

A new paper, REVOLUTION, issued by the revolutionary union? ? features an article on the reform leadership of the United Mineworkers Union. Reformer Arnold Miller, "Chin" Yablonsky and company were recently installed in the U.M.W. office with the hidden and open help of the U. S. Dept. of Labor at the urgent behest of the Capitalist Class. These men - Rockefellers, Eatons, Pews, Scrantons, Mellons realized that conditions in the coal fields were putting the miners on the revolutionary path. (Reformism is a tactic for deflecting workers from revolution by granting small concessions to placate them.) All of this was carefully synchronized with the controlled capitalist media, S.F. Chron. - Examiner, K.P.F.A., Peoples World, K.O.E.D., N. Y. Times etc which has created Miller in the " heroic " image of Samuel Gompers, George Meany and Victor and Walter, the great , Reuther. When you've seen one AFL- CIO leader you've seen them all.

None of the above you will learn from reading the article in " Revolution " which was obviously written by (false) revolutionaries of petit bourgeois background for others of the same breed - small shopkeepers, teachers, lawyers, social workers. Most certainly the article, which is also factually inaccurate, would not put one miner or worker on the path for revolution which we understand as workers to mean smashing the state and establishing - a workers government - the dictatorship of the proletariat. In the article 1968 was given as the date for Rank & File miner upsurge when in fact it was 1964 which tipped union piecard Joseph Yablonsky to the real facts of life in the coalfields. Yablonsky had been a gravy train rider for 30 years under first John L. Lewis and then Boyle, important facts omitted from this " revolutionary " article.

In the United States of North America every effort of the capitalist class will be directed toward putting workers on the futile path of reform by holding up the reformers in the United Mine Workers as the golden boys of labor. We are not against reform " but of the use people make of reform." Stalin, Foundations of Leninism. " To a reformist (revolutionary union) reforms are everything, while revolutionary work is incidental, something to talk about, mere eyewash." Again from Foundations of Leninism - Stalin.

S.F. Labor Management Services has gotten the word from the capitalist class that " reform " is in and this is the reason why we now have another partial " victory ", a union election, in Laborers' Local 261. Behind all this tokenism is the rapid consolidation of Fascism as evidenced by the recent appointment of Fascist John Dunlop to head the implementation of phase 11; Dunlop has been a longtime advisor to Meany, Brennan, Fosco, Hunter and their principal strategist for the past decade in keeping the building trades as lily white as possible. We in the laborers are the single exception in the building trades, but who gets the " shitwork " and who gets the gravy in the laborers' unions as workers and in leadership roles ?

Again back to the pseudo revolutionary rag : Revolution. The miner who kicked off the whole Black Lung Revolt was a negro miner named Payne. And WHAT HAPPENED TO HIM ? And why isn't he in office in the United Mine Workers instead of Arnold Miller ? And why wasn't this fact brought out by the pseudo revolutionary rag : Revolution ? The real answer is black workers and brown workers are OK for fighting and dying, but when it comes to leading us white reformers will take the lead roles.

But as Chairman Mao TseTung has pointed out : " The main trend in the world today is revolution." And this the capitalist class knows all too well. Thus their promotion of all sorts of " left " groups and " leaders " of every color for the purpose of deflecting the working class from revolution. Every effort is made to discredit the science of Marxism-Leninism which is the only science ever written expressly for one class - the working class. One clown professor at S.F. State recently wrote in the Sunday Chronicle that two Marxes, Karl and Groucho, influenced him. He was obviously under the influence of the latter like all the typical petit bourgeois types but knew as little about the great revolutionary Karl Marx as we workers know about the junk he teaches in school. Absolutely nothing.

Read other side

So what is the Rank & File Caucus in Local 261 all about and what are we doing? First we are studying our science - Marxism-Leninism. Why shouldn't we? It was written for us and it is our right to use it and further it is our duty to implement it with the means and methods available to us. We will expose this "reform" Labor-Management Services has dispensed. It is not enough and we intend to demand more as rank & file workers in Laborers' Local 261 in particular and for all workers organized and a norganized, in general.

