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**PCS 310**

  **ASSIGNMENT**

Since its involvement in the Suez Crisis in 1956, the United Nations had intervened in quite a number of African conflicts with mixed record of successes and failures. Discuss the UN conflict management experiences in the Congo or Angola.

 **ANSWERS**

The United Nations Operation in the Congo (ONUC; French: Operation des Nations Unies au Congo) was a United Nations peacekeeping force in the Republic of the Congo (Leopoldville) that was established after United Nations Security Council Resolution 143 of 14 July 1960. The mission was launched to help restore stability to the Congo after it fell into conflict and disorder following independence. ONUC was the UN's first peacekeeping mission with a significant military force. It was withdrawn in 1964. Following Security Council actions, the United Nations Organization in the Congo was established. To carry out these tasks, the Secretary-General set up a United Nations Force at its peak strength numbering nearly 20,000. The UN Force stayed in the Congo between 1960 and 1964, and underwent a transition from a peacekeeping presence to a military force. ONUC's main goals stayed consistent from the first to fifth resolution. It aimed to both have Belgian military personnel (later expanding to mercenaries) withdrawn and to provide military assistance to ensure internal stability. The successive Security Council resolutions added to and elaborated on the initial mandate but did not fundamentally change the operation's objectives. These were especially significant because Belgium's invasion violated the norm of sovereignty, and the second objective was set to prevent the country from becoming a Cold War client state. The first troops reached Congo on 15 July 1960, many airlifted by the United States Air Force as part of Operation New Tape. Prime Minister Patrice Lumumba, dissatisfied with Dag Hammarskjold's refusal to use UN troops to subdue the insurrection in Katanga, decided to attempt an invasion of Katanga on his own and turned to the Soviet Union for help. The invasion attempt never reached Katanga but led to dissension within the Central Government, the collapse of the Central Government, and eventually to Lumumba's arrest in December. Lumumba was then executed in Katanga in January 1961. Only then did the United Nations Security Council explicitly authorize the use of force for purposes beyond self-defense. The Congo became independent on 30 June 1960, but the Belgian commander, Lieutenant General Emile Janssen’s, refused to "Africanize" the officers corps of the Force Publique (the army), resulting in disorder and mutinies. While the President and the Prime Minister were trying to negotiate with the mutineers, the Belgian government decided to intervene to protect Belgians that remained in the country. It also, with the acceptance of Moise Tshombe, sent troops to take over Katanga and establish a secession there to protect mining interests. Katanga was rich in minerals and natural resources.

On 10 July, Belgian troops were sent to Elisabethville, the capital of Katanga, to control the situation and protect Belgian civilians. There were 100,000 Belgians living in the Congo at the time, and many were in a state of panic. The presence of Belgian troops was illegal under international law, as Congolese officials had not requested their presence. With the help of the Belgians, who wrote all his declarations, Tshombe proclaimed the independence of the new State of Katanga. On 12 July, the President and the Prime Minister asked for help from the UN. The UN Secretary-General addressed the UN Security Council at a night meeting on 13 July and asked the Council to act with utmost speed on the request. At the same meeting, the Security Council adopted Resolution 143 (1960), by which it called upon the Government of Belgium to withdraw its troops from the territory of the Congo. The resolution authorized the Secretary-General to facilitate the withdrawal of Belgian troops, maintain law and order, and help to establish and legitimize the post-colonial government. This mission was approved by a Security Council vote eight in favor and none against, with three countries abstaining. Both the United States and Soviet Union voted in favor. This mandate was extended to maintain the territorial integrity of Congo, particularly through the removal of the foreign mercenaries supporting the secession of Katanga. ONUC's intention was an unprecedented role for a UN peacekeeping force, as it was not self-evidently peacekeeping in nature. The United Nations stated four goals for the operation: first, to restore law and order, second, to keep other nations out of the crisis, third, to help build the country's economy, and fourth, to restore stability. A peacekeeping force had landed in the country within 48 hours of the resolution, as well as civilian experts who were tasked with keeping the country's infrastructure operating smoothly.

