



An important figure of the African national liberation movement and the head of the first government of the Republic of the Congo (now Zaire).

Born on July 2, 1925 in the village of Onalua (Kasai Province of the former colony of Belgian Congo) into the family of a poor Bate-tela peasant. Having been educated in a Catholic mission school, he worked as a clerk, a postal official and an employee of several Belgian companies.

From the age of 23 he took an active part in the political life of the country; he founded and led a number of public organisations and was in charge of the publication of the newspapers Uhuru (Freedom) and Independance. In 1958 he founded and became the permanent leader of the major political party of the Congolese National Movement (MNC).

In 1958-59, he participated in the work of the First All-African People's Conference in Accra, the capital of Ghana, and the international seminar of cultural workers in Ibadan, Nigeria, and then in January-February 1960, in the Belgian-Congolese conference in Brussels which took the decision to grant Congo independence. He was subjected to repression and imprisonment a number of times for anti-colonial activity.

At the parliamentary elections in May 1960, the MNC and the parties supporting it received the majority of votes; in June 1960, Lumumba headed the government of the Republic of the Congo but in September he was dismissed from the post. In January 1961, following several months of illegal imprisonment, he was viciously murdered.

Patrice Lumumba has gone down in African history as a major leader and an active supporter of abolition of the imperialist colonial system. Today his views and practical activities remain the subject of acute ideological debate in and outside Africa between the champions and opponents of progressive development. A flow of publications about Lumumba continues. Some authors focus attention on his lack of political sophistication, at times verging on naïvete, on his errors and miscalculations and try to belittle his role. Others, on the contrary, are inclined to idealise him as a leader and martyr.

A political profile of Lumumba is certain to need more than one colour. In trying to recreate his portrait one should be mindful of the specific conditions which shaped Lumumba's personality as a public figure and statesman.

His working life began early. From the age of six, Patrice Lumumba worked in the field, helping his family to eke out a miserable existence, and to pay the taxes and numerous requisitions imposed by the colonial authorities. At ten he went to a mission school. However, the career of a priest, just like the other road to a materially secure life, service in the colonial troops, did not appeal to him. The sixteen-year-old youth entered training as a medical orderly. Before long, however, he left medicine in favour of sociology and politics. Higher education was not available in the colonial Congo and Patrice had to rely on self-education. To this end he moved, in 1943, to the town of Kindu and then went on to Kalima in Kivu Province where he became employed as a clerk in the management of the Simetain tin-mining company. There Lumumba became first acquainted with the life of the Congolese proletariat.

By this time, Patrice had a good command of French, as well as several local languages.

He went to great lengths to obtain books and spent most of his free time reading Hugo and Molière, writing summaries of the works of Aristotle, utopian socialists and the French Encyclopedists and Enlighteners. Of the contemporary works he was most interested in those which were critical of capitalism and bourgeois democracy.

At eighteen Lumumba published in the local press his first poems and prose essays praising Belgians who had allegedly saved the Congo from ignorance and slavery. It was some time before he rid himself of such views, which were imposed on Africans by official colonialist propaganda, although by this time he was beginning to turn his attention to the disparity between the propaganda slogans of the Belgian authorities and their activity in the Congo.

The living standards of the Congolese were among the lowest in Africa. In the 80 years of Belgian rule, the population of the country had more than halved as a result of direct physical destruction during the process of colonisation and merciless exploitation of the Congo. But the people of the Congo never resigned themselves to slavery. When a child Lumumba heard the old folk talking about numerous anti-colonial uprisings cruelly put down by the Belgians, especially

the rebellions of the Batetela in the late 19th and early 20th century and of the Bapende in 1931, these stories leaving a deep imprint on Lumumba's memory. At Kindu Lumumba learnt about the anti-colonial political and religious movement in the Kivu forests whose members called on the people 'to take the reins of power in their hands', about the mutiny of the military garrison in Luluabourg (now Kananga) in 1941, and in Stanleyville (now Kisangani), where he moved in the middle of 1944, about the armed uprising of the dockers in Matadi in 1945 and other anti-colonial actions by the Congolese.

Lumumba spent three years in Stanleyville working as a postal clerk and in a tax office. In July 1947 he was enrolled in a postal workers' school in the colony's administrative centre Léopoldville (now Kinshasa) and graduated from it a year later. Apart from his school curriculum, he diligently studied philosophy, political economy, the history of political doctrines, the theory of state and law and current African history.

