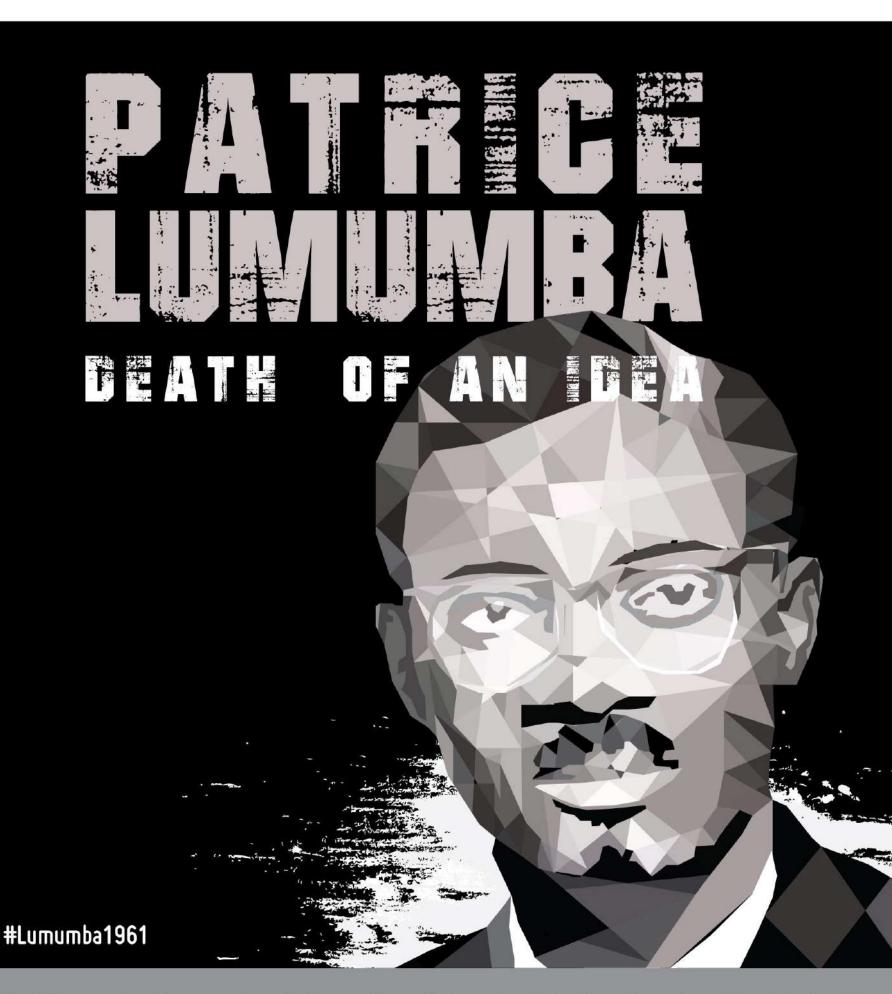


SPECIAL ISSUE JANUARY 2021



Contributors to this issue: Angelo Izama, Kwezi Tabaro, Ian Katusiime, Benefique Magadju, Daniel Lagen, Davis Mukyenga, Nze Nsubuga, Amr Ainebyoona, Phillip Matogo

contents



DEATH OF AN IDEA

This year marks the 60th anniversary of the assassination of Patrice Lumumba, post-Independence Congo's first prime minister on 17 January, 1961. Kwezi Tabaro introduces the special issue

8 THE GHOST OF PATRICE LUMUMBA

60 years after the assassination of its independence icon, DR Congo is still bleeding. Why?

LUMUMBA'S LEGACY

Sixty years after his death at the hands of Belgian officers and Katanganese secessionists, Patrice Lumumba's legacy looms large, especially in his native Congo

14 THE ASSASSINATION

We look back at some of the key actors in the Lumumba assassination: the plotters, villains, and victims

NO LAND FOR HEROES

Have Africa's "stability revolutionaries" lost a clear vision for a free, united, and confident Africa, asks Angelo Izama

REFLECTIONS: WHAT LUMUMBA MEANS TODAY

The core of Patrice Lumumba's brave fight, the values, principles, and ambitions he so boldly proclaimed, are still missing, argue our special issue contributors Benefique Magadju and Davis Mukyenga

REFLECTING ON LUMUMBA'S LEGACY

In Raoul Peck's film, the Congolese hero encapsulates this tragic side of life, yet he also incarnates the triumph of the human spirit

POFTRY

Ssebo mwami Lumumba

LUMUMBA1961: A READER

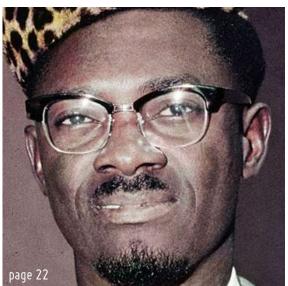
A collection of articles, books, movies and documentaries on Patrice Lumumba's life and legacy

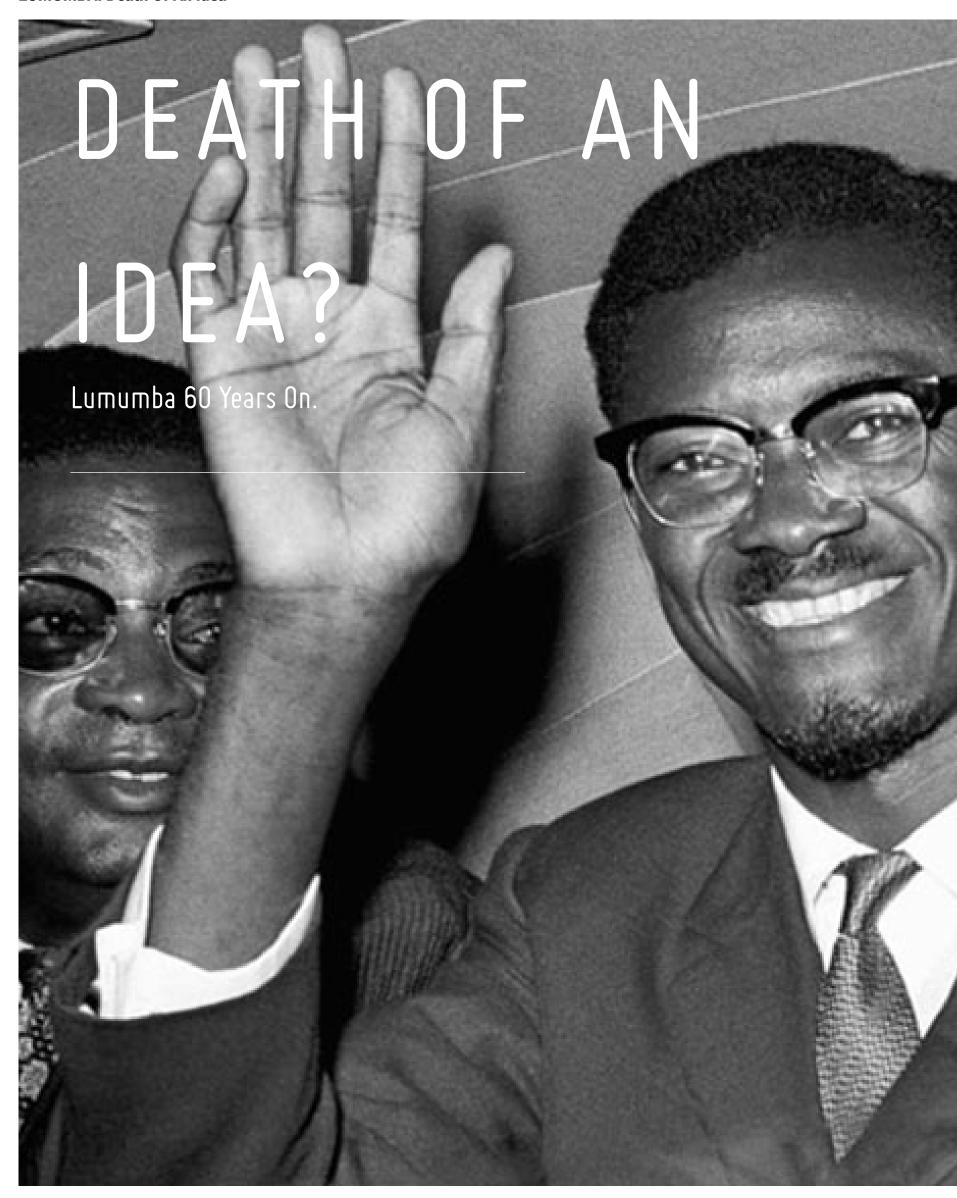














prime minister Kwame Nkrumah in Accra—Lumumba's rise to prominence in the Congo coincided with growing US hysteria over the Soviet Union's encroachment on recently independent countries in the global south.

Lumumba's nationalist rhetoric and his party—the Congolese National Movement (MNC)—'s broad appeal across the Congo had done little to settle American nerves. In his 1958 speech at the AAPC, for example, Lumumba had assured all in attendance:

"The winds of freedom currently blowing across all of Africa have not left the Congolese people indifferent. Political awareness, which until very recently was latent, is now becoming manifest and assuming outward expression, and it will assert itself even more forcefully in the months to come. We are thus assured of the support of the masses and of the success of the efforts we are undertaking."

