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TEN CENTS

UN Plots With Belgian Imperialism To Strangle The Congo Revolution

Race War or Class War In the Congo?

By V. Grey

"It is racism to kick the white people out of the Congo!" So screams the racist capitalist press in the United States..

But *who* were the white people who were in the Congo?

You can bet they were not copper mine workers, sweating half-naked as they dug up the fabulous copper wealth to be exported out of Africa. And you can bet they were not diamond miners, nor cobalt nor uranium miners. They weren't porters, janitors, mill workers, plantation workers or harbor workers, either.

As a matter of fact, the white people that were in the Congo were not working people at all. *They were the overseers for the real slave masters back home in Belgium.*

They were the middle class representatives of upper class capitalism. They were the higher-paid clerks, the engineers, the petty bosses, the merchants and technicians — most of them armed with pistols and whips — some of them weighted with a guilty conscience.

(These latter did not wait until "Independence Day" to leave the Congo. They got out weeks before, because they feared the vengeance of the long-suffering masses.)

This job monopoly for Belgians is a great help to the Belgian capitalists in bribing their middle class servants and keeping them satisfied and supporting the imperialist oppression of the Congo.

The white people in the Congo do not represent the white race, but the middle and upper class of exploiting capitalists. The Congolese are treating them not as whites, but as oppressors.

Rape and Murder

What about the horrific reports of mistreatment of white people, alleged rapings, and even the killing of several?

Actually, this is another example of the astonishing generosity of the oppressed to their oppressors. It is amazing that there was not a real blood bath against the Belgians.

The bloody horrors of Belgian misrule (see article in this issue of Eleanor Stephens), are burned into the memory of the Congolese. And they are infinitely worse than even the false claims of Congolese violence against the Belgians!

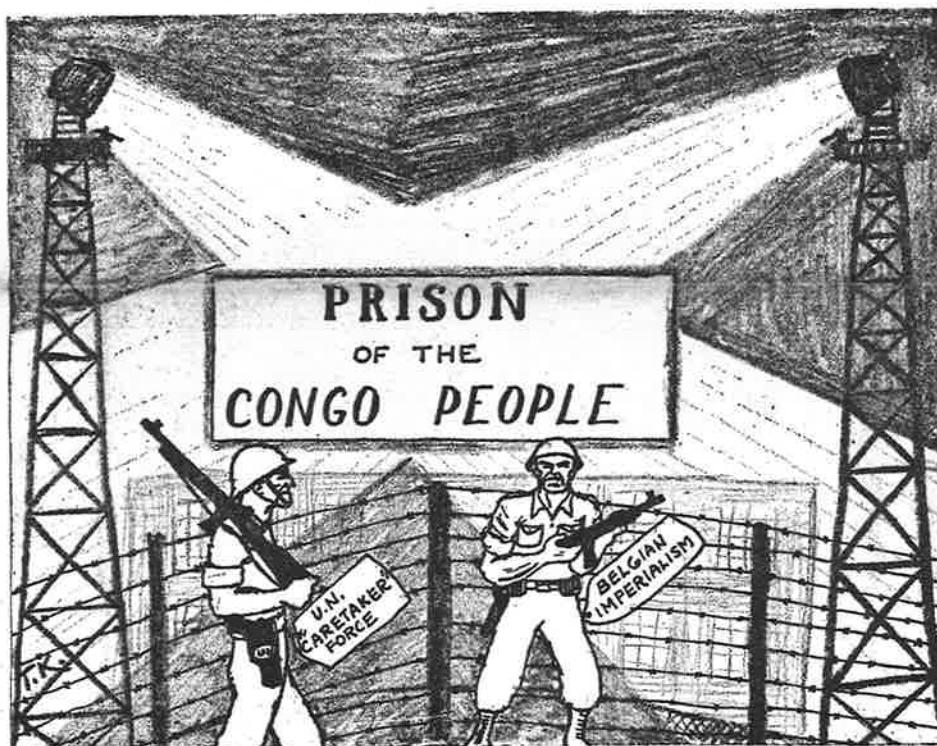
The accusations of "rape" and especially "rape of nuns" are always used during times of mass rebellion and revolution, in order to discredit the poor workers. This is especially true when an oppressed race is involved. And these tales should be dismissed as lies and slander.

But there have been tens of thousands of individual and real rapes by the Belgian oppressors. Of course, this is not even defined as rape in the dictionary of imperialism. The women of an oppressed race or nationality are auto-

matically considered less than human by their oppressors.

