China and The India-Pakistan War

See Editorial—Page 4

TWO WORLDS

By Raya Dunayevskaya, Chairman National Editorial Board

Ramifications of the Watts Revolt

(Editors' Note: The column below is excerpted from a Perspectives Report delivered to a Conference of News & Letters Committees held over the Labor Day weekend. Copies of the entire report may be obtained for 50 cents by writing to News & Letters, 8751 Grand River, Detroit, Michigan, 48204)

From all sides we are hearing a great deal these days about how "isolated" Watts was. What all the Negro population, it was the middle class Negro, not the Negro mass, who stood isolated, even as it was the Negro leadership, who, precisely because they were outsiders, felt isolated.

There is good reason, however, to be suspicious of the word, "class," when it becomes very nearly a cliche in an outpouring of analyses by bourgeois ideologists. One is compelled to question the sudden embrace of "class" analyses. It certainly was not the result of a conversion to Marxism. The very opposite is the case. The sudden discovery of "class not race" as the basic cause of Negro self-activity is only the latest manifestation of how the vanquished always try to worm their way back in. When Karl Marx, after the Paris Commune, was confronted with the situation that every conceivable political tendency wanted to become part of the First Working Men's International Association, he wrote: "The old always tries to reestablish itself inside the new form." And so it always is with the present misuse of the concept, "class."

The Watts revolt was certainly and unmistakably a class question. It had not been a race question. It will not do to try to separate two questions — what the actual events have welded together.

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By Wendell Collins

Watts, California — Our first knowledge of the Los Angeles Riots came in the form of a telephone call to the office of SNCC Worker Reports. Father Sam and one of the Watts CORE activists, who had been present when a riot was developing at Avalon Blvd. and that Negroes were stoning the police. A friend of Watts appears in READERS' VIEWS on pp. 4 and 5. Our analysis of TWO WORLDS, column on this page.)

L.A. Eyewitness Report

THE WATTS REVOLT: BOTH A WARNING AND A CHALLENGE

(Continued on Page 5)

SNCC Worker Reports

Southern Negroes Fight To Organize Own Labor Unions

South USA — I went North this summer with the idea of talking to people about supporting the continuing struggle by Southern Negroes to gain their human rights. Black people in the South are in motion.

Daily those of us who are working with the people are faced with job problems. While we continue to fight, people desire to also do something about low wages, poor working conditions. People have come to us wanting to go on strike to stop the bosses from calling them "n—-"

Cotton Hands in Tenn. Join Union

Somerville, Tenn. — Over 300 workers, including several whites, who have already joined the Tennessee Freedom Labor Union, de spite widespread reports of the intimidation that Freedom Labor Union workers have already met in Mississippi, where the move ment started first.

Negro civil rights workers say that the workers intend to stage a massive strike in 30 Negro counties. They say that Negroes in Mississippi are "just when it gets time to pick cotton. This is at the end of September and the beginning of October. The union has a list of demands ready to present, which they expect the farmers to meet, unless they are willing to see the workers "turn their backs on them" just when the cotton is ready to pick.

Who CAN HELP?

As the people talked I recog nized faces in the room. I asked how little I could help them. They went to the back of the room. They were told that they should write and tell the government. The government wrote them a nice letter — but all of them lost their jobs. At other times we have orga nized unions, but how can we continue this when Negroes in the unions are discriminated against, and fired for speaking out? We have heard people make some (Continued on Page 3)

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African Socialism Is The Term Used To Hide Truth

By Nyaswaco

The phrase "African Socialism" is widely and correctly exploited by our political leaders that it has become meaningless, if not ridiculous. The origin of the term is African indigenous. It came from the structure of African society itself.

Basically, this society is so complex that those who make up its parts are often protected by what might be called group insurance, a phenomenon unique to the full cooperation of each member of the society. Each member of the society is a participant.

