

WORKERS WORLD

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AUGUST 11, 1960

TEN CENTS

Cuba Takes What Belongs To It: —This Won't Hurt U.S. Labor!

UNITED FRUIT COMPANY: ahora territorio libre DE CUBA



Cuban farmer-militiamen taking their country's land back from the United Fruit Co. The Caption says: United Fruit Company — Now free territory of CUBA.

Cuba Suffered, Then Rebelled Against Wall Street's Dictators

By Frederick Matteger

(Previous articles told how U.S. business interests first took over and then controlled and exploited Cuba.)

By the 1930's nearly 90 per cent of Cuba's cultivable lands were in the hands of American interests. And the remaining 10 per cent was largely mortgaged to American banks.

Some 85 per cent of Cuba's known minerals were owned by U.S. companies.

The banks, public utilities, transportation, sugar mills, the tobacco industry — were nearly all controlled by U.S. interests.

And the bulk of American property in Cuba was controlled by just three banks: National City Bank, Chase National, and the House of Morgan—all with headquarters located in Wall Street, New York City.

These banks had withheld loans to

Cuban banks and business in the great crash following World War I, the crash that had wiped out most Cuban-owned business. But after setting up their own strong man (Machado) as ruler of Cuba, the Morgan and Chase banks lent money to the Cuban government.

Most of the money went into the pockets of dictator Machado and American businessmen connected with these banks. But the Cuban people were saddled with the high taxes to pay back the loan.

U.S.-backed Machado and depression had brought complete misery to Cuba. Machado had, in the fascist manner, smashed the labor unions by killing and jailing all militants. He had bought off the power of the army with graft and luxurious living and used that power to kill, jail, and torture rebellious students and teachers. The university and high schools were finally closed completely.

The depression (and the lack of unions) had reduced wages to a starvation level: 50 cents a day for city workers, 25 cents a day for rural workers who might get only a month's work a year.

Cuba boiled. There were police repression, terrorism, plots, counterplots, shootings, bombings. U.S. businessmen's favorite, Machado, had been armed by the U.S. government, supported by the U.S. ambassador, and financed by Wall Street banks.

But with the rising force of opposition, there was the danger of a serious explosion that would endanger all U.S. businessmen's profits. Something had to be done. Machado had to go.

A U.S. approved rebellion forced Machado out in 1933.

There was a New Deal type government. Washington did not like it. It was soon forced out. It was replaced by a government with which the U.S. sugar companies could feel more secure — a

(Continued on page 3)

Castro Regime Expropriates \$700 Million Worth Of U.S. Big Business Properties in Cuba

The American workers now can see just why the American press and TV reporters of Big Business have been screaming about Cuba, and raving about Russia, China and "International Communism" taking over. — Cuba has just expropriated the factories, utilities and sugar mills owned by the big American bosses.

Every brick, every nut and bolt, every vat, every machine, every ounce of sugar was paid for ten times over by the super-exploited labor of the Cuban people during the last decade or more. And this stolen wealth has finally been returned—if not to the masses—at least to Cuba. This is a giant step for progress.

On August 7, armed revolutionary militia began taking over the seven billion, seven hundred million dollars (\$7,700,000,000) worth of property which up to now was owned by Wall Street banks and U.S. big shots.

The Cuban Electric Company and the Cuban Telephone Co., both owned and controlled by U.S. finance, were taken. The United Fruit Co., Esso, Texaco, Sinclair and 36 sugar mills owned by 21 U.S. companies, headed by First National City Bank of New York and Chase National—also were taken.

The United Fruit Company is going to be known as the "Guatemala Company." This is real poetic justice, since the United Fruit Company is one of the principal owners of the country of Guatemala, and it helped U.S. State Department agent, Peurifoy, and Castillo Armas overthrow the legally-elected revolutionary Guatemalan government of Jacobo Arbenz in 1954. (Arbenz is now in Cuba.)

The Outraged Virgin

Like an outraged virgin, the billionaire plunderbund wailed for its lost millions, doing its best to create the impression that the Cubans were violating

all the decent proprieties of mankind.

On August 7, the same day as the expropriations, the United States government officially accused Cuba of fast approaching complete Communist dictatorship and being "a willing tool" of Soviet-Red Chinese "designs" on this hemisphere.