We know beyond the shadow of a doubt that the capitalist class intends to implement Fascism as rapidly as possible. And with the active aid of labor leaders like International President Fosco and local leaders like C.R. Bud Johnson. San Francisco will be the headquarters for the increased exploitation of the Pacific Rim countries so it must be kept secure for the capitalist class by having "safe" union leaders who do not believe in the workers but have implicit faith in their capitalist masters - Fleischacker, Bechtel, Kaiser, Alioto. But it is our duty to expose all this and explain that it means ruination for us as workers. (Filling S.F. with high-rise buildings, particularly in the Mission and using high rents to drive the working class out.)

We must learn that it is in our interest as workers to help the workers in the Philippines to secure freedom from U.S.N.A. imperialism by advocating reforms (Restoration of Civil Liberties in the Philippines). We must learn that it is not in our interest to have workers starve for U.S. Corporations in Mexico and Korea because our own wages suffer as a result. The same in Africa, Central and South America and any other country where U.S. Corporations exploit workers for their profit. The only way we will be able to successfully stop all this by uniting and building a UNITED WORKERS PARTY of Negro, Latino, Asian, Arab, Native American and oppressed White workers, male and female, employed and unemployed. Only by uniting can we smash the current dictatorship of the capitalist class and free ourselves forever from War, Poverty, Drug Addiction and other symptoms of capitalism.

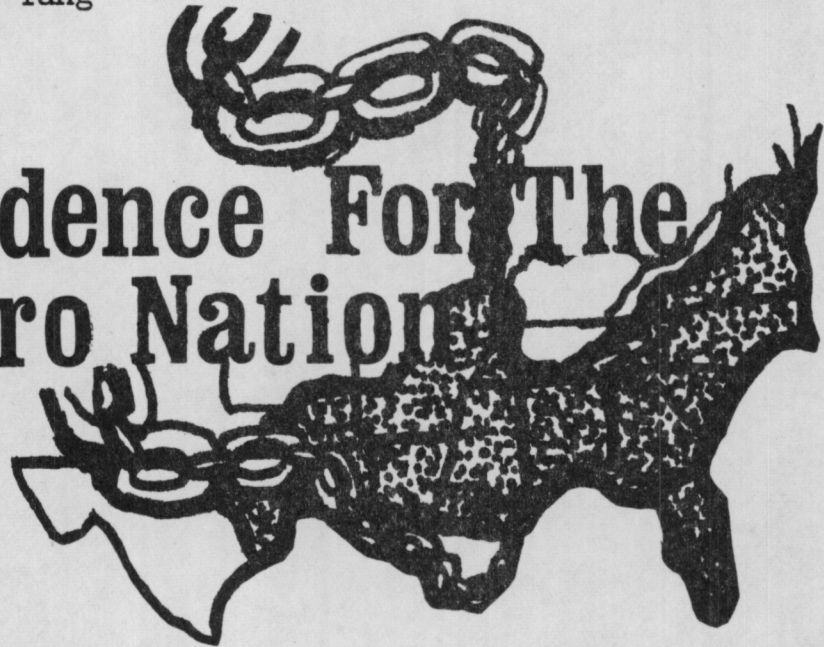
POWER TO THE WORKERS

Rank & File Caucus, Laborers' Local 261

Tues. Jan. 23, 1973

"Racial discrimination in the United States is a product of the colonialist and imperialist system. The contradiction between the black masses in the United States and the U.S. ruling circles is a class contradiction. Only by overthrowing the reactionary rule of the U.S. monopoly capitalist class and destroying the colonial and imperialist system can the black people in the United States win complete emancipation. The black masses and the masses of white working people in the United States share common interests and have common objectives to struggle for," Mao Tse-Tung

Independence For The Negro Nation



"A nation," as Joseph Stalin points out, "is a historically evolved, stable community of people, formed on the basis of a common language, territory, economic life, and psychological make-up manifested in a common culture."

The Negro Nation developed out of centuries of slavery-fascist oppression and the struggle for freedom exists today in the Black Belt area that extends from the state of Maryland to the state of Texas. This Negro Nation is held in colonial bondage by the state of the United States of America, which is a semi-fascist, multi-national imperialist state. The State of the United States also oppresses the colonial nation of Puerto Rico, the Mexican-American national minority and the Hawaiians, U.S. Indians, Eskimo and Aluet people. (Aluetian Islands, off the coast of Alaska) Controlling and exploiting much of Asia, Africa, and Latin America, U.S. imperialism is the most brutal and powerful imperialist state in history. It is the main enemy of the people of the earth.

