Miners gird for bitter strike struggle

by Andy Phillips

"We'll stay out until hell freezes over—and even longer if that's what it takes for us to get a decent contract that we can live with," declared a rank-and-file miner in West Virginia following the crushing 2 to 1 vote rejecting the United Mine Workers' contract negotiated by UMWA President Sam Church in March.

The massive repudiation of the contract surprised nearly everyone except the rank-and-file miners. Most certainly President Church was disappointed. He had predicted a 2 to 1 vote, to be sure, but he said that would be the margin of approval. The actual vote convincingly shows how far away Church is from understanding the rank-and-file miners, and how incapable he is of representing them.

GIVE-AWAY CONTRACT

Opposition to the contract centered on several provisions agreed to by Church, and included the following:

• Giving operators the right to buy and process non-union coal to fill coal orders, as well as not paying the $1.90 royalty on each ton of non-union coal bought and sold. The $1.90 payments fund the health and pension benefits of miners and their families.

• Approving a committee to review the UMWA pension benefit program with the aim of turning that over to private insurance companies as was done with the health care program in the last contract.

• Accepting a 45-day probationary period for new miners, who in the past always had full union membership, rights and protection from the first working day.

• Allowing coal operators to sub-contract jobs to non-union workers.

• Permitting the hated anti-union National Review Board to pass on grievances cases for an additional 90 days before it was phased out, with all decisions to remain in force for the full life of the three-year contract.

• Agreeing to a dental plan that would not only have to be paid for by the miners out of their own pockets, but had so many extra service costs and benefit restrictions that it was a total ripoff.

• Giving operators the right to close a union mine and re-open it as a scal operation after two years.

• Other major objections were the rights given to operators to veto safety recommendations proposed by a joint union-industry committee; establish harsh penalties for absenteeism, including firing; dilute seniority rights; restrict bidding on new and higher-paying jobs; and allow any one of three union safety committees to override a miner's objection to working in an unsafe place, as well as making safety protest procedures much more difficult.

Outside of wage and pension increases, costs which operators always pass on to coal consumers, almost every other major change in the contract represented a loss to the rank-and-file miners.

Actually, miners were expressing two kinds of protests in their vote against the contract. They were not only saying no to the new contract, they were also displaying their anger at the last contract. This was especially evident in regard to the "Memorandum of Understanding" which had set up a committee to revise the UMWA pension system and turn it over to private insurers.

OPPOSE PRIVATE INSURANCE

This is what happened to the UMWA health care system which had provided full coverage for the miners and their families from 1946 until the last contract, in 1977. Refusing to cover the miners turned into a nightmare of service for many miners, as well as costing them hundreds of dollars out of their own pockets. Whereas before all the health care costs of all miners were paid for out of the UMWA Health and Welfare Fund, the changeover created chaos in service as well as different degrees of health care, controlled by the coal operators who contracted with insurers of their own choice.

Another directly related health care loss to the miners is especially bitter in this strike situation. Before health care was turned over to the operators, miners and their families kept their medical coverage during strikes. Now they must pay for the insurance out of their own pockets—and the costs are clearly designed to put economic pressure on the miners. Miners in western Pennsylvania working in U. S. Steel mines, for example, will be required to pay $125 for health insurance the first month, $192 the second and $222 the third month to keep the same coverage they had before the strike.

Striking miners and their families are eligible for government food stamps, but rules are now being tightened to put added pressure on the miners. Other states have different rules, but most all appear to be putting a $1,500 limit on savings and other assets, and the way they are interpreting assets would cut off many thousands of miners.

On other battle fronts, striking miners are becoming more determined to stop the mining and transportation of coal. In Kentucky, Tennessee and southern West Virginia, gun battles between strikers and company
Ed. Note—These are excerpts from a speech given by Jean Smith, Chairperson of the Coal Employment Project National Conference, at a conference on Women and Labor in Detroit on April 10, 1981.

Five days a week (well, not now) I journey down into the bowels of the earth to toil away in the dark and dusty depths of a mine in order to pay for my son's college education. It is a large coal mine for the past four-and-a-half years and I've been asked many times, "Why did you choose this career?"

Well, I didn't choose it, it chose me. When I was about 17, I was pretty naive about the financial state of our family. I had five brothers and sisters and we lived in two different books and I knew I was going to be an English teacher and—writer—that this was where my fortune lay.

THIS AIN'T IT'

Eleven years, three kids, a divorce and several traditional jobs later, I said, "This ain't it kid." So I heard that Peabody Coal Co. or I know what was in store for us; it seems that the whole mining industry feels that it has no place for women. "Women underground are bad luck. A woman working as a miner is trying to be a man. A woman's not strong enough to do the work."

I'm telling you, the excuses are bounded. There we were, just me and the white collar clerical workers who wildcatted.

During that, I learned the importance of people sticking together... It's important to enlist the aid of union brothers to integrate the workforce. There's no easy way to do it.

WSU workers fight lay-offs
Detroit, Mich.—Nearly 200 Wayne State University campus workers pinned pink slips to their coats on noon April 23, and came out to help Pres. Tom Bonner "celebrate" the 25 years of WSU being a state-funded institution where I started, and 860 men... All our jobs, of course we're United Mine Workers, are acquired by the bid which is put in when the company wants to close a bid, two and a half years ago, I put my bid in. It meant a substantial increase in pay wages but also it was my way of saying "No way, not here."

I bought the job, but the company said I couldn't have the job because I was a woman, and they said it in front of 75 members of the W'way Board. They wildcatted.

People speak out on welfare
Chicago, Ill. — The militancy of people's response to Reagan's anti-human cuts was manifested throughout the week, especially on the campus held in Chicago at the end of March. There was a clear division between the speakers from various welfare rights organizations and those from the campus workers. The WRC had no presence. It was clear that the most important things they stress is that... we do not speak for anything for women that we do not ask for men. Solidarity is the key.

Meanwhile back at the ranch—we have a new foreman by the name of Reagan. While it's appalling that he could have been so taken off guard by the people who have been so united and are prepared to take on this administration's next round of cuts, it is important to keep the fight going.

Mrs. Caroline Sollee, an officer of the newly formed South African Fund for Exiled Women, watches as women who work as maids in Morningside, South Africa sign up for membership.

The clerical workers' organization Working Women has merged with the Service Employees International Union to form a new national union called District 1012 to organize the millions of clerical workers in the U.S. The director of Working Women is determined to retain her organization's independence. She is determined not to be a victim of the union's distrust of unions and their lack of interest in women's issues.