On August 7, the same day as the expropriations, the Catholic Church in Cuba officially bewailed the "increased advance of Communism in our country."

Needless to add—the Catholic Church of Cuba never made any official statement about the "increased advance" of the poverty of the Cuban workers on the American-owned sugar cane fields, or the "increased advance" of the killings and tortures of the Cubans by American stooge-dictator, Batista.

The stuck pigs of high finance who are pretending to be outraged innocence itself will soon be screaming for blood as well as money, that is, for intervention against Cuba.

The workers of the world and of the United States, first of all, should resist this cry, and defend Cuba with all their might against the main enemy of human progress—United States capitalism.

U.S. Senate is the Grave Of Civil Rights — Again!

If there's anything worse than a Republican politician, it's a Democratic politician — and, joking aside — vice versa.

The United States Senate, made up exclusively of capitalist Republicans and Democrats, has just trampled for the umpteenth time upon the civil rights of the Negro people. After both parties had trotted out their most silvery-tongued orators at both national conventions and written up the most golden promises into their campaign platforms — they couldn't wait for even a month before exposing themselves as 24-carat phonies.

The Republican Senators introduced a civil rights bill that incorporated all the good things in it that both the Democrats and Republicans had promised at their respective conventions.

The vote against it (a vote to "table," to be precise) was 54 to 28. All but four Democrats were against it. All but two Republicans were for it.

Both the "liberal" Kennedy and his jimcrow sidekick, Lyndon Johnson, voted to table and thus earned the undying gratitude of the Southern dixiecrats (and presumably their votes this November).

The Republicans, of course, are about as serious for civil rights as the Demo-

crats are. They deeply sympathize with their racist colleagues on the other side of the Senate aisle. And they are only unkind enough to put them "on the spot" this time, because the Presidential election is coming up soon, and the Negro vote is considered crucial.

As though to prove this, and reassure the Southern Bourbons that they were only using the issue to get votes with, the Republican Senator who introduced this civil rights bill (Senator Dirksen) is the very same one who made a motion to table a similar bill last spring. He did this at that time so he could expose the Democrats at this time.

Phony? Just capitalist politicians, that's all!

Some Union Leader!

On August 3, Walter Reuther, the "progressive" union leader, said he was giving his "enthusiastic support" to Lyndon Johnson, the Democratic candidate for Vice President.

On August 1, the Flight Engineers' Union revealed that Johnson had three times crossed picket lines of striking airplane pilots, including one time in Los Angeles just after the Democratic Convention.

Free Press?

Revolucion, a daily paper, published in Cuba and sold every day in New York City, devoted a 40-page supplement to the American Negro one day last month.

Included in the supplement were pictures from Little Rock. One picture showed racists with a sign reading: "Race Mixing is Communism." There were articles by Langston Hughes, Harold Cruse, Julian Mayfield and others.

The U.S. barred this supplement from entry into the United States.

—"Freedom of the Press" is supposed to be guaranteed by the U.S. Constitution. But of course, that's only for good anti-Communist, patriotic citizens—not for slick, sly, foreign "subversives" who believe in the equality of colored and white.

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TROTSKY

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LENIN

Death of a Wizard

When Eldon Lee Edwards died, there was much moaning at the bar. Because Eldon was Imperial Wizard of the True Klan—Ku Klux Klan, that is.

He made all the leading papers with his death and got columns and columns of print all telling how he devoted his life to the pursuit of prejudice, how he was a good member of the Baptist Church, a patriotic American veteran of the Air Force and a well-meaning and only slightly cockeyed fighter for his backward beliefs.

And every paper was careful to point out that Edwards was a paint sprayer at General Motors in Atlanta. The point of this was to show that the white workers are prejudiced against Negroes, and so much so that the Imperial Wizard of the Ku Klux Klan is himself a worker.

The idea of all this is to fortify the Negro people in the delusion that their enemy is the backward white working class rather than the smooth-talking big bosses.

But the Klan is like an army. It is organized by Big Business to do the actual fighting against the Negro. And the big capitalists never, never do their own fighting. They always hire other people to do it.

The big Belgian capitalists, for example, do not go into the tropical Congo

to fight. They send their poor soldiers, whom they have miseducated and indoctrinated, to do this.