Later, at Congo's Independence in June 1960, in the presence of the then-king Baudouin, Lumumba used the moment of to lash out at Belgium for racist persecution and forcing "humiliating slavery" on the Congolese people which resulted in the mutilation and death of millions in rubber plantations owned by King Baudouin's great granduncle Leopold II.

The condemnation—and later Lumumba's "Africanisation" policies as the new leader of government—did not sit well with Belgian business interests and soon resulted in the Congo crisis, as <u>Ian Katusiime explores</u> in this issue.

Only six months after leading his country to Independence, Lumumba was overthrown, then jailed, tortured and finally killed by firing squad in January 1961.

Forty years later, Belgium acknowledged it bore "moral responsibility" for his death and having his body dissolved in acid. The only remains of the Congolese leader were a tooth that Congolese campaigners led by Lumumba's daughter Juliana are still demanding be returned to the Congo.

Lumumba's assassination and the Congo Crisis that preceded it have gone on to shape not only the history of the Congo, but that of her neighbours. In Uganda, the infamous Gold Scandal following the Obote government's covert aid to Lumumbist rebels led by Christophe Gbenye, precipitated the rise of Idi Amin onto the country's political scene with disastrous effects.

To date, Congo's stability continues



TOP Christophe Gbenye

to be a subject of debate globally and especially in Africa where it has birthed a new brand of activism. In October 2020, for example, celebrities from across Africa and beyond including NBA star Serge Ibaka took to **Twitter** to draw awareness about the situation in Congo using the hashtag #CongoIsBleeding. According to Forbes Africa, the campaign aimed "to highlight child slavery, deadly conflicts,

and corruption spawned by the quest to feed mega-companies with minerals."

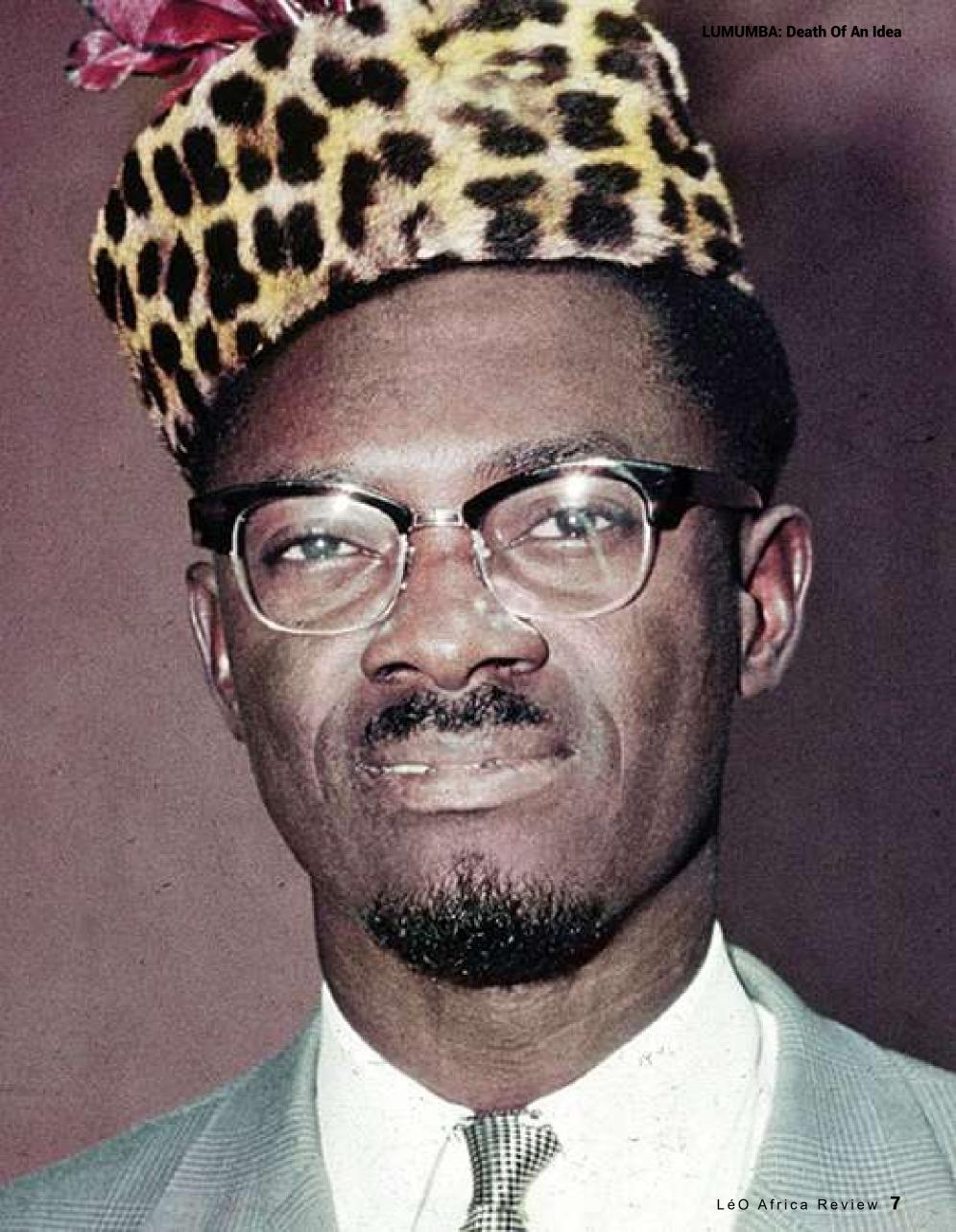
While the truth around Lumumba's assassination has largely come to light in part thanks to recently declassified documents by the CIA and Belgian authorities, that around the continuing political and security crisis in the Congo and the region has not.

It is important for emerging leadership voices in Africa today to tap into this renewed attention on the Congo crisis and use the 60th anniversary of Patrice Lumumba's death to reflect more deeply on the challenges Africa and Congo continue to grapple with and come up with appropriate solutions.

We live in a world, as we have just seen during the coronavirus pandemic, where the death and suffering of Black bodies is expected, or at least tolerable and when it doesn't happen, it is a matter for wonder, speculation and conjecture. Such should implore us to work tirelessly to restore the dignity and place of the African in the world.

Continued violence against Black bodies in the Congo, Uganda, or elsewhere on the continent has a direct impact on other forms of *violence*—economic, physical, psychological—that are visited on Africans elsewhere. In that way, our indifference or acquiescence to such forms of violence at home in turn fuels the indignation and violence we continue to face as black people in the world.

My hope is that by revisiting such traumatic episodes of our continent's history we are able to inspire reflection on the viability of the "Independence" project in Africa and reignite the dying ambers of that pan-African dream as envisioned by Nkrumah, Nyerere, Lumumba, among others: total liberation for all Africans.



LUMUMBA: Death Of An Idea



THE GHOST OF

PATRICE LUMUMBA

60 years after the assassination of its independence icon, DR Congo is still bleeding. Why?

By Ian Katusiime

In her groundbreaking book on Congo, *In the Footsteps of Mr* Kurtz, Michela Wrong, referred to the story of Patrice Lumumba and Joseph Mobutu as a latter day tale of Brutus and Caesar playing out in the largest country in sub-Saharan Africa. Mobutu who would be the president of Congo started out as an aide to the future prime minister of the country as the two worked away in Belgium, the then colonial overlord.

The relationship culminated in a power struggle with the brutal killing of Lumumba on January 17, 1961 on the orders of Mobutu, a fast rising military officer who assumed absolute power in Congo, backed by Belgium. The complicity of Belgium in Lumumba's murder added to the ever complex question of rebuilding Congo against the backdrop of exploitative Western powers.

LéO Africa Review revisits the legacy of the Congolese icon who is widely hailed as a pan-Africa hero and a martyr of African independence.

As DR Congo marks the 60th anniversary of Lumumba's death, it finds itself in a delicate transition as president Felix Tshisekedi tries to assert his power in a body politic with a thick Kabila fabric. Joseph Kabila, son of former president, Laurent Kabila, "handpicked" Tshisekedi as successor following what many consider a flawed 2018 presidential election—possibly won by opposition Candidate Martin Fayulu, but the result fiddled by Kabila in favour of UDPS' Tshisekedi—which followed intense domestic and international pressure for Kabila to step down following the end of his mandatory two terms of office.

The poll result was hard to figure out but many believe Tshisekedi struck one of the most cunning political deals in post-independence Africa, to assume the presidency in return for giving his predecessor, Kabila, a wide berth as far as any witch-hunting was concerned. It is a bargain perhaps observers of Congo would not bristle at in the context of Lumumba's demise.

Away from the deal making, the country remains an open wound. Just on New Year's Eve, a militia hacked to death 25 people; including women and children, in Beni, a town in north eastern Congo. The eastern part of the country has borne the brunt of mayhem for decades. A springboard for armed gangs, rebels, and warlords all seeking to lay claim to the gold mine that is Congo.

Georges Nzongola-Ntalaja, a professor of African and Global Studies at the University of North Carolina has arqued that the greatest legacy Lumumba left for Congo is the ideal for national unity.