The Spanish government had hoped to display Picasso's famous work Guernica, which depicts the horrors of war, as part of the 190th anniversary of his birth next fall. The artist had wanted the work returned to Spain after "the re-establishment of public liberties," but his daughter Maya vetoed the return saying, "We cannot talk of democracy in Spain while there is no divorce law and while the police and army of the old regime still exist."

Women miners fight sexism, find solidarity

Careerism: fear of revolution

middle-class women. But at UIC-U it was clear that the young women cared very much about transforming this world and hated nothing more than the specter of marriage. They were going to live in, and it was the revolutionary nature of Dunayer's work that had drawn them to the lecture and that made them want to continue the discussion afterward.

BUT WHAT THE AUDIENCE in Chicago reminded me of was our discussion back in 1974 about groups whose fear of philosophy revealed, in fact, a fear of revolution that made them stop at culture. We have often talked about NOW (National Organization for Women) in this way, as a group that is going to have to live in, and it was the revolutionary nature of Dunayer's work that had drawn them to the lecture and that made them want to continue the discussion afterward.

The kind of, "leadership" that has reduced the very idea of a movement for freedom to a movement for getting a job in a few years, or to get us anywhere...

What was fear of philosophy in the '70s is all the more serious in 1981 when the lines are much more sharply drawn. Please let me know what your experiences have been so that we can pose the question of philosophy vs. culture as a women's liberation committee in all of our activities.
Detroit city workers resist takeovers

Detroit, Mich.—City workers here are facing the most massive anti-labor assault in anyone’s memory. Crying pounds of strikes, back-to-work orders, firetruck takeovers, Mayor-Coleman Young is demanding that our contract be re-opened “for the express purpose of modifying wages and work rules,” even as he is gunning for us to “accept the best contract this city (i.e., the administration) ever got” in the 1971 bargaining—also pleading with us to “help stop the violence,” thereby opting to propose “other cost-saving proposals at a later date.”

Adding insult to injury, they also would require an additional 400 hours per week.

WORKERS OPPOSE TAKEOVERS

Opposition to these kinds of takeovers was virtually unanimous in our local and it seems that this is the case in every local that lost their plants due to the crisis in auto. City workers understand this and are ready to do their part to help see us through this time of crisis. But they have lost all confidence in the mayor’s claim to fairness and “equality of sacrifice.” He offers to cut his own salary by five percent—but this is five percent of $75,000! Our union has even proposed an alternative plan of payless vacation days but the city wouldn’t even listen to any offer besides their own.

Robots, racism at re-tooled GM plant

by Felix Martin, West Coast Editor

GM South Gate began calling back workers for the body shop and paint on March 31. The first thing was to assemble in the mess hall to listen to speeches by management. The second was to accept new rules—no more absenteeism, 30 jobs per hour with quality, etc.

So summarized is the thinking in this capitalist society, especially at the point of production, that plant manager Hardin opened by saying that he was declaring World War III against the Japanese people, but against “those little cars,” as if the cars made themselves.

Hardin continued: “I believe in democracy—me standing tall with my fist in my hand, taking a stand against those fascist union stewards. I am trying to clean it up by saying that he had nothing against the Japanese people, but against those little cars,” as if the cars made themselves.

Hardin is still going strong, but we are ready to get better. It will be easy to see that we have not been the demons described by the management. The mayor’s claim to fairness and “equality of sacrifice” means that he would relieve GM of any responsibility for the line stopping every third job.

Santo Domingo protests

When two U.S. Navy ships arrived in Santo Domingo April 2, on a supposed “good-will visit,” the Dominican workers began a series of demonstrations and protests since the 1965 rebellion. That is now down at the cost of 2,000 lives to the invasion of 42,000 U.S. Marines in the same month of April 16 years ago, was not forgotten by the protesters.

City employee

that can “think” and work the line like workers, we had heard about. These cost the company $100,000 and $6 per hour to operate. Right away the workers began to threaten this march. Their last stop was the plant office, as the newer robots are only being installed in the new plants.

By closing these old plants where the labor force is strongest and most solid in the city or country and building a new plant, with all the new technology installed at the same time, GM establishes a new labor force of fewer workers. This will help GM by not causing labor trouble like it would have in the old plants where a larger labor force is already established. Management is saying “This is your first chance: if you don’t get 50 quality jobs per hour as ordered, the plant will close.” In fact, the foremen and sucks are wearing big buttons saying “Our future is now.”

After working three weeks and not reaching full production, the workers are saying it is impossible to get the jobs with quality. The city is not getting quality with the line stopping every third job.

SCHEME AGAINST WORKERS

Talking on break, one worker was saying “This is a strategy by management, union and government to put the blame for the closing of this plant on the workers. This would relieve GM of any responsibility for the line stopping.”

Thus is a scheme against workers. Wages of a new jobless generation in high gear this month, but they haven’t been doing it that way. They took it out the last week in March and again at the beginning of April. Then workers were complaining about how “dick” they were being taken.

They’re still moving more people all over the place. One woman resigned because her pay was cut and they blamed it on the union. But she told them Schwinn runs the payroll. Some of the women, who were called back and put on jobs they can’t do, took a lay-off. The union has to decide which of the many grievances they are going to take to arbitration.

FIGHT BOSSES AND UNIONS

Workers from factory after factory tell the same stories of how the company and the union work together against the workers. At a bakery plant called back here, the union works day and night to fire any shop steward who is really fighting for the workers’ rights. Only the workers’ support keeps the Asco from being fired.

All of this makes me wonder why some of the leaders of the new anti-war, anti-draft and anti-nuke movements are falling all over each other trying to get the endorsement of these same unions. I don't see what these union bureaucrats bring to any movement—except power, money, and support for those who are selling out, substitution of fake demands for real ones, and the desire to control and kill any real, independent movement.

DON’T TRUST BUREAUCRATS

It would have been quite an experience for any you that were in the meeting last year to see how the negative relationships at my plant. We said those union leaders should be in the theater, they were so slick at selling us out, as if the workers were not an enemy to be underestimated, and you can bet if they’re trying to put themselves at the head of a movement, they’re not a good one.

I do hope these new youth movements continue to try to link up with the workers’ struggles in this country and that the labor bureaucracy is no path to the American worker. And I hope they start by listening to the workers, to their experience against the war and the labor bureaucracy.