ALL WORK TOGETHER

The first relates to the common ownership of such things as granges, gardens, cattle, roads or path leading to the farms. These things are built and maintained by the rank and file workers, with no bureaucrats allowed. In the South the Uncle Toms sell out for something not quite so heroic as the freedom of the slaves. This is happening to the Uncle Toms in the South today, many think that Her Majesty must sleep unattended by going on strike. The Daily Express would have a sigh of relief with the derrick we were using and it might have been noisy if they didn't work. While they were in the office, workers on his floor said that if they were being threatened every day. They were told that if they meant it, they put the old man back to work. Now they are asking the younger workers to retire, or to get off welding jobs. If they are forced to do this, they cannot be sure that they will never get back to work again.

The next caucus I ever will be part of will have to one made up of those in the shop who want a change in this local and won't sell the rest of us out for the crumbs of a settlement. The resentment against the leaders is so strong in this union that all we need to do is get together and I feel that I will be part of one made up of the rank and file production workers, with no bureaucrats allowed.

Yesterday on his first day in UAW Local 742 was the first one which the Reutherite Green Slate won entirely since Local 742 and Local 212 merged over eight years ago. At that time, practically all the members of Local 742 were voted out by the Green Slate and joined the Reutherite Green Slate. Many rank and file workers were surprised when they heard it.

A Monster in Fleet Street

By Leslie Forster

Glasgow, Scotland—Idi-It would be to recount all over again the harrowing details about a city called Hiroshima. This horror of horrors was brought to the world by the atomic bomb. I'm going to spend the rest of my time here. The difference seems to be that those in the shop sell out for the money that they will get for their service free of charge. He was heard, or a printing year the working men from both locals who were opposed to the Reutherites, organized a Rank and File caucus and everyone of their delegates elected to the DAVP convention that year.

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Our DREAMS will not have been realized if the American people—struck by the grief and anger of the President and his family—do not have the courage to demand of their leaders an accounting of the cold, hard facts of what has happened to the United States today.

Wake Up — You Sleepheads

Glasgow, Scotland—the Royal Ontario Museum was a quiet place this week. Hundreds of men had been forced to get out of bed, to dress, and to find their way to the pickup trucks that were lined up along the curbs. Many of these men had just come off a night shift and were still feeling the effects of a long day. Others had been up for hours, trying to find a way to work the next day.

African and Asian workers have been hitting the streets in large numbers to protest against the policies of their governments. In South Africa, where the ruling National Party has imposed apartheid, the African workers are demanding a voice in the country's future. In India, where the ruling Congress Party has been in power for many years, the workers are demanding better wages and working conditions. In the United States, where the ruling Democratic Party has been in power for a long time, the workers are demanding an end to poverty and discrimination.

By their reckoning, cruelty and barbarism began with the Jap-annese occupation of the Philippines. What in-credible rubbish. The British Book of Kings is splattered with colour by our political masters, the masters of a system in which the Chinese—trout, journalists, etc—are killed.

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LBJ's Sickening Comparison

Detroit, Mich.—When the President stood before the Nation last week, he said, "The war is over."
States says that the actions of the Negroes in Los Angeles and the South and the KKK in the South are the same thing, it is enough to make one feel sick to one's stomach. It is enough to make a person sick.

As a whole, Negroes are becoming more vocal, in fact, where they are not, they are being punished. But, in many cases they are punished without ever breaking any law. The Negroes who have been lynching and murdering Negroes have been severely punished. The KKK has been condoned by the most minor of its members.

The facts are these: the most minor of its members is a part of the most minor of the white population. The most minor of the white population is a part of the most minor of the white society. The most minor of the white society is a part of the most minor of the white world.

The KKK has been condoned by the most minor of its members, but it is the most minor of its members that are the most minor of its white population. The most minor of its white population is a part of the most minor of its white society. The most minor of its white society is a part of the most minor of its white world.

