No Jobs for Black and Brown Workers

APPRENTICESHIPS FOR BLACK AND BROWN WORKERS IN CALIFORNIA

If a worker is interested in getting a decent job, making more money or improving his working conditions or job security, we must increase the number of technical skills he has to offer. For most workers the only practical way to get such training is through some form of on-the-job training. The training for many jobs such as carpenter, pipe-fitter, mason, etc., a worker must gain admission to and complete an apprenticeship program.

THE FACTS

A recent study conducted by the California Department of Industrial Relations shows that on Jan. 1, 1963, there were about 20,800 workers in apprenticeship programs in the state of California. Of this, 20,800 only 1600 were Mexican Americans and only 315 were Negroes. These figures show that from 1965 to 1968 the number of black workers in apprenticeship programs dropped 14% while the proportion of Mexican Americans dropped 17%. All the figures for 1968 are not in yet, but the same trend continued during the year.

From the time of the Watts Rebellion until now the government and the big corporations have made thousands of promises about creating new job opportunities for minority workers. These promises placed a lot of weight on the importance of apprenticeship programs. The facts show that these promises are hollow. Examples: Only 2.5% of Californians 25 and over were Negroes in Jan. 1, 1963 compared to 2.9% on Jan. 1, 1968. Only 8.1% of the apprentices were Negroes. Mexican Americans compared to 3% they make up only 6.9% of the city's population, but they make up more than 14% of the total population. With a few exceptions the apprenticeship programs in black and brown districts are not providing the training needed by the black and brown workers.

MAY DAY 1969

May 1 or May Day started in 1886 in Chicago and other cities of the U.S. as a day of general strike and struggle for the 8 hour day. It soon became international in scope and workers around the world poured out of their factories to make political demands for their class. During its 80 old year existence May Day came to mean the day when workers and revolutionaries throughout the world review the preceding year's struggle against capitalism and imperialism and map out the coming year's war against exploitation and oppression.

May Day 1969 finds the revolutionary movement in the world and in the U.S. in an excellent situation. Hopefully May Day 1970 will find the working class of the U.S. in a position to demonstrate its real strength and join together large sections of black, brown, and white workers around the common goals of an end to imperialist racist oppression and capitalist exploitation.

The following is an attempt to point out what we feel is the present problems of the revolutionary movement in California and particularly in L.A. Today in the U.S. the working class is faced with the fascist reality. No longer can anyone sit back and discuss the fascist danger. Black school kids are being attacked in the streets by armed cops for demanding a meaningful education, as in the Carver High (Junior) incident in L.A. and in Chicago at Crane High School.

Wilmington Delaware has been under martial law for almost a year, with the National Guard patrolling the streets. Students at Harvard, no less, have been attacked by cops, for demanding an end to the militaristic program of ROTC. The big craft unions have become as one as Harvard professor aptly put it, "an integral part of the military-industrial complex.

New York City and Chicago police authorities made hundreds of 'preventive arrests' to avoid disturbances on the anniversary of the killing of Dr. Martin Luther King. Black and brown workers and being shot down in the streets, by police departments who have orders to shoot to kill. It's hard to find any worker, especially working class youth who hasn't been to jail or been harassed or beaten by the cops.

Tens of millions of people are going hungry while the imperialist chieftain Nixon, cuts back on almost all aspects of welfare programs while he puts forth a $8 thousand million (dollar) program for ABM.

The control over the people by the state is growing day by day. The courts are handing down stiff sentences to all political dissenters. The jails are overflowing with working class 'criminals', particularly the black and brown minorities. As inflation mounts and the taxes keep rising, the corporations with the aid of the state and the courts are attacking...
Revisionism vs. Revolution

Everyone can see that today the revisionist working class movement is on the rise. Millions of people are questioning the postwar period of peacefully changing capitalist imperialism. Millions of workers are actively organizing to struggle against imperialism, especially American imperialism. Tens of millions of people throughout Africa, Asia and Latin America are taking up arms to liberate their countries, free their class and establish democracy.

