



The short and violent history of Katanga

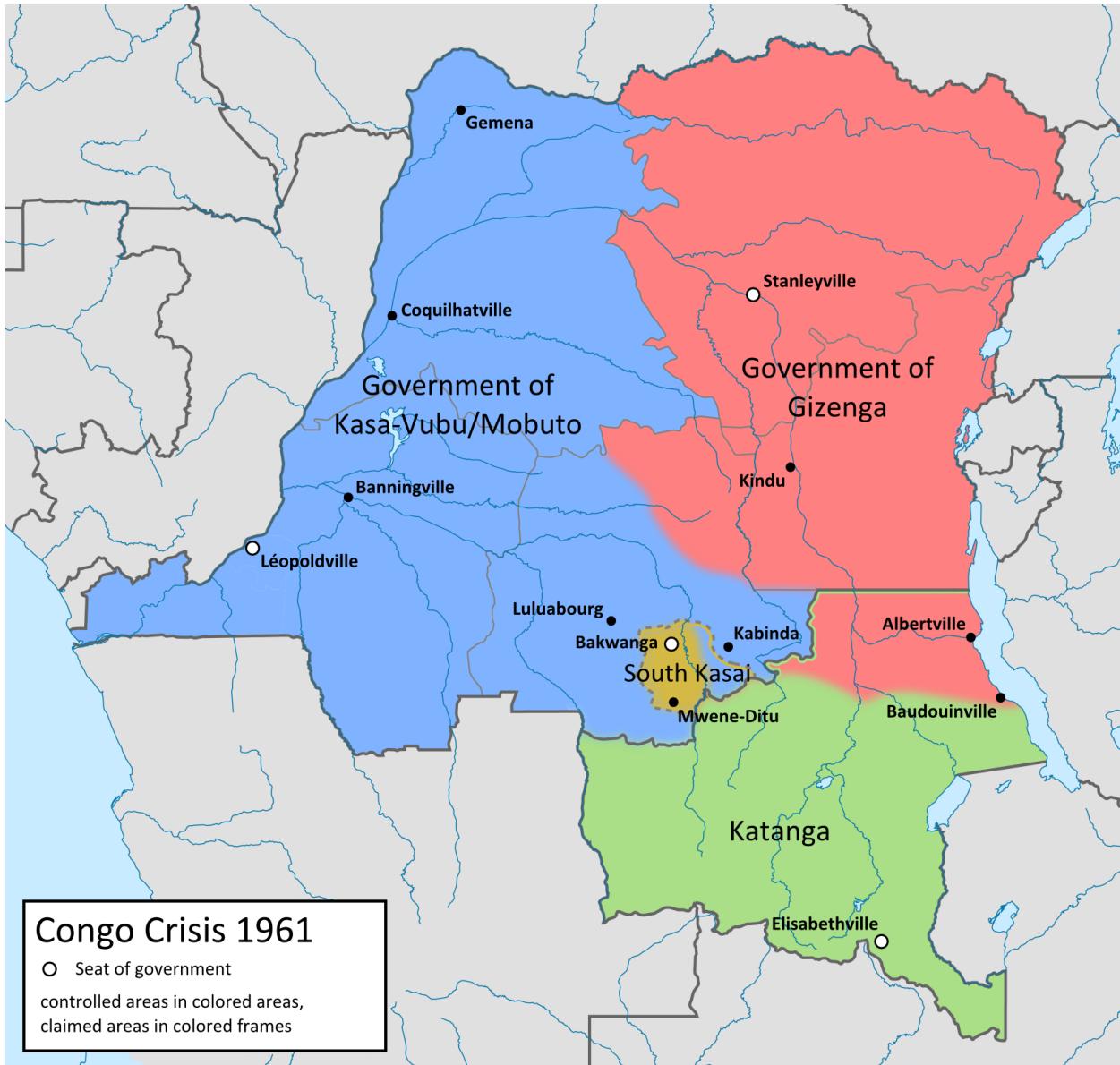
The Congo has long been known as Africa's 'heart of darkness.' This phrase was coined by Joseph Conrad in 1899 and ever since then the vast, jungled country has lived up to its reputation as an expanse of savagery, wracked by revolutionary war, armed insurrection and tribal conflict along with a dose of good old cannibalism.

As many as ten million people are estimated to have been killed in the country since it gained independence either as a result of the ongoing wars, or the famine and disease caused by those wars.

Yet outside of Africa very little is known of this endless tragedy or the astonishing extent of the human suffering that has been endured by the Congolese people.

The long-forgotten country of Katanga was a Congolese province in the south-eastern corner of the country that, back in the early 1960's tried to declare independence from the central government.

While succession and civil war are by no means unique in Africa, the character and intent of Katanga, along with its brutal end, certainly were. They tried, for a few short years, to establish a multi-racial society based on the Western principles of democracy, equality and free-enterprise. Sadly, in the midst of an entire continent enthusiastically embracing the excesses of revolutionary Marxism, Katanga and her leader Moïse Tshombe were both definitely in the wrong place at the wrong time.



THE DESCENT INTO DARKNESS

The whole drama began almost from the very moment that the Belgian Congo was granted its independence on Thursday 30th June 1960, when the country became the Republic of the Congo. Within days there was a mutiny within the Congolese national army and the discontent soldiers went on the rampage. The new government were taken by surprise and naively tried to leverage the insurrection as they jockeyed for personal power. Inevitably the uprising quickly spread and within a week the country imploded into violent chaos. Ancient tribal rivalries and petty jealousies quickly turned deadly, immersing the whole massive country, bigger than Western Europe, into an orgy of unbridled bloodletting.

Less than a week after leaving the country, Belgium was compelled to send ten thousand soldiers back in to try and restore law and order. But the savagery continued unabated, usually against the most vulnerable targets such as the remote missions and their helpless European nuns. Hundreds were raped and tortured, along with the cowering Congolese women and children they were trying to protect.

However, out of this chaos emerged one man who was trying to create order and stability. It was Katanga's Moïse Kapenda Tshombe. He was a member of the southern Lunda Royal Family and President of the provincial Government of Katanga. According to the United Nations this province, covering an area of almost half a million square kilometres, was "one of the richest mining regions in Africa."

This mineral-rich province carefully navigated the immediate post-independence period without any major unrest. Tshombe was popular, had always promoted racial integration and worked hard to ensure a smooth transfer of power. But he was gravely concerned that his province and his people would get sucked into the chaos. In the run up to Independence Tshombe had proposed to both the Belgians and the other provincial leaders that the Congo should become a Federation, based on the successful Rhodesian model. He argued that the Congo was just too large for one single central government to effectively govern. The tribal, cultural and language differences across the vast colonial territory he argued were just too great for there to ever be real unity or harmony.

There is no doubt now that Tshombe was correct and that it was wrong to lumber the Congo (or any of the other African states for that matter) with bloated artificial borders set by irrelevant 1880's-era colonial aspirations.

