

**A CRITICAL ANALYSIS OF THE ROLE OF THE UNITED NATIONS  
SECURITY COUNCIL IN THE MAINTENANCE OF GLOBAL PEACE: A CASE  
STUDY OF THE CONGO CRISIS 1960-1965**

**BY**

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**BEING A RESEARCH SUBMITTED TO THE DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY  
AND INTERNATIONAL STUDIES FACULTY OF ARTS, UNIVERSITY OF  
BENIN IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE  
AWARD OF BACHELOR OF ARTS (B. A) DEGREE IN INTERNATIONAL  
STUDIES AND DIPLOMACY**

**JULY, 2021**

## **CERTIFICATION**

This is to certify that this work was carried out by **OSAYUWAMEN FAITH EDOKPAYI** in the department of History and International Studies, University of Benin, Benin City under my supervision.

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## **DEDICATION**

This work is dedicated to GOD Almighty the one whom all knowledge comes from. This work is dedicated also to my lovely parents MR Eddy Edokpayi and MRS Sandra Edokpayi

## ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I am eternally grateful to God almighty for his love, provision, protection, grace and for everything, for being with me and for keeping me through my entire stay in the university. I am grateful to my project supervisor, Mr. Felix Osariemen for his guidance towards ensuring that this work comes out excellently and its aims and objectives are achieved. I am grateful to my former head of department Prof Eddy Erahgbe whose teaching style was instrumental towards creating a drive to work on this subject matter.

I want to sincerely appreciate my parents Mr. Eddy and Mrs. Sandra Edokpayi for their financial, moral and spiritual support. I love you both very much and also to my lovely siblings Miss Ivie Edokpayi and Mr. Ikponwosa Edokpayi, I love you much.

I want to appreciate Mrs. Gloria Eguono for her love, moral and support thank you so much ma. My profound appreciation goes to my spiritual father Rev Emma Adanegbe for his massive spiritual and moral support. Also to my wonderful lecturers Prof Benson Osadolor, Dr. Onobhayedo A.O, Dr. Osiki and to my esteemed course adviser Dr. Charles Osarumwense for their direct and indirect influence on me throughout the course of my study and stay in the University of Benin. To the other staff of the department who impacted in me positively, I say God bless you.

My appreciation goes to my committee of friends in the likes of Ogbue Gladys, Isete Abaiaman, Oghenero Mora, Oyeanusu Benedicta, Onaghinor Joyce, Folurunsho

Precious and Aghimien Collins for making my stay in this University memorable and fun,  
much love to you all and to the Nasiru family thank you very much.

Thank you everyone and God bless.

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## **CHAPTER ONE**

### **1.0 INTRODUCTION**

The United Nations was established after the second world war with the aim of preventing future wars succeeding the effective League of Nations. Established in 1945, it was aimed at maintaining international peace and security, displaying friendly relations among nations. The United Nations have several organs. One principle organ is the United Nations Security Council (UNSC) which this work focuses on.

The United Nations Security Council is charged with the responsibility of maintaining international peace and security among nations. In order to ensure effective actions by the United Nations, its members confer on the Security Council the primary function of maintaining international peace. The UNSC has the power to make decisions which member states must carry out under Article 25 of the UN Charter which reads that “the members of the United Nations agree to accept and carry out the decisions of the United Nations Security Council, in accordance with the present charter”.

The United Nations is an organization established by states. This means that states are the active players of the organization; not just states but sovereign states. No state is allowed to violate the sovereignty of another state. This phenomenon was seen in Congo Crisis. The United Nations operation in the Congo was a United Nations Peacekeeping Force in the Republic of Congo that was established after United Nations Security

Council Resolution 143 of 14<sup>th</sup> July 1960. It aimed to both have the Belgian Military Personnel withdrawn and to provide military assistance to ensure internal stability. The Belgium invasion violated the norm of sovereignty. Another aim of UNSC was to prevent the country from becoming a cold war client state.

### **1.1 Aims and Objectives**

The major aim of this study are to examine and evaluate the roles of UNSC in maintenance of Global peace and security. Additionally, it is to To explore what extent the UNSC maintained peace in the Congo Crisis of 1960-1965

### **1.2 Statement of Problem**

The UNSC has been empowered with the core responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security. In the Congo crisis of 1960 the UNSC was originally expected to respond to an inter-state conflict that emerge after the decolonization process (Belgium-Congo) but soon found itself in the position of having to redefine the principles of its involvement (Congo vs secessionist group of Kantaga). It moved from inter-state conflict to intra-state conflict. Showing the analysis of UNSC demonstrates that it was not typical of its period. The UN Congo mission was far more ambitious than any peace-keeping mission.

The problem, therefore, is that

1. To what extent has the UNSC been able to achieve its role of maintaining global peace?
2. What were the objectives and underlying dynamics of the operation?
3. To what extent was the UNSC able to achieve its purpose in resolving the Congo Crisis?

### **1.3 Scope of Study**

The purpose of this study is to critically analyze the Security Council which is an organ of the United Nations. An international body charged with the responsibility of maintaining international peace and security. How they have been able to maintain and manage global crisis and in examining this role, we have taken Congo crisis as a case study spanning from 1960-1965.

### **1.4 Hypothesis**

For the purpose of this study, the following hypothesis are formulated.

1. The motive of the UNSC should be solely based on the objectives of the UN which is the maintenance of global peace.
2. When states respect the sovereignty of states in the international system, there will be peace to a large extent.
3. Force should be used only when it is necessary.

## **1.5 Methodology**

For the purpose of this study, we are going to use secondary sources. Such as related texts, articles and the World Wide Web (Internet).

## **1.6 Chapterization**

For the purpose of having a clear cut understanding about this study; this entire work have been grouped into five chapters

### **CHAPTER ONE: BACKGROUND TO STUDY**

This is the foundation of the study, the background of the study includes Introduction, Aims and Objectives, Statement of Problem, Hypothesis, Methodology, Literature Review and Scope of Study.

### **CHAPTER TWO: THE HISTORY OF THE UNITED NATIONS, THE SECURITY COUNCIL AND THE CONGO CRISIS**

Chapter two of this study critically examine the history of United Nations, the history of UNSC and the historical perspective of the Congo crisis of 1960 -1965

## **CHAPTER THREE: FORMATION AND FUNCTIONS OF THE UNITED NATIONS SECURITY COUNCIL**

This chapter explores how the United Nations was formed, i.e. after the default of the league of nations which is aimed for international peace, the chapter further throws light on the functions of the UNSC as being one of the major organ of the United Nations charged with the responsibility of ensuring global peace.

