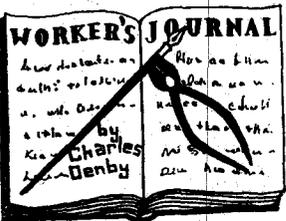


ON THE INSIDE

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Black Gary convention: A new party?

by Charles Denby, Editor

I was one of those thousands of Black "observers" who attended the first National Black Political Convention held March 11-12 in Gary, Ind. Some reporters estimated the number present to be 5,000 to 7,000, while others went as high as 10,000. I'm inclined to accept the 10,000 figure. There is no doubt that the fact that so many thousands of Blacks could come and assemble for the expressed purpose of trying to work out the economic, social and political future of Black people in America was of the utmost importance.

MASS CONFUSION

Preparations for the Convention actually began on Thursday, March 9, so when I got to Gary on Saturday morning, I immediately tried to get some briefing on what was going on and what had been concretely proposed for the Convention. Every delegate I questioned said nothing had been done and that everything was mass confusion.

When I located the Michigan delegation, which consisted mainly of Black labor leaders and Black city and state officials, I found them dickering over the preamble, trying to figure out what they could change, what they could live with and what was impossible for them to accept.

The Convention was scheduled to begin at 10 a.m. Saturday, but it wasn't called to order until 2 p.m. The auditorium, said to seat 4,500 people, was filled, but a huge platform had been erected in front of the speakers' platform for newsmen and TV reporters, and some 30 or 40 were standing on it, blocking the view of delegates sitting on the main floor.

Michigan Congressman Charles Diggs, chairman for the first session, was trying to introduce Gary's Black Mayor Richard Hatcher, when the loud chant went up "We can't see!" Diggs called for order, tried to explain that the scaffold would be moved before the next session, but the chant "We can't see!" grew louder, and the Louisiana and South Carolina delegations marched up to the speakers' platform saying, "Move those people so we can see, or there won't be a Convention." At this point Rev. Jesse Jackson rushed to the microphone and said that they would be moved and moved right now. As every reporter and cameraman got down from the platform, a huge yell went up, "All power to the people!"

SPEECHES, PROTESTS, BLUNDERS

Hatcher stated that the Convention was calling for the unity of all Blacks, regardless of political affiliation, (Continued on Page 7)

An Urgent Appeal for Help

The clear threat of Wallace seen in the Florida primary, and Nixon's drive to move the clock of history back to post-Reconstruction days, deepens every crisis in this election year 1972. The whipped-up anti-busing hysteria that has swept the country measures the depth of the White Racism that Nixon is using to out-Wallace Wallace. The crisis is total.

Unemployment lines and welfare rolls swell each month. Wages are frozen while prices soar ever higher. The war in Southeast Asia goes on and on — the toll in human life there is now past one million.

Nixon's journey to Peking, far from being a "radical" breakthrough to a "new" Nixon, has meant for the American masses his capitulation to the worst of the right-wing.

The weight of all this reaction is falling on the backs of the Black masses, the workers and the youth. Their fight against it is unceasing. The recent Black Convention in Gary was the first time since Reconstruction that this country has seen a gathering anything like it. The pressure of the rank and file workers in every industry has finally forced their so-called leaders in the AFL-CIO-UAW to see what the workers knew from the beginning: That Nixon's economic game plan meant to chain them to speed-up and low wages while the capitalists got unbelievable profits.

New forms of revolt appear everywhere, as prisoners' unions are springing up across the coun-

try, and there is the first stirring of an unemployed movement.

These voices of revolt must be heard, and are heard in News & Letters every issue, together with a Marxist-Humanist analysis. The more the crisis deepens, the more urgent is the need for an independent voice that is seeking to unify all the forces of revolt. That is why News & Letters must continue. But we can't continue without your help.

Our organizational cost of living — printing, supplies and postage prices — have skyrocketed out of sight.

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NEWS LETTERS

"Human Power is its own end"

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Editorial Article

Nixon-Mao extravaganza: new 'peaceful co-existence' — with whom? for what?

by Raya Dunayevskaya

National Chairman, News & Letters Committees

Now that the Mao-Nixon-Chou-Kissinger TV spectacular is over, and Nixon's old "Nationalist" China lobby is yelling "Sell-out" while the equally stupid new liberals likewise single out the abrupt change on Taiwan as the key point, it is time to assess, not the non-existent victory-defeat scoreboard, but the truly new direction in global power-politics.

Nothing sheds more light on how alike the new Nixon is to the old than the 180-degree turn from TV saturation on the wonders of ancient China and the new Nixon; through that historic week (Feb. 21-28) that was supposed to have "changed the world"; to Nixon's total silence presently on all questions except his reactionary position against busing. In a word, when it comes to the home front, the Black home front, Nixon, new and old, is all too anxious to roll the clock of history back, all the way back, to pre-1954 U.S. Supreme Court racist position on "education."

HERE AND OVER THERE

Nothing remains more the same than change when that change is initiated by rulers, be they American or Chinese. All one has to do to see the affinity of those two opposites is to look at them at home. Or, if you wish, as they look at home via satellites. Compare Mao welcoming Nixon into his study while hundreds of thousands of Chinese with bent backs, and hoes, shovels and straw brooms are clearing the streets for visitors from the land of "Enemy No. 1." Now glance at Nixon, table-hopping at the luxuriously red-carpeted "Communist" Palace while the unemployed and welfare lines grow ever bigger as his aides are busy working out ways of controlling wages, strikes, and doing nothing at all about the disasters and deaths in West Virginia mines, and mining towns.

This doesn't mean that the Nixon-Mao Communique didn't contain some startling reversals in global politics. But it does mean that these were all within the context of national Big Power politics. Put differently, despite the overriding truth about those two "unchangeables," Mao and Nixon, nothing on the world scene will ever be quite the same.

This is so, not because there are any "achievements" between Peking and Washington to chalk up, for internal or external consumption. It is so because, in this case, the form of this TV spectacular transmitted live via satellite to all foreign chancelleries, had the desired global impact as against the murky content and forced-tongue language in the Communique. And, though it was not "the week that changed the world," the TV extravaganza did, in a flash, illuminate the terrifying possibility that if those two men willed it, they could, have made it so.

We must, therefore, turn away from the strange admixture of large pleasure with small terror, and turn instead to the Communique.

VIETNAM, NOT TAIWAN, WAS SOLD OUT

It is true that the 1,800 word Communique conceals more than it reveals. But since Mao-Nixon-Chou-Kissinger are not the first masters and henchmen to torture language to state untruths as truths, it is not too difficult to get to the root of the matter. Take the question of Taiwan. Supposedly this is where Chou gained most and Nixon lost most. The truth is that

(Continued on Page 5)



"Take us back to 1954, I'm hijacking this bus."

Women in China still far from liberation

Excerpted from "Women's Liberation in China," by Jade, a Chinese refugee, published in Notes on Women's Liberation. See ad this page.

When the Communists took over, they instituted a new divorce law which permitted women to divorce their husbands. This was not possible before. This occurred in 1949. It used to be that women who went out to Communist meetings in the town would be beaten by their families when they came home. Many women were killed this way, so many.

In 1955, the Marriage and Divorce Law was instituted, along with land reform. This was extremely important for the women. It meant that when a woman got a divorce she was entitled to half her husband's land. She could own it and control it.

WOMEN CONTROL OWN LIVES

What was interesting was that the land that the divorced woman obtained was, of course, adjoining that of her ex-husband. It was often the case that it was more efficient to farm the land cooperatively with the ex-husband; but the woman was an equal partner in this arrangement. Sometimes the couple even re-married; when the woman returned to her husband's house she was now respected and treated as an equal, by both the men and the mother-in-law.

Things were much, much better for women at this time, especially for the single women—better than in Hong Kong and the U.S. probably. You were respected and protected by laws. At that time there were women on all the committees, in the city and the country.

COMMUNES RETURN LAND TO MEN

I think it was pretty fair in Communist China up to 1955. The reason I put the date as 1955 is because up to this time, women had land. Then in 1955 they started the cooperative (Commune) movement, and they took the land away. After they took the land from the landlords, it became their own land. But in the cooperative movement they had to give up this ownership of the land to the team, to the collective farm. The men took over again when it became cooperative.

All the peasants resisted the Commune movement, but the women resisted most; that's why it was a failure. When women had ownership of land, people were organized in family units. This was the best time for women. With the Commune movement, they could not even manage their own family affairs.

When their land was taken away, they became like factory workers. You had to work in the collective or

in the commune. Conditions on the communes were very poor; the level of material life was very bad. This was because the Communist government was trying to squeeze out as much as they could from agriculture in order to have produce for export, so they could get industrial goods in exchange. The living standards for the peasants were so low that it was just like forced labor camps.

Life is very hard now. Everything is controlled by the military. I think this has caused greater suffering for women than for men. By Communist law, the wages for men and women are equal, but all the wages are so very low—except for those of the high officials and technicians. Your salary cannot support a family. The salary can support only yourself. When you get a divorce, you cannot get any money from your husband to help support your children. You have no one to help you; you must work and take care of the children and the house.