More hassles at Schwinn

Chicago, Ill.—Schwinn is still acting like there is no contract, automatically denying all grievances all the way to step three.

They are doing everything they can to stir up hostility toward the union, like the way union dues are taken out. The contract states that union dues are not to be deducted from the second paycheck in each calendar month, but they haven’t been doing it that way. They took it out last week in March and again at the beginning of April. Then workers were complaining about how “dick” they were being taken.

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UNITY NEEDED AT ART STEEL

Bronx, N.Y.—Art Steel has a history of firing workers unjustly, and especially Black workers. They single out workers to have mass meetings and investigations, ignoring the fact that they are being a couple of minutes late to the department, and so on.

Especially now with vacation coming up the company is locking to fire workers and is over-working us. When a Black worker was fired recently, everyone signed the petition to bring him back—Black, Puerto Rican, Dominican. That is the kind of unity we need to combat the discrimination at Art Steel.

Art Steel workers

The arrests of the editor of April Fifth Forum—a banned unofficial magazine—along with another activist, followed after their plants were closing more than a hundred of people at Tianannmen Square, on April 5, who had come to speak out and distribute flyers on free elections to Beijing. The only news on that right now is that the ground mass demonstration that had so shaken up Mao himself.

Demonstrations and strikes have become so widespread nationally that the government has been forced to admit that they are occurring. They call them “disturbances created by small numbers of people”—but in denying their significance, they know there have been workers’ strikes over wages and housing; and student demonstrations over food and sham elections.

A strike at a Peking computer works in Beijing province shows how many workers were forced from cities in the decade of the Cultural Revolution. Those who have returned to offices have come back to no jobs—there are reports of up to 5,000 workers in fact demonstrations in the cities of Shanghai.

Shibsts have been even reported in Shandong province where the home of Deng Xiaoping and the model for China’s restructuring of the economy.

Urban unemployment—already 12-20 million—has been increasing and major plants have closed down under restructuring. In Shenzhen, one of the zones for foreign capital to create new jobs, one foreign capitalist closed his new plant until the government established a new labor force of fewer workers. He called fireworks and the police to fire workers as they please. Even workers at the giant Baoshan steel complex demonstrated vigorously when they found they were being laid off.

Workers and unemployed youth facing the same crisis here can understand the Chinese workers very well, and that unaffirmative action won’t disappear by being ridiculed in the press.
Preface to Iranian edition of Marx's 1844 Essays

Background for drawing of young Marx is a manuscript page of Economic Manuscripts of 1844.

"Grasping the act of world history" meant that he had to proclaim "revolution in permanence" when he saw that now sooner had the masses helped the bourgeoisie gain victory over feudalism in the 1848 revolutions than the bourgeoisie turned against them. And when he witnessed the greatest revolution in his time, the 1871 Paris Commune, and saw the masses take destiny into their own hands, Marx declared that instead of the "political form at last discovered to work out the economic emancipation of the proletariat." As Marx expressed it, we should especially avoid re-establishing society as an abstraction, opposed to the individual. The individual is the social reality.

MARK RAISED THE QUESTION of "revolution in permanence" not only for his day but as the way for all unfinished revolutions. No age can understand better than our own, plagued both by transformations into society after each revolution—such as that which saw the first workers' state that arose from the struggle against Western imperialism (U.S. imperialism most of all) in Latin America as in Africa, in the Middle East as in Asia, needs to demand that "bourgeois act of world history" means spelling out total freedom.

Here again, Marx can illuminate our task in the manner in which he spelled out how total must be the uprooting of the old and creation of the new. He turned to the most fundamental of all human relations—thinking from toeing. It was also the "quite negation of human society"—what the goal is, is the creation of a true birthtime of history.

In actuality, continued Marx, there lies hidden in Hegel's Phenomenology of Mind the movement of his thought, an ambiguity that Hegel himself, perhaps not even Hegel, a quarter of a century ago, coincided with the Hungarian Revolution against Russian totalitarianism calling itself Communism. Thus, both from below, from an actual proletarian revolution, and from theory, a todayness was shed upon these Essays that had lain on the dusty shelves of archives and had never been practiced.

Because what the contemporary world needs most today is a unity of liberation with an outright revolution, we must re-examine what is that Marx had meant when, in his greatest theoretical work, he laid the foundation of Historical Materialism, a quarter of a century ago, coincided with the Hungarian Revolution against Russian totalitarianism calling itself Communism. Thus, both from below, from an actual proletarian revolution, and from theory, a todayness was shed upon these Essays that had lain on the dusty shelves of archives and had never been practiced.

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Whether capitalism achieves the domination of labor through ownership of or through control over the means of production, what Marx focuses on is this: any "domination over the means of production" is exploitation. The exploitation of the laborer as the gravedigger of capitalism which uproots all of the old.

Abolition of the old is only the first mediation. "Only by negating the personality of man," Badiou said, "can one see how far beyond technology Marx's philosophy arise positive Humanism, beginning from itself."
Mineworkers gird for long bitter struggle

(Continued from Page 1)

now appear determined to try to break the miners with a long strike, but the miners are now more determined to win than ever.

In Dunycopine, many miners, as well as Sam Church in particular, are looking beyond the strike itself to the second Tuesday in November of 1982. That is the date for the election of union officers to the International UMWA by the rank-and-file union coal miners.

DISTRUST CHURCH

The miners have no question about the distrust the miners have of Church. This stems primarily, of course, from the sell-out contract Church negotiated. But there is another important reason: what has done with the attitude of Church after he had agreed to the contract terms.

Instead of insisting on the negotiation procedures the rank-and-file miners had approved at last their convention to guarantee that they have a full and complete review of every contract proposal, Church was urging them to settle their disputes by continuing to work rather than strike when the contract expired.

By his actions and statements, Church angered the miners. But there is another important reason: what has done with the attitude of Church after he had agreed to the contract terms.

The miners have spoken and acted conclusively by the miners on two very important counts. One, he presumed to do their thinking for them; and, two, he violated long-standing principles of unionism that are fiercely defended by miners. And nothing is more closely guarded than the principle expressed in their honored slogan: "No Contract, No Work!"

THE FIRST GENERAL STRIKE IN THE U.S.

In Dunycopine, the miners elected a new contract, today, as one miner put it, "Mickey Mouse would beat Sam Church." Clearly, Church has a long way to go to gain the respect of the miners on two very important counts. One, he presumed to do their thinking for them; and, two, he violated long-standing principles of unionism that are fiercely defended by miners. And nothing is more closely guarded than the principle expressed in their honored slogan: "No Contract, No Work!"

