

# LUMUMBA IN THE ARTS

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## **Official Miniatures: The Figure of Patrice Lumumba in the Global and the National Contexts**

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### INTRODUCTION

How was the image of Lumumba constructed, circulated and transformed, from its first occurrences to the present day? What is the context that allowed this – now global – icon to emerge? Why does the former prime minister of the Congo embody the African hero above all the other leaders of the independence movements? Lumumba's success has not waned in a wide variety of environments: in postcolonial studies, within African-American and African-European militant circles, among activist artists, and in the rhetoric used by the Congolese State (Jewsiewicki 1999, Halen & Riesz 1997). The imagery associated with him portrays him either as an orator, as a martyr or as the benevolent figure of the smiling man. Lumumba has provided a more diversified range of iconography than Mandela, another global African icon, who has been systematically reduced to the consensual image of peace and reconciliation.

I analyse in the present chapter the origins of this success by exploring Lumumba's iconographical appearances in what I define as "official miniatures"; these include numismatic and philatelic material in the wider sense of the term: stamps, coins, banknotes, as well as medals, badges, postcards and commemorative envelopes<sup>1</sup>. These miniatures are of interest because they constitute a form of imagery duly elaborated and ratified by authorities before being placed into circulation. Other formats, such as statues and official portraits, also share this quality; while they do not circulate, they are brought to the attention of the general public. We can, however, assume that a broader audience is reached when coins and stamps circulate. Creators must be creatively economical in the way they convey their message, precisely because of the miniature nature of the objects, as these only amount to a few square centimetres. Finally, these miniatures can easily be touched and viewed in more direct and intimate ways and they are more suited to being exhibited in private contexts or preserved as souvenirs.

The emergence of this iconography can only be understood in a global context. Approaching Lumumba's image – in all senses – solely through a Congolese lens is misleading. Lumumba was assassinated in the context of



FIG. 1. Badges from an unknown source in connection with the electoral campaign or with the celebration of the independence, June 30, 1960, representing Patrice Lumumba and Moïse Tshombe. Height: 23 mm. (© Collection of the author).

the Cold War, of which decolonisation processes were a direct consequence (Wallerstein 1967). As we shall see, his death was the subject of the most intense commemorations abroad and the Congo only followed years later. I devoted a book to this iconography – *Patrice Lumumba: La fabrication d'un héros national et panafricain* (Petit 2016). The subtitle highlights that this iconography was created as a result of creative frictions generated at the interface between national and international realms. While the present text is a summary for English-speaking audiences of the main aspects of the former analysis, new material has been added and certain perspectives are further developed.

This research is related to the broader topic of the genesis of the hero. The hero is not understood as a quality inherent to an individual but rather as the result of a consecration granted by a collective entity. Between the nineteenth century and the First World War, independence movements and European wars had their fair share of national heroes. African decolonisation and independence movements also generated a range of new tutelary figures, many of which are still influential. Western European countries, on the other hand, have engaged in reconsidering their former national glories (Charton & Fouéré 2013; Centlivres et al. 1998).

I will not revisit Lumumba's life story since, apart from a few rare exceptions, (FIG. 1) the materials under consideration did not feature him before his death. It is, however, important to remind that, towards the end of 1960, the deposed prime minister had lost nearly all of the international support he had received immediately after the independence (Willame 1990). The July mutinies and potential support from the USSR led Western countries to show hostility towards Lumumba early on. As for African allies and Eastern European countries, their support for Lumumba became increasingly rhetorical and virtual as he isolated himself and adopted uncompromising views – notably

regarding the UN – and as he made decisions which were – at the very least – clumsy, especially regarding the sanguinary armed intervention of the national army in Kasai. His arrest in December of 1960 and his ensuing transfer to Tshombe's secessionist Katanga on January 17, 1961 prompted his international allies to utter mostly formal castigations.