On the 60th anniversary of his death, there is even stronger interest among scholars and ordinary Congolese in the legacy of Lumumba. There is a growing body of Congolese citizens urging for more international action against the plunder of Congo, calling for perpetrators of killings to be brought to book and also for a greater reckoning for the country's first prime minister.



LEFT Juliana Lumumba, daughter of the hero of DR Congo's independence, has been a vocal campaigner for the truth around her father's assassination and the return of his only known remains—a tooth—to the Congo. Internet photo

Vava Tampa, a Congolese freelance writer focusing on the Great Lakes region based in London, says there is too much inaction towards the suffering of his fellow people. "Since 1996, we Congolese have been killed in a multitude of ways: by our former president, Joseph Kabila, and his generals," he wrote in an article for The Guardian newspaper.

Tampa who describes himself as a community organizer goes on: "By the use of rape as a weapon of war to punish, displace, destroy and humiliate Congolese women and their families and communities (an estimated 1,200 women are raped every day and this has been going on since 1996)."

Kambale Musavuli, a human rights advocate and student coordinator and national spokesperson of Friends of The Congo (FOTC), was one of the leading voices on the commemoration of Lumumba's death anniversary on Twitter with the hashtag #LumumbaDay. FOTC was formed to bring about peaceful and lasting change in DRC according to its website.

Some of the tweets under the hashtag #LumumbaDay highlighted moments of Afro-Asian solidarity in honour of his legacy and solidarity with the Congolese people. For example, there were large protests in Kerala, Tamil, Singapore, Malaysia; places that were profoundly Communist, when news of Lumumba's assassination spread.

A lot of history at the time of Lumumba's rise to power is captured in the Cold War divide between the US with its capitalist allies and the Soviet Union and the communist bloc. By having his-and Congo's—politics entangled in this East-West divide, Lumumba paid a high price.

The young prime minister at 35 sought to restore national control over the vast mineral wealth held by Congo, and

navigate the murky waters of nation parties were banned in 1965, and only building in a young country where only his MNC party had a national outlook and presence, while most other parties were based primarily on tribal or ethnic allegiances.

Soon fissures would emerge in the shaky alliance between prime minister Lumumba's MNC and president Joseph Kasavubu's ABAKO party—an ethno-religious organization of the Bakongo ethnic group to which Kasavubu belonged. After dissolving government and dismissing his prime minister Lumumba on 5 September 1960, Kasavubu was in turn also dismissed by Lumumba who refused to accept his earlier dismissal.

The ensuing stalemate precipitated the "Congo Crisis" and led to a coup by then Army Commander Joseph-Désiré Mobutu who arrested Lumumba and backed Kasavubu's new government. Lumumba would later be handed over to Katanganese secessionists led by Moise Tshombe who would later preside over his assassination on January 17, 1961.

Over the next four years, the Congo had a succession of weak coalition governments led by president Joseph Kasavubu who would later be overthrown in a second coup by Mobutu on 25 November 1965. Mobutu then established himself as president, renaming the country Zaire, and went on to rule it—like King Leopold before him—with a mix of brute violence, brazen corruption, intrigue and witchcraft!

A client of Western capitalist interests, Mobutu's initial attempts at rehabilitating Lumumba's image included proclaiming him a national hero and martyr, and by a presidential decree, the Brouwez House, site of Lumumba's brutal torture on the night of his murder, became a place of pilgrimage in the Congo. All this was shortlived. Later, Lumumbist movements were suppressed, Lumumba's MNC and other

returned in 1992 as Mobutu's rule began to wane.

A regional effort in 1997 finally booted out Mobutu and he was replaced by Laurent Kabila, a former member of the Lumumbist CNL party.



ABOVE Laurent Kabila

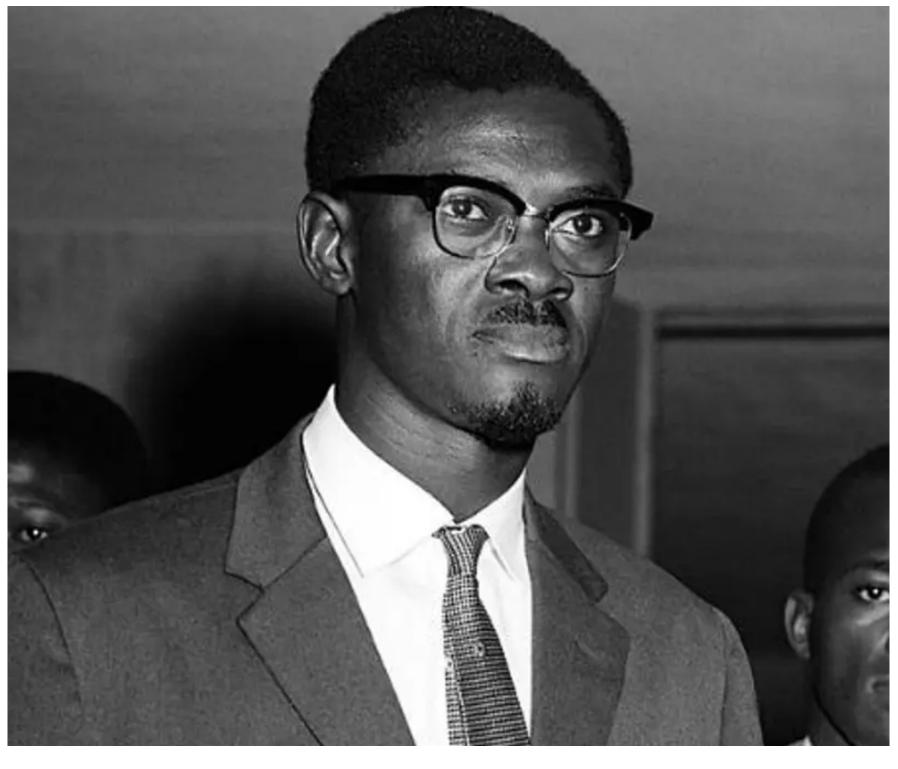
Kabila himself would be assassinated on 16 January 2001, a day to the 40th anniversary of Lumumba's own assassination. Both assassinations are still shrouded in mystery, have left many Congolese searching for answers, and the country itself in search of healing.



ABOVE Kasavubu Joseph

LUMUMBA'S

LEGACY



LUMUMBA: Death Of An Idea

Sixty years after his death at the hands of Belgian officers and Katanganese secessionists, Patrice Lumumba's legacy looms large, especially in his native Congo where he is often referred to as a martyr for the country's independence, in the rest of Black Africa where he is seen as a true embodiment of the pan-Africanist struggle against foreign domination, and in former countries of the Communist bloc where he is seen as a victim of U.S. imperialist schemes on the African continent. As a result, a number of monuments and streets still bear the name of this pan-African icon. Below we list some.

Streets were also named after Lumumba in: Belgrade, Serbia; Sofia, Bulgaria; Skopje, Republic of Macedonia; Bata and Malabo, Equatorial Guinea; Tehran, Iran; Algiers, Algeria (Rue Patrice Lumumba); Santiago de Cuba, Cuba; Łódź, Warsaw, Poland; Kiev and Donetsk, Ukraine; Perm, Russia; Rabat, Morocco; Maputo, Mozambique; Enugu, Nigeria; Leipzig, Germany; Lusaka, Zambia ("Lumumba Street"); Kampala, Uganda ("Lumumba Avenue"); Tunis, Tunisia; Fort-de-France, Martinique; Montpellier, France; Accra, Ghana; Antananarivo, Madagascar; Rotterdam, Netherlands; Alexandria, Egypt; and Bishkek, Kyrgyzstan.



In Bamako, Mali, Lumumba Square is a large central plaza with a life-size statue of Lumumba, a park with fountains, and a flag display. Around Lumumba Square are various businesses, embassies and Bamako's largest bank.