The UMWA election was held today, as one miner put it, "Mickey Mouse would beat Sam Church." Clearly, Church has a long way to go to gain the respect of the miners on two very important counts. One, he presumed to do their thinking for them; and, two, he violated long-standing principles of unionism that are fiercely defended by miners. And nothing is more closely guarded than the principle expressed in their honored slogan: "No Contract, No Work!"

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LATIN AMERICA & U.S.A.—RELATIONAL REFORMATIONS

Over 3,000 people marched and rallied in New York on April 18, to protest the intervention in El Salvador. Many participants were workers and members of the "Workers for the Children of the World," a group that has been organizing demonstrations, carrying placards bearing the names of women who have been murdered in El Salvador. The march was seen as a way to make headlines. A group of workers held signs that mourned the women who died when abortion was illegal in this country. The march included the "Free Women," and thousands of workers vowed to fight "totalitarian Communism" — by supporting Reagan's attack on the workers and peasants of El Salvador.

What strikes you in reading the statement and the names of the sponsors is that this is all black. The Nation had an article even suggesting that the new committee may be a revival of the "Committee for a Democratic Freedom" that functioned with CIA money as a way of enlisting intellectuals for support of the Reagan administration. This stinginess needs to be thoroughly exposed before it gets any further.

POLITICS STATEMENT, NEW YORK

I was very glad to see the articles on the peasant movement in Latin America in the April N&L. The question of the peasantry is very important today. El Salvador had a revolution in 1982 that had even more peasant participation than Cuba, and it is important to know this for the El Salvadoran experience. Some peasants in El Salvador today have begun to organize themselves, and many new peasant organizations are springing up.

El Salvadoran Los Angeles

Here in Nicaragua, the revolution has been aware of the importance of the peasantry on the part of the Reagan Administration against the Nicaraguan revolution. They are preparing for a counterinsurgency. The FNFL once more has issued a call to all sections of society to stand with the people to make a front against imperialism. In the last few days, the Reagan Administration denied us the right to buy wheat, and now all future aid has been cancelled and they tell us we have $60 million which was already given.

While and they deny Nicaragua economic aid, which isn't aid but punishment for everything the American companies took out of the country for 150 years — they give military aid to the imperialists of Guatemala and Honduras.

The Honduran government is offering temporary work and assistance camps, and on more than one occasion they have entered and had confrontations with the workers. The people have responded by joining the Popular Popular Militia in massive numbers. Meanwhile here inside the country, anti-Sandinista groups of the Democratic National Movement have launched destabilization campaigns and adopted pro-imperialist standpoints.

The suspension of North American credit is a negative point for the com­pany, but the people are preparing for austerity and more efficiency. In the words of the Reagan administration, we turn to international solidarity as a point of support for the lives forces and the anti-imperialist revolution. This country has already achieved many advances, in education, health and defense.

Revolutionary Nicaragua

I was intrigued by the picture called "El Futuro del Ser Proletario", pg. 11 of N&L that showed three women with haunting eyes staring out from behind bars. Where did you get it?

Woman, New York

NOTES FROM THE SHOPS...

I'm in nursing. It's bad. Their brainwashing line for all these years has been that we're professionals, so we're not engaged under our own union. So we have the Association, and D.C. 7 promises and guarantees, and don't know any thing what the members' working lives and conditions. But I was shocked to hear of something worse at a place called Calvary Hospital in the Bronx. No type of union is allowed and just for being heard talking about organizing get you fired. I know of a person who put in 25 years. When she was fired and came to contest it it was given 20 min utes to be off the grounds.

A big difference between the '60s and '70s is that in the '60s almost everyone cared, even if they cared to get involved on the wrong side. In the '80s we can't let the few do the caring.

Jacobi Hospital worker

New York

I have been reading Marx's Capital, and all along writing notes I have experi­enced in the factory, in struggling against the company and the union. Marx must have been an insufferable bore! Many of the heroes they hold up for us when we're in school, never Marx? Never. I need to understand what I say if you're without Marx, you cannot understand society or history.

Latino worker

New York

Recently, second shift workers at the Chrysler Manufacturing Plant in Flint got a surprise when they got off work at a little after 1:00 a.m. They had worked two hours of overtime. As they walked to their cars, they found handwritten notes stuck to the windshield. The notes said that if the cars were found there again after midnight, they would be impounded. The notes were signed, "Unemployed." The point was that no one should be working that kind of overtime while so many union brothers and sisters are on lay-off. I agree with the message on the windshield — it's an investment in ourselves by paying to this management and union pressure to "go-along" and "save the auto indus­try" at the expense of other workers and themselves.

Ready to fight

Flint, Mich.

AND ERITREAN STRUGGLE

A visitor is standing in front of an Eritrean exhibit. He examines the photos, which show some of the achieve­ments of the revolution in health, in ed­ucation, in political participation by the people. He then asks one of the militants standing by: "Do you get your help from the Soviet Union?" "No," replies the militant. "Then you must get it from China!" The answer is "no" again. "I see. That is clear." The visitor is quite baffled and exclaims, "You can't possibly win your war then!"

The above story is told in the current issue of Eritrea Information, an English­language monthly bulletin put out by supporters of the Eritrean Popular Lib­eration Front. It comes on a lot of news on the struggle there that you can't get elsewhere. You can order a subscription from:

Eritrea Information
Via della Dogana Vecchia, 5
00186 Rome, Italy

THE BLACK REVOLT: MARCHING, FIGHTING, THINKING

The green ribbon of hope and support for Atlantic and Black America has carried forward the main thrust of the '68 movement. If one thing is suddenly in the same week in March that month the big March in Atlanta started wearing the green ribbon. And not only Blacks. Here in the shop there was something white, Puerto Ricans and Dominicans showing their support too.

Art Steel worker

New York

I was at a planning meeting for a demonstration against the Atlanta killing. We had to get together and make up our minds. What was even more amazing was some opportunistic "radicals" who went along with that.

In Atlanta, Blacks are organizing self-defense squads because of the lack of police protection and insensitivity of po­lice to their needs. While Black and Latin people are being further brutalized the police, here was one organizer who wanted to join this instead of that group to build on the new Atlanta protests and work to uphold this society root and branch because these tragedies never happen again.