WHAT IS REVOLUTIONARISM?
The great question facing the millions who are fighting for democracy is: Which road to take? The road of Marxism-Leninism which is summed up as the thought of Mao Tse Tung, or the opposite road, revisionism? This question is basic. Every person who calls himself a revolutionary is in one of two camps. If he is in the category of Marx-Leninist he sides with the forces of revolution headed by the great Marxist-Leninist movement in China. Even if the person considers himself a revolutionary and is in the camp headed by the Soviet Union, he opposes China and Leninism he is objectively a revisionist—objectively a counterrevolutionary.

MARXISM-LENINISM IN CHINA

The working class state of Peoples China has held tightly to Marxism-Leninism. They overthrew and liquidated colonial China. They educated the masses of Chinese peasants. They developed a new industry and agriculture. They created the world's most powerful army. They defeated the Japanese and imperialist invaders in Korea, proving that a former colonial colored people could defeat the powerful imperialists. By hard work, political unity and a Marxist-Leninist line, the masses fought and won the Cultural Revolution. The Cultural Revolution is the second stage of the Chinese workers revolution. It was a general class counter revolution against the counter-revolutionaries who were trying to seize power. The Chinese workers took a great deal of state power was taken over by the masses of people, and socialism had been advanced to an entirely new stage.

SOVIET REVISIONISM

On the other hand, the Soviet Union was led by revisionism. This was done by an armed coup shortly after the death of Stalin. Under revisionism, the Soviet Union was transformed from a revolutionary state into a reactionary state. The goal of these revisionists was to enter into partnership with the USA. They believed that these two powerful states could exploit the whole world and would dare oppose China. (How quickly they forgot the lessons of Hitler and Tojo.) The crimes of the revisionists in control of the Soviet Union have been many and bloody. They betrayed the revolutionaries in Iran, they assisted in overthrowing the people's government in Iraq. They betrayed the revolutionary state of the Congo and assisted in the murder of Lumumba. They assisted in overthrowing the Indonesian government and slaughtering the revolutionaries. They assist tanks in attacking China.

They assist the USA in attempting to subdue China and the USA shipped to Vietnam, and have forced the Vietnamese to deal with the Vietnamese regime in Saigon. Everywhere, the Soviet Union talks revolution, but they are working for the opposite. They talk against US imperialism but actually are smuggling up lighter weapons to their friends with them.

BEATRIFAL OF CYPRUS

Here in the USA, the Communist Party is a reflection of the leadership of the Soviet Union. From the early 1930's until the early 1950's the communist party of the USA was transformed into a counter-revolutionary party. It was the main party of the Negro people. It was the leading force in the struggle to organize the Unions. The present wave of struggle of the Negro people has as its base the great struggle of the 1930's led by the CP. The Scottsboro Case opened the path for the struggle against the National Negro Congress, led by William Patterson. It raised and popularized the slogan, 'Self-determination for the Negro people'. In millions of the black and white workers have loved and defended the CP USA, as the path to revolution. After the 15th Convention of the Party (1950), the revisionists gained control. They set about transforming the Party from revolution to counter-revolution. The first step was to transform it from a party of the working class to a party of the middle class. The Party has deceived the blacks and white workers by supporting and popularizing the integration movement. The butchers Kennedy and Johnson as 'good' and 'peaceful' men. At the basis of all the betrayal is the policy of cooptation or collaboration. Very simply that policy is to fit 'outroom ground' and 'coordination' between the masters and the slaves, between the workers and the capitalists, between the liberals and the imperialists. In order to carry out this policy, the revisionists work with middle class liberals and oppose black and white workers leading the struggle for peace and democracy and socialism.