The American capitalists likewise train and indoctrinate the white workers in a thousands ways to hate the colored workers. Then they hold up their hands in hypocritical horror when the more backward white workers do something particularly vicious.

And yet some white workers somehow resist this training. But you don't hear about them when they die. And they don't have funerals attended by troops of Klansmen, you can bet. But they stand up and fight.

Sometimes they themselves don't know why. Sometimes they are driven to despair and even to suicide because they get so much pressure and themselves have so little understanding. Sometimes they are flogged by the Klan. Sometimes they are just run out of town.

These are the real workers. They are trying to be what workers ought to be. They are the first signs of man's unprejudiced future. They have cast off the slavery of capitalist racism. And in spite of the continuing shackles of ignorance and persecution, they have become free.

Eldon Lee Edwards was a house-slave of capitalism.

End of the H-Bomb

On August 6, the Big Business press was still talking about the "horrors" of the Congo where several Belgians are supposed to have been killed and some raped.

But on August 6, just 15 years ago, American Big Business dropped an atomic bomb on Hiroshima, Japan, and killed nearly 100,000 people in one minute. This is more people than all the Belgians in the Congo.

No ancient ruler, no mad fascist dictator, no revolutionary tribunal crying for vengeance against a bloody tyrant, has ever been guilty of such destruction of life as this.

This was the work of the "enlightened," "civilized," "democratic" businessmen of the United States—the same ones

who make Republican and Democratic platforms about "civil rights," and talk for months and years about "disarmament"—and the same ones who imprison workers for getting into a scuffle on the picket line.

A great many well-intentioned people want these American capitalists to agree not to use the atomic or hydrogen bomb again.

But the capitalists, who hate revolutionary Cuba and the revolutionary Congo far more than they ever hated Japan, don't want to agree. They who fear revolutionary Russia and revolutionary China far more than they ever feared imperialist Japan, will never destroy the A-Bomb until their own power is destroyed.

Equality for Puerto Ricans

Jose Camacho, a Puerto Rican grocer of Bronx, New York, is suing to establish his right to vote in the United States. He reads and writes Spanish, but not English. And because of this, after 20 years on the mainland of the U.S. he is not permitted to vote.

People who can already read and write English may not realize what an injustice this is, and how much discrimination is involved here.

A Puerto Rican who comes to New York City and goes to work for a dollar an hour in one of New York's thousands of sweat shops may soon learn to speak and understand English. But he rarely has the time or energy to attend an adult school long enough to learn to read and write English.

Naturally, the Puerto Rican who gets a nice, soft job (and how few do!!) can learn to read and write English the same

as a Yankee student can learn to read and write Spanish.

Thus, the discrimination is not only a national discrimination, but a class discrimination. The voting laws take care to weight the vote in favor of the middle class and against the working class.

All essential information about the national election is disseminated by radio and television as well as by the printed English. There is no reasonable excuse for the literacy law. As a matter of fact, the law is used in Southern states to prevent Negro college graduates from voting!

The disfranchising of a million super-exploited citizens of this country can seem like a "small" thing to those interested only in percentages of the vote.

To the Puerto Rican people, however, and to us, it is clear proof that there is no real democracy in the United States.

How They Lie About the Congo

Life and Time are both published by the same company—Time, Inc. Henry R. Luce is editor-in-chief of both magazines.

But Life is written for a larger, mass audience and Time is written for doctors, lawyers, teachers and businessmen. So sometimes, Time tells a little more of the truth than Life wants its readers to know.

Here's an example.

Life, August 1: "... the giant (meaning the Congo people—Ed.) has collapsed and lies writhing in the jungle from which he had almost risen. The effort (to be civilized—Ed.) was too much for him. He has reverted to type. ... He is once again exposed to the world in all his naked savagery."

Time, August 1: "The actual casualties were far fewer than the headlines would suggest. Those killed were mostly soldiers from both sides and number 12 whites and 79 Congolese."

The paid liars of Big Business deceive the masses daily, and daily turn the poor of one race against the poor of another for the benefit of the rich. They tell their lies consciously and purposely and not by accident. And the above quotations prove it.

Klan Threatens Negro Leader — But Fails to Intimidate Him

Rob Williams' family was threatened with death on July 23 because of his and their courageous activity in behalf of equal rights for Negro people.