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Editorial

China and the India-Pakistan War

Every ruler from the Johnson of the U.S. to Mao of China, from Kosygin of Russia to Shastri of India, and from Ayub Kahn of Pakistan to U Thant of the UN is trying to cover up the naked goals of ideological expansionism.

If you'd listen to President Johnson, you would think that his background was the same as ours - war, drought, famine, and North as well as South - part of the great society.

On the other hand, were you to listen to China's broadcasts following the invasion of China by India, you would no doubt suffer the "consequences," you would think that the latest expansionism is being carried on by the "great powers," i.e., the ideological struggle, and not only against American imperialism, but also against Russian "revisionism." Thus, on Sept. 17, the New China International on duty to protect its people. It is the same as this must be removed without hesitation.

"The Soviet leaders and U.S. imperialism treat the India-Pakistan war as a war for the domination of the continent, and not the ideologies used to justify war, that are at stake. The so-called "peace movement" is not interested in the glory of private and/or state capital, and not to liberate them from the oppression of either. The India-Pakistan war over Kashmir is not a war, but a power struggle in Asia with ideological embellishments.

Not to be outdone, Ayub Khan is playing the game of being on all sides at the same time, from "American democracy" to "Chinese socialism." He is trying to cover up the fact that he is allegedly engaging in a war with India only for the latter's "greater "patriots." (Some one ought to tell him that "the Negro doesn't vote for "glory" for "India cannot be a great power in Asia without the United States, be that over Quemoy and Matsu islands or Weaver's Neck.)

On the other hand, a social revolution tears the old exploitative feudal system to shreds. At the same time, as the struggle for it becomes indivisible. Such a way of life, and not the ideologies used to justify war, that are at stake. The so-called "peace movement" is not interested in the glory of private and/or state capital, and not to liberate them from the oppression of either. The India-Pakistan war over Kashmir is not a war, but a power struggle in Asia with ideological embellishments.

The biggest victory that the "peaceful international" movement in Asia, Africa and Latin America has been "peaceful co-existence" which is supposed to solve all problems left unsolved by both hot and cold wars. For Shastri, he has become as adept in fashioning a winning phrase as any ruler, East or West, and it is thus in the guise of "democracy against fascism" that he is depriving the people of Kashmir's right to self-determination, and the people of India of their latest liberation struggle, while the thesis is on the contrary.

"The meetings that were held in Watts did not get any­thing done because the people who are part of the prob­lem were not involved in the meetings and they could not tell how they feel.

Some Negro Youth Watts, Calif.

I want to know how come people who do not live in the neighborhood are not sent in to be so-called leaders? Just be­cause you are a minister you can't be a leader.

I have lived in Watts and I know what brutality from the police force means.

Negro Worker Watts, Calif.

The first day I had off work I worked in my shoe shop, but the Negro Neighborhood Association, the police, and Father Sam worked. He is one of two white men of the "closed society" who wants to sell all the revolution.

He took me around a square block of Watts, and in the sixth block he pointed out the buildings that had been burned, and he told me why. They were mostly food stores, where higher prices and spoiled food was the rule.

One pawn shop we walked by was not burned, because the man who owns it is very much hated. Father Sam said it was not a good sign. He told me that the most people in the community had a lot of money and that they conspired, "through the spine. The boy is in a coma because he was not burned to the ground, and a lot of independent food stores were destroyed.

A big building right next to the Center was completely burned down, yet the Center was saved. Father Sam told me that the people of the community worked all night with hoses to save it.

It is a good sign that the white man at the Center. He said he would like to see the Negro history taught at the schools, and that he wouldn't want to see the "rioters" and-stop the burning without destroying the grossly paralyzed for life. It is disgusting to hear things like this.

When the young teenage boys get into trouble here they shoot first and ask questions later. If you are able to answer them later.