The Congolese, however, are human beings. And they are ready to die to prove it. They consider that they and their whole country are being raped by the Belgians. And that is why they want to get the Belgians out.

A New Prison Guard Arrives



U.N. Forces: "Are they still making trouble for you?"

Belgian Imperialism: "Yeah, they almost got out. But with us both working together, I think we can keep them in for good."

ONE DOCTOR FOR 32,000 PEOPLE

By Nina Silay

The capitalist press reports that 380 of the 400 all-foreign doctors in the Congo have now departed.

This leaves the Congo with only 20 doctors to care for a total population of 13.5 million people. This means there will be an increase in epidemics which can be expected to spread like wildfire. The Congolese will be unable to get simple vaccinations to check the spread of disease.

It is a terrible thing that there should be only 20 doctors to care for 13.5 million people. And the imperialist press is properly shocked at it.

Belgian imperialist civilization (if you can call it civilization) has ruled the Congo for 76 years. During this time, it has brought its so-called "culture" to the people of the Congo.

But today there is not one single Congolese doctor in the Congo!

This certainly is not the fault of the Congolese, as the capitalist press slyly tries to make its readers believe.

In Ghana, there are African doctors. In Kenya, there are African doctors. In Britain and America, there are doctors of African extraction. Why are there none in the Congo?

The blame must be placed squarely on the Belgian imperialists, who have refused to educate the Congolese. The Belgians were mortally afraid to bring education to the Congo because the man who learned to read a medical book could also learn to read the Communist Manifesto.

Only 43 years ago, the Soviet Union was considered the most backward nation in Europe. The cultured capitalist nations looked down upon its backwardness. Thousands of villages, and even whole towns lacked a doctor. But today there is one doctor for every 550 people — the highest percentage in the whole world.

But "advanced," "cultured," "educated" Belgium, after 76 years of "civilizing" the Congo, has not produced a single Congolese doctor, and has only supplied one Belgian doctor for each 32,500 people.

Meantime, Premier Lumumba Praises the U.N.

As Wall Street Financiers Move into the Congo

The most important fact in the Congo crisis is that Belgian imperialist troops are still in control of the most important cities in the Congo Republic.

And at press time they have shown no indication whatever that they intend to leave. Moreover, the U.N. is working in collusion with the Belgians, shielding their paratroopers from the wrath of the revolutionary Congolese masses and disarming Congolese troops.

Only the Christian Science Monitor out of all the capitalist newspapers in the USA, published the admission of Belgian Defense Minister, Arthur Gilson, that as of July 25, the Belgian imperialist troops still controlled as many as 25 areas, and U.N. troops have replaced the Belgians only in Leopoldville.

But even here, the Belgian troops merely retreated to a military base on the Congo River.

Congo Premier Patrice Lumumba at first seemed willing to go the limit in fighting against these outrages of Belgian imperialism. Making the bold move of calling for Soviet assistance, he dared the wrath of the imperialists and faced the opposition of their African stooges. But a few days later, he proved willing to sell his whole country out to American imperialism in a two billion dollar deal with the Wall Street financier, Detweiler.

Nevertheless, when he arrived at the U.N. in New York, just after consummating this astronomical sellout, Lumumba brought out some crucial facts to which the Big Business press has given very scant attention.

Among these facts were:

1. That the Republic of Congo made more than five specific requests of the Belgian government to immediately withdraw its troops from the Congo.

2. That contrary to the fraudulent and malicious reports in the imperialist press, the Congolese Parliament unanimously voted on July 15 and on July 16 to demand the immediate departure of the Belgian troops. (The impression given by the imperialist press was that the Parliament was in rebellion against these measures.)

3. That both legislative bodies in the new Congo Republic demanded a break

(continued on page 4)

Lenin Was Right

On June 25, just five days before the Congo received its phony "independence" from the bloody-handed Belgian imperialists, the New York Times wrote the following editorial:

"Consider how inaccurate Lenin's theory of imperialism has turned out to be. Lenin thought that the 'imperialist' nations would fight each other and the colonial peoples to the death to preserve their hegemony.

'But we live today in a world where such former colonies as India, Guinea, the Belgian Congo and many other states have received or are about to receive their freedom without anything like the merciless struggle Lenin assumed.'

—Whose theory is inaccurate?

Question: Now that they have taken most of the Belgian civilians out of the Congo, who or what is the Belgian Army "protecting" there?

Answer: Four thousand million dollars' worth of Belgian capital. And that's what the U.N. army is protecting, too.