WIVES ONLY IN POLITICS

On the question of women in politics: There is so much nepotism now. Only the wives of leaders are given leadership positions. Mao's wife is a good example. Although she was technically the head of the Women's Movement, she never did any work in the Communist Party. She was a third-rate movie extra. This is very degrading and shows that the liberation of women has by no means been real in China.



WAY OF THE WORLD

Busing hides unemployment issue

By Ethel Dunbar

After hearing that George Wallace received 42 percent of the votes in the primary election in Florida by riding on the busing issue, I couldn't help feeling frightened.

I understood why John Kennedy, Rev. King, Robert Kennedy and anyone else who spoke out for human justice—like the demonstrators and college students—were killed. The country had been led to the point that the haters felt it was safe to strike them down.

THE NUMBER ONE ISSUE

Nixon is trying to out-Wallace Wallace, while Agnew is attacking Muskie for calling Wallace what he really is: a demagogue. All of them are saying busing will be the No. 1 issue in the coming presidential election. But something is wrong with any whites—whether they are middle class or poor workers—if they don't know that the economic condition in this country is the No. 1 issue.

Unemployment is at a terrible stage. Many college students are dropping out because their families are unemployed. What's the use of opposing white children going to school with Blacks when you can't finance them to go to any school?

WALLACE, THE DEMAGOGUE

Wallace talks against big government and intellectuals, and says he is for the working man and against taxes. He even says it isn't integration he is against any longer—just busing. Why did he stand in the doorway at the University of Alabama, when there was no busing involved then? Why does Alabama have a higher tax rate for working people than any other state? Why are the wage rates lower?

Nixon has told the country he has always been against busing. I wonder how many Americans remember when Nixon was running for President against Kennedy. About six months before that election he was trying to "wet-nurse" Rev. King hoping to get some Black support. He said then that there is no such thing as "separate but equal" education. Now that is just what he is proposing.

NIXON THE CON-MAN

Nixon is a con-man, pretending he is doing what the great majority of Blacks and Whites in this country want him to do. When the great majority wanted the Vietnam War stopped, he opened up war on us here at home.

What is frightening is to see how Nixon and Wallace have set things going to a point where everything will come down against the poor—Black and white alike—if they dare to complain about their condition in this society. Many of those who are working against busing are voting against themselves. The question is whether they will let their prejudices carry them to the destruction of their own lives.

Push for prisoner union

Pennsylvania—There is some action going on in prison now called the "Imprisoned Citizens' Union" (ICU) which involves hundreds of my fellow prisoners. We have a complaint in the U.S. District Court at Philadelphia, which has not been well-received by the prison administrators.

Leaders of the movement have been harassed and kept locked on punishment blocks across this state because they want to change the present conditions they are under.

PRISONS ARE FOR THE POOR

The public needs more information on today's prisons and courts, and on their so-called justice. All you can find in our prisons today are the poor. I have seen only two exceptions in all the thousands of men who have passed through these joints while I've been in.

The rich in this country buy their justice or hire a competent lawyer to defend them and protect their rights. As for the poor, they get a sell-out public defender who tells them to plead guilty, gets his fee and doesn't have to go through the tedious appeal process, while his client gets the time and is soon forgotten.

EXPLOITED FOR PENNIES

Few understand the exploitation—or should I say slavery—at these so-called correctional institutions, where the prisoners work for pennies and get no compensation if injured on the job. The prisoner is on a treadmill and spends those pennies for razor blades, tooth paste, smokes, etc.—and leaves prison as poor as when he came in, while the state profits off of his time and labor.

I don't agree with the war, and I don't like the idea of certain people getting rich off of profits while men are dying in the worst undertaking this country could have gotten involved in. Repercussions in our country will see the returning vets either turn into radicals, activists or "criminals"—and either road will lead them to the jungles of justice which are our prisons.

—White Imprisoned Citizen

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Women indict U. of Mich.

Ann Arbor, Mich.—"The Cluster Reports," prepared by women employees for the University of Michigan's Commission on Women, show consistent "under-utilization" of women, and question the University's commitment to its Affirmative Action Goals as set by HEW.

The report shows that women are scarce at the highest positions; that they are often not considered for promotions; that counselling channels them into "women's jobs."

It accuses the University of evading the issue of sex discrimination and any attempts to correct it. A woman Professor recently won two years' back pay but was told that her sex was not the cause of her salary differential. Many departments when questioned about the number and status of women employees, either ignored the request, provided "misleading" figures, or expressed no commitment to affirmative action to improve women's positions. HEW asked for this data on February 1, 1972; the University has had a "hard time finding it."

One shortcoming of the Cluster Reports is that they do not even mention minorities other than women. Since the HEW guidelines apply to these minorities also, why aren't women working with others who are discriminated against to end the oppression of all minorities by the university?

Insurance men on top

Hartford, Conn.—The majority of insurance company employees in Connecticut are female, but the overwhelming majority of the hierarchies within these companies are male. The few women who have been "promoted" to junior management positions are merely figureheads; they are not afforded the same authority to make decisions as male employees at the same level.

Within Connecticut Mutual Life Insurance Co., departments are run by administrators with little knowledge of the technical processes within their departments. Technical knowledge won't gain you admittance to the pleasantly decorated Officers' Dining Room, where you could digest your lunch without being disturbed by the sight of the company's common rank-and-file workers.

A few injustices have been eliminated, such as the difference in sickness benefits between male and married female employees, but these changes are too few and far too slow. If the situation is to be changed, it is imperative that the workers, both male and female, unite to organize so that they will be in a better position to demand improved conditions. Until workers do unite, they will have to be satisfied with the crumbs allowed them by the management.

Children march for survival

On March 25, the National Welfare Rights Organization sponsored a Children's March for Survival in Washington, D.C. The march protested the veto of the Child Development Bill, cutbacks in federal food programs, delays in health, housing and education programs and the Nixon-sponsored Family Assistance Plan. Over 20,000 marched.

Some of the aims of the "Action Plan to Save the Children" are:

- We must institute universal comprehensive community-controlled child development systems.
- We must work toward a health plan to cover all medical and dental needs with emphasis on preventive rather than crisis care.
- We must provide adequate housing for everyone so that all children may grow up in a healthy environment.
- We must end hunger and malnutrition among all children through expanded food programs.
- We must revamp our educational system and make the schools a place for children to learn—not instruments of control.
- We must end the war for the children of Indo-China as well as our children.

Detroit plans women's clinic

Detroit, Mich.—Over 200 women here celebrated International Women's Day at a festival on March 12. The excellent Women's Film from San Francisco was seen, and new activities were discussed.

Like the spring crocuses, Women's Liberation in Detroit is coming up out of the ground. A Women's Health Collective is in the process of setting up a clinic that will provide medical services and self-education for women. As one medical student said, "We want to break down the medical hierarchy that keeps us ignorant of our bodies and dependent on the health professionals who don't care about us."

I believe the most important aspect of the clinic will be to help women be aware of their bodies and help them demand that they be treated as human beings by an indifferent health care system. Marx felt that technology could make it possible for people to concentrate on developing "human power . . . which is its own end." Modern medicine used by human beings could be a step toward true human freedom.

For information on W.L. activities in Detroit, call the Coalition at 963-6795. —Susan Leder

White GM worker says racism is bosses' whip

Los Angeles, Calif.—I believe there are two classes of people. One is the privileged or ruling class, the other is the working class. My greatest disagreement among the working class, made up of Black, Brown, Yellow and White is the meaning of the word Racism.

I am not one to judge what is right or what is wrong. I believe there must be a higher power to make that judgment. I am not talking about what the preachers preach about on Sunday, just before the hat is passed. I am talking about the creation of all things by Nature.

WHAT IS RACISM?

I believe racism is the power of the privileged to keep the workers in place at the bottom, or the foundation. Racism is when a White worker blames the Black worker for his misery, and this keeps going around from White to Black to Yellow and then back to White—on and on. This is the history of working people, killing each other in wars or otherwise. The history of the privileged has seen them sitting on top of the workers' backs all the way.

Look how the world has been divided up by the ruling class. Then take any nation and see how the rulers are on top. Next come the top bootlickers, then the bootlickers of the bootlickers, and at the bottom of it all are the workers. Between the workers and the privileged are always the blood-suckers, called "bosses."

I believe Marx put it something like this: "Working people of the world, organize. Throw off this heavy load. You have only your chains to lose." Truer words were never spoken.

THE ENEMY'S WHIP

Our enemy is not racism. That is only the whip which the privileged use to keep us in our place—at the bottom.

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NEW YORK: New York, N.Y. 10017 PO Box 5463, Grand Central Sta.

I read the book *Indignant Heart** by Matthew Ward. He was raised in Eastern Tennessee. I was raised in Eastern Kentucky. His dad worked in the cotton field for the other fellow. My dad worked in the coal fields for the other fellow. We both were schooled with short days and short terms, controlled by the farming season.

It seems that the same type of a bootlicker was kicking us both around. But it was worse for Matthew Ward. Because he was Black, and had the know-nothings to deal with too.

—Felix Martin

* *Indignant Heart*, the autobiography of a Black auto worker, is available from News & Letters, 184 pp, 50c.