Unfortunately the leaders of the newly independent Congolese republic, who were fighting for power in the capital Leopoldville, where not at all interested in any sort of federal discussion. Katanga was simply too rich to let out of their grasp. To try and distract the army from their looting and pillaging the new Congolese Prime Minister Patrice Lumumba ordered whatever regiments he could find to prepare for deployment to Katanga.

Fearing an invasion from the Central Government in mid-July 1960 Tshombe appealed to the British and Rhodesian Federal Governments to send in troops and police to assist him. The next day, having had no response and fearing reprisals, Tshombe decided to break away, and proclaimed the independence of Katanga. It was a move he had been planning for a while, but with the collapse of the rest of the country he had been forced to announce it earlier than he had wanted. He hadn't had time to ensure the international political support he needed for Katanga's long term survival. It was a gamble, although at the time he felt he didn't have any other option.

Incensed by the Belgian ‘invasion,’ the day after Katanga broke away Lumumba accused Belgium of trying to re-annex the Congo and appealed to the United Nations for military assistance to counter this ‘external aggression’. The U.N. Secretary-General Dag Hammarskjold was personally sympathetic to the concept of socialist Pan-Africanism espoused by Lumumba. Consequently he immediately mobilised a United Nations force to ‘restore order’ to the Congo. His agenda included getting the ex-colonial power’s armed forces out of the country, and to bring Tshombe and Katanga back into submission.

Within just forty-eight hours the United Nations Security Council had approved Resolution 143. This established the UN operation in the Congo which came to be known as ‘ONUC’ (Operation des Nations Unies au Congo). The very next day the first UN soldiers, mainly from African and Asian-bloc countries began to arrive in the Congo to support Lumumba – who declared martial law and began arresting his political opponents.

The crisis in the Congo was becoming internationalised and the situation continued to deteriorate. Less than a month later on August 9th 1960 the central diamond-rich province of South Kasai also declared its own independence from Leopoldville. The little successionist province was under the leadership of the eccentric Albert Kalonji who pronouncing himself ‘King’ of the Baluba territory. It would be remarkably short-lived.

Three days later, Lumumba, dissatisfied with the UN aid he was getting, and the fact that they hadn’t already crushed the breakaway states of Katanga and Kasai, appealed to the Russians for help. The Russians, who had always been interested in the Congo’s vast mineral wealth, were more than happy to oblige. Backed by his powerful new Soviet allies Lumumba went on the rampage, calling Hammarskjold a ‘colonial stooge’ and demanding the withdrawal of all white UN troops. He declared a state of emergency and expelled the Belgian ambassador. Then the Congolese national army began to attack the United Nations soldiers themselves.

By the middle of September Katanga was bracing for the anticipated invasion by the Congolese National Army (the ANC). Although the ANC were not brave fighters, they were resentful and savage, and now had the help of hundreds of Russian and Czech military advisors who had been pouring into Leopoldville since mid-August. The Soviet airlift was massive and on just one day in early September nineteen huge Ilyushin transport planes flew directly from Moscow to Leopoldville, bringing in thousands of tons of military equipment for the imminent assault on the break-away states.

Lumumba was ecstatic and commanded his troops into the transports with orders to immediately fly south-east to re-take the rebel provinces. While no one really knows what happened in Lu-luabourg, in Bakwanga the Ilyushins landed unopposed and after a day of heavy fighting they captured the city. More than three thousand Baluba were killed in the battle, and in the after-

math another three hundred chiefs and elders were executed for ‘political crimes’. There was of course also the mandatory wholesale rape and looting of the civilian population.

The ANC, bolstered by their victory and drunk on the spoils, regrouped and marched south to the Katanga border for their next anticipated victory.

At the provincial border the well-disciplined and well-trained Katangese gendarmerie were waiting for them. There was another day of hard fighting. This time the Katangese won. The ANC column were taken by surprise and many were killed. With little organisation or leadership the survivors fled back into Kasai where, in another orgy of violence, they took out their frustrations on whoever they could find.

Although Katanga had survived this first test, the rest of the Congo had slipped into complete anarchy. It seemed to be a case of ‘every man for himself’ as the witch-doctors, gangs, tribes, political parties and the provincial armies all sank into a frightening free-for-all, vying for anything they could get. And into this vile mix, Lumumba had added the Russians. Their agenda was clearly one of sparking revolution and then rebuilding their own pro-Russian Communist state out of the ashes.

Out of this mess, with CIA encouragement, in early September, President Kasavubu made his move. He sacked Lumumba, who, after less than three months in power, seemed to be verging on lunacy. Lumumba wouldn’t accept this and rushed to the national radio station declaring that he had in fact sacked Kasavubu.

In this political turmoil Joseph Mobutu, who held the newly-gained official rank of Colonel in the Congolese National Army, saw his opportunity and quickly began to plan his next move. On the fourteenth of September, Mobutu, who had put together a team of university graduates and students seized power. He declared that his ‘Administrative College’ would now run the country and he closed all Communist embassies including those of the Russians and Czechs. Then he demanded the withdrawal of the Ghana and Guinea contingents of the UN as they had been particularly supportive of Lumumba who Mobutu denounced as a mad megalomaniac. And so a period of fragile alignment between Mobutu and Kasavubu began.

Meanwhile Lumumba’s deputy, Antoine Gizenga had fled to the far-off city of Stanleyville, capital of the distant Orientale province. The sprawling city was more than six hundred miles away on the north-eastern bend of the great Congo river. There, with the support of his Russian allies, Gizenga carried out a coup d’etat and established a Lumumbist government in defiance of Mobutu. Gizenga, backed by his old Soviet allies, then announced that his government was the only legal authority in the Congo.

Lumumba realised that he had lost the initiative and decided to try and make a dash for Stanleyville. But with the almost complete lack of roads in the Congo, it was a long and difficult journey east from the capital to Luluabourg and then north up to Stanleyville. It was almost a thousand miles, and foolishly Lumumba took it slowly, staging impromptu political rallies in every town and village along the way. It wasn't long before Mobutu's forces caught up with him. Many of his supporters were killed and Lumumba himself was badly beaten before being returned to Leopoldville in chains.

But by the time the ANC caught up with Lumumba, his message of revolutionary uprising against both Mobutu and Tshombe had caught on. In Kasai it was easy for Lumumba to convince the Baluba that he had had nothing to do with the recent atrocities against them. He claimed that it was all a conspiracy formulated by Kasavubu and Tshombe who wanted to wipe out the Baluba.

This sparked an anti-Tshombe uprising along the border area between southern Kasai and northern Katanga which was spearheaded by a terrifying new anti-Tshombe 'Youth League' who called themselves the Jeunesse. Under the influence of demonic witchdoctors they were barbaric and savage in the extreme. Sweeping all before them, the terrifying Jeunesse took over the bloody streets of Manono and declared it the capital of the 'Baubakat Republic of North Katanga'.¹ It was yet another secession, not that anyone really noticed or cared – except for Tshombe, who, much like the other Congolese leaders, wanted to keep the integrity of his own territory.