In 1960, Lumumba asked the United Nations to intervene and use military force to stop Tshombe's forces in Katanga. The first UN troops arrived on 15 July but there was instant disagreement between Lumumba and the UN over the new force's mandate. Because the Congolese army had been in disarray since the mutiny, Lumumba wanted to use the UN troops to subdue Katanga by force. Lumumba wrote to UN Secretary General Dag Hammarskjöld, that from the text of United Nations Security Council Resolution 143 "it is clear that, contrary to your personal interpretation, the UN force may be used to subdue the rebel government of Katanga. The secession of Katanga was an internal Congolese matter and the UN was forbidden to intervene by Article 2 of the United Nations Charter. Disagreements over what the UN force could and could not do continued throughout its deployment. In response, Lumumba accused the UN of siding with Tshombe and foreign mining companies. Lumumba then asked the Soviet Union for assistance and received aid in the form of trucks and aircraft. Using material of the former Force Publique, Lumumba ordered the army to launch an attack on the breakaway Katanga province, but failed to take it back. President Joseph Kasa-Vubu dismissed Lumumba. However, Lumumba refused to step down. By 20 July 1960, 3,500 troops for ONUC had arrived in the Congo. The 3,500 consisted of 460 troops from the Ethiopian Army (later to grow into the Tekil Brigade), 770 troops from the Ghana Armed Forces, 1,250 troops from Morocco and 1,020 troops from the Tunisian Armed Forces. The first contingent of Belgian forces had left Leopoldville on 16 July upon the arrival of the United Nations troops. Following assurances that contingents of the Force would arrive in sufficient numbers, the Belgian authorities agreed to withdraw all their forces from the Leopoldville area by 23 July. The last Belgian troops left the country by 23 July, as United Nations forces continued to deploy throughout the Congo. The buildup continued, ONUC's strength increasing to over 8,000 by 25 July and to over 11,000 by 31 July 1960. A basic agreement between the United Nations and the Congolese Government on the operation of the Force was finalized by 27 July. On 9 August 1960, Kalonji declared the region of south-eastern Kasai, on the Congo's southern border with Portuguese Angola, to be the new Mining State of South Kasai (Etat minier du Sud-Kasaï) or Autonomous State of South Kasai (Etat autonome du Sud-Kasaï). The use of the word "state" (etat) was deliberately ambiguous, allowing Kalonji to avoid specifying whether the South Kasai claimed to independence as a nation-state in imitation of Katanga, or as a province within the Congo. Due to rejection of requests to the UN for aid to suppress the South Kasai and Katanga revolts, the Lumumba Government decided to request Soviet assistance. De Witte writes that "Leopoldville asked the Soviet Union for planes, lorries, arms, and equipment. ...Shortly afterwards, on 22 or 23 August, about 1,000 soldiers left for Kasai. De Witte goes on to write that on 26–27 August, the ANC seized Bakwanga, Albert Kalonji's capital in South Kasai, without serious resistance. In the next two days it temporarily put an end to the secession of Kasai. By February 1961, there were four factions in the Congo: Antoine Gizenga (leading Lumumba's followers), Joseph-Desire Mobutu, Tshombe, and the self-appointed King Albert Kalonji. There were four separate armed forces: Mobotu's ANC itself, numbering about 12,000, the South Kasai Constabulary loyal to Albert Kalonji (3,000 or less), the Katanga Gendarmerie which were part of Moise Tshombe's regime (totalling about 10,000), and the Stanleyville dissident ANC loyal to Antoine Gizenga (numbering about 8,000).

Early in 1961, Patrice Lumumba was assassinated. Jawaharlal Nehru reacted sharply. Calling it an international crime of the first magnitude, he asked Hammarskjold to take a tough line. When the Security Council passed a second resolution on 21 February 1961, Nehru agreed to send an Indian Army brigade of some 4,700 troops to the Congo. Thus United Nations mission was strengthened and expanded in response, in an effort to keep foreign mercenaries out of country. In August of that year, three of the four groups claiming control of the country, Lumumba, Mobutu and Kalonji, reconciled with help from the United Nations. It resulted in the restoration of the country's parliament and prevented the outbreak of a large civil war. Tshombe's breakaway Katanga province was not part of this reconciliation. United Nations forces clashed with Tshombe's foreign mercenaries several times late in the year. On 17 September 1961, UN Secretary General Dag Hammarskjold was flying to Rhodesia to negotiate peace talks between the government and Tshombe when Hammarskjold's plane crashed, killing him. It was a response to the troubled Operation Morthor ongoing at the time. The circumstances of his death were suspicious, and there remains suspicion that his plane was shot down. A recent book by Susan Williams (2011) uncovered evidence that a specially equipped fighter plane from the Belgian-led mercenary force referred to as the Katanga Gendarmerie shot down his plane. Hammarskjold was replaced by U Thant. Swedish troops were assigned to keep order in a huge camp with approximately 40,000 refugees, which hastily grew up in just two weeks during August and September 1961. The camp mainly evolved because the severe persecutions of the Baluba people in the Kasai area. Conditions in the camp were appalling: desperate refugees could murder each other in the crush around food distributions, and there was even cannibalism. A group of about a thousand young men of uncertain origin, called baluba jeunesse, put fear in the camp, committed murder and rioted. The Swedes came to be in open conflict with the baluba jeunesse and on a number of occasions, the situation developed until they shot straight into the angry crowds, killing several people. No legal investigation has been made of the shootings. After Hammarskjold's death, his replacement, U Thant, took a more aggressive approach. Removing Tshombe from Katanga became the primary military objective for the UN. In December 1961, UN troops from Sweden, Ireland, India, and Ethiopia were involved in heavy fighting for Katanga's capital, Elizabethville. UN forces eventually managed to defeat the Katangan gendarmes in the city and took Elizabethville. During the fighting, eleven Swedish soldiers were taken prisoner; they were released on 15 January 1962 in exchange for Katangan gendarmes. In August 1961, under the command of Indian Army's Brigadier-General KAS Raja, the UN launched Operation Rumpunch, a surprise attack that led to the peaceful surrender of 81 foreign mercenaries. In May 1964 troops that also engaged in this, began to withdraw, beginning with the Irish unit in Kolwezi on 11 May, and ending with units in Leopoldville in June. The United Nations also maintained a large civilian staff of 2000 experts in the country throughout 1963 and 1964. The final group of peacekeepers, 85 men of the First Nigerian Battalion and 58 men of the 57th Canadian Signals, departed Ndjili Airport in Leopoldville on 30 June. The last soldier to leave was UN Force Commander Major General Johnson Aguiyi-Ironsi.

National involvement**;** The Indian army, Malyan army, Swedish army, Irish army, Canadian army, Air force, Ground forces, Swedish ONUC battalions.

During the first three years of its operation, ONUC managed to successfully improve the internal security of the Congo. On the eve of ONUC's departure, Adoula declared over radio that the mission was a decisive factor in restoring the Congo's unity and that it set an encouraging precedent for intervention in emerging states. In the years following the Congo Crisis, most Congolese viewed ONUC as an unwelcome foreign interference in their country's affairs. ONUC was the first UN peacekeeping mission to employ force as a means of implementing the decisions of the Security Council. It was also the first mission to enforce a no-fly zone and an arms embargo.