His own experience, although still small, and mainly his acquaintance, through literature, with the life and activity of many prominent figures, finally convinced Lumumba that he could do much to help his people if he became actively involved in the public and political life of the country. In Stanleyville, where he resettled in 1948 and lived until 1956, Lumumba headed six public organisations including a section of the Belgian Liberal Party, which he established. It should be pointed out that none of these organisations were at all tribalist and, indeed, Lumumba never divided people up according to the principle of their ethnic affiliation.

That was the period when Lumumba began to formulate his profoundly democratic ideas about the functioning of an African public organisation. In 1952 he said that any organisation derived its strength from the collective creative activity of its members. In order not to wither, it must act, constantly set and solve new tasks. Much depends on the leaders, who should be informed, efficient, energetic, courageous and dedicated, and not 'sleepyheads who sit with their arms folded waiting that the task assigned to them would solve itself without the slightest effort on their part'.¹

Lumumba travelled widely about the country, which gave him first-hand knowledge of the life, ideas and aspirations of his people. His countrymen found him not only an interesting conversationalist but also an impressive public speaker: his public lectures and speeches at meetings drew thousands of listeners. He had every reason to say that he wrote his book *The Congo: Land of the Future Under Threat?* (1956) after 'thorough investigation conducted among the various strata of the local population'.² He often travelled abroad to other African countries, to Belgium and the USA.

¹ *La voix du Congolais*, Léopoldville, No. 89, 1953, p. 578.

² P. Lumumba, *Le Congo, terre d'avenir est-il menacé?*, Brussels, 1961, p. 8.

In July 1955 the colonial administration introduced Lumumba to King Baudouin, who visited Stanleyville, as one of the most prominent Congolese public figures. They had a long talk and it seemed to Lumumba that the young monarch inclined to regard his views with understanding. Lumumba wanted to believe that the Congolese and the Europeans could together dispel the clouds gathering over the country. He wrote in 1957: 'Our dearest wish—perhaps some may find it utopian—is to found in the Congo a Nation in which differences of race and religion will melt away, a homogeneous society composed of Belgians and Congolese who with a single impulse will link their hearts to the destinies of the country.'¹

In the mid-1950s a number of Congolese political leaders demanded independence for the Congo. Lumumba did not immediately join them. He continued to favour a 'Belgian-Congolese community', regarding it as compatible with the solution of such problems as the elimination of racial discrimination, the raising of living standards, the development of the education system, the emancipation of African women and the active involvement of the Congolese in the government of the country. In criticising the colonial authorities' refusal even to discuss these issues, Lumumba advocated the idea of gradual, consistent action.

Yet the changing world situation, the mounting struggle of the colonial peoples for liberation and the impressions of his trips in Africa and to Europe broadened his horizons and led him to see the problems of the Congo in a different light. One is struck by the rapid evolution of Lumumba's views and practical activity. By the late 1950s he was among the leading fighters for the complete liberation of Africa from colonialism and neo-colonialism.

In October 1958 Lumumba founded the party called the Congolese National Movement (MNC), the most broadly based and authoritative political organisation in his country. In the first programme of the MNC, written by Lumumba, it was stated that the party would 'use every means to liberate the Congo from imperialist colonialism'.² The statutes made it the duty of members of the MNC to fight for the unity and indivisibility of the country, to take a personal share in carrying out the decisions of the governing bodies of the party, and to work constantly to raise their personal political maturity, and to expose abuses by colonialists.³

At the end of 1958 Lumumba represented the Congo at the conference of African peoples in Accra (Ghana) and was elected member of its permanent secretariat. The following year he attended an in-

¹ George Brausch, *Belgian Administration in the Congo*, Oxford University Press, London, 1961, p. 78.

² *L'avenir politique du Congo belge*, Les Editions de la Librairie encyclopedique, Brussels, p. 47.

³ René Lemarchand, Kenneth W. Grundy, Charles F. Andrian, *African Political Thought: Lumumba, Nkrumah and Toure*, University of Denver, Denver, 1968, pp. 40-41.

ternational seminar of cultural workers in Ibadan, Nigeria, where he delivered a speech on 'African Unity and National Independence'. 'The aspirations of the peoples of colonial countries,' he stressed, 'are identical, their destinies are similar and the goals they pursue in their national development are the same: liberation of Africa from the yoke of colonialism. Africa will never be free and independent if any part of it remains under foreign domination.'¹

At the conference of independent African states in Léopoldville (August 1960) Lumumba said that without unity Africans could not oppose the monstrous appetites of imperialism: the newly-free African peoples and those still fighting for their liberation must form a united front so that every state could count on help from all the countries of the continent.