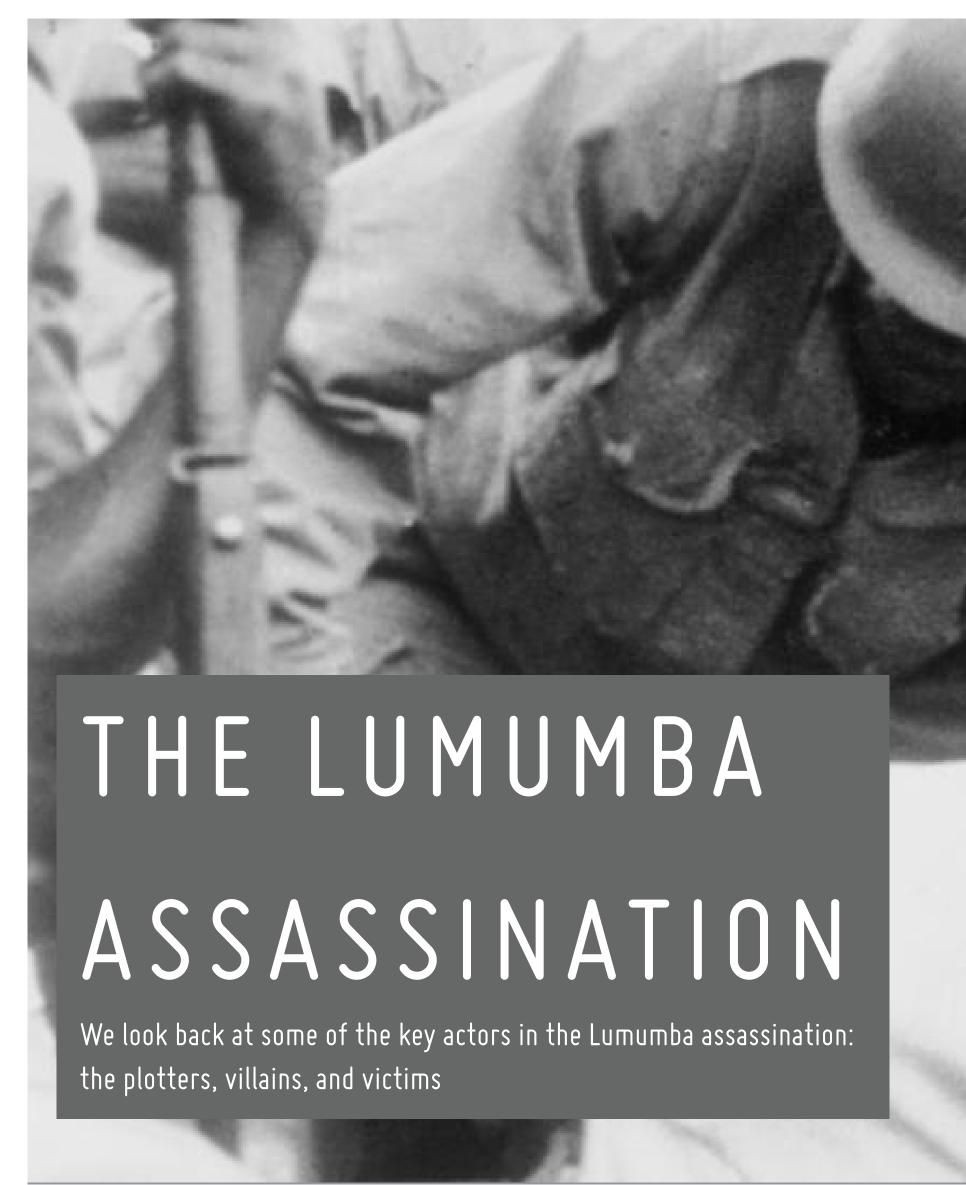


In Kampala, Uganda, the "Lumumba Hall" of Residence at Makerere University continues to carry his name.



A major transportation artery in DR Congo's capital Kinshasa, the Lumumba Boulevard, is named in his honour. A statue of Lumumba with a raised hand was erected at an interchange crossed by the boulevard by Laurent Kabila's government.









Joseph Iléo – 2nd Prime Minister of the Congo.





Dag Hammarskjold - UN Secretary-General

Dag Hjalmar Agne Carl Hammarskjöld was Secretary-General of the United Nations from 10 April 1953 until 18 September 1961 when he died in a plane crash while on a peace mission to the Congo.

Born on 29 July 1905 in Jonkoping in south-central Sweden, to Hjalmar Hammarskjöld, Prime Minister of Sweden during World War I, Hammardkjold was elected UN Secretary-General on 31 March 1953.

Following the Congo Crisis in 1960, when President Joseph Kasa-Vubu and Prime Minister Patrice Lumumba sent a cable asking "urgent dispatch" of United Nations military assistance to the Congo, Hammarskjöld himself made four trips to the Congo in connection with the United Nations operations there. The fourth trip to the country, which began on 12 September 1961 and was intended to negotiate a cease-fire between United Nations Operation in the Congo forces and Katangese troops under Moise Tshombe, ended with a fatal plane crash near Ndola in Zambia on 18 September.

Hammarskjöld perished in the crash, alongside 16 other passengers. The circumstances of the crash are still unclear. He was described by U.S. President J.F. Kennedy as "the greatest statesman of our century."





Rémy Mwamba - Lumumba's Minister of Justice

Rémy Mwamba (1921–1967) was a Congolese politician who twice served as Minister of Justice. He was also a leading figure of the Association Générale des Baluba du Katanga (BALUBAKAT).



*

Together with Patrice Lumumba, he was dismissed by President Kasavubu on 5 September 1960, and fled to Stanleyville (Kisangani). He was later reinstated in the new government led by Prime Minister Cyrille Adoula in August 1961.



Police Commissioner Frans Verscheure - Villain

Police Commissioner Verscheure had overall command of the execution operation against Lumumba and his associates Maurice Mpolo and Joseph Okito.

It was Verscheure who later announced to the three prisoners, that they were to be shot. He offered them some time, to prepare for death and pray. But Lumumba declined the offer.





Police Commissioner Frans Verscheure - Villain

Police Commissioner Verscheure had overall command of the execution operation against Lumumba and his associates Maurice Mpolo and Joseph Okito.

It was Verscheure who later announced to the three prisoners, that they were to be shot. He offered them some time, to prepare for death and pray. But Lumumba declined the offer.





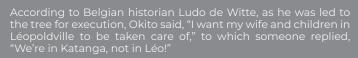
Maurice Mpolo – Assassinated alongside Patrice Lumumba





Joseph Okito - Assassinated alongside Patrice Lumumba

Joseph Okito was a close political ally to Patrice Lumumba who briefly served as First Vice-President of the Senate of the Democratic Republic of the Congo. He was executed alongside Lumumba in Katanga in 1961 and was the first to be shot.







Godefroid Munongo - Villain

Godefroid Munongo Mwenda M'Siri was interim president of Katanga Province from 26 April to 22 June 1961. It was Munongo, alongside President Moise Tshombe of Katanga, ministers Gabriel Kitenge and Jean-Baptiste Kibwe, and police commissioner Pius Sapwe, alongside Belgian officers M.P. Julien Gat, Frans Verscheure, Lieutenant Gabriel Michels, and Brigadier Francois Son who accompanied Lumumba to his execution site.





Juliana Lumumba – Daughter

Juliana Amato Lumumba is the daughter of the DR Congo's first Prime Minister Patrice Lumumba. In June 2020, she called on Belgium to return her father's tooth seized from a Belgian policeman who admitted taking it while helping to dispose of Lumumba's body. In September 2020, a Belgian court ruled that the tooth be returned to Lumumba's family.







Pauline Lumumba – wife to Patrice Lumumba

Pauline Opango Lumumba was wife of Patrice Lumumba. She was born in Wembonyama, Sankuru, in then Belgian Congo.

In his famous letter from Thysville prison, Lumumba seemed to believe he would be killed, and wrote to Pauline encouraging her to carry on his work after his death.

The then 24-year-old Pauline Lumumba, forced to come to terms with the death of her husband at the hands of the Belgians and their Congolese co-conspirators, on February 14, 1961, led a march through the African neighbourhoods of the Congolese capital bare-breasted, accompanied by nearly 100 of her late husband's followers, to protest Patrice Lumumba's death.

Eventually, she was forced to flee Congo and was found refuge in Egypt from where she traveled to Belgium and France before returning to Congo after the government recognized Patrice Lumumba as a national hero.

She died in her sleep on December 23, 2014, in Kinshasa. She was





Andreé Blouin – Advisor to Patrice Lumumba

Born in Ubangi-Shari (in present-day Central African Republic), Andreé Blouin was an advisor to Patrice Lumumba, Sekou Toure, and Kwame Nkrumah, among many other post-Independence African leaders. While, Andrée Blouin's role as counsellor to Lumumba was until recently understated, recent writings have brought to light her immense contribution to Lumumba's and other pan-African struggles for Independence.



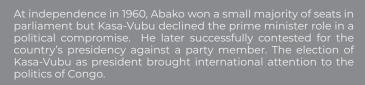
"Blouin's influence is said to be behind the women-led armed Kwilu rebellions against Sese Seko's rule, led by Pierre Mulele and his wife, Léonie Abo, between 1963 and 1968," wrote the South African Publication New

Blouin's autobiography, *My Country, Africa*: Autobiography of a *Black Pasionaria*, was published in English in 1983.



Joseph Kasa-Vubu - First president of DR Congo

The first president of DR Congo, Kasa-Vubu was initially caught between the power play of the country's two stand out political figures; Mobutu and Lumumba. Kasa-Vubu served as president from 1960-1965 and was said to be cagey in his actions and feared checking Lumumba's ambition as prime minister or enraging other power players during his presidency. Kasa-Vubu was elected president of Abako, his political party, in 1954 and he slowly built a national profile.



His reign was marred by secessionist movements in the country and other power struggles at the centre. He was eventually toppled by Mobutu in 1965. Kasa-Vubu died in 1969.





Antoine Gizenga - Deputy Prime Minister and later Prime

Gizenga was born October 5, 1925 and served as prime minister of DRC from 2006-2008. He also served as deputy prime minister to Lumumba in the latter's short reign. An admirer of Lumumba, he was secretary general of the Unified Lumumbist Party which came third in the 2006 general elections. Before that, Gizenga had fled to the eastern part of the country following the coup by Mobutu. During the Mobutu years, he solicited for support from countries like Egypt, Mali, Ghana to build an anti-Mobutu coalition.