## **CHAPTER FOUR: THE CONGO CRISIS OF 1960-1965.**

This chapter discusses the impact of the Congo crisis and also discusses the limitations of the UNSC in handling the crisis.

## **CHAPTER FIVE: RECOMMENDATIONS AND CONCLUSION**

This chapter recommends ways greater success could be achieved in ensuring global peace and finally draws a conclusion from the recommendation.

### **1.7 Literature Review**

*United Nation: A history* by Stanley Meister begins with the creation of United Nations in 1945. The United Nation came into existence in 1945 due to the failure of the league of nations to live up to its expectation. Although the organization was created to prevent war, many conflicts have arisen, since its inception ranging from the Korean War, to the six Day war, to genocide in Bosnia and Rwanda. Stanley Meister's in depth research examines the crisis and many key political leaders. In this second edition,

Meister bring his popular history up to date with accounts of the power struggles of the organization. This book is relevant to this study, as it give a detailed analysis of the United nations and also it tells the story of the organization, its promise and its problem with clarity and authority, but this book fail to discuss extensively the role of the United Nations Security council in maintaining global peace using the Congo crisis as a case study. During the course of this study, it will discuss in detail the role of the security council in maintaining and ensuring global peace as regards to fulfilling its role and this study will use the Congo crisis as a center point in preventing war and ensuring international peace.

Brian Urquhart in his book. *A life in peace and War*, for nearly half a century at the United Nations. Ultimately as under Secretary-General for special political affairs, Brian Urquhart wrestled with the problem at its word hot spots. The Congo in the aftermath of Patrice Lumumba's assassination, Cyprus at the bloodiest moment of conflict between Greek and Turkish Cypriots, Kashmir and through the tragic cycle of four wars, the middle East – he has tested the limits and the possibilities, of peacekeeping in the modern world. This book is also penetrating first hand narratives of world affairs and world leaders. A primer on international peacekeeping - From the complicated logistics of assembling a multinational military group under the United Nations flag to the no-the-ground dilemmas of controlling conflicts without using force. i.e. this book extensively talks about the international peace-keeping and the use of non-force in carrying out these operations and also the resolutions of the leaders during these war

times. This book did not explore the ways United Nations security council can successfully ensure global peace in regards to preventing the interference of nations in the affairs of other states and also recommendation on how to carry peace keeping successfully there ensuring global peace. This work will explore these deficiencies and give a detailed resolutions concerning the UNSC ensuring global peace.

Sufyan Droubi in his book *Resisting UNSC Resolutions*. The UNSC has primary responsibility for maintaining international peace and security. In discharging its power it must act in accordance with the purpose and principles of the UN and observe the rules governing voting and procedure established in the organization charter. The council adopts mandatory resolutions that may establish obligation for members and non-member and such obligations trump conflicting obligations originating from any other international agreement member states must cooperate with the organization and among themselves, in the implementation of any action prescribed by the council against states whose behaviour the council considers an act of aggression or a threat to or breach of, international peace and security. This book analyses resistance to Security Council resolutions and puts forward a theory of lawful resistance, Sufyan Droubi takes a positivist approach to the UN charter regarding it as a constitution. Special emphasis is placed on the construction of the charter's meaning through the practice of both organs and members of the UN and on the need to enhance the effectiveness of the organization with due respect to the rule of law. This book proposes that non-violent resistance to a mandatory resolution of the Security Council, on grounds that the latter is incompatible

with the charter or Jus cogens norms may be considered lawful under the charter if some elements as present. In the course of this work, the study going to elaborate on the interference of state and the boycott of resolutions of the security council in the Congo crisis as a case study this work will bring a better picture which the book fail to discuss.

*Battleground Africa: Cold war in the Congo 1960-1965* traces the Congo crisis from post-World War II decolonization efforts through Mobutu's second coup in 1965 from a radically new vantage point. Drawing on recently opened archives in Russia and the United States and to a lesser extent Germany and Belgium, Lisa Namikas addresses the crisis from the perspective of the two super powers and explains with superb clarity the complex web of allies clients and neutral States influencing US – soviet Competition. Unlike other works, Battle ground Africa looks at events leading up to independence, then considers the assassination of Patrice Lumumba, the series of UN supported constitutional negotiations and the crises of 1964 and 1965. Finding that the US and the USSR each wanted to avoid a major confrontation but also misunderstood its opponent goals and wanted to avoid looking weak or losing it political standing in Africa. Namikas argue that a sense of exaggerations and misjudgments helped to militarize the crisis and ultimately helped militarize the cold war on the continent. The author Namikas has made a remarkable contribution that deepens our understanding of the Central African crisis that marked Africa as a key cold war battleground. This study shows the resolutions of the Security Council which this book fail to discuss.

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## CHAPTER TWO

### THE HISTORY OF THE UNITED NATIONS AND THE SECURITY COUNCIL

#### 2.0 Introduction

History has shown that the development of international organization has in the main, resulted from international relationships. This international relationships is in the sense of development of relations between different actors; private and public, natural or legal, advances in the mechanics of transport and communication, the quest and desires for trade and commerce and the need for peace and security. These have produced degrees of interaction that ultimately resulted in the formation of public international organizations foremost of which is the United Nations Organizations (UNO).

The United Nations Organization was the successor of the League of Nations which was an international organization established with the duty of maintenance of international peace and security. It is dedicated with the aim of collective security among nations. It recorded some outstanding achievements. More than sixty disputes were considered by the League of Nations from 1920-1939, with about thirty five of these disputes settled through the League procedures or the threat of direct league intervention e.g. commission was used to settle the Oaksland dispute between Sweden and Finland in 1921 and it also recorded some failures and its greatest failure was its inability to prevent the outbreak of the Second World War (1939-1945). Even though the League failed, it

was taken to notice during the Second World War that the only effective way to maintain international peace and security was an international organization, patterned after the League of Nations. Hence, the UN was formed with adjustments and structures to carry out the task of maintaining world peace and security.

In the main, the UN has succeeded where the League failed. For seven and half decades, the UN has been able to ensure that there has been no war. However, over the years, a major criticism that has risen of the UN is that the UNO is all about the permanent members of the Security Council (the big 5), their presence efforts and overwhelming influence can be felt everywhere in the UN system. This work embarks on the UN Security rule in global peace and how the UNSC have been able to carry out its rule under the big five in the war.

