

THE MILITANT

INSIDE

Lumumba and the Congo
freedom struggle

— PAGES 8-9

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Uranium workers win radiation exposure suit

Victory in Colorado comes after years of fighting gov't lies

BY HEIDI MELLOR
AND MARION RUSSELL

GRAND JUNCTION, Colorado—Thirty-two former workers at the Cotter Corporation uranium processing mill in Canon City, Colorado, and residents who lived near the plant were awarded \$16.3 million by a federal jury in U.S. district court June 28 for illnesses due to radiation exposure. The amount does not include interest or future medical costs 30 of the plaintiffs won as part of their lawsuit. Three of the plaintiffs have died in the decade since the suit was filed in 1991.

The victory comes amidst a number of protests and lawsuits by working people against the federal government and corporations over exposure to radioactive materials. Former uranium miners and others in the Western States RECA Reform Coalition organized a meeting here in March to demand the federal government pass emergency legislation to cover payments to miners and people affected by testing of nuclear bombs in the United States. RECA is the Radiation Exposure Compensation Act of 1990. Another group pressing this fight is the Office of Navajo Uranium Workers in Shiprock, New Mexico.

For decades, the U.S. government has been complicit with the employers in covering up the danger of uranium radiation for workers in the industry and surrounding communities. It is only through the efforts of working people themselves that the facts have been forced out in the open.

Workers at the Cotter Corporation mill processed uranium starting in 1958, grinding it and forming it into "yellowcake," which was used in nuclear power plants. The dusty uranium powder drifted across ranches and the surrounding communities. Horse rancher Joe Dodge, the original plain-

tiff in the suit, stood up and fought the company in face of the death of his wife from radiation-induced leukemia and the loss of his farm as the radioactive dust drifted into the soil and water and across clotheslines, his house, and other buildings. Other plaintiffs were families whose children were born with birth defects linked to radioactive dust.

In 1984 the federal government declared

the mill environmentally unsafe and despite court appeals by the company made it a Superfund site. This made it eligible for federal cleanup funds as one of the nation's most polluted sites. The mill was closed in 1987. The Environmental Protection Agency reported, "Liquid waste containing both radionuclides and heavy metals from the

Continued on Page 2

2,000 in Rifle, Colorado, protest fatal shooting of four Mexican workers



Militant/Jack Parker

Two thousand people march July 8 in Rifle, Colorado, a town of 7,000, to demand justice in killing of four Mexican-born workers. See article on page 5.

Immigrants gain ground in securing their rights

BY RÓGER CALERO

Two rulings by the U.S. Supreme Court in late June have focused attention on the debate on U.S. immigration policy in ruling circles. The debate takes place in the midst of a historic wave of immigration to this country, as increasing numbers of workers born abroad become integrated into the working class in the United States and its struggles.

The two cases involved challenges by immigrants to some of the most notorious aspects of the 1996 Illegal Immigration Reform and Immigrant Responsibility Act, signed into law by the Clinton administration.

In a June 25 decision, the Supreme Court ruled that some noncitizens convicted of crimes in the United States may not be deported—as the 1996 law required—unless they first have an opportunity to mount a legal challenge in front of a federal court.

Under the 1996 law, the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) was given the power to deport individuals at the point of entry, such as an airport. The process, called "expedited removal," denied these immi-

Continued on Page 5

World Youth Festival in Algeria is full steam ahead

BY MARTÍN KOPPEL

"Several thousand young people from all five continents have already signed up to take part in the festival," reported Juan Carlos Frómata, a leader of Cuba's Union of Young Communists, in a July 17 phone interview from Algiers, the capital of Algeria. He was referring to the 15th World Festival of Youth and Students, which will take place August 8-16 in Algiers.

"The television and newspapers here in Algeria continue to publish daily reports on preparations for the festival, which are going full steam ahead," said Frómata, a member of the International Organizing Committee for the youth gathering.

Special steps have been taken to facilitate transportation to the festival, given the long distances many young people will be traveling. "For example, arrangements have been made with one airline to offer a sharply discounted \$125 round-trip fare between Barcelona, Spain, and Algeria, for festival participants," he reported. Many people traveling from Europe and the Americas are expected to take advantage of this fare.

Frómata said that at least 1,000 youth are coming from the Americas. Cuba will have a delegation of 600, the largest from the region. "This includes 250 international students who are currently going to school in Cuba, especially from Latin America, the Caribbean, and Africa. The other 350 will be Cuban students, young workers, professionals, and others." Hundreds more will come from Venezuela, Haiti, the Domini-

Continued on Page 4

Workers in Iran rally against factory sell-offs

BY MA'MUD SHIRVANI

In their fights to resist the bosses' attacks on their jobs and wages, workers in Iran have recently held mass actions outside factories and government offices demanding

action to address their grievances. Most of the protests have been at companies sold by the state to capitalists who have simply stripped the factories of their assets, leaving workers without pay or a job.

Workers in the Kashmir Wool Works in the Kurdish city of Kermanshah held a demonstration July 4 in front of the provincial office of Labor and Social Affairs to protest the agency's decision to uphold the layoffs of their coworkers, reported the Iranian Student News Agency (ISNA). Some of the coworkers who were laid off had worked there for 10 years and had not received wages or benefits since 1999.

This action followed a successful demonstration by textile workers in Tehran that attracted national attention. Eight hundred workers from the Cheet-e-rey textile factory mobilized in front of the Majles (parliament) June 12. They had not been paid for two months and the new bosses who bought the factory last year had stopped production.

The owners had purchased the plant from Bonyade Mostazefan va Jonbazan (BMJ, Foundation of the Oppressed and Disabled Veterans), one of the bonyads, or foundations, that was created after the 1979 revolution. After many large landowners and capitalists fled the country following the revolution, the factories were taken over by workers and run by shoras (councils) for a brief period of time. The authorities then organized the bonyads and took over the factories and other confiscated property. BMJ took major responsibility for aiding wounded veterans of the Iran-Iraq war and

Continued on Page 14

Attend the Cuba-U.S. Youth Exchange

Havana, Cuba: July 22-30

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❖ Discuss with young people in Cuba the history of their revolution and the steps being taken today to advance the fight for socialism; share experiences of struggles by workers and farmers in both countries.



Participants in workshop at the 1996 Cuba-U.S. Youth Exchange

For information contact the Youth Exchange Information Center, American Indian Learning Resource Center, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, MN 55455; tel.: (763) 443-8730; e-mail: youthxchange01@yahoo.com; or visit the website: <http://youthxchange01.8m.com>

Read the fine print on 'patients' rights' bill — page 11

Protesters mobilize in response to fascist action in New Jersey

BY SARAH HARRIS
AND AMY HUSK

MORRISTOWN, New Jersey—"You have to speak out against Nazism and bigotry. We have to let them know that they do not have a base here," said a participant in a July 4 counterdemonstration of 400 people held in this town against ultrarightist Richard Barrett.

Barrett and his supporters made their annual pilgrimage that day to the Morris County Courthouse. They staged an "Independence from Crime Day" in support of New Jersey state troopers and their systematic harassment of Blacks on the highways—a practice known as racial profiling.

The New Jersey cops have been the object of many protests over repeated incidents of racist conduct, including a 1998 incident where two white troopers fired on four Black and Latino youths on the New Jersey Turnpike. In the face of widespread outrage, the state decided to pay \$13 million to settle that case in February.

Barrett, leader of the Mississippi-based Nationalist Party, attracted two supporters. Shortly before he began speaking, two others who were posing as his backers suddenly turned over sound equipment and tore down his flags before being arrested.

The hundreds who participated in the loud and spirited counter-demonstration ignored efforts by the authorities to keep protesters away. Many Morristown public officials and religious figures had advocated that people abstain from the protest. Rev. Phillip Wilson of the Church of the Redeemer argued, "Barrett wants an audience, he wants a good fight. People should stay home and not play into his hands."

Police barricades separated groups of antiracist demonstrators from each other, and enforced strict regulations limiting protesters' rights. Cops prohibited protesters from carrying common items such as purses and bags, and required each participant to be scanned with a metal-detector wand.

A range of groups and individuals joined the protest. The organizations that brought contingents included the National Organi-

zation for Women; People's Organization for Progress, a Newark-based group that organizes actions against police brutality; Wind of the Spirit, a Morristown-based immigrant rights group; and the Progressive Labor Party. Members of the Service Employees International Union and the Teamsters participated with T-shirts and signs designating their unions.

A large group of young people from the Bergen Action Network in Bergen County participated. Some handed out leaflets to workers in the area surrounding the courthouse, encouraging them to join the action.

The majority of the demonstrators were high school and college students and other youth. Jon, 18, from Reading, Pennsylvania, found out about the action on the Internet. Several students from the local rabbinical college were part of the crowd.

A Lebanon Township woman who heard about the demonstration through the media and brought her husband along was appalled at the discrepancy between the treatment received by the ultrarightist and the counterdemonstrators. "We'd like to know how [Barrett] can get a permit for the steps of the courthouse! And I can't believe how blocked in we are by the cops," she said.

About 1,000 people attended a candle-



Militant/Amy Husk

Many participants in counterdemonstration were immigrants and young. Nationalist Party leader Richard Barrett organized the provocative rally to support New Jersey police in their systematic harassment of Blacks known as racial profiling.

light vigil the previous evening at a local church to protest Barrett's message.

NJ socialist joins action, files for ballot status

NEWARK, New Jersey—Kari Sachs, the Socialist Workers candidate for governor of New Jersey, participated with her supporters in the candlelight vigil and protest action in Morristown. Sachs recently submitted 1,553 petition signatures—almost double the 800 required by state law—to

place her name on the ballot in the November governor's race. Supporters of the socialist campaign collected the signatures during an intensive one-week effort.

The socialist campaign received a warm response from participants in the Morristown antiracist actions. Many of the young people there purchased copies of the *Militant* or *Perspectiva Mundial*, or stopped by the campaign literature table to find out more about the socialist alternative. Sachs was interviewed by a local news station.

—S.H. and A.H.

Uranium workers win lawsuit over radiation

Continued from front page

mill was discharged for years into unlined tailings ponds" resulting in "a plume of contaminants, including molybdenum, uranium, and selenium, extending from the mill along Sand Creek and affecting private wells serving about 200 people in Lincoln Park."

At the end of the trial in the lawsuit, Cotter Corporation's lawyer John Watson announced the plaintiffs "will never see this money." This is the fourth trial involving pollution claims against Cotter Mill. A 1998 trial, which gave 13 plaintiffs roughly \$5 million, was overturned on appeal and was

retried as part of this case.

"I'm elated," said Joe Dodge after the victory. "Finally the Cotter Corporation is being held accountable." His daughter Rhonda Butson said, "This is justice for the death of our mother. Cotter has been terrible. They still don't think they've done anything wrong."

At the same time in Golden, Colorado, a jury ruled against four workers and their wives formerly employed at the Rocky Flats Nuclear Weapons Plant. They had sued Brush Wellman, a supplier of beryllium—a strong, lightweight metal—for covering up information about the hazardous material.

The jury in the case ruled that Brush Wellman was not liable for the workers' illness and dismissed claims of a conspiracy between the company and the federal government. Additionally, they declared the workers themselves were 10 percent to 20 percent responsible for their sickness, based on the fact that workers assumed a risk by working at Rocky Flats. The ruling said the major blame lay with the operators of the plant, Dow Chemical and Rockwell International, for sloppy management.

For 50 years Brush Wellman told the public that there was no risk of chronic beryllium disease if the factory kept beryllium dust to two micrograms per cubic meter of air, equivalent to a ground up pencil tip being scattered in a six-foot-high football-field-

sized mass of air. In fact, Brush Wellman and federal officials knew in the 1940s that an even smaller dose could kill, said Allen Stewart, attorney for the plaintiffs.

The workers did contract chronic beryllium disease, a potentially fatal wasting disease. Along with uranium miners, the atomic bomb workers at Rocky Flats are still eligible to receive up to \$150,000 from the government as well as medical coverage for their illness. But the government has allowed this fund to run out of money. Despite a proposal by the Senate Appropriations Committee in June to add \$84 million to the budget, the funds have not been allocated.

Rocky Flats, 15 miles from Denver, produced nuclear weapons components until December 1989. The key part made there was the plutonium pit, the "trigger" for atomic bombs. The pit provides the energy to fuel the explosion of a nuclear weapon.

In 1989 nuclear production work was halted following an FBI raid and after two decades of antinuclear protests, which demanded that plutonium at the site be moved elsewhere and that Rocky Flats be closed.

Brush Wellman, an Ohio company with plants in Arizona and Utah, faces more than 70 lawsuits involving nearly 200 plaintiffs. The next suit is to go to trial August 6 in Knoxville, Tennessee, involving workers at the nuclear weapons plant there.

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U.S. rulers debate shifts in death penalty use

BY GREG McCARTAN

Supreme Court Justice Sandra Day O'Connor voiced concern over how the death penalty is being carried out in the United States at a July 2 meeting of the group Minnesota Women Lawyers. She is the latest government official to suggest modifying how the death penalty is being applied in order to clean up the image of the U.S. judicial system. The pressure on the U.S. ruling class comes both from increasing opposition to state-sponsored executions among working people in the United States, as well as criticism from Washington's imperialist rivals in Europe.

O'Connor, a backer of the death penalty, said the fact that 90 death-row inmates have been exonerated since 1973 shows "the system may well be allowing some innocent defendants to be executed."

Over the past 25 years, state governments have officially put more than 700 people to death. On June 11 the federal government executed Timothy McVeigh—its first execution in four decades—and eight days later took the life of Juan Raúl González.

In the past Justice O'Connor voted to permit the death penalty for teenagers convicted of murder and backed court rulings making it more difficult for workers and farmers on death row to have their state sentences overturned in federal court.

Questions dominating the debate in the big-business media and among capitalist politicians, judges, and others revolve around whether the state should be allowed to execute mentally incompetent people, the impact of poor legal representation, and "whether the death penalty is being fairly administered in this country"—as O'Connor delicately referred to the large percentage of death-row inmates who are Black or Latino.

The more defensive position manifest in a growing number of such statements highlights the difficulties the U.S. ruling class is having in continuing to justify this weapon of terror against working people. It takes place in the context of ongoing struggles across the country against police brutality—including on-the-spot executions by cops.

In her talk O'Connor alluded indirectly to the class character of the justice system and the imposition of the death penalty. "Perhaps it's time to look at minimum standards for appointed counsel in death cases," she said, "and adequate compensation for appointed counsel when they are used" because there is a gap in the legal defense available based on wealth.

Pointing to the state of Texas, O'Connor said that in capital cases defendants with appointed attorneys are 28 percent more likely to be convicted than those with their own lawyers, and 44 percent more likely to be sentenced to death after conviction.

Ruth Ginsburg, another Supreme Court justice, said in an April 9 speech in Washington that she has "yet to see a death case among the dozens coming to the Supreme Court on the eve of execution petitions in which the defendant was well represented at trial." Justice Stephen Breyer told Radio France International recently that "there is much more discussion about capital punishment now in the U.S. than there was five years ago."

Two cases are before the Supreme Court in its next term. One has to do with the execution of people classified as mentally retarded and the other with a defendant's claim of unsatisfactory legal representation and conflict of interest because his court-appointed lawyer had previously worked for the murder victim.

Waning support

The capitalist press has taken note of the waning support for the death penalty. "Public opinion polls in the last few years have shown a softening in Americans' support for the death penalty," noted an editorial in the July 5 *New York Times*, "due partly to a growing unease that procedural shortcuts may be leading to the execution of innocent defendants." The paper's editors, who have opposed capital punishment, add that "reforming" the death penalty "is ultimately an unsatisfactory quest. Abolition should be the goal."

Given the growing opposition and exposures around a number of frame-ups of individuals on death row and the inability of most people facing the death penalty to receive a fair trial, there are a number of moves underfoot to try to clean up the justice sys-

tem in death penalty cases.

The U.S. Senate is conducting hearings on a bill called the Innocence Protection Act, which would put Congress on record as opposing state executions of juveniles or mentally retarded convicts; guarantee access to DNA evidence, which has been used to exonerate a number of death-row inmates; and set up a panel to recommend standards of legal representation in death penalty cases.

A Committee to Prevent Wrongful Executions, made up of judges, former prosecutors, former FBI director William Sessions, and others working for the U.S. judicial system, released a report in June containing a number of proposed reforms to try to refurbish the image of the death penalty.

"If you're going to have a death penalty, you had better be sure you have the right person and this is a person who deserves to be executed," committee member Gerald Kogan, a former Florida Supreme Court judge, told the press. Beth Wilkinson, the federal prosecutor who sought the death penalty in the case of Timothy McVeigh, added: "The idea is, how to make the system work." The committee's proposed reforms are along the same lines as the Senate bill.

Since Illinois governor George Ryan declared a statewide moratorium on the death penalty last year, there have been other proposals by capitalist politicians in various states and in Congress to declare a moratorium on executions.

International pressure

On another front, nine former senior U.S. diplomats filed a supporting brief in the case being appealed to the Supreme Court of the planned execution of Ernest McCarver, a mentally retarded man with a reported IQ of 67. They called state killing of mentally retarded people a "cruel and uncivilized practice" and said it subjects U.S. diplomats to "daily and growing criticism from the international community."

Carrying out the execution of McCarver "will strain diplomatic relations with close American allies, provide diplomatic ammunition to countries with demonstratively worse human rights records, increase U.S. diplomatic isolation, and impair other United



Protest in Huntsville, Texas, June 22, 2000, against execution of Gary Graham. Growing opposition to the death penalty and exposures of the racist and anti-working-class character of the "justice system" have prompted U.S. capitalist politicians to try to find ways to salvage use of this weapon of terror against workers and farmers.

States foreign policy interests," the diplomats said. They were concerned such interests would be undermined by a practice that "tarnishes America's image as the champion of human rights," *New York Times* reporter Raymond Bonner wrote in a June 10 article. "Human rights" is a propaganda banner under which Washington has carried out military interventions and other foreign policy.