THE ROOTS OF BETRAYAL

How is it possible for such a world wide betrayal to take place? The reason is the fact that the betrayal was made from within the Communist and workers parties. These parties have a real revolutionary history and was trusted by millions to lead the struggle. The change from Marxism-Leninism to revisionism did not just happen. Nor did it happen all at once. It is absolutely necessary that the masses of people understand what revisionism is, where it comes from and what are the tactics to be used to defeat it. Without such knowledge, the revolutionary movement of the people can not go forward.

THE SOCIAL ROOTS OF REVOLUTIONARISM

No person thinks this way. We are all products of our class training. Let us think for ourselves and understand from other people and the world around us. Therefore all thoughts follow class lines: To fight or to betray.

To work or cheat our way? To organize or go it alone? To fight for equality for all, or for privilege for a few? To struggle for or against exploitation? These questions, and all questions and decisions, all political policies are based in class thinking.

MARXISM-LENINISM—HEART OF THE WORKING CLASS

Marxism-Leninism is the very heart of the working class thinking. Marxism-Leninism gathers together all the experiences of the workers, sums it up and gives it back to the workers as theory. "Marxism-Leninism is objective, scientific, and yet it is personal on the side of the worker. It is hostile to any attempt to reconcile or find common interests between the workers and the capitalists who wielded it. Marxism-Leninism proves that 'revolutions are the locomotives of history' and that history cannot go forward without progressive classes overthrowing reactionary classes. Marxism-Leninism is the science and art of revolution, the liberation of the oppressed and peoples. It is the science of the construction of a world without war and exploitation.

WORKERS SURROUNDED BY ENEMIES

When the working class is alive in a vacuum, then there would be no danger of corrupting the politics and ideology of the working class. Every worker and every worker would have a close relationship between the workers and the people. The working class does not live in a vacuum. The class and its political organizations are surrounded by enemy classes which are much more powerful than the propagandists of the working class. This is true because the propagandists of the enemy are in such close and therefore much more effective to the people. The propagandists are better organized, look more widespread and more dear. Therefore, we must realize that the enemy propaganda has quite an effect on the workers, especially in the times of relative class peace. Also, millions of small businessmen, professionals and farmers are being ruined financially and are forced into the working class. When these elements enter the working class, they bring with them the capitalist thoughts and ideology they had in their former lives. Furthermore, people of different class backgrounds. Professional vocations are constant.

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The political paper of the California Communist League
May Day

strikes and efforts to organize workers throughout the country. In foreign policy Nixon is ruthlessly pursuing the war of aggression in Vietnam. He is aggressively carrying out the imperialist policies of economic enslavement of the colonies and imperialist colonies. He is pushing forward the design of the American imperialists and Soviet revisionists to divide the world into two spheres of influence and isolate Socialist China.

On this May Day we can also look over the past year and see the unmistakable signs of growing world revolutionary movement.

The heroic Vietnamese people are steadily pounding at the U.S. aggressor troops. Revolutionary China is creating a great wall of steel against Soviet revisionist invasion of Chinese territory and defeating revisionists on all fronts. The revolutionary forces are developing with tremendous force in almost every corner of the world. They are in India, Pakistan, Thailand, Palestine, Italy and many other developed and colonial countries. The people are moving to the streets and demonstrating to show their own revolutionary forces and the American imperialists, in spite of the fact that in most of these countries the revisionist communist parties are active, for a "peaceful transition".

In fact we are witnessing perhaps the largest realization and political awakening of the masses of the people since the thirties.

The black liberation movement is moving forward, both in ideological and political awareness. The black movement is revealing the point which will separate the "kneelers" from the revolutionaries. The strength of anti-war sentiment is rapidly growing and its roots are spreading into the working class. The labor movement is struggling at the bottom and the working class is breaking through the legal barriers and is attempting to hold the bureaucratic union leadership's feet on it. In short the spontaneous struggle against imperialism is erupting and reaching its head in almost all aspects of American political and economic life. Particularly around the imperialist is the accompanying militarization of society and the national colonial question, both in the metropole itself and in the hinterland of the north and west.