TROTSKY

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LENIN

Why They Liked Ghana Better

Why has the Big Business press been so enraged over the Congo liberation struggle, while it was so comparatively calm and approving about Ghana?

Because it fears the complete loss of its economic domination over the Congo. And it did not fear this in Ghana.

At first glance, it may appear that Big Business was worried about its white stooges in the Congo because they were white. Nothing of the kind. It used the race question to inflame the backward, ignorant whites and get their support for imperialism. But its real and primary worry in both Ghana and the Congo is its profits.

In the Congo, there was a revolt against the slave overseers, the agents of Belgian imperialism. In Ghana, there

was no such revolt. In Ghana, capital is still relatively safe.

Unlike Ghana, where the British economic overlord had African agents, overseers, teachers, merchants, etc., — the Belgians have no African middle class in the Congo to act as a buffer between the real slaves and the imperialists.

Therefore, Belgium cannot dominate the Congo except through its own Belgian middle class intermediaries. With the Belgian middle class and the Belgian Army out of the Congo, there is the possibility that the whole Congolese people can take over the wealth of their own country and have real independence.

"But this would be the road to Communism!" shrieks the capitalist world.

It sure would be.

Steel — The Limping Giant

Steel production for July will turn out to be about 55 per cent of capacity. That means that the American steel industry could produce nearly twice as much steel as it did — if there were a war, or if there were the kind of prosperity the capitalist politicians claim there is.

Steelworkers were laid off by the tens of thousands in July. In one week, there were about 200,000 out of work. Furnaces were banked. Whole plants were closed down.

What's the matter? How come the Soviet steel industry always operates at 100 per cent of capacity? How come the Chinese steel industry always operates

at 100 per cent of capacity?

Even the capitalists are wondering about the answers to these questions today. Rockefeller and Kennedy — and maybe Nixon, too — are figuring out a way to bring steel production back up to 80 per cent or so.

But their plan is not to nationalize the steel industry and run it for the benefit of the working class as part of a planned economy. Their plan is to step up war production, raise taxes, and discipline the working class to produce more for capitalist profit.

It won't work.

Greensboro Victory — A Milestone

The great sitdown and sit-in movement that swept the country this spring began in the little town of Greensboro, North Carolina, last February.

On July 25, Woolworth and Kress, the two chains primarily attacked for their discrimination at lunch counters, "quietly" announced the end of their lily-white policy in Greensboro.

When Joshua fought the battle of Jericho, the walls, it is said, "came tumbling down."

Joshua and his army only marched several times around the city and didn't

have to fire a single shot to attain this miraculous effect.

The modern Joshuas had to march many many times and they went to prison by the hundreds — to make these walls of Woolworth prejudice come tumbling down.

But they did it.

There are many battles yet to come. But the victory in the very place where the first battle began is an augury of the future. As we said just after the Greensboro incident:

It's the GREAT BEGINNING.

Stevenson Liberals Knuckle Under

It was only a few weeks ago that Lehman, Finletter, Mrs. Roosevelt and the "Reform" liberals of the Democratic Party were supporting Adlai as the only real progressive candidate for President.

And millions of trusting liberal youth, not to mention a few radical boys and girls, believed there was a real struggle between the Kennedy forces and the Stevenson forces. They thought there was a struggle of principles in which the obviously conservative and jimcrow Kennedy was opposed by the supposedly liberal and almost "radical" Stevenson.

But within a week after the Democratic Convention, Mrs. Roosevelt, Lehman and their liberal entourage announced that they would support Kennedy in New York State — although not on the "regular" — that is, Tammany ticket.

(Presumably, Kennedy's reactionary politics will become purified, if those who vote for him first sanctify themselves by renouncing Tammany Hall.)

What a lesson for the innocent and not-so-innocent radicals! The oldest fraud in capitalist politics is the fraud of "reform the party machine." But

this is one time that the "Reformers" have exposed their own fraud.

Kennedy is the very soul of Tammany and all the little Tammanys throughout the country. Kennedy, if elected, will be even more zealous than Truman in the encouragement of venal capitalist machine politics in the Democratic Party, and Mrs. Roosevelt and Co. know this very well.

But they will support him — and it remains to be seen how "independently."

Honest Abe, Himself!

Nixon led the fight on civil rights at the Republican convention — so the papers said.

Nixon, the new Lincoln, can now be expected to take the struggle into the South, open all schools to both races, open all jobs to all people, enforce his own capitalist constitution and guarantee the rights of every citizen to vote.