With the overthrow of Lumumba, the destruction of South Kasai and the capitulation of 'King Albert', who had fled to Elisabethville, no one was really sure of who was in control of the Congo, outside the cities of Leopoldville, Stanleyville and Elisabethville.

In October both the central government and the Katangese regrouped. Tshombe had hoped that as he had maintained a strongly pro-Western position that Britain or the United States would support him. He was wrong and underestimated their post-colonial reluctance to get involved in any African 'score-settling.' With little alternative Tshombe decided to invest in a core of well-trained white mercenaries to help in the defence of the country. Many Rhodesians and South Africans signed up.

Explaining the make-up of the mercenary forces in Katanga at the time, a commentator wrote that, "these mercenaries were highly effective and accompanied by black Katangese Gendarmes, soon restored order in Katanga. There were three categories of whites fighting for Katanga. The first were Belgian regular officers and NCOs training the Gendarmerie with the Belgian Government's blessing. The second group were the conventional mercenaries including

¹ 'Banana Sunday, Datelines From Africa' by Christopher Munnion. Published by William Waterman Publications. ISBN 1-874959-22-6.

South Africans, Rhodesians, Germans, Italians, Danes, Hungarians, Swiss, English and Poles. The main element was commanded by Major Mike Hoare. Within this group there was also a German contingent with its own officers, another with Italians and Hungarians, and a mixed Belgian-colonial unit, under "Black Jack" Schramme who was a colonial himself. Then early in 1961, a third element was introduced, most of them French.²

In mid-January 1961 Lumumba was becoming a problem again. He had not just converted many of the other prisoners in the jail where he was being held, but many of the prison guards were also beginning to sympathise with him. Mobutu knew he couldn't kill Lumumba himself so decided to simply send the ex-Prime Minister off to his arch-enemy in Kasai. After being badly beaten Lumumba was loaded onto an Dakota with a group of vengeful Baluba guards. The aircraft was refused permission to land in Kasai and with no alternative flew on to Elisabethville where it landed on empty fuel tanks.

Lumumba was hurried away in an army jeep and never seen again. In mid-February after mounting international pressure, Tshombe's Interior Minister, Godefroid Munongo, issued a press statement announcing that Lumumba and his two aides had been 'shot by villagers while trying to escape.' The announcement caused a furore. No one believed Munongo and the 'Afro-Asian bloc' now supported by the world press painted Tshombe and his 'henchmen' as not just troublesome separatists, but now as evil murderers.

THE BUILT UP TO WAR

On 21st February 1961 the United Nations, who were incensed by Lumumba's murder and greatly alarmed by the growing number of mercenary soldiers arriving in Katanga, passed a resolution on the breakaway province. UN Council Resolution 161 called for the removal of all foreign military troops in Katanga and gave their own forces the authority to carry this out. One of the opening paragraphs of the resolution called upon the United Nations to "...take immediately all appropriate measures to prevent the occurrence of civil war in the Congo, including arrangement of ceasefires, the halting of all military operations, the prevention of clashes, and the use of force, if necessary in the last resort."

The reference to the 'use of force' was the key phrase.³

Overnight, the UN troops, whom Tshombe had originally allowed into Katanga as 'peace-keepers', suddenly became a hostile occupying army.

² 'The New Mercenaries' by Anthony Mockler, published by Corgi Books. ISBN 0-552-12558-X.

³ United Nations Security Council Resolution 161, issued on February 21 1961, Document code: S/4741.

The beginning of the end came in the last days of February. Tshombe, Kasavubu, Gizenga and the various other Congolese political leaders met in Tananarive (now Antananarivo, the capital of Madagascar), to try and find a solution to the massive political, social, ideological and tribal challenges which were tearing the Congo apart.

The conference ended with all the Congolese leaders agreeing to a federal form of government. This was a major victory for Katanga, as Tshombe had been a strong champion of the motion. But this time he had been supported by Kasavubu. A follow-up meeting was agreed upon to be held in mid-April in Coquilhatville in Congo's Equateur Province, where the plan was that they would all ratify the agreement.

The only party that didn't support the idea of a federation was the United States, whose opposition was immediate and outspoken. Now with Mobutu in power in Leopoldville they had someone who 'owed them a few favours' and the Americans didn't want to have to deal with a group of unpredictable federal state leaders as well.

Meanwhile Mike Hoare and Alastair Wicks had been building up their own army in Katanga, which became known as 'Five Commando'. With almost one hundred men in their ranks, it was time to start delivering on their contract to defend Katanga.

Over the next couple of weeks Five Commando achieved surprising victories, recapturing Manono and pushing the Baluba and Sendwe rebels back across the Lukuga River. By the end of March the two mercenary columns had recaptured almost all of northern Katanga, except for the last Sendwe stronghold of Kabalo at the confluence of the Lukuga and Lualaba rivers.

There, in early April 1961, the mercenaries suffered their first major defeat. But it wasn't the Sendwe who defeated them. It was the United Nations. In the end several Ethiopian UN soldiers were killed and 'Brawler' Browne and about thirty of his English-speaking mercenaries captured.

In mid-April Tshombe and his entourage were eager to attend the 'ratification' meeting in Coquilhatville to sign off on the federal system that the Congolese leaders had agreed upon a month earlier. Things got off to a bad start before Tshombe even left Katanga. The United Nations, who were strengthening their military forces in Katanga for the coming 'final solution,' seized control of the airport to allow the deployment of a large force of Indian troops into the country.

Inevitably a firefight broke out between the UN troops and the Katangese Gendarmes, briefly turning the airport into a battle zone. More than thirty Katangese soldiers were arrested and relations between the two armies became extremely tense. This was the second battle the Gendarmes had had with UN soldiers and they realised that the 'Blue Berets' were now officially an enemy. It was a sign of things to come. While Katanga was being relentlessly strangled, the UN

now had a free hand to fly as many troops and as much heavy equipment as they could, right into the heart of Katanga.

The Prime Minister of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, Sir Roy Welensky, protested as loudly as he possibly could at the UN's dramatic interference in Katanga. Welensky viewed Tshombe as the only real ally the West had in the Congo, and said, "It passes my understanding how the United Kingdom and the United States Governments can sit back and watch this tragedy unfolding without lifting a finger."⁴

In the end, Tshombe was only able to get to the Coquilhatville conference on Sunday 23rd April, two days later than anticipated. The meeting did not go well. It quickly became clear that Kasavubu, who had been enthusiastic about the 'Federation' plan in Madagascar, had now changed his mind. Tshombe was extremely disappointed and publicly stated that he felt that he – and the whole of the Congo – had been betrayed. This stung Kasavubu and in an astonishing turn of events, Tshombe and his delegation were arrested at the airport just as they were about to leave.