Williams is editor of the "Crusader," a weekly paper (published from 410 N. Boyte St., Monroe, N.C.). And he is the author of the now-famous remark that "Negroes must meet violence with violence"—which only means they should defend themselves with every possible means.

On the day his family received this call, Williams himself was in Cuba preparing to attend the 26th of July

celebration there. On the same day, the local Ku Klux Klan was having a rally and barbecue in a place not far from Monroe.

However, the Williams family immediately alerted the local defense guards organized some time ago by Williams, and the Klan was made aware of what they might expect should they find the courage to try to make good their cowardly threat.

(The last time the racists of Monroe tried a "night ride" with guns, etc., they found the defense guards quite ready to trade shots with them. They have not ridden since.)

MAIL BAG

He said a mouthful!

Dear Editor:

At a recent district-wide Labor meeting in this area, lawyer Mamet, attorney for the Union, got an unexpected and surprising round of applause when he made the statement that—"The unions are more democratic than the Congress of the United States."

Mr. Mamet did not elaborate on the above statement. But we will, and by quoting outstanding authorities, past and present.

James Madison—fourth President of the United States and one of the chief framers of our Federal Constitution—had this to say during the secret debates while the Constitution was being framed:

"We want a Constitution that will protect the property-owning minority from the majority who will eventually be property-less."

After the Constitution was framed, Mr. Madison again wrote in the Federalist that—"the newly-framed Constitution secured the rights of the (property-owning) minority against the superior force of the majority."

Charles Austin Beard, outstanding American historian, proceeds to tell us how they did it in his book, "Rise of American Civilization,"—page 326, Book I.

Finding other courses barred to protect the minority from the majority, writes Beard—"the delegates chose another way of dissolving the energy of the democratic majority. They broke its strength at the source by providing diverse methods of electing the agencies of the new government and threw special barriers in its path by setting those agencies at cross-purposes."

"In short," Beard continues, "the Fathers created a system of Checks and Balances, dividing the power of government ... with confused and uncertain boundaries."

"All the world has marveled at their

dexterity."

Again, from the book of Henry Hazlett, "Our Inflexible Constitution," page 405—

"Congress can prevent the President from doing what he wishes, but cannot make him do what it wishes. Responsibility is divided and lost even in Congress itself. The Senate can block the overwhelming will of the House, though that will may reflect an equal sentiment in the Country. Worse, a single Senate Committee Chairman, chosen by seniority, can often block the will of the House and prevent the Senate from expressing its will by mere inaction..."

What an unbounded farce! What a travesty on democracy!

You were so right, Mr. Mamet. You deserved your round of applause.

With all their alleged shortcomings, the Labor Unions are the most democratic institutions in America today. Hasten the day when honest popular government will rest on them as a secure base.

M. A. H.,
Gary, Indiana

Leaders Framed

Two members of the Fourth International, S. Santen and M. Rapis, have been arrested in Holland for valiant revolutionary work of defense and aid to the Algerian revolution.

Along with this, they have been slandered and framed up, accused of counterfeiting identification papers and banknotes for the Algerian revolutionaries.

The de Gaulle government has, of course, been persecuting all militant Algerians in France, and all their friends. De Gaulle has a long arm which reaches into Holland and influences the government there.

All class-conscious workers, from whatever country they live, should demand immediate liberation for these class war prisoners.

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NAME

STREET

CITY.....ZONE.....STATE.....

They're Afraid to Give Masses Any Kind of Democracy at All!

By Ana Kezman

Now that everybody is getting all excited about elections and who is the best smooth talker (or tough talker) to be President, it's a good time to take a look at the election system in this country.

Now just suppose the Big Business interests *didn't* rig both the Democratic and the Republican conventions. Would that mean that the people would elect a President? No, it wouldn't.

The states are supposed to elect the President. Each state has so many electoral votes. And the candidate who gets the majority of the people's vote in any state, gets *all* the electoral votes.

For example, New York State has 43 electoral votes. If a candidate gets 3 million people in New York State to vote for him and his opponent gets only 2.9 million then the first candidate gets the whole 43 electoral votes. The 2.9 million votes of his opponent are completely lost and count for nothing at all.