But on February 13, 1961, when the Katangese authorities announced Lumumba's death and blamed villagers for his lynching as a way to disengage from their own responsibility, strong reactions were heard on both sides of the iron curtain. Marches – directed against Belgium, the UN and the United States – took place in many big cities on all continents (Willame 1990, 473; De Witte 2000, 318-321). Although Lumumba had lost most of his endorsers before his death, he became the posthumous embodiment of the fight against colonialism and imperialism. Not all countries commemorated Lumumba, far from it. While he was celebrated by progressive activists in Western countries, Western governments still proscribed him; they deplored his assassination, not his political dismissal. Official commemorations only took place in countries in which Western hegemony was condemned: the countries that had signed the Casablanca Charter on the one hand, and the Eastern countries on the other.

## THE COUNTRIES IN THE CASABLANCA GROUP

Five governments – Morocco, the United Arab Republic, Mali, Guinea and Ghana – ratified the Casablanca Charter in January, 1961. The aim of the charter was to unite the countries around several key points, such as the rejection of any form of Western imperialism, or the emergence of a Pan-African space (Oron 1966; Wallerstein 1967). These countries formed the core of Pan Africanism. They all issued stamps commemorating Lumumba. The United Arab

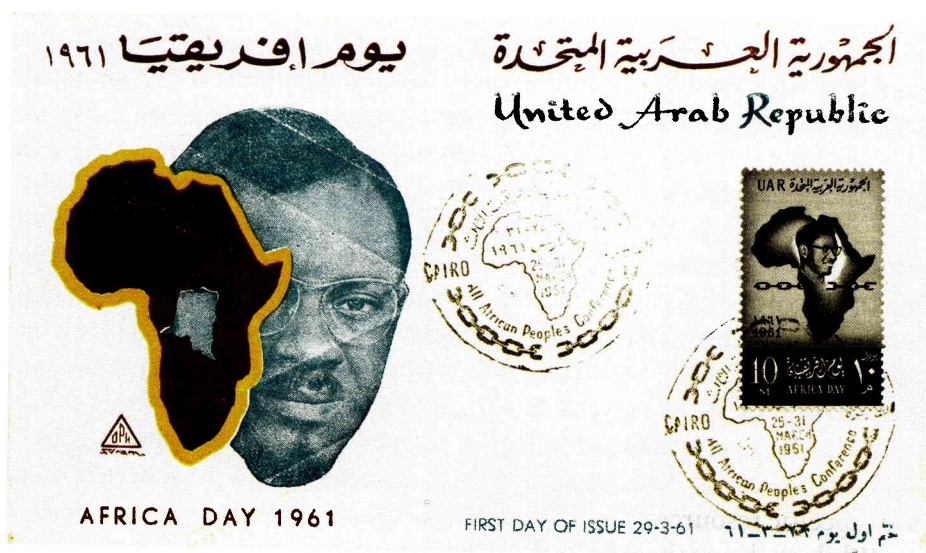


FIG. 2. First day cover, March 29, 1961, United Arab Republic. (© Collection of the author).





FIG. 3. Stamp from the Republic of Guinea, February 12, 1962. (© Collection of the author).

Republic initiated the movement with a stamp released on March 29, 1961, shortly after the announcement made on the 13<sup>th</sup> of February. (FIG. 2) This stamp was issued during the third All-African People's Conference, which was more militant than the previous ones and proclaimed Lumumba to be "Africa's hero". It is not surprising to see Nasser's Egypt be the first to commemorate Lumumba since the country had become profoundly hostile to European imperialism after the Suez crisis (1956). It also was the site of the most violent reactions towards Belgian symbols after Lumumba's death was announced.

The image of the chains broken (by the hero) in front of a map of the continent was first displayed on this March 1961 stamp – broken chains being a consistent symbol of political emancipation in Africa with reference to the chains of slavery. Lumumba's portrait, the continent's silhouette and the broken chains also appeared on official envelopes called "first day covers" by philatelists. This old postal practice consists in producing envelopes adorned with motifs related to the stamp's themes and stamped with a specific caption on the day of the official release.