Black youth California

A speaker from the Anti-Klan Network came to our campus and asked if we would like to get involved in the struggle as well. We decided to get involved and gave a rousing talk on the history of the Klan and on the current re-emergence of crossed battlefield violence against the Klan. While the speaker was thorough in his discussion of the consequences of the Klan, he failed altogether to mention all of the ways that Black people have been atten­danced against racism for hundreds of years.

He presented Black people primarily as victims, rather than as active, fighting, thinking people. He seemed to think that Black people need to be "organized," that they have to be taught how to com­bat the Klan. It can't be up to us on the students, 99% of whom were Black and Latino, what their ideas were.

Finally, at the close of his talk, he made sure to point out that the students must be happier living in the Soviet Union than we are here, and the students, started hissing and shouting discordantly. It clearly didn't occur to the fellow that the students would object to his state­ments. He just assumed that the students' vision of freedom was as self-serving as his.

Student

New York

New York Readers

LOU TURNER and DIANE LEE

Speaking on the 20th anniversary of the death of Frantz Fanon

Fanon's 'Wretched of the Earth' and Black Reality Today

Monday, May 11, Worker's Circle

360 Eighth Ave. (at 29th St.) 7 p.m.
One disturbing point to me on Marx is that before and during the Russian Revolution, women were seen as naturalilly. Women were doubly valuable — as workers and as mothers. Women in Russia are underpaid and underrepresented in managerial fields as well as in the arts, as in the sciences.

To clarify my point from a personal experience, recently I was invited to a communist party meeting. When I tried to enter the room I encountered some petty jealousies that one sees among women over men. Some dedicated and reviled communists were seen oppressing their wives. Most of the leaders and activists were men. Some of these men who spoke about the subjugation of women were the same men who abused their wives.

If we were to have a revolution, it may help society and oppressed groups as a whole, but women and men will still have embezzled in their minds the superiority of men over women. So changing the government will not change women's servile role. Changes have to be made at home.

Lehman College student
Bronx, N.Y.

THE TRUTH BEHIND BRIXTON

Years of dominating and racist behavior on the part of the police caused the Brixton revolt. An example of the recent case of Enroll Madden. He was the first to change his name to Maro. After he had somehow been charged with stealing, after he had somehow been charged with stealing, after he had somehow been charged with stealing, he was found to be one of the police officers. He was not among the police officers.

One of the police officers, known as the "Institute for Telling the Truth", claimed he had stolen the models. He had been found in possession of the models. He had been found in possession of the models. He had been found in possession of the models. He had been found in possession of the models. He had been found in possession of the models.

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Youth as a worldwide revolutionary force for the 1980s

by Peter Wermuth
Youth Columnist, News & Letters

There are so many points of crisis and revolt concentrated in the 1980s that it becomes necessary for us to open a dialogue on how youth can help transcend the crises of militarization, unemployment, and racism. Yet, there is also that bright spur of youth that gives us hope to meet the challenges of the opening of this decade. It may be helpful to take a look into what has come out of the 1970s, that we can use as stepping-stones for overcoming the multi-faceted crises youth face today.

For while the 1970s did not have the activism and mass movements that characterized the 1960s, it not only did have moments when youth emerged as a revolutionary subject, but in those moments quite new elements emerged. Let us concentrate on the dialectics of youth revolt over the past decade, from the Soweto uprising of 1976 through the Iranian revolution of 1979-80, to today's newly emerging anti-war, anti-militarist movements. Let us see what pathways we can hew out toward uprooting this racist, sexist, class-ridden society.

SOWETO YOUTH, 1976

The high point of youth revolt in the 1970s came from South Africa—the Soweto uprising that began in June, 1976. This revolt over the forced teaching of Afrikaans in the schools brought thousands of youth into the streets against apartheid—a force that has emerged as one of the strongest of the past decade. Thousands of youth occupied their schools and communities and connected their demands for freedom with the national demonstration to protest the kidnappings and killings in South Africa. The youth of this revolt, that it gave birth to a whole new generation of revolutionaries within South Africa, as well as the Black Consciousness Movement, and in reading banned works by authors such as Frantz Fanon.

So explosive was not only the force but the reason of this revolt, that it gave birth to a whole new generation of revolutionaries within South Africa, as well as the Black Consciousness Movement, and in reading banned works by authors such as Frantz Fanon.

Black youth expose military

Brooklyn, N.Y.—The Northeast Regional Organizing Conference of the National Black Independent Political Party met March 27-28 at Medgar Evers Community College. Its theme was anti-war, anti-racism, and youth unite to meet the challenge of the 80's. There were about 200 in attendance.

At the conference, it was stressed that because of the high unemployment and misinformation of Black youth, there exists the illusion that to enter the military is a way to make something of oneself. However, the reality is that racism permeates the Armed Forces, with the Black youth subject to more discrimination and brutality.

At the conference, the students pointed out that on the one hand, the media glorifies the war and racism and genocide. The Reagan administration seeks to wipe out all the lessons of the past decade of youth revolt pass us by. For despite the Reagan administration acting as if the reality is that racism permeates the Armed Forces, with the Black youth subject to more discrimination and brutality.

We feel that the youth are a most precious source of our own movement. The Reagan administration seeks to wipe out all the lessons of the past decade of youth revolt pass us by. For despite the Reagan administration acting as if the reality is that racism permeates the Armed Forces, with the Black youth subject to more discrimination and brutality.

But in so doing we must not let the lessons of the past decade of youth revolt pass us by. There are many questions facing youth in the 80's, and nothing becomes more important than a theoretical/practical dialogue between youth on the question of how to develop your own movement.

Unlike the 1960s, today's anti-draft rallies often connect with opposition to nuclear weaponry and power. In the U.S. the American Nuclear Disarmament movement is being flooded with youths demanding that opposition to unemployment be made a constituent part of the anti-war movement. The anti-war movement in France, West Germany, and Switzerland, the anti-nuke movement has meant at one and the same time support work for the El Salvador revolution.

Here at home we will surely be facing a very hot summer when we realize that we will face the greatest challenge to our revolution when American youth will affect students and working youth, with Black youth suffering most of all, along with the launching of the most brutal assault on the minds of youth in the form of some kind of new imperialism. This is all youth struggles for freedom. The result was a thing of the past, the last year has witnessed the emergence of a new generation of students that has yet to run its course. The question for us then becomes: how can we ensure that every particular youth struggle will add to the forces of freedom? It is necessary for us to open a dialogue on how youth can transcend the crises of militarization, unemployment, and racism.
Youth in Revolt

About 6,000 people marched April 22 to the NATO headquarters in Brussels — where West Europe’s gen­ eral assembly was meeting. They de­ monstrated against nuclear weapons in Europe. The same opposition to nuclear weapons exists around the world, as was witnessed recently in the Sao Paulo general assembly of workers in Brazil, the Latin American Solidarity Movement’s demonstration back in November, Reagan’s threat against liberation movements abroad and revolutionary forces here, especially women.