Then say the man who lost in New

York State happens to win in Pennsylvania. Let's say he gets 3.1 million votes in Pennsylvania and the other candidate gets only 1.2 million. The New York State loser gets the whole 30 of Pennsylvania's electoral votes.

Result: One candidate gets 6 million votes, but only 30 electoral votes. The other candidate gets 4.2 million votes, but 43 electoral votes. *But only the electoral votes count.*

This "electoral vote" system was purposely rigged into the Constitution so that the masses would not be able to express themselves directly—so things wouldn't be too democratic.

The Congressional elections are much worse than the Presidential—more undemocratic, that is.

The 16 million people in New York State have the same 2 votes in the Senate that the 2 million people in Mississippi have. (Actually, since Negroes are not allowed to vote in Mississippi, only 1 million people there are "represented" in the Senate.)

Even if Big Business did not own or bribe a single U.S. Senator, a majority of the Senate represents about one-sixth of the population!

U.S. capitalism could make itself look much more democratic, if it re-vamped its Constitutional system so that everyone's vote was equal to everyone else's.

Big Business would still control the big-shot politicians, and still control the elections through its control of all the big propaganda mediums and political machines, even if it did do this. But it doesn't make a move to even make things look democratic.

Why not?

Because Big Business has used this political machinery for its monopolistic rule of the masses too long and cannot easily adjust to a different method of rule. Because it would have to relax its undemocratic dictatorship just at a time when it most needs to tighten it up. And because it cannot afford any turn in the direction of democratic self-rule.

It fears that this might put *really* democratic ideas into the heads of the masses: namely the idea that the working majority should rule and the exploiting minority should be cut down to size.

The Great Detective

Henry Cabot Lodge sure looked like Perry Mason solving the crime of the century when he brought out all those maps in the U.N. and traced the *exact* course of the RB-47 that the Russians downed last month.

Lodge said the Russians were lying about the RB-47 being within their territorial waters. He said that U.S. military brass had been following the plane's course every foot of the way. He said this was done by a special new technique which he could not reveal. He said that the plane fell 30 miles from Soviet territory, and not in Soviet territorial waters as the Russians claimed.

Lodge also showed on the map *exactly* where the plane fell. (This fact was also known by the secret techniques, he said.)

Kuznetsov, the Soviet Representative to the U.N., asked Lodge the following question:

"If you knew exactly where the plane fell, why did you spend seven days searching for the survivors without going to that exact spot?"

—Perry Mason was stumped.

Cubans: How They Lived Under the United Fruit Co.



? Don't You Represent Fayette County, Senator Kefauver? ?

Dear Senator Estes Kefauver:

We read in the papers that you won the Democratic Primary in Tennessee.

As the "moderate" Atlanta Constitution says, "it's a victory for moderation," and it "indicates that Tennesseans will support the Democratic ticket for President the first time since 1948."

Now that's real nice.

But you've been Senator for 12 years already, and we'd like to ask you some questions about your state:

As Senator from Tennessee, do you represent Fayette County as well as the rest of Tennessee? Do you represent the 21,000 Negroes as well as the 9,000 white residents of that county? If so, how is it that you ignore the fact that only 450 colored people are allowed to vote there, while 3,000 whites are registered?

You have a nation-wide reputation for being an investigator of crime—a regular crime-buster, in fact. You practically put Frank Costello behind bars. You intimidated the formerly powerful corrupt New York Mayor, William O'Dwyer. You named and nailed two major crime syndicates in New York and Chicago.

Is it too much for you to investigate the racist crimes on your own doorstep in little Fayette County, Tennessee?

Apparently it is! You, the "liberal" running mate of the "liberal" Adlai Stevenson in 1956, haven't lifted a finger against the inexcusable racist campaign in Fayette County. What's the matter— isn't this criminal enough for you?

You and your colleagues talk about "restraint of trade" and the "rights of man" when you want to keep workers' wages from rising, or stop workers from striking.

But what about the restraint of trade in Fayette County? What about the banks refusing credit to Negro farmers because they registered to vote? What about the gas station owners refusing to sell gasoline to the same Negro farmers who must have it for their tractors? And what about the big oil companies who would not sell gasoline to a Negro gas station owner who just happened to be the leader of the registration campaign?