And if pigs could grow wings, they'd fly!

The U.S. Army Occupied it — But —

The U.S. Banks Ran Cuba

(second of a series)

By Frederick Matteger

(The first article told how the Cubans rebelled against harsh Spanish rule in 1898 and how, with victory nearly within their grip, Cuba was taken over and occupied by U.S. troops which set up a puppet government.)

The U.S. troops were withdrawn in 1902. The government they set up in Cuba could be expected to safeguard American business interests. In case it should not, an agreement in writing (the famous Platt Amendment) gave the U.S. the right to step in whenever Cuban affairs did not suit these business interests.

In 1906, affairs in Cuba did not suit them. Crooked elections had touched off a revolution against the American puppet government. Several sugar plantations were destroyed. Others were in danger.

The American Consul-General was Frank Steinhart, who later, in 1907, seized control of the Havana Electric Railway Company and went on to acquire large interests in other Cuban businesses.

Steinhart called for American warships to come and protect his future property. The warships came. On October 29, 1906, a provincial governor was appointed for Cuba. As a matter of fact, he appointed himself.

He was American Secretary of War (later President), William Howard Taft.

Taft was soon replaced by another American government representative — a Nebraska lawyer with the unlikely name of Magoon. The man behind Magoon (according to Magoon) was ex-government official turned big businessman, Frank Steinhart.

Magoon ran Cuba until the end of the American intervention in 1909. The outstanding traits of this period were political handouts to puppet politicians and gifts of juicy contracts to American businessmen.

Magoon also organized a Cuban army. When he left in 1909, this body of armed men was on hand to protect American investments and American puppets from dissatisfied Cuban people. U.S. imperialism was learning more refined methods.

The Cuban government was put on probation, so to speak. "The American government lectured, admonished, warned, threatened Cuba upon all aspects of policy in turn," says one study of this period. All transactions had to be checked and cleared with Washington.

Some transactions were never checked and always cleared. These were the ones which handed out the wealth of Cuba to the biggest American business interests.

Bethlehem Steel was allowed to "annex" nearly a billion tons of iron ore reserves in Eastern Cuba. Cuban government money was handed out to rich American businessmen to enable them to build railroads at a profit. When these roads were built the businessmen then operated them at a continual juicy profit.

The rich Republican (or Democratic) businessmen did not object to this kind of "creeping socialism"!

But this was small time exploitation compared to what was to come. It was the great boom and bust following World War I which brought practically all of Cuba under the control of U.S. Big Business.

During World War I, the price of sugar was controlled by the U.S. The price paid to Cuban sugar producers was 5½¢ a pound. Following the war the price control was taken off. Sugar prices soared.

By May 19, 1920 the cost of sugar in New York was 22½¢.

Cuban producers expanded production. Small operators mortgaged their property to finance bigger production. Suddenly, the boom broke. There was plenty of sugar. There was no end of sugar. By December 13, 1920 the price of sugar had fallen to 3¼¢.

The capitalist machine in Cuba broke down. The small sugar producers were wiped out. The Cuban banks folded. The Cuban government went broke. And the millions suffered.

But the large Wall Street banks did not fold. They took over the remaining wealth of Cuba at this time. In the summer of 1921 the National City Bank of New York alone took over between 50 and 60 sugar mills. By 1926 the banks (nearly all American) controlled about 79% of the sugar output, the chief product of Cuba.

The American bank-owned sugar companies took over huge areas of Cuba. In these areas, they acted almost as independent countries. Cubans held only the poorest jobs and were treated with brutal unconcern for their rights.

And so U.S. Big Business and its government further showed its great friendship for the Cuban people.

End of Part II

Nazi and "Democratic" Racists Are Attacking Sammy Davis, Jr.

Sammy Davis Jr. is paying the price for stepping out of line in jimcrow Christian capitalist America.

He is marrying a white girl and he recently became a Jew.

His latest torment is from Lincoln Rockwell, head of the American Nazi Party. Rockwell, on the heels of his debacle in Union Square, New York, organized a demonstration against Davis with 14 of his hoodlum followers. They marched for 90 minutes with swastika signs and armbands, carrying vile posters condemning Davis for his religion and his choice of a wife.

A couple of weeks ago, Davis appeared at the Democratic convention, where he was booed. He mentioned that these boos "were purely localized" coming only from Southern delegates.

He won't be able to "localize" his vote, however. A vote for hypocrite Kennedy is automatically a vote for jimcrow Johnson.