## **2.1 History of the United Nations**

The name United Nations Organization was coined by the United States President, Franklin Roosevelt and it was first used in the declaration of the United Nations which was made on the 1<sup>st</sup> of January, 1942, during the Second World War when representatives of 26 nations pledged their government to continue fighting together against the Axis powers. The UN was not the first attempt at international cooperation by nations. As early as the 15<sup>th</sup> Century, there were cases of interaction between nations such as the Delian League, the Peloponnesian League (before the 15<sup>th</sup> century), the treaty of Westphalia, the Vienna Congress etc. The development of international organization

arose out of the need for international relations between different actors. Majorly, advances in the mechanisms of transportation and communication, coupled with the desire for trade and commerce gave rise to relations that necessitated the creation of international institution.

The urgent need for an international organization and the deficiencies of bilateral relations or alliances was highlighted by the outbreak of the First World War. The events that led to the outbreak of the First World War has been clearly described as a case of “one thing leading to another” otherwise known as the treaty alliance system i.e. the triple alliance and the triple entente. The immediate cause of the First World War was the assassination of Archduke Franz Ferdinand, heir to the Austro-Hungarian throne in Sarajevo on the 28<sup>th</sup> of June, 1914 by a Serbian fanatic. This set the stage for series of events that culminated in what became the First World War. Shortly after the First World War, some measures were put in place to prevent a reoccurrence, first of which was the treaty of Versailles (1919) and then the establishment of the League of Nations. At the initial stage, Germany agreed to the terms of the treaty of Versailles but after series of violations of its terms, she withdrew from the League of Nations in 1933 and in 1936, Adolf Hitler remilitarized the Rhine land and denounced the treaty of Versailles in 1938 and seized Australia. In all of these, the League was weak to stop him. Faced by threats to international peace from all sides, the Spanish Civil war, Japan resumption of war against China in 1937, and finally the appeasement of Hitler adopted by Chamberlain at Munich in 1938, the League collapsed. Eventually, the Second World War broke out, and at the

end of the war, it was eminent that something else was needed to take the place of the League of Nations in relations to the maintenance of international peace and security, thus leading to the formation of the United Nations Organization.

In 1945, representatives of 50 countries met in San Francisco at the United Nations Conference on International Organizations to draw up the United Nations Charter. Those delegates deliberated on the basis of proposals worked out by the representatives of China, the Soviet Union, the United Kingdom and the United States at Dumberton Oaks, United States from August to October, 1944.

The Charter was signed on 26<sup>th</sup> June, 1945 by the representatives of the 50 countries. Poland which was not represented at the conference signed later and became one of the original 51 member states. The United Nations officially came into existence on 24<sup>th</sup> October, 1945 when the Charter had been ratified by China, France, the Soviet Union, the United Kingdom, the United States and by a majority of other signatories.

The UN Charter is the basic constitutional document of the UNO. Article 1 of the Charter stipulated the purpose of the United Nations thus:

- To maintain international peace and security and to that end to take effective collective measures for the prevention and removal of threats to the peace, and for the suppression of acts of aggression and other breaches of their peace and to bring about peaceful means and in conformity with the principles of justice and

international law, adjustments or settlements of international disputes which might lead to breach of the peace.

- To develop friendly relations among nations based on respect for the principles of equal rights and self determination Of the people and to take other appropriate measures to strengthen universal peace.
- To achieve international cooperation in solving international problems of an economic, social, cultural or humanitarian character and in promoting and encouraging respects for human rights and for fundamental freedoms for all without distinctions as to race, sex, language or religion.
- To be a center for harmonizing the actions of nations in the attainment of these common ends.

The United Nations has thus far deployed over 54 peacekeeping force and observer missions and out of this number, over 15 active peacekeeping forces have been able to restore calm and allow negotiating process to go forward thus saving millions of people from becoming casualties of conflicts.

## **2.2 History of United Nations Security Council (UNSC)**

The United Nations created in 1945 with the purpose of saving succeeding generations from the scourge of war has in it a body that hold primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security known as the Security Council. Established under Article 24 of the Charter of the United Nations, the Security Council is

empowered by Chapter VI and Chapter VII of the Charter. Unlike the League of Nations, three-fourth of the international organization that attempted to keep world peace during the inter-war period of 1917-1939 by means of recommendatory actions, third-fourth the United Nations has a coercive capacity upon states, which can be exerted on the discretion of its security.

The Security Council acts as a mediator and pacifier when under chapter vi, it performs the role in the peaceful settlement of disputes, under chapter vii, the council deals with situation it understands as being breaches of peace, threat to the peace or act of aggression and resolution it adopts on these matters are binding upon all states, members or not of the United Nations, such enforcement measures range from logistical to the authorization of the use of force.

The UNSC agenda is continuously open, so that any diplomatic mission may bring topic before the council for its appraisal. Nonetheless, should an international crisis emerge, the Security Council shall stop its discussion and proceed to the assessment of the crisis and only afterwards resume its previous debate.

At present, the Security Council has fifteen seats, five of which are permanent and ten of which are non-permanent ones, elected by the UN General Assembly for two year terms. The permanent members are the People's Republic of China, France, the Soviet Union later replaced by the Russia Federation, the Great Britain and the United States of America. The non-permanent members are Angola, Chile, Germany, Pakistan, Spain,

Algeria, Benin Republic, Brazil, the Philippines and Romania. With regard to the voting process of the UNSC, the Council members, each of whom is entitled to one vote, deals with procedural and substantive matters. Decisions on procedural matters requires nine affirmative votes to be made. Decisions on the charter requires, nine or affirmative votes including the concurring affirmative votes of the permanent members. The fact that the approval of a resolution requires, at least the concurring affirmative vote of the five permanent members of the security council and the affirmative votes of four non permanent members evidences the challenges faced by the states represented in that body whilst engaging in its decision making process.

Although, veto have been hardly used since the end of the cold war, the council has striven for consensus since then. Complications in the missions it sent to such countries as the former Yugoslavia and Somalia in the mid 1990s, which represented an effort to increase the role of the UN in keeping peace around the world, and problems regarding the legitimacy of the use of force by some of its members out of the frame work of the council have led some members states to adopt at time ,skeptical stances towards the efficiency of the council. More recently, however consensus have been built around the position of defending the legitimate primary and fundamentally, not withstanding it needed renewals and revisions, the security council remains the highest and central body upon which the responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security was bestowed by the members states of the collective security system designed and incorporated in the UN charter.