On the 12<sup>th</sup> of February 1962, Morocco, Ghana, Mali and Guinea – the four other countries that had signed the Charter – all issued a series of stamps commemorating the first (misinformed) anniversary of Lumumba's death. Let us examine the Guinean release, the most elaborate in the series. (FIG. 3)

Branches honouring Lumumba as a martyr appear next to and above the portrait like the palms in Christian iconography. A frame, with a map of Africa in the forefront and the Congo greyed out, appears to the right of the portrait. The pulled-back curtains reveal a rising sun with rays that ignite the earth and the sky. In the background, a map of the Congo is marked with two black dots representing Leopoldville and Stanleyville. The latter city was the site of the Lumumbist government, which many African countries recognised as the only legitimate authority. Further to the right of the stamp, tropical vegetable crops are represented. As a whole, this stamp forms a true allegory of the genesis of nations in Africa: Lumumba, the martyr, sacrificed himself so that the curtains would open onto a better future; as the rising sun shines on the earth, Africa is replete with abundance and prosperity thanks to its specific resources.

While such a peak of philatelic commemorations from the Charter countries is impressive, other African countries did not necessarily follow suit, at

least not at that time. The African political forces did not present a unified front and diverged in their assessment of the Congo's political situation.

## THE USSR AND ITS ALLIES

Large outdoor marches took place in all countries of the Eastern bloc as soon as Lumumba's death was announced. In this area of the world, commemorations also took the shape of official miniatures, statues (especially in Eastern Germany), books and new names for spaces and institutions. For the purpose of this presentation, I will focus exclusively on the philatelic material.

On April 15, 1961, the USSR celebrated a "day for the freedom of Africa" and issued three stamps. The first one was a new rendition of a stamp celebrating the inauguration of the Peoples' Friendship University in 1960, an institution meant to welcome students from decolonised countries. A group of five students from diverse backgrounds appeared on both versions but the stamp issued on April 15, 1961 featured a red overprint with the new name of the university, "Patrice Lumumba"; this new designation had been attributed on February 22, 1961. (FIG. 4, top right) This university was to become a leading institution for Soviet propaganda among foreign students. The second stamp in this series depicts a cloaked African man who has broken his chains; the



FIG. 4. Soviet envelope obliterated in 1966, featuring a motif celebrating the 1st of May and stamps with anticolonial content from various years (1961, 1964, 1964). (© Collection of the author).





FIG. 5. Soviet postcard issued in July 1961, the reproduction of a work by H. Osenev. (Collection of the author).



FIG. 6. Soviet postcard issued in 1962, the reproduction of the painting *The Morning of Africa. Patrice Lumumba* by Shmarinov (1961). (© Collection of the author).

caption reads “Freedom for the peoples of Africa”. The third stamp portrays a black hand and a white hand forming a handshake in front of a torch with the maps of Africa and Eurasia in the background; the map is centred on the USSR and the caption says “For solidarity between peoples in the fight against colonialism”. The USSR later produced a very sober stamp featuring Lumumba; it was issued on May 29, 1961. (FIG. 4, top centre) Three million copies of this stamp were printed, just like the second and third stamps of the April 15 issues. These therefore continued to be used for several years. Other stamps from that period derived from “multiracial” or anticolonial iconography (for example, FIG. 4, bottom).

Postcards were also designed for commemorative reasons. Due to their larger format, messages could be conveyed in more complex ways through group scenes and the addition of more detailed facial features. One particular card, (FIG. 5) which was released in July of 1961, was the reproduction of a poignant painting by painter H. Osenev: Patrice Lumumba’s three young children discover the workings of the matryoshka – the Russian dolls – under the watchful gaze of their late father, the latter of whom appears on a stamp below them. This card was printed in 480,000 copies and shows that such artefacts were widely distributed for the purposes of propaganda.