He became aware of the need for the unity of anti-colonial forces inside the country earlier and more deeply than many other leaders of the freedom movement in the Congo. 'The more united we are, the more successfully we can oppose oppression, corruption and attempts to disunite us by the proponents of the "divide and rule" policy,'² he pointed out as early as 1956.

Lumumba and his supporters were waging a very difficult struggle for uniting the Congolese. Congo's ethnic diversity is great even by African standards. The country is inhabited by over 200 tribes and ethnic groups with varying levels of social and economic development. There were no stable economic links between regions, and between town and country. Separatist trends were clearly felt in areas predominantly inhabited by one nationality (Lower Congo, Kasai and Katanga).

Regarding tribalism as a most dangerous 'internal enemy', Lumumba tirelessly called on his countrymen to put nationwide interests above narrow ethnic interests and lashed out against the colonial authorities for the preference in socio-economic development which they showed to the districts with good prospects from the point of view of capital investment and of profits, which was damaging to the harmonious development of the country as a whole. He opposed the colonialists' plans to divide the Congo into small, inviable provinces, and the aspirations of certain political figures to use these plans in their own mercenary interests, once they had turned these provinces into semi-independent 'little republics', as he called them. Addressing the Brussels conference which was deciding the question of Congo's independence, Lumumba said: 'We protest against any attempts to split our national territory. The Congo's greatness is based on the maintenance of its political and economic unity'.³ He was quite direct in saying that the political, social and economic structures inherited from colonialism had to be destroyed if a united

¹ *Remarques congolaises et africaines*, Brussels, No. 3, 1964, p. 47.

² *Ibid.*, p. 46.

³ *La pensée politique de Patrice Lumumba*, Présence africaine, Paris, 1963, p. 165.

Congolese nation was to be formed.

At the same time Lumumba preached collaboration between various classes and social groups of the Congolese society—the peasants, agricultural and industrial workers, who were more numerous in the Congo than in most African countries, the emerging bourgeoisie, the national intellectuals and the traditional elites. This illusion—one of the many illusions he had—prevented Lumumba from, on the one hand, revealing the existing social strata whose interests were challenged by his policy, and, on the other hand, from identifying the forces whose support he could have enlisted. ‘All together, dear brothers and sisters,’ he urged, ‘workers and government employees, workers by brain and by hand, rich and poor, Africans and Europeans, Catholics and Protestants, Kimbanguists and Kitawalists [supporters of religious-political anti-colonial movements.—Y. V.], let us unite and create a great nation.’¹

One should not forget, however, that to some extent it was his keen awareness of the need for the unity of all the forces of the Congolese society—not only for political but also for economic liberation—and of the dangers inherent in the Congo’s ethnic diversity that impelled Lumumba to argue that social harmony among Africans was possible, even though he himself understood that the process of social differentiation in the country was already quite distinct.

A poor peasant by origin, who had moved from low-ranking official to Prime Minister, Lumumba always felt at one with the people, had deep respect for the working people and regarded them as brothers and fellow-fighters. ‘We know,’ he wrote in 1956, ‘that some Congolese are well off, but they are in the minority; meanwhile we are concerned with the majority of the population.’²

Lumumba tried to make the Congolese National Movement an effective channel of links with the masses. As he saw it, the MNC was to mobilise the people in the struggle not only against the colonial regime but also to destroy exploitation of man by man. The leaders of the MNC strove to strengthen ties with broad sections of the population. In the fight for independence, said Lumumba, it is necessary to count not on individual political figures, but on the people, who are dissatisfied with their position.³ The MNC had regular meetings of its central bodies and local branches set up in many parts of the country. The leadership of the party organised rallies attended primarily by peasants, wood-cutters and agricultural labourers. Unlike other parties in the Congo, the MNC had links with the trade unions. In fact it was an organisation similar to a united national front.

Lumumba’s enemies in and outside the country regarded his

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 246.

² P. Lumumba, *Le Congo terre d'avenir est-il menacé?*, p. 28.