Because the Negro Nation exists as an oppressed colony within the borders of the U.S. state, the predicament of the Negro people and their struggle for liberation must be referred to scientifically as a national and colonial question. As such the oppression and struggle of the Negro people constitutes an important link in the long chain of anti-imperialist national liberation struggles taking place around the globe. It is the struggle between imperialism and social-imperialism on the one hand, and the oppressed nations on the other, that forms the most acute social contradiction in the world today.

The pattern and plan of the U.S. imperialists is clear:

CHATTANOOGA, JACKSON, NEW ORLEANS...KENT STATE, WILLINGTON, CAIRO...THE KLAN, THE LYNCHINGS...MALCOM X, DR. KING, THE SOLEDAD BROTHERS, ANGELA DAVIS...MORE POLICE, CROWD CONTROLL...NATIONAL GUARD...VIOLENT SUPPRESSION, PRISON, MURDER...

These are the capitalists answers to the black peoples struggle for a decent life, for an end to a history of suffering.

All workers of the Anglo-American nation, and the black national minority in particular, must support the struggle of the Negro people and demand Independence for the Negro and Puerto Rican Nation. We must unite with our brothers and sisters of the oppressed colonies. We must reject the lies and ideas that white workers are superior to black and brown people, we must reject and fight this type of white chauvinism. These tasks lie directly on our shoulders.

The way the working class of the Anglo-American nation, the Negro Nation, and the Puerto Rican Nation can win independence is through a working class party. A Party to lead the fight for Socialism-where the working class has state power. The fight for Socialism must be guided by Marxism-Leninism Mao Tse-Tung Thought, because without a theory, and a clear direction, our fight against capitalism can never end with the victory of the working class.

The Muni Drivers for Rank & File Control and the Communist League are preparing educational study circles around the concrete aspects of the Negro Nation. If you would be interested call: John 282-4056, or write P.O.Box 24241, Bayview Station, San Francisco, Ca.

INDEPENDENCE FOR THE NEGRO NATION***INDEPENDENCE FOR THE PUERTO RICAN NATION

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Reform Vs. Revolution - Which Side Are You On?

Let's state some facts. "The main trend in the world today is revolution." Chairman Mao Tse-Tung. Reform is passe but temporarily does have some limited use. Reform belongs in the same category as whales, whooping cranes and capitalists! The capitalists will kill off the first two but the demise of the latter can only be brought about by the working class. But only after they have been aroused and united by a PROLETARIAN communist party guided by the theory of Marxism-Leninism. Capitalism cannot be reformed away. It will finally be overcome violently by smashing the capitalist state for the establishment of a workers government - the dictatorship of the proletariat.

We do not oppose reforms but do not consider them the end product but the by product of the class struggle:

"Obviously, therefore, it is not a matter of reforms or of compromises and agreements, but of the use of people make of reforms and agreements.

"To a reformist, reforms are everything, while revolutionary work is something incidental, something just to talk about, mere eyewash. That is why, with reformist tactics under the conditions of bourgeois rule, reforms are inevitably transformed into an instrument for strengthening that rule, an instrument for disintegrating the revolution.

"To a revolutionary, on the contrary, the main thing is revolutionary work and not reforms; to him reforms are a byproduct of the revolution. That is why, with revolutionary tactics under the conditions of bourgeois rule, reforms are naturally transformed into an instrument for disintegrating that rule, into an instrument for strengthening the revolution, into a strongpoint for the further development of the revolutionary movement.

"The revolutionary will accept a reform in order to use it as an aid in combining legal work with illegal work and to intensify, under its cover, the illegal work for the revolutionary preparation of the masses for the overthrow of the bourgeoisie." (J.V. Stalin, Foundations of Leninism, FLP, Peking, 1965, p.98).