The top U.S. diplomats include Thomas Pickering, the "informal dean of the American diplomatic service who held more ambassadorial posts than anyone in United States history," the *Times* reported. Pickering called the filing of the brief "unusual, and probably unprecedented."

Felix Rohatyn, U.S. ambassador to France for four years, complained that for the entire time "there was not a single speech

I made where the first or second question was not: 'How can you people do this? Why do you execute the mentally retarded? Why do you execute minors? Why are there so many minorities on death row?'"

How isolated the U.S. ruling class is among imperialist powers in its use of the death penalty can be seen in Europe, where the European Union has made the abolition of the death penalty a condition of membership. Virtually every country in Europe has outlawed or suspended capital punishment. In Rome, the Colosseum is lit up for 48 hours every time the sentence of a death row inmate is commuted.

At several stops during his recent trip to Europe, Bush was met by demonstrators condemning Washington for using the death penalty.

Twisted logic of report on racism in capital cases

A June 6 report released by the U.S. Department of Justice draws the conclusion that racism is not a factor in the imposition of the death penalty in federal cases. U.S. attorney general John Ashcroft used the report to claim that there is "no evidence of racial bias in the administration of the federal death penalty" and even argued that Blacks and Latinos are less likely than whites to be executed by the state.

As attorney general, Ashcroft is supposed to sign off on each death penalty case, as his Democratic predecessor Janet Reno did with determined persistence. The study gives good marks to the supposedly unbiased character of this review process by explaining the attorney general approved the death penalty for "38 percent of White defendants, 25 percent of Black defendants, and 20 percent of Hispanic defendants." Figures like that seem hard to argue against. Case closed.

But it takes 25 pages of small type, twisted logic, and hopes that working people will not notice the class character of how the entire "justice" system operates in capitalist America for the study's authors to defend their conclusion. This is because the federal government has a hard time explaining away one fact: of the 19 people currently on death row under federal jurisdiction, 16 are Black or Latino.

Of the 682 cases in which federal prosecutors proposed defendants be given the death penalty between 1995 and 2000, 134 or 20 percent were white, 324 or 48 percent were Black, and 195 or 29 percent were Latino. The authors of the study admit in passing that these figures show the "proportions of Black and Hispanic defendants were greater than the proportions of Blacks and Hispanics in the general population."

The report explains that the federal government greatly expanded the number of crimes punishable by the death penalty under the Clinton administration and that these offenses, such as drug-related murders, are weighted heavily toward actions for which

Blacks and Latinos are more likely to be arrested and prosecuted. "Both common experience and empirical data indicate that the offenses that may lead to homicides and capital charges are not evenly distributed across all population groups," the Justice Department report says. Because of this, there "is no reason to expect that the racial and ethnic proportions in potential capital cases will be the same as, or similar to, the racial and ethnic proportions in the general population."

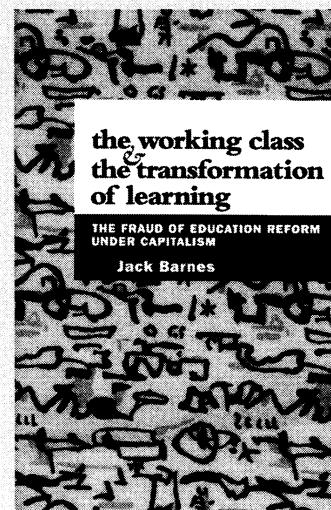
Three people on death row under federal jurisdiction were convicted under the Anti-Drug Abuse Act of 1998 on murder charges. All others are on death row under the Clinton-era Violent Crime Control and Law Enforcement Act of 1994 on murder convictions. The report states that the "federal offenses for which the death penalty is currently authorized require as a necessary el-

ement the killing of a victim, but they include a few non-homicidal offenses such as treason and espionage.

There is no racism involved, the report says, because "in a federal district that prosecutes a large number of securities fraud cases, a finding that the defendants in these cases are practically all White would not imply that federal prosecutors in these cases are engaging in favoritism to potential Black and Hispanic defendants, or discriminating against White defendants. Rather, it may just be the case that most persons who commit these crimes in the district are White. Account must be taken of differing incidences of crimes in different demographic groups."

The report doesn't address the question of why the death penalty is not applied in security fraud cases but is applied in a defined number of murder cases. —G.M.

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The Working Class & the Transformation of Learning: The Fraud of Education Reform under Capitalism By Jack Barnes

"Far more working people are executed by the policeman's bullet, chokehold, or hog-tying than by lethal injection or electrocution.... Not only on death row but also in 'civil society,' the noose still haunts a land for which 'Strange Fruit' would be a more appropriate national anthem than the 'Star-Spangled Banner.'" \$3

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People of W. Sahara fight for independence

BY JACK WILLEY

DAKHLA REFUGEE CAMP, Western Sahara—Seeking to undercut the decades-long independence struggle by the people of Western Sahara, which is led by the Polisario Front, the United Nations Security Council plans to adopt a resolution aimed at pressuring that national liberation movement to accept a deal that falls short of Sahrawi self-determination. The goal of Washington, Paris, and other imperialist powers is to maintain their control of that mineral-rich area by giving a new face to the occupation by the Moroccan regime.

According to the *Financial Times* of London, the UN resolution would give territorial "autonomy" to Western Sahara, while allowing the Moroccan government to continue its military occupation, control of foreign policy, and to maintain the "preservation of territorial integrity against secessionist attempts." The resolution's sponsors justify it as a way to "unblock" progress on holding a referendum in Western Sahara on independence. The Moroccan regime had previously agreed to such a vote, but has been stalling on it for the past decade.

President Abdelaziz Bouteflika of Algeria is scheduled to visit U.S. president George Bush this month. The *Financial Times* reports the visit is partly intended to press the Algerian government to accept the UN resolution, and in turn put pressure on the Polisario Front. The government in Algiers has been one of the main public backers of the Sahrawi liberation struggle, which enjoys deep support among the Algerian people. Over the past quarter century it has provided material and military support to the Polisario Front.

Western Sahara is a nation of approximately 300,000 people in northwestern Africa. From 1884 to 1975 it was a direct colony of Spain. In face of the growing independence struggle, the imperialist government of Spain and the semicolonial regimes of Morocco and Mauritania brokered a deal in 1975. Madrid relinquished direct control of Western Sahara and allowed it to be carved up and occupied by Moroccan and Mauritanian government forces.

Tens of thousands of Sahrawis were driven from their country and into the Sahara desert, where they have lived for the last 26 years in tents in refugee camps on the Algerian side of the border. U.S., French, and Spanish imperialism continue to dominate the nation through their client, King Mohammed VI.

The Sahrawi people have been fighting for their independence for decades. In 1973, the Popular Front for the Liberation of Saguia el Hamra and Río de Oro, or Polisario, was founded; it launched a guer-



Militant/Jack Willey

International guests visit Sahrawi home in Dakhla refugee camp. Zorgan Larousi (left) said liberation movement has carried out advances in education and other social gains.

rilla war for independence against Spain. Polisario continued its struggle after the 1975 agreement and drove Mauritanian forces out four years later. The Moroccan regime extended its occupation into the formerly Mauritania-controlled region.

Moroccan regime stalls on referendum

Since 1989 the Polisario Front and the Moroccan regime in Rabat have agreed to a UN-brokered cease-fire. Under this agreement, the Sahrawi people were supposed to vote on a referendum on independence a decade ago. For 12 years Rabat has obstructed the referendum.

There is growing frustration among Sahrawis over the lack of progress, and increasing calls for the Polisario Front to re-launch the liberation war. This issue was at the center of the discussion at the fifth congress of the Union of Youth of Western Sahara (Ujsario), which took place here June 9.

Salem Besir, the head of parliament of the Saharan government-in-exile, explained in early June that the Polisario Front was expecting a new UN proposal. "We've prepared the Sahrawi people for any change in the situation and we have made it clear to the UN that we will not accept any solution outside of full independence for our country."

"If there is no progress, we will re-launch the war for liberation. Not all of our friends in the international community will understand if we go back to war, but we cannot wait for somebody else to come and give us independence and we are not going to live in exile in refugee camps forever."

In response to the latest UN-backed pro-

posal, the Sahrawi government's Information Ministry issued a statement rejecting any continuation of the foreign occupation of their nation. It noted that "[UN secretary general] Kofi Annan's plan prevents the Saharan people from their right to a free self-determination referendum."

There are two main reasons why the Moroccan regime, backed by billions of dollars in economic and military support from their imperialist masters in Washington, Madrid, and Paris, continues its brutal occupation of Western Sahara.

First, near the Sahrawi city of Bu Craa lies one of largest phosphate deposits in the world. Under the 1975 accords, the Span-



Militant/Jack Willey

Under U.S.- and French-backed Moroccan occupation, 200,000 Sahrawis have been forced to live in several refugee camps in the Sahara desert.

ish government was given a 35 percent stake in the phosphate mines and the remainder was divided between Morocco and Mauritania. These mines continue to provide a handsome profit for the occupiers and for Madrid.

Secondly, the Sahrawi liberation movement offers a dangerous example to other toilers fighting imperialist domination in Africa and the Middle East. The liberation movement has championed the position that the natural resources of the country are the patrimony of the Sahrawi people, not to be taken by imperialist-backed companies to line their own pockets. The money poured into military spending in Morocco is used not only to suppress the Polisario Front but to put down resistance by workers and farmers in Morocco.

On Feb. 27, 1976, after tens of thousands of Sahrawis had been forced to flee their country and set up refugee camps in the desert, the Polisario Front proclaimed the Sahrawi Arab Democratic Republic (SADR).

Gains made by liberation movement

In spite of harsh desert conditions and dependence on international aid organizations for most of their basic needs, the Sahrawi people have made significant advances in women's rights, education, and other social rights. Tribal, racial, caste, and sex discrimination, institutionalized under Spanish colonialism, have been outlawed. It is this example by the liberation movement in Western Sahara that the imperialist powers aim to suppress.

Zorgan Larousi, who lives in one of the refugee camps, explained the steps taken by the SADR to advance education. "Before we were forced to flee our homeland, only 5 percent of the population could read and write. Now 90 percent are literate, including all of the young people. The Spanish

wanted to keep us uneducated and ignorant. They did not even want us to think past our own area, much less about the world."

Every young person goes to primary school and then to one of the two large boarding schools for secondary education. Many continue their schooling at universities in Algeria, Cuba, or other countries that offer free tuition for Sahrawi students, with a focus on fields that benefit the Sahrawi people—education and medicine. In comparison, in Morocco less than 30 percent of the population can read and write, a situation faced by working people throughout much of the semicolonial and colonial world.

Metu Moustafa, 25, who grew up in the refugee camps, spoke about the affirmative action measures taken in the SADR to expand the role of women in society. "When most of the men were on the front during the war," she said, "the women were primarily responsible for running the camps. The government established the 27th of February women's school. Three hundred women attend every year to study teaching, nursing, management, or weaving."

A number of women serve in the parliament and local councils of the government, something that Moustafa said was unthinkable under colonial domination.

The efforts to advance women's rights are codified in the constitution of the SADR, adopted in 1999, which states, "The state advances the promotion of women and their political, economic, social, and cultural participation in the construction of society and the development of the country."

Universal health care is a right in the camps and liberated zone of Western Sahara. The Polisario Front has carried out an immunization campaign and given priority to

training medical personnel, in spite of scarce supplies of medication and basic medical equipment. Between 1975 and 1980, thousands of people died in the refugee camps from malnutrition, famine, and epidemics. Since 1980, epidemics have been eliminated and there have been only a handful of reported cases of malnutrition.

"These are advances we have made in the refugee camps," Moustafa explained. "Women are different people today, more educated and more confident. Morocco's occupation of our country has only forged a stronger national unity. We will never go back to the way things were before. This is why we will never stop fighting for our independence."

Youth festival

Continued from front page

can Republic, and other parts of the continent, including the United States.

"There will be delegates from Puerto Rico," Frómota noted. "And I should point out that one day of the festival will be devoted to solidarity with the people of Puerto Rico, especially the fight to get the U.S. Navy out of Vieques."

Because of its location in North Africa, the festival will have an especially large participation from the Middle East and sub-Saharan Africa. "The National Preparatory Committee from Algeria reports that there will be 1,100 delegates from their country, including from every single region. And another 1,500 Algerian youth have volunteered to work at the festival as guides and helping organize the event."

For more information on attending the World Festival of Youth and Students, see the ad on this page.

Join the U.S. delegation to the 15th World Festival of Youth and Students

August 8-16, Algiers, Algeria

The festival will bring together thousands of youth from around the globe. Given its location, it is expected to draw attendance particularly from Africa and the Middle East, in addition to Europe, Latin America, North America, and Asia.

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FOR MORE INFORMATION OR TO APPLY: contact the U.S. National Preparatory Committee, 15th World Festival of Youth and Students, 237 W. 23rd St., New York, NY 10011, e-mail: www.usnpc.org; or contact the Young Socialists at P.O. Box 33, New York, NY 10018. Tel: (212) 695-1809.

2,000 in Colorado protest racist killing of Mexican workers

BY JACK PARKER

RIFLE, Colorado—Two thousand people marched here July 8 to protest the racist killing of four Mexican-born workers. A big majority of the marchers were residents of this western Colorado town, which has a population of 7,000.

Protesters also came from the neighboring communities of Carbondale, Silt, New Castle, and Basalt—towns that, along with Rifle, dot the Roaring Fork Valley. The crowd was about half Latino and half white.

On the night of July 3, Steven Stagner, who is white, shot seven Mexican-born workers. He began his shooting spree at the pay phones at the town's City Market grocery store, then continued across the street at the Bookcliff trailer park. Four of those who were shot were killed. They are Angelica Toscano, 19; Juan Hernández, 44; Melquiades Medrano, 23; and Juan Carlos Medrano, 22.

Stagner had recently been released from the Grand Junction Veterans Administration hospital, where he was treated for schizophrenia. Police arrested Stagner in the City Market parking lot shortly after the shootings.

Much of the local media coverage has portrayed the killings as simply the random acts of a mentally ill person. A number of the marchers found that difficult to believe. Sandra Ugalde captured the sentiments of many of the protesters, saying, "If this man gets out that isn't right. He wasn't too crazy because he was only killing Mexicans. We just want justice!"

Rifle's Spanish-speaking population, mostly immigrants from Mexico, has increased nearly four-fold over the last 10 years. They now comprise 16 percent of Rifle's population. A quarter of the town's grammar school students are enrolled in English-as-a-second-language classes.

Like many other workers in this area, most of the immigrant workers here drive 60 to 140 miles round trip every day to work in the posh ski resorts of Glenwood Springs and Aspen. They make the long commute because housing costs in these resort towns are prohibitively expensive.

'Legal or illegal, it doesn't matter'

The protesters marched 10 blocks, passing both the City Market and Bookcliff trailer park, where flowers were left at a small makeshift shrine in memory of those slain. The marchers carried photographs, flowers, Mexican flags, and signs calling for peace. Many wore green ribbons.

A number of the marchers said they felt proud of the turnout. Many commented that it seemed like the whole town was there. Protesters explained that they had come to show their support for the families of the victims and their revulsion to the killings.

Bob Walker, a sheet metal worker, and two of his friends, all U.S.-born, stood near the entrance to the Bookcliff trailer park as the march passed by. They expressed dismay that they had not known any of those killed even though they lived next door. "It's terrible something like this has to happen before we all come together," Walker said.

Lucas Curry, a cook, said he thought there was a lot of racism in Rifle. "I'm proud to be here with the families," he stated. "What happened embarrasses me. I don't want to be judged for what he [the killer] did."

"Legal or illegal, it doesn't matter to me," said Joe Spoon, a plumber and a friend of Curry. "They are just like the rest of us. They are here trying to make a living—trying to make a better life."

Since the shootings there has been a big increase in the number of police who patrol the Bookcliff trailer park. In addition, on the day of the march, police and county sher-

Black farmers in North Carolina demand loans and banking services



Militant/Naomi Craine

Two dozen Black farmers and their supporters picketed corporate offices of First Union Bank in Charlotte, North Carolina, June 26. They were protesting the planned merger of First Union and Wachovia Bank. The farmers are demanding guarantees of banking services before the merger goes through. Both banks have a poor record of providing loans to farmers and small businessmen who are Black.

iffs were brought in from nearby towns to help "control" the marchers.

Pointing across the street to the trailer park where the gunman opened fire, José Varela, a resident of Rifle, talked about the large cop presence and said that "the police patrol Bookcliff all night."

"There are more than 1,000 Latinos who live in Rifle," Varela continued. "The guy was crazy but he aimed his gun at only Mexican people. These were my friends."

In responding to the shootings, the authorities and big-business media have worked hard to try to make the cops look good. Local prosecutor Mac Myers, one of the speakers at the rally that ended the march, promised that the police would investigate whether "race" motivated the shootings. He said the police would make sure that "no stone would be left unturned

until justice was done."

Colorado governor William Owens, auxiliary bishop of Denver José Gómez, Leticia Calzada of the Mexican consulate in Denver, local ministers, and Rifle mayor David Ling also addressed the crowd.

A group called Latinoamericanos Unidos (United Latin Americans) from Carbondale brought a number of people to the rally. One of the group's projects is organizing to prevent the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) from opening an office in the valley.

"The INS is planning on setting up 40 Quick Response Teams nationally," said a representative of Latinoamericanos Unidos. "Five are to be in Colorado. They wanted to put one of their offices in Carbondale, but we've protested against it and so far we have been successful in keeping them away."

Immigrants gain ground in securing their rights

Continued from front page

grants the right to a lawyer or to any judicial hearing—a denial of the constitutional guarantee of due process.