Also in 1961, the artist Shmarinov painted an artwork called *The morning of Africa. Patrice Lumumba*, which was copied as a postcard in 1962 (FIG. 6): it



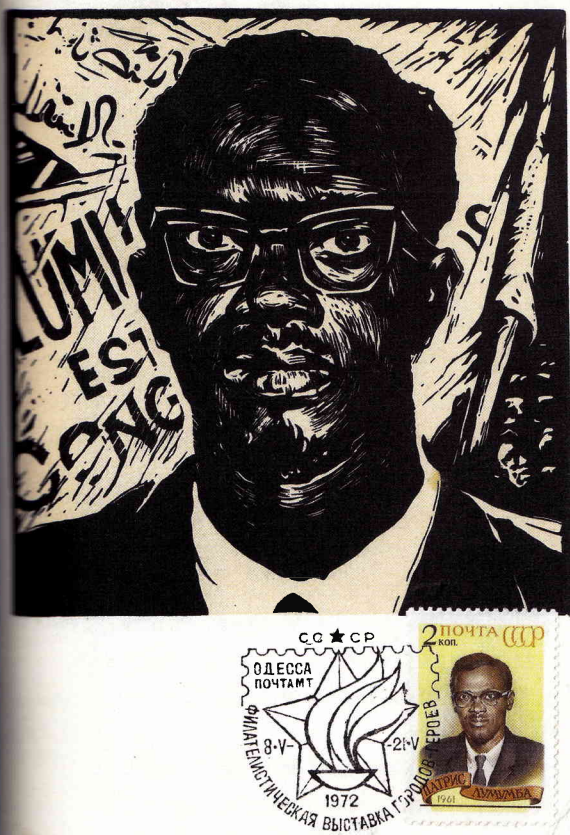


FIG. 7. Soviet postcard issued in 1961, the reproduction of artwork by M. Stahanov. (© Collection of the author).

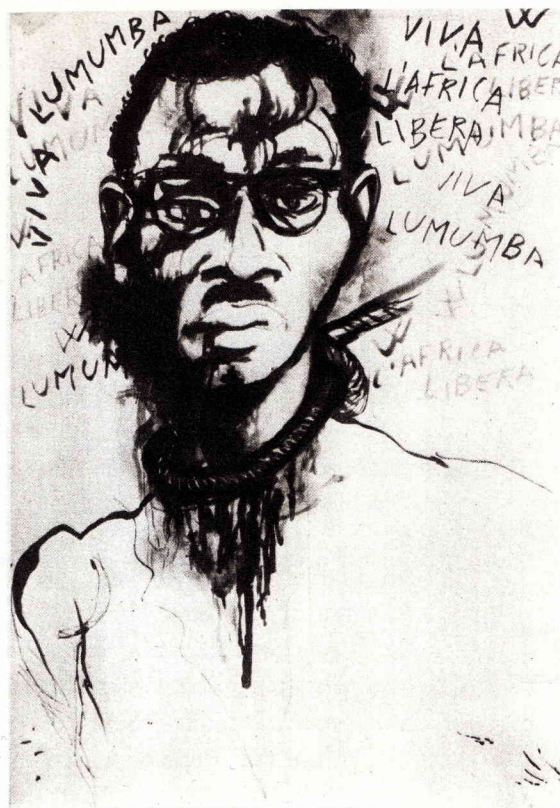


FIG. 8. Soviet postcard issued in 1962, the reproduction of artwork by Renato Guttuso (1961). (© Collection of the author).

depicts Lumumba smiling, surrounded by fellow Africans; he stretches his arms to the right and thereby invites the gathered people – including the baby held high by his mother – to look towards a direction symbolising, as one may believe, the future and hope of decolonised people. Here, Lumumba appears as a radiant leader, dressed in white, like a martyr or a prophet.

A graver tone was used on other cards, such as the one dating back to December 1961 on which artwork by M. Stahanov (FIG. 7) was featured: Lumumba's face, inspired by the May 29 stamp, looks at his observer with insistence while demonstrators parade holding flags with messages in different scripts as a reminder of the February demonstrations. A piece painted in 1961 by the Italian artist Renato Guttuso represents a very dignified Lumumba near the end of his life. (FIG. 8) It was released in 1962 in the context of a Soviet series of 16 cards titled "Artists against colonialism". As is evident here, the tribute to Lumumba in the USSR formed part of a broader movement. The period corresponded to a peak in the Cold War: propaganda was very actively used to mobilise allies to the Soviet cause, especially by denouncing colonisation. Such propaganda did not, of course, start with Lumumba's death but the latter provided it with a face and a name for the first time.