The California Communist League believes that the coming decade will be decisive in establishing Marxism-Leninism as the guiding thought of these spontaneous movements of the masses against the growing fascist repression.

We feel that this can be done only by the difficult and arduous task of bringing together the various groups of revolutionaries and Marxist-Leninists, on the basis of principles unity and a common struggle against the imperialists.

Long Live May Day

Long Live Marxism-Leninism--the Thought of Mao Tse-Tung

Long Live The American Proletarian Revolution

SOVIET UNION attacks CHINA

Together the two giant counter-revolutionary snakes of the world are plotting the encirclement and destruction of the great Chinese revolution. They are working together in trying to force the brave workers and peasants of Vietnam to lay down their arms and surrender their freedom. Everywhere the slave dogs of the U.S. and the Soviet Union are competing in the race to oppress and exploit the ruling classes of the world.

The ruling bandits in both the United States and the Soviet Union must be ranked one-two in the world counter-revolutionary league. Along with their imperialist competitors (like Japan and Japan) they have very few cards left to play; they are in deep trouble and they know it.

That's why they are falling back on their heavy stuff. With each passing day they are forced to attack more violently the revolutionary struggles that are breaking out in almost every country of the world.

The U.S. imperialists and their Soviet clique are both working from the bottom up to smash the working class and the peasants. It is only a matter of time before the devastating blows of the Proletarian Revolution and the Proletarian Liberation Struggle will lead to open class warfare and the collapse of class power in the United States. In the Soviet Union the situation is no longer. The working people of the USSR have a very pleasant and recent history of revolutionary struggle. They have not forgotten the meaning of democracy or the power of collective struggle. The desire to return power to the people into the Soviet Union is spreading.

The days of the counter-revolutionaries are numbered. Indeed, Chairman Mao Tse-Tung has pointed out that "the time is not far off when the aggressors in the world will be buried together with their running dogs. There is no escape for them."
Southern Calif. Union Struggles

In the Southern California area there has been four main strikes: the Delano grape strike, the Harlau Examiner strike, the Hare strike, and the recently settled all oil strike. Each strike is an example of the growing contradiction between the conclusion of big industry and government on one hand and the working class elements that make up the strikes, particularly the national minority workers on the other hand. Each strike is settled to almost the complete advantage of the ruling class. We must study the reasons why strikes are not being won against the growing offensive of big business against labor. We must look at the way in which the companies use all of the oppressive tools created by this filthy growing fascist state against labor. This article brings forward some of the tactical reasons why the working class is losing its battle to win better economic conditions under the present union structure.

DELANO GRAPE STRIKE

For over three and one and a half years the migrant farm workers of Southern California, primarily Mexican-Americans, have waged a strike against the California grape growers. Nine companies have submitted to union contracts, but the majority of table grape growers are still holding out. One of the biggest reasons why the strike is not over can not be won is because of the type of leadership in control of the strike. These leaders and the head organizers were trained, and sponsored by the California Migrant Ministry. Their role was exclusively reformist and opportunistic: they advocated a non-violent approach, a boycott, and the picket line with a religious cover. Cesar Chavez leader of the strike stated after his 29 day fast, "understood that this fast because my heart was filled with grief and pain for the suffering of farm workers. The fast was for me and then for all of us in this union. It was a fast for non-violence and to call for sacrifices."

"I am convinced that the truest act of courage, the strongest act of manliness is to sacrifice ourselves for others in a totally non-violent struggle for justice. To be a man is to suffer for others. God help us be men." In this type of "militant leadership" what kind of goals or political struggle can be waged against a enemy that uses violence for settling all its problems today.

This type of leadership can only lead to one concession after another for the grape strikers and other union members. The leadership interest has never been that of attacking this state, or getting to the root causes of the farm workers problems. The very people they have turned to for help, the AFL-CIO, the police to keep the paper coming out daily. The police and courts also have their role in defeat the strike; the courts pass the injunctions and the dope escort the scabs, in their lawless tactic.