The law retroactively defined a range of misdemeanors and other "crimes"—as minor as jumping a subway turnstile—as aggravated felonies for which a person could be deported, even if the offense had been committed decades ago. Tens of thousands of people, including legal U.S. residents, have been deported under this provision.

Both the Clinton and the Bush administrations defended the legislation, arguing that the federal courts did not have the right to review the executive branch's prerogative to carry out immigration law.

In a dissenting opinion, Justice Antonin Scalia echoed the two administrations' argument that Congress had removed federal court jurisdiction over the executive branch's ability to conduct immigration policy, and that "expedited removal" of "criminal aliens" did not violate the Constitution.

In the second decision, issued June 28, the Supreme Court ruled against a provision in the 1996 law allowing the U.S. government to detain indefinitely a "deportable" immigrant simply because the government of their home country will not take them.

The Clinton and Bush administrations had insisted that U.S. law allowed indefinite, even lifelong, jailing of these immigrants.

Speaking for the court majority, Justice Stephen Breyer said such a position was a "serious constitutional threat" under the Fifth Amendment's guarantee of due process. The ruling states that after six months of detention, if deportation did not seem likely within the "reasonably foreseeable future," the government would have to present additional reasons to keep someone in jail.

There are currently some 20,000 people under INS detention, 3,000 of them with deportation orders and no country of destination. Many are permanent residents who

were locked up in INS prisons after completing sentences on criminal charges.

Wave of immigration

Washington's immigration laws have been the object of continuing protests by immigrant workers and defenders of their rights. They have also come under criticism by capitalist politicians who want to modify some of the most egregious aspects of the laws in order to clean up the image of the U.S. justice system, while keeping intact U.S. employers' ability to superexploit immigrant labor.

The debate takes place as the massive wave of immigration to this country, especially from Latin America and Asia, continues unabated, changing the face of U.S. society. An estimated 300,000 people cross the U.S.-Mexico border every year. U.S. officials estimate that, in addition to those with legal residence, some 5 million people are working in the United States without immigration papers.

Many industries, from meatpacking to construction, hire large numbers of immigrant workers, as bosses seek sources of cheap labor. As millions of workers from abroad have become part of the U.S. working class, many have become increasingly confident to assert their rights, from union-organizing drives to protests against deportations.

In this situation, the U.S. rulers have felt it necessary to make some adjustments to the sweeping legislation adopted with bipartisan support in the 1990s.

Former INS commissioner Doris Meissner, whose agency oversaw the Clinton administration's sharp step-up in attacks on immigrants, was quoted in a July 1 *New York Times* article saying, "The immigration policy debate shows how unsettled we are right now about how we view immigration. And maybe that's to be expected because looking back, we know from the census that this has been the largest decade of immigration in history in terms of numbers. Over 10 million people came to

this country in the 1990s."

Commenting after the June 25 Supreme Court ruling, Pamela Falk, a law professor at the City University of New York, told the *Times* that the decision "reflects the reality of the census in a new view that immigrants are part of the mainstream of the U.S. political system."

During a July 10 visit to New York, President George Bush tried to portray the White House as sympathetic to immigrants and announced several proposed changes in immigration policy, mostly cosmetic. One was to establish "a six-month standard from start to finish for processing applications for immigration," he said.

He also called for extending a temporary provision adopted by Congress allowing immigrants to apply for "green cards"—permanent residence—while residing in the United States. Under the 1996 immigration act, hundreds of thousands of people were forced to leave the United States and return to their homelands for years while applying for their green card.

Despite the legal changes registered in the recent court rulings, the body of anti-immigrant legislation remains mostly in force.

Anti-working-class policies

Besides the provisions that were taken up by the Supreme Court, the Illegal Immigration Reform and Immigrant Responsibility Act contains numerous other reactionary clauses. Among other things, the law required that a Social Security number be included on drivers licenses by the year 2000, a provision later removed before that time. Currently 29 states use a Social Security number as the driver's license or show it on the license. Such measures, which have sparked demonstrations this year by immigrant workers from California to Minnesota, are a probe by U.S. officials to move toward establishing a national ID card for all U.S. residents.

A second law passed by the Clinton administration in 1996, the Antiterrorism and Effective Death Penalty Act, established secret evidence courts. The Illegal Immigra-

tion Reform law expanded the power to use secret evidence against immigrants accused of being "terrorists." The legislation also allows the government to deny the right to bail to such accused individuals.

In March, a bill called the Secret Evidence Repeal Act was introduced in Congress, seeking to limit the use of secret evidence to deport or detain immigrants. The FBI testified last year that it had used "secret evidence" in 11 cases, and the INS has admitted that it has used such "evidence" in about 50 cases from 1992 to 1998.

In addition, the 1996 immigration law tripled to 15,000 the number of immigration cops, making the INS the largest federal police agency. Factory raids and deportations have hit record highs, and 1,000 working people are estimated to have died trying to cross from Mexico to the United States since 1996. These increased deaths are a result of the INS stepping up patrols along the border, forcing workers to cross through more remote, desert areas.

Immigrant workers have answered the attacks on their rights with repeated protests, gaining increased support from other workers. In this context, the AFL-CIO leadership, which had previously supported employer sanctions in the name of protecting "American jobs," has endorsed the call for an "amnesty" for undocumented workers already in the United States, and for the repeal of the law decreeing sanctions on employers who hire undocumented workers, a measure bosses use as a club to try to intimidate workers from speaking out or organizing for their rights on the job.

In one sign of the times, four Mexican-born workers in New York successfully sued their boss, a contractor called Quick and Professional, for not paying their wages. The judge ruled that the employer had to pay them \$3,290 in back wages. The four workers, three of whom are undocumented, proudly appeared in a photo accompanying a news article on their case in the New York Spanish-language daily *El Diario/La Prensa*.

Youth resist attacks by cops and rightists against Asians in UK

BY PAUL DAVIES

LONDON—Young people in the towns of Burnley and Bradford have taken to the streets in recent weeks to defend their communities and protest assaults by cops and ultrarightist thugs.

About 1,000 youth set up barricades in the streets and defended themselves from an attack by cops in the Manningham area of Bradford after supporters of the National Front, a fascist organization, had begun chanting racist abuse at Asians participating in an Anti-Nazi League rally.

During the night the police summoned 425 additional cops from neighboring units to reinforce the 500 local cops on the scene, who were having a difficult time cracking down on the protesters. A BBC news bulletin reported that cops "regularly charged the crowd with shields and batons but were forced to retreat repeatedly as the crowd surged forward." Some 120 cops were reportedly injured during the street battle.

Two weeks before the events in Bradford, young people in Burnley fought back against racist assaults by right-wing forces. This followed an assault on an Asian taxi driver by a thug who struck him with a hammer, fracturing his cheekbone. In the week since then, taxi drivers in Burnley have organized a strike to protest the destruction of their vehicles by rightists. The strike action has spread to nearby Nelson and Rawtenstall.

"It's about police brutality," explained R. Mohammed, a resident of the Stoneyholme area of Burnley, describing how cops set up local Asians in the Burnleywood area for assault by rightist thugs. Speaking to *Mili-*

tant reporters just days after the assaults, he described how the cops had escorted a group of 100 racists from the predominantly Asian area of Stoneyholme to the largely white area of Burnleywood. The cops had then drawn away to allow the racists to launch attacks on the few Asian properties that were nearby.

The home and shop that belonged to Mohammed and Rashda Sarfraz was one of those that were set on fire. "I spent half an hour calling the police while my house was besieged by a crowd of 60 people, who eventually burnt it down," Mohammed Sarfraz explained. "My wife, my children, and myself were only able to escape when eight of our friends, who happen to be white, came to help."

Rashda Sarfraz broke her leg as she tried to leave the home. "The local newspaper, the *Burnley Express*, printed a photo of my burnt-out house, but reporters would not come to interview my family so that we could tell our story," Sarfraz commented. "But we have received messages of support from staff and children at my daughters school, which is attended by pupils who are mostly white. Customers at my shop have also sent flowers and messages of support. I would like to see those responsible for this attack punished."

The cops have not only set up Asians for assaults by the rightists, but they have tried to punish those who act to prevent racist attacks. "The police have arrested Asians who had prevented two men from entering a local mosque because they believed the men were likely to carry out attacks on those coming into the mosque," reported Masaka Ali, a Stoneyholme resident.

San Francisco protesters demand, 'U.S. Navy Out of Vieques Now!'



Militant/Deborah Ljatos

July 4 protest by 100 people at the Golden Gate Bridge in San Francisco against continued bombing by the U.S. Navy of the Puerto Rican island of Vieques. The island has been used for "live fire" target practice for 60 years by Washington. President George Bush said last month the bombing would end in two years. Francis Free-Ramos, an organizer of the protest, said, "We shouldn't give up the fight now. Instead we need to redouble our effort to get the U.S. Navy out now."

These arrests and other steps by the cops have not deterred young people in the area from mobilizing to defend their communities. According to other Stoneyholme residents who did not wish to be named, youth organized street patrols to protect the predominantly Asian area from further attacks during several nights in the week following the weekend assaults.

Blair violence-baits protesters

In response to the events in Bradford, Prime Minister Anthony Blair tarred those who stood up to the police as "thugs." He indicated that the government was considering giving the cops powers to use water cannon in future conflicts. Bradford member of Parliament Marsha Singh argued for such measures, declaring that "the police have got to have the equipment and the resources to clear the streets."

Reflecting growing divisions within the

Labour Party administration, former Labour deputy leader Roy Hattersley said the suggested use of water cannon would be "absolutely disastrous."

The previous week, Home Secretary David Blunkett had attempted to ban all demonstrations. Using the 1986 Public Order Act, he granted the West Yorkshire Police powers to prevent public events that were scheduled to be held by a range of organizations, from the fascist National Front to the Anti-Nazi League and the Trades Union Congress. Police have arrested 36 people in Bradford, two-thirds of whom are Asian.

Paul Davies is a member of the Transport and General Workers' Union in London.

Rape charge in Okinawa leads to more protests against U.S. military bases; soldier arrested

BY BRIAN WILLIAMS

In response to a growing outcry throughout Japan over a U.S. Air Force officer accused of raping a young woman in Okinawa June 29, U.S. authorities finally agreed July 26 to turn the suspect, Senior Staff Sergeant Timothy Woodland, 24, over to the Japanese police to be arrested.

The day of his arrest, 200 people protested outside the Kadena Air Base in Okinawa against the U.S. military presence there.

Since the end of World War II, Washington has stationed 47,000 troops in Japan, with 27,000 of them located in Okinawa, a group of islands southwest of Japan's main islands.

Okinawa, which many of its residents view as having a national identity distinct from Japan, was under direct U.S. colonial rule from 1945 to 1972, when it was turned back over to Japan.

Over the past several years Okinawans have organized mounting protests to demand the withdrawal of U.S. military troops from their land and to condemn the continuing instances of abusive conduct by U.S. military personnel stationed there.

"I accept the emotions were very heated over this terrible, heinous crime and I suspect that those who were very active in their activities against the U.S. forces present in Japan, who are at large in Okinawa particularly, will be redoubling their efforts," stated U.S. Deputy Secretary of State Richard Armitage the day the U.S. airman was turned over to Japanese authorities. "I believe however that the decision to turn over the sergeant was made in sufficient time to keep this from becoming a situation that got out of control."

In 1995, after three U.S. soldiers were found guilty of raping a 12-year-old girl, tens of thousands of people poured into the streets of Okinawa to express their outrage and demand that Washington withdraw its troops.

The Status of Forces Agreement, under which U.S. troops are stationed in Japan, does not oblige Washington to cede custody of U.S. military personnel charged in criminal cases until they have been indicted. In response to protests over the 1995 incident,

however, the U.S. government promised to "favorably consider" the Japanese authorities' request to relinquish soldiers charged with serious crimes.

A resolution passed July 5 by the Okinawa prefectural assembly demanded alterations in the Status of Forces Agreement. "Even with a heinous crime such as this, the Americans use the pact as a shield to continue denying our requests for the suspect to be handed over," the resolution stated. The transfer didn't occur until four days after Japanese police had issued a warrant for Woodland's arrest.

At the time, top officials in Prime Minister Junichiro Koizumi's cabinet also criticized Washington for ignoring the court's warrant.

Woodland is the first U.S. soldier stationed in Okinawa to be turned over to Japanese authorities for a pre-indictment investigation. This is only the second time U.S.

forces in Japan have handed over a serviceman prior to formal charges being filed. The first was in July 1996, in the case of an attempted murder of a woman near Nagasaki.

In response to this latest incident, U.S. secretary of state Colin Powell announced he will hold talks with Foreign Minister Makiko Tanaka in Tokyo July 23 as part of a previously scheduled Asian tour. The *Mainichi Daily News* reports State Department spokesman Richard Boucher saying that "because the rape incident has reignited furious protests against the American mili-



Students join July 6 protest outside of Kadena Air Base in Okinawa against massive U.S. military presence on the island. Washington has turned over to local authorities a U.S. soldier accused of raping an Okinawan woman.

tary presence in Okinawa, Powell will examine tightening discipline among U.S. servicemen."

Meanwhile, recent comments about this case by the Japanese foreign minister have further fueled the controversy around the issue. Several of Japan's newspapers report that at a private dinner with members of Parliament July 2, she blamed the alleged rape victim for the incident, claiming she was drunk at 2:00 a.m. at an Okinawa restaurant where U.S. soldiers go to meet women.

Send in your check now for the Pathfinder Over-the-Top Fund!

BY MARK GILSDORF

Contributors to the Pathfinder "Over the Top" fund have paid a total of more than \$5,700 out of nearly \$10,300 that was pledged.

The remaining \$4,500 in pledges, however, needs to be sent in right away. The fund was due to be completed by July 1. This means supporters of the revolutionary press need to collect payments in each local area over the next week.

The Over-the-Top fund registered an enthusiastic response to the international \$100,000 Pathfinder Fund. After contributors around the world surpassed that goal, reaching \$103,000, Pathfinder supporters decided to take advantage of the Active Workers Conference, held in mid-June in Oberlin, Ohio, to increase the contributions even further.

The fund makes it possible to keep in print the existing Pathfinder arsenal of more than 350 Pathfinder books and pamphlets. It also allows Pathfinder to maintain the ambitious publishing schedule it has set to meet the needs of growing numbers of workers, farmers and youth who are hungry for the working-class politics explained in Pathfinder books.

The latest example is the newly reissued pamphlet *Revolution in the Congo*, which has been flying off literature tables in front of theaters showing the film *Lumumba* in New York City. The pamphlet, which explains the history of the independence and anti-imperialist struggle in the Congo, has also introduced dozens of people to the broad range of Pathfinder books offering an international and class perspective to address the interests of working people. Pathfinder is also preparing new pamphlets in French and Spanish of speeches by Thomas Sankara, leader of the 1983-87 revolution in Burkina Faso.

Funds to produce these books are urgently needed. Please send your contribution today. Checks should be made out to Pathfinder and sent to Pathfinder, 410 West St., New York, NY 10014.

New Zealand fish workers strike for contract

BY ANNALUCIA VERMUNT

CHRISTCHURCH, New Zealand—Strikers maintained a lively picket at the gates of Sanford's fish processing plant in the town of Timaru July 5. About 70 workers at this plant and 36 workers at the Bluff wet fish plant have taken action in support of their claim for a contract that covers both sites. They are also demanding improved wages and working conditions. A multisite agreement would allow workers at both plants to receive the same pay and job conditions.

Sanford is one of New Zealand's larger fishing companies, with factories throughout the country. Last year it reported a profit of NZ\$54.5 million (NZ\$1 = US 40 cents).

The workers, members of the Service and Food Workers Union, first struck for six hours on June 11, and on June 18 they staged a go-slow workday in disgust at what they said was a pitiful offer from the company.

On June 25 the unionists took further strike action at both plants, with a march in Bluff attracting support from workers at Ngai Tahu Fisheries. When the Bluff workers went to return to the job the next day, the bosses would not let them work unless they gave an assurance they would not take further industrial action. Faced with the lockout in Bluff, the Timaru workers have stayed out in support of their demands.

At the Timaru picket, Marty Locke explained that he works as a general hand and after 12 years he earns only NZ\$10.47 an hour. If they didn't strike, wages and conditions would only worsen, he said.

Karl, a young worker on the picket line, said he and others might not be at the plant in five years, but we are "the revolution for people who come after we've gone. They've been treating us bad for a long time."

Jane King, a union delegate, explained that after eight years she is an "A-grade" packer—the top grade—but her hourly rate is only NZ\$10.56, approximately 20 percent behind other fish factories. "It is only fair that all the wet fish plants in the South Island be paid at the same rate," she said.

King explained that Sanford has three wet fish plants in the South Island—in Nelson, Bluff, and Timaru. "Nelson settled their contract before Christmas, but eventually we want to be all on the same contract. Auckland and Tauranga in the North Island have one contract, so there is no reason we can't have one here."

Another picket, Tamara, had only been working at the Timaru plant for a month when she joined the strike. She is on the starting wage of NZ\$9.18. "I might not have a job when this is all over," she explained, "but I had to stand with them."

The strikers maintain the picket line 24 hours, seven days a week, despite the bitterly cold winter temperatures. A solidarity caravan has provided warm soup and shelter. While this reporter was at the picket, two city council representatives visited, declar-

ing that they were there to check that the caravan was not polluting the road.

The strike has received support from meat workers, dockworkers, unionists at Dominion Breweries, and workers at two local food processing plants, McCains and Bluebird.

The Service and Food Workers Union has set up a NZ\$20,000 strike fund to meet workers' pressing needs. At one point some of those who had been out on strike went back into work, but as news of financial assistance, including entitlements to unemployment benefits, came through they rejoined the picket lines.

A June 30 march through the main street of Timaru attracted support from other

workers. Locke said he was in the Trade Union Centre when an older worker came in with two loaves of bread, saying, "I'm sorry it's not much, but I know what it's like, I used to work there."