Automation in Italian auto

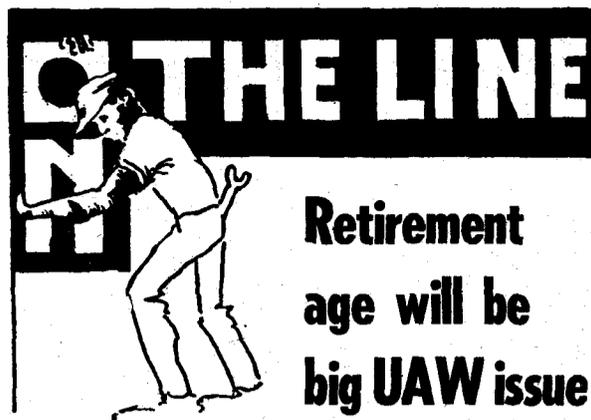
Milan, Italy—It is not only the Italian government that is in crisis. The Italian economy is in the worst condition it has ever been in since the recovery after World War II.

It's the large industrial groups that are going through a real crisis. Perhaps Italy is the last Western capitalist country to be really hit by Automation unemployment. The automobile industry of Turin is the worst hit. The lay-offs have been tremendous and there's a large number of workers working more or less half time.

One large company—the *Pirelli-Dunlop* group—is even offering "prizes" to workers that find a new job. However, the workers go on striking, and almost all of the strikes are made not so much for better pay, but for better working conditions, especially an end to the speed-up on the assembly-line.

The union leaders say that they're making enormous steps in advance in the contracts, but the workers don't seem to agree with them. In fact, sabotage on the assembly line seems to be normal. In one automobile factory, the workers didn't put wheels on one out of every eight cars for several days: a forced "speed-down," since the cars had to be lifted by hand from the line. After one shop does this for several days, another shop makes up a similar trick.

The managers of the automobile industry say that Italy has the lowest rate of productivity in the world. This horrifies the union leaders with their ideas about the welfare state, but anyone who has lived under "welfare" finds it hard to accept this new misery.



Retirement age will be big UAW issue

by John Allison

Local unions have already elected delegates to the United Auto Workers convention to be held in Atlantic City next month. Early retirement is high on the agenda for discussion, despite the growing trend toward early retirement already embodied in the labor contracts.

Congress appears ready to pass legislation that will give older workers a reason to remain on the job after age 65. At present, the maximum benefit scale is reached at age 65. There is no reward to go beyond that point.

WANTS TO UP RETIREMENT AGE

Now, Nixon is asking Congress to increase a worker's Social Security benefits by one percent for each year that he or she works between the ages of 65 to 72.

As every worker knows, early retirement makes jobs for younger workers. With Automation and the robots we have in our shops, we need the six-hour day, with retirement at age 55 with full pension benefits.

Production has gone up like the cost of living. All of the elected delegates this reporter has talked with say the main question is: How do we create jobs for the unemployed and bring the cost of living within reach of the working class?

GM WANTS POUND OF FLESH

General Motors Corporation gave back the cost of living clauses in the last contract. But now they are trying to get back their pound of flesh from the GM workers at the Lordstown, Ohio, plant.

Buick workers voted to strike GM, and that vote was a big factor in choosing GM to strike during the last contract negotiations. Buick workers had been going through what the Lordstown workers are now going through. They just reached the point that they couldn't take anymore. To save themselves, they had to strike.

FROM THE AUTO SHOPS

Fleetwood

Detroit, Mich. — Many workers have been talking about a new foreman on the fourth floor day shift. His name is Shelton Dalton. He is young and Black, and this is his first job as a foreman. He used to be a committeeman until very recently. In fact, he came straight into being a foreman from his committee job.

Shelton has the attitude that he will decide what happens in his section, not the contract. He is constantly standing behind people on the job, and harassing them about their work when they never had trouble with another foreman before.

He won't accept doctor's statements, either. I heard of one worker who was absent and brought in a doctor's statement. Shelton marked "not excused" on it, and said, "that doesn't mean a thing. I can get them a dime a dozen." It seems that to him there are no sick days in the contract.

This foreman is so rough on workers that he had 14 grievances filed against him in one day, and then six more the next day. Now workers in his section are talking about getting a petition to have him removed. It makes you wonder when you see him: How many workers' grievances did he throw away when he used his union office as a stepping-stone to management?

You can see that Shelton is not favoring Black workers. In fact, he seems to be a little worse against a brother. Everyone can see we have to stand up to him, or he will run us into the ground. But I would like to say this to the white workers at Fleetwood: most foremen are always trying to split you away from us by doing you little favors. If you let this happen you will hurt yourselves as well as us. GM has always tried to keep Black and white workers split up, and they have succeeded too often.

The Nixon administration is trying to do the same thing on busing. If they make you white workers think all the time about busing, they hope you will forget about your own problems. We are going to have to come together, black and white, for one common cause: our human rights! The only way that we are going to overcome the Nixon nightmare or the mess at Fleetwood is to get together and fight back.

—Black worker, Fleetwood

Chrysler Mack

Detroit, Mich.—One thing people at Mack should know about is the change in the work code Chrysler put on the men who stack the frames up in the racks. A couple of weeks ago they announced that this was no longer in "assembly," which it always had been. Now the job is called "material handling." It means a cut in pay for these men of about 12 cents an hour. The men wrote up a grievance and it has gone to the International.

I feel that Chrysler Mack is like a prison. Once you come to work in the morning you can't get out till lunch time. They say no one forces you to come here but it's a prison just the same.

The stories that have been printed in News & Letters really help in here. Since last month, when you had a story on medical, I haven't heard a single complaint about it, and there sure were a lot of complaints about medical before.

—Chrysler Mack worker

GM Southgate

Los Angeles, Calif.—We have just had our election for the UAW Convention. Everybody seemed to be running. There were 25 or so candidates for the six offices. In some ways this is an important election. Woodcock is going to be trying to solidify his position in the union by getting himself elected and his men in other positions.

But the way the election was run at our plant, there wasn't much question of issues. It was more personalities.

The vote was split up everywhere. Men from three different slates were elected, and unfortunately the six elected represented the same type that has represented us for years. Some are not bad, but there was no new blood.

And I don't think there can be new blood so long as the elections are conducted by "vote for me because I am a good guy." Until we get down to looking at issues in a serious way, it will only be the old "well known" guys who are elected.

—G.M. Worker, Southgate

Post Office threatens seniority, break time

New York, N.Y.—We had a big demonstration against the slow-down in negotiations on our local contract. The USPS wants to take away all our rights, including seniority and break time. One carrier said he didn't think that "coffee break" was a serious issue, but a clerk pointed out that he had the foreman on his back all day and didn't have the relative freedom of being on the street.

I have since heard that the unions "won back" seniority, but I wonder what they had to trade away. We all came out when they called the demonstration, so why do our union leaders always end up having to defend our basic rights instead of trying to win some changes in working conditions and benefits? We thought that the National had given away all there was to give, starting with job security and pay. I guess this is what the union means when they say the postal worker is finally entering the 20th Century in "modern labor relations."

Management means something else. They are computerizing everything, everywhere, and have finally reached our station. They are installing new time clocks, and in a couple of weeks we will be assigned plastic tags with our identity punched in holes. The old paper time cards had a record of sick and annual leave, and job assignments. For those who had to leave a little earlier to get to their second job, someone could punch them out at the end of the day. Now the foreman will hand out and collect tags, the computer will know everything, and we will have nothing but a piece of plastic. Without them you can't work.

They are also installing computerized mail-counting scales and clocks that record how much work has been done on a particular job. I heard that in some stations they have eliminated entire routes and consolidated the work into adjoining routes, minus the carriers.

That sounds like something the computer suggested. The foremen can be bad enough, but at least they are flesh and blood and know who you are. Now we will be taking orders from a machine. —Carrier, GPO, N.Y.

READERS:
DO YOU HAVE A STORY
TO TELL? SEND IT IN!

Reader's Views

NIXONISM: BOMBING ABROAD..

The war is not over. Yes, our casualties have dropped to almost zero. But thousands of our brothers and sisters still die each week, and many thousands more are maimed for life. Nixon's policy is racist—he believes that by changing the color of the corpses he can silence the peace movement.

The battlefield is being automated and every living thing becomes an enemy. Every living thing — the forests which we deliberately destroy, the crops which are burned and defoliated, the water buffalo, the people.

The war is not winding down but expanding in the air and Nixon will be under a terrible temptation—with pressure from the Pentagon—to try once more for victory through leveling North Vietnam.

For those who are dying, the Vietnam war is still very much an issue. It is our job to make sure that it remains an issue with the American public, which is paying for the bombs. To this end the WRL has joined with other groups in a special campaign to emphasize the air war and educate the public on it. Write us for special materials.

War Resisters League
339 Lafayette St.
NYC 10012

... ANTI-BUSING AT HOME

Nixon's plan to provide equal education to all people would be all right, except that he's a liar. This whole thing about anti-busing gives him a way to put poor people back in their place. They had a little taste but now he wants to take everything back to how it was before. He wants to separate rich and poor, black and white.

Black Woman Worker
New York

I hope I'm wrong and that no Maoist at the Black assembly in Gary took a rather roundabout way to start the ball rolling for Nixon! But did you note that the manifesto did single out China as a "model"; that the Convention did speak more against Democrats than Republicans; and worst of all, followed Nixon's line against busing?

