Kinetic Air Power in Robust Peacekeeping: the UN Operation in the Congo 1960-64



Dr. Walter Dorn & Robert Pauk

Canadian Forces College & Royal Military College of Canada

13 June 2011



Congo 1960

- Independence from Belgium (June 30)
 - Size of Western Europe
 - Larger decolonization process
- Mutiny (July 5)
 - Belgian (re)deployment
- Secession of Katanga (July 11)
- Superpower proxy battles
 - Lumumba and Tshombe





UN Intervenes (14 July 1960)



Security Council Resolution 143 (17 July 1960)

Unstated Goals:

- UN in, superpowers out
- boost Central government *up*, push Katangan secession *down*



Opération des Nations unies au Congo (ONUC)

- Largest and most complex UN op. in Cold War
 - 20,000 troops
 - 234 fatalities
- Forerunner of multidimensional ops
 - Help restore law & order (nation-building)
 - Secure withdrawal of Belgian forces
 - Prevent secession
- Increasingly robust over time
 - Air power: transport, medical
 - Later: kinetic/combat

US Airlift

50 C-124 transported 9,000 UN troops in two weeks



Canadian "North Star" aircraft in ONUC service





Canadian Yukon Aircraft, Leopoldville, 23 July 1962, with Congolese National Army Officers

Replaced Canada's North Stars on cargo/troop runs from Pisa

UN Photo 76016

Humanitarian/Medical Evacuation



N Photo 18990

Transport of Diplomats & UN Negotiators

USG Ralph Bunche with Katangan Interior Minister, 5 August 1960

Katangan threat

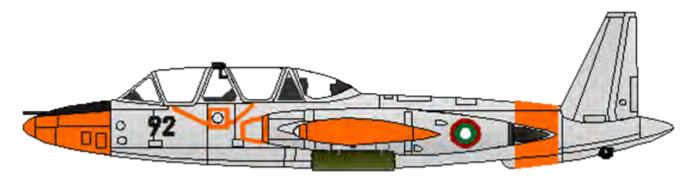
- Backed by Belgian Union Minière
- Congolese government demands force
 - Soviet military aid (Illysishin-14)
- Lumumba assassinated 17 January 1961
- Res. 161: "all appropriate measures" to prevent civil war, "force, if necessary, in the last resort"

Katangan aircraft (1961)

Fouga Magister

Originally three

- First one captured at Elizabethville airfield
- Second lost due to pilot error
- Third ("lone ranger"): piloted by mercenary Joseph Deulin
 - Attacked UN convoys, troops, transport aircraft & airfields (Elisabethville and Kamina), UN headquarters in Katanga
 - Caused havoc



UN Early Offensives

- Operations Rum Punch (Aug 1961)
 - Limited "success"

- Operation Morthor ("Smash") (Sept 1961)
 - Viewed as "failure"
 - Objection from Hammarskjold

- No kinetic air
- Havoc from Fouga Magister

Dag Hammarskjöld in plane crash



Plane route

- Detour
- In range only after dark
- Strict radio silence





Swedish airmen funeral, Leopoldville (Kinshasa) Twin-engine transport shot down on 20 September

UN Photo 184408



UN leaders strafed during press conference by Katangan jet

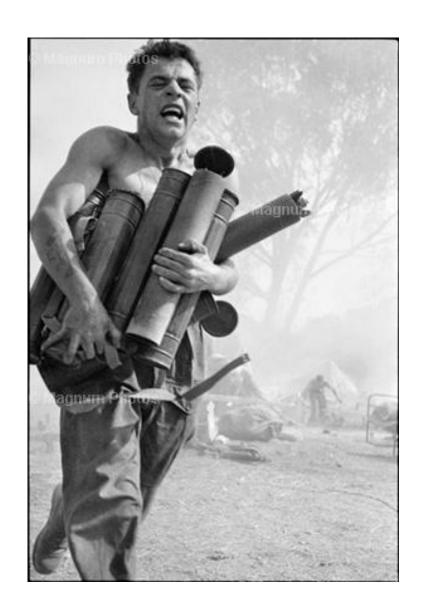
Representative of SG in Katanga, Conor Cruise O'Brien (on ground facing camera in jacket)

September 1961



A C-54 explodes and burns at Elizabethville airport after being attacked by a mercenary of the Katanganese Air Force.





Irish UN soldier flees from the exploding ammunition dump, Elizabethville: 1961



13 Italian airmen seized and murdered in Kivu by ANC-Stanleyville forces



13 Italian Airmen – Memorial Service

Centre: SRSG Sture Linner & President Joseph Kasavubu, flanked by Italian officials.