The Bluff plant is at the height of salmon processing. Bosses are trying to run it with clerical and cleaning staff processing the fish. On July 2, a picket of 55 turned away a truck driven by Sanford Bluff manager Tommy Foggo that was trying to deliver a load of salmon.

The Timaru plant is running at what workers estimate to be 40 percent to 50 percent capacity. The company has a large order for orange roughly to fill, and it was quite busy

when the strike began. Some of those crossing the picket line are union members, and a few replacement workers have been hired during the strike.

Sanford has so far refused to negotiate on the issue of a multisite contract. Timaru managers have offered a 6 percent pay raise over two years, which workers have rejected. The unionists point out that workers at the Sealords factory in Nelson recently won a pay increase of more than 6 percent for packers and 4 percent for fish filleters over one year.

Annalucia Vermunt is a member of the Meat Workers Union in Christchurch.

Airline workers, pilots take action

BY PATRICK O'NEILL

The airline industry has been marked by a series of labor struggles in recent weeks—flight attendants, mechanics, cleaners, and other workers insisting on improvements in wages and working conditions from companies that are bent on cutting costs. Unionists from American, Delta, Northwest, Southwest, and United Airlines have taken action to draw attention to their demands.

Acting in the interests of the airline bosses, President George Bush threatened June 25 to use special powers against 23,000 flight attendants at American Airlines, who in February had voted to strike June 30 after working without a contract for two years. Under legislation often wielded against railway unions, Bush declared that he would use emergency powers to impose new mediation in the dispute and delay any strike action for another 60 days. Representatives of American, the world's largest airline, declared that Bush's threat ensured "there will be no disruption in service."

In face of the White House warning, and under the supervision of a government-appointed National Mediation Board, union and company representatives pieced together an agreement a few hours before the strike deadline expired. Over the following 10 days, the flight attendants were due to vote to either ratify or reject the deal, details of which have not been released.

A few days earlier, the airline bosses and the Transport Workers Union—representing mechanics, ramp workers, and other workers—announced a tentative pact. The agree-



Militant/Robin Mace

Workers at Northwest Airlines picket at White House in March to protest move by President Bush to block their right to strike for 60 days. Since then, airlines have been hit by series of labor actions.

ment includes wage increases of 8 percent and more, and provisions on benefits, retirement, and work rules.

Bush used the same emergency powers earlier this year to stave off a strike by the Aircraft Mechanics Fraternal Association members at Northwest Airlines. The employers also threatened to intervene in a dispute between Delta Air Lines and 9,800 pilots.

Around 1,350 pilots at Delta's wholly owned subsidiary of Comair have won substantial salary increases after stopping work for 89 days and grounding the company's 80-plus planes. Under the contract ratified June 22 with a 64 percent "yes" vote, the

salaries of the lowest-paid pilots will rise from \$16,000 to \$21,000 a year. Pilots also won improvements in retirement benefits.

Pilots at other airlines flying local routes watched the dispute with keen interest. In common with more and more companies, Comair operates a fleet of regional jets, a type of aircraft that out-competes the turbo-prop airplanes that formerly dominated shorter-haul flights. The Comair contract is expected to establish a standard for conditions throughout this sector of the industry.

At American Airlines, pilots have protested a cost-cutting proposal by the company to trim the trip from Dallas to Honolulu to under eight hours—a flight time that would allow the company to legally assign two pilots rather than the three presently required under federal regulations. In addition, the airline wants to increase the speed of its planes by 2 percent and fly them 9,000 feet below standard cruising altitude. Spokespeople for the Allied Pilots Association explain that these measures would expose the planes to turbulent air and would subject pilots to increased wind noise in the cockpit.

Toronto bakery strikers defend their union

BY JOHN STEELE

TORONTO—In their first strike in decades, 500 members of Local 426 of the Bakery, Confectionery and Tobacco Workers Union began their second week on the picket line at Christie Brown and Co. The workers walked off the job June 24 after voting to strike by a 98 percent majority.

The huge bakery is a division of Nabisco, which is now a part of Kraft Foods.

"I've never done this before," said picket captain Zorka Vlaho. "I have one year to go before retirement. But I'm fighting for the next generation."

The unionists are opposing attacks on seniority rights and are fighting for job se-

curity, Vlaho said. "Without seniority rights we don't have a union. Without a union we haven't got anything."

Bosses after seniority rights

Strikers explained that the company is demanding an end to plant-wide seniority, a move that would limit workers' seniority rights to their own job classification. If the company gets its way, it will be able to hire workers into classifications without being obligated to retrain long-standing employees whose jobs may be cut with the introduction of new machinery in their classification.

Line speed is a safety issue for many workers because of the number of soft-tissue injuries like tendinitis and carpal tunnel syndrome. "If you get injured they bring you back in the next day on light duty to avoid compensation," a striker said. "They'll even send a cab to bring you in."

A leaflet from the local union executive board distributed on the picket line pointed to the unity of the strikers in face of provocations by security guards and scab truck drivers hired by the company. Two pickets have been hit by cars.

On the street many motorists honk their horns in support of the pickets.

John Steele is a meat packer and member of United Food and Commercial Workers Local 175/633.

Flight attendants walk out in Mexico

Some 1,500 flight attendants at Aeroméxico, Mexico's largest airline, struck for a wage increase in early June. The airline, which is majority-owned by the Mexican government, was forced to cancel 500 flights during the two days of the stoppage. The workers won an increase of 9.5 percent, 1.5 percent less than their original demand. Their average annual wage stands at \$9,300.

The two-day strike was the first serious labor crisis for the administration of President Vicente Fox, who in the end decided not to use his executive powers to end the strike, as President Ernesto Zedillo did in 1998 and 2000 to bar strikes that took place at Aeroméxico.

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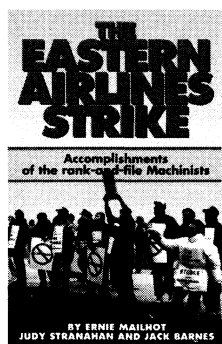
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Jack Barnes

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Patrice Lumumba and revolution

Pamphlet describes anticolonial struggle, U.S. and Belgian imperialists' assault

Printed below is an article appearing in the newly reissued Pathfinder pamphlet *Revolution in the Congo*. This article was originally published in the January-February 1965 issue of the *Young Socialist*. Titled "Background to the Congo," it reviews the fight by the Congolese people that led to political independence in 1960 from Belgian colonial rule; the role of anti-imperialist leader Patrice Lumumba in the Congolese freedom struggle; and how, under the cover of the United Nations, U.S. and Belgian imperialism intervened in the Congo, orchestrating the ouster and assassination of Lumumba to install a pro-imperialist regime. See "Imperialism vs. Congolese freedom struggle" on the facing page for additional information on the Congo events of the 1960s. Subtitles are in the original article. Copyright ©1965 by Pathfinder Press, reprinted by permission.



BY DICK ROBERTS

The Congo has been the scene of unceasing turbulence since June 30th, 1960, the day the Congolese gained formal independence from Belgium. Real independence, however, consisting of self-determination in all spheres of life, could not be obtained simply through a change in the political relationships between the Congo and Belgium. This change only set the stage for a new and deeper struggle, the struggle for economic independence.

Not only Belgium, but France, England, and particularly the United States had no intention of allowing their vast economic holdings in the Congo to be jeopardized by the new Republic. Increasingly, as the Congolese struggle became one for economic independence, these foreign powers and their agents within the Congo became formidable opponents of independence. The deepening struggle drove divisions into the Congolese peoples, widely separating those who fought for complete independence from those who desired to remain within the economic confines of world capitalist investment.

The partisans of independence were further divided on tactical questions: Could independence be obtained peacefully, through parliamentary means? Or was it necessary to engage in armed struggle against the imperialist powers and their Congolese puppets?

A few years is a very short time for a revolutionary movement to learn the answers to these questions. Their opponents, the imperialist nations, have developed the political instruments of economic exploitation over decades. In the Congo, they employed a variety of tactics in their overall strategy of holding Congolese mineral wealth to the world capitalist market.



Congolese demonstrating against Belgian colonial administration burn official vehicle in Leopoldville (now Kinshasa) in 1959. Winning of independence in 1960 struck blow against imperialist powers, which then moved to protect their interests in the Congo.

The major foreign economic holdings in the Congo are in the vast mineral enterprises of the province of Katanga, which in 1960 realized about 60 percent of the total Congo revenues. Most of Katanga's mineral reserves are owned and mined by a giant U.S.-British-Belgian controlled corporation, the Union Minière du Haut Katanga (UMHK). In 1960, with annual sales of \$200 million, UMHK produced 60 percent of the uranium in the West, 73 percent of the cobalt, and 10 percent of the copper, and had in the Congo 24 affiliates including hydroelectric plants, chemical factories and railways.

The Cold War and nuclear arms race had been very profitable for Congolese enterprises. Besides mineral industries, many other factories had been built by foreign capitalists. Belgium invested over \$3 billion in the Congo, and the U.S. about half a billion—much of it coming from the Rockefeller family who purchased everything from pineapple plantations to car companies.

At first sight, it would appear that the U.S. and Belgium had common interest in preserving the Congolese market, and in the last analysis this is true. But in the initial period of independence, U.S. investors attempted to take advantage of the fact that Belgium would lose her political reins on the Congo. Just prior to 1960, U.S. capitalists greatly increased their Congo holdings, and they continued to do so through last year. David Rockefeller, for example, bought the bauxite industry, Bauxicongo, in 1959; and the Rockefellers have increased their share of UMHK as well as other large enterprises.

Other American corporations have put their fingers in the Congo grab-bag, including American Metal Climax (Arthur Dean, U.S. delegate to the Geneva conference on disarmament was a vice-president) and the Tempelman and Son (Adlai Stevenson was president). From 1961 to 1963, U. S. investments doubled to \$1.2 billion—nearly the amount presently invested by the U.S. in Brazil.

But the United States interests in the Congo are not uniform. In the crucial copper industry, there has been a world overproduction of copper, amounting to about 10 percent of the world produce, the same amount as is produced in Katanga. Thus giant copper industries in this country, like Kennecott and Anaconda, which get most of their copper from Chile, would just as soon see the Katanga copper industry destroyed, as fall into the hands of a competitor like Rockefeller.

Swedish capitalists also have large holdings in competitive copper enterprises. Bo Hammarskjöld, elder brother of the late UN Secretary General, was on the board of directors of the Swedish controlled Liberian Iron Ore, Ltd., a corporation which found

American allies in the desire to diminish Katangese competition.

With such an investment pattern, it is easy to see why the imperialist nations were interested in ensuring their control of Congolese mineral wealth; but it is also easy to see why the tactics of maintaining this control might differ between nations, and within the nations, themselves.

UN intervention

Upon achieving political independence, the Congolese held a general election to determine the membership of their democratic parliament. The majority of seats were won by the largest independence force, the Congolese National Movement, headed by the revered leader of the independence struggle, Patrice Lumumba. Lumumba was named Prime Minister.

However, no sooner had Lumumba been elected, than Belgium began to take steps to weaken his government. The Belgians had forced the Congolese to allow them to maintain an army and air bases in the Congo, ostensibly for "mutual cooperation." A week after independence, when Congolese soldiers demonstrated against their Belgian officers with a demand for pay and rank raises, Belgian troops fired on the demonstrators. Lumumba, in turn, removed the Belgian officers, and appointed Josef Kasavubu commander-in-chief.

The Belgians quickly exploited the situation they had provoked. Claiming that Lumumba was inspiring "racial hatred" and couldn't be trusted to govern the Congo, they rushed in new troops, and separated Katanga from the Congo Republic—using Moïse Tshombe, a wealthy plantation owner and businessman as their Katanga front-man.

In this crisis, Lumumba correctly accused the Belgians of having "carefully prepared the secession of Katanga," and asked for the immediate help of the United Nations... a fatal error, as Lumumba himself learned, all too soon. The United States completely dominated the UN.

Seizing the opportunity to extend foreign military control in the Congo, the U.S. pushed the UN to meet Lumumba's request, and the UN sped troops to the Congo July 14. They had no intentions of driving Belgium out of the Congo. The temporary commander of UN forces, Alexander, flatly stated, "friendly relations would... be established" with the Belgians.

It was almost immediately apparent to Lumumba that the UN was double dealing, and he requested outside support from the Soviet Union, to intervene "should the Western camp not stop its aggression."

By July 30 the Belgians had built up a

force of over 10,000 troops, and the UN army had refused to enter Katanga. On August 2nd, Antoine Gizenga, Lumumba's right hand man and delegate to the UN, told Hammarskjöld:

"We do not understand that we, victims of aggression, who are at home here, are being systematically disarmed [by the UN force] while the aggressors, the Belgians, who are the conquerors here, are permitted to keep their weapons and their means of inflicting death."

In Katanga, Belgian troops crushed uprisings of Congolese soldiers and miners, and protected Tshombe's efforts to suppress opposition from minority leaders in the Katanga parliament. The UN closed broadcasting stations in Leopoldville and commanded Lumumba not to meddle in Katanga.

According to Under-Secretary Ralph Bunche, the UN's mission was to "pacify and then to administer the Congo." From the very outset, it was clear that the UN did not recognize the duly elected government of Lumumba, and intended to restore a pro-Belgian, pro-U.S. government.

However, world pressure, not only from the Soviet bloc, but from newly independent African nations which threatened to draw their armies out of the UN force, demanded that the UN live up to Lumumba's request. At this point, the tactics of U.S.



UN troops in the Congo, August 1960. UN force let pro-imperialist secession unfold in Katanga province.

and Belgian imperialism temporarily diverged.

The United States recognized the necessity of a temporary maneuver to avoid international criticism. World opinion had a particularly significant effect because the September 1960 opening of the UN was scheduled to be addressed by Nasser, Tito and Nehru, the leaders of the neutral nations; by Khrushchev; by Toure of Guinea and Nkrumah of Ghana; and by Fidel Castro.

This array of world leaders could have had an unusually damaging effect on the U. S. public image—protector of the free world; and this image could only be protected to a limited extent by restricting Khrushchev and Castro to a confined area of New York, and preventing them from appearing on TV.

Consequently, the United States pressured the UN to end Belgian occupation. On August 21, Hammarskjöld told the Security Council: "The Belgian chapter in the history of the Congo in its earlier forms is ended. The UN... is in charge of order and security."

Lumumba's murder

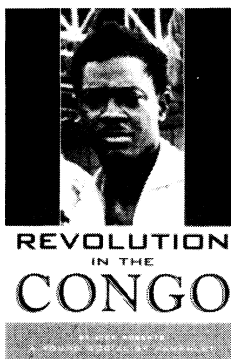
By this time the Congo crisis had had a second important divisive effect, this time on the Congolese themselves. Elements of the next largest political party after the

Newly reissued by Pathfinder

REVOLUTION in the CONGO

By Dick Roberts

Describes the struggle against Belgian colonial rule, the 1960 independence victory of the Congolese workers and farmers under the leadership of Patrice Lumumba, the role, under UN cover, of Washington and other imperialist powers in the overthrow and assassination of Lumumba, and the continuing freedom struggles there in the early 1960s.



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n in the Congo

ilt on revolution under UN cover

Congolese National Movement, the Abako Party, led by Kasavubu, threw their cards in with United States interests.

Kasavubu, who had been powerless in the original government, now took sides against Lumumba, demanding that he be ousted, and sending a separate delegation to the UN. This gave the UN a considerably stronger hand in the Congo, even though many UN members, led by Nkrumah, held that Lumumba was the head of the only legitimate Congo government.

Castro, who delivered his famous UN speech indicting the U.S. for support of Batista throughout the Cuban revolution, charged that Col. Mobutu, Kasavubu's military aide, had been advised and encouraged by U.S. officials.

Unfortunately, Lumumba continued to rely on appeals to the UN, undoubtedly supported in this futile effort by the Soviet Union. Khrushchev held the ill-advised position that "Dag, not the UN," was responsible. Instead of exposing the UN as a pawn

in the hands of the State Department, and building an independent military force in the Congo to protect the legitimate government, Lumumba and his Soviet allies played into the hands of the imperialists and Kasavubu.

On September 5, Lumumba was summarily removed from office, Soviet representatives were ordered out of the country, and a military dictatorship was established under Col. Mobutu. In the UN, the independent nations strongly opposed these moves, blaming them on Belgium, and demanding the restoration of Lumumba—all to little avail. Overridden by the U.S. and her UN lackeys, their motion to restore Lumumba was defeated November 22 by a vote of 53-to-24.

Again Lumumba temporized, this time fatally. Remaining in Leopoldville until the end of November, his belated effort to escape was doomed to fail. On December 1st, Lumumba was seized, publicly mauled in a truck before U.S. TV cameras and im-

Continued on Page 12



Patrice Lumumba, detained by pro-imperialist forces, sits in a truck in Leopoldville on Dec. 2, 1960, shortly before his murder. Lumumba, beaten in front of U.S. TV cameras while UN troops stood by, could not be broken by his enemies.

Imperialism vs. Congolese freedom struggle

Lumumba. A film by Raoul Peck, 2000. In French with English subtitles. With Erick Ebouaney as Patrice Lumumba.

BY BRIAN WILLIAMS

In its powerful depiction of events that occurred in the fight for the independence of the Congo 40 years ago, the film *Lumumba*, now showing at a number of theaters across North America, helps bring to life an important chapter in the African freedom struggle against imperialist exploitation and oppression.

The fight led by Patrice Lumumba, who in June 1960 became the first prime minister of the newly formed Republic of the Congo, was for more than just political independence from Belgium—the occupying colonial power for the previous 80 years. It was a struggle for the dignity of the Congolese people, whose lands and wealth had been savagely plundered by the imperialist powers.

The film clearly shows the role of U.S. and Belgian imperialism in organizing to overthrow and assassinate Lumumba.

