NATIONAL SENIOR CERTIFICATE EXAMINATION
NOVEMBER 2024

HISTORY: PAPER II

SOURCE MATERIAL BOOKLET FOR SECTION B AND SECTION C

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SOURCE A **This is an extract written by a historian named Guy Arnold in 2005, which outlines some of the issues faced by the Congo after independence.**

The murder of Patrice Lumumba in January 1961 marked the end of the first phase of the Congo crisis. The second phase would last until Mobutu seized power in his coup of November 1965. Few events in Africa during the 1960s better illustrated the hypocrisy* of the Western powers or their determination to control the newly independent countries of Africa by any means at their disposal. **(Paragraph 1)**

They manipulated the United Nations, they facilitated the deployment of mercenaries, they worked through the great mining groups such as *Union Minière Du Haut Katanga* … which they controlled and by threats, bribes and overt political pressures, they made certain that a puppet system beholden to them, rather than any fully independent political leadership, came to power in the mineral rich Congo. **(Paragraph 2)**

The Cold War was one excuse for this behavior – preventing the spread of Soviet or Communist influence in the region; greed was another – the Congo was too rich to be allowed to escape from Western corporate controls and deep resentment on the part of the Belgians at loss of control of their colonial empire in Africa was the Third. The end result was to consign* the Congo to more than 30 years' dictatorship under Mobutu Sese Seko (as he became known) who was to make state kleptocracy* fashionable … **(Paragraph 3)**

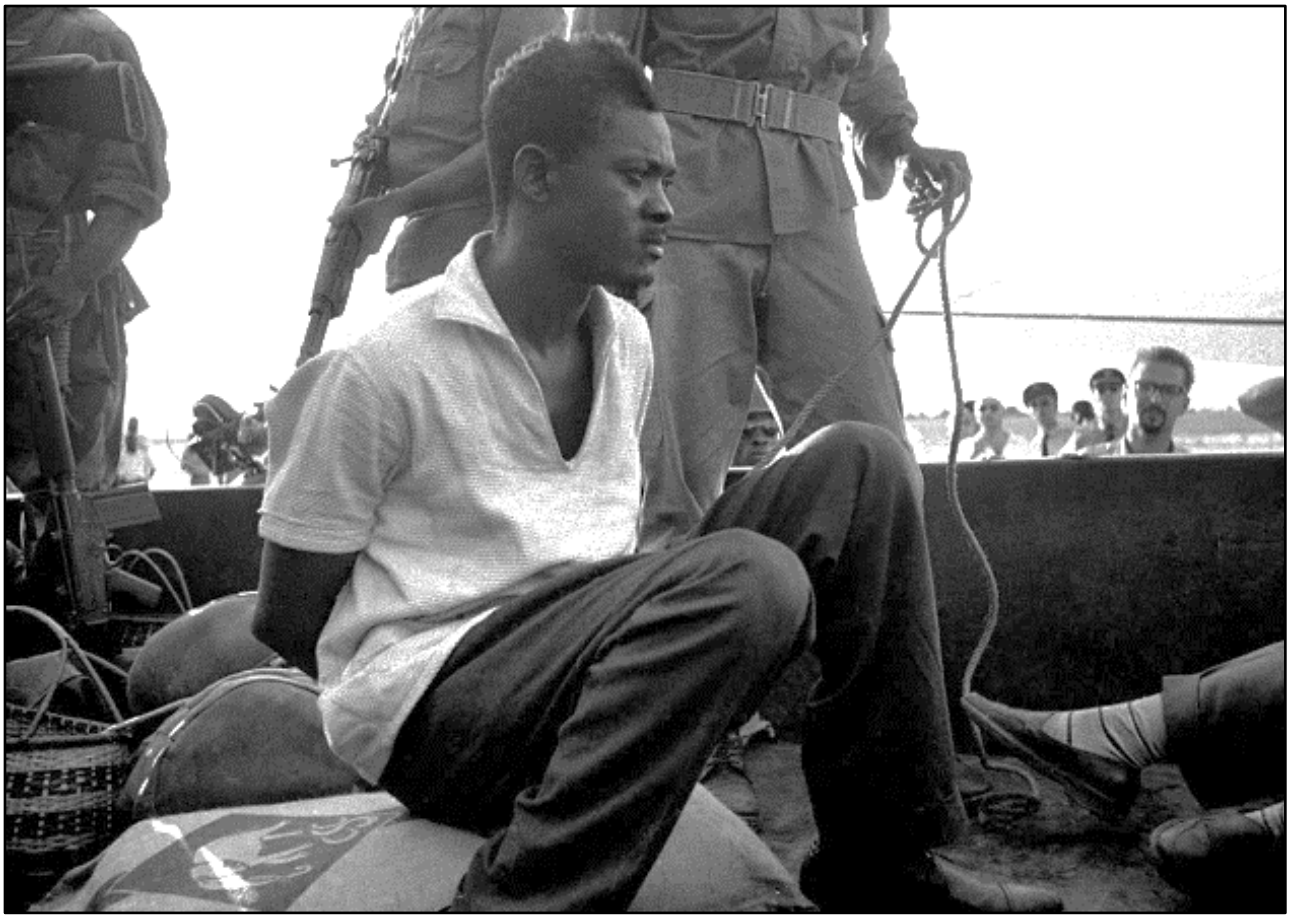
… the Prime Minister of India, Mr Nehru, criticized the … United nations … He wished the United Nations would take a more positive role, using its forces and powers to enable the Congo Parliament to meet … This, he said, was the most obvious step, but it had been prevented by Colonel Mobutu … **(Paragraph 4)**