A speaker from the Democratic Revolutionary Front in El Salvador said that the march convinced him that the majority of the American people oppose the Reagan-Haig conspiracy. A Latin student from a bilingual col­ lege in Sonoma, feeling the vastness of the crowd said, “Something like the greatness of this makes you believe there can be a real change.”

San Francisco

San Francisco, Calif.—Well over 10,000 people partici­ pated in a huge march and rally here May 3, timed to coincide with the Washington, D.C. march on the Pentagon. The dominant clamor was: “US Out of El Salvador!” and the crowd chanted all along the line of march. The demonstration was held in San Fran­ cisco’s largely Latino Mission district, there was a large Latino participation, and a lot of bi­lingualism.

The signs were so varied because the marchers did not agree on what today’s war is really about. Signs spoke of the Atlanta child killings, others of Reagan’s attacks on Women’s Liberation. A big con­ tingent from the University of Texas was there, and there was a large Latino participation, and a lot of bi­lingualism.

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**BLACK RED VIEW**

by John Alan

Conservative politicians, the fascist fascists, and an assortment of closet racists, including "liberal" politicians, are rallying around the flag of "Law and Order" from one end of this country to the other. No less a person than Ronald Reagan, who correctly labeled the recession as a "profound national emergency," has also called for a national "campaign of idealism" to end the "crime wave." The Reagan administration's new "crime policy," of which the establishment of the so-called 'administrative reform' are the first fruits, represents the first attempt to change the political and economic system to accommodate the growing population of underclass workers.

In California, Governor Brown is following Justice Burger's brew. His anti-crime package includes tougher penalties for juveniles who commit serious crimes and a new law that increases bail for those who are accused of promoting "criminal" behavior. This is a move in the right direction for those who are interested in the prevention of crime.

On Capitol Hill, the reactionary forces are proposing everything from repealing the Voting Rights Act of 1965 to "unlocking" the FBI and CIA, to implementing a modified "criminal reform code" that would be even more repressive than the infamous S-1 Bill; to the revival of the Un-American Activities Committee (in the form of the "Task Force on Street Crime," and "Terrorism," and re-instating the death penalty.

**PHONY CAMPAIGN**

The campaign for this "new war on crime in the streets" and the possible curtailment of civil liberties, the capitalist media is doing a high pressure public relations job. Each day the TV, press and radio play up the latest "turf war" over the streets and Attorney General William F. Smith's Special Committee on street crime. Crime statistics are highly questionable, and the statistics themselves are not a measure of the crime in the streets, but rather a measure of the disturbance caused by the protest movement.

In an ironic gesture to deter street crime, Chicago Mayor Jane Byrne moved into a Black housing project with a platoon of policemen, while at the same time 800 people were being evicted from that same housing project because they shared their apartments with poor relatives or could not pay the rent. Crime is a seri­ous problem in the Black ghettos, but so is poverty, unemployment, bad housing and bad health. Street crime is part of the social totality of racism and poverty. Blacks, who suffer more as victims of street crime than any other segment of the population, deeply resent the sham of police being in the ghettos to protect them from themselves. The statistics show that the role of the police is that of oppressors.

**POLICE CRIMINALS**

In the Miami area, scene of last year's Black revolt, at least three incidents of police brutality against Black people are reported each week. Nationally, the Black press is giving an account of the Black police, and even when the evidence of this brutalization is so overwhelming that damages are awarded to the Black victims, the officers are seldom penalized.

Another point that the collections bring out very clearly is the bias against the Black women authors. The collections show that the Black women authors are often treated with a great deal of respect and appreciation, but they are also often treated with a great deal of disrespect and neglect. The Black women authors are often seen as "second-class writers" and their work is often seen as "less important" than the work of their male counterparts.

**Brixton revolt rocks Britain**

(Continued from Page 1)

next week 1,000 people were stopped, and 100 arrested. All this preceded the April 10 revolt.

**BOILING UP FOR AGES**

Brixton, which is a depressed London borough. The housing shortage is enormous, and those houses that do stand are substandard. Rents are massive but many houses have been occupied by Black youth unemployment is almost 50 percent. Railton Road is the center of the disaffected Black youth in Brixton. The boys wander the streets, listen to the Reggae music when they are continually har­assed by the police. The police are just looking for trouble. A Black youth commented: "it's been boiling up for ages, we just have to show the police that we are not going to take it anymore."

The obsession the police and Home Affairs Min­ister William Whitelaw (he has "with out interference" manifestly illegal searches in the ghettos and white youth for arrests. These white youths, however, also came from the local community. There were no "organizers" of this riot. It was a completely sponta­neous outbreak of anger against the police, what they are and what they are they represent. As locals said: "the youth and the aliens, people have been ready for this for years."

The spontaneity of the youth and middle-aged members of the Black communities in the ghettos of Black resentment of this racist state. Since Brixton, Blacks and a minority of whites have attacked the police in other areas. In the East End of London, police cars were burned on Easter Monday. Prime Minister Thatcher, who was busy selling war planes to Saudi Arabia and planning to ship the gill nets to the Great Lakes in the future, may refuse to do anything about the gill net fishers. The fishers have been denied their fishing rights since 1975.

When I talked to one of the fishermen, Art LeBlanc, he told me that the attacks have come from many direc­tions. People may not know that the Michigan Department of Natural Resources (MDNR) came up with a new ruling last fall that forces Indian gill net fishers to go to the Secretary of the Interior to buy a fishing license instead of buying new nets and the licenses for fishing gill nets costs $800-$1,000 per family. The average family income for the LeBlanc family is little more than $5,500 per year. A way you could say that LeBlanc's May 11 decision will be just the government's way of putting Indians out of business. It is a decision that it is going to be difficult for the fishermen economically. Only five families have the new nets and licenses,

The question is, why are they trying to destroy Indian fishers? It is because the government of Indian fishers is by harassment. Some whites are still involved in dam­age to Indian boats and equipment. Many of the families have had to put a private watch on their boats at night, because they are constantly being attacked. Despite all the concern about the situation of the state claims to have, no one has been arrested for these attacks.