The reason for the arrests was vague. It seemed that their so-called crime was that they had tried to maintain the policy which Kasavubu himself had endorsed just a month earlier. Tshombe found himself confined to a hard, straight-backed wooden chair in a small cell with nothing but a single permanently-illuminated bulb for company. His food was also spiked with slow accumulative doses of poison, which was only discovered and diagnosed by French doctors some three years later.⁵

Predictably there was no international outcry at the arbitrary detentions. In fact, according to the public statements made by the UN Secretary General Dag Hammarskjold, he was quite pleased with the outcome and predicted that without Tshombe, Katanga would collapse within a matter of weeks. He was wrong. Tshombe's cabinet were all extremely patriotic Katangese, who stood together in support of their kidnapped leader.

All the while, the United Nations had been continuing their military build-up unabated. It was clear that something big was being planned. Facing the UN build-up were two hundred foreign mercenaries in Katanga's employment, half of whom were Belgian. The UN needed to get them all out of the way as quickly as they could.

⁴ *Welensky's 4000 Days'* by Sir Roy Welensky P.C. K.C.M.G., published by Collins Books, St James Place, London.

⁵ *Mercenary Commander' Colonel Jerry Puren as told to Brian Pottinger.* Published by Galago Publishing. ISBN 0-947020-21-7.

In mid-May the United Nations made their move. Pre-dawn they swept through the mercenary barracks and bases, arresting everyone they could find. The raid was not confined to Elisabethville, but included Kamina, Jadotville, Kolwezi and even the small army base of Nyunzu in the north where Mike Hoare and some of his men were training a contingent of Gendarmes. At Nyunzu, the mercenaries held off the UN troops until nightfall when they were able to melt away into the bush and make their escape. However it took them two weeks of hard and dangerous trekking through the jungle before they could regroup at Manono and Albertville on the western shore of Lake Tanganyika. Remarkably, all but two of them made it.⁶

With the removal of many of Katanga's military advisors, leaders and trainers, the Jeunesse and their ANC allies began to infiltrate the northern border areas again, as usual taking out their vengeance firstly on the missionaries and then anyone else they deemed to be Tshombe supporters.

On 22nd June, Mobutu agreed to release Tshombe. The price Tshombe was to pay was essentially the total capitulation of Katanga. Although there was also a rumour about a substantial amount of money being deposited in Mobutu's personal bank account.

On Monday 26th June, Tshombe arrived back home to a hero's welcome. Almost the entire city of Elisabethville turned out at the airport and lined the streets waving and shouting their enthusiastic support. The huge public celebration and the outpouring of public approval certainly did not go unnoticed by the watching UN, nor that it changed their attitude towards the breakaway Republic.

The Katanga Parliament immediately repudiated Tshombe's concessions to Mobutu, as they had been 'extorted from him while under duress'. Kasavubu was not pleased about Tshombe renouncing the deal he had agreed to. But under the guidance of the United Nations the timetable was changed to sort out the other provinces first before taking on Katanga again. A new government was formed, this time with Cyrille Adoula as its head, but with the key posts of Vice-Premier and Minister of the Interior going to the old rivals Antoine Gizenga and Christopher Gbenye respectively. The idea was to build a government of national unity which would be stronger in the coming war with Katanga.

With Gizenga having been drawn out of Stanleyville, the UN seemed to have achieved their goal, but it left a power vacuum in the Kivu and Orientale provinces, which was quickly filled by tribal in-fighting and violent jockeying for local power. Gizenga also brought the Communists back to Leopoldville with him. Almost immediately the Russian and Czech embassies were re-opened, and plane-loads of communist 'advisors' began landing in the capital once again.

⁶ 'Mercenary' by Mike Hoare, published by Corgi Books. ISBN: 552-07935-9.

These political developments in Leopoldville gave Tshombe a much needed breather in which he frantically tried to rearm and rebuild his mercenary regiments. Everyone knew time was running out.

By the end of August things weren't stacking up well. The numbers of UN troops had increased dramatically and they appeared to be everywhere, nervously peering out of their heavily-fortified positions which they seemed to be building at every strategic point they could find. According to the latest count there were now over twenty thousand United Nations troops in Katanga.

THE FIRST BATTLE OF KATANGA

Early on the morning of Monday 28th August Connor O'Brien, the head of the United Nations mission in Katanga, launching his first strike. The UN had carefully drawn up lists of all the Europeans serving in the Katangese military, and now, in accordance with their Resolution 161 they planned to remove all five hundred and twelve of them. In a lightning, country-wide sweep, by the end of the day more than four hundred mercenaries had been arrested and detained.

O'Brien, flushed with pride at the success of his 'Operation Rumpunch', placed Munongo, Tshombe's powerful Minister of the Interior, under house arrest. He then announced that because Tshombe had not suspended Munongo that he was cutting off all contact with the Katangese Government.

O'Brien then went in for the kill.

At 4 a.m. on Wednesday 13th September, with the approval of the UN Secretary General Dag Hammerskjold, Conor Cruise O'Brien launched his military offensive against the state of Katanga. This was the first time since Korea that the United Nations troops had used force, and the blood was to stain them for decades to come. As the attack was under the command of an Indian army officer, Brigadier Raja, the operation was given an Indian codename, 'Morthor.' This meant 'Smash', and was, in effect, a United Nations coup d'etat.

In this, the 'First Battle of Katanga', the United Nations forces seized control of all remaining strategic points in the main centres of Elisabethville and Jadotville. Their initial objectives were to capture the Post Office, Radio Katanga, the radio tower at the College of St. Francis and the railway tunnel, along with the arrest of Tshombe and Munongo, the remaining white advisors and 'anyone else with leadership ability in the infant nation.'

The UN had presumed that the Katangese, stripped of their leadership, would crumble quickly, especially as they were significantly out-manned and out-gunned by the United Nations. Conor O'Brien proudly announced that "The Katanga secession is over." But the gendarmes, with the

support of the entire civilian population bravely defended their ‘home ground’ in the face of overwhelming odds.

By breakfast the world’s media was reporting on the dawn attack, with Radio South Africa broadcasting the following news flash; “Fierce fighting erupted early today in key centres of the secessionist state of Katanga following a surprise dawn attack by UN peace-keeping forces on positions held by the forces of President Moise Tshombe. Details of the fighting are still sketchy but it is believed to be confined to the capital Elisabethville and the mining town of Jadotville. Casualties are reported to be high as the UN troops have encountered fierce resistance from the mercenary-supported forces of President Tshombe.” And so it went on, stating that this attack was regarded to be an attempt by the UN to end Katanga’s secession.

Morthor wasn’t the walkover that O’Brien had anticipated. It was all-out war, and the UN suddenly realised how fanatical people can get when defending their own towns and homes. A force of three hundred Gurkhas (known as ‘Dogras’) with a troop of armoured cars, attacked the main Post Office in central Elisabethville, being thinly defended by just forty Katangese soldiers, without a single mercenary within their ranks.