Old Politico
New York

Your last editorial on busing was very one-sided and gave rapid wings to emotional appeal. In my opinion, busing is legal because of the 1954 decisions; however it is immoral from the standpoint of trying to coerce people into a certain attitude or choice which they cannot accept.

The difference between "ought to" and "must" were also confused.

To say one ought to do something (that is, live within a multiracial community) is not the same as saying they must. The point that you completely missed is that no one can make a person

moral or adopt a certain act or pattern of behavior.

Emotional appeal to the "Dr. King Days," while somewhat valid, does not automatically prove your argument, although Nixon may well be trying to turn back the clock. If your paper is so concerned about "people speaking for themselves" why not "integrate" solid concrete excerpts from people's actual reactions on the issue, rather than speculate, or generalize.

Black Student
East Lansing

Your editorial about Nixonism last issue was all true. Today any national leader that disagrees with a statement Nixon makes is accused of being a traitor and a Moscow Communist. The reason they are not called Chinese Communists is because Nixon was going there to visit and was hoping China would make some deal with him against North Vietnam and Russia, so at the moment they are not the bad Communists.

Now he has called anybody who wants to use busing to try to desegregate our schools an "extremist." He is making his own Supreme Court out to be "extremist social planners." Where will this Nixonism end? The American people, Black and white had better do all they can to defeat him before it is too late.

Black Worker
Detroit

THE PRESS

I wish the press would give as much attention to the quiet people who are making busing work as to the loud-mouthed Irene McCabes, who are too ashamed to say they are just anti-Black, but not too ashamed to join forces with the KKK and George Wallace.

Buried in a report of testimony being given to Congressman Celler's Committee in Washington, was the statement of the President of the PTA in Pontiac, Mich.—a white mother of four children who are all being bused, and who says it is working out fine and they want it continued. In fact you got the feeling that she felt the whites need busing more than the Blacks, because of what they can learn from the Blacks, not vice versa.

This mother said that at first she was afraid of busing, but when she saw the hatred and violent actions of the whites, and the calm, cool way the Blacks handled themselves in the Pontiac crisis, she felt it was the Blacks that had saved that city.

It is too bad that kind of story—and the story of The Group, the kids in Pontiac who are going around to prove integration works, which you carried last issue—don't get the headlines, instead of the McCabes.

Retired Worker
Detroit

Our press in America is really bad. The papers carried a big story about the French student who got shot at the Renault plant for passing out Maoist newspapers, but there was hardly a word about two Spanish workers who were shot by police after 5,000 workers had occupied a city of 100,000 people for several hours!

Disgusted
New York

The newspapers here report almost nothing about what's going on in the rest of the world. The report in N&L on the British miners was very important. The British army would have been fighting against the miners, if they hadn't been in Ireland. What a crash for the once greatest imperialist nation in the world.

Correspondent
Milan, Italy

THE CHINA SAGA

There must be a lot of people who think that the idea of putting the intellectuals to work in the fields and factories for a period of time, as they have done in China and Cuba, is really progressive.

I can certainly see where workers might like to see that happen, but I don't think it's real progress. For one thing, it always seems to move only in one direction—that is, they put the intellectuals into the factory but never bring workers out of the factory. Most of all, it doesn't change the production relations one bit.

In China and Cuba, sending the intellectuals to the factory or the field is not letting the workers discipline the intellectuals. All it is doing is disciplining the intellectuals in relation to other intellectuals—the ones who are in power. I don't see anything particularly progressive about that.

Teacher
Los Angeles

Barbara Walters' sole job on the China trip seemed to be to look after the "women's interests." She got to do all the intellectual things—like describing the banquet food and taking us on shopping tours, and covering Pat Nixon's trip through the restaurant kitchens where Mrs. Nixon cooed about all the wonderful recipes she would take home. It was almost as if she went along so that women would be able to watch the newscasts at home and have something to identify with.

Women's Liberationist
California

SPANISH "JUSTICE"

Julian Milan Hernandez is 37 years old. He is a member of the CNT (National Confederation of Labor) within Spain. This labor-union is illegal as are all labor organizations which insist on independence from the Dictatorship.

He has remained in prison since 1967, charged with being "capable of organizing the workers." He has never been given a trial, not even the minimal court-martial type conducted by the military, which is quite common in Spain. The Spanish dictatorship has now tried to place on him the blame for terrorist events that took place in 1962 and 63. He has been tortured, but has remained committed to his innocence.

Recently there are indications the Government is going to bring him to trial, proposing a death sentence or life-imprisonment.

The CNT has called for protests around the world, a boycott of Spanish products, and especially a boycott of tourist-vacations in Spain. Letters of protest can be sent immediately to the Spanish embassy in Washington, D.C.

J. C.
Minnesota

MIGRANT LABOR

We all know that Michigan migrants are without a voice or vote to affect the working conditions in the states in which they work. Present laws governing wages, housing, health, etc. are inadequate and not fully enforced. Unionization of Michigan's migrant work force is part of the answer to this problem; however, the time for unionization in Michigan is still "down the road apiece." Legislative action can, in the meantime, make some improvements in the lives of farm workers.

The Michigan Coalition for Migrant Action is attempting to fill the political vacuum created when farm workers return to their home states by acting as a substitute constituency. It is an attempt to change the dismal legislative picture by organizing Michigan citizens who will speak up for the 50,000 farm workers who come to Michigan to put food on our tables.

A law has been drawn up which will

require toilets and safe drinking water in the fields, first aid equipment, and transportation to medical assistance in case of emergencies; a bill is being prepared to limit usage of the picerate system so that no farm workers will fall below the minimum hourly wage. Research is presently being done by Coalition members to determine what kind of pesticide protection law will best protect farm workers and consumers in this state.

The Coalition for Migrant Action is open to anyone throughout the state. If your readers are interested, tell them to write to:

Reuben Zamorano, Chairman
Michigan Coalition for Migrant Action
422 Kingsley, #2
Ann Arbor, Michigan 48104

SHIRLEY CHISHOLM

You can't be too radical in your speeches if you're running for the Democratic nomination, but I always have the feeling that Shirley Chisholm knows more than she says. She refers to herself as the "only true dark horse candidate."

The papers are very slow in giving her tour coverage. When the L. A. papers finally carried a feature on her they quoted some professor at USC saying, "She seems good, and very bright, especially for a woman who isn't physically attractive." As if that wasn't enough, they made an outright racist move by describing her as petite and "broad-nosed." I don't recall anyone discussing McGovern in terms of his nose.

WL Activist
Los Angeles

The students really took over here in Georgia in the election of delegates to the Democratic National Convention, on March 11. It was the voting in the Fifth District, which covers most of Atlanta that did it.

Julian Bond won with a large enough margin to get his delegate's seat without a run-off, but for the remaining posts, there had to be a run-off between supporters for Shirley Chisholm and the official Muskie slate. When the results came in, it was a clean sweep for the Chisholm supporters—and a smashing defeat for the regular Democratic machine.

Black students from Atlanta University had been joined by liberal whites to elect the four Black delegates, two Black and one white alternates — all pledged to Chisholm, except Bond (who favors her but said he would not be "tied down" to any candidate). The three delegates who won, besides Bond, are all students (one from Morehouse, one from Atlanta University, and one from Spelman), and two of them are women.

Of the 40 delegates and 30 alternates elected around the entire state, 14 are Black, 7 are women, 15 are under 30, and 9 are students. One of the nominees who was defeated (a member of the 1968 challenge group) said, after the voting, "None of us comprehended the extent of student participation."

Correspondent
Atlanta

FROM ITALY

I was very glad to read some recent copies of News & Letters. I had read some years ago, in the Italian language, the wonderful book of Raya Dunayevskaya, called Marxism and Freedom. There had, in fact, been a long and interesting debate about it among the Italian anti-capitalist and anti-Stalinist movement.

I am glad to see you continuing your splendid work. Long live the American and the international revolution!

New Reader
Turin, Italy

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Nixon-Mao—new 'peaceful co-existence' with whom? for what?

(Continued from Page 1)

neither gave anything that was not theirs to give—or take—and not even that which was theirs to give.

Thus, the 8,000 army men there now were not in Taiwan when the infamous Dulles 1954 Pact was initiated. Except for a few hundred, they were first put there as the Vietnam war escalated in the LBJ era. Now that the cold-war warrior Nixon has become the exponent of "peaceful co-existence"; now that the quoter of Mao's poem—"Ten thousand years are too long, / Seize the day, seize the hour!"—asks that "the moment" be seized; and now that this loud-mouth talker of "a generation of peace" in place of "containment of Communism" has become adept in transforming "the long march" to his nuclear jet-set travel, wasn't it time at least to set a date for that small gesture? No.

The declaration of but one China notwithstanding, the promise of withdrawing "all U.S. forces . . . from Taiwan" is hedged with nothing more specific than "objective," while the time factor is put off into the millenia as "ultimate." And as if the Communique wasn't clear enough on that point, our modern Metternich, Kissinger, makes it clear in his briefing of the press, that the Nixon Administration means to take the slow boat to Taiwan in order to have "leverage," as China's relations with the U.S. move from words to action!

