1945 and 1955, and from South Africa, Western gold mining companies have drawn a profit, in the six years between 1947 and 1951, of 814 billion dollars.

'Our continent certainly exceeds all the others in potential hydroelectric power, which some experts assess as 42 per cent of the world's total. What need is there for us to remain hewers of wood and drawers of water for the industrialised areas of the world?

'It is said, of course, that we have no capital, no industrial skill, no communications and no internal markets, and that we cannot even agree among ourselves how best to utilise our resources.

'Yet all the stock exchanges in the world are preoccupied with Africa's gold, diamonds, uranium, platinum, copper and iron ores. Our capital flows out in streams to irrigate the whole system of Western economy. Fifty-two per cent of the gold in Fort Knox at this moment, where the U.S.A. stores its bullion, is believed to have originated from our shores. Africa provides more than 60 per cent of the world's gold. A great deal of the uranium for nuclear power, of copper for electronics, of titanium for supersonic projectiles, of iron and steel for heavy industries, of other minerals and raw materials for lighter industries—the basic economic might of the foreign powers—come from our continent.'

—Dr. Kwame Nkrumah—President of Ghana.
In his address to the Conference of Heads of African States, Addis Ababa, May 24th, 1963.