For two hours the battle raged, until the very last defender, badly wounded and having run out of ammunition was left swinging his empty rifle at his attackers until he was eventually prodded off the roof of the Post Office tower by UN bayonets, gracefully falling some thirty metres to his death. In horror, the Katangese crowd in the street below shouted, “Murderers!” for which they too were raked by Gurkha gunfire. Several civilians in the crowd were killed by the indiscriminate shooting, including a European bank official.⁷

So much for being ‘peace-keepers’.

According to Jerry Puren, the de facto head of Katanga’s tiny Air Force; “Bullets in return for words – an exchange that was to become standard UN procedure for many months ahead in the Congo. The unexpectedly fierce resistance by the defenders of the post office tower was mirrored in countless other fire fights and encounters between UN and Katangese troops in Jadotville and Elisabethville, at street strong points, across golf courses, from the gardens of private homes, from parks and rooftops and the vast Union Minière workshops. Inevitably the overwhelming firepower of the UN may have wrested them their key objectives, but it didn’t help them find Munongo, Kibwe or indeed Tshombe, who escaped from his residence in the back of an ambulance, injured more in spirit than in body.”⁸

⁷ Interview with Jerry and Julia Puren, Durban, September 1999.

⁸ ‘Mercenary Commander’ Colonel Jerry Puren as told to Brian Pottinger. Published by Galago Publishing. ISBN 0-947020-21-7.

Taking advantage of the UN attack, the Congolese National Army swooped down across Katanga's northern border where a huge battle flared up between the Katangese gendarmes and two attacking columns of the ANC, one from Leopoldville and the other from Stanleyville, both keen on plundering the spoils of the Congo 'treasure house'. Although the Katangese were distracted by the United Nations, they managed to hold their ground in the north, pushing back the attack.

The next day, Thursday 14th, the Katangese gendarmerie counter-attacked, with the help of a few aircraft that the Katanga Air Force had managed to keep from the clutches of the United Nations. According to Anthony Mockler this rag-tag 'Air Force' "...consisted only of two aged Fougas, a Dornier of First World War vintage, and a helicopter from which the pilot tossed hand grenades."⁹ Against all odds, with their fanatical patriotism the Katangese were able to drive the UN forces back into the safety of their fortifications and their bullet-proof armoured cars.

On Friday 15th September the little Fouga Magister jets, raided the UN-held Elisabethville airport, strafing all the aircraft it could find, leaving at least one ex-Air Katanga DC-4 in flames. They also raided the UN Head Quarters and bombed O'Brien's residence in suburban Elisabethville.

Knowing he was outnumbered and in an effort to try and prevent further casualties, Tshombe sent a message to O'Brien via the British Consul in Elisabethville requesting a meeting in Northern Rhodesia to try and resolve the situation.

The UN were acutely embarrassed by the performance of their troops and they began to feel that the only way out of the military – and moral – mess they had become embroiled in, was to negotiate a ceasefire. Hammarskjold himself, who was in Leopoldville at the time, replied to Tshombe, suggesting that he and Tshombe, rather than O'Brien and Tshombe, should meet to agree on an immediate and effective ceasefire. Hammarskjold suggested they meet in Ndola the following evening, to which Tshombe agreed.

By mid-afternoon on Sunday 17th, with the war between the Katangese and the UN still raging across Katanga, a large crowd of delegates and dignitaries assembled in Ndola, including Tshombe and his team, along with Rhodesian, British and UN representatives.

While Tshombe was preparing to meet Hammerskjold he received unexpected news of victory in Jadotville. It seemed that contrary to all expectation, and with the help of one of Jerry's little Fouga Magister jet fighters and a couple of extremely well-placed lines of home-made bombs, the Katangese forces had defeated and captured the entire Irish garrison in Jadotville. Although Tshombe wanted peace with the UN, the news of this victory certainly strengthen his hand.

⁹ 'The New Mercenaries' by Anthony Mockler, published by Corgi Books. ISBN 0-552-12558-X.

The British Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs Lord Lansdowne eventually arrived in Ndola in a DC-4 from Leopoldville just after half past eight that evening, some six hours after Tshombe and the Federal High Commissioner Lord Alport.

For fear of being attacked the Swedish DC-6, that Hammarskjold was travelling in, kept complete radio silence and did not file their flight plan, regardless of Tshombe's assurances that Hammarskjold was not a military target and that they would be safe. Eventually at ten minutes past ten that night, the pilot of the DC-6 sent the message, "Lights in sight, overhead Ndola, descending." It was the last message he ever sent.

With no sign of the expected aircraft it was thought that maybe Hammarskjold had changed his mind and had landed somewhere else. Everyone knew that peace in the Congo was hanging in the balance and that these were going to be critical negotiations. The unexpected delay and mystery around Hammarskjold's whereabouts made everyone nervous.

At dawn the next morning, aircraft of the Royal Rhodesian Air Force were scrambled for a wide search of the area. At just after one o'clock the wreckage was discovered in thick bush less than ten miles from Ndola airport. Everyone on board was dead except for one of Hammarskjold's bodyguards, who died of his wounds a few days later.¹⁰ No one ever knew for sure why the aircraft had come down. But what they did know was that the plane ploughed into the ground at thirteen minutes past ten that fateful night, killing not only Hammarskjold but also any chance of a negotiated settlement with Katanga.

There was an instant international outcry, with both Tshombe and the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland being painted as the main conspirators. This baseless accusation, no doubt, strengthened Britain's resolve to destroy both the Rhodesian Federation, and ultimately Rhodesia herself.

Tshombe didn't stay in Ndola long and after some brief exploratory discussions he headed back to direct Katanga's battle for survival against both the UN and the Congolese National Army who were airlifting their troops for the final attack on Katanga. Two battalions of ANC troops were flown to Luluabourg from the Lower Congo, courtesy of the Soviets, who were back in favour. Tshombe now had a war on two fronts; firstly with the UN who were tearing the heart out of his country and who had occupied his capital, and secondly with the ANC who were surging over the entire length of his northern border.

On the 21st of September a ceasefire was arranged. The UN forces on the ground were frustrated by the restrictions of the agreement and quickly their field commanders started condoning flagrant breaches of the agreement by their troops. Although this was officially a stalemate, this

¹⁰ 'A Pride of Eagles' by Beryl Salt, published by Covos Day. ISBN 0-620-23759-7.

first Battle of Katanga had been a psychological victory for the little break-away nation and an embarrassment for the overwhelming United Nations forces who had tried to take them on.

With at least a shaky truce in Elisabethville, Tshombe quickly deployed more of his gendarmes to the north where the ANC had begun their thrusts into Katanga from Kasai. Gizenga then ordered his troops from Stanleyville to attack along the Kivu-Katanga border. By their weight of numbers Gizenga's forces quickly captured the town of Bendera thirty miles north of Albertville on the shores of Lake Tanganyika. Tshombe sent Schramme up to Kamiamma, which was already under siege, to organise the counter-attack.