It isn't that Chou En-lai was hornswoggled by the likes of Nixon any more than it was a matter of Nixon coming to China "to surrender Taiwan." Rather, it is a case of both national powers "facing reality," that is to say, acknowledging that since Taiwan is not an immediate issue while global realignment is, let's put Taiwan in the deep freeze so that the plunge to "normalization" of our Big Power relations proceeds with dispatch.

In any case, it wasn't Chiang Kai-shek who was "betrayed." It was Vietnam. And not the Thieu gang in South Vietnam, but the Vietcong and North Vietnam, the true besieged fortress, that was being violated daily with U.S. genocidal saturation bombing while Mao proceeded, undisturbed, to prepare for the big meeting with Nixon.

It is true that one of the original reasons for Nixon's decision to go to Peking was to get Mao to take him off the Vietnam hotseat. In 1970 that had a certain priority since it was all too clear that not only could Nixon not win the second Indochina war, but also, at home, the anti-Vietnam war movement had reached its most massive and intensive high point that truly shook the country to its foundation after the Kent massacre.

But, though Mao was willing to take Nixon off that hot seat, the outcry of North Vietnam was so unequivocal that Chou was compelled to deny he ever had made a proposal for a "summit" conference to decide the Vietnam war. By 1971 when the internal crisis within China led to the removal of Lin Piao, Mao's designated Constitutional "closest comrade-in-arms and successor" (my emphasis) it was clear to Nixon and Mao alike that, if they were to take the plunge into uncharted seas of world realignment, they better let nothing, absolutely nothing, stand in the way of their projected get-together.

The Communique tries covering up affinity to U.S.-imperialism and betrayal of "socialist ally" by having the U.S. and China each reaffirm "its own position" behind respective allies. The only trouble with such "opposite" positions is that while the U.S. continues to rain bombs on both Vietnams no action of any sort flows from China's unctuous words about "self-determination," "national liberation," "people's revolution." Betrayal by any other name stinks as badly.

Still, what possible "unifying force" could bring those opposites, Nixon's U.S.A. and Mao's China, together—at the expense of Indochina, at the sacrifice of the leaders of his "Cultural Revolution," to the disorientation of the revolutionaries who had followed him in proclaiming this to be the epoch of "world revolution" against the "revisionist" Russian espousal of "peaceful co-existence?"

Let's take another look at that Communique and see this time whether we can discern what it doesn't say in what it does say.

BANGLADESH OR RUSSIA?

The one point in the separate sides that states the same thing is agreement with the "United Nations Security Council Resolution of Dec. 21, 1971, (calling for) the cease fire between India and Pakistan, and the withdrawal of all military forces within their own territories . . ." Neither has said anything about the new state of Bangladesh which neither has recognized. But now that they admit to speaking with one voice on "International relations," the two stated that . . . "neither should seek hegemony in the Asia-Pacific region and each is opposed to the efforts by any other country or group of countries to establish such hegemony . . ." (my emphasis.)

And, having declared their opposition to "any other country" seeking "hegemony," China and the U. S. moved further in unison. Both sides are of the view "that it would be against the interests of the peoples of the world for any major country to collude with another country . . ."

Since they are the two countries openly in collusion at the moment, while the country that has established itself on the sub-continent at the birth of Bangladesh is

Russia, it is not too hard to guess the unnamed country the U.S.-China declaration had in mind. How reminiscent of the days when the Sino-Soviet conflict broke out in 1960*—when Russia constantly would name "Albania" when it meant China, and China would designate "Yugoslavia" when it meant Russia! Presently all the talk of Pakistan and India is, in fact, talk about Bangladesh and Russia.

In China's part of the statement, Chou En-lai added to China's approval of the UN Resolution of yesteryear "on the India-Pakistan question," that, furthermore, China "firmly supports the Pakistan government . . ." That was always so, whether that government was run by Ayub Kahn or Yahya Kahn, who unleashed the genocidal war against the East Pakistani liberation movement. Now that Ali Bhutto heads West Pakistan, China has transformed its hefty loan into an outright grant. It



has never varied in its designation of Russia as the "boss" of India, and Bangladesh as its "puppet."**

Kissinger's lying statements at the press briefing in Peking notwithstanding, it is clear that this, just this anti-Russian stance, is the unifying force between Nixon's USA and Mao's China. It was this, just this anti-Russian stance, persisting directly into China's New Constitution in April, 1969, that led Nixon, at the very start of his administration, to send out feelers for "normalization" of relations with China, and to reverse his predecessors' policy of treating world Communism as a "monolith."

In a word, the cold-war warrior was becoming an exponent of "peaceful co-existence" with some Communists, not because there was any fundamental change in his "philosophy," but because there was a serious break in their outlook. That government "liberals" didn't grasp the shakiness of the structure of the Communist world only goes to show—say the newest exponents of "peaceful co-existence,"—how "ideology" blinds where

*See "Can There be War Between Russia and China?: the Non-Viability of State-Capitalism" in MARXISM AND FREEDOM, 1964 American edition, and 1971 British edition, which includes a new chapter, on Mao's "Cultural Revolution, or Maoist Reaction?"

**The Hunan Revolutionary Committee (Sheng-wu-lien) had three of its documents published in China, and these are now translated and reproduced in Peking and the New Left, by Klaus Mehnert, China Research Monographs, U.C. Berkeley, 1969. Key excerpts have been mimeographed by News & Letters.

American pragmatism opens your mind to "alternatives."

In any case, whether or not the Mao-Nixon "philosophic" dialogue ever will become an outright alliance, or the Nixon journey to Moscow in May will turn the U. S. back to "old" perspectives about possible alliance with Russia against China, there is no doubt whatever that, one, it is Russia's nuclear might and expansionism into the Middle East, into the sub-continent, not to mention its close alliance with Cuba where it once stored missiles, that is Nixon's worry; and that, two, the U. S. has, in every previous war, preferred to ally with a weak or exhausted partner, who is easier to dominate.

AS FOR MAO'S CHINA

Chou En-lai's protestations to the contrary notwithstanding, China is acting as a super-power, a state-capitalist, nuclearly-armed Asian power that is aiming as much for world mastery as are Russia and the United States. Because Russia is the contiguous and therefore most feared rival power, China let nothing stop her from her outright counter-revolutionary role as she propped up such a neo-fascistic regime as Yahya Kahn's Pakistan. And she did the same for "socialistic" Ceylon as she, along with the U. S. and Russia, helped arm Mme. Bandaranake to slaughter the guerrilla movement that considered itself Maoist!

What is new in 1972 is the internal and not only external. It began in 1971 when Kissinger surfaced in Peking. Whether Lin Piao, Mao's designated successor, balked at concretizing Russia as the enemy to mean that U. S. A. is the friend, we may never know. What we do know is that between Kissinger's first appearance in July 1971, and September 1971, all airports in China suddenly closed down, and Lin Piao was no more. Or, as Chou euphemistically put it, Lin had been "liquidated politically."

And what is now clear is that after Lin Piao's "political liquidation," Nixon hurried Kissinger for his second trip, not only to assure Mao that Nixon still wanted to come but that he wanted to do so with greater dispatch than was first promulgated. The two No. 2 men, Chou En-lai and Kissinger, then drafted the memo we first now have seen, polished up as the Communique.

But while this mentions not a word about Lin, what is indisputably clear is that the 1969 Constitution—which not only designated Lin as Mao's "successor," but also declared this to be the epoch of "world revolution"—is as dead as the Defense Minister who co-authored "The Thoughts of Mao Tse-tung," both as dogma and as preventive civil war, as well as spelled out "Long Live the Victory of Peoples' War!" as: "Defeat U. S. Imperialism." Not that Mao couldn't initiate still another turn and even "unite" with Russia, but, to both, U. S. Imperialism is livable with "peaceful co-existence!"

JAPAN, THE ASIAN POWER

That the specious and deceitful Communique can be exposed only by the masses in each country locked in class battles, became utterly clear as Russia, that had first yelled that Mao was colluding with Nixon against "Socialist Russia," suddenly breathed a sigh of relief and began preparing for its own type of collusion. That is to say, knowing that more than two can play the game of "peaceful co-existence" (and she surely has the greater experience!), she recognized in Nixon's runaway rhetoric about the "matchless wonders of ancient China," his actual not-so-total political victory in Mao's China.

Nixon hadn't closed the doors to other alliances if they can get him out of the impasse on the international scene. Take what the Communique didn't say about the Middle East. After all, what can China possibly give Nixon there where it has no power, not even enough to pretend "to ease tensions." Russia has. Lots. It is the new power there, and enough not only to influence Middle East events, but to challenge U.S. imperialism and perhaps kick-off World War III. So, Russia has only to beckon. And beckon it did, not, however, as mere supplicant.

Quite the contrary. Ever since the Nixon trip was (Continued on Page 8)

For background as well as forecast on China, be sure to read

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毛澤東的挑戰

譯者: 秋

原著: Raya Dunayevskaya

Suspensions spark Uni Hi sit-in

Los Angeles, Calif.—University High School has an underground paper called *The Red Tide*. We get the establishment view of the world at school, from our parents, and from the media, so we didn't think 12 pages from our side of the show was asking too much.