Let's state some further facts. Most lawyers, the vast majority, are interested in reforms in order to preserve the status quo and to prevent revolution. This is also the case with the old left and many of the new left groups. An analysis of papers put out by many of these groups shows they are for the most part written by petit bourgeois intellectuals. This is most concretely shown by their lack of in depth Marxist analysis of Arnold Miller, the Miners For Union Democracy and the recent United Mine Workers elections. We speak specifically of four papers "Revolution", Revolutionary Union; "The Call", October League; "Pamoja Venceremos", Venceremos. All new left papers which faithfully echoed the capitalist line as did "Peoples World", CPUSA.

Any advanced proletarian worker would immediately be suspicious of the massive media and government campaign behind Arnold Miller of the Miners For Union Democracy. The U.S. Dept. of Labor overtly and covertly put Miller in office. Any worker knows that the U.S. Dept. of Labor always works against workers and on behalf of the capitalist class. This department spent \$4,000,000 on Miller's behalf only because the government officials had solid facts that Miller could be counted on to work in behalf of the Eatons, Mellons, Pews, Rockefellers and other bourgeoisie who have huge investments in coal and coal related industries. It's as simple as that.

He n.c. does always work against the interests of the workers & makes mistakes

The bourgeoisie, through its press and the government, have portrayed Joseph Yablonski as a great leader of the workers. But who was Yablonski? He was an international vice president of the U.M.W. and had held official posts in the union for over thirty years. This was under both Lewis, Thomas Kennedy (1960-1963), and Boyle. He resigned these positions to fight against Boyle only after the consciousness of the miners and their increasing struggle offered the opportunity for him to ride the miners' insurgency to the top. He announced his candidacy for U.M.W. president at the end of May 1969. By that time the miners' struggle was well developed having really begun in earnest in 1964. So what about this "great Leader".

Yablonski's murder gave Miller his big chance just as LBJ was able to ride to the top on John Kennedy's corpse. This use of populism (playing on the better sentiments and worse prejudices of the masses with the aim of perpetuating capitalism) is a trick as old as bourgeois society itself. But none of these papers asked any of the questions which any advanced proletarian worker would ask. And these are very basic questions. Just who is Arnold Miller: Was he a foreman in the mines? Did he have any supervisory jobs and for how long? Did he work as a miner at the face or did he have a piecard job like time-keeper or hoistman? How long and where did he work in the mines? Did he ever take any job actions in the past for conditions or wages? Under John L. Lewis and Yablonski? Boyle and Yablonski?

Miller and Miners For Union Democracy have said absolutely nothing about the U.M.W. ownership of mines and coal related industries. Long ago John L. Lewis and Cyrus Eaton established a cozy relationship which was highly profitable to Eaton in particular. It was a disaster for thousands of union coal miners in Appalachia. In the United States Dist. Court for the Eastern Dist. of Tennessee the United Mine Workers on May 19, 1961, Civil Action #3431, were found guilty "of conspiring with large coal companies to monopolize the soft coal industry and drive small firms (union) into bankruptcy." (See also Harpers, December 1961, "The Strange Romance Between John L. Lewis and Cyrus Eaton") The U.M.W. is still in the coal business. What is Miller going to do about this?

"The Call," October League, pointed out that some of the people who sabotaged Mrs. Fannie Lou Hamer and the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party at the Democratic Convention in 1964 were behind Miller. But it neither named any of them nor asked why they supported Miller if he is such a great leader. Two key figures involved are the thoroughly discredited Joseph Rauth of Americans For Democratic Action and Victor Reuther of the United Auto Workers. Reuther sent out under his name a huge mailing appealing for funds for "Miller, Trbovich, Patrick."

The League of Revolutionary Black Workers in Detroit exposed the role of Walter and Victor Reuther in creating divisions within the working class in the auto industry. They found two principal problems - General Motors and General Reuther. The Negro national minority auto workers in particular were constantly given the most dangerous jobs and denied opportunities for advancement by two well trained saboteurs - Walter "General" Reuther and Victor Reuther. No tears were shed in the Negro national minority community for Walter Reuther when he was killed.

↳
history

This brings us to Robert Payne the disabled Negro miner who founded the Black Lung Association. In addition to being "dusted", lung trouble, Payne has a scarred back and three amputated fingers. For certain HE had been a working miner. In July 1970 Payne called for a strike in the mines of West Virginia. Thousands of miners answered Payne's call and shut down mines all over West Virginia.