"The major motivation for me is that the film is talking about the world now," stated film director Raoul Peck in an interview with the New York *Daily News*. "For me, this film is in the middle of our reality today."

Indeed, the events depicted in the movie are not just a question of the historical past. Today, as Washington seeks to assert itself

as the dominant power in Africa and worldwide—and as workers and farmers put up resistance to U.S. imperialist rule, from south Korea to the Western Sahara to Puerto Rico—the lessons of the anti-imperialist struggle in the Congo need to be known by working people everywhere.

The Congo, later renamed Zaire and now called the Democratic Republic of Congo, is endowed with immense mineral wealth in a land the size of western Europe. At the time of the rise of the independence movement in 1958, Congo was among the world's

FILM REVIEW

largest producer of copper, uranium, cobalt, industrial diamonds, and rubber.

At the 1885 Berlin Conference, where the European powers carved up most of Africa among themselves, they sanctioned the claim of Belgian King Leopold II to sole authority over the Congo, a land mass 75 times the area of Belgium.

In his book *King Leopold's Ghosts: A Story of Greed, Terror, and Heroism in Colonial Africa*, Adam Hochschild describes how the peoples living in the Congo River Basin suffered "a death toll of Holocaust dimensions" as Belgian colonial rulers plundered the land and conducted a war

of enslavement against the indigenous population. According to the estimate of a Belgian government commission, between the late 1870s and 1919 some 10 million people in the Congo died as a result of colonial policies.

"Villages were dragooned into tapping rubber, and if they refused to comply, or complied but failed to meet European quotas, they were punished," noted Jeremy Harding in a September 1998 *New York Times* article. Countless numbers of working people died from starvation and sickness as communities were driven away from their food supplies.

In October 1958 Lumumba, a former postal employee, helped to found the Congolese National Movement (MNC), the first nationwide Congolese political party, which rapidly developed a mass base. It sought to appeal to the Congolese people across the divisions among language groups and cultures that were reinforced and played on by the imperialist rulers.

The Belgian colonial masters sought to derail this movement by framing up and imprisoning Lumumba. In January 1959, he was arrested on charges of "inciting a riot" in Leopoldville (now Kinshasa), the country's capital. Belgian authorities refused an MNC request to hold a mass meeting and brutally suppressed those protesting this violation of their rights. Over two days, colonial security forces fatally shot 76 Congolese and wounded more than 300.

The film shows scenes of Lumumba in prison being brutalized and taunted by prison guards, who insisted he would not get out of prison anytime soon. Then came the call from Belgian authorities that Lumumba was to be immediately released and flown to Brussels to participate in a January 1960 conference of leading political parties in the country to discuss the Congo's political future.

Under mounting mass pressure, Belgian authorities agreed to set independence day for June 30 and to schedule elections in May of that year. The MNC won more seats than any other party. Lumumba was named the country's first prime minister, with Joseph Kasavubu of the ABAKO party named president.

'Independence won by struggle'

One of the film's highlights is Lumumba's speech on June 30, 1960, at the ceremony in Leopoldville where independence was officially proclaimed. At the event, Belgium's monarch at the time, King Baudouin, arrogantly declared that the independence of the Congo was "the crowning of the work conceived by the genius of King Leopold II." He was followed by Kasavubu, who offered obsequious words of praise for the colonial power.

Then Lumumba, who was not officially scheduled to speak, took the podium.

Lumumba's speech, broadcast on radio, electrified the population as he spoke the unvarnished truth.

"No Congolese worthy of the name will ever be able to forget that independence has only been won by struggle," Lumumba said. "The struggle, involving tears, fire, and blood, is something of which we are proud in our deepest hearts, for it was a noble and just struggle, which was needed to bring to an end the humiliating slavery imposed on us by force."

He added, "We have experienced painful labor demanded of us in return for wages that were not enough to enable us to eat properly nor to be decently dressed or sheltered, nor to bring up our children.... We have seen our lands despoiled in the name of so-called legal documents which were no more than a recognition of superior force."

Speaking in 1964, three years after the murder of the Congolese leader, revolutionary leader Malcolm X hailed Lumumba. "He didn't fear anybody," Malcolm said. "They couldn't buy him, they couldn't frighten him, they couldn't reach him. Why, he told the king of Belgium, 'Man, you may let us free, you may have given us our independence, but we can never forget these scars.' The greatest speech—you should take that speech and tack it up over your door."

The imperialist powers, led by Washington together with Brussels, undertook a series of operations designed to undermine the new Lumumba-led government.

Less than two weeks after Congo's independence, the former Belgian rulers succeeded in organizing a secessionist movement in the province of Katanga, where U.S. and European companies had vast mineral holdings. On July 11, 1960, Moïse Tshombe, a wealthy businessman and leader of the Conakat party who bitterly opposed Lumumba, declared Katanga's separation from the Congo. Brussels sent 10,000 troops to Katanga to protect the pro-imperialist secessionists.

In response to the secession, and faced with a government and army plagued by divisions and conciliatory to imperialism, Lumumba made the fatal error of requesting that the United Nations—which claimed to support the Congo's independence—send a military force to help defend the newly independent government. Seeing an opportunity to intervene, Washington voted in the Security Council for this request. By the end of July, a UN force of more than 8,000 troops was stationed in the Congo.

But the United Nations was not a "neutral" body. It was—and remains today—an institution dominated by Washington and other imperialist governments. In the Congo, UN military intervention helped pave the way for deeper U.S. counterrevolutionary activities.

In fact, over the years the U.S. rulers have

Continued on Page 15

Filmgoers snap up books, pamphlet

BY LAURA GARZA

BROOKLYN, New York—"Read the truth about the U.S. role in the murder of Lumumba and intervention in the Congo."

Hearing this stopped many of those leaving the showings of *Lumumba*, the recently released film on Patrice Lumumba, the leader of the Congolese struggle for independence and freedom from imperialist domination. Socialists from New York's Garment District, Brooklyn, and Upper Manhattan have set up tables of Pathfinder literature outside showings of the film at the two locations in the city.

In three days, close to 70 copies of *Revolution in the Congo*, Pathfinder's newly reprinted pamphlet, were sold to people coming in or out of the theaters.

Many of those who stopped by the literature tables also bought a range of other Pathfinder titles. These included *Malcolm X Talks to Young People* and *To Speak the Truth*, a collection of speeches by Cuban revolutionary leaders Fidel Castro and Ernesto Che Guevara at the United Nations, which includes Cuba's denunciation of the

U.S. and UN role in the assassination of Lumumba.

After seeing the film, many were eager to discuss the role of U.S. imperialism today, lessons of the past anticolonial struggles, and prospects today for the fight against capitalist exploitation.

Two young men outside a Saturday evening showing at the Brooklyn Academy of Music reviewed their monetary situation after looking at a range of titles and settled on a copy of the *Communist Manifesto* and the issue of *New Internationalist* on "Che Guevara, Cuba, and the Road to Socialism."

A young woman walked away with \$40 of books including several titles on the Cuban Revolution and *Women's Liberation and the African Freedom Struggle*, a pamphlet by Thomas Sankara, the central leader of the 1983-87 revolution in Burkina Faso.

Some \$140 of books were sold outside the theater in Manhattan on one Saturday evening and \$80 the same night in Brooklyn. Many of those who bought books and the *Militant* also signed up to receive notices of the weekly Friday night Militant Labor Forums.

Fact-finding trip by U.S. librarians exposes anti-Cuba campaign

BY BILL KALMAN
AND SARA LOBMAN

SAN FRANCISCO—One feature of the annual meeting of the American Library Association (ALA) here in mid-June was a debate among some of the participants on Cuba, cultural freedom, and Washington's campaign of aggression against the Cuban Revolution.

At the conclusion of the ALA meeting, the organization's council, its governing body, approved a resolution opposing the efforts by the U.S. government to "limit access to informational materials by Cuba's libraries." In addition, the ALA International Relations Committee voted to establish a "protocol of cooperation" with the Cuban Library Association, known by its Spanish acronym, ASCUBI.

The decision was a setback to the ongoing efforts by supporters of Washington's drive against the Cuban Revolution—organized into the misnamed "Friends of Cuban Libraries"—to get the ALA to endorse so-called independent libraries in Cuba and to accuse the Cuban government of censorship and repression of intellectual freedom.

"Friends of Cuban Libraries" was launched in 1999. The main individuals publicly associated with this operation are Jorge Sanguinetti, a commentator on Radio Martí, and Robert Kent, a reference li-

brarian at the New York Public Library with a long history of activity against the Cuban Revolution. Radio Martí is the U.S. government's propaganda station directed against Cuba.

The debate in the ALA began in September 1999 when a committee of the International Federation of Library Associations (IFLA) endorsed the "Friends of Cuban Libraries" campaign and sent a letter to the Cuban government to that effect.

A panel discussion at the ALA meeting titled "Cuba: Sovereignty, Development, and Intellectual Freedom" took on the counterrevolutionary campaign and reported on fact-finding trips by U.S. librarians to Cuba. About 60 librarians attended the meeting.

The panel included Rhonda Neugebauer, Latin American Studies bibliographer at the University of California in Riverside, and Larry Oberg, a librarian at Willamette College in Salem, Oregon. Ann Sparanese, the head of adult and young adult services at the Englewood, New Jersey, public library, chaired the meeting.

Marta Terry, president of ASCUBI and past director of the José Martí National Library of Cuba, was scheduled to speak but was not granted a visa by the U.S. government in time to attend the conference, according to ALA official Mark Rozenzweig. Neugebauer, Oberg, and some 14 other

In Book-Starved Cuba, Little Feasts for the Hungry

By DAVID GONZALEZ

SANTIAGO DE CUBA — Among the books that Marcia Pérez Castillo keeps in the lending library at her home is "The Challenge of Liberty." Its very location underscores the book's theme, since she has it hidden in her bedroom. She tucked away similar volumes on democracy and dictatorships in an improvised rare books section, stashed in the ceiling under a dusty plastic sheet.

Ms. Pérez runs one of the more than 60 independent libraries in Cuba, relatively small collections of everything from pristine college texts and yellowed paperbacks with cracked spines to photocopied American magazines and dissident tracts. She and her fellow librarians see themselves as part of a larger movement for freedom of expression in a country where the government limits what people can read or write.

But as Ms. Pérez has learned, keeping books available for readers hungry for more than the usual fare found at state-run libraries has been difficult. Shipments, especially of political books from Europe and the United States, have been confiscated and some libraries have been under surveillance or searched by authorities, she said. When some books on democracy and peaceful resistance vanished from her home, she decided to organize her collection less along the Dewey Decimal System and more to deter decimation by collaborators with the authorities.

"I had to have some control over the books," she said. "Some people have come here and first ask for water. By the time I get back, they have taken some books. So I had to hide them in other rooms."

The libraries are supported by donated books from the United States and Europe, as well as diplomats who regularly deliver magazines, newspapers and political books. A member of the European Parliament recently suggested providing them with more financial assistance, as has Senator Jesse Helms, who in-



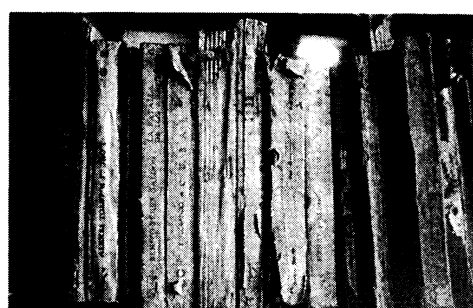
Ricardo González in the independent library he runs in Havana. "Here you can read with liberty," he said. "You can choose." Aida de Jesús Viso Bello, an independent journalist, was on the phone.

sponsored conferences on human rights or social problems.

"It is not a pure space for books," said one Cuban official. "When you have external financing with its own objectives, the term 'independent' goes to hell."

Cuba's literacy rate is unmatched in the Caribbean and Latin America after the revolution made eradicating illiteracy a priority. But a common complaint is that there is little to read beyond the offerings in the official media and state libraries, and foreign magazines and books are scarce.

"Newsweek is a very interesting magazine," said Madeleine Hernandez, who often goes to Ms. Pérez's library to read recent issues. "Here you can read the news that the govern-



Articles such as this *New York Times* piece have furthered a U.S. government-sponsored campaign against Cuba in the guise of promoting "independent libraries." A panel discussion at the American Library Association convention heard from a fact-finding mission that these are fronts for U.S.-backed opposition groups. The "individuals who operate the 'libraries' are neither independent nor librarians," said one participant.

U.S. librarians had participated in a two-week fact-finding trip to Cuba in March 2000. They visited university, high school, elementary school, and public libraries on the island. They also visited many of the so-

called independent libraries.

"Cuban libraries are an important component of Cuban society and serve thousands of people on a daily basis," Neugebauer reported. "Librarians in Cuba are eager to provide materials of all kinds to their users, who are very well educated about Cuba and about the world and who read a lot."

"Librarians in Cuba do an exceptional job disseminating ideas and information, despite the US economic embargo," Oberg noted. "They take their outreach obligations seriously," he added, pointing to the high priority given to bookmobiles and branch libraries in isolated rural locations, and the school libraries and librarians that exist in virtually all elementary and secondary schools.

Neugebauer reported on the delegation's visit to the so-called independent libraries. "These 'libraries' appear to us to be a public face for a dissident movement within Cuba that has its leadership, financial support, and media operations outside the country," she said. "The individuals who operate these 'libraries' are neither independent, nor are they librarians."

None of these individuals were able to name any books that had been banned by the government, Neugebauer said. When asked if they had material not available in the Cuban library system they pointed primarily to newsletters and printouts of U.S.-based organizations dedicated to the overthrow of the Cuban Revolution.

Following the March 2000 fact-finding trip, Kent sent a letter to the ALA's Committee on Professional Ethics, charging that Neugebauer had "no intention of supporting intellectual freedom during the library program she will be conducting in Cuba." In May 2001 the ALA sent an official delegation to Cuba to participate in a conference of Caribbean librarians.

Sparanese concluded the discussion by noting that the real counterparts and colleagues of U.S. librarians were not the "independent" librarians, but the hundreds of professionals who had to work everyday with shortages of paper, literature, computers and printers due to the hostile U.S. policy.

Bill Kalman is a member of United Food and Commercial Workers Local 120 in San Lorenzo, California.

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Admission of 'red bosses' to China CP exposes rift

BY GREG McCARTAN

An open dispute in the Chinese Communist Party has emerged following a proposal by President Jiang Zemin that individuals popularly known as "red capitalists" be once again officially allowed into the party. If adopted, private entrepreneurs, professionals, managers in joint ventures, and well-off self-employed individuals could become party members.

Jiang made the announcement on the 80th anniversary of the founding of the party in 1921 and in advance of a party leadership meeting next month. Central Party School official Li Junru hailed the move as a "major breakthrough and innovation in theory."

Attacking the proposal, Deng Liqun, leader of an opposition faction and former head of the propaganda department, said, "Somebody wants to change the color of the party. Somebody wants to take away the hammer and sickle from our flag—and replace them with a computer and satellite." A colleague of Deng stated that a person who employs more than 10 workers is an "exploiter," adding, "There is no way we can

let exploiters join the party."

In China, party membership is a prerequisite to holding most senior state positions. The ban on bosses joining the CP was imposed in 1989 in the wake of student-led protests that year and shortly after Jiang became the central party leader. Today, although there are already some 113,000 party members who run businesses even by official count, most have started their private enterprises after joining the party, according to press reports.

The dispute is one of many in the privileged ruling stratum that runs party and state affairs and controls local and regional governments in the world's most populous nation. The frictions arise over how best to try to keep working people out of political life and maintain social stability as the bureaucratic layer—unable and unwilling to lead workers and peasants to advance production and economic growth along lines that deepen their collective control over all aspects of economic and social life—seeks to open the economy more and more to the world capitalist market system.

Workers in Italy strike for better pay

BY BRIAN WILLIAMS

Workers throughout Italy conducted a one-day strike July 6 to demand increased wage hikes in new contracts under negotiation.

"Workers paralyze Italy's city streets and skies," was the headline of a Reuters news release filed from Rome that day. Metalworkers marched through the streets of a number of cities throughout the country, while strike action by air traffic controllers and some Alitalia flight attendants and pilots virtually shut down air travel.

Officials from the several unions representing metalworkers estimated that 250,000 workers participated in the protests. Metalworkers represent the largest number of Italy's 5.5 million unionized workers—46 percent of all wage contracts negotiated at the national level—who have yet to reach agreement on pay scales for this year.

For many workers wage increases have trailed price rises over the past two years in Italy. Since 1993 workers have received only minimal raises as a result of a "wage moderation" accord signed with the government that year and renewed in 1998.

In Milan, an estimated 60,000 members of the metalworkers' union FIOM marched through the streets with banners demanding better pay.

In Turin, the headquarters of many of Italy's largest industries, more than 30,000 workers halted work at several major plants, including the Fiat automobile group. Similar marches were held in Rome, Bologna, Florence, Genoa, and several southern cities, including Palermo in Sicily.

Air traffic controllers from CILVA-AV and other unions stopped work for 10 hours, while flight attendants and pilots stayed off the job for eight hours. Alitalia reported that 342 flights, 76 percent of the national carrier's total schedule, were cancelled. Dozens of other flights by other airlines into the country were also halted.

This was the first major labor action since the rightist government of Prime Minister Silvio Berlusconi came back into office following the May 13 national election. During his campaign the billionaire businessman promised to create 1.5 million jobs over five years and to increase the minimum pension level.

A Reuters dispatch noted, "Business-friendly Berlusconi is keen to avoid the kind of worker unrest that disrupted his first stint in office in 1994, when more than 3 million people took to the streets to protest against planned pension reform. His government fell after just seven months."

Read the fine print on 'patients' rights' bill

BY GREG McCARTAN

"Defying a veto threat from President Bush, the Senate tonight passed a bill that would establish a wide range of patients' rights for more than 200 million Americans with health insurance," was the glowing lead in one newspaper story.