A section 10611 was added to the California State Educational Code recently which reads as follows:

"Students of the public schools have the right to exercise free expression including, but not limited to, the use of bulletin boards, distribution of printed material, and the wearing of insignias, except that expression which is obscene, libelous, or slanderous, according to current legal standards, or which so incites students as to create a clear and present danger or the violation of the lawful school regulations, or the disruption of the orderly operation of the school, shall be prohibited."

STUDENTS SUSPENDED

This new law was passed on Oct. 8, 1971, to go into effect on March 4, 1972. On Wednesday, March 8, two students were suspended from Uni High by Homer Ganz (Boys' Vice Principal) for distributing the second issue of *The Red Tide*. There were no valid legal grounds for the suspensions so we sent a letter to Homer Ganz and Dr. Juhnke (the Principal) asking them to come to the women's field the following Tuesday (March 14) and talk to us about it.

They didn't come, but about 800 students gathered on the women's field and decided that if the administration wouldn't come to us, we'd go to them. We marched into the administration building and sat down to wait for Dr. Juhnke and Mr. Ganz' arrival. We took up the whole bottom floor of that building.

Finally they came out. First they claimed they never received a letter. Later they stated that the reason they didn't come to the field was that the letter wasn't signed (it was only signed "Staff of *The Red Tide*"). Later they said that they didn't come because it was a demand. If we had asked them nicely, they said, they surely would have come.

MEET WITH BOARD

All we asked for was an erasure of the suspensions from the two students' records, and a reasonable time, place, and manner to distribute *The Red Tide*, such as section 10611 stated should be given. They would give us neither, so we held the administration building for

three hours, from 10:30 to 1:30. Classes were held, but the bell system was shut off. When NBC came, the administration wouldn't let them in because there was "nothing of importance happening."

A representative from the Lawyers' Guild came to speak for our side and was threatened with arrest as an outsider for inciting students to riot. One more student, a member of the staff of the school newspaper, was suspended for having a tape recorder at the sit-in. And three more students were suspended the next day for their roles in the sit-in—for inciting to riot!"

A petition was sent around and signed by the students and an appointment for 4 p.m. Thursday was set up by the students with the Board of Education.

They listened to our case but said the suspensions were legal because the paper was slanderous. We are bringing this issue to court, because we believe the suspensions were illegal and we want a clearer interpretation of what is or is not slanderous.

—Ina

Investigate war crimes

Minneapolis, Minn.—A corporate war crimes investigation was conducted here last month by the Honeywell Project to demonstrate American business' direct involvement and responsibility in the Vietnam War. The Honeywell Project is a group of people mainly concerned with the Honeywell Corporation, which manufactures anti-personnel bombs and similar things for the military.

The war crimes hearings followed the pattern of similar ones held in recent years in Europe against the Vietnam War. The main proposals were: 1) Total and immediate withdrawal from Indochina—soldiers, machines, and money. 2) Conversion of the U.S. economy from dependence on war and war production, without loss of jobs, to a peace-oriented economy with production for human needs. 3) Economic peace conversion is to be planned and controlled by democratically chosen councils of workers from affected industries and community representatives.

One of the investigation's most important purposes was to direct people's attention away from mere effects, that is, preoccupation with the events of the war itself, and toward causes, for without an understanding of these, significant strategies for change will not be possible.

British students march

London, England—Some 20,000 students demonstrated here recently to protest against the proposals made by Education Minister, Mrs. Thatcher, which would enable the Tory Government to prevent Student Unions from using their funds to aid the struggle of the working class.

Despite the claim made by the Stalinist leader of the National Union of Students, Digby Jacks, that only a handful of students wanted to do so, after the demonstration over 5,000 students marched to the offices of the National Coal Board to show their solidarity with the striking miners.

Many universities provided accommodation for miners who had come from the coal fields to picket power stations and prevent the movement of imported coal.

Work conditions bad at L.A. Post Office

Los Angeles, Calif.—I work the swing shift in the parcel post building right now. That's where the larger packages are sent out to the various cities.

We were not too happy to find out that we were going to be moved to the letter building, where clerks must sit in an uncomfortable position for eight hours (provided there is no mandatory overtime) and continuously throw letters into their proper spots while the supervision gets their kicks by walking around and staring at you while you work. Needless to say, there aren't too many parcel workers who look forward to going over to the "army" building, complete with its own Col. Klink, a supervisor who is reminiscent of that TV character (except that this guy is serious).

A lot of the guys I work with are Vietnam Veterans. None of them are into the organized anti-war movement, but their experience in Vietnam and now working for the post office have made them very much anti-military and anti-government.

One Vet said that he had tried to get involved with the anti-war veterans on his campus, but that he saw too much ego-tripping on the part of certain activists. An ex-marine who at first seemed very pro-American, anti-Communist, once confessed that he had "absolutely no respect for a government that sends young men

DOING AND THINKING

MSU: a short play

By Elliott Douglass

Scene: Somewhere on MSU's nearly-white campus, East Lansing, Mich.

Characters: Black militant, Conservative friend.

This is a parody of a conversation I recently overheard on campus. It is an account of two brothers trying to "check out" the situation on campus.

Black Militant: (Raises clenched fist.) What's happening? Did you go to the demonstration for the Minnesota brothers who were kicked off the basketball team?

Conservative Friend: No, man but I heard there were 200 people out on the basketball court protesting.

Black Militant: Yes, yes, yes. We were out there pleading for the brothers, and asking for the re-instatement of a white prof, who had been fired for political activity plus a demand for more minority students and establishment of an institute up here for urban studies.

Conservative Friend: (excited) What happened?

Black Militant: (boasting) Well, you know every Black organization on campus from Black veterans to all the fraternities had representatives there. We held up the game for 45 minutes while all the white students booed and cursed us. Our "Black" president didn't arrive till it was over. Then afterwards, he criticized our right to assemble and condemned the Blacks!

Conservative Friend: (uneasy) Yeah; but this whole scene is really an attempt to pacify the Black and anti-war vote.

Black Militant: Hold on here. Our college president isn't going to reach out to Black folks and neither is Nixon. Ever since Watts, all these overtures to Blacks have been made and what did we get: nothing! Half the Black freshmen at this place flunk out. You fight to get money to come here and then sign some "promise" about "not demonstrating or else."

Conservative Friend: But things are bad all over. Even my white friends . . .

Black Militant: Look baby, the Man has a two-front war on and Black people and dissenters are Enemy No. 1. The Black unemployment rate is twice as high as that of whites. And half-baked solutions to problems that demand a new society, are no good. That's what the anti-busing mess is about. White folks don't want their kids either going to school in the ghetto or a Black school like Fisk. And now they're trying to keep Blacks out of white schools and shut down all the Black schools in the South. They ain't gonna turn no clock back now!

Conservative Friend: You know, I think Nixon'll be re-elected.

Black Militant: (Hot) Are you crazy, brother?! That cracker won't make it with Black people. Check out the political convention they had in Gary where they're trying to start a Black political party. That's really a step in the direction of self-determination!

Conservative Friend: Well I guess we gonna see changes not only on campus but nationally too. I'm surprised that the Movement is still alive. We've no choice but to keep on fighting.

Black Militant: (confidently) Right on brother. This side-show has gone on too long. We've come too far to turn back or let someone make us return to slavery.

Perhaps the brothers are right. This circus has gone on too long. Maybe this dialogue reflects what is going on in the minds of many Black youth. If there is one thing this proves, it is the fact that however faint the rumblings, the Movement still persists.

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Support the April anti-war demonstrations

Indians unite for rights in Nebraska, California

The following report was written by a young Indian woman who participated in the demonstrations.

Gordon, Neb.—The town of Gordon holds attitudes that are typical of the Mid-west, attitudes that are of great disrespect to the pride, life and rights of Native Americans. The "death" of Raymond Yellow Thunder from the Porcupine district of the Pine Ridge Oglala Sioux Reservation in South Dakota exemplified these attitudes.

A group of five white people took Yellow Thunder by force to a dance being held at the American Legion hall. He was stripped, put out on the dance floor, and told to "dance Indian style." After that mortification, Yellow Thunder was beaten, and died a few days later as a result.

'ONLY AN INDIAN'

The people who beat him were charged with manslaughter and released on bail. In any other case, when a human being dies as a result of another's cruelty, the charge is murder—but Yellow Thunder was an Indian.

Indians of all tribes came to Pine Ridge, S.D., in support of the surviving family of Raymond Yellow Thunder in their demands for satisfaction from the local officials. They demanded a second autopsy to still the rumors that were circulating about the condition of Yellow Thunder's body at the time of his death.

Gordon, Nebraska became the national focal point for a situation that has been common since the coming of the white man. When a dead Indian is discovered, be it murder or not, that human being is "only another dead Indian." The incident at Gordon puts an end to this attitude, because Pine Ridge showed that the Native American no longer has to take existing attitudes, and the circumstances that are forced upon him throughout the North American continent.

DEMANDS ARE MET

Because Indians gathered at Gordon from all over the United States, this town will never be the same. Demands were met for Indians to be seated on all area councils, and various local officials now are on suspension without pay. The local police chief has been replaced. The white store owners on the Pine Ridge reservation, who took a lot but gave very little in the past, will find Indians more to contend with now than they ever expected.