To support Schramme, Jerry Puren also sent two Doves up to Kamiamma. They were fitted with heavy tripod-mounted machine-guns sticking out of the back doors and were stuffed with belly-loads of home-made thirty pound bombs to drive the ANC back across the Lubilash river. The Doves were to prove invaluable in this short, bitter northern war as over a period of just four days they attacked and destroyed ten trainloads of ANC reinforcements coming down to the front, with much loss of life. Eventually none of the National Army soldiers were prepared to board the trains as they knew certain death awaited them down the tracks. The siege was broken and the ANC retreated back into Kasai and Kivu.

Although by the beginning of October the ceasefire between Katanga and the United Nations had held for almost two weeks, everyone knew that it was just a breathing space. In contravention of the ceasefire agreement O'Brien steadily built up his forces for a second round, which this time he intended to be conclusive.

THE SECOND BATTLE OF KATANGA

As October 1961 progressed the United Nations continued to arm themselves, moving more Indian and Malayan troops into the country, and flying in tons of vehicles and heavy equipment in the USAF's massive Douglas C-124 Globemaster IIs.

In an attempt to at least slow down the UN rearmament, in mid-October Tshombe signed a formal and 'final' ceasefire with the United Nations, but it didn't help. The huge American transporters continued to fly in ever-increasing amounts of troops and materiel into Elisabethville and Jadotville in direct contravention of the agreements that Tshombe and the UN had signed.

With the effectiveness of the Katanga Air Force's couple of hard-working Doves and their dangerous arsenal of home-made bombs, by early November the Congolese National Army troops in Luluabourg revolted. They refused point-blank to be moved south to the Katanga border and face the bombing and strafing from the modified civilian aircraft. As a result, the Katangese Gendarmerie were able to push back the ANC and the fighting around Kamiamma began to die

down. Once the situation around Kamiamma had started to stabilise, the two Doves were moved to the Kongolo area in north-eastern Katanga to help drive back the attack by the ANC force from Stanleyville.

By the middle of November the Katangese had managed to repel all of the ANC forces, driving them back across the northern border. As they retreated towards Stanleyville the poorly-disciplined national army soldiers passed through the town of Kindu on the banks of the Congo River, some two hundred and forty miles west of Bukavu. There, much to the embarrassment of O'Brien and the new UN Secretary-General, U Thant, the ANC took out their frustrations on a small UN contingent of Italian civilian airmen who were based in the town, murdering and devouring thirteen of them.¹¹

On the morning of 5th December the United Nations launched their long anticipated 'final' offensive against Katanga. In Elisabethville, once again fierce gun-battles erupted at all strategic points across the city, including the airport where the Katangese Gendarmes and the UN troops were locked in a savage firefight. The 'Second Battle of Katanga' had begun.

As the battles raged across Elizabethville and Katanga's other major towns, in six separate sorties the Canberra bombers and Saab fighter jets of the United Nations raided Kolwezi airport where the K.A.F. had relocated. These raids destroyed almost all of Katanga's tiny Air Force including two old Dorniers, a Dakota, a DC-4 and tragically one of the Doves.

In a remarkable act of defiance late that evening the last remaining Dove carried out a reprisal raid on Elisabethville airport. In addition to the damage it inflicted, the raid was a great moral boost for the Katangese.¹² Knowing that Kolwezi airport was now also on the frontlines of the war, the Dove landed at Kipushi which was right on the Northern Rhodesian border and was fortunately still UN-free. Being 'right on the border', was no understatement - by some crazy quirk of colonial boundary-making, the international border actually cut cross the Kipushi landing strip, effectively halving the space available for the Katangese aircraft to land and take-off.

With Elisabethville airport in enemy hands and the city subject to nightly bombings and fierce house-to-house fighting. The Prime Minister of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland described what happened; "The European quarter of Elisabethville was subject to prolonged and indiscriminate shelling by the UN forces equipped with both mortars and 75mm recoilless guns. The fighting lasted exactly a fortnight, and in the course of it many atrocities were committed. This was no clean-up of a handful of mercenaries. This was total war, brought to Africa by the

¹¹ *Les générations condamnées. Déliquescence d'une société pré-capitaliste (Democratic Republic of Congo. Generations condemned. Failure of a pre-capitalist society)*, by Jean Kanyarwunga published by Publibook, Paris, 2006.

¹² Interview with Jerry and Julia Puren, Durban, September 1999.

armed forces of the United Nations, in whose eyes the Katangese had committed two sins: they wanted to be independent, and they preferred a partnership of races to domination by one race.”¹³

With the arrival of the UN’s jet fighters the air war over Katanga escalated considerably. In addition to the unlimited logistical support they had from the US Air Force, the United Nations now had six Swedish Air Force J5 jets, four Ethiopian F-86 Sabres and five Indian Air Force Canberra B5 jet bombers at their disposal. Holding out against them, all the Katangese had left were two Fouga Magister training jets, a couple of Harvards, two Dakotas, the remaining Dove and a handful of single-engine ‘crop-sprayers’. It certainly wasn’t an equal match.

By the middle of December 1961 the outnumbered and poorly-armed Katangese Gendarmes were forced to retreat from their capital, Elisabethville and the UN forces seized the shattered heart of the city. But in Jadotville and Kolwezi the Katanga forces tenaciously held their ground while in Kipushi they started to regroup.

A week later, in an effort to hold back the next inevitable assault by the ANC, who always took advantage of any UN aggression, Tshombe met with Adoulla, the new Prime Minister of the Congo. The meeting was held in the town of Kitona and ended in the signing of an agreement which effectively ended Katanga’s secession. Although neither side stuck to the terms of the agreement, over the following few weeks an uneasy ceasefire – at least between the Katangese Gendarmes and the United Nations – settled over Katanga.

This, the second Battle of Katanga, had achieved nothing. At the end of it Tshombe was still in power, the Katangese – to a man – were still defiant, and the UN had come out looking like a bully. As a result the two Irishmen, Conor O’Brien and General Sean McKeown were recalled by Hammarskjold’s successor U Thant. This time, to ensure they would win, the UN took their time to plan and organise for the next battle. This also gave the Katangese a chance to prepare their defences. The political negotiations continued too. In mid-April 1962 Tshombe spent a full month in Leopoldville trying to negotiate with the Central Government. Sadly, he returned with nothing but the threat of further bloodshed and annihilation.

By June it wasn’t just the central government that were harassing Katanga, and the United Nations started ratcheting up their activity and hostility throughout the break-away province. By mid-July the military leaders were becoming extremely worried about the situation with the United Nations. Tension was high in Elisabethville and there were almost nightly exchanges of mortar and machine-gun fire across the capital. And all the while, the big American transports were flying in heavy equipment again, obviously in anticipation of yet another ‘final solution.’

¹³ ‘Welensky’s 4000 Days’ by Sir Roy Welensky P.C. K.C.M.G., published by Collins Books, St James Place, London.