DELANO GRAPE STRIKE

The appearance of an open fascist labor organization goes right along with the fascist like bosses being conducted in Los Angeles by Hare and the Harlau Examiner. Hare and some of the most reactionary members of the ruling class, has launched an offensive against the working class. He is so secure in his position because he knows that the federal, state and local governments are going to let him do things that the others. Within the plant the bosses have used 'working management', and labor guards to keep the workers in their places. The union leadership has refused for 16 months to take any type of action other than TV, radio, and small two-man picket lines in trying to force Hearst to the negotiations table. Instead of taking militant action and believing in the strength that can come from the workers themselves, the union leadership has turned to the "good public relations" image, of clean cut Americans who would never think of closing down a man's business. But even the more conservative leadership will call for the "Herald" when he knows the strike is all but lost. Report a leader of the strike that has not come to the left wing groups in L.A. for help, but its too little and too late. The bosses will not refuse to break injunctions or take any type of militant action has been found to be contributing factor in breaking of the United and the local union.

The Herald strike gives us a good lesson in the division of the working class. Today most of the scabs in the plants and national minorities. Hare's has recruited from dallas, Texas, and other minority people to work the plant. The strikers approached these scabs to try and explain what the strike all about they had a difficult time explaining why there are only a few Negroes in the union out of 2000 members. The scabs are not on the list by the picketers into the plants. If we look at the elevan locals on strike we will see that the union leadership, and rank in file support the excluding of the national minorities. The Anglo workers have come to believe that the blacks,

Continued on next page

CHINA
Books & Periodicals

QUOTATIONS FROM
MAO TSE-TUNG

MILITARY WRITINGS

2929 24th, 94110
San Francisco, Calif.
LABOR Cont. from page 4

and brown threaten their jobs, therefore they have excluded them from the union and work in the plants. It is said that they are on strike and these minority people are scabbing on them and they have agreed to a price that they have made a mistake they have.

Harvey sat back and helped the union elections out of the plants, and then when he needed them he went into the community and these people how the union was the real money, and that it was alright to scab on the livin'.

Harvey Aluminum Strike, TORRANCE, CALIFORNIA

The corrupt labor leadership seems to affect all of the major strikes in the area. A classical example is the Harvey strike in Torrance. The leadership of the union has called less than three meetings for the membership in the four months the strike has been on. They have hung out a few of the meetings and distributed or published on the membership. The membership can not find out the basis for the strike. They call the president of the local and he says that he doesn't have time to talk. And if you want to find out something to come to the next meeting. On any given day they have one meeting for the membership either the hall was too small or it was not big enough. The meetings could not be seen or heard or was going on. This type of disorganization can only hurt Harvey and the company. It seems that the leaders of the union are working in the best interests of the employers, the most obvious fault of the union leadership is their disorganization and refusal to inform the membership on what is happening.

The courts have forced the union to accept an injunction which limited the number of picketers to two on each gate. They have also given heavy sentences to find disrupting production at the plant. The union leadership in court and the sentences by warning the membership to 'act right or lose'. Three years ago when an injunction was issued against the Harvey strikers for about the same group of two hundred rank and file's more or less the injunction and set up mass picket lines which kept the goods from entering the plant. Although the police came out to beat and kill a large number of men and women the company knew that these workers would be back. The main issue then and now is wages and working conditions. Harvey is the highest paid iron producer in the country, yet they pay 50 cents to a dollar below the two four aluminum plants.

A particularly interesting aspect of the Harvey strike is the use of scabs. In all striking plants scabs are usually hired from the black or brown communities. In the Harvey plant management has hired the re-convicted of scabs from the Cuba refugees. Most of the women scabs are either Basque, Mexican or Negro. These non-smoking employees know little about an aluminum plant and in turn the injury rate is high. Harvey doesn't care about injuries only production.

