

Secret

THE CONGO

In Leopoldville telegram No. 762 Mr. Scott reviews the current position and recommends that the Western countries should now bring pressure to bear in order to prevent Lumumba from coming out on top.

2. I think Mr. Scott's analysis is sound. The African countries which are active in support of Lumumba are active for a variety of reasons, largely based on their respective national interests. It is not clear, however, what reasons they have for thinking that they could maintain a strong influence over Lumumba if he were restored to power; one consequence which could hardly be welcome to Ghana, the U.A.R. and Morocco would be the probable return of Russian influence.

3. In making their present efforts at reconciliation between Kasavubu and Lumumba these African countries no doubt intend that this should restore Lumumba to the dominant position. Given the personalities involved, and the present shape of the governmental organisation, there can be no doubt that Lumumba would dominate the rest. I think we must be clear therefore that if reconciliation succeeds, and if there is no change in the present constitutional division of power, Lumumba will prevail. This will mean, among other things, that Katanga would be kept in the Congo only by force. It would also make it ^{rather} ~~very~~ unlikely that the United Nations' effort would succeed.

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4. While I agree with Mr. Scott's analysis, I doubt whether his remedies would work. Colonel Mobutu has already tried to arrest Lumumba, but both he and Kasavubu lack both the power and the resolution. It is doubtful whether the Ghanaians and others would accept Lumumba's arrest, or whether the United Nations command itself would feel able to acquiesce in it. Even if Lumumba were arrested I doubt

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whether Kasavubu would be able to keep him long in gaol; Lumumba would have to be completely sealed off, if domestic pressures were not to develop in his favour. The other

suggestion is that Lumumba should be sent out of the country.

I see similar difficulties about this, and there are the further points that he could easily become an external focus for internal discontent, and that it would be extremely difficult, given his allies in Africa and elsewhere, to prevent him from getting back into the Congo.

5. I see only two possible solutions to the problem. The first is the simple one of ensuring Lumumba's removal from the scene by killing him. This should in fact solve the problem since, so far as we can tell, Lumumba is not a leader of a movement within which there are potential successors of his quality and influence. His supporters are much less dangerous material. The other possible approach is for a constitution to be worked out which places far more power in the hands of the President and in such a way that even if the President (for example Kasavubu) is a less formidable person than the Prime Minister (i.e. Lumumba) the President's powers are safeguarded and those of the Prime Minister limited. This constitution might also provide for a greater measure of autonomy among the provinces, thus reducing the Prime Minister's power for evil. An attempt to produce such a constitution by going first to the Senate and the Chamber would probably fail. But if Kasavubu could, perhaps with United Nations' assistance, convene a meeting of the provinces, including of course Katanga, and produce a draft resolution this might be a possible solution. It would of course be necessary to keep Lumumba neutralised (i.e. not to effect a reconciliation with him) until this had been done.

6. Of these two possibilities, my preference (though it might be expressed as a wish rather than a proposal) would be for

/Lumumba

Lumumba to be removed from the scene altogether, because I fear that as long as he is about his power to do damage can only be slightly modified. But if it were worth pursuing the second idea, the first step would perhaps be to sound Mr. Hammarskjöld and perhaps the Tunisian, Sudanese and Ethiopian Governments at the highest level. The Tunisians certainly and the other two probably are far from happy about Lumumba and might welcome an opportunity of exerting their influence in the opposite sense, provided they were not seen to be working directly against Lumumba.

H. Smith.

(H. F. T. Smith)
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There is much to be said for eliminating Lumumba, but unless Mobutu can get him arrested and executed promptly, he is likely to survive and continue to plague us all. Even the sensible African Govts - I do not count the Republic of Congo "whose capital is at Brazzaville" - consider him the legitimate Prime Minister. It is going to be extremely difficult, therefore, to get any of the accepted forms of pressure to bear through any of the African Govts. There may just be a chance, however, that we could sell them, i.e. the Tunisian, Sudanese & Ethiopian Govts, the
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