Lumumba would probably not have been the subject of such widespread media interest had he died after 1962: the resolution of the Cuban missile crisis in October of 1962 did indeed offer a period of respite in the Cold War.



After that date, the Soviets largely abandoned anticolonial propaganda, favouring instead the theme of friendship and solidarity between peoples. Depictions of groups of people of diverse backgrounds (mainly women and children) in attitudes of mutual kinship predominated.

### ENGAGEMENT ABROAD AND AN ABSENCE OF REACTION FROM THE CONGO

Despite having lost his main endorsers in the months preceding his disappearance, Lumumba became a worldwide icon as soon as his death was announced. The scandal surrounding his death explains his instant access to glory: Lumumba was elevated to the rank of martyr due to the state crime's premeditated and violent nature. The figure of the martyr finds its roots in Abrahamic religions, the Passion narrative being its chief illustration, but it has also shaped secular engagements: martyr figures have systematically been placed at the heart of the foundation stories of national and social revolutions. This makes them powerful icons.

While the "hero of Africa" was being consecrated in international settings through mass demonstrations, what was taking place in the Congo in February 1961? The comparison is troubling. Lumumba's death, which delighted his political opponents, did not lead to disorder or big demonstrations. Lumumba was, in fact, disliked in the capital and in Bas-Congo; the populations of Katanga and of the secessionist South Kasai despised him even more. His unpopular measures and his (unearned) reputation as a communist led to the alienation of a sizeable portion of the army, the administration, the unions, the press and the church. There must have been real feelings of affliction among his political allies, but the historical sources at our disposal do not indicate that the majority of the Congolese people – let alone the people as a whole – were struck by a wave of pain and mourning. The popular songs deploring his death provide us with a compelling example of this, since they only originated from the Tetela, Songye and Luba-Katanga peoples: the frontiers of affliction did not go beyond the limits of political alliances<sup>2</sup>.

While the image of the hero-martyr emerged immediately abroad, it is anachronistic to consider that the Congolese harboured feelings of pain and injustice in the face of Lumumba's violent death in 1961. They were instead struggling with increased disorder attributed to the political class as a whole, Lumumba included. His later acknowledgment as a hero inside the country was not the result of a widespread popular feeling, unlike what his hagiography or a populist reading of his history would suggest: it only appeared once new collective memory frameworks had been designed. Mobutu was, paradoxically, their first architect.



FIG. 9. A 20 makuta banknote. Issued on November 24, 1967. (© Collection of the author).

### A NATIONAL HERO UNDER MOBUTU

Mobutu ended the First Republic with his *coup d'état* in November 1965. While he established his new political order with an ironclad hand, his use of violence could not solve everything as he also had to acquire legitimacy. In this sense, he awarded Lumumba with the title of “national hero” on June 30, 1966. In so doing, he did not aim to recuperate the hypothetical devotion people had for Lumumba (signs of which were minimal before this date, except for some political elites): he wanted to take advantage of Lumumba’s huge popularity abroad. During this initial period in power, he needed to obtain the support of the other African countries. By elevating Lumumba to the rank of a national hero, he also gave guarantees of his innocence in the face of accusations regarding his own role in the former prime minister’s assassination.

Mobutu announced a series of measures to commemorate Lumumba (Willame 1990, 477-479; Omasombo 2004, 248-249). Most of them were not carried out but the release of a banknote with the national hero’s effigy (FIG. 9) was one of the very visible signs of his rehabilitation. The first major monetary reform since the independence took place in 1967 and a variety of new banknotes and coins were released into circulation. As with most bills issued at that time under postcolonial authoritarian regimes, the Head of State was depicted on the Congo banknotes along with the symbols of his power. The only exception was the 20 *makuta* bill representing Lumumba. Under Mobutu’s rule, this issue was to be the only monetary emission representing another leader than himself, the *guide suprême*.