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Total Murders of Congolese by Belgians Were More than All Soldiers Killed in WWI

By Eleanor Stephens

Belgian capitalist greed is directly responsible for murdering more Congolese people than all lives lost by all nations in World War I. The great wealth of this small European state is founded on one of the greatest murder machines of modern times. Three quarters of the Congo nation were annihilated in 20 years.

When Belgium's present King Baudouin complained last week of "a movement of horrible cruelty" against his subjects living in the Congo, he didn't mention one single Belgian civilian who had been killed.

Baudouin and every other Belgian official have tried to suppress the memory of his grandfather Leopold's monstrous crimes. They honor his name. The largest Congo city, still called Leopoldville, stands as a foul insult to the millions of Congolese who lost their lives to satisfy the greed of the Belgian king and his co-horts.

Here is the story (told by H. G. Wells in his book, "Work and Wealth of Mankind," and documented by British government findings and reports of merchants and travellers in Africa):

When the great explorer Stanley tra-

velled up the Congo River in 1877, he found a high stage of tribal society, with a developed agriculture, flourishing trade centers, and a knowledge of navigation. He reported that the tribes lived peacefully together and were free men.

But the "advanced capitalist civilization" soon to be brought in by the Europeans, changed this picture beyond recognition.

In 1884, Leopold of Belgium formed the "International African Association" to "promote the civilization and commerce of Africa, and for other humane and benevolent purposes."

To seize rubber and ivory were the first "humane and benevolent" purposes of the African Association. In seven years time—from 1899 to 1906—\$68 million worth of rubber went out of the Congo. The Belgians furnished no modern tools or transport. This Herculean labor was performed entirely by the arms, legs and backs of Congolese men.

The condition of the Congolese was worse than slavery. A slave costs his owner money, and for this reason his life has value. But the 30 million people of

the Congo were considered only as part of the natural resources of Africa—to be used up as quickly as possible and converted into money.

Tens of thousands of men were actually worked to death. And to keep the rest still working at the greatest pitch, hostages were taken on a vast scale. Women and children were held prisoners and paid with their lives when the work flagged, or when the men rebelled.

And there must have been many times when the Belgians believed the work was flagging. And many thousands of the Congolese must have rebelled. Because between the years 1890 to 1911, the population of the Congo was reduced from 30 millions to only 8.5 million people!

A merchant, travelling up the Congo in 1907, stated that "for weeks we saw only long miles of ruined mouldering villages strewn with skeletons, where once there had been a dense population."

Since then, capitalism has reached a new stage. It is no longer profitable to wipe out in 20 years a population that could supply profits for 40 years. Greater capital investments demand longer-

term perspectives. Even the Belgian capitalists pay their mine workers enough to keep body and soul together—(the average wage in Leopoldville is \$15 a month)—and they call this "paternalism."

The Belgian king of 1960, whimpering at the possible prospect of a lost empire, accuses rebelling Congolese soldiers of "horrible cruelty."

This lie is believed wherever imperialism is able to dupe the masses. Such lies are capitalist weapons in the class struggle. The working class can hardly believe that kings and capitalists and such cultured people could be guilty of crimes a thousand times greater than they accuse the workers of. But it is so.

Anti-War Capitalist?

Cyrus Eaton is noted as an industrialist who opposes war. But the question for the working class is this:

Can a capitalist — even a liberal capitalist — be trusted to carry the struggle against war through to the end?

Cyrus Eaton himself has provided the answer to that question.

In an interview the other day, he explained how Alfred Krupp, one of the foreign partners in Eaton's steel and iron ore interests, is also against war.

Krupp told Eaton how he prayed that he would never again be forced to become a "producer for war." And Eaton told this to reporters with a straight face! He also said that the Krupp family interests were "given no choice but to become the largest German munition producers" in both world wars.

Krupp not only made millions out of the last war, but he was one of the principal backers of Hitler.

Eaton has nothing but Christian charity and liberal understanding for Krupp. This fact tells very clearly just how deep Eaton's anti-war sentiments really go, and just how much Eaton can be depended upon to oppose war, when war is really at hand.

Sanitation Workers Want Cleaner Treatment

Defying a pretended "friend-of-labor," the Mayor of New York, and a high-handed Sanitation Commissioner, 8,000 Sanitation Workers, members of Teamsters Local Local 831, carried on a gigantic demonstration early in the morning of July 27. In spite of the reactionary Condon-Wadlin law, which forbids strikes by public employees, the Sanitation Workers hit the streets when negotiators failed to produce a contract.