THE THIRD, AND FINAL, BATTLE OF KATANGA

At the end of July two civilian aircraft delivering humanitarian aid to the isolated community in Kongolo were fired upon. Firstly a DC-3 belonging to Jack Malloch's Rhodesian Air Services was shot down and had to make a forced landing in Manono where the crew were captured firstly by the ANC and then by the Ethiopians.¹⁴ Three days later on Wednesday 1st August 1962, while Jack was still battling to find out where his crewmen were being held, a Red Cross relief aircraft was also shot at in the same area.

With the failure of the clumsy attacks on the relief flights and the political embarrassment they caused, on Monday 6th August the United Nations decided it would be easier to just ban all non-UN flights in and out of the breakaway province. With the jet fighters of the Swedish Air Force there to enforce the ban, there was little anyone could do about it, although the Belgian Government were not happy, citing it as a 'coercion' move by the United Nations.

Three days later on 9th August the Central Government announced an immediate and total suspension of all telecommunication and postal services to and from Katanga. This was followed shortly afterwards by the United Nations who imposed sweeping economic sanctions against Katanga. The noose was tightening.

On August 24th Tshombe was handed an ultimatum from the UN Secretary-General U Thant. It essentially proposed a capitulation and a guarantee that half of all Katanga's significant taxes and mining revenue would be handed over to the Central Government in future. Tshombe was given ten days to accept the proposal or the United Nations would end his secession 'by all necessary measures'. There was no doubt that this meant military force.

On the tenth day Tshombe reluctantly accepted the proposal, by which stage, without the relief flights, most of the community in Kongolo had either starved to death or had succumbed to the ANC.

However, even with this 'agreement', little changed. At best it was 'Cold War' between the Katangese and the UN. But still a very 'Hot' one between the Katangese and the ANC. To turn the tide of this battle, via his many anonymous international supporters, Tshombe had been able to have a consignment of ten T6 Texans delivered to Kolwezi where they bolstered the ranks of the now almost non-existent KAF.

¹⁴ *The Times (UK), edition of July 30th 1962 and 'Jack Malloch: Legend of the African Skies' by Alan Brough. Published by Ex-Montibus Media. ISBN-13 : 979-8579435934.*

Although the aircraft were quite old and weren't configured for combat, within two weeks of arriving in Kolwezi they had been fitted with machine-guns and bombs racks and were ready for battle. Striking at the ANC's supply lines these additional aircraft gave Katanga a whole new lease of life, fighting as hard as they could before the aircraft of the United Nations inevitably rejoined the fray.

With the wolves closing in, through Mike Hoare, Bob Denard and Alastair Wicks, Tshombe also discretely started increasing the number of mercenary soldiers in Katanga to help prepare the defences before the next UN and ANC onslaughts. War was now, once again, inevitable and the tension continued to escalate throughout October and November. Surrounded and cut off from the rest of the world the end of Katanga was drawing ever closer. Although with his new ground attack aircraft and his eager mercenaries, Tshombe was defiant of the UN's bullying in the face of the overwhelming odds being staked against him and his country.

In November and early December 1962, Rhodesian Air Services accelerated the clandestine mercenary flights in and out of the 'safe' Katangese airfields, shuttling in men and military equipment and flying out the wounded. With the massive military build up by the UN and their troop deployments into Elisabethville Tshombe's efforts seemed futile. Looking back at this pivotal moment the Rhodesian Prime Minister Sir Roy Welensky stated bleakly that "...no kind of settlement was wanted by those in control. Time and money had run out: all they sought was a quick kill."¹⁵

Finally, on Sunday 23rd December, after weeks of tense military build-up, there were the first major clashes between the UN forces and the Katangese Gendarmerie. Kolwezi was awash with refugees, but most of them knew that the town wouldn't be safe for long. Everyone knew war was only days away.

Instead of preparing for Christmas, the Katangese dispersed their aircraft and frantically dug their defences. By the day after Boxing Day the United Nations had moved almost their entire Congo deployment into Elisabethville. From past experience with the Katangese they had learnt that if you want to defeat a dedicated patriotic army on their home ground you need to be able to overwhelm them with both vast numbers and massive firepower.

Later that evening with the backing of tens of thousands of heavily armed troops, U Thant's military advisor General Rikhye handed an ultimatum to Tshombe's Government, demanding an immediate end to Katanga's secession and giving the Katangese just thirty minutes to withdraw their troops from Elisabethville. It was impossible, and with the limited communication options available to them, by the time they had contacted Tshombe in Europe, the deadline had passed.

¹⁵ 'Welensky's 4000 Days' by Sir Roy Welensky P.C. K.C.M.G., published by Collins Books, St James Place, London.

Tshombe realised this was just a pretext for a pre-emptive strike and warned everyone to brace for an imminent attack. He then immediately organised to fly back to Katanga as quickly as possible.

Before dawn on Friday 28th December, the full-scale United Nations attack was launched. Initially the armoured cars and personnel carriers of the UN roared through the streets of Elisabethville seizing key points and crushing whatever opposition was brave enough to stand against them. The Third Battle of Katanga had begun, and by the end of that first day, the shattered and smouldering remains of Elisabethville fell to the combined armed forces of the United Nations.

On 13th May 1945, just days after the end of the Second World War, Winston Churchill had warned, "...above all we must labour to ensure that... the United Nations... does not become a shield for the strong and a mockery for the weak."¹⁶ Less than twenty years later, in Katanga, it seemed that Churchill's warning had been unheeded and his fears had indeed come to pass.

Later that evening Tshombe landed in Jadotville where the country's military and administration had relocated after the fall of Elisabethville. But it was obvious they couldn't stay there long. The town was almost completely evacuated in anticipation of the United Nations assault which was due early the next morning – and the savage ANC who were sure to be close behind.

The next day just before dawn, as the last of the KAF's serviceable T6s escaped from Kolwezi, having been forewarned of an imminent attack, the Swedish Saabs bombed and strafed the airport, leaving two unserviceable Vampires, a couple of T6s and a Dakota in flames. During the course of the day the unstoppable tide of UN forces attacked and occupied both Kamina and Kipushi.

On Sunday 30th December at the invitation of Welensky, Tshombe held a press conference in Muzinda in Northern Rhodesia, in which he said that Katanga would fight on to the bitter end. U Thant said that he was not prepared to negotiate with Tshombe and most people realised that 'the bitter end' was now at hand.

As the UN blitzkrieg rolled across Katanga, the mercenaries and Katangese Gendarmes fell back to Kolwezi, but it was clear that total defeat was just a matter of time, and the country would sink into complete chaos. In Elisabethville there was still a brave and dedicated band of international journalists and reporters who continued to feed their stories and articles back to the outside world, but as recalled by some of the 'die-hards', Christopher Munnion, Smith Hemptone and Donald Wise, things were not easy:

¹⁶ Churchill's war time speech, "Forward, Till the Whole Task is Done" as broadcast on the BBC on 13th May 1945.