Why don't you make a big TV investigation of this, Mr. liberal Senator Kefauver? Surely you have the power and can raise the money to do so.

Aside from your modest \$22,500 per year salary, you are allowed a large sum of money for travelling, for secretarial assistance and other expenses. You are also allowed almost unlimited power to subpoena witnesses for Congressional investigations. In such an investigation, you can call upon the power of the mighty United States Government, itself. Isn't this enough?

Or is the truth simply this: that you're just a "liberal" front for racist capitalism, a phony "moderate," and an enemy of the working class, both black and white?

That's the way it looks to WORKERS WORLD.

—Cubans Rebel

(Continued from page 1)

government controlled by a "strong-man."

This strong-man was a U.S. trained soldier named Batista.

Batista's rule was blessed with a War-caused prosperity. After the war his control was interrupted from 1944 to 1952. But from 1952 on, Batista's rule became more clearly like that of former strong man Machado: police repression, corruption, schools taught by army non-coms,

arms from the U.S. to shoot Cubans who objected—and with this a rising feeling of general opposition to Batista throughout Cuba.

According to U.S. state department script writers the opposition to Batista should have been held off as long as Batista could take care of U.S. businessmen in Cuba. Then when Batista had to go, a reliable substitute would be put in his place (as is now being done in S. Korea). An opposition leader or faction would be bought off, rehearsed, then armed and supported.

But Castro did not follow the script.

Ever Hear of Childersburg?

"In Childersburg, the water mains stop where the Negro section begins, which necessitates a greater insurance rate for Negroes. If a home catches fire in that section it is doomed to ashes unless the bucket brigade can be mustered in time to extinguish the flames. The fire department is not for Negroes. Nor is the health department. . . .

"Even in the delivery of mail the Negro citizens are excluded. Mail carriers (all white) are confined to white residential sections and all Negroes are required to go to the post office for mail, although the carriers deliver mail across the street from many of them."

Childersburg is not a town in the Congo, but in Alabama, USA. And this quotation is not from a Nineteenth Century traveler during the days of chattel slavery. It is from the editor of

the *Buffalo Empire Star* who visited Childersburg this summer.

Those who claim that the United States is a democracy either never heard of Childersburg or they do not care about it, and don't want to hear about it.

And those who think that the Republicans or Democrats are the least bit serious about civil rights should give a little thought to this:

That the people of Childersburg live like this after 97 years of "emancipation." They pay taxes, fight and die for the government to which they pay them and even the government's mail carriers regard them as less than human.

It is not a question of Kennedy versus Nixon, but a question of the revolutionary transformation of American society.

The U.N., the Soviet Leadership, and the Congo Revolution

In the U.N. debate on the RB-47 plane incident the U.S. made a proposal that a so-called international court of justice be set up, to investigate the incident—in the USSR. The U.S. also proposed that the Red Cross as an impartial agency, should be empowered to enter the USSR for purposes incident to the investigation. The Soviet delegate correctly vetoed this proposal in the UN Security Council.

The ground on which he did so, was that it would be a "flagrant violation of the national sovereignty" of the Soviet Union, "unwarranted interference in the internal affairs of the Soviet Union," and an imperialist maneuver to get foreign agents into the USSR under the mask of an international court—or of the Red Cross.

Now if the USSR regards the entry of mere legal personnel and Red Cross officials as an infringement on its sovereignty, (and rightly so) then how, practically in the same week, could the Soviet delegate to the UN proclaim that the intervention of foreign troops into the Congo, under a UN imperialist commander, did not constitute an infringement of the sovereignty of the Congo Republic?

This is especially pertinent in view of U.N. delegate Kuznetsov's own eloquent indictment of Belgium and its imperialist NATO partners, the USA, Britain and France. It is no answer to say that Premier Lumumba called for military intervention by the U.N. By this time, Lumumba himself has learned the significance of U.N. military "help".

"Everything Secretary-General Hammarskjöld has done thus far has helped Tshombe and the Belgians," he is quoted as stating in Leopoldville in the August 9 issue of the *New York Times*.