They were not deterred when Mayor Wagner said, "There will be no meeting unless the men go back to work." At 6:30 A.M. the 8,000 marched all the way from 8th Avenue and 34th Street to City Hall. At 23rd Street and 7th Avenue they met up with a scab garbage truck, and a mighty roar of resentment broke from the marching men, who continued south in a heavy rain.

The city had offered a one-year contract and a \$200 "package," which was refused by the workers at an early-morning meeting just before the march. They have been working since June 30 without a contract.

This was the largest spontaneous demonstration New Yorkers have seen in many years.

gling Algeria against France. (Algeria is a part of France, so the French capitalists claim.)

But the Congo is "independent." Belgium is clearly the aggressor. And the U.N. helps Belgium.

In both cases, the U.N. is an instrument of capitalism and imperialism — Charter or no Charter.

Finally, the Soviet bureaucracy helps to whitewash the U.N. and helps it to fool the workers and colonial peoples by not exposing it. The Soviet diplomats actually called for the U.N. intervention into the Congo, thus fortifying the idea that this league, composed mostly of capitalist robbers and their henchmen, was an "impartial" friend of the oppressed.

This has set back the colonial struggle and weakened the defense of the USSR, itself.

It is a Mistake to Say That India is Socialist

Speaking in Accra, capital city of Ghana, last month, the distinguished Dr. W. E. B. DuBois said that "India is a socialist country." And he urged his listeners to bring the economy of Ghana into line with countries such as India.

It is difficult to know whether Dr. DuBois mistakenly regards the Indian economy as a step on the road to a genuine socialist economy or not. Certainly he cannot believe it is really socialist. It is possible that he, like some of his guest listeners from Czechoslovakia and China, may have been more interested in getting Ghana to align itself politically on the world arena with such "neutralist" countries as India, rather than with the capitalist West.

It would of course be better for Ghana to be "neutral" than to be aiding the imperialists.

But Dr. DuBois does not aid the cause of socialism nor the cause of the working class by identifying the anti-working class Nehru's Indian government with socialism. Nehru himself is a capitalis-

ist, and a collaborator of capitalists. He imprisons Communists. And his police shoot down workers and club them unmercifully for striking and demonstrating for food.

Nehru is attempting to build India into a strong capitalist state. He is using "socialist" methods to do this:

That is, he is using government funds and loans from capitalist countries to build steel plants and other industries and then he will sell them to private capitalist industry at bargain prices. Or he will operate these big industries to the advantage of smaller capitalists who can't afford to buy steel plants but who will be able to get cheap steel, cheap power, etc. (paid for by the masses through taxes).

No, this is not the road of "socialism." It is the road of stretched out colonialism, the road of second-class citizenship on a world scale. It is the continuation of the economic power of the Western imperialists under the deceptive guise of "independence" and "socialism."

The UN is Not a "Force for Peace," But a Belligerent in World Class War

By Ana Kezman

The so-called "United Nations" is an aggregation of nations controlled and dominated by the United States at the head of several large capitalist nations who are determined to keep capitalist "order" throughout the world.

This determination has nothing to do with peace. This "order" has nothing to do with peace.

To uphold the rule of imperialist France over revolutionary Algeria is to abet and encourage a devastating war against the Algerian masses. To co-operate with the Belgian Army in "restoring order" to the supposedly "independent" Congo is to murder the peace for 13 million Congolese people.

This is what the United Nations does, and what it was set up to do.

The United States capitalists set up the United Nations in San Francisco in 1944. From there, they moved it to Lake Success, New York, and from there to New York City.

The American capitalists needed an organization of this kind after World War II in order to guarantee the new

status quo created by the victory over the Axis Powers, and to guarantee the expected world domination by American Big Business.

The organization also had to guarantee the domination of Africa by Wall Street's junior partners in Europe for the time being—to get their complete co-operation. And it had to guarantee some freedom of motion to the Soviet Union, while at the same time checking it against making any revolutionary advance on the world arena.

The relation of world forces has

Same Difference!

The Belgian Army has an excellent solution for the embarrassment of the United Nations in not kicking the Belgian soldiers out of the Congo.

"Why not put U.N. arm bands on our shoulders?" the Belgian Army says. "Then we would be the same as you."

Well—?



The Belgian King and the Congo President are shown here on the ceremonies of June 30, the Congo's "Independence Day." Note the higher seat arranged for the Belgian King—an eloquent symbol of the actual situation.