Creation of a "UN Air Force"

- Hammarskjold's leadership
 - Armed aircraft: Ethiopia, India, Sweden

- Pres. Kennedy offers eight US jets
 - Joint Chiefs: "seek out and destroy on ground or in the air the Fouga Magister jets"
 - Thant declined



24 November 1961 UN Photo 214006

Council debates before passing resolution 169: force authorized to expel mercenaries



Ethiopian Sabre Jets



Swedish Saab J29 Jets 27 October 1961



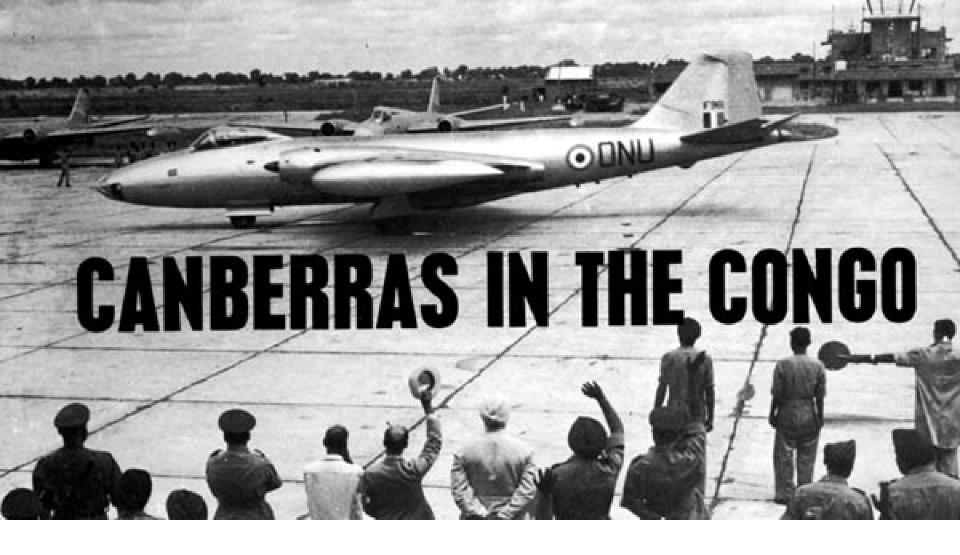
Wreckage of Saab 29 fighter in the Congo





Indian Canberra Bombers





Source:

http://www.bharat-rakshak.com/IAF/History/Congo.html (5 photos)











http://www.bharat-rakshak.com/IAF/History/1960s/Congo01.html

Flying in Formation:

2 IAF B(1) Canberras; 2 Swedish J29s Saabs; 2 Ethiopian F-86 Sabres



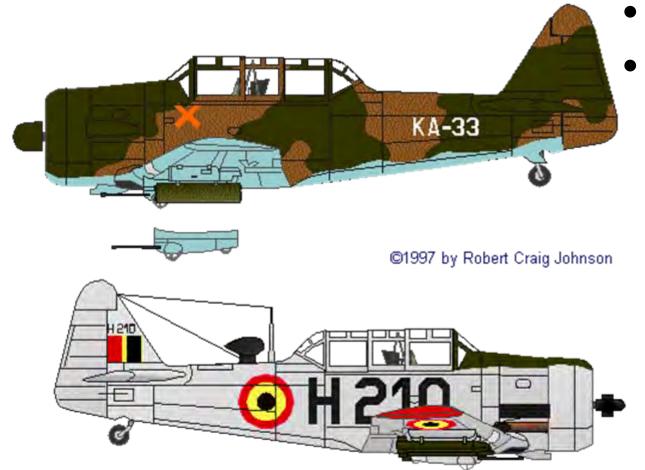
Rockets for SAAB jets, Elisabethville airport

UN Photo 72379



Captured "Fouga" fighter in December 1961, Elizabethville airport

Katangan Air Force Expansion (1962)



- Ex-Belgian T-6G
- Harvard IV Fire Assistance Flight
 - Kamina-based

1962

- Aerial "arms race" with Katanga
 - ONUC's Military Information Branch (MIB) gathers intelligence
 - South African company offer 40 Harvards
 - Both sides also increase transport aircraft
- UN acquires S-29E photo-recce aircraft
- Camouflage colours applied to S-29 after FAK attacks on airfields
- Britain dithers on providing bombs for Canberras
- Limited operations until December

"We are *not* attempting to destroy any aircraft found in the airfield in the vicinity of that area [Kolwesi airfield] because if we do locate one or two aircraft and destroy them, we feel that FAK will react against Kamina Base and also disperse their aircraft from Kolwezi to other airfields, thereby making our task of locating and destroying these aircraft on the ground very difficult."