"Far-reaching legislation extending new rights to all Americans in managed-care health care plans," was the description offered by another daily. Sen. Edward Kennedy, a sponsor of the bill, was even more enthusiastic: "At long last, the Senate has acted to protect patients and doctors. This is a giant step forward in giving power to the powerless, the victims of exploitation by HMOs."

Top Democrats in the Senate were all smiles with puffed-up chests, citing their ability to get 50 legislators from their party and nine from the Republicans to vote for the bill as a big step forward for working people.

This is way the "patients rights" legislation passed by a bipartisan majority in the Senate June 29 is being touted in the big-business media and by its backers in Congress. Have working people been resurrected to a medical heaven? Or should they read the fine print to find out if the bill is what its promoters claim and see what attacks on working people it may contain?

With its passage in the Senate, the bill now moves to the House, where there are amendments being readied to ax some of the more controversial aspects of the bill, such as limited rights to sue health maintenance organizations (HMOs). The final Senate bill already made a number of last-minute changes to accommodate objections and veto threats by Bush. More are expected after the House debate.

Those without insurance excluded

What are the facts about the legislation?

First, the name "patients' rights" is a misnomer since the bill does not concern all people who receive medical care but only those who have private health insurance or who are enrolled in Medicare and Medicaid. The estimated 44 million people in the United States who lack health insurance will not be affected by the legislation if a version of it becomes law.

Second, most of the "rights" listed are Band-Aids over a few of the most egregious cost-saving and bureaucratic practices that insurance companies and "health-care providers" have devised to prevent working people from getting adequate medical attention.

The short list the Senate bill addresses is itself an indictment of the capitalist for-profit industry that is called the "health-care system" in the United States. These changes, however limited, will be welcomed by working people enrolled in health plans. They are:

- Allowing patients to go to the nearest emergency room if they believe they have a true medical emergency, even if the hospital is not affiliated with their health plan;

- Stipulating that health plans allow patients to see obstetrician-gynecologists and pediatricians without first getting permission from their primary doctor and that these plans cover any hospital stay deemed necessary by a doctor caring for a woman after a mastectomy;

- Allowing doctors to discuss all treatment options with patients and prescribe medically necessary drugs, regardless of whether the treatments and drugs are covered by the health plan. HMOs are to end financial incentives offered to doctors to curtail a patient's care and are not to retaliate against nurses or doctors who advocate on behalf of their patients or report problems in care; and

- Mandating that HMOs allow patients access to medical specialists when needed and, if the HMO ends a contract with a doctor, that the physician be allowed to continue to treat patients for three months if they have serious or complex medical problems or if they are in the last three months of pregnancy.

It is a partial list of the wide-ranging abuses in the health-care companies' drive to maximize profits every working person and medical personnel know all too well.

Third, in adopting the bill the Senate included a reactionary provision that defines a fetus "born alive" as a "person" with the same "patient rights" under the law. The *Washington Post* noted this was passed "without objection from abortion rights supporters" even though opponents of abortion rights are sure to try to find a way to use the language to attempt to curtail women's access to abortion.

Fourth, the aspect of the legislation that was much heralded by its supporters—and opposed by the Bush administration and several big corporations such as Motorola that run their own health-care plans—gives those enrolled in a health plan the right to sue the provider in federal or state court. But the bill extensively limits this "right." Suits can only be for decisions that cause injury or death or over contract disputes. It shields most employers from legal action, even if they are the provider of the health plan but do not make decisions on treatment issues.

Protection for employers

HMOs and other companies that provide medical insurance plans are also protected from most class-action lawsuits in the draft legislation. And before filing a lawsuit, a patient must exhaust all administrative appeals through their health plan and with an independent medical review of their claim. Establishing an independent medical reviewer, who has 31 days to rule on an appeal, is a new bureaucratic hurdle in the bill that patients will now have to surmount in their quest for adequate health care.

The Bush administration threatened to veto the measure, claiming "excessive, unlimited litigation in state courts would drive up premium costs and cause many American families to lose health insurance." The president demagogically added that the bill "puts the interests of trial lawyers before the interests of patients."

Neither the Senate nor the House versions of the bill require HMOs or other health plans to absorb the cost of the measures stipulated in the legislation. The Congressional Budget Office estimated the law would result in a 2 percent increase in insurance premiums.

Meanwhile, deterioration of health care for working people continues apace. New



Picket line in support of Massachusetts referendum last year to require health care be provided for all. "Patients' rights" legislation, while offering Band-Aid to some of the worst practices of corporations that provide health plans, does not cover uninsured.

York City hospital officials have announced that the state will shut down more than two dozen clinics based in schools and neighborhoods where children from working-class families receive basic medical care—from immunizations to treatment for

asthma. The state cited budget constraints for the closings, as the number of people without health insurance climbed by 30 percent over the last four years and reimbursements from "managed-care" companies and Medicaid declined.

New moves to define fetus as 'person'

Buoyed by the passage of a section of the "patients' rights" legislation that defines a fetus "born alive" as a person, the Bush administration is moving to define "an unborn child" as a person eligible for medical coverage under the Children's Health Insurance Program (CHIP).

In most states the CHIP program underwrites a range of services, including prenatal care and delivery for families with incomes up to twice the poverty level of \$17,650 for a family of four.

In a letter to state health officials on behalf of the secretary of health and human services, CHIP director Dennis Smith announced "a new opportunity to provide health-care coverage to low-income children" by allowing a fetus to qualify as a "targeted low-income child." This would mean more pregnant women would qualify for medical care under the program.

Douglas Johnson, director of the National Right to Life Committee, an anti-abortion rights group, praised the move, stating, "An unborn child ought to be recognized as a full-fledged member of the human family in law and public policy."

Laurie Rubiner, vice president of the National Partnership for Women and Families, a group that defends a woman's right to abortion, replied that the new rule is a "back door attempt by the Bush administration to perpetuate its opposition to abortion rights. The real goal is to establish a legal precedent for granting personhood to fetuses."

Another bill passed by the House that is awaiting action in the Senate would also grant a measure of legal protection to a fetus by establishing new criminal penalties for anyone who injured or harmed a fetus while committing another federal crime.

—G.M.

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Lumumba and revolution in the Congo

Continued from Page 9
prisoned in Leopoldville; this while UN forces stood by.

On January 18, Kasavubu, in return for a “roundtable conference” with Tshombe, handed prisoner Lumumba over to the Belgian stooge. A January 18 AP dispatch reported that on Lumumba’s arrival at the Katanga airport, Swedish-UN soldiers watched while “Lumumba and the other two were dragged off the plane.... They were clubbed, hit in the face with rifle butts, kicked and pummeled.”

And, as it became clear upon UN investigation months later, Lumumba and his two aides were subsequently murdered. Their deaths were reported by Tshombe, February 12.

Tshombe and Katanga

During these few months, the lessons of United Nations intervention were slowly being assimilated by Congolese revolutionaries. Gizenga established the legitimate government’s headquarters in Stanleyville,

and more and more Congolese joined in open rebellion. It was obvious that the provisional government of Kasavubu would not last without reconciliation with Katanga, and the U.S. pressed for a federated Congo government which would include Katanga.

The U.S. publicly broke with Belgium and forced the UN to demand an end of Katanga secession, which the Security Council adopted February 21st, 1961—eight months after their intervention to “defend” the Congo Republic.

But Belgium, and those U. S. interests which composed the Katanga lobby, refused to go along with this maneuver. Here, a movement cropped up calling itself the “Committee to Aid the Katanga Freedom Fighters,” and Tshombe, who had been bolstered by Belgian troops until their forced removal, set about to build an army which could resist the UN, financed by Belgium. With no support from the Congolese, however, Tshombe recruited his “freedom fighters” from rightist white rabble throughout the world. A February 5, 1961, AP dispatch described them:

“These ‘mercenaries’ are being joined every day by new soldier-adventurers. Lured by high pay, they have come from the United States [Cuban exiles], Britain, France [ex-Foreign Legionnaires], West Germany (ex-

SS men].... South Africa [fascists], Rhodesia—and, of course, Belgium. Some of the better types become officers, but the others are undisciplined, untidy, rowdy and ruthless....

“One Frenchman confided in a melancholy moment: ‘People don’t like us. We get good pay for killing women and children.’”

The battle in Katanga, which lasted until January 1963, had other sordid aspects which were exposed by the Belgian and English press. The UN, for example, used 1,000 pound blockbusters on Katangese industrial centers, civilians, and hospitals--military weapons well suited to destroying large industry (competitors), members of the House of Commons pointed out, but hardly applicable to the battle against Tshombe’s small mercenary forces. Such goings-on had little press coverage in this country.

Revolutionary defeats: 1962

What is obvious in retrospect, that the apparent break of Tshombe from the Kasavubu government, and subsequent “roundtable conferences” between them, were maneuvers by the imperialist powers to crush the revolutionaries, was not apparent to many of the Lumumbists.

In February of 1961, Kasavubu ended the

Mobutu dictatorship and appointed Joseph Ileo and Cyrille Adoula heads of a new government, patterned after the U. S. federation plan. Tshombe and Kasavubu met in March, 1961, at Tananarive, Malagasy Republic, and invited Gizenga to attend to join a federation.

Although Gizenga, already in control of large portions of the Congo, refused to go to the Tananarive conference, he later attempted to make peace with Kasavubu. In mid-1962, while the UN was fighting Tshombe, Gizenga achieved a detente with Kasavubu.

Again the Lumumbists had incorrectly appraised the real intentions of the imperialist controlled Kasavubu regime, and they suffered a new setback. Kasavubu turned round and arrested Gizen-ga, threw him in prison, and disarmed the Stanleyville forces. Gizenga remained in prison until June 1964.

End of UN Occupation

By January, 1963, after nearly two years of battle in Katanga, the United Nations forces had gained virtual control of the province. Attempts to reinstate Tshombe in the Kasavubu-Adoula government, which would have satisfied both Belgium and the United States, proved unsuccessful, and Tshombe was “forced” into exile. His mercenary army was temporarily shelved in the neighboring Portuguese colony of Angola.

With Gizenga in jail, the Adoula government attempted to build a stable base for neocolonialist investment. Three years of struggle had decimated the Congolese economy—inflation was rampant in

Continued on Page 15

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Europe vs. America: Washington Moves to Assert Domination Over Rivals in Europe. Speaker: Patrick O’Neill, staff writer for the *Militant*. Fri., July 20, 7:30 p.m. Both events at 372A 53rd St. Tel: (718) 567-8014.

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Communists and the Transformation of Nature. Speaker: Mark Gilsdorf, Socialist Workers Party. Fri., July 13, 7:30 p.m. Donation: \$4.

Patrice Lumumba and Revolution in the Congo. Speaker: Brian Williams, staff writer for the *Militant*. Fri., July 20, 7:30 p.m. Donation: \$4. Both events at: 545 8th Ave., 14th Floor. Tel: (212) 695-7358.

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Europe vs. America: Washington Moves to Assert Domination Over Rivals in Europe. Speaker: Patrick O’Neill, staff writer for the *Militant*. Fri., July 13, 7:30 p.m. 540 W. 165 St. Tel: (212) 740-4611.

Read it and rebel—Four San Diego women were jailed overnight and then brought to court for supposedly failing to curb their

also declared truants. The city attorney said it was a coincidence that the cited parents all live in a working-class area.



Harry Ring

children's truancy. With their wrists chained to their waists, they were subjected to a judge's pious rap on the virtues of education. The four women, and two others who made bail, were apprehended by a contingent of cops hunting down 20 other parents whose children were

Gastronomic note—"The definition of fresh is that it isn't spoiled," says a honcho at the Sealed Air Corp., which provides long shelf-life packaging for food, such as stuffed peppers, labeled "fresh."

Biting the royal bullet—The queen of the United Kingdom lent a hand to the taxpayers by slicing \$4.2 million off the royal budget. Frequent flyers, the family will use smaller Royal Air Force jets and private helicopters. And a more efficient heating system has been installed in Buckingham Palace.

There is other income—about \$189 million from the Royal Estate and other holdings. But they don't spend it all. Last year their expenses were about \$50 million.

Is there no limit?—Adding to the above, the *Times* of London reports that the Royal Train is being cut from 14 to nine coaches.

The mucked-up society—A truck overturned on Washington, D.C.'s Beltway, spilling a three-inch deep mess of tar. The cleanup created a five-hour traffic lock in 90-degree heat.

That answers that—In Gans, Oklahoma, three teachers who taught in the same elementary school building have died of cancer.

A fourth, who has breast cancer, says her classroom had a persistent sickening odor. The brief item we read didn't mention the situation of pupils. School officials said tests didn't turn up any "unsafe levels" of chemicals.

The scenic route—The remains of deer killed by motorists will litter the roads in 24 Wisconsin counties as the state ends a state pick-up program. Officials said disposal has become too expensive.

Simple solutions from simple shysters—An Omaha, Nebraska, "credit counseling" outfit offers free advice for those who can't meet the mortgage payments. As reported in the Omaha *World Herald*, avoid "unnecessary, wasteful

spending," such as late fees, and "club dues." (Like, maybe the union?) Also "increase income" by getting a part-time job or taking in a boarder. And "consider selling the house." Most important, before you're "overwhelmed," contact the counseling service. They'll do you in for sure.

Clear-eyed view—Three years ago, in East Sussex, England, James Ashley, unarmed and in his bedroom, was shot to death by police. Now, two inspectors who helped plan the raid have been promoted to chief inspectors, with pay increases retroactive to the date of the raid. Ashley's brother Tony commented that at first, "we thought it was a sick joke, but we aren't that surprised."

The Civil War victory and the rise of labor in the U.S.

Printed below is an excerpt from *Revolutionary Continuity: Marxist Leadership in the U.S.—The Early Years, 1848-1917*, by Farrell Dobbs. The book is one of the recently reprinted Pathfinder titles featured in July as one of the "Books of the Month" (See ad below for special offer). The piece quoted appears in the chapter titled "Indigenous Origins." Copyright © 1980 by Pathfinder Press, reprinted by permission.

BY FARRELL DOBBS

In 1861, the antagonisms between the capitalist and planter classes erupted into civil war. Recognizing the progressive character of the bourgeois "free-labor" struggle against the slave system, followers of Marx responded to President Abraham Lincoln's call to arms. Thereafter the socialists centered their activity on participating as Union Army soldiers in the military side of the war, which caused their work in the labor movement to dwindle for an extended period.

Crushing the slavocracy in 1865 brought the capitalist class definitive control over the nation. A general recasting of governmental policies and social institutions followed, so as to bring them into full conformity with bourgeois needs. That cleared the way for

qualitative leaps in machine production, railroad construction, etc., already accelerated by the Civil War. Huge concentrations of capital were amassed to finance large-scale enterprises. Big corporations came into existence. Giant trusts were formed by industrial and banking combines in moves to establish monopolies. This trend soon pro-

duced a bumper crop of multimillionaires who fattened on harsh exploitation of wage-labor and wanton depredation of national resources. These plutocrats became the real power behind the bourgeois-democratic governmental facade, and they dealt brutally with all who resisted their ruthless methods of coining superprofits.

BOOKS OF THE MONTH

Expansion of the factory system also led to transformation of the working class. Unskilled laborers serving as appendages of machines became an increasingly larger section of the class and the weight of the skilled

workers declined proportionately. As these contrasting trends revealed, wage-labor was becoming substantially proletarianized. This signified that—in terms of objective developments—the country was entering a new phase. Capitalism, which had just triumphed over the planter aristocracy and which was making fewer and fewer compromises with the independent producers, was already beginning to create "its own gravediggers."

This period also saw the definitive end to a progressive role for any wing of the bourgeoisie or its political parties. By 1877, radical reconstruction had gone down to bloody defeat, and not only Afro-Americans but the entire working class had suffered the worst setback in its history. The defeat was engineered by the dominant sectors of the industrial ruling class, who were incapable of carrying through a radical land reform in the old Confederacy and rightly feared the rise of a united working class in which Black and white artisans and industrial workers would come together as a powerful oppositional force, allied with free working farmers.

The rural poor and working class were forcibly divided along color lines. The value of labor power was driven down and class solidarity crippled. Jim Crow, the system of extensive segregation, was legalized. Racism was spread at an accelerated pace throughout the entire United States. The ideological basis for imperialist expansion was laid. All the conditions were created for the forging of the new Afro-American oppressed nationality.

At the same time, the Marxists had been weakened in the aftermath of the Civil War. Isolation from the civilian work force, ca-

sualties in the war, and the death after the war of Joseph Weydemeyer—Marx and Engels's principal collaborator in the U.S.—virtually decimated the organized Marxist current in the United States....

The accelerated immigration from abroad far exceeded the rate at which workers from the eastern region of the United States were moving westward to take up farming. A mushrooming of the labor forces concentrated in industrial centers resulted, and the trend gained further momentum as the area of western land available for settlement diminished. Artisans and small masters constituted a smaller and smaller percentage of production relative to the dominant factory system. Economic conditions were locking a hereditary, a permanent working class into the cities, one which was steadily growing in social weight.

In those circumstances more and more workers began to think of themselves as part of a distinct class. Goaded by hardships suffered at the hands of capitalist exploiters, they groped for a way to act together in defense of their common interests as a class. Bitter struggles developed in which the employers resorted to acts of extreme violence in efforts to repress organized labor. Those experiences made the existence of class antagonisms quite plain to see, but the steps required to advance the workers' cause were not so readily apparent. Because of the rapidity with which social and economic changes were occurring; because of social confusion resulting from the swift changes; because of the relative immaturity of the working class—it would take time, experience, and the aid of a revolutionary vanguard to develop an effective class-struggle strategy.

—25 AND 50 YEARS AGO—

THE MILITANT

A SOCIALIST NEWSWEEKLY/PUBLISHED IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE

July 23, 1976

Evidence of torture of political prisoners in Chile was covered up by Alejandro Orfila, secretary general of the Organization of American States, when he reported on a trip to the Tres Alamos detention center held during the OAS meeting in Santiago.

In a June 19 television broadcast, Orfila said that none of the prisoners he spoke with had said they were undergoing coercion "at the moment."

The cynicism of this statement was revealed by the prisoners themselves.

"I told him I had been raped and given electric torture," Alicia Alvarado, a former university professor who has been imprisoned more than a year, told *Washington Post* reporter Joanne Omang.

Orfila also met with jailed civil liberties lawyers Hernán Montealegre and Fernando Ostornol. According to a report in the June 22 *New York Times*, "The meeting lasted an hour and both attorneys provided specific accounts of torture undergone by prisoners in the hands of security agents before reaching Tres Alamos. They included accounts of prisoners identified by persons now in the camp who were last seen in interrogation centers such as Villa Grimaldi, a former discotheque now used to conduct questioning of prisoners."

THE MILITANT

PUBLISHED IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE

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July 23, 1951

As more and more news begins trickling in from Korea as a result of the slight relaxation of military censorship in connection with the resumption of "cease-fire" negotiations, it is becoming increasingly evident that the Korean people, both in the South and the North, are filled with bitterness and hatred over the wholesale destruction that has turned their country into little more than a vast cemetery.

They've had their fill of "liberation." They want the war to stop and they are not particularly concerned whether the Communists come to power. This news was cautiously relayed from Tokyo by R.P. Martin, correspondent of the *New York Daily Compass*, in the following words:

"If a Gallup poll could be taken in both South and North Korea, more than likely the great majority of the people living in that unhappy land would vote for peace at almost any price. The poll result would probably be the same even if they were certain, as many are, that once the United Nations armies are withdrawn the Communists would come to power, either through revolution or aggression."

This annihilating admission is so universally accepted, that even the Tokyo censors permitted it to pass.

July 23, 2001 The Militant 13

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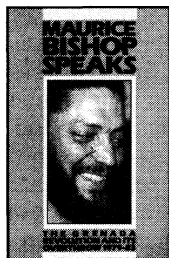
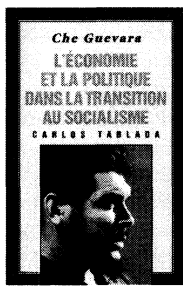
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Health care vs. capitalism

What is fraudulently being touted as a big move by the government to improve health care in the United States provides an opportunity for working people to take stock of the class character of the government and what the medical industry is all about under capitalism.

Unlike many problems that still need to be solved by humanity, there are the resources available today to provide every person on earth with high-quality cradle-to-grave medical attention. The capitalist profit system itself is the only obstacle in the way of achieving this goal, which would mean greatly extending life expectancy, lowering infant mortality, eliminating disease and death caused by malnutrition, providing preventive medical care for all, and ending deaths from curable diseases.

An example of the possibilities of transforming health care is the Cuban Revolution, which is training doctors and other medical personnel from countries around the globe, and recently announced it would send 4,000 volunteer doctors, needed supplies and drugs, and teachers for 20 medical schools to Africa to help combat the spread of the AIDS epidemic on the continent and to treat those already infected with the virus.

The remedial measures addressed by the "patients' rights" legislation are a typical example of patchwork reforms by a capitalist government that on the surface softens some of the worst excesses of the profit drive but does nothing to change the fundamental situation. Health care in the United States is, like the manufacture of cars or steel, a capitalist industry whose goal is not to cure people but to make money for a handful, despite the best efforts of many working people employed in hospitals and other medical facilities. There is no getting around the fact that this is a class question. Capitalists and their wealthy administrators don't need patients' rights legislation. They are not enrolled in HMOs. They get the medical attention they need, when they need it.

Cutbacks in medical plans, curtailing access to medicines and needed procedures, attacks on the working conditions and wages of nurses and other health-care workers are rife throughout the medical system. If they have some kind of medical coverage, workers and farmers are

confronted with a maze of bureaucratic obstacles that are simply designed to cut costs and to limit access to medical care. Of course, the bipartisan legislation doesn't say a word about making medical facilities in the United States available to those without insurance or to the tens of millions around the world who need these services.

While the issue of whether health-care "providers" can be sued is a contentious one in Congress and among layers of the super-wealthy U.S. ruling class, the idea that a worker or farmer has to launch a lawsuit just to get needed medical attention speaks volumes about the class character of access to health care in capitalist America. That there would be any curtailment of the ability to sue if needed is an added outrage.

One reason why working people are confronted with this situation is that for decades the top officials of the unions have not fought for medical care as part of a federally funded and guaranteed entitlement for all. Nor have these officials ever dreamed of putting a capitalist industry at the service of all humanity, including those outside the borders of the United States. Rather, they have approached medical coverage as a "benefit" to be negotiated with individual companies, if at all. This lets the Democrats and Republicans off the hook and gives them cover to pretend that their so-called patients' rights legislation has something to do with changing the health-care system.

This legislation also opens the door to probes against a woman's right to abortion, such as the various measures to start defining a fetus as a person that are included in the draft legislation and in a regulatory revision of the Children's Health Insurance Program. The government is offering working women the ability to be covered by this program when they are pregnant in exchange for allowing the government to define a fetus as a "child" under the law. The cynical move, which is a slap in the face to women on all counts, should be rejected.

The labor movement and all supporters of women's rights can instead make vigorous demands that all pregnant women be immediately provided the medical attention and care they need.

Changing face of working class

Recent U.S. Supreme Court rulings rolling back some of the most hated aspects of the 1996 Illegal Immigration Reform and Immigrant Responsibility Act, along with proposals by President George Bush to ease the process of applications for "green cards," reflect the current debate among the U.S. rulers on immigration policy. The court ruled against provisions denying the right to due process. One clause had authorized the summary deportation of immigrants without recourse to a lawyer and a court hearing simply because they had a prior conviction on their record, even a minor infraction from decades ago. Another unconstitutional provision allowed Washington to detain some "deportable" immigrants indefinitely.

The U.S. rulers have felt compelled to make adjustments in their legislation in face of the changes that the massive wave of immigration is bringing about in the United States. Workers born abroad are feeling increasingly confident to fight for their rights as part of the working class. In many cases the rights and political space they are gaining is more de facto than de jure.

The goal of the bipartisan immigration policy is not to keep immigrants out, but to keep them in second-class status, giving bosses a permanent source of superexploitable labor and allowing them to divide working people and push

down the wages and living standards of all toilers.

More than 10 million people have immigrated to the United States over the past decade. This historic surge in immigration has changed the face of the working class, making it younger, broadening its experience, and breaking down divisions among working people. As millions of workers from Asia, Latin America, Africa, and Europe become integrated into the U.S. working class, they are also joining in the growing resistance by working people to the attacks by the employers and the government—from union-organizing drives in the Midwest packing plants to demonstrations demanding political rights.

The growing combativity and solidarity among immigrant workers is part of a broader development among working people. This was noticeable in the recent outpouring of 2,000 workers—Mexican- and U.S.-born alike—in the small town of Rifle, Colorado, who marched in outrage to demand justice after four Mexican workers were fatally shot by a gunman.

More and more workers are demanding that the union movement champion equal rights for all workers—regardless of their legal status—and, instead of viewing workers born abroad as competitors for jobs, actively organize them. That is the only way forward for labor.

Thirst for revolutionary books

The sales of revolutionary literature at tables set up outside showings of the film *Lumumba*, now beginning to play in theaters in North America, highlight the thirst among working people and youth today in gaining an understanding of anti-imperialist and revolutionary struggles. Thousands are attracted to the fight led by Patrice Lumumba to liberate the Congo from its colonial masters and assert the independence, dignity, and worth of the people of that African nation. Many want to draw the lessons of the imperialist counterrevolutionary war that claimed the lives of Lumumba and thousands of others.

That is why many people attending the movie have welcomed the newly reprinted Pathfinder pamphlet *Revolution in the Congo*, a portion of which is reprinted in the *Militant* this week. We encourage readers to help get this issue of the *Militant* around as broadly as possible, encourage others to get a copy of the pamphlet and related Pathfinder titles, and plan on attending the showing of *Lumumba* in your area. New York-area Militant Labor Forums are scheduling meetings in the coming weeks to discuss these questions, something that can also be done elsewhere as the movie gets around.

Socialist workers and young socialists are introducing a wide range of Pathfinder books to those attending the movie, and are finding a real interest in communist works, from the *Communist Manifesto* to *Cuba and the Coming*

American Revolution. There is a wealth of information on the struggle against imperialist domination and the murder of Congolese leader Patrice Lumumba published in *To Speak the Truth* by Fidel Castro and Che Guevara and *Malcolm X Talks to Young People*. The speeches by Malcolm X also show how a revolutionary leader in the United States campaigned among working people to expose and condemn the war being waged by the imperialist powers against the people of the Congo.

Socialist workers can take advantage of the showings of *Lumumba* in other cities to set up literature tables at the theaters to give movie-goers the opportunity to purchase this pamphlet, a broader range of Pathfinder titles, and buy subscriptions to the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial*.

The response to the *Lumumba* film and *Revolution in the Congo* reflects the wider interest in revolutionary ideas among fighting unionists, farmers, youth, and political activists. Many see the growing conflicts in the world between working people and the capitalists and want to read books that present a scientific assessment of the possibilities for making a revolution in the heart of world imperialism, a perspective which will become increasingly attractive to broader layers of vanguard workers and farmers involved in battles to defend their unions, in protests against cop brutality, and in demonstrations to defend affirmative action, and other struggles.

Workers in Iran rally

Continued from front page

helping the families of those who gave their lives to defend the revolution. In recent years, as part of the government's drive for privatization, the bonyads have begun to sell off some factories.

A Cheet-e-rey worker told ISNA that the BMJ "sold our factory to the private sector at a cheap price. The factory was very productive but because of the lack of raw material it rapidly deteriorated." He said those who bought the factory were involved in running the bonyad before. "When we go to the bosses to demand our rights they call us counterrevolutionaries," he said.

Another worker reminded the ISNA reporter of the proud record of the Cheet-e-rey worker-volunteers in defense of the revolution both at the front and behind the lines during the 1980-88 Iran-Iraq war. The new owners had no intention of running the factory, workers say, and instead wanted to declare bankruptcy and sell the plant and its 40 acres of land at a profit.

The next day the ranks of the demonstrators in front of the Majles swelled to more than 1,000 workers when a contingent from the Shadanpoor shoe factory joined in. They explained that they had not been paid for 10 months.

The workers chanted, "Majles, Majles, uproot the bonyad!" Participants told reporters that the Shadanpoor factory was run by the BMJ until they sold it to Rasekh Afshar, the son of the owner before the revolution. A member of the factory shora said that after the new boss took over he met with the workers and announced that he would hire 500 new people to double the work force. But that did not happen.

'Giving workers the run around'

Instead, Afshar started to strip the factory, selling it piece by piece and saying that he was doing it in order to bring in new machinery. But the new equipment never appeared. Another worker told ISNA that the new boss "is heavily in debt and wants to pay it off by stripping off the factory. He is not interested in running production; he just wants to give workers the runaround." Workers are demanding their back wages and their jobs.

For weeks prior to taking their protest to the Majles, Cheet-e-rey workers had been demonstrating at labor and provincial offices. Workers told ISNA reporters at the demonstration that after their protests at the Majles they planned to gather in front of the house of head of state Ayatollah Ali Khamenei. It is Khamenei's office, not the Majles or any governmental agency, that has the authority to oversee the work of the bonyads.

The government settled the dispute with the Cheet-e-rey workers before the planned demonstration. They returned to their jobs June 16, four days after their first protest in front of the Majles.

Instead of taking the factory back as workers had demanded, the BMJ extended a substantial loan to the new owners of Cheet-e-rey to use for the payment of back wages.

Opening up to imports

The government's ongoing drive to sell off state enterprises is opening the country up to more imports and intensified imperialist plunder with devastating social consequences. Alireza Mahjoub, a Majles deputy from Tehran and a trade union official, told the *Financial Times* July 3 that 1,400 companies are in a critical state following privatization. Some 80,000 workers are not being paid. If the government were to prevent workers from demonstrating, then there would be a "nationwide reply," he said.

Iran's House of Workers trade union federation has 2 million members. According to press reports, two years ago the federation used 30 percent of its dues money to support unpaid workers. Now it uses 60 percent.

In the aftermath of the protests by the Cheet-e-rey workers, the July 8 *New York Times* quoted Ahmad Meidari, a member of the Majles's Commission of Economy, as saying that "the government has now decided to go slow on privatization to avoid similar debacles." The BMJ has reportedly decided to take back several factories it had sold off, and the government has promised to use some of a \$10 billion special fund from excess oil revenues to address the situation.

Correction

An article titled "Sinn Fein gains in N. Ireland elections" in the July 9 *Militant* reported incorrect figures on Sinn Fein's share of the vote in the elections held in Northern Ireland. The figure was 15 percent in 1997 and rose to 20.7 percent this year.

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Imperialism vs. Congolese freedom struggle

Continued from Page 9

repeatedly carried out military aggression under the UN flag. They did so in Korea during their murderous war of 1950–53, unsuccessfully attempting to roll back the socialist revolution in northern Korea. In 1990–91 Washington carried out its murderous military assault on Iraq under cover of UN Security Council resolutions.

Imperialist forces also used UN cover in their military intervention against Yugoslavia. In 1992 UN troops were deployed in Croatia and Bosnia. Then, in the name of enforcing UN sanctions on Serbia, U.S.-led NATO forces began their military intervention in Bosnia.

Washington's intervention

In the Congo, the Washington-orchestrated UN troops proceeded to occupy the very provinces controlled by the Lumumba government, allowing Belgian forces to back the secessionist operation in Katanga. At the same time, as acknowledged in a 1975 U.S. Senate report, the CIA was plotting Lumumba's assassination as "an urgent and prime objective," in the words of then CIA director Allen Dulles.

The Senate report accepted as a "reasonable inference" that the CIA order to kill the Congolese leader came directly from President Dwight Eisenhower.

At a National Security Council meeting on July 21, 1960, according to Evan Thomas in a book about the CIA titled *The Very Best Men*, Dulles described Lumumba as "a Castro or worse." The comment revealed Washington's hatred both for the Congolese freedom struggle and for the "bad example" being set by the revolutionary leadership of Cuba's workers and farmers and their socialist revolution.

The following month Dulles sent a cable to the CIA station chief in Leopoldville insisting that Lumumba's "removal must be an urgent and prime objective and that under existing conditions this should be a high priority of our covert action."

According to the 1975 U.S. Senate report, the CIA in September 1960 sent one of its scientists to the Congo carrying by diplomatic pouch a "lethal biological material" (a virus) specifically intended for use in Lumumba's assassination.

Meanwhile, CIA operatives encouraged President Kasavubu to dismiss Lumumba, a move he took on September 5 along with dissolving parliament. Nine days later the army chief of staff, Col. Joseph Mobutu, whom the CIA had recruited to its efforts, seized political power in a coup.

The film pointedly shows CIA agent Frank Carlucci meeting with several Congolese political leaders discussing steps to get rid of Lumumba. (Carlucci later became defense secretary in the Reagan administration.) The film also depicts Carlucci's meetings with Mobutu prior to the coup, where he promises Mobutu "a bright future" if he'll cooperate in carrying out the U.S. rulers' prerogatives in the Congo. For almost four decades afterward, Mobutu would rule the country with an iron fist, backed with U.S. financial and military aid.

The UN troops stood aside as pro-U.S. forces ousted Lumumba from the government. When Mobutu placed Lumumba under house arrest, UN soldiers along with Congolese army troops were stationed outside the revolutionary leader's home to implement this decision. The UN occupying force closed down government radio stations supportive of Lumumba and dis-

armed forces loyal to him.

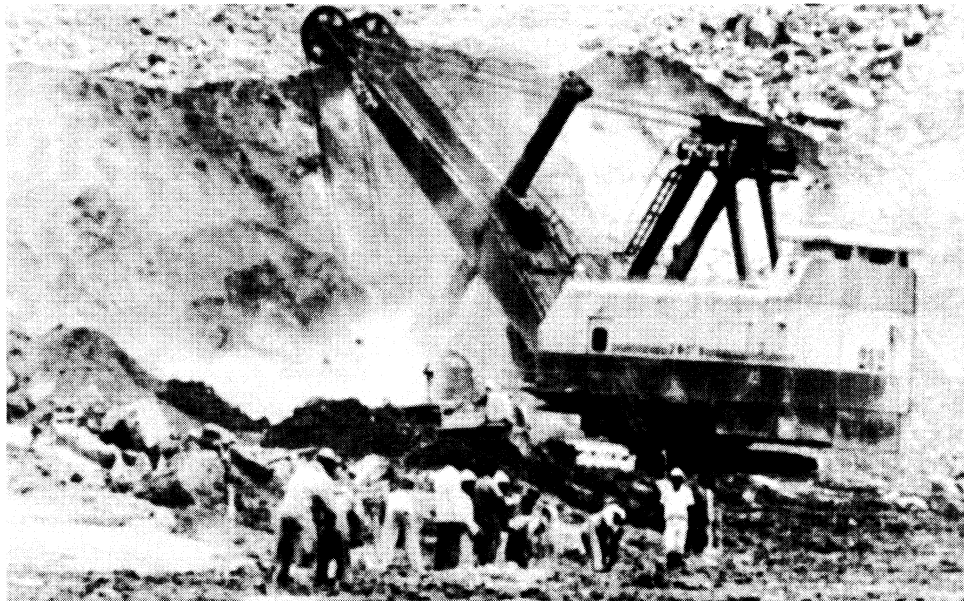
At the end of November, Lumumba succeeded in escaping from Leopoldville. His aim was to get to Stanleyville (now Kisangani), where his supporters were in control of the city. With assistance from the CIA, which helped get roads blocked and troops stationed to close off escape routes, Lumumba was captured on December 1 by troops loyal to Mobutu. He was imprisoned and—together with Maurice Mpolo, a minister in his government, and Senate Deputy President Joseph Okito—turned over to Tshombe in Katanga province. Tshombe's forces executed Lumumba and the other two by firing squad on Jan. 17, 1961.