Shame, Brother Lumumba!

Dear Patrice Lumumba:

Last November, the Belgian imperialists massacred hundreds of Congolese youth, threw into prison hundreds of others, of which you were one, Brother Lumumba. None of the imperialist powers raised this question in the U.N. at that time. No one in the U.N. even raised a voice of condemnation.

Not a single capitalist newspaper in this country condemned the vicious action. Yet a bare seven months later, you were set free, along with other Congolese fighters.

And on June 25 the world heard the announcement of the creation of the Republic of the Congo. How was this achieved? By U.N. intervention? By calling upon foreign troops? By maneuvers with Dag Hammarskjöld? By appealing to the "good conscience" of "enlightened" imperialists? Of course not!

But how was it achieved?

It was achieved by a momentous, revolutionary upsurge of the Congolese people in a truly monumental struggle, of which only little has seeped through the imperialist press. So titanic and overpowering was the vigor and vitality of the masses in revolt, that to the surprise and astonishment of practically the entire world, the Belgian master class was forced to grant independence — almost immediately! The speed and rapidity with which it was done, has continued to puzzle the outside world even now.

Not by Belgian "generosity"

The secret of course, was not Belgian "generosity." The secret lies exclusively in the elemental power of the Congolese revolutionary mass movement, and in the fears of the Belgian imperialists, that if they hadn't surrendered political authority in the Congo quick enough, they would also have lost their vast economic and financial interests as well.

But the biggest crisis came shortly after independence. Why and how did this crisis develop? The world-wide imperialist press filled tons of paper with lies. They say the reason for the crisis is that Belgium granted independence too soon; that the Congolese are not "mature enough" to rule themselves; that there are not enough "educated people" etc., etc., ad nauseam. You, Brother Lumumba, know that this is a damned lie. The Congo was able to govern itself hundreds of years before any imperialist oppressor ever set foot on African soil.

Nominal and real independence

The real reason for the crisis is that the Belgian overlords merely surrendered nominal power, but in fact, retained all the real power. But the Congolese people, as you well know, had shed their blood, not for a fictitious, fraudulent independence, but for REAL independence.

So when you and your collaborators failed to take the reins of power and destiny fully into your hands, free and clear of Belgian control, the mass of the Congolese people took the only wise and correct road.

Vacillation and indecision

They attempted to take power into their own hands, and in their own way. That is how every revolutionary people, which instinctively knows

when the great historic moment for their emancipation has arrived, has acted in other great revolutions. This is particularly true when the leaders have failed in their duty; or are weak and vacillating just at the moment when iron determination and unflinching loyalty to the cause of emancipation is absolutely imperative.

Yes—the Congolese people took their destiny into their own hands in their own way, precisely because you, Brother Patrice Lumumba, tried to fool them into believing that they were granted REAL independence, when the truth was the very opposite.

Panic in face of revolution

When the masses rose in one of the mightiest revolutionary tidal waves in modern times, you and your collaborators were panic stricken by the vigor and determination of the people to drive the hated imperialist oppressor into the sea. They would no longer listen to your double-talk, and you were unable to direct or control the sweep of the movement. But the oppressors had carefully taken all this into consideration, and had weeks and months to prepare one of the most vicious conspiracies ever perpetrated upon an oppressed people.

In intimate collaboration with Britain, France and the USA, the Belgian imperialists plotted the military invasion of the Congo. They utilized the confusion caused by your vacillation and indecision in the face of the revolutionary masses, as a pretext to restore "law and order" and the safeguarding of their "sacred rights of private property," the property built by the sweat and blood of the Congo people.

The break in diplomatic relations

The Congolese parliament did right in severing diplomatic relations with the Belgians and declaring "that a state of virtual war exists between the Congo Republic and Belgium." These are your very own words, Brother Lumumba, and these words describe very accurately the situation that has existed in the Congo ever since July 14th.

But war having been declared, it was your duty to call upon the masses and to organize them for victory. But you and your collaborators failed to live up to the requirements of this great historic moment. Instead of calling upon the masses, you called upon — the imperialist robbers, the very same imperialist robbers who were conniving with the Belgian authorities to reestablish the old slave-master's stranglehold on the rebellious people.

Imperialists under mask of U.N.

Whoever else may be fooled that the U.N. is performing a noble task by dispatching troops to the Congo, you and your collaborators knew very well that this is a lie. Nor will the Congolese people long be fooled by it either. The trick—and that's all that it really is—of dispatching troops from African nations only, is one of the most damnable frauds perpetrated on the Congolese people.