"We would meet weary over breakfast to discuss the latest round of atrocities – committed by the Indians, the Swedes, the Katangese gendarmerie, the Congolese national army who were running amok in the north, the white mercenaries, the Balubas, the Belgians and anyone else you could think of. When we looked into it, most of the stories were true."

Smith Hemptone noted that "...the atmosphere in Elisabethville in those last days of fighting had a dreamlike quality of unreality. The streets were filled with rubble and lined with blasted palm trees and shattered cars, their tyres flat and their windows broken. The UN were bombing and pounding the city with mortars. They hit the beauty shop, the French Consul's apartment, the Sabena Airways office, the Roman Catholic Cathedral, the museum, the zoo and many other 'strategic' targets."

"UN troops looted (the Indians on a grand scale) all abandoned Belgian property and distributed shot and shell with equal abandon. The Congolese army, the dreaded ANC, simply went on an uncontrolled rampage. The Balubas continued to sever and consume remaining supplies of human genitalia. Other tribes seized the moment to settle old scores. The mercenaries swaggered and shot at anything that moved. And the journalists occasionally let off steam in the bar of the Leo Deux or in Michel's, the only restaurant that could be relied upon for a passable chateaubriand bearnaise. It was not Africa or humidity at its best but we made the best of a bad bottle of Beaujolais," added Wise.¹⁷

It was total war. On Thursday 3rd January 1963, Jadotville finally fell to the United Nations, and although the mercenaries and the Katangese Gendarmerie fought a brave rearguard action, they were being relentlessly squeezed back towards Kolwezi and the Angolan border by the overwhelming forces ranged against them.

In Kolwezi most of the population had fled and as the mercenaries arrived they prepared to make their last stand. There was Bob Denard's French contingent and the remnants of Jerry Puren's Katanga Air Force, who were joined by 'Black Jack' Schramme, the rag-tag survivors of Alastair Wicks's group of mercenaries and at least a thousand loyal Katangese soldiers who drove a large military convoy against all odds across UN-held territory for 'the final show-down' in Kolwezi.

On January 13th Shinkolobwe fell to the United Nations. All that was left was Kolwezi. Defeat was now certain and the next day Tshombe briefed his military and mercenary leaders to become an army in exile in neutral Angola. Five thousand troops under Schramme and Denard with as much equipment as they could carry, started relocating. Firstly they fell back to Dilolo

¹⁷ 'Banana Sunday, Datelines From Africa' by Christopher Munnion. Published by William Waterman Publications. ISBN 1-874959-22-6.

and then to Texeira de Sousa in Angola. Jerry Puren was given the task of flying out the heavy equipment, the remaining airworthy aircraft – and the national treasury.

As this final evacuation was being coordinated Bob Denard made a heroic defensive stand in Kolwezi, buying precious time for all the remaining survivors to make their escape across the border.

Commenting on this brave action Anthony Mockler said, “Denard by his last stand and his loyalty to his own men won in these days his laurels not merely as a fighter but also as a mercenary leader. Together the three (Denard, Schramme and Puren) retreated, with perhaps a hundred mercenaries and several thousand Katanagese gendarmes, across the border into Angola, where they were allowed to regroup and settle – the Portuguese authorities denying, as they were always to do, that any mercenaries had so much as set foot on Portuguese soil.”¹⁸

Hot on the heels of the last escapees the United Nations were poised on the border within just a few kilometres of Texeira de Sousa itching to obliterate the rebel army. The Portuguese mobilised their army and air force to repel any incursion and for a few dramatic days the Portuguese army stared down the armed forces of Indian, Ireland and Malaya supported by the Swedish Air Force. The Congo Crisis was just one slip away from becoming a world war.

On 23rd January 1963, Tshombe was flown to Salisbury by Number 3 Squadron of the Royal Rhodesian Air Force for talks, where, with the evacuation finally over, he signed a declaration ending Katanga’s secession and calling off the UN’s warmongers.

It was finally over.

Katanga would honour the so-called Kitona Agreement, thereby effectively accepting the Congo Government’s authority over the province. Katanga as an independent entity ceased to exist and officially reverted back to being a province of the Congo, ironically with Tshombe as its Governor.

According to a commentator at the time, “The United Nations and its famous ‘peace-keeping forces’ under the command of an Indian General, had smashed Katanga into oblivion. Military contingents from more than twenty countries made up the one hundred and twenty thousand UN troops deployed against Katanga’s forces – which never exceeded seven thousand five hundred in number.

“The ANC (Armée Nationale Congolaise) also deployed some one hundred and eighty thousand ‘soldiers’ (without doubt the worst on Earth) but apart from these the worst soldiers were the

¹⁸ ‘*The New Mercenaries*’ by Anthony Mockler, published by Corgi Books. ISBN 0-552-12558-X.

Swedes, with the Irish coming a close second! As a matter of interest the Malayans were easily the best of the UN.”¹⁹

In an interview with Sophie Arie many years later, Bob Denard was bitterly critical of the United Nations, saying, “The UN men were bastards in those days. They used to slaughter civilians. We were the only ones there to protect the population. The UN has cleaned up its act now, but it is still not half as efficient as well-organised mercenaries can be. The idea of war is that you have enemies and friends. But the United Nations tries to be everyone’s friend. They take three steps forward and five steps back. And meanwhile thousands of people suffer.”²⁰

The UN closely supervised the administration of the province and the Central Government, so their international backers could finally get their hands on the mineral wealth which had always been at the heart of the conflict. By the middle of 1963 with the continual undermining of the UN Tshombe eventually went into self-imposed exile and settled briefly in Europe. Though it wouldn’t be long before Mobutu, of all people, invited him back to become Prime Minister of the entire Congo.

But for the United Nations at least, the political problem of Katanga had been solved and they had achieved their goal. At last they could wind down their Congo deployment which had almost bankrupt (financially and morally) the entire organisation.

Their ‘Congo Adventure’ that had started with such hurried and naive enthusiasm with the establishment of ‘ONUC’ (Operation des Nations Unies au Congo) in July 1960 ended exactly three years later. It still remains one of the most costly, and one of the least remembered, of any United Nations deployment.

Two hundred and fifty UN soldiers from twenty-six different countries lost their lives, along with tens of thousands of Katangese and Congolese soldiers and civilians, all of whom are now forgotten as faceless statistics in a desperate, little known exercise in futility.

Alan Brough is researching and compiling the definitive military history of the Congo of which Katanga is but one small part. For information and contributions please email him at:
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¹⁹ Notes and documents provided by Ian Dixon, 27/3/2008.

²⁰ ‘Bob Denard: The man with a hole in his head.’ by Sophie Arie.

Alan has also recently published Jack Malloch's biography which covers both Katanga and the Mercenaries Revolt in the Congo in 1967. This book, 'Legend of the African Skies' is available on Amazon or directly from the publisher:

