



Revolutionary Cause

POLITICAL ORGAN OF THE AUGUST 29th MOVEMENT (MARXIST-LENINIST)

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COUNTRIES WANT INDEPENDENCE, NATIONS WANT LIBERATION, PEOPLE WANT REVOLUTION

Uprisings
Continue

AZANIA RAGES!



THE PEOPLE MAKE HISTORY : AZANIAN STUDENTS AND WORKERS rise up against the racist regime of South Africa, demonstrating that revolution is the main trend in the world today.

The flames of mass struggle have swept across Azania as the Azanian people deliver blow after blow at the fascist and racist white minority rule and its apartheid policies (laws designed to forcibly keep the Azanian people in slavery by restricting their movement geographically, socially, economically and politically). Ever since the uprising of black students in the Soweto Township of Johannesburg and the new upsurge of the struggle in early August, the most ferocious revolutionary storm since the uprisings of 1960 has engulfed most of Azania.

Exchanging blow for blow with their oppressors, the Azanian people are fighting fiercely against the repressive tactics of the heavily-armed police. The police have wantonly killed hundreds of Azanians and wounded and arrested thousands more in an all-out attempt to smash the uprising. But the Azanians fight on heroically in the face of guns, tear gas, armored cars and helicopters, to stone and burn the vehicles, buildings and other symbols of white minority rule.

The reactionary Vorster regime's attempts to stop the massive rebellions by toughening its police-state laws have only served to strengthen the determination of the Black masses to fight. In fact, as the mass struggle intensifies the Black masses are gaining the support of other sectors of the population. The massive demonstrations coupled with violent clashes with the police have now spread into the white communities. As this happens Black workers working in the white areas are joining the struggle, as well as the more socially and economically privileged mulattoes (persons of mixed ancestry) and many whites who are against apartheid. For example, over 200,000 Black workers living in Soweto refused to go to work in Johannesburg August 4.

Internationally, the struggle of the Azanian people is receiving worldwide support, especially from the countries of the Third World. (The Third World has placed the question of apartheid on the agenda for next session of the United Nations.) Around the world, the white minority stands condemned by the peoples of the world for the atrocities it has and is committing against the Azanian people. Indeed, the Azanian struggle against oppression is joining forces with the ever-stronger armed struggle of the

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A TRIBUTE TO MAO TSETUNG

OUR COMRADE HAS FALLEN

A TRIBUTE TO MAO TSETUNG

"What a torch of reason ceased to burn,
What a heart has ceased to beat!"

Mao Tsetung died on September 9, 1976 at the age of 82. He spent all of his life at the service of the world's oppressed peoples. He died at his post-leading the Chinese people in defending their socialist land against Teng Hsiao Ping and others who attempted to restore the rule of capitalist misery to China. Mao personally led this and wrote over twelve directives regarding the course, the methods and the objectives of the struggle.

Mao became a revolutionary when he was a young university student. He participated actively in the May 4th Movement against the foreign imperialist powers. Very soon, Mao learned about Marxism and became an eager student of its teachings. He wasted no time in taking his knowledge into the Chinese working class by leading a number of mineworkers in a strike for their economic betterment and against imperialism.

It was in 1921 Mao helped to found the Communist Party of China which would grow from 70 to over 28 million members. It is not possible to detail all of Chairman Mao's contributions to Marxism - Leninism, but we would like to mention some of his outstanding achievements.



Mao Tsetung was the first one to correctly analyze the nature of the Chinese revolution. Proceeding from Lenin's teachings on the struggle for a revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat and the peasantry Mao developed the theory of New Democratic Revolution. This is a revolution aimed at destroying the power of foreign imperialism in oppressed, semi-feudal and semi-colonial countries. It also includes building a democratic state, led by the working class but including

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AZANIA

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Zimbabwe and Namibian people as part of the main trend in the world today
REVOLUTION.

White minority rule in Azania has been so badly shaken that the US has been forced to intervene directly in order to protect its political and economic interests. At the same time, the US is contending with Soviet social-imperialism (socialism in words, imperialism in deeds), which tries to gain control over Africa by posing as the "natural ally" of the national liberation movements.

The white minority in Azania has long been a major bulwark of US imperialism in Africa, that is, guardian of the investments which have reaped billions of dollars in superprofits for the American capitalist class.

Thus, US Secretary of State Kissinger has been sent on his "African safari of shuttle diplomacy" in order to find a "peaceful" solution to the African "problem." After decades of supporting the apartheid regime in Azania, the US has suddenly become concerned about the "human rights" of the Azanian people. Could this really be true? Of course not!

MAO

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all democratic and anti-imperialist classes.

Such was the revolution led by Chairman Mao. Today this revolution stands as a model for the entire 3rd World which is fighting for New Democracy from Colombia, to the Phillipines, to Zimbabwe.

Mao Tsetung led the Chinese people against the Japanese imperialists in the 1930's and 1940's. The Japanese were defeated. Mao Tsetung led the Chinese people in struggle against U.S. imperialism and its puppet Chiang Kai-shek. U.S. imperialism and Chiang Kai-shek were defeated. At last! At last the miserably poor Chinese masses had lifted the weight of centuries of oppression off their shoulders. And Mao led these poorly armed and poorly equipped people to these wonderful victories by simply relying on the Chinese workers and peasants.

Mao's life is a living confirmation that Marxism-Leninism belongs to the masses, means nothing without the masses. It does not belong to communists alone. Communists cannot be Marxists without the masses. Every victory of the Chinese people is a tribute to this simple but profound truth which Mao grasped like few other Communists in history have.

CONCRETE HANDLING OF CONTRADICTIONS

At a time when China's socialist revolution was very young (1957) and when many communists were confused about how to consolidate the new dictatorship of the working class, Mao explained that class struggle was the key link to the development of socialism in China. He explained simply and clearly that capitalists still existed in China who wanted to smash socialism.

Mao wrote that the proletariat must wage war against such elements, ON EVERY FRONT (ideological, political, philosophical, etc.). Otherwise, he explained, they will defeat the working class by deceit and treachery. These enemies represent no more than 5% of the Chinese population Mao said. Standing against them are the overwhelming majority of the workers and peasants and intellectuals of China. With

Kissinger's latest rounds of "shuttle diplomacy" are nothing but a vain attempt to stave off the final defeat of US imperialism in southern Africa. The "concessions" announced by the fascist and racist regimes of Vorster and Smith that came after the Kissinger visits confirm this. The Vorster regime believes that the Azanian people will trade their aspirations for self-determination for the promise of integration in sports. Obviously, the Vorster regime is only trying to pacify the Black masses and confuse their mulatto and white supporters on the national front and to bolster its image on the international front, and thus safeguard the interests of U.S. imperialism in southern Africa. The Smith regime, which finds itself under the guns of the national liberation movements was forced to "give in to black majority rule" (as the bourgeois press triumphantly reported it), BUT only if the national liberation armies lay down their weapons and wait for two years. These schemes are only a ruse to fool and divide the African peoples and their allies by giving rise to illusions that African self-determination can be achieved through peaceful means. And that this manoeuvre is part of the US' increasing contention with the Soviet Union in Africa as

the enemy we must be ruthless, and we must draw the masses into the struggle against them.

With the people on the other hand, Mao taught us to use the method of education, discussion and persuasion to overcome all differences. Armed with the knowledge the Chinese communists and the Chinese people were to begin the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution in 1966

This was a movement of 100's of millions in which the Chinese workers, under Mao's personal leadership, kicked out fat cat bureaucrats in the state and in the Chinese Communist Party. These bureaucrats were either capitalists or were turning into capitalists. Fat with the power and privileges of their positions they began to see themselves as being above the masses, better than the masses. This outlook inevitably leads to exploitation of the masses.

Mao saw this, saw that it had led to the restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union - and pointed it out to the masses. The initiative and power of a whole country were unleashed and the plot of the new capitalists were smashed as the ordinary laborer and farmer of China fought to defend socialism.

This revolution inspired hatred in every capitalist, every reactionary and every exploiter in the world. They could not stand to see the workers exercise political power. But it brought tears of joy to the billions of suffering humanity who watched with anticipation as their class brothers and sisters of China snatched the capitalists by the scuff of the neck and threw them in the trash. Here in the U.S. the Cultural Revolution was a bombshell inspiring particularly the revolutionary students and revolutionary nationalists.

We shall never forget those heroic Black Panthers who handed out Mao's Red Book to the enthusiastic masses in the Black Ghettos. We shall never forget the enthusiasm for Marxism created among the revolutionaries of this country by the Chinese Revolution of 1966. And Mao led this. This simple, self-sacrificing revolutionary taught us the meaning of relying on the masses. And the world will never be the same.

MAO EXPOSES THE REVISIONISTS

in the rest of the world is seen in Kissinger's statements that he is hopeful that the groundwork has now been laid for a "solution to the African problem without the intervention of outside forces" (i.e. without allowing the US social-imperialist rivals to take its place as the "master" of southern Africa).

But the Azanian and other African peoples will not be fooled. This can be seen by the anti-Kissinger demonstrations not only in southern Africa but in Europe as well. The mass upsurge of the Azanian people will continue to rise as the armed struggle of the other southern African peoples against racist domination (behind which hides US imperialism) gains momentum and develops in depth by firmly rejecting every racist manoeuvre for a "peaceful" solution and fighting against attempts by the superpowers to redivide Africa to suit their own imperialist aims. The working class stands resolutely opposed to all imperialist and social-imperialist attempts to split the unity of the African peoples and of the national liberation movements. We support this heroic struggle and call upon our African sisters and brothers to strengthen their unity, hold fast to their rifles and to march forward to victory.

In the late 1950's the capitalists of the Soviet Union assumed control of the Communist Party of the S.U. From that position they began restoring capitalism and they soon turned the workers of the USSR into wage slaves.

Today the USSR is a fascist state, trying its best to promote a world war. Few communists realized what was going on when Khrushchov seized control of the CPSU. But Mao did. From the beginning Mao realized that the capitalists were taking power in the Soviet Union. Mao exposed them to the world.

Going against a huge tide of revisionism Mao pointed the finger at Khrushchov and said, "The man is a capitalist and a liar. He talks Marxism, but practices revisionism" (Capitalism with a Marxist Disguise). A shocked and skeptical world could not believe it. But very soon Mao's words rang like a clap of thunder as the social-imperialist tanks rumbled into Czechoslovakia.

Mao never stopped exposing the revisionists. Study their experience, he taught us, or we will follow their trail. Mao showed how these traitors had abandoned every principle of Marxism-Leninism. They substituted the nationalism of the imperialists for the internationalism of the working class. They preached reliance on the capitalists rather than class struggle against them. They tried to make us believe that we could take power peacefully from an enemy armed with everything from tanks to atomic weapons and which has used them all to defend capitalism.

The revisionists tried to tell us that we don't need a party of the working class to achieve socialism, but that we can have a "party of the whole people" (i.e. exploiters and exploited). The revisionists told us that the working class did not need to defend socialism with its own dictatorship over the capitalists, rather they claimed that we could defend socialism in unity with these new capitalists.

Lies, all lies! Mao said. And he was right. Today an anguished world watches the glorious Soviet people being crushed by a fascist dictatorship - the victims of every lie and deception of the revisionists. But

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MOLDERS STRIKE VICTORY ^{2nd PART}

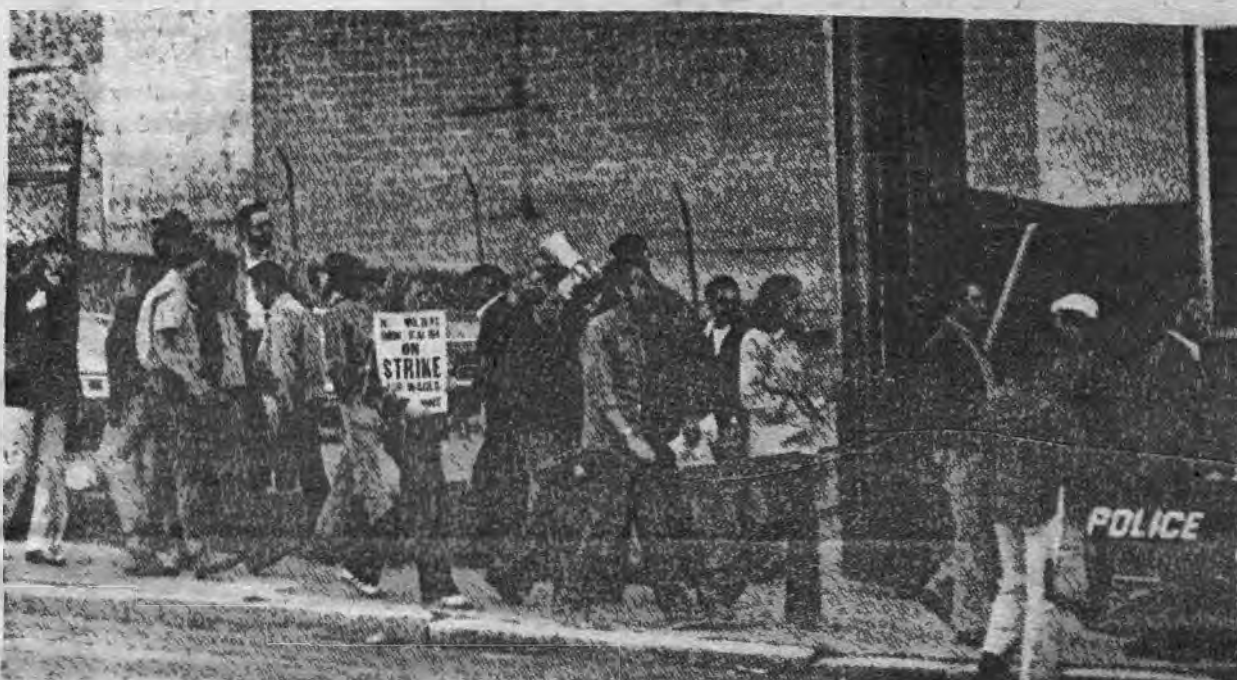
IMPORTANT LESSONS

(editor's note In part I of this article we explained what occurred during the 9 week strike of the International Union of Molders and Allied Workers, local 164 in Northern California. In this concluding section we would like to further develop our views on the strategic significance of a correct understanding of the national question for proletarian revolution in this country, the opportunism of the RCP and the CPUSA; the question of revolutionary tactics, and lastly the question of the training of cadres and advanced workers.)

THE IMPORTANCE OF THE NATIONAL QUESTION

We have written in the pages of our newspaper and in various other of our printed materials about the crucial significance of the national question for the socialist revolution. Ours is an extremely heterogeneous working class, composed of workers from an oppressor nation (the Anglo-American workers), and workers from either oppressed nations (Afro-Americans, Chicanos, Puerto Ricans), or national minorities. This class is not united -- there exists many divisions within it, (national divisions, age divisions, skill and unskilled divisions, divisions of the sexes, etc) But none of the divisions is as sharp, as deeply rooted historically or as crucial to the ruling class as the national divisions. For this reason they have developed a system of political, social and economic privileges for the workers of the oppressor nation (a system based on the denial of political, social and economic equality to the oppressed nationality workers). Combined with this is the presence within the working class of a labor aristocracy and a set of social props whose function is to develop and maintain the divisions within the class -- mainly through the spread of the poisonous ideology of national chauvinism, racism and reformism. At the same time we have always held that the key to revolution in this country is a fighting alliance of the working class and the movements of the oppressed nationalities. Seen in this historical and strategic perspective it becomes clear that a crucial part of our work in the factories and trade unions must be to forge the unity of the working class (oppressor nation workers and oppressed nationality workers), based on a thoroughgoing fight by all of the workers for the democratic rights of their oppressed class brothers and sisters. Without winning the entire class, and especially the Anglo-American workers to this stand, all talk about revolution is essentially idle talk. For this reason, and primarily for this reason, the stand taken by the masses of the Molders during the course of their strike was of strategic significance for the class. In the course of a bitter and complex struggle, the Molders gained an understanding CONCRETELY of the national question as it reflected itself in the oppression of the Black, Mexicano and Portuguese workers in their local. And not only did they UNDERSTAND this question, but they ACTED UPON THIS UNDERSTANDING. In so doing they had to fight down to the wire with the social props who fought with every

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STRIKING MOLDERS and supporters picket union headquarters protesting the trial of the local's leaders.

BATTLE AT WESTERN YARN

More Than 200 Workers On Strike

Over 200 of our working class brothers and sisters from the Western Yarn textile factory in Los Angeles, California went on strike on Sept.13. They are members of the Teamsters Union and are striking after facing years of brutal class, national and women's oppression. The overwhelming majority of the workers are Mexican women. In addition to striking for higher wages (top wage for unskilled work is currently \$2.70 an hour) and various other economic demands, the workers are demanding full equality of languages. The majority of workers are Spanish speaking yet the company has steadfastly refused to translate its notices into Spanish, as well as denying skill job training to anyone who cannot speak fluent English. The workers are also demanding that the Teamster leadership translate their contract into Spanish. The workers demand an immediate end to the abuse of women workers by the supervisors -

many of whom DEMAND sexual favors from the women. The workers of Western Yarn are demanding equality of languages, equality of people, and they are demanding an end to discrimination against women.

Both the capitalist owners of Western Yarn and the Teamster leadership oppose the strike. The union bureaucrats have refused to sanction the strike. The workers have defied both the rich and their puppets and are walking the picket lines. Communists are working in direct support of the workers and have played an active role in helping the workers formulate their demands and to organize their struggle. It is the duty of all communists and class conscious workers to support this struggle. These heroic workers are showing in deeds what the working class is made of. They are not striking just for a few pennies more in wages, but for much more

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STOP POLICE REPRESSION!

INTERVIEW WITH DEWAYNE "WAHEEB" WILLIAMS

On August 14, 1975, DeWayne "Waheeb" Williams, a 26 year old Black student at California State University at Northridge, and a veteran activist in the Afro-American struggle, and his companion George Hicks were returning from a flower shop in Northridge, California. As they approached their apartment building members of the Los Angeles Police Department who had been following them jumped out of their cars with their weapons drawn and ready to fire. Within minutes another 25 armed cops arrived on the scene, while a police helicopter circled overhead. The cops were "responding" to a call, which later turned out to be wrong, that "two Black men with guns" were standing outside of the apartment building. While "Waheeb" was surrounded by a ring of cops, and with his neighbors watching, several of the cops began to beat him up -- pounding so hard that the impact of the blows and of "Waheeb's" body did

\$250 damage to a neighbor's car. Williams suffered head and face cuts, bruises, broken teeth and possible back and neck injuries. All of the neighbors testified to the unprovoked nature of this brutal attack and yet Williams was convicted of assaulting an officer and resisting arrest! During the course of his "trial" the judge, David J. Aisenson badgered and harrassed Waheeb's witnesses, and before sentencing him to a jail term and three years probation, called him a bigot (!).

Attacks of this type, especially on Afro-Americans, are nothing new. They are a daily feature of capitalism. But they are increasing in both severity and frequency as the capitalists political and economic crisis gets deeper and deeper. It is the task of communists and all class-conscious workers to take a clear stand against these attacks, to rouse the working class against them, to stand

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A LETTER TO THE O.L.

OPPORTUNISM ON INTERNATIONAL SITUATION

We received a copy of the following letter addressed to the October League well over a month ago. The October League has refused to answer the criticisms in the letter. We unite with the thrust of the criticism contained in the letter and we believe that it is our duty to publish it in order to show HOW in fact, the October League responds to criticisms from the masses. Secondly, we believe that the letter contributes some understanding of the issue of whether revolution is the main trend in the world today or not. We encourage our readers to share their views on this most important question, as well as on any other topics of interest to our movement.

June 25, 1976

Dear Friends,

We have just finished reading the interview with October League chairman, Michael Klonsky, on the international situation in the Call dated 5/31/76. In this interview he states:

"A few years ago, it was correct to say that 'revolution is the main trend in the world today'. Now this statement is no longer complete or applicable to the present conditions. Today BOTH the factors for war and revolution are developing together. By saying that both factors are developing together, we are clearly emphasizing the growing danger of a war. In this way, we take note of the changes since 1970 and help people get prepared."

While we agree that the factors for both war and revolution are increasing and that the people must get prepared for war, we disagree that the statement 'revolution is the

main trend in the world today' is no longer complete or applicable. Revolution is the main trend in the world today and will continue to be so long as we are in the era of imperialism and proletarian revolution. War is the objective situation in which revolution may occur in the future and has occurred in the past. As the Chinese comrades say, "No matter if war gives rise to revolution or revolution prevents war, the future is bright because in either case revolution will inevitably occur." Again emphasizing that people are moving history forward toward revolution and that revolution is indeed the main trend in the world, in spite of the imperialists' attempts to reverse this irresistible historical trend.

This analysis was confirmed by a Changing Times comrade's recent discussion in China with a representative of the Foreign Ministry. The Chinese comrade backed up the analysis that 'revolution is the main trend in the world today' by pointing to the increasing unity within the Third world and between the Second and Third worlds in their struggles against imperialism, colonialism and hegemonism, and in their struggles for national defense, sovereignty and for a new international economic order.

When emphasizing the danger of World War and the main danger being from the Soviet Union, the Chinese comrade pointed out that the Soviet Social-Imperialists are meeting with more and more resistance from the Middle East and all of the Third World. Due to the crimes of the Soviet Union, their true colors have

been exposed, and their policies have been shown to be bankrupt. The comrade said that the continued expansion of either superpower will only meet with continued resistance.

Furthermore, we would point to Premier Hua Kuo-Feng's speech in Peking Review #23 where he states:

The Third World people's united struggles against imperialism and hegemonism has surged forward like a sweeping tide. The two superpowers have found the going tougher and tougher. 'Wind and thunder are stirring, flags and banners are flying wherever men live.'

In fact, Peking Review in general continues to point to the increasing unity and revolutionary struggles of the world's people in opposing all plans the two superpowers try to push.

The essence of Klonsky's statement is that Revolution is not the main trend, and that war and revolution are two equal and contending trends in the world today. This is seeing what is transitory, world war, and equating it with what is the rising aspect, the enduring aspect of this period, revolution. This would say that the workers and oppressed peoples of the world are on the defensive and not in the position to take up the attack on imperialism and Soviet Social-Imperialism. The October League calls for retreat when the peoples of the world are advancing. The consequence of this pessimistic line is the call for the United Front Against Fascism.

In this pre-party period it is imperative to have clarity on political line. Please clarify the position of the October League on this aspect of the international situation. We would expect that this letter will be printed and answered in the pages of the Call.

In Struggle,
Changing Times Bookstore

Letter From Farah Workers

EXPOSE CHAUVINISM OF REVOLUTIONARY COMMUNIST PARTY

The following letter was received by the Revolutionary Cause from the workers of the Farah Manufacturing Company in El Paso, Texas. These workers from the heartland of the southwest were involved, many of them as leadership, in the bitter two year Farah Strike which they won in 1974. This victory marked a blow against imperialist national oppression of the Chicano people, and was a signal victory for the entire working class in that an oppressed section of their class won the right to unionize in an area kept forcibly unorganized for years. This letter was signed by 17 workers -- all of them were active in the strike.

For several years we have been calling attention to the opportunism and national chauvinism of the "Revolutionary Communist Party", (even when it was still known as the Revolutionary Union). We have tried to show how this chauvinism flows from their whole view (their line) of the national question in the era of imperialism -- their complete liquidation of that question. Their line, their chauvinism, can only mean disunity for the working class -- no matter how hard they YELL for unity, and declare it to be an accomplished fact. Their stand aids only our enemy. We think that this letter from the Farah Workers is a revealing exposure of the truth of what we have been saying, and goes to show that social-props will sometimes even don the cloak of "communism".

COMPANERAS Y COMPANEROS.

We are a group of former Farah strikers, who were independently more ACTIVE from the Union leadership. We sought the help of all groups regardless of their political beliefs. Which in return, caused us to be called "radicals or red baited" by the Union bureaucrats. Nevertheless, we established ourselves as leaders in the strike. We maintain many contacts with the workers movement, which the Union was very strongly opposed to. When any of these groups needed any information about our struggle, all they had to do was contact our group.

When different organizations or groups involved in the working class struggle wanted speakers about the Farah struggle they contacted our group. This was very hard, of course, because of the Union's policy in opposition to our independent activities. During the course of our struggle we sent out information such as photographs taken in the early walk-out of the Farah plants taken by the workers themselves. Also we sent home-made movies of the actual walkout. We also sent out information of how the company was using its influence to provoke mass arrests, injunctions against us by the police and judges. We organized a strikers relief fund independent from the Union officials. This fund helped out strikers with their payments on their rent and utilities, also for the emergency medical bills that were piling up.

Some of the other sources that we gave were also films of the other people that were struggling for social justice here in El Paso.

During the course of our struggle we enforced the idea that the Chicano striker especially the women, should participate and take the leadership of the Union, because of course, almost 85% of the strikers were women. Our group started to participate in a lot of cold hardships that were taking place during the time of the strike. Some of the activities were "police brutality", the 16th of September Independence March, protest marches against the oppressive, housing conditions in our barrios. Also the March in Commemoration of the Chicano Moratorium of L.A. in which "Ruben Salazar", a former El Pasoan reporter was murdered. Throughout the strike we have always tried to raise the political consciousness of the strikers by linking up our struggle with the struggle of the workers, oppressed nationalities and students. All these things we did were something new in El Paso. Worker demonstrating alongside student and community organizers.

We believe in giving credit and credit is due to the RU (RCP), for setting up Farah Strike Support Committees. They maintained the flow of information about our struggle for 22 long months. Also they sent money to the Farah Distress Fund. The fund which was controlled by the strikers themselves. They also sponsored speaking tours for Farah Strikers throughout the country. But we would

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A PORTRAIT OF A SOCIAL PROP

ARNOLD MILLER - CAPITALIST STOOGES

Thousands of coal miners from Ohio and West Virginia walked out of the fields July 19 on strike against the continued intervention of the capitalist federal courts into their struggle with the mine owners. As they fight to maintain decent wages and job security, and to force the mine owners to develop a comprehensive safety program in the mines, the federal judiciary consistently enters the disputes only to decide cases in favor of the owners. The miners find themselves fined and "found in contempt" for striking for their just demands. These courts which lay claim to "judicial fairness" and "objectivity" are nothing more than tools of the capitalist class -- an integral part of the capitalist state apparatus. Appointments to the federal bench are, in fact, based on how well the appointee has served the capitalists in his or her past positions.

By mid-August miners from Indiana, Illinois, Pennsylvania, Kentucky had joined the wildcat. Over 120,000 miners picketed with no strike benefits and defied threats (by the "distinguished" Jurists on the federal bench) of fines totaling \$300,000. The miners finally returned to work after forcing the courts to drop the fines, but without forcing the mine-owners and the leadership of the United Mine Workers to sit down and negotiate this issue. The lack of support for their strike from UMW leadership caused many mineworkers to waver, and to finally end the strike without winning all their demands. But you can be sure the mineowners will think twice before going to court again.

In the middle of this intensive class struggle stood the United Mine Workers President Arnold Miller. This con man swept into office a few years ago by LYING to the miners. Miller at the time of his election, made grandiose promises to the miners. He promised to "fight for their interests", and that he would make the UMW a "democratic union". Then to show that "he meant business" he sold off the limosine fleet of the previous bureaucrat-crooks and lowered a few salaries. These cute little tactics were "all show and no go". One year later Miller FORCED on the mineworkers a contract which over 40% of the miners didn't want! And now, faced with the wildcat strike, "Mr. Democracy" stands condemned by what he said in an effort to stop the wildcat.

"I think its important for all UMW members to understand that the continuation of this strike will not serve the goals they seek, but will likely harm them. I call on and direct all local unions to return to work on the next available shift" (Los Angeles Times, July, 1976).

Very interesting. 120,000 miners in eight states are willing to sacrifice wages and benefits for over a month, not to speak of those "militants" whom the company will no doubt try to fire. Yet Miller, that "champion of democracy", directs them to return to work because they cannot achieve the "goals they seek" by means of a strike. And just how does Mr. Miller suppose that the working class has achieved any of its gains-- by appealing to the "human instincts"



On August 1 in Charleston, W.Va., a meeting was held to vote on whether or not to continue the strike. UMW president Arnold Miller (left) argued with strikers, cajoling them to go back to work, and then adjourned the meeting before a vote could be taken.

At right: Brookside women jailed by Harlan County judge.

of the capitalist perhaps? In fact it's taken bitter strike after bitter strike (not excluding armed clashes in the course of those strikes) to win the eight hour working day, the right to unionize, the right to strike, etc, etc. But Miller would rather solve class conflicts peacefully, "at the top", through chummy discussions between him and his capitalist cousins-- where the vital interests of the miners can be "bargained" for like cattle on the hoof.

MILLER IS A SOCIAL PROP

Arnold Miller is a member of that stratum of society which is bribed by the capitalist class to lead the oppressed masses AWAY from revolution and into the lap of class collaboration. These people are called social props-- that is, they are "leaders" with some influence among the masses, who "prop up" the crumbling capitalist system by preaching illusions about it, that it can be "made to work", that the answer to capitalist ills is to "Buy American", or "deport illegal aliens", etc, etc. With its surplus billions stolen mostly from their "capital investments" in the Third World countries, the capitalist class buys these puppets (at salaries from 5 to 10 times that of the average worker). So, along with their military props (armed forces, police, jails, etc), they have these social props to maintain their "paradise" of corruption, unemployment, national oppression, drugs, crime, and PROFIT.



Within the working class these social props, such as Miller, are generally recruited from the aristocracy of labor-- the most highly paid sector of our class, those most removed from our daily suffering and struggle. Within the national movements they are generally recruited from the intelligentsia, who are also those most removed from the daily want, misery, and oppression of their peoples.

PULL OUT THE PROPS!

It is a simple fact of life that our revolution will not take place without the unmasking of all the social props in all "walks of life"--from Miller to Meany, from Julian Bond to Cesar Chavez. Let us watch carefully our class brothers from the UMW--let us learn from the lessons of their struggle, applying what we learn to our historic revolutionary tasks of smashing once and for all the rotten system of capitalism.

MAO

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now the world knows the truth because Mao had the guts to stand up and speak it!

We shall never forget him. His example and his teachings are a new and everlasting development of our science, Marxism-Leninism. Mao Tse-tung Thought belongs to us, just as Mao belongs to us. Death can never take this away from us!

MAO TSETUNG THOUGHT WILL LIVE FOREVER!
ALL GLORY TO COMRADE MAO TSETUNG!

FAN THE FLAMES!!

FOR A REVOLUTIONARY POSITION ON THE CHICANO NATIONAL QUESTION!



AFTER DECADES OF OPPORTUNISM ON THIS MOST VITAL OF QUESTIONS, A MARXIST-LENINIST POSITION HAS FINALLY BEEN DEVELOPED! THIS PAMPHLET PROVIDES A CLEAR ANALYSIS OF THE HISTORY OF DEVELOPMENT OF AN OPPRESSED CHICANO NATION AND EXPLAINS CLEARLY WHY IT IS THE DUTY OF COMMUNISTS TO UPHOLD THE RIGHT OF THAT NATION TO SELF-DETERMINATION -- ITS RIGHT TO POLITICAL SECESSION!

BY THE AUGUST 29th MOVEMENT (M-L)

P.O. BOX 32026
L.A. CA 90032

[price: \$2.50]

REPRESSION

(Continued from page 3)

forthrightly for the right of the peoples armed self-defense against police terrorism, as well as for the full democratic rights of all oppressed nationalities. Those interested in finding out more about the case of Waheeb Williams and of contributing to his legal defense (which is very expensive), can write to:

DeWayne "Waheeb" Williams
Legal Defense Fund
c/o Pan African Studies Department
California State University, Northridge
18111 Nordhoff Street
Northridge, California 91324

INTERVIEW:

ATM: What is the current status of your case?

WW: I'm in the process of appealing the case. At this point I'm trying to organize a base in the community, I'm trying to organize support around my case, how it ties into the overall protracted struggle that's going on in America. I've circulated petitions to get support for my cause. Anyone can tie in the two between my individual incident and things that happen in America everyday with Black people.

ATM: Maybe you can talk a little bit about some of the other police murders that have occurred in Southern California recently.

WW: Well at present my defense committee has become part of a coalition called C.A.P.A., the Coalition Against Police Abuse. And it was formed basically out of defense committees who are involved in some way, form or fashion with murders and injustices that have been committed against non-white people by the members of the Los Angeles Police Department. There's the Betty Scott-Smith Committee whose chief co-ordinator's sister was killed by the California Highway Patrol. There's the Timothy Grandpre Committee -- he was shot on the freeway by an off duty Los Angeles police officer who claimed that Grandpre "tried to run him off the road". There are witnesses who contradict his story, and judging from the story told by the cops at my trial, I totally agree with the witnesses who stated that he was just blatantly murdered. There's the Jimmy Blando Defense Committee. Jimmy Blando was gunned down in the Pico area. He was shot four times while the cops were chasing him and the officer emptied his gun on him and another officer stood over him while he was bleeding to death, reloaded his gun and shot him six more times. He was shot twelve or thirteen times. There's the Barry Evans Committee from Pacoima, working with a community organization called People United. Barry Evans was a 17 year old Black brother who was shot three times in the back by two Los Angeles police department officers. There's the Ted Collins Defense Committee. Ted Collins allegedly committed suicide in the Los Angeles County Jail. There's been six alleged suicides in the County Jail in the last six months I believe -- all of them Black.

ATM: People talk a lot about fascism. Do you see this as evidence that it is developing?

WW: Yes, because you see it if you ever look at history. In school I studied the speeches of Adolf Hitler, and some of his practices. In the

early part of May we had a demonstration at the Los Angeles Police Commission -- the Glass House. The Police Commission showed their "sympathy" with us and they made the statement that "we don't want any killings, we don't want anyone killed, we don't want anyone hurt." You know, empty statements like that. Hitler made similar empty declarations about treatment towards the Jews. Publicly the police killings are "not condoned", but there has been no effort by the Commission to try and stop these daily police atrocities.

ATM: It seems like this is becoming a real nation-wide phenomena. Have you been following some of the things that have been happening?
WW: Oh yes, daily there are reports of attacks against Black people and non-white people. We see this escalating because imperialism is being driven out of Africa, is being driven out of Asia and Latin America -- they are having a harder time externally oppressing anyone, so oppression is more and more coming inward and is mounting as the imperialists see themselves being threatened by struggles of oppressed peoples. So they lash out in a reactionary form with brutal oppression. Of course this is nothing new to Black people; Black people have always been dealt with in the most brutal manner because we have always been an oppressed group in this country. First overtly as slaves, and now covertly as slaves -- and anyone knows that when you have a slave in captivity, he seeks freedom, he strikes out and he's trying to get free by any means necessary. So it's the nature of anyone who is trying to oppress you to try and keep you down by any means necessary -- no holes barred.

ATM: Do you think this trend of resistance against oppression is part of a world wide phenomena?

WW: Oh yeah, because you see capitalism is based on a few benefitting from the work of many. For a long time the world was ignorant. Well this is part of one way of staying on top, of keeping the masses confused, so they don't know what's happening. And the people are waking up all over the world. They want independence, they want freedom. And as people become aware of freedom and what that means, the capitalists become aware of the fact they no longer can oppress people as they did during the last century, and I would say the first half of this century up to the year I was born, 1950. In 1950 much of Africa was still subjugated, now most of it is free. Up until 1949 China was divided into various colonial factions until Mao and the Chinese people dealt with that. India, the second biggest country in the world was up until 1947-48, a British colony. Indo-China was once controlled by France, and then the U.S. No longer. So I see the Chicano struggles and the Black struggle as being paramount in the overall struggle for eventual proletarian victory, which is inevitable -- because the proletariat forms the backbone of capitalism and once the backbone of capitalism is broken, it no longer has anything to sustain itself with and they cease to exist.

ATM: It seems from what you're saying that mass action, mass support is the key to victory in your case.

WW: In this society you got to have one of two things either a lot of money, or a lot of people behind you. Right now I'm trying to educate people about my situation and how it encompasses the Black struggle be-

W. YARN

(Continued from page 3)

important demands. Many of them recognize both the significance of their demands and the protracted struggle that will be required to win them.

Many are already becoming aware that only socialist revolution will finally end all exploitation and oppression of the working class, the oppressed nationalities and women.

The road ahead is full of sacrifice and struggle for the workers of Western Yarn. They are getting no strike benefits and need all the financial support that they can get. Send your contributions to P.O. Box 54927, Los Angeles, Calif. 90054. Also send them messages of support and solidarity. Also, popularize this historic strike in your plant and trade union. Let us show our whole class the dedication, the spirit of sacrifice, the capacity for leadership of the sisters and brothers of Western Yarn. Long live their struggle! Long live the struggle of the working class!

FARAH

(Continued from page 4)

also like to thank the other people and groups who participated in the support, communities and from other support communities throughout the U.S.A. We also thank the people who walked the Farah Boycott picket lines supporting us regardless of which organization was sponsoring the event.

Throughout those 22 long and sacrificing months, the idea of making a film became popular. The RU (RCP) told our group that some film company wanted to make a movie about our struggle. It was during the summer of '73 that some people who the RU said were the Single Spark Film Company, came to El Paso to shoot some film. We provided them with all the interviews for the film and we gladly cooperated in making the arrangements for the film. We also provided the film makers with housing for two weeks. They stayed with the mother of a member of our group of which both were strikers. The majority of the strikers were reluctant to appear in the film because the Union had said we shouldn't cooperate with this group because they were going to use us for their own benefits. Nevertheless we worked hard to get the cooperation of our fellow strikers to speak of their experiences in the plant and of the strike. We worked hard on this project because members of our group, women and men were told by members of the RU (RCP) and the film company that we would have a copy of the film for our group to keep and show here in El Paso. We were also proud to work on this film because our struggle, unity, suffering would be recorded and it would be to the benefit of the Chicano working class and the working class in general. This film could be valuable in organizing the workers into a strong rank and file group and furthering the cause to make the Union more democratic.

One of the parts of the movie that fills the strikers with emotion and brings memories of the long suffering is the part which shows the actual walkout. This part was filmed by two strikers with their movie cameras. These two films were given to the RU (RCP) and later converted from 8mm

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cause anyone who knows anything about the Black struggle knows that this type of thing has been going on for just too long.

AUGUST 29th MOVEMENT (M-L) HOLDS 2nd CONGRESS HISTORIC OCCASION

Recently the August 29th Movement (Marxist-Leninist) held its Second Congress. We believe that this occurred at a crucial juncture for the revolutionary movement. Internationally the danger of war has significantly increased since the time of our 1974 Unity Congress

This has extremely serious implications for Communists who wish to lead revolutionary struggle against such a war. At the same time, communists must intensify all efforts to develop the work and apparatus necessary to be able to turn such a war into a civil war. While the two superpowers hone their weapons of war, the main trend of revolution continues to advance as the rising class and national struggles throughout the world continue to shatter the very foundations of imperialism (we refer comrades to the article "Revolution Can Prevent War" Revolutionary Cause #6), and particularly those of the U.S. and the USSR.

At home the economic crisis continues despite the clamor of the capitalist economists about "recovery", and this crisis has sparked off a wave of struggle within the working class and national movements. Meanwhile, within the antirevisionist Communist movement, the chief standard bearer of right opportunism, the October League, is preparing to declare itself a party - trying to cover its tracks with a few "feints to the left" but standing firm on a theoretical and practical program of opportunism.

From the "left" the new Puerto Rican Revolutionary Workers Organization and the Revolutionary Workers League have picked up the tattered banner of "left" opportunism and have succeeded in reducing the once proud PRRWO to a raving sect, while destroying in the process the principled and high level of unity which it had with ATM.

It was at precisely this historic juncture in which we convened our 2nd congress. Our Congress adopted a report by the Central Committee on the current world and national situation and the situation within the Communist movement, as well as studying and approving a review of our past two years of development. The Congress unanimously repudiated the "left" deviation which had developed in ATM, affirmed at a higher level of understanding, party-building as the central task and political line as the key link to party-building.

Significantly, the Congress, on the basis of a careful summation of the history of party-building in the U.S. over the past several years, laid out the correct line that party building, like our revolution itself, will be a protracted process in the U.S. The most important part of this process is the TESTING of the political line in practice.

It is this testing of views, of stated unities, in the crucible of mass struggle which will allow us to develop the solid basis of programmatic unity. This component must be taken into account and made a central part of any real viable plan for party building. Such a component distinguishes us right off the bat from the get-rich-quick schemes of the "left" and right opportunists. In future issues of REVOLUTIONARY CAUSE

we will quote from the Congress documents which speak to this question.

But the most outstanding achievement of our Congress was its adoption of the first Marxist-Leninist position on the Chicano National Question. This resolution is of historic importance--both in the struggle for the party and the struggle for revolution.

It represents a precise analysis of the development of the Chicano people's struggle, their development as an oppressed nation with the right to political secession. The resolution also defines concretely the basic demands of that movement and the tasks of communists. We reprint below some excerpts from that historic document.



ON THE REVOLUTIONARY STRUGGLE OF THE CHICANO PEOPLE

There is no force on earth which can conquer a people who are fighting for their freedom from oppression. The Chicano people are just such a people -- tempered over the decades in the flames of their revolutionary freedom struggle. In our own time we have seen the courage, strength, determination and will to freedom of the Chicano masses, displayed in the stormy decade of the 60's and up until the present.

...the Chicano people are again arising like an armed and angry Phoenix from the ashes of the "fire that refused to die" in order to fight until victory for their right to self-determination.

What remains the same (in the current phase of the struggle) is the basis of the revolutionary national movement -- the severe national oppression of the Chicano people, the denial of their basic democratic rights. Like the 60's the movement will again involve every oppressed class and strata of the Chicano people -- the workers, the campesinos, the students; the intellectuals, the youth, the women, etc. What will make this movement different will be its even broader scope and depth. In addition the revolutionary Chicano proletariat is more and more fulfilling its historic mission as leader of all the oppressed.

This class, in unity with all American workers, is now in a position assumed in the 60's by the students. In any case the revolutionary leaders of the Chicano people have learned the bitter lessons of the past decade -- particularly the sad result of following the path of reformism. They have learned -- in the factories, in the fields, in the mountains of the

southwest, on the campuses, and in the jails -- that only an armed Chicano people can win liberation from imperialism.

The intensified repression of current years gives this new upsurge the potentiality for national rebellion--for an armed revolt of the people in the southwest. It is the duty, the obligation, of every communist, every Chicano revolutionary, to prepare for this onslaught, to win, in the course of their everyday struggles, the leadership of this movement. The deaths of the Chicano patriots must not have occurred in vain. Their blood must wipe away all illusions of the people that their struggle can occur peacefully, within the confines of the system which robs them and attacks every aspect of their national identity. Let that innocent blood act like a wind upon a fire -- fanning the spark of our revolution into a conflagration which engulf the southwest with the mass rebellion of the Chicano people.

...We live in an era of storms and revolutions. The watchwords of the world's peoples are "independence, liberation and revolution." Since the end of the 2nd imperialist world war the numerous countries of the Third World have risen up in fury against their former colonial and imperialist masters. The last two years has seen the peoples of Viet Nam, Cambodia, Laos, Mozambique, Guinea-Bissau and other countries win their liberation in the furnace of peoples war. At the same time the fires of revolution are scorching the imperialist empires as the peoples of Zimbabwe, Azania and Namibia stand on the threshold of liberation.

Elsewhere the masses of East Timor, the Phillipines, Thailand, and in Latin America are engulfing their imperialist masters in the smothering embrace of revolutionary struggle.

Standing against this mighty current are the two corrupt watchdogs of capitalist reaction -- the imperialist U.S. and the social-imperialist Soviet Union. These two bulwarks of oppression, while girding themselves for a world war with the winner becoming the supreme master of national plunder, are rushing about the world in a frenzy, attempting by hook or by crook to douse the flames of the national liberation movements

Set against this violent panorama of wars and revolutions is the national movement of the Chicano people. This movement is a component part of the world revolutionary movement. It derives its significance both from its century-long history of armed struggle and mass upsurge, and from the fact that it is directed squarely against U.S. imperialism from within the very heart of that monster.

... As Communists we stand for the interests of the revolutionary working class. This class supports any and every movement which tends to weaken imperialism. The Chicano movement does more than "tend" to weaken imperialism, it stands ready to drive a stake through the heart of U.S. imperialism. A movement with such a history of struggle, with a rapidly growing working class, with a campesino movement with such revolutionary traditions, stands as the direct ally of the U.S. working

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CONGRESS

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class in its struggle for proletarian revolution. It is clear that the national movement and the working class movement are already "linked" - they are linked in the sense that every blow by the Chicano people against imperialism brings the proletariat a step closer to its goal of socialist revolution. Therefore, we must FAN THE FLAMES of the Chicano revolution, support it, and strive to give it the consistent and determined revolutionary leadership that it demands from us.

THE BASIC DEMANDS OF THE CHICANO MOVEMENT

....The root cause of the oppression of the Chicano people is the loss of land, its control by the Anglo-American imperialists. Control of the land gives them also control over the timber, the agriculture and the mineral wealth of the southwest. Economic control and political control go hand in hand. Utilizing their political power they have been able to systematically wrest more and more land from the Chicano campesino through an oppressive system of taxes, their power of eminent domain, etc., (this in addition to outright violence and robbery of the lands, as well as squeezing many small farmers out through control of water, timber and grazing rights.) In turn, with the wealth gained from the land, the oppressors can expand and strengthen their political rule which finds its expression in the denial of democratic rights to the Chicano people. To end this vicious system we must raise the following demands in the Southwest:

(1) Expropriation of the land and all natural resources of the Anglo-American capitalists as well as all those belonging to the federal and state governments.

(2) State unity of the Southwest. To maintain their rule, the capitalists have systematically gerrymandered the areas of Chicano majority

(roughly from S. Colorado to New Mexico through to south Texas and S. Arizona and possibly the southeastern part of Southern California), combining into counties huge areas of territory, much of it sparsely inhabited by Chicanos and Native Americans, with the metropolitan centers which have large Anglo majorities. To make effective the possibility of the Chicano people putting their right to political secession into force it is required to unite into one governmental unit all areas of the Southwest where Chicanos constitute a majority of the population. This is to ensure the effective democratic exercise of their right to self-determination.

(3) Right to Political Secession (self-determination). This is our central demand in the Chicano liberation struggle in the Southwest. In order to guarantee a revolutionary direction for this movement and in order to harness the vast revolutionary potential of the Chicano masses we must raise this demand in opposition to all bourgeois integrationist schemes which preach that "hard work" or bourgeois "education" can win Chicano equality.

....We must also struggle against calls for "Chicano Socialism". This cover for narrow, cultural nationalism tries to accommodate the striving of the Chicano people towards socialism with reformism and cultural nationalism.

No, against all this, as well as against those chauvinists who would deny freedom to the Chicano people because it would "split the working class" (!), we must call for the complete and unequivocal right of the Chicano people in the southwest to exercise political control of their territory, as well as to decide upon the relation between their territory and other nations, including the U.S. The right to self-determination means that the Chicano majority in its united territory exercises the right

of administering executive, legislative and judicial authority. It is presently the U.S. imperialists who control this power, the Anglo-American capitalists and land-owners. ... ONLY if the Chicano people lift the burden of imperialism off their back, to the point of determining for themselves their national relationship with all other governments will it win real self-determination. Being that the U.S. imperialists rely, ultimately, on military force to preserve its rule we must demand that all U.S. imperialist armed forces be removed from the Southwest.

(4) The full democratic rights of all native Americans in the southwest must be upheld and fought for, including the right to self-determination where it is applicable. They must be guaranteed the complete right to all their lands and full water rights for them.

(5) Full democratic rights for all Chicanos. This is our main demand in areas of Chicano concentration (or wherever Chicanos reside and are denied their rights) outside the Southwest.

....Comrades, this resolution is our battle cry, our declaration of WAR against the U.S. imperialists! It is up to us to make it a living reality - to give it life by integrating its truth and direction with the historic revolutionary struggle of the Chicano people. LONG LIVE THE STRUGGLE OF THE CHICANO NATION! THE RIGHT TO POLITICAL SECESSION FOR THE CHICANO NATION! FULL DEMOCRATIC RIGHTS FOR ALL CHICANOS! THE FIRES OF REVOLUTION ARE BURNING, FAN THE FLAMES! WORKERS AND OPPRESSED PEOPLES OF THE WORLD UNITE!



MOLDERS

(Continued from p.3)

ounce of their energy to maintain the class divisions, to fan the flames of chauvinism and to chain the skilled Anglo workers (in particular) to their narrowest craft interests (cf. Revolutionary Cause #7)

The workers came to this understanding IN SPITE of the Communist Party of the USA which NEVER ONCE raised this question in any more than a bleeding heart liberal manner, and NEVER ONCE organized the struggle against national oppression in the local. The CPUSA has dragged the proud name of communism through the mud -- a name which stands first of all for proletarian-internationalism -- they did everything in their power to oppose ATM's work in the local, including our exposures of the imperialist social props, which they referred to as "Maoist bullshit". Not only did these traitors fail to raise the national question or work for the interests of the oppressed nationality workers -- they actually tried to sabotage the strike -- agreeing right along with the trade union bureaucrats to postpone the strike for two weeks, to "concede" the most important demands. Finally, the CP outdid itself near the end of the strike when they pleaded with the workers to quickly settle before the strike "becomes political". Fortunately, the strike had already "become political" as the workers learned that the capitalist class was their enemy, that the capitalist class

was the source of national oppression, that the capitalist class bribed the social props who bartered with their interests. And these are precisely the lessons which communists must drive home over and over again to the working class if we are to have a socialist revolution in this country. While the work in the Molders actually constitutes only a beginning to the work there, the strike lays a solid political foundation for all future organizing in the local, and the political LESSONS of the strike are of crucial importance for the entire working class movement.

But why do we call the Communist Party of the USA social props? Here in a concrete struggle for the UNITY of our class,

FARAH (Continued from page 6)

for the Farah strike film. These two strikers were very reluctant to part with their home movies. They told us that we didn't need anybody from the outside to make a movie about our struggle, that we could make one ourselves. But our group convinced them that this movie was going to be a 16mm film and besides that, we didn't have the money or the know-how to make a 16mm film. Only after that we told them that this group, the RU, had promised us a copy of the film so that we could continue to organize the strikers into a strong rank and file did they part with their films.

There was a good working relation between RU and our group, up until the time the RU started to send their people down to El Paso to stay. They started to visit our people in our group without the leaders of the

a unity indispensable to our revolution, they consciously and actively sided with the trade union bureaucrats. And those bureaucrats fought every demand for the equality of the nationalities. By siding with them who does the CPUSA serve, the workers or the capitalists? And because they have some influence among some workers they help to keep the capitalists in power by keeping those workers on the side of capital. They help to "prop up" capitalism. But this is only one small example of the role they play.

While the CPUSA had little influence on the working class and oppressed nationality upsurges of the 1960's, they have started to grow as more and more people become open to the ideas of communism.

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group knowing anything about it. When we heard about the RU visiting our members, at first we said maybe they are trying to show our members how to organize our group better. But we started to hear complaints from our members that the RU members were ordering them to do things they didn't want to do. For example calling meetings without the leaders being present, trying to get members to sell their papers at the unemployment lines, pushing our members to read material that they could not understand. Which caused a women member to say that the RU was trying to shove things down our throats. Our members also asked in a meeting of our group if the RU was here to take over our group.

Our group was a very closed one. We worked hard with all our members trying to understand each other. Even after the strike was over we

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MOLDERS

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They act as mouthpieces for the social-imperialists of the Soviet Union who call their brand of capitalism "socialism", and who call their bloody intervention in Angola "proletarian internationalism". And the CPUSA spreads these LIES everywhere they can, disguising the fascist and warmongering essence of the USSR. They have made some headway in the Afro-American, Chicano, and Puerto Rican movements by fronting off the revisionist Communist Party of Cuba and the Puerto Rican Socialist Party. In some trade unions, like the Hospital Workers # 1199 in New York, the International Longshoreman and the Warehousemen's Union on the W. coast, and in the United Steelworkers in the midwest the revisionists have a steadily growing influence. They do not yet have the power or influence of the trade union bureaucrats but they are rising, especially as people turn to socialism for an answer to their misery. We must smash them NOW, at every turn. We must expose them as the fifth column of the USSR and a social prop of the U.S. capitalist class.

REVOLUTIONARY COMMUNIST PARTY -- REFORMISM IN ACTION

Fortunately for all of us, the working class judges revolutionaries not merely by what they say, but mostly by what they DO. The Revolutionary Communist Party talks a lot about revolution, the unity of the class, and so forth and so on. They even refer to themselves modestly as the vanguard of the revolutionary proletariat. But the vanguard of this revolution had better understand the national question if it wants to lead a revolution in this country. As we explained in part I of this article -- the RCP carried on no propaganda or agitational work in regard to the national oppression in 164, nor did they organize at all around this question. What we would like to talk about here is the reformist tactics of the RCP, and how these tactics can temporarily confuse the working class unless their essence is exposed by communists. By revolutionary tactics we mean (generally) mass actions which go beyond the boundaries of bourgeois legality connected to the struggle for democratic rights, for self-determination for the oppressed nations and for socialism. (We are talking here about the key questions of our revolution, such actions must obviously be connected to other important political questions such as the struggle against a world war of the superpowers.) These actions -- mass strikes, political strikes, street actions, military actions, etc -- do not constitute revolutionary tactics in and of themselves. What gives them their meaning, their political significance, is when they are undertaken as part of the struggle for democratic rights, for self-determination and socialism. Taken alone, for example, a militant strike may never go beyond the boundaries of simple trade unionism, even though during the course of that strike the workers may defy the bourgeois laws, beat up scabs, do mass picketing in defiance of court injunctions, etc. And this is exactly the muddle of the RCP. Because they have historically been slaves to trade unionism, have never broken with that ideology

-- they confuse militant trade unionism with revolution! That is why they always work so hard during a strike for the mass actions, the chanting picket lines, the mass demonstrations, etc. In and of themselves there is nothing wrong with these things; in fact we would work to develop many of these same forms of struggle. What is different is that we accompany the organization of these actions with political agitation and propaganda. And it is here where the RCP completely exposes their opportunism, their essential reformism, and their failure to break the chains of bourgeois ideology. But let's take a representative example of the type of "political" agitation done by the RCP during the strike.

"The union leadership did their level best to cut down our rank and file feelings (sic!) and keep us out of their hair.. (they then explain how the bureaucrats manipulated the strike vote and the resistance of the rank and file -- ed) With this victory one brother said it for all of us. 'Now you either get behind us or get out of the way.'" (Bay Area Worker, March 1976)

Now this explains NOTHING to the workers -- neither imperialism, its bribery of the social props, the national question -- NOTHING. And yet the workers may act upon this "agitation" -- even going beyond the bounds of bourgeois legality. Militant trade unionism, reformism -- nothing more. As long as such actions are not combined with political agitation and propaganda which explains imperialism, its bribery, the national question, the necessity for socialism, etc., they cannot come under the heading of revolutionary tactics, for revolutionary tactics are determined first of all by the political content. And that is why it was significant when the workers defied the state and the social props in this strike with mass actions -- because communists had done their political duty and given political context and content to those actions.

The RCP believes that ATM is "narrow nationalist", that we "overemphasize" the national question. But we have shown that a grasp of this question is key to our revolution, and was, in fact, the key to work in the Molder's Union. The line of the RCP led them to the complete neglect of this question in the strike. Whose interest do they serve with such a line? What unity can be forged with such a line? Can there be a revolution in this country without the unity of the workers of all nationalities? Can there be a revolution without an alliance between the working class and oppressed nationality movements?

We think the answers are obvious.

THE TRAINING OF CADRE AND THE ADVANCED

Everyone these days talks about party building, the fusion of the working class movement with socialism, the building of the vanguard, etc. An important part of this task is the training of the future party cadres from among the present members of communist organizations and from among the advanced and middle strata of the class. While we do not intend in this article to go into a long discussion on this question we

would like to share some lessons that we have learned (particularly in the Molders strike):

1. Like the building of the party itself, the training of party cadres is a long and protracted process. These cadres will not be trained overnight. A failure to understand this will lead to demoralization and pessimism. Our failure to do this training consistently and correctly with our advanced and middle strata contacts often led to their tailing the course of events in the strike, rather than giving class conscious leadership to them.
2. That while propaganda and the study of Marxism-Leninism are crucial to this task of training, they certainly are not enough to train PARTY cadres. These cadres must not only learn theory, but also HOW TO organize in the factories and trade unions, HOW TO work in legal, illegal and semi-legal forms of organization, HOW TO organize legal and illegal forms of struggle, they must learn to master techniques of secrecy, how to develop secret methods for the distribution of their propaganda and agitation, military training, etc., etc. In addition many of them must also become agitators or propagandists, skills not acquired overnight. And these are just some of the things that revolutionary cadres must learn (master is a better word) if they want to earn the title of cadre as characterized by comrade Dimitroff -- "Able to find their bearings independently". A failure to understand the enormity and complexity of our task will lead to the creation of a party unable to function under all conditions, in all the twists and turns of the struggle. This strike forced us to have to deal with these questions and we realized that we too have a long way to go in the training of our cadre and the advanced.
3. This training takes place in the course of struggle and in no other way -- and we do not mean only polemical struggle (the way in which the new PRRWO trains its cadres), but the mass struggles of the class.
4. We also oppose training which takes place divorced from Marxism-Leninism. Such is the training of the RCP and the October League, who would have us believe that we build COMMUNIST cadres by merely immersing them in the mass struggle. If this training is not connected up at every step with Marxist-Leninist theory it is meaningless, the training of militant economists. We failed to stress this enough with our advanced and intermediate contacts who needed particular clarity on the national question and the role of communists in strikes and it limited the political mass impact of their work.

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MOLDERS

(Continued from page 9)

5. The proper training of future party cadres must be one of the bases of unity of communist organizations struggling for the party.

OUR ERRORS

Comrades, we do not pretend that our work in the Molders Union is without errors -- both right and "left" errors. Nor do we claim that our work is completed in that union -- "it is really barely beginning". All we have done thus far is help to create a solid foundation for our work. We must now build upon this foundation and turn that local (and eventually the union itself) into a stronghold of communism. But let's talk a little about our most important errors in the work.

Our main errors in this strike were right errors. Although we did do broad propaganda on the questions of class struggle, national oppression and the social props of imperi-

FARAH

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felt we were a strong group. Even though we won the strike, the company continued, even now, to try and break our Union. The company fired the most militant leaders in our group and has laid off many members of the Union. Also the company has cut our wages because we cannot meet the high quotas. This caused some members of our group to become demoralized. But what made it even worse was when we found out that we were not going to get a copy of our film. We also found out, to our surprise, that the RU was promoting their organization in the film. This was never agreed upon. It caused our members to say that this movie was to be about our strike, we never agreed to make a movie promoting the RU (RCP).

It has been over a year since the film was finished. We have made efforts to obtain a copy of the film from the RU (RCP) members in El Paso. They told us they don't know anything about it and the fight is between the film company (Single Spark Film Company) and our group. We asked them how can this be when in the film all they do is promote the RU (RCP). We asked if we could buy a copy of the film and they told us that the RU was not going to sell it to just any group. So our group told the RU (RCP) and one of the film makers in San Francisco, that we withdrew our permission for them to use our interviews and the actual films of the walkout. We appeal to the honest elements in the RU (RCP) to try and correct the wrong that has been done. If you have been led to believe that we are members of any political group well, we are not. At present we maintain our independence within the working class movement. Our group is still active. We work under the name of "Unidad Para Siempre". Our goals include working to build a strong rank and file movement for a democratic union and to educate Chicano workers of our proud history of resistance to exploitation. Also to teach Chicano working class history.

Our demands to the RU (RCP) and the Single Spark Film Company are to correct the film to the way it was originally agreed upon and also an official response from the RU (RCP) leadership.

We appeal to all groups in the

alism, we did not carry on this work on the questions of socialism and the party. We feared that we would get "isolated" if we raised these questions. We were tailing the ideas of the most politically backward workers. Why did we do this?

1) We were in the process of rooting out the "left" deviation in ATM, particularly our isolation from mass struggle. We overreacted and went to the right. Lacking the correct political training it is easy for inexperienced cadres (which ours were) to fall into these errors.
2) Although the majority of our cadres come from the working class, many of them are young and are new to working class organizing. A number of the comrades from the area of the strike are from intellectual backgrounds, and many of the comrades from working class backgrounds spent some time as college students. These social roots contributed to the loss of bearings which occurred in the strike, as well as the weak class stand concerning red-baiting and raising the questions of socialism and the proletarian party.
3) Although our history as revolutionary nationalists provided the basis for our "left" deviation to develop, our early history as communists was marked by economism and the belittling of theory, and was bound to have its impact, especially in the face of inexperience and the lack of the correct cadre training.

We can only root out our errors by first seeking the historical and social conditions which give rise to them. Secondly, we must systematically TRAIN our cadres to carry out their tasks as communists -- HOW to raise the questions of socialism and the Party and HOW to organize the struggle so that the masses learn from their own experience of the necessity for their communist party and for socialist revolution. Lacking this training, our youth and inexperience, in combination with our "turn" from the "left", our history and social conditions were almost bound to lead to some type of right errors in our work.

A second crucial right error committed during the strike was our failure to do consistent and all-sided exposure of the RCP. A failure to do this left many workers (particularly the least politically developed) seeing no major differences



working class, Chicano and student movements to help us obtain our right to our recorded struggle (Film). We appeal to you to put pressure on the RU (RCP) in your local area and to get other people involved to expose this wrong and to demand a response from the RU (RCP) leaders to our two demands.

It is bad enough that we as a national minority have been exploited and deceived by the boss and politicians. But it is even worse when it is done to us by people who call themselves REVOLUTIONARIES.

between ourselves and the RCP. We both claimed to be communists, we both advocated mass actions, we both worked hard in the day to day struggles of the workers, we both talked "politics". We started to do this exposure at the beginning of the strike but we backed off when some workers initially saw this as "divisive". But we should not have tailed after these sentiments (misguided sentiments for unity) -- but should have intensified our political work to expose these opportunists so that the unity of the class is based not upon sentiment but upon the solid foundation of political understanding of their historical tasks. And with their chauvinism and economism, the RCP sure as hell gave us enough rope to hang them with. And of course, we will in all our future work. Our error flowed from conciliationism (our fear of appearing "divisive") which inevitably leads to right opportunism if it is not recognized, checked and rooted out just as it led to rightism in this strike. We must always take a firm stand against all opportunism.

Finally, we must seriously criticize ourselves for falling prey to the worst sort of red-baiting in regard to the Workers Viewpoint Organization. In their newspaper they criticize us for siding with a handful of backward workers who ran them off from a mass gathering because they were selling "communist literature". We did not struggle against these incorrect ideas, but in fact united with the workers in throwing out the WVO. We incorrectly denied that we did this at a public forum in Los Angeles and we were wrong in doing so without a thorough investigation of the facts. This action does not characterize our work during the strike, but in fact stands out as an exception (We did not do this

in other occasions, for instance.) That however, does not excuse the error. In fact it was our policy to oppose the distribution of the WVO leaflets because THEY HAD DONE ABSOLUTELY NO WORK DURING THE STRIKE. This too is incorrect, they must chiefly be exposed on their line! This was not, however, how it was explained to the workers and as a result we tailed the red-baiters. The error flows from an erroneous view on the part of our cadre on how to fight opportunism. The cadre was aware of our view that WVO is a right opportunist organization, and believed that his actions constituted "fighting opportunism". The blame must fall on leadership as leadership is responsible both for the political clarity of its cadres and their TRAINING in fighting opportunism, as well as how to deal with situations like the one described above.

SUMMARY

Comrades, we think that the Molder's strike holds important lessons for party building and for our revolution. It has shown us in practice the importance of an understanding of the national question for our work -- It has shown us that the training of party cadres is a complex and protracted task -- a key aspect of party building. It has taught us important lessons in the struggle against opportunism, and against our own right and "left" errors. Finally, it helped to show the truth and correctness of our general line, as well as to bring out the weaknesses in that line.