*

Gizenga returned to DRC after the ouster of Mobutu in 1997. When his party came third in the 2006 poll, he backed President Kabila in return for the post of prime minister. He stood down from the position two year later citing ill health. Gizenga died in 2019 in Kinshasa. He was remembered as a staunch anti-Mobutusit in Congo.



Justin Bomboko - Foreign Affairs Minister

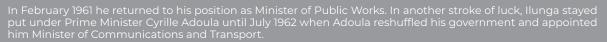
Born September 22, 1928, Bomboko was Foreign Affairs minister extraordinaire. He served three different tenures; 1960–1963, 1965–1969, and again in 1981. Lumumba appointed him minister regardless of his reservations about him. He was said to be too close to Belgium for Lumumba's liking but Bomboko prevailed and got the job. Reports suggest that he and his deputy were the only ministers in cabinet with a university degree. As foreign affairs minister, Bomboko tried to play a balancing act between Belgian influence and the quest for an independent Congo, something that made him a suspicious character. He died in Brussels, Belgium in 2014.





Christopher Gbenye - Minister of the Interior

orn on Christmas Day in 1931, llunga was a minister with nine lives. He served in Lumumba's cabinet as Minister Public Works. He bounced back as Minister of Art, Culture, and Sports under Joseph Iléo.





In 1965 he was elected to the Senate. Following Mobutu's putsch later that year, Ilunga was able to retain government positions due to connections. He reprised his role as Minister of Public Works serving for almost a



Alphonse Ilunga - Minister of Public Works ad infinitum

Born on Christmas Day in 1931, llunga was a minister with nine lives. He served in Lumumba's cabinet as Minister of Public Works. He bounced back as Minister of Art, Culture, and Sports under Joseph Iléo.

In February 1961 he returned to his position as Minister of Public Works. In another stroke of luck, Ilunga stayed put under Prime Minister Cyrille Adoula until July 1962 when Adoula reshuffled his government and appointed him Minister of Communications and Transport.

In 1965 he was elected to the Senate. Following Mobutu's putsch later that year, llunga was able to retain government positions due to connections. He reprised his role as Minister of Public Works serving for almost a year.





Pierre Mulele - Minister of National Education and Fine Arts

Mulele was a rebel in the Simba rebellion led by Gbenye and others. His being there wasn't by surprise as he was in the cohort of Lumumba's first ministers, in charge of Education and Fine Arts. Mulele had an affection for Communist China under Mao and in 1963, he headed to China for military training. He led his own faction in the Kwilu province



However his own rebellion lost momentum and Mulele was later lured out of it by Mobutu. Unbeknown to Mulele, it was a ruse- the former minister was tortured and died a painful death in 1968. Snuffed out at the age of 39, Mulele was one of the tragic figures that demonstrated the tyranny of Mobutu.



Joseph-Desire Mobutu - President of Zaire

Starting out as a journalist and military stalwart, Mobutu was a larger than life figure who dominated Congo's politics in the last century. Born on October 14, 1930, Mobutu captured power by sheer force and charisma as Army chief of staff. He seized the presidency in 1965 after eliminating opponents like Lumumba and set out on a path of consolidating power by publicly executing rivals, real and perceived, while buying off others. He also set shocking records of opulence while his fellow citizens languished in poverty.



Mobutu's record of public corruption while playing populist and charmer with ordinary folks turned him into an enigmatic figure. He renamed the country Zaire and also played political poker with Western p owers. Domestic political pressure in the 1980s forced him into democratic reforms and a regional military effort forced him out in 1997. As president, he did all that was possible to erase the memory of Lumumba's brutal killing.



Moise Tshombe- President of secessionist Katanga

Tshombe was a politician who embodied the tumultuous politics of Congo. He served as the president of the secessionist state of Katanga from 1960 to 1963 and as prime minister of the DR Congo from 1964 to 1965.he founded CONAKAT, a party championing interests of the Katanga people. He announced that Katanga was breaking away from Congo at the time of independence claiming that the Kinshasa government was in bed with Communists. The fighting started, typical of the new Congo.



When his secessionist movement was defeated, Tshombe returned to Congo in 1964 to serve as prime minister in a new coalition government. President Kasa-Vubu dismissed him in 1965 and he died a mysterious death in 1969 at 49.



Laurent Desire Kabila - Third President of DRC

Born on November 27, 1939, Kabila became third president of DRC with the heavy backing of Ugandan and Rwandan armies. No sooner had he settled in the presidency than he fell out with his former compatriots. His story is as Congolese as they come. He was once seen as the hope of a new Congo only for the same corruption and dictatorship to blight his reign. His failure to effectively command the armed forces of the country left his hold on power in quick sand.



In the 1960s, Kabila had a famous association with Che Guevara, the Argentine Marxist revolutionary. Kabila was assassinated in 2001, a day before the 40th anniversary of Lumumba's killing. He was succeeded by his son, Joseph Kabila days later. According to the book, Dancing in the Glory of Monsters by Jason Stearns, Kabila had not set foot in Kinshasa in 30 years when he became president in 1997 and he had to be shown around the city!



HEROES

The stability revolutionaries still alive may have gained the running of a government for their "heroic" efforts at liberation wars or coups but lost in a clear vision of a free, united, confident Africa

By Angelo Izama

The old warriors for the African cause today are more likely to die of, well old age, surrounded by their large family and their vast estates than to be slaughtered in their prime. This is a cause for celebration. Africa is more stable today than 60 year's ago. As the pot-bellied former revolutionaries of the most recent age of heroes retire their speeches and stories having lived long enough to face not the dark plots of faraway superpowers but rather the ordinary ailments of high blood pressure, diabetes and gout, the younger generation pauses to ask if heroism is now history.

It has been six decades since Patrice Lumumba died – shot like a dog and discarded. That Patrice Lumumba is a Congolese hero, an African one too is of no doubt. However, whether he is or would be a hero for our times is debatable. This is not his fault. His name will be forever celebrated. Gen Idi Amin Dada named one of his sons Lumumba as did my friend Tony Otoa, the politically conscious corporate dealmaker with an eye to the new dawn of "Africa rising". Lumumba's bravery and vision, for a strong, united and independent Congo, one that would take its place in the assembly of free and self-governing African states, was a struggle which ended his life. So perhaps an African martyr is a more befitting honour. Martyrs rise beyond their times to speak across generations.

What we know, additionally from the death of Lumumba is the price that Africa had to pay for it. It seems too great a price that the death of a single individual would reverberate so. But it did. The death of a committed nationalist like Lumumba at a time when the struggle for unity places a nation at crossroads is extremely disruptive. This lesson is fresh in our memory with the more recent death of Comrade John Garang De Mabior. Both men died at the hands of violent imperialism. The assassination of committed leaders yesterday or today can undo the critical work of nation building and force survivors into the kind of confusion to which we now turn.

The stability revolutionaries still alive may have gained the running of a government for their "heroic" efforts at liberation wars or coups but lost in a clear vision of a free, united, confident Africa. The old warriors still holding out for hope that their struggles have not been in vain – only have to face the fact that there are in fact no new heroes.

Take your run-of-the-mill African big man today, any of the many suits with large entourages and even bigger speeches that have filled the shoes of Mobutu Sese Seko, Robert Mugabe or General Ibrahim Babangida. Like the late Muammar Gaddafi, another victim of violent imperialism, they would argue that their state's sovereignty is part of the edifice of genuine African liberation because it is a vanguard against resurgent colonialism. Their people need them to safeguard the gains of the revolution is often repeated. Their vision of their countries is suspended in time and state rituals do the job of keeping off of history's revolving doors any new efforts to redefine the near future. They carry this protective reasoning to how they characterize their opponents. The men and women involved in the political process, if opposed to them will be painted as unwelcome meddlers with the work of history. The unlucky ones are shot and discarded like dogs or given treatment far worse than Lumumba received at the hands of his American controlled captors. That is because just like liberation yesterday and the fight against imperialism their opponents must always be traitors and quislings acting for external enemies.

This stopping the clock of progress at the fingers that point externally has a dubious effect. This is because nationalists claim they continue to stand against imperialism and its agenda to ward off criticism but when for example, they are judged on their governance, they answer that they should not be held to a standard of Western governments - many of whom were colonial powers or benefited from the colonial enterprise. For the most Mobutuist, the daily contradictions of fighting imperialism while living up to the standards of former imperialists fills the national papers with such hypocrisy that one cannot tell when neo-colonialism starts and ends. The first is of course that nationalists require European markets, American arms, Russian advisors and Chinese technology to fight imperialism.

One area is clear in the dubious doublespeak on "democracy". It often is accompanied by the repeated fallacy of "African solutions to African problems" which is a euphemism for the "leave us alone" neo-nationalists. The argument is split in two – between rulers and the governed. On the one hand the rulers will cast themselves as resisters of imperialism when they are in government. At the same time, when they hold an election, packed as these are with violence and irregularity, they argue that no "European" standards of democracy should apply. The European in question is asked to recognize this as an African process. The question as to the quality of the vote, a system now accepted as paid across Africa is one in which voters have little say. It is as if this system of enacting choice, the essential ingredient of freedom is not the province of the governed. African "voters" rarely get to keep the guestion of what the democracy is as a subject for their own determination, away from Europeans, their own leaders, or even aliens.