³ See *Notes pour servir à l'étude des "Groupements politiques" à Léopoldville*, Part 3, L'office de l'Information et des Relations Publiques Pour le Congo et le Ruanda-Urundi, Brussels, 1959, p. 80.

democratic attitudes to be all the more dangerous because they were accompanied by radicalisation of his views and policies.

The leaders of the MNC, notably Lumumba himself, held imperialism to be chiefly responsible for the misery of the Congolese people. They exposed the plans of the neocolonialists to perpetuate their rule in Africa. 'The European powers,' said Lumumba, 'want to enlist the sympathies of those African leaders who follow their lead and deceive their own people. Some of these powers see the meaning of their presence in the Congo and in Africa in exploiting their riches as much as possible, availing themselves of the services of the corrupt leaders.'¹

There were strong elements of a class approach in Lumumba's assessment of the Western policies. 'I know that an overwhelming majority of the Belgian people are against the oppression of Africans,' he said in October 1959. 'They disapprove of a colonial status for the Congo under which 14 million Congolese are exposed to the diktat of a tiny economic oligarchy. If the Belgian people were to have their say, the Congo would never have experienced the misfortunes which are affecting it now.'² And a short while before that, on September 6 of that year, he told a rally of six thousand people in Luluabourg that 'tensions in the relations between the Congo and Belgium are being exacerbated only by the groups interested in exploiting the Congo's wealth and who egg the authorities on to extend the colonial regime, as well as by some officials who are pursuing their private interests.'³

Lumumba considered the people to be the prime mover in the struggle for independence and social progress. In a lecture given in Brussels in April 1959, he said that it is the masses who prompt politicians to put forward demands and slogans, since it is the people who 'want to advance more rapidly than we [the leaders of the people. — *Author*] do'.⁴ This view of the role of the masses distinguished him favourably from many contemporary political figures in his country and in other African states. 'History attests,' he said, 'that independence is never brought to you on a silver platter. It must be won. To that end we must organise ourselves and mobilise all the healthy forces in the country. The Congolese have responded to our appeal and thanks to this united strength we have dealt a mortal blow to rotten colonialism.'⁵

On this issue, Patrice Lumumba not only disagreed with the majority of conservative politicians in the Congo who accused him of inculcating the masses with harmful ideas, but far outstripped certain representatives of contemporary revolutionary democracy, who were inclined to exaggerate the role of one social group or other

¹ *Afrique-Asie*, Paris, No. 154, 1978, p. 10.

² *La pensée politique de Patrice Lumumba*, pp. 87-88.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 66.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 45.

⁵ *Afrique-Asie*, No. 154, 1978, p. 11.

and to underestimate the contribution of the working masses to the revolutionary reforms taking place today in newly-formed states.

Belgian imperialism had to give in to the mounting national liberation movement. On June 30, 1960, the Republic of the Congo was proclaimed. Patrice Lumumba became head of the first national government. One cannot help recalling the words he said at the ceremony proclaiming independence: 'No Congolese ... can ever forget that we have gained our independence through struggle, a daily, persistent and idealistic struggle, a struggle in which we were undaunted by privation, suffering or great sacrifice, nor by the blood shed by our peoples.'¹

As soon as he became Prime Minister, Lumumba, who was probably unaware that the real levers of power were not in his hands and that imperialism preserved its economic and political positions in the Congo, tried to pursue a sharply anti-imperialist policy. 'The policy of the government will only be that of the people. It is the people who dictate us, and we act in accordance with their aspirations and in their interests.'² Patrice Lumumba did not manage to complete the putting together of a government programme, but his rough drafts and preparatory material give us grounds to conclude that he was aware of the need to develop the struggle for political independence into a struggle against exploitative relations.

Proceeding from the perfectly sound belief that 'political independence will remain meaningless ... unless it is immediately complemented by economic development',³ Lumumba began to work vigorously for national control over the resources and the economy of the country. The government banned export of capital from the Congo and set about drawing up a plan of economic development on the basis of the state sector in industry and production cooperation in agriculture. To raise the living standards of the people, it tried to impose price control, induce the employers to raise wages, ensure full employment, and work out a unified labour legislation.