Hammarskjöld Helps Tshombe, Belgians and Wall Street

Yes indeed, everything that Hammarskjöld has done has helped, not only Tshombe and the Belgians—but Wall Street as well. For Hammarskjöld is now, and always has been, an imperialist agent, and his international missions are calculated to bolster, not to destroy, imperialist domination of oppressed countries. The troops under his command have helped to strengthen the imperialist penetration of the Congo rather than to weaken it. Indeed, as Congo Deputy Premier Antoine Gizenga pointed out, "United Nations troops are disarming our soldiers and allowing Belgian forces to keep their arms. . . ."

African States— Puppets and independents

Nor is it an answer to state that the USSR was obliged to vote for U.N. military intervention because the African states were in favor of it, and the USSR did not want to antagonize them. Events have proven this to be false too. It is a deliberate falsification to lump all the African states into one category, without regard to their actual degree of independence—to put an equal sign between the U.S. colony of Liberia and the United Arab Republic, or to equate a Wall St. puppet like Tubman with Nasser.

As a matter of fact, the more militant nationalist leaders in Africa have taken an entirely different view. An AP dispatch on August 9 to the *Herald-Tribune* states, "Leaders of nationalist movements for Uganda, Kenya, Somaliland, Zanzibar and Cameroon who live in exile here met to discuss ways of supporting the Congo people. John Kale, secretary of the National party of Uganda, said:

"We advocate immediate creation of a unified national African army to face imperialist conspiracies against the Congo people. The Uganda people are ready to enter battle for the liberation of the Congo."

Africans want Independent military command

Lumumba himself has just toured the African states and has obtained an agreement from most of them that they will meet in Leopoldville on August 25 for the purpose of setting up independent military forces—that is, independent of the UN—for the purpose of driving out the Belgians if they are still there on that date.

This is a clear recognition on the part of some

of the African states that the use of their soldiers by the U.N. command has not helped the liberation of the Congo, but on the contrary has enabled the Belgians and U.S. military personnel to retain their stranglehold. Else why would they want to set up an independent military command when a U.N. command is already in the Congo?

The Soviet delegate had several alternatives open to him at the UN when the question of the Congo came up. He could have introduced a resolution calling for the immediate withdrawal of the Belgian imperialist troops in the Congo and setting a time limit for it to be done. This actually was his original proposal. However, he withdrew this proposal in favor of something quite different, — a resolution which empowered the UN to send in troops to the Congo under an imperialist commander.

Did it help Congo liberation?

The question still persists in some quarters as to whether this move helped the Congolese liberation movement—or helped cover up imperialist penetration of the Congo under the mask of the U.N. The best testimony on which a conclusion can be based, is the statement of the Soviet delegate himself, at the second U.N. Security Council meeting. It is instructive to carefully read the pertinent parts of Soviet delegate Kuznetsov's remarks, as quoted in the official U.N. verbatim release:

"Such a daring position on the part of Belgium, it is quite clear, can be adopted only because it has the wide support of its partners in NATO who are, in fact, carrying out undermining tactics against the Republic of the Congo and are endeavouring to achieve its dismemberment. The policy being followed by the governments of the NATO countries in relation to Katanga, as well as in relation to the Congo as a whole, is nothing but a policy of the encouragement of aggression and an endeavor to assist the foreign monopolies, under one pretext or another, to exploit the Congolese as formerly.

"... In acting thus, the Belgian Government is carrying out the will of the Belgian and American monopolies which have plunged their greedy hands into the treasure chest of the Congo—which is Katanga—and are hoping to deprive the Congolese people of the national freedom and independence which they have bought with their own blood.

Belgian and U.S. monopolies Deprive Congo of independence

"... We must note with regret that the occupation of the Congo by Belgian troops, the atrocities and crimes committed by these troops against the Congolese people, the endeavors to dismember the young State, all this is being carried out in the presence of troops which were directed there on the basis of decisions of the Security Council and in full view of the Command of these troops. . . . Instances have been known of the United Nations troops, instead of ensuring the speediest removal of the troops of the Belgian interventionists from the territory of the Republic of the Congo, . . . disarming the Congolese national armed forces and, in fact, entering into open conflict with them."

Nevertheless, Soviet delegate Kuznetsov once again voted for U.N. military intervention under the control of the very same "monopolies which have plunged their greedy hand into the Congo," and of the very same Hammarskjöld who Pravda only the day before called a stooge of American imperialism and a "capitulator to the Belgians."