It is not all one side, there are men in the mine not standing still. While the leadership is tied in closely with the company, there are different forms of fight back have taken place around the Harvey strike. In little more than a week the rank and file has begun to fight back. The fight back has come in the form of the numerous fires burning of scrap hoises in the Harbor area. It is perfectly logical, which stems from the union leadership's disorganization leaves these workers with little to fight with. If fighting Harvey and the corrupt leadership was not enough the courts, police and scabs make a pretty tight case for the employes in their victory.

OIL STRIKE

In reviewing the Oil strike like that was recently settled we can see many strikers are fighting for the leadership of Labor and Capital. The big companies are not afraid to make a large profit off the working man, and the labor movement stands before them as a better way of making money. The Oil Strike is the rightest in the world. The American Oilinterest controls between 40% of the Oil in the world. From Egypt to Latin America and down into the Caribbean the insatiable for Oil. Oil is the very life of the world. The Workers have shown its power and fought for the right to control Oil. The Oil companies have been buying off the leadership, dividing the workers, forcing locals to sign separate contracts the use of cops, and finally setting up a committee to fix the amount of picketers on the line. An example of how effective the Oil companies were in this past strike was when all the unions went out together, but the strikers backed more than half the locals had went back to work and so put the burden of the fight on the remaining locals. Shell and Texasco here in L.A. area lasted the longest. The snowbirds were the first locals that went back near all of their demands, after the snowbirds backed the locals by putting some of them back to work, then went to work wearing their snowbird locals. The Shell strikers were the last to go back to work but went to the same contract that they had before the strike.

The Texasco strikers here in the Harbor area did produce one important development. The Texasco plant had 600 workers. When they went on strike only one returned to scab while the strike was on. From the beginning and before the strike the membership was dissatisfied with the leadership. The strike broke these feelings and several rank and file men pushed for a rank and file committee to help decide the strike. By the end of the strike the rank and file men were just fighting back calling only the black workers and offering them 75 cents extra, to come back. The committee contacted all the members of the local, in turn and stopped the division of the workers. Although most of the oil locals did not get much support from the strike, some of the locals like Texaco learned a good lesson from the strike. One man said, "we know now who our friends are and who we have to work with. If we want to do a good job on it, we're going to do a house cleaning when this strike is over." These strikes can be important lessons to the working class for they show us the many tactics used by this state against labor. In summarizing this article it becomes clear that there are certain similarities in all of the strikes. It seems that the two main tactics that are being used against the labor is the labor movement is the Capitalist class are: 1. The repressive union leadership systems, 2. The unions help divide the working class, mainly through the national strikes from the American workers. Finally we have to see the difference between the strikers against the corrupt labor leadership and the capitalist class.

Throughout this article we can see that in each of the strikes the union leadership plays a positive role only for the employers. The leadership in each strike has been a factor in the biggest factors holding back the union from achieving any type of victory against employers. We ask ourselves why these leaders act the way they do. The answer lies in the fact that the trade union leadership today does not represent the working men's point of view. It is tied in tightly with the capitalist class. And it is the difference between a big businessman or executive and a big shot labor leader. There is little difference in that they both drive big cars and have body guards, they live next to each other on the same part of town, they both get to travel at will, and they make their fortunes in the same industries they represent, whether it be General Motors or AFL. The labor leaders hold on to the most reactionary section of the working class movement. They are opportunists and make it off labor. If we were to stop here we would be leaving out the many important aspects of the big labor leader, and that is tying up labor for the ruling class. Hall and the other big labor officials are the real "Labor Lieutenants" for this fascist state. They support the American war of Imperialism and acts against the peoples of Asia, Africa, Latin America and all they ask in return is a little Cont. page 5
LABOR cont. from page 5

er higher race of the poor, they
support the U.S. in their war
against the colonial and semi-colonial
peoples, and in economizing any fight-
back of the working class of the world.