[Adapted from: Guy Arnold: *Africa A Modern History.* Published by Atlantic Books. 2005. Pages 77–78]

*hypocrisy – the practice of claiming to have higher standards or more noble beliefs than is the case
*consign – hand over or deliver
*kleptocracy – a society or system ruled by people who use their power to steal their country's resources

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SOURCE B **This is a photograph taken by Horst Faas who joined the A.P. in 1955 at the age of 22. He began his illustrious photojournalism career by covering the Congo crisis in 1960. There, he was in the right place to take the last picture of Patrice Lumumba.**



[Available ONLINE: <https://iconicphotos.wordpress.com/2010/03/07/patrice-lumumba/> (Accessed 24 January 2024)]

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SOURCE C **This extract is adapted from documents from the US archives, specifically compiled for an international conference on the Congo Crisis in 2004 by The Cold War International History project at the Woodrow Wilson Center and has been edited by Lise Namikas and Sergey Mazov. It describes Lumumba's interaction with the United Nations.**

… It is important to recognize that the UN, which had up to then refused to intervene, intervened to freeze the situation after Kasavubu had dismissed Lumumba, but before Lumumba had successfully resisted Kasavubu. By taking over control of Leopoldville airport, the UN prevented Lumumba from bringing the forces most loyal to him into Leopoldville from … Stanleyville and from Kasai province … Being the most skilled rabble-rouser*, denial of access to the national radio network also imposed on him an intolerable handicap. … Lumumba … received confirmation that the UN, which had refused to help his government militarily, was now militarily opposing him …

[Readings compiled for an international conference on the Congo Crisis in 2004 by The Cold War International History project at the Woodrow Wilson Center. Edited by Lise Namikas and Sergey Mazov. Page 80. Available ONLINE: <https://www.wilsoncenter.org/publication/the-congo-crisis-1960-1961> (Accessed 28 January 2024)

*rabble-rouser – a person who seeks to stir up or incite a crowd, typically for political or social purposes

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SOURCE D This is an extract written by a historian named Guy Arnold in 2005 which describes the civil war in the Congo.

… Tshombe … raised a force of European mercenaries to fight the rebels in the east … The rebellion in the east [of the Congo]* continued into 1965 … By March 1965, the Congo National Army with its mercenary leaders, was winning the war. A great deal of slaughter took place as the army terrorized the population while relying upon the mercenaries to lead military actions. By July it had become clear that the rebellion was coming to an end. The mercenaries were responsible for a growing list of brutalities and carried out horrific tortures on the prisoners before killing them …

[Adapted from: Guy Arnold: *Africa A Modern History.* Published by Atlantic Books. 2005. Pages 85–88]

*by the CNL (*Confédération des Nationalistes Lumumbistes*) – they were a political party formed by followers and supporters of Patrice Lumumba after he was assassinated in 1961 and continued his political legacy and vision for the Congo. The CNL played a role in resisting the government that had overthrown Lumumba.