Lumumba’s face is very serene with a gaze full of humanity – the other Congolese banknotes did not promote such an attitude. To the left, we see an imaginary scene: Lumumba brandishes the national flag created in 1963; he precedes a crowd of anonymous men and, in his stride, breaks the chains of servitude.

This scene’s iconography closely resembles the very first series of stamps



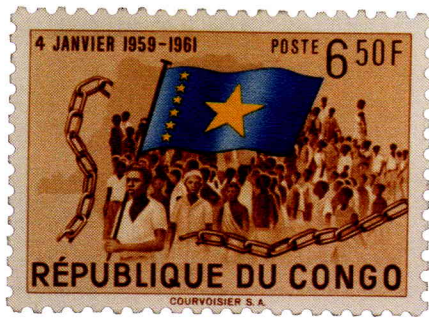


FIG. 10. Stamp issued January 4, 1961 by the Republic of the Congo. (© Collection of the author).

designed under the postcolonial regime in 1961 commemorating the 1959 riots (FIG. 10): a crowd, preceded by a man bearing the national flag, advances and breaks the chains that dissolve into a map of the Congo in the background. On the 1961 stamp, the crowd walks calmly behind a flag-bearer who is also calm; women and children are present. In the 1967 banknote, Lumumba is instead portrayed in a more vehement way and adopts a martial stance. The crowd following him is composed of sneering adult men. The desire to show unequivocal popular enthusiasm in a virile atmosphere for propaganda reasons explains this change. Mobutu's single party (*Mouvement Populaire de la Révolution*) could already be envisaged on the horizon.

#### IN AFRICA'S PANTHEON

Let us return to Lumumba's image on the international scene. Due to his notoriety, he was quickly elevated to the status of an icon in the fight against imperialism and was consecrated "hero of Africa". Such notoriety explains an unprecedented development in numismatic annals: in 1972 and in 1981, Lumumba was featured on Guinean *regular* banknotes and coins. (FIG. 11) This went against an ironclad rule in monetary iconography, whereby people or symbols defined as foreign to the nation cannot be placed on such a strong vector of the national community, aside from low-emission commemorative issues. Exceptions are extremely rare, amounting to less than ten in the 20th century. Lumumba has, to this day, maintained a world record by appearing on a coin and two banknotes circulating in a country with which he had no ties of origin or citizenship. The fact that this exceptional monetary issuance came from Guinea is not surprising: Sékou Touré, one of Lumumba's unwavering allies until his disappearance, was one of the biggest advocates of the Pan-African cause (Lewin 2010).



FIG. 11. A 1 Syli coin, Republic of Guinea, 1961. (© Studio Philippe de Formanoir - Paso Doble).

Lumumba was not the only non-national to be honoured on Guinean currencies: other personalities, such as Nkrumah and Mohammed V were also featured. While Lumumba was the object of commemorations centred on his person right after his death, he increasingly appeared alongside other major political leaders in the context of series, just like a hero who has reached the pantheon. He stood next to figures who were sometimes far removed from his own brand of political activism.

Out of all of the official miniatures, stamps are the medium most often used to honour non-national figures. I conducted in 2015 a review and estimated that there were approximately 200 appearances of African politicians on stamps or on series of stamps printed outside of their own country. The summary of politician appearances is highlighted in the table below.

Name	Stamp releases outside own country (worldwide)	Stamp releases outside own country (in Africa)
Nelson Mandela	43	28
Nasser	23	12
Senghor	23	12
Lumumba	16	13
Haile Selassie	11	6
Nkrumah	9	7
Koffi Annan	7	6
Amilcar Cabral	7	4
Frederik de Klerk	5	3
Omar Bongo, Anwar el-Sadat	4	0
Boutros Boutros Ghali, Mohammed V, Kenyatta, Kaunda, Neto	3	0
Boumédiène, Hassan II, Abdou Diouf, Mobutu, Samora Machel, Mondlane	2	0
Bourguiba, Keita, Houphouët-Boigny, Arap Moi, Nyerere, Bogonda, Mba, Joseph Kabila	1	0
Kadhafi, Sékou Touré, Sankara, Kérékou, Olympio, Mourié, Eyadema, Marien Ngouabi, Bokassa, Kasa-Vubu, Tshombe, Laurent-Désiré Kabila, Museveni, Kagame, Mugabe, Hastings Banda, Mengistu	0	0