African troops Under imperialist commander

These troops are under the control and command of Maj.-Gen. Carl Carlsson von Horn, an imperialist commander-in-chief, who takes his orders from

Hammarskjöld, who in turn takes his orders from Washington, London, Paris and Antwerp. The troops are not there to help the Congolese people, but to safeguard the imperialist investment of Belgium. If that fails, then by trick and device or force if need be, the imperialists plan to transfer that investment to Wall St. The real aim of the U.N. troops is to disarm the Congo revolution.

That 50 year contract

The malicious glee of the capitalist press over the announcement that you signed a contract with the notorious financial swindler, L. Edgar Detwiler, came as a shock to millions of freedom-loving people all over the world; a contract by which you obligated the Congo Republic for fifty years, involving the sum of two billion dollars, and you did this in the midst of a civil war, and fully knowing that Detwiler is an agent of Wall Street.

Why? A clever maneuver, perhaps? Would that were so!!!

It is the duty of every representative of an oppressed nation to try to divide the imperialists by ruse or cunning. But to merely hand over the vast wealth and privileges from one imperialist oppressor to another is a betrayal of the people.

What principle, Brother Lumumba?

True, you were forced to partially backtrack on this agreement by stating that you merely agreed to it "in principle." What principle are you talking about, Brother Lumumba? In doing this you not only confuse and demoralize the masses at home, but undermine whatever is left of your own authority among the masses of the Congolese people.

As these lines are being written, we learn that the President of the USA has invited you to stay at his home at Blair House. Whatever happens in the closed conferences between you and Herter or Eisenhower, none of us here may ever know.

But we do know that the motives of the American imperialists differ in no way from the Belgian oppressors. The long bloody and savage repression by the U.S. capitalist class of other colonial people, and of the Negro people in America in particular is irrefutable testimony to this absolutely irrefutable fact.

There are those who may think it strange for us to present you with this indictment, but we feel that we are more than entitled to do so.

In the dark and critical hours when you and hundreds of other Congolese were imprisoned, we were the only political force in this country to raise an outcry of protest, and break the conspiracy of silence by the capitalist press in this country. At that time we organized a demonstration in front of the Belgian Consulate in New York and demanded the unconditional release of all the Congolese prisoners, and in particular raised the loudest cry for the freedom of Patrice Lumumba.

The above criticism is fully consistent with the demands raised at that demonstration, and is in the best interests of the Congolese people and their magnificent struggle for liberation.

Editorial staff,
Workers World

— UN Plots With Belgians

(continued from page 1)

in diplomatic relations with Belgium as long as Belgian troops remained.

4. That since Belgium did not withdraw its troops, the Congolese Republic regarded the diplomatic relations between Belgium and the Congo as being severed—and that the Congolese people were virtually at war with Belgium.

5. That the so-called "secession" of the mineral-rich province of Katanga was the result of a Belgian plot. "There is no Katanga problem," Lumumba said. "There's only one problem—the withdrawal of Belgian troops."

This was the situation two weeks

after the U.N. had presumably requested the Belgian troops to get out. The catch in the U.N. withdrawal request was that it didn't set a time limit—didn't say when the Belgians should get out.

But why should the U.N. be helping the Belgian imperialists? The answer lies in the fact that the U.N. is controlled by the United States and its junior partners, Britain and France.

The long-range aim of predatory U.S. capital is to replace the Belgian rulers with the Wall Street brand of financiers. But this has its difficulties.

Suppose the Belgian capitalists should lose their more than four billion dollar

investments in the Congo. There would then almost certainly be a collapse of the Belgian capitalist economy. And U.S. capital would have to give Belgium more foreign aid. Also, Belgian capitalists would try to overcome their difficulties at the expense of their British, French, and West German rivals.

And even if this could be avoided, an even bigger factor which hinders U.S. capitalists from antagonizing their Belgian brother-exploiters, is that by helping to get Belgian troops out of the Congo, they are encouraging other colonial countries to rebel. And this, in turn, hurts the interests of U.S. imperialism, particularly in Latin America where the revolutionary masses are also on the rise.

The Soviet Union and China, on the other hand, like the working class of the world, have nothing to lose and everything to gain, by the complete liberation of the Congo from all imperialist exploitation.

The conduct and vote of the Soviet representative at the U.N., therefore, deserves a separate analysis, which is going to be a feature in the next issue of WW.

Next issue:
**Why did the Soviet
Call U.N. troops
Into the Congo?**