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SOURCE E **The following cartoon was drawn by Fritz Behrendt, a German-Dutch political cartoonist. [He has published his work in Dutch papers like *Algemeen Handelsblad*, but also outside of Holland] The cartoon shows Nikita Khrushchev and Mao Tse Tung. They are offering their services to Congo's leaders.**



[Available ONLINE: <https://www.alamy.com/stock-photo-cartoon-published-in-the-new-york-times-khrushchev-and-mao-offer-their-113150029.html> (Accessed 26 January 2024)]

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SOURCE F **The following extract, written by a historian named Paul Kenyon in 2018, highlights aspects of the role played by local actors in the Congo crisis from 1960.**

… Mobutu considered his options: to remain loyal to his friend and supporter, the man who was rowing with President Kasavubu even now as the country slid into flames, or act on behalf of the US, which required Lumumba out of the way. **(Paragraph 1)**

On the evening of 5 September 1960, President Kasavubu headed for the national radio station in Leopoldville. Just after 8:00 pm, listeners heard his high-pitched, hesitant voice explain that he had removed the Prime Minister from power. If that were not extraordinary enough, an hour later, they heard the voice of Patrice Lumumba announcing that he had sacked* President Kasavubu. **(Paragraph 2)**

At that critical moment in the midst of a military, ethnic and economic crisis, when a unified and determined position was paramount*, the two elected leaders had placed personal politics above national interests … now it was his turn to make an announcement. The army would take charge of Congo until the year's end … Mobutu, … was effectively the new leader of this vast young Republic … later Mobutu would allow President Kasavubu to return to office, but only under his stewardship*, not with any real power. In the meantime, there was the awkward question of what to do with Lumumba … Mobutu needed him out of the picture, permanently … **(Paragraph 3)**

[Adapted from: *Dictatorland: The Men Who Stole Africa*. Paul Kenyon. Head of Zeus Publishers. 2018. Pages 24–25]

*sacked – fired
*paramount – of great importance
*stewardship – acting as a trustworthy guardian or caretaker of someone

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SOURCE G

This extract was written by Rachele Momi on September 12, 2021. Rachele Momi is a graduate in intelligence and security studies at Brunel University and in middle east politics at the School of Oriental and African Studies (University of London).

… Moscow … had its strategic and economic interests in Africa … one of the main goals of Czechoslovakia was to develop relations with countries outside Europe … Czechoslovakia was the only communist country to have diplomatic representation in Congo from 1948. Its wish, as the USSR one, was to expand communism in the African continent. It also had economic interests in the country. Congo was rich in natural resources, such as diamonds, uranium, and copper. **(Paragraph 1)**

In 1960, KGB and the Czechoslovak State Security (StB) began their first joint operation in Congo. Even before Congo's independence, Czechoslovakia was already present in the country. This facilitated the process of cooperation and infiltration of the Soviet Union. Moscow's attention to the Congo crisis was drawn in 1960 … The role of KGB officers was to gather information about Congolese politicians and the Western plans for the country. The StB role was to recruit informants, infiltrate their personnel into Western institutions and discredit Western powers in Congo. **(Paragraph 2)**

The relation between China and Congo materialised in 1960 when the Chinese Communist Party offered economic support to Congo. The Chinese wish for expansion in the African continent and the fight against American imperialism and capitalism mainly drove this support … **(Paragraph 3)**

The Cuban government, … decided to join the fight … Che Guevara, a member of the Cuban leadership, … went to China to seek more support for his cause in Congo. His goal was to extend the influence of the Cuban Revolution and defend those countries affected by Western intervention … Che Guevara arrived with a smaller … column* that comprised 150 guerrillas. Cuba was very prepared for the fight, … China and Cuba felt that communism was threatened by the Western countries and capitalism … **(Paragraph 4)**

[Adapted and available ONLINE: <https://greydynamics.com/the-congo-crisis-and-foreign-intervention/> (Accessed on 26 January 2024)]

*column – a group of soldiers

SOURCE H

The following extract gives insight into Patrice Lumumba's role in the Congo Crisis.

… Lumumba wanted more. In an increasingly volatile* mood, he demanded that the UN force be used to expel Belgian troops. After meeting him in Leopoldville on 16 July, the head of the UN operation in the Congo, Ralph Bunche, … reported that 'Lumumba was crazy and that he reacted like a child'. The following day Lumumba issued an ultimatum threatening that if the UN did not remove all Belgian troops from the Congo by midnight on the 19th of July, then he would invite the Soviet Union to intervene. At a time when Cold War rivalry was at one of its peaks, Lumumba's threats infuriated the United States and pitched the Congo into the middle of a Cold War confrontation …

[Adapted from: *The State of Africa:* Martin Meredith. Jonathan Ball Publishers.2006. page 104]

*volatile – likely to become dangerous or violent
*infuriated – to become extremely angry or enraged about something

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