This review shows that non-national heads of states and heads of government are honoured sparingly within the postal services. In this table, Lumumba occupies the fourth place with 16 stamp releases, which is the reflection of a remarkable amount of recognition. He would be in second place if we were only to look at the African occurrences. Each occurrence would, of course, be worth studying on its own in order to pinpoint the circumstances surrounding the mobilisation of Lumumba's memory, but this cannot be done within the limits of this chapter (see Petit 2016).

## THE RISE OF KABILA

Mobutu rehabilitated Lumumba in 1966 and issued a banknote in his effigy in 1967. However, the various commitments to honour the memory of the former prime minister were not respected; in the ensuing years, references to Lumumba were viewed as suspicious when they did not come from the ruling power (Omasombo 2014). A medallion commemorating the twentieth anniversary of Mobutu's regime in 1985 featured Lumumba and Kasavubu, but its use is unfortunately unknown and the object's distribution was possibly confidential. Mobutu therefore never repeated the tribute he had given to Lumumba shortly after his coup.

The Cold War had been Mobutu's greatest ally. It became harder for him to dictate the rules of the game once the Soviet empire broke apart and his former patrons in the West deserted him. The troubles to the east of the republic were the starting point of an armed offensive led by Laurent-Désiré Kabila. After seven months of war, Kabila took control of Kinshasa in May 1997 and was proclaimed president of the republic. Mobutu died in exile a few months later.

Given his revolutionary past, Kabila could easily claim kinship with Lumumba. On June 30, 1998, the Congolese franc replaced the New Zaire currency; a new series of banknotes was released and Lumumba was represented



FIG. 12. One franc Congolese banknote issued in 1998. (© Collection of the author).

FIG. 13. Congolese 3 franc stamp, issued in 1999.  
(© Collection of the author).



on one of the notes. (FIG. 12) Thirty years apart, the cycle of the 1967 monetary reform seemed to be happening again. But history never truly repeats itself: in a time of democratic openness in Africa, the banknotes of the series were devoid of any political references. The 1 franc bill was the only exception: its reverse side showed Lumumba sitting on the ground, facing us, pensive, his hands tied, with his two unfortunate inmates seen from the back. Compared to the 1967 banknote, the facts here were presented under a tragic light. The appeased hero – a version Mobutu had every reason to promote – gave way to the image of the martyr. Following his war against Mobutu, Laurent-Désiré Kabila re-engaged with the figure of Lumumba, but now through the lens of struggle and sacrifice.

In August 1998, a new conflict arose when Laurent-Désiré Kabila broke away from some of his former allies. In this context, a series of stamps was issued in May of 1999. The 3 franc stamp (FIG. 13) resumed with the theme of liberation. Laurent-Désiré Kabila is seen breaking the chains that surround the rest of the motif with a raised machete. Behind him are Pierre Mulele (one of Lumumba's former ministers), Patrice Lumumba, and the prophet Simon Kimbangu. The national flag used after the independence (1960-1963) is shown behind the "four heroes", a term used by the *Journal officiel* (1999). In 1997, Kabila had restored the use of this flag to re-engage with the country's origins. To the left, a crowd of vehement men seems to be running to meet the new liberator. We are faced with iconography that is reminiscent of the 1961 stamp and of the 1967 banknote: a broken chain, the national flag and a crowd (once more strictly masculine) that advances toward freedom. The diagonal perspective of the characters allows Kabila to be presented as the successor of the three heroes-martyrs of national liberation.