The people of the Pine Ridge reservation will never again be told what they should do to be civilized, when they already know how to live as human beings—Native American human beings.

Miners know where guilt lies

Morgantown, W. Va.—The wall of water which crashed through a dozen small towns in southwestern West Virginia on Sunday, Feb. 27, when a coal slag "dam" burst, took the lives of over 115 men, women and children.

This dam, at Buffalo Creek, was similar to hundreds more like it which are no more than heaps of coal refuse and waste—slag, sulphur, shale, and other impurities extracted from coal in the cleaning process—dumped by coal companies in natural hollows near the mines and built up over decades. They are potential death traps.

The coal miners' families living in these isolated hollows have constantly lived in fear and pleaded for safeguards against the danger. But the wealth and political power of the coal corporations, who care even less for the families of the coal miners than the nothing they feel for the miners themselves, is so great that no action has ever been taken.

As reported following the Buffalo Creek disaster, a survey was taken of the Appalachian coal region to check into these potential death traps following the Aberfam, Wales, slag pile collapse in October, 1966, which took the lives of 116 schoolchildren and five teachers. That study showed over 75 such dams in Appalachia which were poorly built and dangerous but not one thing was done about a single one.

All of a sudden, after more innocent lives are violently snuffed out, crocodile tears are being shed by coal company officials, state governors and lesser but equally guilty state politicians, and federal authorities. But what is strangest of all is that these same persons shedding these crocodile tears cannot discover "who" is responsible for the negligence.

The reason none of these parties can point the finger of guilt at any other party is simple: they are all guilty.

It will be like it always has been. The TV cameras and reporters will leave, state and federal politicians will beat their breasts and demand an end to these needless deaths and the punishment of the guilty (who will never be found), and the newspaper headlines will shift to other tragedies in other places. The homeless and destitute survivors will remain, orphaned, maimed, struggling to eke out an existence under impossible circumstances.

And the coal operators and their political lackeys in state capitals will go on as before. There will be more mine explosions, more dam bursts, more blasted lives and families. It will be this way so long as the coal operators have all the power and money and the people have only their hands to work with and to hold out for help when they can no longer work.



Pit River Indians Protest Trial

Sacramento, Cal.—Indians of the Pit River nation are renewing their land claims in California on two fronts. They are fighting in the courts against charges from October, 1970, when police arrested dozens of their tribe and wounded more when they claimed national forest land. They also fought back by re-occupying U.S. Forest Service land.

In the courts, the government diverted the legal question to assault, resisting arrest, even tree-cutting, instead of trespassing. Because of this, the judge disallowed bringing up who owns the 3.4 million acres the Pit River Indians claim, even though the Federal Indian Claims Commission agreed that the U.S. had seized that land without any compensations.

Pit River Indians re-occupied federal land in February, with the intention of putting up buildings in order to emphasize their historic claim to the region. The occupation is over now, but the issue is certainly not settled.

Local residents formed a non-Indian support committee. They asked the county DA to stop prosecutions. They also supported the Pit River Indians in their claims.

BLACK, BROWN AND RED

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among black, chicano
and indian

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St. Pat's parade political tone

New York, N. Y.—"England Out of Ireland" was the "official" theme of this year's St. Patrick's Day Parade in New York. Despite disclaimers by all our major New York newspapers (New York Times headline read "Cheery mood prevails . . ."), the mood at the parade was one of mourning for the 13 Irish murdered by the English occupation forces.

Over half the marchers and hundreds of thousands of spectators wore black armbands, many with the number 13 on them. Even Mayor Lindsay wore the black symbol, so you know this year was something "new."

The second "new" was a rebirth of the Irish-American political tradition. There were three political groups which participated for the first time: the Irish Republican Clubs of Canada and the U.S. (IRA-U.S.), the Ulster Justice Committee (which is leading the American boycott of British goods), and the N.A.I.F. (National Association of Irish Freedom). Although they were only allowed 150 marchers like every other contingent, they set the tone for the whole march.

The IRA group included young and old, men and women in equal numbers, whites and Blacks, veterans of the IRA from Ireland as well as Americans who have helped the IRA for many, many years.

When we passed St. Patrick's Cathedral, Cardinal Cooke and Judge Cornford (the "official" head of the Parade), we did not bow or drop colors — instead, we all gave the clenched fist salute, and had it returned by hundreds of spectators.

With the political theme, the black armbands, the political groups, the selling of papers like the United Irishman and News & Letters, with leaflets about the April 22 anti-Vietnam march and the April 10 rally for the Harrisburg 8, I could not help thinking that once again, Irish freedom fighters have opened a new revolutionary avenue for the whole world.

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ideology or philosophy. He added that they had tried to get Angela Davis to be there, and much of his speech surprisingly seemed to be in sympathy with the Communist Party line, the Maoists and the Black Muslims. Then I realized why there was such mass confusion among the other state delegates, and especially the Michigan group. The Maoist Blacks, Stalinist Blacks and Elijah Muhammad's Black Muslims knew what they wanted out of this Convention. They knew the line they wanted to set, and they achieved at least part of it.

Saturday's principal speakers, Mayor Hatcher and Rev. Jackson, were very moving. They both dealt with the plight of the poor, Black and white. The biggest ovation was given to Hatcher who mentioned organizing a Black police force in every city to deal with ridding our cities of harmful drugs and dope that the white power structure is profiting from.

At the end of the Saturday session, with Diggs still in the chair, nominations were submitted for Diggs, Hatcher and Imamu Amiri Bakara (Leroi Jones) to be members of the Rules Committee. Hands went up from several other delegations which wanted to nominate other candidates, but Diggs recognized a delegate who moved to accept the three names and vote on the motion. A big yell went up, "No! No!" but Diggs called for the vote and about one-third voted for the motion and two-thirds opposed it. When Diggs declared that the vote was passed, a huge shout of protest went up all over the place, with people yelling "You call this democracy?" "The motion was defeated!" "Steamrollers!" At this point, someone threw an apple at Diggs, and he came back and rescinded his decision. Even the Michigan delegation said that was the biggest blunder of the Convention.

THE BLACK AGENDA

The Michigan delegation called a strategy session to discuss whether or not they could accept the preamble, and how changes might be made that would be acceptable to the Convention, or whether they would be forced to walk out. On Sunday they were caught in a squeeze. Their income comes from the white power structure in the labor movement and in city and state politics. They knew it was not possible for them to sell this to their white counterparts, and they also knew that they were dealing with a very forceful agenda as it relates to the Black masses, Black politicians and American society as a whole. They walked out.

Although Mayor Hatcher was talking about giving the Democratic Party one more chance, others were asking for a Third Party now. Here are a few quotations from the Black Agenda:

"Americans cannot hide. They can run to China and the moon and to the edges of consciousness, but they cannot hide. The crises we face as a Black people are the crises of the entire society. They are the natural end product of a society built on twin foundations of white racism and white capitalism."

Another paragraph, under the sub-title "White Realities, Black Choice":

"A Black political convention, indeed all truly Black politics must begin from this truth: The American system does not work for the masses of our people, and it cannot be made to work without radical fundamental change. (Indeed, this system does not really work in favor of the humanity of anyone in America.)"

But there is one paragraph that I think will raise objections, the one that asks us to: "Recognize the importance of the Chinese model for fundamental political and economic transformation of African and other Third World societies." I was talking with some workers soon after President Nixon made his statement on his trip to China, and they said that they wouldn't be surprised to see Black Maoists, here in this country, asking other Blacks to vote for Nixon in this coming election.

BUSING RESOLUTION A SURPRISE

I was not there when the resolutions on busing came up, but I was somewhat surprised to learn afterwards that those opposed to busing carried the votes. In fact, I believe that the newspapers actually gave a misleading report on what happened. From what I've heard, there were several resolutions that were adopted. And also several amendments, later. The resolution against busing from South Carolina condemned the idea "that Black children are unable to learn unless they are in the same setting as white children." Instead of busing they wanted "quality education in the Black community through the control of our school districts and an equal share of the money."

But the New York delegation proposed an amendment separating the Convention vote from anything related to President Nixon's opposition to busing, and the Alabama delegation proposed another amendment supporting busing "in cases where it serves the providing quality education for Black people." By these amendments passed without any opposition.

The simple fact is that Blacks who oppose busing do so for different reasons than whites. Where whites oppose busing because they oppose integration, many Blacks have just given up on integration. Others have fear for the safety of their children. Some see it as getting control of their community, where they, the Black leaders, will be in control of the money.

To predict where the Black Convention will go is difficult. But most signs indicate it seems headed toward organizing a Black Third Party.

By Eugene Walker

WORLD IN VIEW

French wildcat strikes may unite native, immigrant workers

Of late there have been wildcat strikes started and continued by young French semi-skilled workers who are outraged by their jobs—and who since the uprising of 1968 have been looking for some alternative.

The semi-skilled worker is classified thus because of his ability to execute the same set of operations or even the same single gesture one thousand times a day. He may perform one operation every three seconds, five days a week. So alarmed have both employers and the main union, the Communist General Confederation of Labor (CGT), become at the possibility of these workers going off into the hands of "left-wingers", that they both published documents on the dehumanizing working conditions of the semi-skilled worker.