Any advanced worker would know several things about Payne. First and foremost he is a leader of the working class. No worker will follow just anyone in a wildcat strike action. Two conditions have to exist: one, very bad working conditions and, two, a leader who can sum up all this and inspire workers to take actions.

Robert Payne took the struggle beyond legal bullshit - after all the coal operators, the capitalists, make the laws; the miners don't. His leadership and the rank and file support of it "began severely cutting production and profits." Once a leader takes such actions he becomes a "marked man" and absolutely unacceptable to a small minority, the capitalists and their chief government agents (U.S. Labor Dept.) and capitalist lackeys like Rauth and Reuther.

Where is Robert Payne now or has he passed away? This happens far too suddenly and frequently when leaders appear who take strike actions which help workers. Did Joseph Rauth and Victor Reuther sabotage Payne like they did former sharecropper Mrs. Fannie Lou Hamer? By now these two are old pros at sabotaging Negro workers in the United States of North America. If Payne is alive how come he isn't heading the United Mine Workers? The bourgeoisie's answer is obvious: Negro Miners are OK for fighting wars and dying in mines but not capable of leading a multi-million dollar corporate union like the U.M.W.

One of the biggest giveaways to this most recent swindle of the working coal miners was the focus of the campaign against Boyle. Boyle was no prize and neither was Yablonsky. No one got to the top in the United Mine Workers unless they were completely acceptable to John L. Lewis who continued to dominate long after he had "retired". Boyle reaped the harvest sown long ago by Lewis.

To the auto workers list of the capitalist class and labor aristocrats we must add the state machinery. The state is the instrument of class rule, of the domination of capital over labor in bourgeois society. It exists for the systematic application of force and the subjugation of people by force to preserve the dictatorship of the Bourgeoisie. It will also use deception to fool the workers. Therefore it is no surprise that the U.S. Departments of Labor and Justice hurried to implement the call of the Eatons, Mellons, Rockefellers, DuPonts and Fords (the monopoly capitalist class) to blame all the problems of the miners on Boyle and to forget about John L. Lewis. Nor is it strange that the labor lieutenants of capital would echo this line. On the cover of the pamphlet sent out by V. Reuther was a gruesome picture of Boyle and a caption "Since this man took over the mine workers union, 2008 men have died on the job." Big bold type and underneath the picture in slightly smaller type "without your help he'll be re-elected in December."

Boyle couldn't begin to touch John L. Lewis in massive indifference to the slaughter of coal miners. Lewis was perhaps indifferent because

He Never Was A Coal Miner. His brothers were, but Lewis himself was a mule skinner and hauler at the mines. This fact was thoroughly known to miners who worked with Lewis before he became a union piecard. That he had "guts" and leadership ability was beyond question but that he did not consider the miners and the working class but only himself is also beyond question. In any event the Lewis family benefitted enormously on the backs of the coal miners but the mass of the miners did not in the long run. These are facts available to anyone who cares to look at the record.

John Bartlow Martin's Article in Harpers Magazine in March 1948 is the best short summation of the U.M.W.; Lewis; federal and local government officials; coal operators and the hard working miners and their families. The article is entitled "A Blast in Centralia No. 5--A Mine Disaster No One Stopped." This blast killed 111 miners on March 25, 1947. On July 24, 1947 another blast occurred nearby at the Old Ben Coal Corp #8 mine near West Frankfurt, Illinois, killed 27 men, Mine Superintendent Howard Lewis, the brother of John L. What did John L. say about this? Exactly nothing.

A U.S. Senate Sub-committee set up to investigate the Centralia disaster found that since 1910 "about 1,887 miners have been killed at work each year." John L. Lewis took over the U.M.W. in 1920. Admittedly not all mines were under the U.M.W. but those that were had a record that Boyle at his worst had not begun to touch.

So now let's predict Miller's moves based on past practice: Arnold Miller and company will embark on a massive publicity campaign shortly which will tell us about all the wonderful things they are doing. Like the big move to the coalfields. Like the closing of some small mine in No Hope Appalachia etc. etc. But we will tell you things he will not do. He will not shut down any of big steel's mines like the Robena complex for any length of time - no matter how many miners are "dusted", injured or killed. R. Heath Larry who heads the management team for Big Steel (9 big steelmakers) and also for the big coal operators will get rid of Miller as quickly as he appeared out of nowhere if he does.