The fishermen are going to fight to get their licenses renewed no one except Attorney General Sid­ney Patai's Special Committee on street crime. Crime statistics are highly questionable, and the statistics themselves are not a measure of the crime in the streets, but rather a measure of the disturbance caused by the protest movement.

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**U.S. justice a sham**

Detroit, Mich., The latest attack on the fishing rights of Native Americans in the state due to current federal drought. On May 11 from Reagan's Secretary of the Interior, James Watt. Watt told right-wing Congressmen Guy Vander Jagt that he would not renew rules allowing In­dians to fish with gill nets in the Great Lakes when the rules expire on that date.

Aubrey fishermen, mostly from the Bay Mills reser­vation, have been trying to make a living from gill net fishing ever since they won a court decision supporting their treaty rights to fish without interference from 1900. The fishermen have been disturbed because it ends with no answer. Or, several answers, all different. But to me it is revealing how Black resentment of this racist state. Since Brixton, Blacks and a minority of whites have attacked the police in other areas. In the East End of London, police cars were burned on Easter Monday. Prime Minister Thatcher, who was busy selling war planes to Saudi Arabia and planning to ship the gill nets to the Great Lakes in the future, may refuse to do anything about the gill net fishers. The fishers have been denied their fishing rights since 1975.

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It cannot and it must not be held in abeyance by Black politicians, tolerant and tolerated. The racism, the hate, the violence, which permeates the whole of capitalist society, can be dug up by the very roots of the soil and replaced with one where human relationships grow.

Black women seek new image in stories, poems, essays

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**Support Indian fishing rights**

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**Letter from Zimbabwean student**

My opinion is that things are going to keep the same direction in Zimbabwe — the process of stabilisation and nation-building is a delicate issue indeed. People have to learn a lot about the history of our country. The problem of Zimbabwe’s situation is peculiar in that it was born out of war, while most African countries attained independence through a planned development program.

But I’m optimistic, and I fully support the ZANU-ZAPU government at home. The situation in Bulawayo, because of the deaths of ZANU and ZAPU were engineered, I think, by disappointed individuals who thought that the revolution is just a means to an end of the gun and now we have entered phase two of the revolution, one of attending to the needs of the people as a whole. It might take a little longer to liberate but it won’t be too long from now.

Namibia will be next now that Zimbabwe is gone. South Africa is reeling more and more to the defensive; it can’t get what it wants in Southern Africa but may take a little longer to liberate but it won’t be too long from now.

The liberation struggle and the fighting spirit of the racist Boers is eroding day by day. The victory in Zimbabwe was also a defeat on the part of all the forces that opposed change! South Africa still has to struggle to prove that they have been waiting for the Reagan Presidency to come on stage so they can have a strong partner on the international scene. I really hope that they will not try to enrich themselves and that they respect the political freedom struggling for them, if Ronald Reagan thinks that he can reverse the trend of development in Angola by resigning aid to South Africa for purely ideological reasons. I wish he would come to my country and see the White House isn’t as easy as shooting a movie.

We are fighting, people who would be driven into the arms of the Soviets. We know that the Soviets are just as bad as they because they oppress our peoples at home, as well as the others from the American administrations, past or present. People are very much aware of this fact. The more the Soviets understand the politics, the better. Unfortunately many African countries suffer not only from normal illiteracy but political illiteracy too. In most countries this is done purposely in order to maintain the status quo of the ruling elite class.

—Zimbabwean student

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**U.S. Black feminist looks through ‘A Window on Soweto’**


"Life in Soweto starts at about 4 a.m." This is how Joyce Sikakane, a Black South African woman, brings the reader into the life of Soweto. The book is of many lives from the shantytowns of those who had the hardest minimum for survival, to the black "upper middle-class suburbs" (indoor plumbing) of Sophiatown and Alexandra Township that were subsequently demolished. Out of shacktowns and destroyed suburbs arose the ghettos of Soweto in the 1950s.

Sikakane presents every aspect of Soweto life — from work registration, to medical services, from education to food, credit and the economics of everyday life as well as sports and culture. It is a revealing work. One which takes in the whole of Johannesburg is at Baragwanath. It is not rhetoric. People like Edgar Tekere and the like have been detained in connection with this protest area of the Northern Transvaal. At least 17 AZAPO leaders have been charged on accusations of the Southern Peoples Organisation (AZAPO) in an effort to intimidate the people and stem their revolt against the rent increases and police brutality. This latest clampdown is part of an endless harassment by the apartheid regime to repress and stifle AZAPO in working with the people to organise resistance on a mass scale.

This resistance includes the bus boycott, now in its tenth month, in Pietersburg, Tzaneen and Polokwane; force of the workers; and major political meetings in the country. The Black Consciousness Movement of Azania (BCMA), itself operating under extreme financial difficulties, is doing its work. We need assistance to continue our work supporting AZAPO and the mass struggles of our people and to continue sending financial assistance into the country. We appeal to you to send a donation to AZAPO through: BCMA, 42 Danbury Street, London N1 8JU England.

—BCMA, London

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**Warsaw uprising memorial**

Chicago, Ill. — I was one of about 500 people who went to a commemoration on April 5, of the Warsaw Uprising, memorialized in "A Window on Soweto" by Joyce Sikakane. It was an emotional experience. A Window on Soweto is a revealing work of fiction. It is a revealing work. One which takes in the whole of the dynamics of Warsaw, the year of the uprising. In part this is done so as to record babies who are not registered, the trend of development in Angola by resuming aid to Soweto, Tembisa and other areas detaining at least 12 leaders of community organisations and the Azanian People’s Organisation (AZAPO) to defeat racism not by rising up “and uprooting this racist society, but by asking Congress to enforce the laws it already doesn’t enforce,” said Steinberg.

—Black youth

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**Black youth spark LA rally**

Los Angeles, Cal. — The environment of fear and hatred over the Atlanta killings brought out the outrage of the Black-community here, April 3. A large demonstration was held to express solidarity with the families of the dead children in Atlanta, against the racist society, but by asking Congress to enforce the laws it already doesn’t enforce,” said Steinberg.

The April 3 rally showed how serious the Black youth movement and unemployed youth. One speaker, wearing green ribbons as reminders of the Atlanta killings, said, it wasn’t just a memorial — all our forces all over the world, Steinberg wanted the masses to participate. A group of youths blocked traffic near Lafayette Park during rush hour, holding signs reading “Save the Children of Atlanta” and handed out green ribbons to motorists. A group of high school students chanted “We are with the children of Atlanta.”