Approximately 40 percent of the working class is classified as semi-skilled. The employers' documents have been dropping the phrase "jobs enrichment", which means making the belt line more

tolerable by giving workers a wider range of operations, or even letting a small group of them assemble the whole product.

However, in the U.S. these experiments have already gone far enough to show that no method of capitalist organization of production is as profitable as the belt line.

The CGT attacks the possibility of job enrichment but talks about shorter hours, with more rest and more money.

Along with the native worker, France also has a large number of immigrant workers. While in 1954 there were 1.7 million immigrants in France, today there are 3.4 million. One worker out of every five is an immigrant. The unskilled labor in France and other industrially-developed countries of Europe has been shunted to them more and more.

At the huge Renault plant in Bologne-Beillancourt, all the unskilled and semi-skilled workers are immigrant. At some building sites in Paris the

labor force is almost exclusively immigrant. Almost all are not in the unions, and have in fact been shunned by the unions in the past.

As a result, the working conditions are often unsafe and the accident rates are horrifying. In the building trade, three men are killed every day and there are 30,000 accidents a year. But the accounts still work out on the right side for the bosses. And even if machines could do some jobs, Algerians and Portuguese are cheaper than machines.

The immigrant workers are relegated to living in barracks and slum areas and have had no chance for job training and upgradings. The unions, particularly the CGT have not considered the immigrants as part of the organizable work force. But today with the large increase in the number of immigrants the unions are taking a second look.

Perhaps the young semi-skilled French worker will look toward the immigrant laborer as his ally to change conditions of labor for both.

Argentina

General Lanusse, head of the Argentine military government recently paid a visit to the military dictatorship of Brazil. The meetings were not particularly warm as Lanusse very mildly commented on the lack of press and other freedoms in Brazil. But Lanusse has done nothing to halt selective terror by the police-right-wing gangsters at home.

Guerrilla suspects have been arrested, the arrests are denied by the police, the bodies turn up in anonymous graves; lawyers of suspected guerrillas disappear.

In 1971 Diego Ruy Frondizi, the nephew of a former President of Argentina was gunned down by police. Nestor Martins, a lawyer for militant trade unionists was kidnapped by secret police in broad daylight. Nothing is known of his whereabouts. A psychiatrist, Enrique Pujals was arrested and his wife can obtain no information about him.

Despite criticism of Brazil, the Argentine government seems headed in the same direction of full military dictatorship.

Jordan

King Hussein, after decimating the Palestinian Arab guerrillas last year, has this year proposed to convert Jordan into a federation of two states, one of which would be the area the Palestinians were seeking as their home land. After destroying the guerrilla movement for a Palestinian nation, was he changing his mind? Hardly. Hussein would remain head of the federated state.

Hussein made the proposals while half of the

proposed federation, the West Bank, is still under Israeli occupation.

Whether the proposals were made to jeopardize further the guerrillas' reason-for-being, or to show up some other Arab leaders' hollow pledges to restore the Palestinians' right, or whether it is a first move toward settlement with Israel is not clear. What is clear is that it can have little to do with a genuine move to give self-determination to the Palestinian people.

Russia and Czechoslovakia

The term "underground newspaper" still has a real meaning here. It is forbidden to own a mimeograph machine in Russia; they are kept under lock and key. In Czechoslovakia, typewriters have copies of their type on file, and the police have a section devoted exclusively to trying to sort out who typed certain leaflets and underground papers. Yet even with all this surveillance, numerous underground newspapers do exist in both countries. One in Czechoslovakia has a circulation of some 35,000. Its method of circulation: each person who gets a copy of the paper proceeds to type five more copies for further distribution.

Louisiana . . .

Several hundred black demonstrators held a rally on a Mississippi River levee at Burnside, La., against scheduled arrival of chromium ore from Rhodesia.

Local 1419 of the International Longshoremen's Association, AFL-CIO announced they would refuse to unload the ore.

. . . Rhodesia

The Pearce Commission has left Rhodesia and returned to London. The Commission is to report on the black Rhodesian reaction to the proposed Anglo-Rhodesian settlement proposals. It is expected to report against the settlement. However Rhodesia is now openly selling minerals to the United States. After the Anglo-Rhodesian settlement was signed in November, foreign businessmen arrived and many new and significant deals have been concluded. It is not expected that a "no" from the Pearce Commission will reverse this.



Black demonstrators in Louisiana protest shipment of chromium ore from Rhodesia. Ship was forced to anchor 50 miles up the Mississippi River.

Nixon-Mao—new 'peaceful co-existence' with whom? for what?

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first projected, Russia was busy not only on the subcontinent, but also directly with Japan—which is too big a power for the U.S. to think for one moment that they could throw it aside like Taiwan. Kissinger's "philosophic" talk about "history's imperatives"—which, for the press, he equated with the reversal of policy regarding China—exposed its totally contradictory character in the manner in which Japan was treated.

First and most important, not only was the subject treated entirely separately by China and the U.S.—with neither giving an inch—but Marshall Greene was at once dispatched to spell out the Communique's statement as to how "to develop the existing close bonds." The old Nixon wasn't about to forget the "Nixon Doctrine" which cleared the way for Japan to become the superpower in the Asia-Pacific area. In any case, being the big industrial power—the third in the whole world—Japan was playing its own imperialist game. Having been forced to soften its full competitive threat to the U.S. in international trade, it proceeded, at one and the same time, to disregard U.S. strictures against North Vietnam by establishing relations with it and to talk with Russia about participating in the buildup of Siberia facing China!

If Nixon was deluding himself that U.S. in 1971, can play in Asia what his predecessors played in Europe in World War II—aligning with defeated or near-defeated powers to come out holding the decisive hand—and establish a "new order in the Pacific," he most certainly has not the slightest notion of "history's imperatives" even in inter-imperialist rivalry, much less as to what faces him on the decisive home front!

Some booing could be heard even at the staged welcome for his return to Washington and his "patriotism" appeal to the unbending old China Lobby. That was the slightest indication of what the election year of 1972 holds in store for the man who imagines himself

to be both a Marco Polo and the anticipator of racist hysteria against school busing by offering to whitewash that "damned spot" with "quality education."

THE TEST IS HERE

"Out, damned spot! out, I say! . . . What, will these hands never be clean? . . . Here's the smell of the blood still; all the perfumes of Arabia will not sweeten this little hand." —Lady Macbeth

Mao may prefer Nixon as President, but the decision will not be made in China, but in the U.S.; 1972 is the year of testing. Whatever it is Nixon brought home from his sojourn to Peking—and the one historic thing, relationship with China, cannot ever be shut old-Nixon-tight again—the totality of the crisis here has not abated. The unemployment has become a permanent feature of automated decadent capitalism and with it, "welfare." The whole U.S. economy, in fact, though it remains the "mightiest," has sunk to second place even at the level of technology, i.e., productivity, for the good and substantial and pivotal reason, that labor refuses to produce endlessly without question as profits and corruption govern both industry and the government.

And, pervading all these, for there we have the unending, relentless, and revolutionary Black force; is the racist counter-revolutionary U.S. Government axis. Nixon is under the illusion that he has achieved "mass support" because liberals, too, have joined the hysteria against busing.

The one thing he has forgotten, as had Goldwater before him, will defeat him. It is the class question. Even though a section of the working class is as racist as the middle class, the truth is that, on the labor question, they so turned against Goldwater—and will against Nixon—that he did lose the election. Furthermore, Nixon is in the same position as Johnson was when, having won against Goldwater, he thought he could continue with the Vietnam War. Mao may allow Nixon to delude himself by making it appear that

"global" issues outweigh any "small war" issue, but not the Vietnamese who have fought Imperialism, Chinese included, for centuries. And neither will the anti-Vietnam war movement, the youth especially.

The very fact that even the Black Maoists here cannot stomach Nixon, and are at this very moment trying to see whether they can't organize a Black movement, shows the direction, the true historic imperative of a truly independent mass force—labor-Black-youth-Women's Liberation—that will strike out, first and foremost against the capitalist enemy at home, and refuse to follow state-capitalist forces that dare call themselves "Communist." There can be no freedom when one chooses a "lesser evil"; it is only the sure way to land with the "greater evil." The final and only answer will rest with the masses who will strike out for so deep a unity of philosophy and revolution as to make freedom the reality.

Hear Raya Dunayevskaya in your area on her national tour

IN DETROIT—Sunday, April 9, 7 p.m. — Downtown YWCA, Elizabeth at Whitherell. "The Nixon-Mao Extravaganza—New Direction in Global Power Politics"

IN THE BAY AREA — Sunday, April 16, 11:30 a.m. to 2 p.m., Humanist Fellowship Hall, 411 28th St., Oakland, Cal., "Marx's Humanism"

Also, on Thursday, April 13, 10 p.m., on station KPFA&B, "Women's Liberation as Reason and Revolutionary Force." Call in your questions.

IN LOS ANGELES—Monday, May 1, 8 p.m. at Ashgrove, 1864 Melrose Ave., "Philosophy and Revolution"