Laurent-Désiré Kabila was assassinated on January 16, 2001. His son Joseph replaced him immediately. While the 1 FC banknote soon stopped circulating due to the devaluation, Lumumba did not disappear from official miniatures. In fact, a new honorary order called "Héros nationaux Kabila-Lumumba" (Kabila-Lumumba National Heroes) was created in 2002 (Digitalcongo.net 2010). The regime drew a parallel between the fates of the two politicians, presenting them as nationalist leaders who died as heroes to free their country from the grips of foreign forces. Since the two men's death anniversaries are contiguous – January 17, 1961 and January 16, 2001 – the



commemoration days could easily be combined. In a very significant way, Joseph Kabila inaugurated his father's mausoleum and statue one year after becoming president on January 16, 2002; the next day, he inaugurated Lumumba's statue. Joseph Kabila therefore fully reinstated Lumumba early on in his presidency, just like his own father and Mobutu had done before him.

## CONCLUSION

The chronology of official miniatures reminds us that Lumumba's consecration was international before being Congolese: he became a "national hero" in the Congo mainly because he had been recognised as a "hero of Africa" outside the country. The prism of the nation is deceiving: the history of the African countries must *first* be understood in relation to the world system (Wallerstein 1967, 237 sq.). The Cold War was the salient event that occurred at the same time as Lumumba's brief career. Such a context – as well as the modalities of Lumumba's murder, which assimilated him with the figure of the martyr – explains the extraordinary consecration he received after his death. Lumumba's international legitimacy only strengthened with time: he will undoubtedly continue to be honoured globally as one of the heroes of the independences and of African unity.

Englebert (2009) highlights that, in order to understand the post-colonial African states and their political elites, the mechanisms that gave them legitimacy must be investigated inside but even more outside the national borders. This is relevant to understand Lumumba's elevation to the status of national hero after the 1965 *coup d'état*. The fact that he was widely recognised abroad played a part, considering notably the African states in which Mobutu had to make a good impression once in power. The country's new strongman made use of keen and cynical political intelligence when he recuperated his former enemy's formidable symbolic capital.

Just like Mobutu, Laurent-Désiré and Joseph Kabila introduced themselves as Lumumba's legatees and honoured his memory through the issuance of official miniatures. The fact that the three heads of state provided such patriotic tokens of their appreciation in the two years that followed their inaugurations is significant. The three men also made sure to keep the upper hand regarding Lumumba's celebration. To this day, commemoration ceremonies for Lumumba and the messages that circulate in the media about him are all tightly controlled by the State. This monopoly is correlated with the avoidance of any mention formulated as content or analysis; references to Lumumba must take the shape of incantations.

The phenomenon of transference discussed here, from the global to the nation, occurred with shifts in meaning. The Pan-African and anticolonial revolutionary depicted in international networks is not the Lumumba portrayed in the Congo; the latter embodies, instead, national integrity. His reception by the Congolese public is undoubtedly very different from the ways in which he is viewed by the diaspora, or by activists and artists in the West. This is essentially due to the fact that the allegorical representations

coined abroad enter the Congo in friction with other personal, collective, and regional memories that are not all favourable to Lumumba, far from it (Pype 2011). Furthermore, since the successive regimes have recurrently used Lumumba as an instrument of their power, the Congolese people have been led to question and challenge this national hero, a monopoly of the State. Lumumba now seems to be the nation's "great fetish", a sacred object jealously guarded by the authorities only to be exhibited when a new head of state is inducted and only to be revered in close circles. The political transition, with the presidency of Félix Tshisekedi, will soon test the resilience of the icon, fifty years after having been first enshrined on the national scene.

**1** Some of the research relative to stamps was conducted on the Stampworld website (<http://www.stampworld.com/fr/>). For the banknotes, see Cujah (2010). The article's illustrations were made on the basis of the author's collection (© P. Petit 2017).

**2** On reactions in the Congo after Lumumba's death, see Nyunda (1999, 51); Gondola (2002, 124); Dibwe (1999, 61-62); Willame (1990, 474-481); Turner (1997, 315-334); De Witte (2000, 321-322); Omasombo (2004, 221-261).



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