In a December 1964 address to the United Nations General Assembly, Ernesto Che Guevara, speaking on behalf of the delegation from revolutionary Cuba, condemned the UN role in this counterrevolutionary operation in the Congo. "How can we forget the betrayal of the hope that Patrice Lumumba placed in the United Nations?" Guevara asked. "How can we forget the machination and maneuvers that followed in the wake of the occupation of that country by United Nations troops, under whose auspices the assassins of this great African patriot acted with impunity?"

Belgian government inquiry

Following the publication in 1999 of a new book, *The Murder of Lumumba* by Ludo de Witte, which documented the role of Belgian government officials in the murder of the Congolese leader, the ensuing public controversy compelled the Belgian parliament to establish an official commission of inquiry to review the issue. The commission's final report is expected to be issued in October 2001.

One of the government papers that have come to light is a document signed in October 1960 by the Belgian minister for Africa, Harold Aspremont Lynden, who states, "The main objective to pursue, in the interests of



Copper mine in Kolwezi, in Congo's Katanga province. Drive to keep their hands on the vast mineral wealth of this area lay behind intervention of U.S. and Belgian imperialism against newly independent government headed by Lumumba.

the Congo, Katanga, and Belgium, is clearly the final elimination of Lumumba."

The film shows the Congolese leader being assaulted in the presence of Belgian officers and tortured in a villa guarded by Belgian troops, before he and two companions are shot by the execution squad, supervised by a Belgian captain.

Fearing the impact of Congolese fighters locating Lumumba's grave, a Belgian police commissioner had his body exhumed and then dismembered and dissolved in sulphuric acid—the opening scene in the fast-paced film. Forty years later, however, Lumumba's example has not been erased. It remains a link in the living legacy of revolutionary and working-class struggles in the more-than-century-long imperialist epoch.

The lessons of working-class program and strategy learned and relearned through these struggles, often in blood, remain

matters of life and death for workers, farmers, and youth seeking to chart a road forward against capitalist exploitation and oppression—in the United States and other imperialist countries, just as much as anywhere else in the world.

In his final letter to his wife, written just days before his death, Lumumba pointed to his confidence in the future. "Without dignity there is no liberty, without justice there is no dignity, and without independence there are no free men," he wrote.

"History will one day have its say, but it will not be the history that is taught in Brussels, Paris, Washington, or the United Nations, but the history which will be taught in the countries freed from imperialism and its puppets. Africa will write its own history, and to the north and to the south of the Sahara, it will be a glorious and dignified history."

Lumumba and revolution in the Congo

Continued from Page 12

Leopoldville, and thousands of refugees from the countryside poured into the city looking for work.

At the same time, however, the Congolese people remain staunch Lumumbists, and guerrilla struggles emerged in several different areas. In the Leopoldville shantytown, where thousands of jobless refugees were huddled together, virtually every hut bore portraits of Lumumba, and it was impossible for Adoula's police to enter the area in uniform.

It was clear that Adoula's attempts to attract foreign capital (see his January 28, 1964, advertisement in the *New York Times*, "Private Enterprise in the Congo") were not alone sufficient to hold up the faltering government. But it was also impossible, given the world pressure on the UN, to turn the "anti-Katangese" UN army into a direct "anti-Lumumbist" force. Standing by while Lumumba was murdered and Gizenga was imprisoned was one thing; openly fighting the Lumumbists on three fronts, quite another.

For these reasons, the United States was forced, once again, to alter its Congo policy: the United Nations army would be replaced by...Tshombe's mercenaries.

In his brief "exile" from the Congo,

Tshombe was well groomed for a new role in Congo politics. Over the summer of 1963, Tshombe conferred in Brussels with Foreign Minister Paul-Henri Spaak and the U.S. Ambassador. Harriman was sent to address Spaak and the Belgian trust La Societe Generale, the largest shareholder in UMHK; and the U.S. and Belgium agreed to merge forces. A new maneuver was at hand.

On June 30, 1964, United Nations forces were pulled out of the Congo, and Tshombe returned—as the "saviour" of Congolese independence. He replaced Adoula, and proclaimed that the "National Congolese Army" would be able to handle the "rebels." As evidence of his sincerity, Tshombe released Gizenga.

Two days later he brought his mercenary hooligans out of hiding and called upon the U. S. for military assistance.

A literally complete press blackout of Congolese guerrilla efforts, between the fall of Gizenga in mid-1962, and early 1964, makes it impossible to trace in detail the revolutionary struggle during the latter period of UN occupation.

It was evident by last February that there was extensive fighting in Kwilu, headed by Pierre Mulele, who had been minister of education in the Lumumba government. By early June, the liberation struggle had

opened up two other fronts. Gaston Soumialot fought in the eastern province of Kivu, and occupied Uvira May 19; and a third force fought in Northern Katanga, gained control of the whole shore of Lake Tanganyika and captured Albertville and Baudouinville in late June.

Obviously, Mobutu's army was in continual retreat. There have been many reports that his Congolese soldiers refuse to fight their brothers, and give up without effort. By early July, Stanleyville had been recaptured by the Lumumbists, and a

new government established, headed by Christophe Gbenye. Exactly how much control Gbenye's government has over all the guerrilla fighters is unclear.

Although the United States did not admit military support of the mercenaries until October, first reports of U. S. military assistance appeared in June. According to the *New York Times*, two T-28's, flown by Cuban exiles, were being used by Mobutu's army, June 13. Mobutu was reported to be battling guerrilla forces numbering 5,000 to 7,000, average age, about 20!

Since that time, the U. S. has supplied Tshombe with a paratroop contingent, army counterinsurgency "experts" and 33 known additional aircraft, including B-26 bombers. Against even such minimal modern weapons, the guerrillas, without any anti-aircraft guns whatsoever, and using the most crude weapons—spears and bows and arrows—have been reported to be retreating.

To a certain extent, we can see that the story of the Vietnamese war is being repeated in the Congo: after a series of maneuvers to maintain "friendly" quasi-democratic governments in the Congo, the U. S. has ended up in a position of open support for another hated dictator—and in this case, one who cannot get his own people to fight the oppressive war. As in Vietnam, U.S. support includes guns, dollars, and "advisers."

To date, it is by no means apparent that the Lumumbists have organizational and programmatic unity, capable of opposing the overwhelming odds of the U. S. military intervention. There is no guarantee that there will not be new compromises between certain Lumumbist leaders and the puppet regime. The great loss of Patrice Lumumba has not been salvaged by the appearance of a new nationally recognized leader.

But it is also clear that throughout the course of the struggle, there have been groups of revolutionaries who refuse to submit to the rule of imperialist controlled governments. These fighters maintained unrelenting struggle against the Kasavubu regime, and they continue to oppose the Tshombe regime. It is from their cadres that a viable and organized revolutionary movement can emerge, capable of ending once and for all imperialist subjugation of the Congo.

Where Lumumba is playing

Now playing

NEW YORK

Manhattan: Film Forum, 209 West Houston St. Daily: 1:00, 3:15, 5:30, 7:45, 10:00

Brooklyn: BAM Rose Cinemas 30 Lafayette Avenue 777-FILM #545

Coming soon to

CALIFORNIA

Berkeley: Shattuck Theater, August 10–16

Los Angeles: Music Hall 3, 9036 Wilshire Blvd Beverly Hills, starts July 20 (310) 274-6869

Pasadena: Playhouse 7, 673 E Colorado Blvd. Starts July 20, (626) 844-6500

Sacramento: The Crest, Sept. 7–13

ILLINOIS

Chicago: Music Box Theater, 3733 N. Southport Avenue July 27–August 2. (773) 871-6604

NEW JERSEY

Montclair: Claridge Cinema, 486 Bloomfield Avenue. Starts July 20. (973) 746-5564

NEW YORK

Queens: Kew Gardens 81-05 Lefferts Blvd. Starts July 20 (718) 441-9835

Malverne: Malverne Cinema, 350 Hempstead Avenue. Starts July 20. (516) 599-5564

OHIO

Cleveland: Cedar Lee Theater, starts Sept. 7

PENNSYLVANIA

Philadelphia: Roxy Theater, starts July 27

WASHINGTON

Seattle: Varsity Theater, August 17–23

Washington D.C.

Visions Cinema: 1927 Florida Avenue, July 13–26, (202) 667-0090

Papua New Guinea is shaken by protests against austerity, repression

BY RON POULSEN

SYDNEY, Australia—Political tensions erupted in Papua New Guinea (PNG) June 26, as riot police invaded the country's main university and fired at students, killing at least four. The attack came after several days of peaceful demonstrations by students and workers in Port Moresby, the capital, against the government's austerity program. The shootings set off widespread protest and a wider police crackdown.

What began as student boycotts of lectures escalated to street protests June 21. After a sit-down rally outside Parliament, 2,000 students marched on the offices of Prime Minister Mekere Morauta, the U.S. embassy, and the offices of the Australian High Commission. Targeting Australian imperialism, they chanted "Chase out the World Bank, chase out the IMF, chase out Australia!"

With Canberra's backing, the World Bank and International Monetary Fund (IMF) have been demanding that the Morauta government implement austerity measures and sell off state-owned telecommunications, electricity, and ports administration enterprises, along with Air Niugini and the Papua New Guinea Banking Corporation. Both imperialist financial institutions insist that progress toward selling the airline and the bank to capitalist investors must be made before they release a further promised US\$210 million in loans.

Opposition to IMF demands

Former prime minister Michael Somare, among others, has opposed the privatization plan, saying that "foreign investors and only a few Papua New Guineans will benefit."

The government had also sought to implement a plan encouraging the registration of communal land, a measure that would open it up for mortgage, sale, or development. This is a volatile issue, as a large proportion of the 4 million people in Papua New Guinea live in clan-based villages in the rain forests and mountains where they rely on subsistence farming on land held in common. As finance and mining capital, especially from Australia, has exploited the resources of this underdeveloped country, there has been a growing history of conflict with traditional landowners. Morauta has for now backed away from this plan for "land mobilization," as happened when a similar proposal was met by a storm of protests in 1995.

In late June the daily rallies outside Morauta's office grew in size as many working people joined the students. On June 25 2,000 people organized a blockade of the Prime Minister's office to demand that he respond to their petition that the government stop the "reforms" and expel officials from the imperialist agencies from the country.

After many demonstrators had left the area, 60 riot police used tear gas to disperse the hundreds who stayed. The cops began firing live ammunition as they pursued students running to the university two miles away.

Early the next morning the riot cops came onto the campus and began shooting. William Doa, a third-year commerce student, said, "We thought we must surrender to the police to avoid being shot." As the students walked out with their hands up, the cops fired shotguns and M-16 automatic weapons at close range. Three students were killed and up to 20 were injured, five of them seriously.

As students spread the news of the assault, thousands of people, many young and some from impoverished squatter settlements, attacked government buildings and shops, burning police barracks and cop cars. Some looting occurred. This venting of popular anger, but not the cops' prior bloody rampage, was described as a "riot" by the local and international capitalist press.

Except for the police, central Port Moresby was deserted for days, with schools, offices, most businesses, and some roads shut. The ports and most public trans-

port ground to a halt as workers walked off the job in support of the students.

Unionists, many of whom are in the midst of industrial disputes with employers in the banking and airline industries, are concerned about what privatization will mean for their jobs and conditions.

Trade union officials did not take part in the student demonstrations, but threatened to shut down the country's sea and air links and power supply in protest at the police shootings. They called for Morauta to step down, and have made some moves to prepare for a national strike. Morauta responded to these protests by appealing for order. In particular, he claimed that union action would "inflammate the situation." Heavily armed police were used to impose a nightly curfew in the capital for two weeks.

On June 27 police attacked 500 mourners in Mount Hagen, the home town of two of the dead students, on the pretext that some had tried to loot a supermarket. In Port Moresby, crowds of working people gathered outside the main army barracks to urge soldiers to support the student protesters against the police. Officers called on the soldiers to abide by the constitution and not get involved. However, the same day, as 2,000 mourners gathered outside the hospital where the bodies lay, a group of 60 uniformed soldiers joined them with heads bowed.

Initially, officials tried to deny that it was cops who had killed the students. As calls for an investigation grew, the government was forced to give the go-ahead for two inquiries. However, student and union leaders expect a whitewash. John Paska, general-secretary of the Trade Union Congress, said the killings were "completely unprovoked. [The police] were just a bunch of thugs...shooting them like hunters."

History of colonialism, political crisis

Demands for austerity measures foisted on the government by the IMF, the World Bank, and the Australian rulers continue a colonial and semicolonial relationship between Papua New Guinea and the imperialist powers that began more than a century ago.

In 1884 Germany colonized northeast New Guinea. The southeast, Papua, was annexed under the British Crown on behalf of the Australian colonies, and later formally became an Australian colony in 1906. In 1914, at the outbreak of World War I, Australian troops seized German New Guinea. After decades of colonial underdevelopment, Canberra granted the united colony, Papua New Guinea, independence in 1975.

While the peoples of this rugged, tropical country remain poor, fantastic mineral wealth is being taken out of the country by big Australian mining corporations like BHP

and CRA. They have established open cut mines that have a devastating impact on the surrounding rain forest and tribal farmers, pushing many off their land. Infant mortality is 73 per 1,000 live births, and less than 20 percent of children go to school. The average life expectancy at birth for men is 54 years, among the lowest in the world.

Describing the popular unrest in PNG as "riots" that were "pretty ugly," Australian foreign minister Alexander Downer warned the Morauta government on behalf of imperialist investors not to give in to the demands of the demonstrators. "If Papua New Guinea stumbles and the reform program is abandoned it will be a disaster" for the country economically, he threatened.

Downer recently complained that the Australian government "wasted" US\$500 million on budgetary support to Papua New Guinea after 1975, before its "aid" became tied to projects tailored to Australian investment and trade.

On July 7, 100 people, many of them young, demonstrated outside the World Bank offices in Sydney to voice solidarity with the protesters in Papua New Guinea. Similar protests took place there outside the country's High Commission in Canberra.

Ron Poulsen is a member of the Maritime Union of Australia.

Australia: youth demand Aboriginal rights

BY RON POULSEN

CANBERRA, Australia—"Always was, always will be Aboriginal land!" was the main chant as up to 400 Aboriginal activists and supporters marched on the national parliament July 1.

The march was called by the Indigenous Students Network to precede a conference entitled "Which way? Towards an ongoing Black movement," held here July 2-3. The gathering drew people from as far away as north Queensland and Western Australia. Buses, including nonindigenous students, came from several Sydney campuses.

The day began with a traditional ceremony at the Aboriginal Tent Embassy, which has been in existence since 1972. The "sacred fire" here has been kept alight since then as a permanent symbol of protest against the oppression of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples. Sally Brown, an Aboriginal woman from the Canberra area, told the crowd that despite the official hype about the centenary of the federation of Australian states in 1901, "the constitution is based on racism and dispossession." She asked, "How can there be reconciliation when the whole system is based on lies against Black people?"

"Reconciliation" is a government-sponsored process, promoted by the capitalist rulers since the early 1990s, to try to defuse the issue of ongoing Aboriginal oppression. A series of officially sponsored "reconciliation walks" a year ago, however, were an opening for hundreds of thousands of people to express their support for justice for Aboriginal people and their opposition to racist government policies.

"Aboriginal people are lost without their land," said Charles Moran, an Aboriginal elder from Canberra. He explained why he mistrusted both "reconciliation" and a treaty. "The government, white men, write these treaties up for themselves, not us. Our people are divided by government policy. We need to unite and fight as one."

The march ended in a rally in front of Parliament to hear Aboriginal elders as well as young indigenous student activists. Isabel Coe, a longtime leader at the Tent Embassy, explained, "This isn't about reconciliation, it's about sovereignty!" Ray Jackson, a longtime Aboriginal campaigner against Black



Militant/Ron Poulsen

"Always was, always will be Aboriginal land," was chant of hundreds of Aboriginal rights supporters at July 1 rally in front of Parliament in Canberra, Australia.

deaths in police custody from Sydney, said, "It is a disgrace in such a rich nation that so many of our people die of preventable diseases," or at the hands of the police.

Kevin Buzzacott, an elder of the Arabunna people of Lake Eyre in South Australia, called on the government to "pull those jails down and let our mob out." Aborigines comprise 15 percent of New South Wales's record prison population, despite being about 2 percent of the general population.

Earlier, Buzzacott talked of the "unfinished business" of the history of massacres, desecration of Aboriginal sacred sites and land, and the need for justice over "stolen generations" of children removed from their Aboriginal parents by authorities during decades of government assimilationist policies.

A number of Aboriginal students and youth spoke out on their experiences and on the need for the younger generation, including Black students, to help develop "a new movement based on Aboriginal people," the theme of the indigenous student-sponsored conference.

One indigenous student, Delephene Fraser from Canberra, answering the claim

that the oppression of Aborigines is "in the past," explained that Black deaths in police custody, whether behind bars or on the streets, has "increased by 50 percent in the past few years. Racism [against Aborigines] is happening today," she said to loud applause. Another young Aboriginal woman expressed her view that "reconciliation is aimed not at all people, but only at the Aboriginal community," and is meant to quell Aboriginal anger, not stop racist attacks and government actions.

In a July 6 interview, Fraser referred to "the amazing strength" of last year's mass reconciliation turnouts, which "mean so much to Aboriginal people." She explained, "People who walked have to know why we're angry at the government." She concluded that the conference had helped to "reignite the Black movement," bringing a younger generation of Aboriginal students and others together with older fighters. "Aboriginal communities have been waiting for this, and welcome it," she said.

Ron Poulsen is a member of the Maritime Union of Australia.