It follows therefore that today's hero would need to be a one of commonsense. He or she would have to successfully argue that freedom for the African is not concomitant with being "left alone". That even in a room where history is absent, where imperialism has been exorcized, where race, communism, capitalism, socialism or voodoism is expunged, freedom can be victim to more common fare aspects of irresponsible and unaccountable rule.

He or she would need to point out that the inertia in which today's nationalists wallow; where heroism is recursive and cannot be reproduced beyond the independence era or the one that followed (in which independence failed and required liberation to set it right) is a barren Africa.

It is a zombie world Africa that can produce no new heroes. The time loop in which the heirs of the liberation struggle are only required to enact as ritual the heroism of the past as they retire those who are lucky to be alive with ribbons and honours saps the energy of the most gifted of the new generation. It is bad enough that entire sections of the government and politics are devoted to endless praise that is deployed to guard the "fruits of the liberation".

> Zombie o, zombie (Zombie o, zombie) Zombie o, zombie (Zombie o, zombie)

Zombie no go go, unless you tell am to go (Zombie) Zombie no go stop, unless you tell am to stop (Zombie) Zombie no go turn, unless you tell am to turn (Zombie) Zombie no go think, unless you tell am to think (Zombie)

Lyrics to Fela Kuti's "Zombie" (1976)



ABOVE Fela Kuti

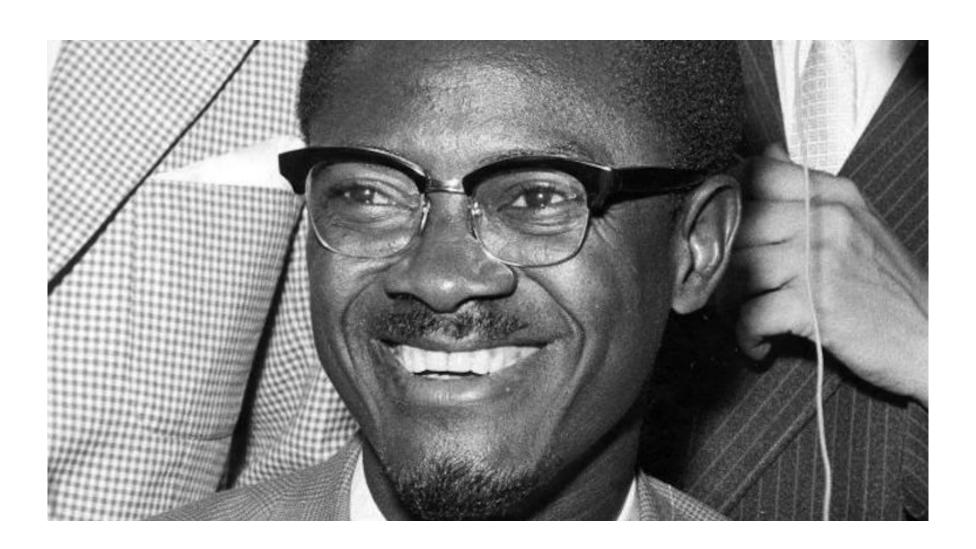
Finally, anyone named Lumumba today must add that in the airlessness of the permanent legacy of only one set of heroes, the contributions of the contemporary "democratic hero" who emerges from the battlefield of an election is likely to be squandered.

Why are ballot heroes so different from Lumumba?

Is Mwai Kibaki not cut from the same cloth as Lumumba or Etienne Tshisekedi? Is Lazarus Chakwera a second-rate hero? Could it be that the problem with the ballot heroes is the association of democracy with the West, and by this with imperialists of old? Is this the reason that conversations about democracy suggest that Africa should be 'left alone' to find its own grounding in this form of government? Is it defensible that freedoms and rights under "African" democracies should be distinct from similar freedoms in other "democratic" parts of the world?

Today's hero would need to address these questions and commit, in my estimation considerable effort to build a movement for self-government resolving these matters so that perhaps the new nationalism that emerges focuses on building better societies not just victorious political parties. It would be a rejection on the present impasse that self-government, no matter its mistakes, should produce no new heroes.

Angelo Izama is a Ugandan writer, analyst and Head of Faculty at the LéO Africa Institute.



REFLECTIONS:

WHAT LUMUMBA

MEANS TODAY



REFLECTING ON LUMUMBA'S LEGACY

Lumumba wanted the DRC and the whole of Africa to be free from colonization, but 60 years later, we notice leaders who are striving to keep their populations colonized in another form

By Benefique Magadju Cirishungu

January 17, 2021 marked the 60th anniversary of the assassination of the independent Congo's first democratically elected prime minister, Patrice Emery Lumumba. Barely into his mid-thirties, Lumumba inherited a newly independent country on the 30th of June 1960; one that had endured a brutally dehumanizing colonial conquest by the Belgian state under King Leopold II in 1884.

Ideologically an African nationalist and pan-Africanist, Patrice Emery Lumumba played a significant role in the transformation of the Congo from Belgian colony into an independent republic and led the Congolese National Movement (MNC) party from 1958 until his assassination. MNC quickly became the organization whose leadership promoted independence, gradual Africanization of the government, state-led economic development, and neutrality in foreign affairs.

In 1958, the limited possibilities of social action allowed the Belgian

later that year after attending the All-African Peoples' Conference in Ghana, Lumumba was inspired to fight for the decolonization of the Belgian Congo.

On Independence Day, Lumumba made a bold and awe-inspiring speech in which he condemned the colonial oppression and injustice suffered by the Congolese at the hands of the Belgians. He spoke so elegantly, with an acute vision of the bright future of the nation to come from "a new struggle bringing peace, prosperity, and greatness." Although not scheduled to speak, he delivered an impromptu speech that reminded the audience that the independence of the Congo had not been granted magnanimously by Belgium. Lumumba's victory and Congo's independence was a brief moment of victory in a long battle; brief, because less than a year later Lumumba was assassinated by Congolese rebels, with the support of an international consortium of state

colonial system to flourish. But security services, including M16, the CIA, and the Belgian government.

> Following his assassination, many people viewed Lumumba as a martyr for the wider Pan-African movement. More than three decades later, a statue was erected in his honor, symbolically placed on the Lumumba Boulevard, a major transport route for people in and out of the city from Kinshasa's airport. In 1966 he was declared a national hero in Congo, and in 2002, Belgium formally apologized for its role in the assassination.

> Streets were also named after him, in places such as Bamako (with his lifesize statue and a large central plaza of his name), Gaborone, Lusaka, Dar es Salaam, Accra, Burundi, Alger, across Europe in Warsaw, Donetsk, Leipzig, and many other places.

> The legacy he left to the world and his final message that, "Africa will write its history, to the north and south of the Sahara, and it will be glorious and dignified" remains as powerful



as ever 60 years after his death.

Lumumba's legacy extends to the continental and international level, far beyond the DRC, the country for which he fought for independence to the point of

being assassinated because of his beliefs and ideas.

He wanted the DRC and the whole of Africa to be free from colonization, but 60 years later, we notice leaders who are striving to keep their populations colonized in another form. Some African leaders are playing a big role in the colonization of their population through dictatorship; where leaders are more self-focused than people-focused. This has led to an Africa with corrupted institutions ready to sacrifice their countrymen's life in the interest of foreign actors.

When a Congolese will be free to do business in Rwanda, a Ugandan in South Africa, a Cameroonian in Kenya; that is when great development will occur, and then we will stand powerful as a continent and we will see the bright future that Lumumba was talking about. It is up to

With all of these efforts, I believe that Africa's future is bright and Lumumba's vision for Africa can still be achieved.



Lumumba played his role. It is now up to Congolese and African people especially young and emerging leaders to know what they will do with what Lumumba started. It is up to young African leaders to stand against this new form of colonization and unify our voices to denounce this crime Africa is facing.

What I consider to be Lumumba's legacy in my leadership journey is his pan-Africanist view of leadership. I believe in the concept that a unified Africa is a stronger Africa. I believe that Africa will know a great economic expansion when Africans have a global and continental view of leadership, business, among other aspects of human progress.

us young African leaders to stand as one people for our continent and not just for our countries, as the old saying goes "we don't party when it burns in our neighborhoods" and this is true.

Even though Lumumba's vision for the DRC and Africa is yet to be achieved, there is still hope especially in the African youth. All over the continent, we see several revolutionary and leadership movements rising and young leaders rising everywhere ready to create change and build a better Africa. With all of these efforts, I believe that Africa's future is bright and Lumumba's vision for Africa can still be achieved. But that is only if each one of us brings his stone to the building.