Will not move to unite the class
will call for revolution
struggle
will not ask for ownership of mines

The only reason Miller is in office is because Boyle could no longer control the mine workers. He lacked John L. Lewis' talents for bullshitting the miners and also lacked John L's very considerable ruthlessness. The miners were on the path for revolution as their armed insurrections clearly showed and they were determined to improve conditions or else. So to prevent all this it was necessary to throw them a bone, get rid of Boyle and bring in some more window dressing-- Arnold Miller.

We will quote now from a remarkable pamphlet entitled "We Search For Leadership" #2 issued by Workers For Peoples Democracy, 2020 Evergreen Drive, San Bruno, Cal. We quote from one paragraph because it is appropriate in this case.

"How is the rank and file member going to be capable of detecting the corruption of his leaders? First he must look back to the history of his interest in his own organization and to that of others with which he is familiar. He will see that such organizations have a continuous

history of sellouts. He must observe what such leaders in the past had in common."

coal mining,
 Any study of this particular industry, , cannot fail to lead to some firm conclusions. It is impossible to mine coal for private profit safely under capitalism. Coal mining is an inherently dangerous industry but it can be made safe as has been proved in the case of the Peoples Republic of China. In the rich coal fields of Fushun , China under capitalist control between 1916 and 1944 there were "250,000 cases of death or injury from accidents - an average of 23 per day." "In 1917 a gas explosion killed 917 people." In 1944 in one night there were 44 explosions. By contrast today the miners can look forward to an early retirement (55) and a long life. Production has increased and safety has far outdistanced production. One group of miners had not a single injury from 1965 to Jan. 1971. This is only possible when workers are in ownership of industry under the Dictatorship of the Proletariat.

That the left in general in the USNA is immature and completely incapable of leading the working class has been completely demonstrated by their gullibility regarding Miller, Yablonski, Trbovich and Patrick. It is the duty of Marxist-Leninists to tell the working class the bitter truth even if it means tackling popular illusions. V.I. Lenin insisted on this duty as a prerequisite for the leadership of the class:

"By failing to fulfill this duty, by failing to give the utmost attention, care and consideration to the study of their mistake, the "Lefts" in Germany (and in Holland), have proved that they are not a party of the class, but a circle, not a party of the masses, but a group of intellectuals and of a few workers who imitate the worst features of intellectualism." (Lenin, "Left-Wing" Communism, An Infantile Disorder, FLP, Peking, 1970, p. 51).

Fortunately none but the CP(USA) claim to be a party and the CP is a party in name only. In actual fact there is no revolutionary party capable of leading the working class to revolution. The revisionist CP (USA) has consistently led the working class along the road of reformism.

The move of the capitalist class, labor aristocrats and government will likely succeed in co-opting the class struggle in the mines into the courtrooms on the heels of petty reforms. The class struggle in the U.S.N.A. is currently at a low ebb. Although there are rebellions of the working class, these are disorganized, disunited and defensive actions. They represent a retreat from the mass outbreaks of particularly the Negro workers of the '60's. Above all, there is currently no revolutionary leadership of the working class consolidated under the theory of Marxism-Leninism and organized into a party of the working class.

Until such a party is built in the U.S.N.A., these conditions will continue. The key question is one of leadership. The bourgeoisie puts forward men to lead the working class, the Millers, Yablonskis, Lewis and Reuthers. The working class also puts forward its leaders the Robert Paynes. Unless and until these working class leaders learn of Marxism-Lenin the workers will remain in the same conditions.

"Imperialism is the omnipotence of the monopolist trusts and syndicates, of the banks and the financial oligarchy, in the industrial countries, in the industrial countries. In the fight against this omnipotence, the customary methods of the working class - trade unions and co-operatives, parliamentary parties and the parliamentary struggle - have proved to be totally inadequate. Either place yourself at the mercy of capital, eke out a wretched existence as of old and sink lower and lower, or adopt a new weapon - this is the alternative imperialism puts before the vast masses of the proletariat. Imperialism brings the working class to revolution." (J.V. Stalin, Foundations of Leninism, FLP, Peking, 1965, p.4)

Down With Opportunism!

Rank & File 261