Soviet position on Cuba Differs from Congo

The stand taken by the Soviet Union on Cuba is universally regarded by all genuine anti-imperialist and working class organizations as progressive and helpful in Cuba's struggle against U.S. monopolist aggression. The timely military support offered by the USSR was a clear and unequivocal move to bolster the independent struggle of the Cuban revolutionary government, and at least for the time being, helped ward off U.S. military intervention. No U.N. maneuvers were involved here.

In the case of the Congo, the position is radically different. The Soviet Union offered help, but it did so in a manner which, reduced to practical

terms, meant a cover-up for imperialist intervention in general and U.S. intervention in particular.

No one asks for unreasonable acts or military adventures on the part of the USSR. If the USSR felt that a military commitment to the Congo of the type offered to Cuba was too risky, or that the USSR was for any other reason incapable of taking on such a commitment at this time, under these circumstances, it was its revolutionary duty and obligation to openly state so, and simply express political support and solidarity to the Congolese.

Whatever the immediate motives of the Soviet leadership in the Congo situation, whatever aims or ends the Soviet leadership might have pursued, the objective result of their actions in this connection, are clear for all who wish to see: the throttling of a revolution.

Let us review the sequence of the main events.

A monumental Revolutionary situation

A monumental revolutionary situation developed in the Congo, in which for the first time in modern times, millions of Congolese openly, resolutely, and with dogged determination, attempted to free themselves from imperialist enslavement. The tidal wave of revolution was so strong and tempestuous, it went beyond the limitations originally set for it by its temporary leadership, headed by Lumumba.

Unable to stem the tide of revolution, bewildered by its magnitude, and panic-stricken by the revolutionary terror which the masses had unleashed upon their masters, the Congolese leadership unfortunately appealed to the UN for help. And the Belgian overlords attempted to utilize the confusion, vacillation and indecision within the Congolese leadership for their own imperialist ends.

Belgians set up Puppet Katanga Regime

This only compounded the original errors. It made confusion worse confounded. In the meantime, the Belgian imperialists utilized the time to set up a puppet regime in Katanga, and reinforced the separatist and secessionist tendencies, (under the fraudulent name of "Confederation") which they had long cultivated in the Congo.

A wise, tempered and revolutionary leadership, under these circumstances, would not have appealed to the imperialist-dominated UN. A wise, tempered and revolutionary leadership, faced with a situation where the mass movement was temporarily out of control would have asked itself, (as no doubt many are asking themselves now) is it better to have internal chaos, confusion, revolutionary excesses of the masses—yes, even anarchy, or is it better to have imperialist intervention? And the revolutionary answer, based upon centuries of oppression, is that it is much more preferable to go with the masses through all sorts of chaos, confusion, anarchy, starvation and destitution, rather than to again submit to imperialist domination.

Temporary internal disorder Or imperialist intervention?

If the Congolese people were able to survive the savagery, pillage, plunder and outright extermination by the Belgian slave-owners for as long as eighty years and still survive, certainly under present conditions they can survive the temporary disorder, inevitable chaos and suffering which accompanies the birth of every new, great social revolution.

This the new, young Congolese leaders did not know, and even less did they know the true role of the U.N. But others in high and mighty places did know. But these others shamefully closed their eyes to it. They covered the hand of the imperialist aggressor.

In the critical hours of the evening of July 13, when the Security Council was still debating the Congo situation, and before the Soviet leadership had committed itself to the U.N. military intervention, Henry Cabot Lodge, the U.S. delegate, blurted out a revealing statement:

"Of course I have no objection to having the Republic of the Congo invited, even though it doesn't want to be, (Liar! Liar!), provided that that is not made the pretext . . . for delay and delay and delay. We are in a tremendous hurry in this matter." (!!!)

Why the absolutely unprecedented haste? Because Mr. Lodge and his Wall Street coterie were in a "tremendous hurry" to crush the Congo revolution.

Still, the Soviet delegate remained uncommitted until the wee hours of the morning of July 14. But then the final instructions arrived from Moscow to go along with the imperialist-inspired resolution for military intervention against the Congo revolution.

The whole responsibility for the Soviet decision lies upon Khrushchev and his ruling group in the Soviet Union.