The writer is a 2018 YELP Fellow from the Democratic Republic of the Congo



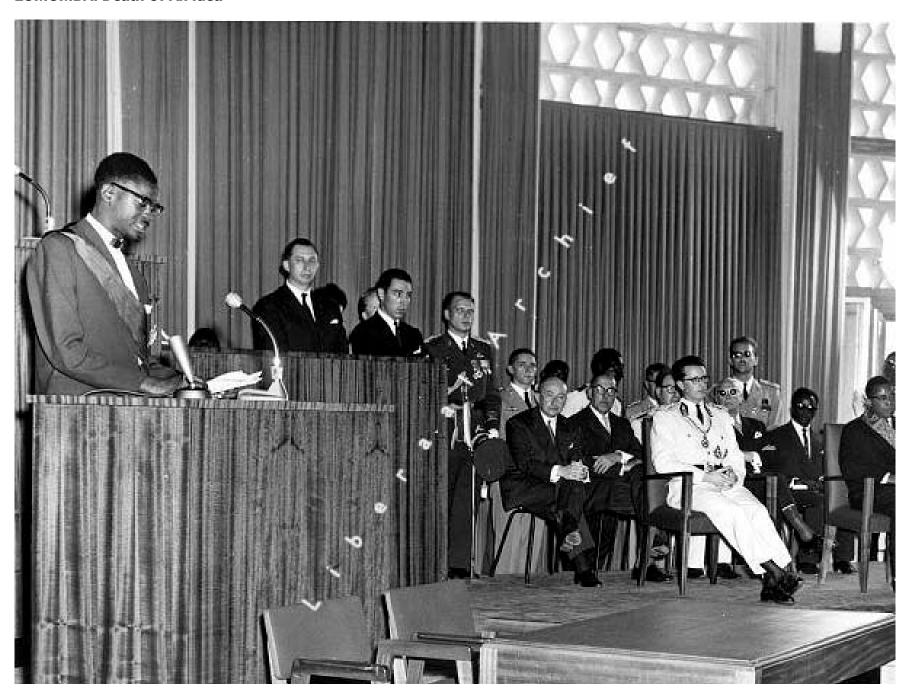
PATRICE LUMUMBA:

60 YEARS ON, SAME

LESSONS?

The core of Patrice Lumumba's brave fight, the values, principles, and ambitions he so boldly proclaimed, are still missing

LUMUMBA: Death Of An Idea



It is January 17th, 2021. Today marks exactly 60 years since the assassination of Patrice Lumumba the first democratically elected Prime Minister of the Democratic Republic of Congo.

I have taken a keen interest in reading about Patrice Lumumba's story and legacy, which extends far beyond his shortlived political career. Expectedly, many of the sources present varied accounts of his life, service, influence, popularity, and ultimately, his death. His legacy is blatantly clear, a damning reminder of what he stood for and perhaps, a 'what could have been.' Lumumba's assassination threw Congo into further exploitation, conflict, and a crisis whose effects went far beyond the Great Lakes region. His legacy is of brave servant leadership, independence, and empathy.

I was particularly drawn to his speech on the 30th of June, 1960; which critics attribute to the beginning of his political troubles. A brave, bold, and endearing condemnation of the colonial atrocities, but more importantly, a rallying call on the people of Congo to be steadfast in their resolve, unified in their efforts to build a strong, independent, and developed country for all. His vision is clear the need to be united in contributing to the social, political, and economic development of the country. A reminder that whilst we cannot forget the dark past, this should form the pillar for the building blocks of 'peace, prosperity, and greatness.' This message rings true today, at a time when we face continued plight, and division of many countries, including Congo. It is a challenge on the need for resolute, empathetic, and strong leadership, and perhaps a stronger call on us

all to be united in not only holding our leaders accountable to the leadership we deserve but that every brick in building our nations counts.

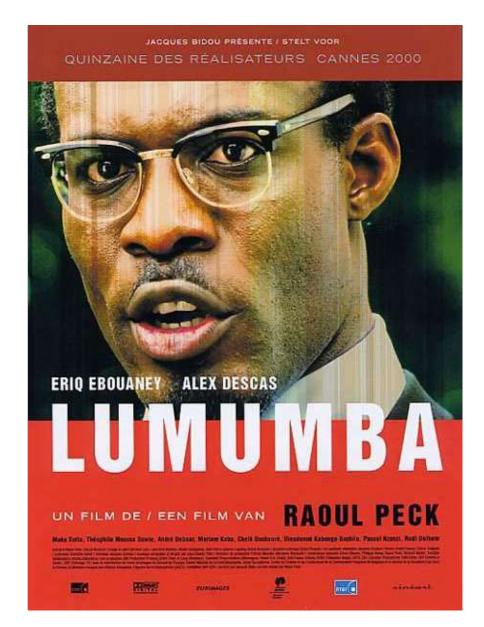
So today, we are reminded of his legacy. A legacy highlighted by subsequent revolutionaries, street names, songs, speeches, movies, and more. But more importantly, a reminder - that the core of Patrice Lumumba's brave fight, the values, principles, and ambitions he so boldly proclaimed, are still at large. A sounding call to many people on the continent and a reminder to leaders to uphold the people's interests, independence of the state, empathy, and a spirit of servant leadership.

The writer is a 2019 YELP Fellow from Rwanda

RT IMITATES LIFE LUMUMBA BIOP

In Raoul Peck's film, the Congolese hero encapsulates this tragic side of life, yet he also incarnates the triumph of the human spirit

By Philip Matogo



To a very great extent, everyone in society feels alienated from society at one point in their lives. Possibly that is why the greatest heroes of the cinema age have been loners who happen to be underdogs due to this alienation.

These heroes shape the arc of life's peculiar circling when art imitates life and life imitates it back.

For instance, you'll have a character like Patrice Lumumba in the 2001 eponymous biopic about how the United States conspired to bring about the death of the Congo's first democratically elected prime minister and replace him with "Brutus" Joseph Mobutu. The latter a bloodthirsty, money-grubbing tyrant.

Raoul Peck's film (a feature, not a documentary) starts from beyond the end with Lumumba's assassinated body being exhumed by Belgian soldiers so it can be cut up into smaller pieces and burned in oil drums.

In real life, "Stinky" (the CIA's nickname for Lumumba) was so feared by the imperialists that Mobutu had Lumumba's body disinterred from its shallow grave in Elisabethville (now Lubumbashi) and flown to Leopoldville (now Kinshasa) where it was then dissolved in acid.

As the story in the movie continues, Lumumba's voice (or actor Eriq Ebouaney's narration, if you want to get technical) recalls his early days as a beer salesman, a trade that helped turn him into an orator.

"He had this tremendous ability to stir up a crowd or a group. And if he could have gotten out (of prison) and started to talk to a battalion of the Congolese Army, he probably would have had them in the palm of his hand in five minutes," US diplomat Clarence Douglas Dillon would later say.

In the film, the beer Lumumba promotes has a rival owned by Joseph Kasavubu—who later becomes president while Lumumba is named prime minister. It is Kasavubu who eventually orders the arrest that leads to Lumumba's murder.

Before that, Lumumba becomes a leader of the Congolese National Movement. He later becomes prime minister and his attempts to end the Katanga secession, a mineral-rich province in Congo, gets him tagged as a communist. He is then "liquidated" by the CIA in cahoots with the odious Mobutu.

Lumumba, in the movie, is an amalgam of several aesthetics and orthodoxies.

On one level, his physical death was a

triumph of the metaphysical power that mankind wields to beat the odds.

As Jean-Paul Sartre wrote: "Lumumba alive and a captive is a symbol of the shame and rage of an entire continent . . . Once dead, Lumumba ceases to be an individual and becomes all of Africa, with its will toward unity, its dissensions, its discord, its strength and its impotence."

Most importantly, though, was the fact that Lumumba was once a nonentity seemingly condemned to the nothingness that consumes the very core of our existence.

Therein lay his appeal: his gladiatorial battle against long odds in a short life.

To be sure, a life the philosopher Thomas Hobbes described as solitary, poor, nasty, brutish, and short.

Lumumba encapsulates this tragic side of life, yet he also incarnates the triumph of the human spirit with his fighting spirit. And this taps into our unconscious need to rage against the dying of a light, if you will.

The dying of a light enkindled in the

poetry of Dylan Thomas and in Joseph Conrad's Marlow in Heart of Darkness, who described Belgium's Congo as an "accursed inheritance to be subdued at the cost of profound anguish and excessive toil."

The fact that Lumumba seems to be a loner who is underrated by the Belgian colonials makes him anti-colonialism in the sense that he plays by his own rules. Furthermore, his dreams and aspirations are not circumscribed or hemmed in by Indeed, we are all essentially rebels or wannabe rebels. If you look around, you will notice that it is fashionable for people to claim to be 'crazy' and eccentric. That's because this marks them out as iconoclastic, rebellious and best of all, as individuals.

Yet, it must be said, most people's craziness is a mere affectation; a posture and not a reality. Most of us are conformist and are as conventional as yesterday's news.

This singularity of self is of a heroic emotion that all `of us wish we had. But we fear to be cast out by society because we are different.

their view of Africans.

Aimé Césaire, the Martiniquais poet and apostle of négritude, wrote that for all of Lumumba's flaws, one would remember "his prodigious vitality, his extraordinary faith, his love for his people, his courage and his patriotism . . . one may not approve of all the political acts of Patrice Lumumba. No doubt he made mistakes . . . [but] at least his heart never flinched."

This alone gives his character a powerful appeal.

All told, a lot of societal mores, values or belief systems (what Marx called the superstructure) are shackles that leave us 'free but everywhere in chains'.

So when a person like Lumumba breaks the mould by merely being himself, we are inspired.

We are unfree, and we know it. That's why persons like Lumumba who exemplify breakout notions of nonconformity and individuality (at the risk of being social lepers) appeal to us.