Lumumba's democratism was distinctly manifested in his views on the state and in his practical activity in the regulation of the work of the state apparatus. He was convinced of the viability of the new society emerging in Africa and believed that it would unite elements of the European state system and traditional African principles. Moreover, he stood out against the mechanical borrowing of Western political and social norms. Thus, he considered quite unsuitable for the Congo, the principles of parliamentary activity (prolonged and often fruitless debates, conflicts between factions, etc.) which had formed in Belgium (a European country that had no similarity with Congolese conditions) and which the colonial authorities had tried to plant in the future Republic of the Congo. Disagreeing with many

¹ *La pensée politique de Patrice Lumumba*, p. 198.

² *Congo 1960*, Vol. 2, Centre de Recherche et l'Information Socio-Politique, Brussels, 1961, p. 593.

³ *La pensée politique de Patrice Lumumba*, p. 140.

of the principles of the work of the state apparatus worked out by the Belgian authorities on the eve of the declaration of Congo's independence, Lumumba, unlike many of his political opponents, did not permit himself any unconstitutional acts, and worked in close contact with the government and parliament even during the difficult days of crisis caused by imperialism.

Lumumba did not regard the process of Africanisation as the merely mechanical substitution of Congolese for European officials. He made great professional and political demands on the national leaders and constantly reminded them that they were servants of the people. 'We want leaders to carry out their duties consciously, competently and with a sense of patriotism and any Congolese who does not wish to work in the interests of the people, must be dismissed. We want worthy people, people who work for the good of the country.'¹

Lumumba proposed to assign a significant place in the government's activity to spiritual decolonisation of the Congolese in order to rid them of the 'psychological attitudes, complexes and habits which colonisation had for centuries instilled in us'.² Condemning the negative role of the church in the colonial period and especially its subversive actions against the authorities of the sovereign Congolese state, Lumumba separated the church from the state and secularised schools.

Perhaps one of the most dangerous demands as far as Western interests in Africa were concerned was Lumumba's call for an end to the military presence of imperialist powers in the continent, in particular, for placing NATO bases there under the control of the national governments. In the Congo, Lumumba alone among the leaders of the liberation movement raised that question. 'Kamina,' he said referring to one of such bases as early as February 1960, 'is the first enterprise we are going to nationalise in Congo.'³

The very first steps of the Lumumba government alerted the imperialists as the economic interests of the West in the Congo were being threatened. They were also unhappy about Lumumba's foreign policy programme which envisaged the course for non-alignment and full liberation of Africa from colonial and racist regimes, the establishment and development of equal relations between the Congo and the socialist countries.

Having finally shed his illusions that alliance with Belgium was favourable for the Congo, Lumumba rejected the proposal of merger between the two countries in a state entity under the Belgian king. He also spoke sharply against establishing Western trusteeship over the Congo under the aegis of the UN. 'Some people would like to use the UN,' noted Lumumba in a public statement on July 9, 1960, 'in

¹ G. Heinz & H. Donnay, *Lumumba Patrice. Les cinquante derniers jours de sa vie*, Editions du C.R.I.S.P., Paris, 1966, p. 192.

² *Ibid.*, p. 194.

³ *La pensée politique de Patrice Lumumba*, p. 158.

order to impose on us a certain international status for 15 years.... On behalf of the people and government I declare that Congo ... will never become a country under UN trusteeship.¹

In a bid to preserve its positions in the independent Congo, imperialism ganged up with local reactionaries to engineer economic and political chaos in the country. In this difficult situation, Lumumba courageously upheld the interests of his country and sought an end to foreign interference in the internal affairs of the Congo, exposing imperialist policy. In abrogating the 'treaty of friendship and cooperation' between Belgium and the Congo in July 1960, Lumumba held responsible for it not the Belgian people but the country's rulers 'who refused to see the Congo as anything but an object of exploitation, domination and selfish interests.'²

It was then that a conspiracy against the Congolese leader was set in motion. In fact, Lumumba was already a victim of persecution during the colonial period. He was spied on, he was blackmailed and was twice put on trial as a libelling device.

In 1956-1957 he was imprisoned for several months on false charges of embezzlement. In late 1959 he was jailed on a 'political' charge of inciting the inhabitants of Stanleyville to riot. The authorities then staged a rehearsal of Lumumba's transfer to a prison in Katanga, from which he had to be released on the demand of the Congolese leaders who met in Brussels to discuss the question of independence for the Belgian colony.