### **2.3 The Historical Perspective of the Congo Crisis**

The decolonization of Sub Saharan Africa from the late 1950s to the mid 1970 resulted in several proxy cold war confrontation between the United States and Soviet Union over the dozens of new independent, non-aligned nations. The first of such confrontation occurred in the Belgian-Congo which gained its independence on June 30<sup>th</sup>, 1960.

In the months leading up to independence, the Congolese elected President, Joseph Kasavubu, Prime minister Patrice Lumumba, a senate and assembly and similar bodies in the Congo numerous province. On July 5<sup>th</sup>, Congolese soldiers in the force publique mutinied against their white Belgian commanders at the Thysville military base, seeking higher pay as well as greater opportunity and authority. The mutiny quickly spread to other bases and violence broke out across the nations. While the President and the Prime Minister was 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 succession there to protect mining interests. Katanga was rich in minerals and natural resources. On July 10<sup>th</sup>, 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 Congo at the time and many were in a state of panic. The presence of Belgian troops

was illegal under international law as the Congolese officials had not requested their presence.

The Congolese government appealed directly to the UNSC to provide troops. On July 13<sup>th</sup>, the UN approved a resolution which authorized the creation of an intervention force “the Organization of Nations Unies au Congo (ONUC)” and called for the withdrawal of all Belgian troops. Two days earlier, the wealthy Katanga province had declared its independence from the Republic of Congo followed in August by South Kasai Province.

While the United States supported the UN effort, members of the Eisenhower administration, increasingly concerned that the Congo crisis would provide an opening for Soviet intervention sought a diplomatic solution to the crisis. Lumumba was invited to visit Washington in the late July, in the hopes that the United States could exert a moderating influence on the Prime Minister. The report coupled with the arrival of the Soviet bloc technicians and materials, convinced members of the national security team that Lumumba had to be removed. A flurry of US diplomatic activities in support of unseating Lumumba ensued. On September 5<sup>th</sup>, Kasavubu dismissed Lumumba from the government. Lumumba supporters in the Congo and abroad were outraged and pledged to support his return to office. In an attempt to avoid civil war, Colonel Joseph Mobutu of the Congolese National Army (CNA) orchestrated a coup d'état on September 14<sup>th</sup>. This was planned by the CIA, it was the CIA who decided that Kasavubu was too cautious to

lead the opposition against Lumumba and they subsequently approached Mobutu, whom they felt will act more to neutralize Lumumba's influence. Mobutu early efforts to support pro-western government and his ties to the Military placed him in good stead with Devlin who informed Mobutu of a plot to assassinate him on September 18<sup>th</sup>. Lumumba who was blamed for the plot was arrested and ultimately killed on January 17<sup>th</sup> 1961.

Support for the Congo continued unabated during the administration. US Military assistance increased dramatically in response to the fall of Stanleyville (Kisangani) to rebel forces on August 4<sup>th</sup> 1964 planes provided by the department of Defence flown by pilots supplied by the CIA augmented the CAN efforts against an increasingly robust rebel insurgency which received support from other states. The UN also made diplomatic approaches to the Organization of African Unity (OAU). To secure support for the Republic of Congo on October 28<sup>th</sup>, the rebels army commander placed all Westerners in the area under house arrest, smaller but important numbers of hostages were seized in other cities under rebel control. A joint US-Belgian effort to rescue the hostages in late November, operation Dragon Rouge, succeeded but severely damaged Prime Minister Tshombe who was viewed as ineffectual by both Kasavubu and Mobutu. He was dismissed in October 1965, and once again, the nation was on the brink of civil war. Mobutu orchestrated another coup d'état on November 25<sup>th</sup> and took control of government.

Despite uprising and instability, Mobutu ruled Congo (renamed Zaire in 1971) until mid-1990s. Viewed as Mercurial, occasional irritational, Mobutu nonetheless proved to be a staunch ally against communist encroachment in Africa.

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**CHAPTER THREE**  
**FORMATIONS AND FUNCTIONS OF THE UNITED NATIONS**  
**SECURITY COUNCIL**

**3.0 The Formation of the United Nations Security Council**

The United Nations Security Council is one of the six primary organs of the United Nations and it serves as a legislative organ specialized in international security. The charter of the United Nations delegates the Security Council primary responsibility of maintaining international peace and security and gives its resolutions the power to bind all members of the United Nations and also recommend the admission of new United Nations members to the General Assembly and approving any changes to the United Nations Charter.

The Security Council consists of fifteen members of which five are permanent, they are china, France, Russia, the United Kingdom and the United States of America. There were the great powers or their successor states that were the victors of World War II. Permanent members can veto any substantive resolution, including those on the admission of the new member states or nominees for the office of Secretary General. The remaining ten members are elected on a regional basis to serve a term of two years. The body's presidency rotates monthly among states.

### **3.1 The Functions of the United Nations Security Council**

The UNSC as one of the major organs of the United Nations during the course of its formation has been charged to play important roles and functions in order to ensure world peace. The functions of the UNSC are:

- a. To maintain international peace and security in accordance with the principles and purposes of the United Nations. The United Nations was created after World War II to address the failings of the League of Nations in maintaining world peace. The function to maintain international peace and security is carried out by the UNSC.
- b. To investigate any dispute or situation which might lead to international friction. Under Chapter VI of the charter, pacific settlement of disputes, the Security Council may investigate any dispute or any situation which might lead to international friction or give rise to a dispute. The Council may recommend appropriate procedures or methods of adjustment if it determines that the situation might endanger international peace and security.
- c. To recommend methods of adjusting such disputes or the terms of settlement. Acting under Chapter VI of the charter, the council shall when it deems necessary call upon the parties to a dispute to settle it by peaceful means such as negotiation, mediation, conciliation, arbitration, or judicial settlement (Article 33).

- d. To formulate plans for the establishment of a system to regulate armaments. More acquisition of arms by states threaten global peace. Therefore, the Security Council formulates plans for the establishment of a system to regulate armaments.
- e. To determine the existence of threats to the peace or acts of aggression and to recommend what action to be taken under Chapter VII. The Council has broader power to decide what measures are to be taken in situations involving threats to the peace, breaches of the peace or act of aggression.
- f. To call on members to apply economic sanctions and other measures not involving the use of force to prevent or stop aggression.
- g. To take military action against an aggressor. The council is not limited to recommendation but may take actions including the use of armed force to maintain or restore international peace and security. This was the legal basis for UN military action in Korea in 1950 during the Korean War and Libya in 2011.
- h. To recommend the admission of new members. The UNSC recommends new states for admission as member states of the United Nations.
- i. To exercise the trusteeship functions of the United Nations in strategic areas.
- j. To recommend to the General Assembly the appointment of the Secretary-General and together with the Assembly, to elect the Judges of the International Court of Justice.

### **3.2 A Critical Analysis of the Impact of the United Nations Security Council in Global Peace**

The UNSC is the organ with the primary responsibility for maintaining international peace and security. Outlining its structure and functions is an essential first step for determining its success. It consists of 15 members, 5 of which are permanent and have veto powers. They include United States of America, Russia, China, United Kingdom and France. They are considered the main military powers when the UN was founded and their veto right would prevent them from going to war with each other while creating a necessary balance when taking decisions on security issues that would be collectively enforced. And there has never been a direct physical war between the permanent members since the UN beginning. Despite the period of inactions during the cold war, many UNSC resolutions have also been passed to support peace processes, solve disputes respond to illegitimate use of force and enforce sanctions in situations where peace and security is being threatened. Some of these resolutions are resolutions prohibiting threats to the political independence and territorial integrity. Non-intervention of member states in the affairs of another state, disarmament and arms control all enshrined in the United Nations Charter. The UNSC has to some extent made (still making) impacts on global peace.

Beyond internal tensions, the United Nations has an active presence in the world through peacekeeping operations i.e. peace keeping forces which have become central for

the UNSC and its approach to maintaining peace. The mandate range from protecting civilians to supporting state building effort a list that has become more extensive in its attempt to improve the strategy towards sustainable peace. Peacekeeping forces are not mentioned in the UN Charter. The Charter requires member states to place military forces at disposal of the United Nations, but such forces were envisioned as being used in response to aggression under collective security. The UN's own forces - borrowed from armies member states but under the flag and command of the UN - have been peacekeeping forces to calm regional conflicts. These forces won the Nobel Peace Prize in 1988 in recognition of their growing importance and success.

The active presence of the UN in the world through peacekeeping missions has to some extent resolved disputes. The UNSC in a bid to ensure international peace and security sends peace keeping missions to conflicting states. The Secretary-General assembles a peace keeping force for each mission, usually from few states totally uninvolved in the conflict and put it under a single commander. The soldiers are called blue helmets. Peace keeping missions serve at the invitation of a host government and must leave if that government orders it out. The peace has indeed been kept between inter states such as Israel and Syria indicating the success of the UN deployment for preventing interstate conflict. Some of the success of the peacekeeping missions includes:

In early 2012, the UN maintained over 100,000 troops (including police and military observers) in 15 separate peacekeeping or observing missions.

The two largest peacekeeping missions in 2012 were in Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) and the Darfur region of Sudan. In the DRC mission, 20,000 peacekeepers monitored a ceasefire and protected civilian after a civil war. In 2007, the Security Council approved a nearly 20,000 peacekeeping force (plus more than 6,000 police) for the Darfur regions in Sudan, after several years of resistance from the Sudanese government. The UN other large peacekeeping operations were in Liberia (maintaining a ceasefire after a civil war), Ivory Coast, Burundi (stabilizing peace agreements), Lebanon (following 2006 Israeli-Hezbollah war) and Haiti (trying to maintain stability after a military coup).

At its peak in the early 1990s, the UN ran several large peacekeeping operations in addition to those in the former Yugoslavia and in Lebanon. In Cambodia, 15,000 peacekeepers were coupled with a force of UN administration who took over substantial control of the Cambodia government under a fragile pact that ended a long and devastating civil war. The lessons learned in Cambodia helped the UN accomplish a similar mission more easily in Mozambique. These experiences helped the UN respond effectively after civil wars in Sierra Leone, Ivory Coast and Liberia in 2002-2003.

UNMIL (Liberia) is perhaps the most successful UN peacekeeping operations on record. The mission was active during both the first and the second Liberian Civil wars from 1989-1996 and 1999-2006 respectively. These civil wars left about 200,000 people dead, 500,000 internally displaced and 850,000 refugees. From December 2003 to

October 2004, UNMIL together with other organizations managed to disarm and demobilize 101,496 active combatants and their support structures.

UNTAET and UNMIT in East Timor is another success story of United Nations peacekeeping mission. From 1975 to 1999, Indonesia occupied East Timor, as a result over 100,000 Timorese died. On August 1989, The United Nations supervised independence referendum. 78% of Voters voted for independence from Indonesia. Two months after the referendum, UNTAET (United Nations Transitional Administration in East Timor) was set up after the international stabilization force expelled militias and balanced territory. In the year 2002, UNTAET conducted the first Presidential elections and East Timor became formally an independent state.

### **3.3 The Challenges Encountered in Carrying Out the Functions of the United Nations Security Council**

The Security Council is the UN's premier decision making body, empowered to impose legally binding obligations on member states. Conferred by the UN Charter with primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security, the Council has a number of tools at its disposal for conflict prevention and management. The UNSC in carrying out its functions – to maintain international peace and security – it has been face with a lot of challenges impacts on global peace, in carrying out its functions.

One of the major constraint of the UNSC is lack of funds. Lack of funds today is one of the problems in the use of peacekeeping force. Special assessment against member states pay for peacekeeping operations. Obtaining the necessary financial and logistical support from member states for UN peacekeeping mission has long been a problem. Observer missions are generally funded from the UN's regular budget, whereas full scale peacekeeping operations have been funded through special peacekeeping assessment. But member states, both large and small are frequently in arrears. And as more peacekeeping operations have been mounted, the financial strains on the organization have increased. With the expansion of peacekeeping, these expenses far exceed the rest of the UN budget, coming about 7 million dollars in 2012.

The structure of the Security Council is not without problems. Any country may be elected to serve a temporary term on the Security Council but critics have suggested that it is inadequate. Rather, they argue that the number of permanent members should be expanded to include non-nuclear members which would democratize the organization. Japan and Germany are great powers that contribute greatly to the UN dues (based on economic size) and make large contributions to UN programs and peacekeeping operations. Yet, they have exactly the same formal representation in the UN as tiny states. While some regions are adequately represented, some do not have any representation. Other countries have advocated the abolishment of permanency altogether; under the government of Paul Martin, Canada advocated this approach. Any overhaul of the

Security Council will reduce the power of the current five permanent members any of which could veto the change.

Another challenge faced by the UNSC involves the veto power of the five permanent members. As it stands, a veto from any of the permanent members can halt any possible action the council may take. One country's objection rather than the opinions of a majority of countries may cripple any possible UN armed or diplomatic response to crisis. As part of the Soviet Union, Russia vetoed 90 resolutions between 1949 and 1991. As of July 2019, USSR and Russia vetoed 141 times, United States 83 times and UK 32 times.

Peacekeeping child sexual abuse scandal has been one of the challenges of the UNSC in carrying out their functions. Reporters witnessed a rapid increase in prostitution in Cambodia, Mozambique, Bosnia and Kosovo after UN and in the case of the latter, two NATO peacekeeping missions moved in. Sexual misconducts by United Nations troops had earlier been reported in Congo, Cambodia, Liberia and Haiti, as well as in an earlier incident involving Moroccan peacekeepers in Cote d'Ivoire. Because of the problems with sex related crimes in UN peacekeeping operations and the importance of women in post war societies, the Security Council passed resolutions 1325 in 2000 to focus attention on gender issues in peacekeeping and restructuring.

Another challenge faced by the Security Council is that the Security Council has been criticized for failure in resolving many conflicts including Cyprus, Sri Lanka, Syria,

Kosovo and the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, reflecting the wider shortcoming of the UN. For example, at the 68th Session of the UN General Assembly, New Zealand Prime Minister, John Key, heavily criticized the UN's inaction in Syria, more than two years after the Syrian Civil war began. Again, the Unilateral declaration of independence by racists minority regime in Rhodesia in 1965 attracted the Security Council sanctions, but the sanctions were dropped in 1979 following the seemingly recognition of the right of the people to self determination. Similarly, the council did not do enough to bring to an end the apartheid regime in South Africa.

In general, it is on records that the council has been criticized for not fulfilling most of the expectations as most interventions authorized by the Council were carried out in countries where the Super powers, especially USA economic interest is at stake, while blind eyes were turned to conflict in countries where they had little or no interest at all e.g Rwanda where ethnic cleansing was carried out in 1994.

Other challenges include lack of standing army and the unwillingness of contributory countries to contribute peacekeepers. The use of veto as a diplomatic cover for nations economic interest, against global peace. For example, China and Russia on Darfur Sudan crisis as China threatened to veto any sanction against Sudan because she is the greatest consumer of Sudan's oil while Russia is the greatest supplier of the Khartoum arms. For their economic interest, they neutralized all attempts to bring Sudan under the Council control.

The unclear mandates on rules of engagement and delay in the deployment of peacekeeping troops to trouble or crisis area due to complex and rigid procedure as was the case in Rwanda and Burundi was another challenge faced by the Security Council in carrying out their functions. The peculiar nature of post cold war conflict especially in Africa which is mostly between ethnic groups and not between states poses serious challenges as a complex dimension of the conflict is heightened with poverty and bad governance. In the same vein, global terrorism, with faceless actors constitutes a barrier to Security Council effectiveness.

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## CHAPTER FOUR

### THE CONGO CRISIS OF 1960-1965

#### 4.0 Introduction

Belgium, the Congo (later known as Zaire and now known as DRC) was plunged into a civil conflict that soon turned into a political and constitutional crisis that besieged the country for almost five years. The Congo crisis challenged how the Super powers and the United Nations Security Council managed the processes of the crisis.

The United Nations Operation in the Congo (UNOC or operation des Nations Unies au Congo), which took place in the Republic of Congo from July 1960 until June 1964, marked a milestone in the United Nations peacekeeping in terms of responsibilities it had to assume, the size of its area of operation and the manpower involved. It included, in addition to a peacekeeping force which comprised at its peak strength nearly 20,000 officers and men, an important civilian operation component. Originally mandated to provide the Congolese government with military and technical assistance, it required following the collapse of many essential services and the military intervention by Belgian troops, UNOC became embroiled by a force of circumstance in a chaotic internal situation of extreme complexity and had to assume certain responsibilities which went beyond normal peacekeeping duties.

#### **4.1 Impact of the Congo Crisis of 1960-1965**

The Congo crisis of Congo civil war was a complex political tumult that began just days following Belgian granting of Congolese independence in 1960. A nationalist movement in the Belgian-Congo demanded the end of colonial rule. This led to the country's independence on 30<sup>th</sup> June 1960. Minimal preparations has been made and many issues such as federalism, tribalism and ethnic nationalism remained unresolved. On the 1<sup>st</sup> of July, a mutiny broke out in the army and violence erupted between black and white civilians. Within days, soldiers of the Congolese army mutinied, demanding increased pay and the dismissal of the white officers from their ranks. When Belgium intervened militarily, more soldiers rebelled. Belgium sent troops to protect fleeing whites. Katanga and South Kasai seceded with Belgian support. Amid continuing unrest and violence, the United Nations deployed peacekeepers, Congolese President, Joseph Kasavubu and Prime Minister Lumumba asked and received a peacekeeping force from the United Nations. But the UN Secretary General, Dag Hammarskjold refused to use these troops to help the central government in Leopoldville to fight the secessionists. Prime Minister Patrice Lumumba, the charismatic leader of the largest nationalist faction, reacted by calling for assistance from the Soviet Union who promptly sent military advisers and other support. This conflict also became the site of a dangerous cold war proxy contest between Western powers led by the United States and the Soviet Union led communist bloc. Under pressure from the Western powers and in exchange for UN support, President Kasavubu purged his government of radical elements including Prime

Minister Lumumba. An ultra-nationalist fearing Lumumba was secretly a communist. The United State was particularly adamant about his removal from power. On September 5<sup>th</sup> 1960, Kasavubu announced on national radio that he had unilaterally dismissed Lumumba using the massacres in South Kasai as a pretext and with the promise of American backing, Andrew Cordier, the American UN representative in the Congo, used his position to block communication by Lumumba faction and to prevent a coordinated MNCL reaction to the news. Both chambers of parliament however supported Lumumba and denounced Kasavubu's action. Lumumba attempted to dismiss Kasavubu from his position but could not get support for this, precipitating a constitutional crisis (Lumumba responded by firing Kasavubu as both leaders claimed control over the country).

Lumumba was placed on house arrest, guarded by Ghanaian UN Troops and an outering of ANC soldiers. This was orchestrated by Mobutu sided by Kasavubu. Lumumba escaped house arrest and fled eastwards towards Stanleyville where he believed he could rally support pursued by troops Loyal to Mobutu, he was captured at Lodi on December 1 1960 and flown back to Leopoldville despite the UN appeal to Kasavubu for due process the Soviet Union denounced the UN as responsible for the arrest and demanded his release. A meeting of the UNSC was called on 7 december 1960 to consider Soviet demands that the UN seek Lumumba immediate release, his restoration to the head of the Congolese government and the disarming of Mobutu forces. These demands were defeated on 14 December 1960 by a vote of 8-2 still in captivity. Lumumba was tortured and transported to Thysville and later to Katanga where he was

handed over to Tshombes loyal forces .On 17 January 1961 Lumumba was executed by Katanga troops over Elisabethville.

With his chief rival removed, Mobutu pledged nominal support to president Kasavubu and the two led the successful effort to end the Katanga secession. Since its initial resolution of July 1960 the UN has issued further resolutions calling for the total withdrawal of Belgian and mercenary forces from Katanga in progressively stronger terms, The UN peacekeeping missions was termed as one of the largest peacekeeping mission in UN history. It was the largest operation till date, involving over 20,000 troops and support from 30 different countries. On July 12 1960 the Congolese government asked for UN military assistance to protect the national territory of the Congo against external aggression, to meet the vast and complex task before it, the UN force totally nearly 20,000 officers and men. The instruction of the Security Council to this force strengthened early in 1961 after the assassination in Katanga province former Prime Minister Patrice Lumumba.

The period of political crisis had led to wide spread disenchantment with the central government brought in by independence demands for a second independence from kleptocracy and political infighting in the capital grew. The second independence slogan was taken up by Maoist-inspired Congolese revolutionaries, including Pierre Mulele who had served in the Lumumba government. The political instability of the Congo helped to channel wider discontentment into outright revolt. Description in the

rural Congo begun with agitation by Lumumbists, led Mulele, among the Pende and Mbundu peoples. By the end of 1963, there was unrest in regions of the central and eastern Congo. The Kwilu rebellion broke out on 16 January 1964 in the cities of Liofa and Gungu in Kwilu province. Further disruption and uprising then spread to Kivu in the east and later to Albertville, sparking further insurrection elsewhere in the Congo and the outbreak of the larger Simba rebellion. The ONUC was in the process of withdrawing when the rebellion started and had only 5,500 personnel, most of whom were deployed in the eastern part of the country and was stranded by the conflict. A small force of peacekeepers was assembled and subsequently dispatched to the Kwilu region to retrieve fleeing missionaries, rescue operations continued throughout March and April and resulted in the successful recovery of over 100 missionaries. The rebels founded a state, The People Republic of the Congo with its capital at Stanleyville and Christophe Gbenye as president. The new state received popular support from Soviet Union and China who had supplied them with arms and also Cuba, so did various African states remarkably Tanzania. It is said that, had the rebellion not been rapidly defeated, a full scale American military intervention could have occurred as in Vietnam.

Mobutu seized power from president Kasavubu after having persuaded western leaders that he was the most effective leader in the fight against Communism. With the government in near paralysis, Mobutu seized power in a bloodless coup ostensibly to stop the impasse, on 25 November 1965. Under the auspice of a regime d exception (an equivalent of state of emergency), Mobutu assumed sweeping, almost absolute power for

five years after which he claimed democracy would be restored. Mobutu coup, which promised both economic and political stability was supported by the United States and other western government and his rule initially met widespread popularity. He increasingly other powers, abolishing the post of a prime minister and dissolving the parliament.

The Congo crisis triggered other African states towards their own emancipation. The turmoil of the Congo crisis destabilized central Africa and helped to ignite the Portuguese colonial war especially the war of independence in neighboring Angola. The crisis caused the newly independent African states to reconsider their allegiances and internal ties. The Congo crisis led to the division of African states into faction-moderate-learning states joined the Brazzaville group, which called for a degree of unity among the francophone states and other African states while the Radical states joined the Cassablanca group which called for a pan African federation.

#### **4.2 The Limitation of the United Nation Security Council in Handling the Congo Crisis**

When UN Secretary-General Dag Hammarskjold invoked his powers under article 99 of the UN charter and elected to bring the Congo question (as the crisis became known) before the Security Council and General Assembly resolutions that mandated the UN peace-keeping mission, known as Operation des nations Unies au Congo (ONUC) served to create the largest and most complex UN mission ever undertaken up to that

point. In many cases, these resolutions were negotiated and tabled by members of the Afro-Asian bloc in the General Assembly. ONUC was manned primarily by troops from neutral countries such as Ireland and Sweden but also relied heavily on contributions from non-aligned, anti-colonial African and Asian states. In the face of worsening conditions – including an insurrection in Katanga, the assassination of prime minister Patrice Lumumba, the collapse of the central government and the intervention of foreign mercenaries – ONUC'S initial mandate gradually expanded to include protecting the territorial integrity and political independence of the Congo preventing an impending civil war, and securing the removal of all unauthorized foreign armed forces.

The Congo crisis sheds light on the confluence of factors geopolitical actors had to navigate in the post-world war II era. The first factor of the Congo crisis was the post-colonial crisis. Political instability developed on the Congo only a few days after it formally received its independence from Belgium and the return of Belgian troops to the Congo in the days after independence created tensions within the Congolese government. Another factor is the growing threat of the cold war in the third world. These factors also came together while the UN attempted to mediate the growing crisis in Katanga, a province in Congo that seceded in the midst of the developing situation. The Congolese accused the Belgians of instigating the secession and argued that the UN should intervene to forcibly reunite Katanga with the rest of the Congo, as Belgian involvement made the Katanga secession an international problem in which the UN could intervene. However the UN dismissed Congolese accusations against the Belgians and instead described

Katanga secession as an internal political crisis in which the UN could not become involved.

Another limitations faced by UNSC in Congo crisis is that the UN refusal to acknowledge the Congolese argument led to a deepening rift between the UN and the Congo and called into question Hammarskjold commitment to promoting independence on the African continent. The UN's active disregard for the position of the Congo against Belgium allowed the Belgians to politically destabilise the Congo through their control of Katanga. The inability of the leadership of the UN as demonstrated through the actions of Brunche, Hammarskjold and cordier to take a firm stance against the interests of the former colonial powers revealed how western interests dominated the UN decision making to the detriment of Congolese independence. The way in which the UN chose both to actively not intervene at certain points and to actively intervene at other points doing the Congo crisis demonstrated the extent to which the UN became an undue influence and failed to fulfill its own ideals by imposing a UN agenda that was directly contrary to the interest of independence for the Congo crisis demonstrated the extent to which the UN became an undue influence and failed to fulfill its own ideals by imposing a UN agenda that was directly contrary to the interest of independence for the Congo.

The Original authorization of UNU came in response to official approaches by Lumumba and Kasavubu who made it clear that their request for and was to counter external aggression and not to restore the internal situation. The ensuing resolution

treated the Congo crisis as an interstate conflict. The security council decides to authorize the secretary General to take the necessary steps in consultation with the Government with such military assistance as may be necessary until the Congo government will be able to meet fully their tasks. In the person of the Secretary General the UN was given a prominent role in managing the ongoing conflict. This would prove a crucial source of discontent in the later phases of the operation. The UN declared that it was dealing with the Government of the Congo. Once the intra-state dimension of the conflict came to dominate the crisis, this provision came to create a major obstacle. The security council ruled out any neutral assessment of the efficiency of the Congolese Security forces. Instead, it undertook to provide assistance until such time as the Congolese formulation was shaped in relation to the external dimension of the Congo crisis. The UN resources were placed at the disposal of the Congolese government, which would however soon become an internal party to an intra-states crisis and would use this provision to its own benefit in the civil war.

Another limitation faced by the United Nations Security Council is seen in second Security Council resolution. This resolution too dealt with the external dimensions of crisis. The difference was that the security council request all states to refrain from any actions which might tend to impede the restoration of law and order and the exercise by the Government of the Congo of its authority and also refrain from any action which might undermine the territorial integrity and political independence of the republic of the Congo. These words were not intended to address the intra state dimension of the

conflicts instead, the security council was trying to establish a link between domestic problems was still perceived to be the difficulty the legitimate and supposedly cohesive Congolese Government had in maintaining domestic law and order in the presence of external interference. The Security Council was caught up in the dilemma of restoring external interference and maintaining law and order in the intra state conflict.

The Congo crisis was characterized with the cold war era between United States (western bloc) and the communist bloc (Soviet Union). The UN's response to Katanga convinced Lumumba that the UN would never come around to support his position that the Belgians were to blame for instigating the secession. During his August 14 exchange of letters with Hammarskjold, Lumumba had threatened to ask for assistance outside of the UN. And in trying to reunite the other secessionist province of Kasai with the Congolese central government. Lumumba turned to the Soviets. August 15, in response to Kasai secession Lumumba asked Khrushchev for military equipment to help Congo maintain its threatened territorial integrity. On August 23 Hammarskjold learned that Lumumba had accepted Soviet assistance in the form of 160 trucks and 16 planes. This worried Hammarskjold who believed Lumumba actions could bring about a direct conflict between the US and Soviet Union that he had worked to avoid by attempting to mediate the conflict through the UN. Lumumba acceptance of Soviet assistance also worried the Americans who had long suspected that Lumumba was colluding with them. On July 21, additional Soviet personnel were dispatched to the Congo which the US believed was an indicator of the Soviet Union was wanting to better coordinate with

Congolese officials. The US was also aware that the Soviet Union was working to establish direct communications between Moscow and Leopold ville. As of August 11, the C/A believed that Lumumba was moving closer to the communist orbit and indicated that his removal from power would assist western powers objective, this ideological rivalry limited the role of the United Nations Security council in handling the crisis.

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## CHAPTER FIVE

### 5.0 Recommendations

The United Nations was set up for the maintenance of international peace and security in order to effectively carry out this mission, the United Nations Security Council – an organ of the United Nations was saddled with this responsibility. Although the maintenance of world peace is not an easy task i.e. over the UNSC has recorded some challenges, there are some recommendations on how the United Nations Security Council would effectively maintain international peace and security.

One way the UNSC can maintain global peace and security are preventive diplomacy and mediation. The most effective way to diminish human suffering and the massive economic costs of conflicts and their aftermath is to prevent conflicts in the first place. The United Nations Security Council should increase their role in conflict prevention, using diplomacy, good office and mediation. Successful conflict mediation requires an adequate support system to provide envoys with the proper staff assistance and advice and to ensure that talks have the needed logistical and financial resources. Among the tools the organization uses to bring peace are special envoys and political missions in the field.

Peacekeeping has proven to be one of the most effective tools available to the UN to assist countries to navigate the difficult path from conflict to peace. Today's multi-

dimensional peacekeeping operations are called upon not only to maintain peace and security.

The promotion of arms sales and heavy spending aggressive military capabilities is heightening global tensions. The proliferation of arms drives conflict and makes violence more likely. Arms treaty signatories must be held to their word, as we build evidence of violation and hold sellers accountable. We can also build support for a ground breaking new convention that bans nuclear weapon and makes it illegal to possess or use them.

Forty percent of those who join rebel groups do so because of a lack of economic opportunities. Relative poverty is just as important, with more equal societies marked by high levels of trust and low level of violence. Economic fairness when it comes to public resources, taxation and tax evasion is also key. The systematic transfer of wealth from rich to poor instead of the other way around – improves security.

## **5.1 Conclusion**

The United Nations was established after the Second World War with the aim of preventing future wars succeeding the ineffective league of nations. The UN was established in 1945. It was aimed at maintaining international peace and security, developing friendly relations among nations. The United nations has several organs one of which is the United nations Security Council. This organ is charged with the responsibility of maintaining international peace and security and carrying out activities

in order to ensure global peace. The United Nations Security Council has played a vital role in the maintenance of global peace using the Congo crisis as a case study. The Congo crisis began after the independence of the Congolese from their colonial powers Belgium in June 30 1960. On July 5 the Congolese soldiers mutined against their white commanders seeking higher pay as well greater authority. The Belgian government intervenes to protect Belgians that remained in the country. There came an insurrection in Katanga a rich province in Congo. The Congolese government appealed directly to the UNSC to provide troops. On July 13 the UN approved a resolution which authorized the creation of an intervention force, 'the Organization of African States (OAS) Congo Operation (COAUS). Kasavubu dismissed Lumumba from the government. Mobutu of the Congolese national army (FAN) orchestrated a coup d'état on Sept 14. Mobutu's efforts to support a pro-western government and his ties to the military placed him in a good stead. Lumumba who was blamed for the plot was arrested and ultimately killed. The United Nations Security Council has impacted on global peace – Beyond internal tension, the United Nations' active presence in the world through peacekeeping operations i.e. peacekeeping forces has become central for the UNSC and its approach to maintaining peace. In handling the Congo crisis, the UNSC was faced with challenges. The Congo crisis was characterized by the cold war. The cold war affected the UN resolutions in the management of the crisis. The United Nations Security Council has played an immense role in the maintenance of global peace and security.

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