These Labor leaders are the "right" wing of the labor move-
ment and the ruling class. General Motors, Standard Oil, and the like, are
rich and powerful; and even the "left" wing of the labor move-
ment is in the same camp, in that it is also in the hands of the
wealthy and powerful. In this way, the labor movement is not
only a tool of the rich and powerful, but also of the working class.

This is the first in a series of articles on the role of the labor
leadership. In the future we will try to take a look at the differ-
ent aspects of the labor movement and see how the working class can
be involved in the struggle for a new kind of class.

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Crisis in Education

The school crisis, symbolized by the events at Carver Jr. High School, is an increasing number of reasons for revolutionaries, for the People’s Liberation Movement, and for the working class as a whole.

First of all, the crisis of the school crisis, but not simply an increase in the number of students. The crisis of the school crisis, the failure of the American socialist society. This is the reason, because of the fact that the ruling class cannot rule the same way. For a century, the Negro race has been treated as a slave class, and America is no longer a slave country.

The crisis of the school crisis, the lack of proper education. The lack of proper education has become a stalemate in the struggle against the African American.

The crisis of the school crisis, the struggle against the African American. You cannot simply throw a few words on the issue and think that the people will understand. You have to have a clear plan, a clear strategy, a clear goal.

The crisis of the school crisis, the conflict with the police. The police are a tool of the ruling class, but they are also a tool of the oppressed people. The police are a tool of both sides, but we must work to change that.

The crisis of the school crisis, the conflict with the authorities. The authorities are a tool of the ruling class, but they are also a tool of the oppressed people. The authorities are a tool of both sides, but we must work to change that.

The crisis of the school crisis, the conflict with the courts. The courts are a tool of the ruling class, but they are also a tool of the oppressed people. The courts are a tool of both sides, but we must work to change that.

The crisis of the school crisis, the conflict with the army. The army is a tool of the ruling class, but they are also a tool of the oppressed people. The army is a tool of both sides, but we must work to change that.

The crisis of the school crisis, the conflict with the police, the courts, the army, etc. Before these conflicts, the struggles against the police, the courts, the army, etc. After World War II, the conflicts against the police, the courts, the army, etc. Before these conflicts, the struggles against the police, the courts, the army, etc.

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The crisis of the school crisis, the failure of the American socialist society. This is the reason, because of the fact that the ruling class cannot rule the same way.
1966, however, the Eastern Front had been completely broken up. The offensive launched by Mobutu’s troops, backed by South African and Belgian mercenaries under the command of the former Katangese Mike Hoare, had not been repelled. And this was not essentially because of their inability to avoid casualties, but rather because of the vacillations of those who, when they should have been at the heads of their fighting columns, ruminating their lives for their country’s liberation, plodding forward like a battle from the city headquarters, enjoying the benefits of an urban life entailing no risks, mapping out “strategies,” although they were experts in strategy. Such were Laurent Kabila, whose command post was located in a well-furnished apartment in Kinshasa, and Massengo, who was not known to have personally lead a single action against the imperialist troops in the East. There can be no doubt that the patriotic pressure on the Eastern Front fought bravely and resolutely at the beginning, Proofs of this were the attacks in mid-1965 on the Front de Force Garrison and on the School for Special Anti-Soviet troops, where the guerrillas gave innumerable signs of their fearlessness and where dozens fell. And not only the sons of the Congo itself but of other peoples as well, who, the time had not been able tolicated the leaders of the principal guerrilla movements in the Congo, to the primaries of Lumumba’s untimely death. However, the least participation of the leaders in the daily course of the war gave rise to a lack of ideological combat discipline affected adversely by tribal and religious prejudices — of readiness for daily sacrifices and death in the majority of the combatants. They were even promised a monthly wage, though they were part of a professional army and not revolutionary combatants fighting not for their own liberation but also for the liberation of the Congo from one of the most loathsome colonialisms ever known. An outstanding casualty was the loss of Comrade Mulele in an accident on Lake Tanganyika. He was a complete revolutionary fully aware of the movement, following Bongole’s and Kasama’s unquestionable failure of nerve. The first zone of operations was the only one to stand up after 1966. Only a few months ago, however, its commander in chief, Pierre Mulele, legendary guerrilla, failing to recall the experience of Lumumba, the martyr, completely abandoned his confidence in forces which were not exactly those of the people in arms and Muizike was assassinated by Mobutu, who, with a direct order to do so from a high ranking U.S. official when the ruler was on a trip to New York, was on his way back to Leopoldville.