In June 1960 the colonialists made an attempt to challenge Lumumba's right to head the government of the Republic of the Congo to which he was entitled as leader of the parliamentary majority. Rejecting the slander levelled at him, he said at the time that accusations that he was in the pay of the Communists began to be spread by imperialist propaganda after he declined the proposals of the Western powers to make a deal with them which would amount to an act of corruption.³

He again spoke about attempts to bribe him upon return from the USA in August 1960: 'We became the target of attacks because we no longer want to submit ... and reject corruption. They tried to bribe us and millions were promised to me, but I refused, I did not take a single centime.'⁴

In September 1960 a group of opposition leaders whose policies reflected the interests of the bureaucratic bourgeoisie and other wealthy strata of Congolese society, supported by imperialist powers, removed Lumumba from office. In November of that same year he was seized by security agents and put in jail. Still, Lumumba was undaunted in his determination to continue the struggle for genuine

¹ *Congo 1960*, Vol. 2, p. 588.

² *Ibid.*, p. 586.

³ See *Congo 1960*, Vol. 2, p. 833.

⁴ G. Heinz & H. Donnay, *Lumumba Patrice. Les cinquante derniers jours de sa vie*, p. 193.

sovereignty for the Congo with the backing of the popular masses. In his last appeal to the people from a prison in Thysville, Lumumba said: 'My dear countrymen! In joy and in sorrow I will always be with you. It is together with you that I fought to free my country from foreign rule. Together with you I am fighting to strengthen our national independence. Together with you, I will fight to preserve the integrity and national unity of the Republic of the Congo.'¹

But his days were numbered. On January 17 secret police bundled Lumumba and two of his associates—Mpolo and Okito—into a plane which headed for the capital of 'independent' Katanga. During the many-hour flight to Elizabethville (now Lubumbashi) the captives were brutally beaten with hobnailed boots and machine-gun butts. At Luano Airport in the presence of Katangese secessionists and their European principals the three martyrs, more dead than alive, were thrown into a jeep and taken to a farm where they were shot dead in the evening of the same day.

'Neither cruelty, nor violence, nor torture will make me beg for mercy, because I prefer to die with my head raised high, with unshakeable faith ... in my country's predestination rather than live in submission forsaking my sacred principles.'² These words of Lumumba provide an epilogue to his short but beautiful life.

A UN commission to investigate the circumstances of Lumumba's death named as accomplices in the murder the Léopoldville administration headed by the then president of the Congo, Kasavubu, the authorities of Katanga, the managers of the Belgian mining firm Union Minière du Haut Katanga, and a group of Belgian mercenaries in the service of Chombe, leader of the Katangese secessionists.

The US Senate commission which in the mid-1970s looked into the activities of the American intelligence services, found that the CIA back in August 1960 set 'an urgent and prime objective,'³ namely a conspiracy to murder the Prime Minister of the Congo who, according to the then CIA Director, Allen Dulles, remained 'a grave danger'.⁴

The national hero of the Congo fell victim to an imperialist conspiracy. Rabid demagogues accused him of insincerity, usurpers of violating democratic principles of government, bigots of inability to understand the needs of the country and the puppets of the foreign monopolies of forgetting the national interests.

History, however, has judged him otherwise. Today Africa and the world only remember his murderers in order to brand them and express contempt for them. Meanwhile, Lumumba is spoken and written about, he is credited with great services to the struggle o'

¹ *La pensée politique de Patrice Lumumba*, p. 394.

² *Afrique-Asie*, No. 154, 1978, p. 10.

³ *An Interim Report of the Select Committee to Study Governmental Operations with Respect to Intelligence Activities*, US Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., 1975, p. 15.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 62.

Africans for independence; factories, streets and schools are named after him, monuments are erected to him, and works of fiction have been written about him.

Patrice Lumumba was one of the first prominent African national democrats. And although his world outlook was not devoid of eclecticism, and contained elements of petty-bourgeois influence and distinctive African populism, and was marked by the influence of utopian socialists and ideologists of early bourgeois African society, one has to agree that he was an honest and consistent national revolutionary, a democrat, anti-imperialist and anti-racist, and that he opposed national reformism and neo-colonialism. It is even possible that in the course of further struggle, he could eventually have arrived at an understanding of the ideas of scientific socialism.

For millions of people both in Africa and in other continents, Lumumba remains a symbol of the love of freedom, of patriotism and courage in the fight for national liberation.