The rally later that evening at Moorehead Park heard speakers attack both the Atlanta killings and the rise of the racist climate that has spawned them. The predominantly black crowd consisted almost entirely of working people and unemployed youth. One speaker, talking of the need to pass one more abstract law as the solution to stopping the rise of the KKK, was met with shouts of “Drop the Klan in the middle of us and we’ll take care of them.”

Despite the efforts of some professional politicians to dominate the rally, the very fact that so many community residents, students, working people and unemployed youth turned out made the day very new. It is this kind of demonstration that can forge new organizational beginnings for the anti-racist movement.

—Black youth
Polish workers have continued to deepen and to extend the revolt begun last summer. In March, Communist Party thugs beat up and sent to the hospital several peasant and worker union leaders who had been campaigning for the recognition of a peasant union in the town of Bydgoszcz.

The response was a spontaneous strike of 500,000 workers the very next day without waiting for the go ahead from the party аппарatchiks. This time, the government still refused to punish the party thugs, it became a four-hour nationwide general strike of 13 million workers on March 27.

In Bydgoszcz in 1980, rank-and-file CP members are calling for change. At a recent convention of Reagan-Haig, the bourgeois media cave in and report the military (and this in a country with a population of only all youth — join the guerrillas of the Democratic Revo-

ships is dubbed the defense line of the "Free World" by Irish independence, but extends to a vision of genuine depend on whether a banner is raised that is not limited never been at peace. In the struggles ahead, much will depend on whether a banner is raised that is not limited to Ireland.

The reverberations of the Polish upheaval have begun to be felt elsewhere in the state-capitalist world. In Romania, food shortages have apparently led to strikes and demonstrations, although few details have as yet slipped out of that vicious totalitarian regime.

Inside the Russian-controlled republics, 1,000 students demonstrated March 23, and again a week later, when the government sought to restrict the already limited rights of the people of the province of Georgia to have their own language and culture taught at the University of Tiflis. Last month, several hundred Georgian students engaged in similar protests against their Russian overlords, in that occupied land near the Polish border.

Early this year, Russian worker activist Alexei Nikitin took a Western reporter on a tour of the Donets coal mines at considerable risk to himself and to the other workers who dared to be interviewed. The reporter heard stories of miners' rotten living conditions in a country which can fly people into space — cold water flats, ketogenic stoves for cooking and cramped living spaces for families of 8 or 9. "If we can get some other higher authorities, they refer it to the lower authorities who ignore the complaints. The union is worthless." Nikitin and others like him have been tortured in Russian psychiatric prisons.

In Yugoslavia, Albanian students rioted against nationalist oppression of the Albanian minority, resulting in the suspension of all university classes for over a month. In truth, the entire state-capitalist world is finding itself faced with the spectre of the revolutionary proletariat of Poland in the form of its own restless masses.

Ireland

As we go to press, Bobby Sands lies in Belfast's Maze Prison at death's door, having spent over two months on hunger strike. Sands died on March 3, denying the restoration by Britain of political status for 600 jailed members of the Irish Republican movement. Three other "officially approved" holdouts — Frank Hughes, Raymond Creagh and Pat O'Hara — are also on hunger strike, insisting that they be allowed to wear their own clothes; associate freely among themselves; do no prison work; receive one visit, one letter and one parcel a week; and receive normal "good time" remission of their sentences.

Another of the British Prime Minister Thatcher, touring South Asia and the Middle East, was to refuse all negotiations, righteously proclaiming that "a crime is a crime". Her propagandist machine was, however, too weak to overcome the growing force of the Protestant rebels who could not hide the 12,000 British troops jammed into the six counties of Northern Ireland, their "legal" right-wing surrogates and the network of murderous paramilitary paramilitary para-military organizations, including the Ulster Volunteer Force and the Red Hand Commando. All are designed to drain off the force of the one million in an Ulster shaken by revolt continuously since 1969.

The election of Bobby Sands to Parliament April 9 dealt a severe blow to Britain's attempt to convince the world that the IRA is a "terrorist". The IRA is one more in the long line of "terrorists" who have been discredited by their status quo. The more than 30,000 votes for Sands underlined the continuing mass support in Ulster for the Irish movement, and renewed economic and social revolution.

There is no doubt that the size of the marches and rallies across Northern Ireland in the past weeks is a demonstration of the upsurge to follow if the hunger strikers die. Such revolts have been consistent in Ireland, from the Rebellion of 1916 through the Fenian movement and the Irish Land Leagues of Marx's time to the Easter Rebellion of 1916, and up to the hunger strikes of hunger strikes never been at peace. In the struggles ahead, much will depend on whether a banner is raised that is not limited to Ireland. In the struggle, but extends to a vision of genuine social revolution.

El Salvador

When one of the oldest continuous military dictatorships in Latin America, the regime of the Reagan-Haig, the bourgeois media cave in and report the "facts" as they emanate from the Pentagon-State Department complex. The news report comes out of a discussion by President Reagan and El Salvador — worker, peasant and middle class, but above all youth — join the guerrillas of the Democratic Revo-

lionary Front, we are faced with the lack of open demonstra-

tions and strikes in the streets (which had always been massacred by the military) shows a decline in support for the military.

When over 15,000 have been murdered so far by the military (and this in a country with a population of only 4.5 million), we are told that these killings are "by the Fascism is alive and well and living in: A.) Argentina, B.) Brazil, C.) Chile (D.) Guatemala, E.) El Salvador, F.) all of the above.

Left and the Right." When an estimated 1,500 peasant refugees in the province of Moraan were murdered March 27 after they hid in caves from the military terror, and this is reported to the world by the League of Aid Office of the Archbishop of San Salvador, the U.S. media treats this as a "rumor," if it is reported at all. After all, reporters are not allowed in Morazan Province. At the same time, vague rumors from the State Department of Russian, Cuban and Nicaraguan military aid to the rebels in 1980 are reported as "fact."

The truth is that every massacre, every "swEEP" through the countryside is no different from the others. The masses' determination that nothing could be worse than Fascism is alive and well and living in: A.) Argentina, B.) Brazil, C.) Chile (D.) Guatemala, E.) El Salvador, F.) all of the above.

Corporate Welfare

In these days of Reagan's meat axe approach to pro-

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