Near Leopoldville, Pierre Mulele, who had diminished the quandary of his revolutionary stature in returning to Leopoldville, was then abandoning the necessary path, the only one which can first curb and then destroy forever, not only Mobutu but everything that his rule has brought with it. The war cannot be waged against the figure of Mobutu. Certain revolutionary groups, once more indulging in “naivete,” even tried to make contact with the mercenary forces of Katanga (which in 1967 were fighting against Mobutu), failing to understand that even in this government was backing and succeeding in staying in power with the aid of the U.S. government and the direct participation of the Yankee Green Berets, the Katanga mercenaries also represented imperialism, and that the objective of both the mercenaries and Mobutu was the same — namely, to guarantee the exploitation of the country’s vast wealth by imperialism, the true and fundamental enemy of the Congolese people and of humanity in general. It is impossible to combat or destroy the strongholds of imperialism in the Congo while so-called revolutionary organisations such as Zenon Ntisba — who returned to Leopoldville with Mulele and chose to ignore the fate of the latter— continue to encourage divisionism within the movement itself, splits based on questions of international politics and completely unrelated to the advancement of the Congolese peoples’ liberation struggle, or while there are theoreticians such as Nima, who committed himself to leadership of the revolutionary movement and then, after only three days on march to leafi moral and material support to the combatants of the Front headed at the time by Mulele, abandoned his men and once more chose the safety of life in a friendly capital. Following the political programs worked out by Butchem and Kasimba (both of whom have been reported dead on the Eastern front as a result of internal strife), which are based fundamentally on the organization of a political party to lead up the struggle they themselves were unable to wage, will not be conducive to success. Seeds of hatred and divisionism have been planted, and the fruit they have borne has been only the strengthening of Mobutu’s position. And those responsible can be found in the ranks of the revolutionary movement itself.

Today, eight years after the death of Lumumba, there is only one way to defend the principles for which he died in the cause of African liberation.

Placing our faith in Mobutu, abandoning the revolutionary groups in the Congo because of internal differences, because of political weaknesses and inexperience, will never get us onto the road of the Congolese Revolution.

Certain revolutionary groups, not affiliated with any Congolese party or organisation are prepared to renew and advance the liberation struggle. The OHL under the leadership of Jaston Soumailot has once more stated that it is prepared to advance the armed struggle. Thus, most of the leaders of that organisation have left Cairo. Moreover, rumors seem to indicate that Kabila has once again taken up the revolutionary struggle, after having lived comfortably for the past two years in various capitals of East Africa. In addition, certain OHL spokesmen have stated that the Eastern Front has held on and that it is making progress in organisation.

To those who are prepared over and above all other considerations to offer up their lives as a contribution to victory we wish to stress our readiness to stand side by side with them, and we send them our encouragement and militant support, but we urge the fullfilment of the absolutely necessary condition — namely, that they stand up for, put into practice and prove their conscientious dedication to the revolutionary cause, that the writings and trips to African capitals cease, as well as the expressions of demoralization at the lack of support from those who historically should be leading it and that they fully promote and utilize that great invincible force represented by their people. They must become sufficient unto themselves by facing up to these issues and growing greater in resisting difficulties. The legacy of Lumumba is to be defended in direct and determined confrontation with imperialism in the fight unto victory or death.

... A Zapata
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