 Force Commander General Kebbede Guebre to Dr. Ralph Bunche, 24 November 1962

ONUC Strategy

- Overwhelming surprise attack
 - Avoid FAK hiding aircraft
 - Avoid retaliation in kind
- Obtain Norwegian anti-aircraft battery
 - 200 strong
- Air surveillance radars
 - Installed Aug 1962 in Elizabethville
- Pres. Kennedy offers fighter jets without US pilots
 - Thant defers

Operation Grand Slam: The Trigger

- Katangan shoot down UN observation helicopter
 - 1 Indian crew member died of bullet wounds
- Continuous firing on UN positions
 - UN escorts Tshombe to site of fighting to show his forces responsible
 - Katangese Gendarmerie Commander ordered bombing of Elizabethville airfield 29 December (radio interception)
 - Gen. Prem Chand convinces Thant for offensive

"Grand Slam" (28 Dec 1962)

- All "bases loaded"
- 0430 hrs J-29s attacked Kolwezi airfield
 - 20 mm canons
 - cloud cover too low for 13.5 mm rockets
 - 3 UN aircraft hit by ground fire: narrowly missing pilot
- Continued for 4-7 days
 - 76 sorties
 - Target aircraft, petrol dumps
 - J29 patrol skies to prevent introduction of new aircraft
 - Thant does not approve use of napalm

Katangan soldiers shooting into the sky, Elizabethville, 1961





Charanjit Singh's Canberra IF 898 after local repairs to windscreen day after hit by ground fire; back to flying



Katangan Harvard destroyed on ground by Swedish jets on 30 December 1962

Vampare aircraft destroyed by Swedish fighter jets,
Kolwesi airport





KA DFN destroyed by UN jets, Kolwezi, 6 December 1961 http://vayu-sena-aux.tripod.com/pix/ONUC_destroyed_DC-3_Congo_03B_01.jpg



Securing road blocks & positions around Elisabethville, 3 January 1963

January 1963

- Tshombe agrees to end his secession & give up military means
 - Meets UN demand/ultimatum
- No UN personnel killed in Op Grand Slam
 - 215 killed in ONUC 1960-64

Delay would have been costly

- ONUC intelligence (subsequently): 15 FAK aircraft (Mustangs) hidden in Angolan airfields
- Belgian mercenary interrogated:
 - "If you had only given us four more weeks so that we could have got the Mustangs ready, you would have experienced the same disastrous **surprise** one early morning at your Kamina Base as we experienced at Kengere [Kolwesi] on 29 December."
- ONUC victory in the nick of time

U Thant with officers from Nigeria, India, Ethiopia (Force Commander Lt. Gen. Kebede Guebre); Thant; India (Maj. Gen. D. Prem Chand, GOC Katanga Area); Sweden; Norway (Gen. C.R. Kaldager, Air Commander); and Commander of the Swedish Air Jet Fighter Unit



Conclusions

- Dispels the myth of peacekeeping as noncombat
 - ONUC Air Force: air combat patrols, air-to-air combat, close air support, strikes against airfields, reconnaissance
 - Established and enforced de facto no-fly zone
 - US backing but no US fighter planes
 - Importance of precedents & being aware of them!
 - Defence/offense
 - Secured freedom of movement
 - Responded to attacks

Conclusions

- Showed utility of <u>air intelligence</u> and <u>air combat</u>
- Air Intelligence
 - Utility of aerial recce
 - Limits of aerial recce: Italian airmen case (13 November 1961)
 - Need for gathering intell on air capabilities, incl. in foreign countries
- Air Combat
 - Establish ROEs and Force Directives (see paper)
 - Recognize the dangers of collateral damage
 - Accused of bombing a hospital and hotel
 - Mortar fire on a hospital

ONUC

- Mission challenged and exhausted UN
 - At hq long before DPKO created (1992)
 - Controversial among states and in media
 - Katanga lobby
 - UK, France fears
 - Soviet objections
 - Non-aligned movement
 - Expensive: almost sent UN into bankruptcy
 - Difficulties in field: C2, armaments (bombs), casualties, bad press
 - Messy situation
- No mission in Africa until 1989 (Namibia)

Back to the Congo ...



Indian MI-35 attack helicopters: 4 deployed to the Congo in 2004