Just look at all the iconic reallife and movie characters and you shall notice one enduring motif: they were

themselves in spite of themselves.

This singularity of self is of a heroic emotion that all 'of us wish we had. But we fear to be cast out by society because we are different.

Therefore, we would rather live vicariously as anti-establishmentarians through the movie characters of those outsiders who. like Lumumba in this film, expand our possibilities.

That way, we don't have to shine as bright as the stars do. Since, we fear, our lives might be abbreviated to the length of a movie. As Lumumba's was.

For, Lao Tzu said, — 'The flame that burns twice as bright burns half as long.' So it was for Patrice Lumumba.

POETRY

Lumumba

Ssebo mwami Lumumba,

Nze omuvubuka amli mu lugendo,

Nze kaddugala ali mu lugendo lw'okweyubula.

Nze musaayi muto amalobozi ga

"the future is bright ahead of you"

gwe gavugira mu matu.

Nze kawandula bigambo,
Olumu nno bimbula nempuuna,
Olumu nno bimbula ne nnekyawa,
Olumu nno bimbula ne nnesooza.

Ssebo mwami Lumumba,
Akola obulungi asiimwa abaganda baagera.
Kitalo nnyo tosobola kundaba nga nkusiima!
Kitalo nnyo tosobola kundaba nga ntontoma!
Kitalo nnyo kati wafuuka ezikaza engoye!

Emyaka tubala 60 okuva lwewatugendako,
Ku myaka emito ennyo baakumiza omusu,
Omuzira w'eggwanga okufa ng'enfuunzi!
Omwagalwa w'abangi okuttibwa ng'eyannamaaso!
Baliba balaba kaki abampembe abo!

Ssebo mwami Lumumba' Eno bbaluwa yakusiima. Besiimye abaakulabako, Twesiimye abakusomako. Twesiiimye abakuwandiikako.

Omulamwa gw'okununula Africa gwatuuka.
Omumuli wakuma era gwakwata.
Omukululo waleka munene
tweyama okugutwala mu maaso.

Ssebo mwami Lumumba,
Okuyiga luzzi lwa nsulo telukala.
Eby'okuyiga ku gwe ttomoni.
Ommutima gw'eggwanga,
Obumalirivu n'obutekkiriranya,
Mmenye ki ndeke ki?

Ssebo mwami Lumumba,

"awalungi tewaba wamwe."

Nkusubiza okunywerera ku nkolayo.

Webale kungigiriza mutima gwa gwanga.

Abaliddawo ndibanyumiza ku musajja
eyayitibwanga Lumumba.

Wummula mirembe.

© Nsubuga Muhammed (NZE)

LUMUMBA 1961:

AREADER

A collection of articles, books, movies and documentaries on Patrice Lumumba's life and legacy

Websites:

Patrice Lumumba - A collection of Lumumba's speeches, poetry and statements. (https://www.marxists.org/subject/africa/ lumumba/)



Patrice Lumumba

1925-1961

Question: "Some of your political opponents accuse you of being a Communist. Could you reply to that?" Answer: "This is a propagandist trick aimed at me. I am not a Communist. The colonialists have campaigned against me throughout the country because I am a revolutionary and demand the abolition of the colonial regime, which ignored our human dignity. They look upon me as a Communist because I refused to be bribed by the imperialists." (From an interview to a "France-Soir" correspondent on July 22, 1960)

"We are neither Communists, Catholics nor socialists. We are African nationalists. We reserve the right to choose our friends in accordance with the principle of positive neutrality." The goal Patrice sought to achieve



Biography

Political Statements

Statement at the Closing Session of the Belgo-Congolese Round Table Conference, February 20, 1960

Independence Day Speech, June 30, 1960 [alternative translation]

Interview with TASS, July 28, 1960

Correspondence with United Nations General Secretary Dag Hammarskjöld, July & August, 1960

From a letter to the President of the Security Council, August 1, 1960

From a telegram to the President of the Security Council, August 1, 1960 Statement at a press conference in Leopoldville, August 16, 1960

Statement at a press conference in Leopoldville, August 17, 1960

Statement at a press conference in Leopoldville, August 19, 1960

Speech at the opening of the All-African Conference in Leopoldville, August 25, 1960

Concluding speech at the All-African Conference in Leopoldville, August 31, 1960

Address to Congolese Youth, August, 1960

Radio Broadcast Message, September 5, 1960

Solemn Appeal to the President and members of the Security Council and to all the member states of the United Nations, September 10, 1960

From the letter to the President of the UN General Assembly, November 11, 1960

Letter to A.M. Daval, Special Representative of the U.N. Secretary-General, January 4, 1961

Letter from Thysville Prison to Mrs. Lumumba . [alternative translation]

Dag Hammarskjöld - A collection of his thoughts, photos from his trips across the world and select writings about the ideas he stood for. (http://www.dag-hammarskjold.net/)



CONSCIENCE: DAG

ART OF ETHICAL

LEADERSHIP

HAMMARSKJÖLD ON THE

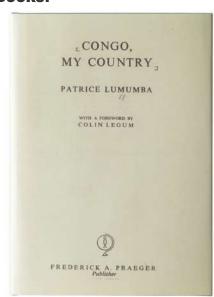
acute political wisdom. Ranging from tactical insights to the psychology of leadership

and peacemaking to the hopes of humanity, Hammarskjöld's thought deserves a

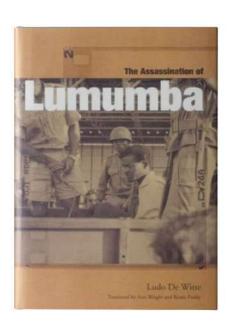
classic in the literature of spirituality. We'll keep it in mind here.

 ${\bf renewed\ welcome\ in\ today's\ world.\ And\ then\ there\ is\ {\it Markings}, his\ private\ journal,}$

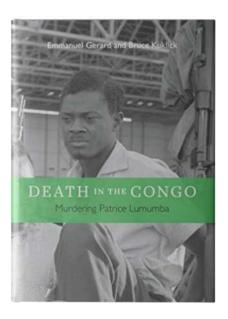
Books:



Patrice Lumumba, Congo, My Country, Frederick Praeger, New York, 1962.



Ludo de Witte, The Murder of Lumumba, Verso, New-York, 2001.



Gerard, E., & Kuklick, B., Death in the Congo: Murdering Patrice Lumumba. Cambridge, Massachusetts; London, England: Harvard University Press, 2015.

Articles:

Patrice Lumumba's Daughter: I'm Demanding Belgium Give Back My Father's Remains (Jacobin)

Overlooked No More: Andrée Blouin, Voice for Independence in Africa (New York Times)

Hailing a great feminist and African nationalist (New Frame)

Remembering the Congolese women who fought for independence (Al Jazeera)

Death of DRC's Lumumba: 'The Belgians weren't the only bad guys', says daughter Juliana (The Africa Report)

Facing the truths of Belgium's colonial past: The unresolved case of Patrice Lumumba's death (The Brussels Times)

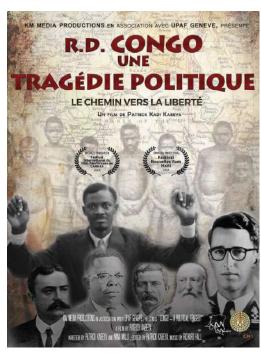
Why They Killed Patrice Lumumba (Jacobin)

Patrice Lumumba: the most important assassination of the 20th century (Guardian)

<u>DRC: How the CIA got Patrice Lumumba</u> (The Africa Report)

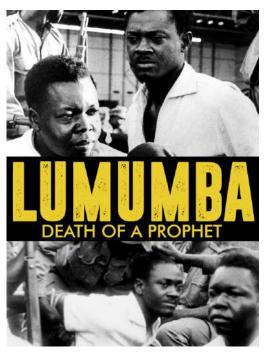
A Fight Far From Over: Patrice Lumumba's Legacy (Ceasefire Magazine)

Movies and Documentaries:



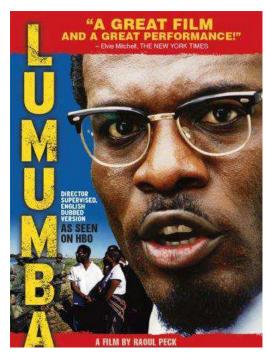
Congo - A Political Tragedy

A 2018 independent documentary story of the Democratic Republic of Congo's political history, written by Patrick Kabeya and Mina Malu. It chronicles the Congo Free State, The Belgian Congo as well as the key figures that played a role in its history such as Belgian King Leopold II, Patrice Lumumba, Joseph Kasa-Vubu, Joseph Mobutu, Moise Tshombe and Laurent Desire Kabila.



Lumumba, la mort du prophète (Lumumba, the death of the prophet)

A 1990 documentary film by Haitian director Raoul Peck. It covers the death of Patrice Lumumba, the first prime minister of Zaire, now the Democratic Republic of the Congo. The film was critically acclaimed and won a number of awards.



Lumumba

A 2000 film directed by Raoul Peck centred on Patrice Lumumba in the months before and after Congo-Léopoldville achieved independence from Belgium in June 1960.

PATH CELLUMINGA BEATH OF AN IDEA

#Lumumba1961



lumumba1961.leoafricareview.com