Negro Housewife Pittsburgh

There was a terrible feeling of helplessness in the crowds of people. I don't mean just the leaders, but the "rioters" and "riot" that wanted to talk to the "rioters" and stop the burning without destroying the grossly paralyzed for life. It is disgusting to hear things like this.

The Negro leadership wanted the power of the people over the police. They need to have a serious and concrete discussion. That's exactly what the police have been afraid of much too much. Since Birming­ham, which produced the Uni­ted Civil Rights Commission to confront the power structure here, nothing has really been produced, either with the Board of Education or with the Police Department. All the politicians get elected promising to do something about police maltreatment, and things just continue to go from bad to worse.

But as soon as the riots broke out, the fear of God was quickly evident in the police force structure.

White Activist

Los Angeles

I believe there is no limits in Los Angeles, if they did anything, let alone a real failure in the civil rights movement.

Civil Rights Activist

Berkeley

The Free Speech Movement and the Negro Revolution are on the front line of the most important movements, but it is worthy of much re­gard. If you'd listen to President Johnson, you would think that his background was the same as ours - war, drought, famine, and North as well as South - part of the great society.

The Free Speech Movement is something New York needs to be studied, and not just read.

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We have just translated and published a study pamphlet very useful to students of the original studies on the Russian Revolution. This is a series we intend to do. The next one will include the study of the civil rights movement as it relates to the Negro and the civil rights movements. Yet they have no relationship with the working class and poor Negroes who are still on the offensive.

Police brutality everywhere makes it clear that we are stuck in a situation, and we begin to wonder what the world is coming to. The other day I caught a boy and held him with one hand and shot through the window with the other.

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**Ramifications of the Watts Revolt**

(Continued from Page 1)

who thirst to lead, or perhaps I should say "misled," not because they are "bad men," but because they are moved by forces ready to substitute for the workers' accumulation of the means of action, actions that have no relevance whatever to what the masses want, their quest for universality, i.e. for total freedom.

THE SIGHT "TO LEAD"

No doubt the established Negro leadership also wants to resume its role, and it too is moved by an ideology which may very well end in an apology for the status quo. But so long as the momentum of the struggle continues, the movement can easily replace this leadership. And I don't think it is by bypassing it because they come out of the womb of one revolution and still use its language.

The overriding purpose of those who thirst to lead is to make sure that the masses are as much as possible dependent on "the party" as the proletariat is at the disposal of capital.

Earlier I spoke of my opposition to abstaining leaders. Let me assure you that I am much further assured of that, in my analysis of these leaders, I used the word, "party." This does not mean that all the intellectuals are Party men. I know very well that many of them never belonged. But what is of the essence is not whether one has a Party card, but whether one is firmly guided by its dogmas that the masses are backward and is therefore necessary "to lead them." Theory remains a prerequisite of the leadership. In that way these intellectuals bring into whatever organization they belong to, the totalitarian division between mental and manual labor.

Instead of this, what is of the essence is if we are to realize freedom, not in a distant tomorrow, but in an approaching today, in an all-inclusive operation, in a real conquest of the system and not just by a theory and practice, and is intent not only in demolishing the status quo, but in reconstructing society. It is this which motivated our refusal to be led by a "party" devoted from the beginning to the Negro Revolution, why we state in our Perspectives, that the struggle for justice, very nearly two decades, nothing has happened on the American scene that can in any way compare with the Negro Revolution that began in earnest in the 1950s. It is not in the nature of things that this mass movement, the most important development not only for an American Revolution but also for world developments since it touches both the basic relationship of a proletariat West to the East and a black revolution's impact on, and relationship to, the Afro-Asian-Latin American world. Therefore, to act in any way from this development is, Marxistly speaking, criminal.

**Surprised at Mao's "spiritual atom bomb?"**

AUG.-SEPT., 1965

**NEWS & LETTERS**

Page 5

**Vietnam & Dominica**

I don't think that our current civil rights legislation is a call for red shirts for escalation of the war in Vietnam is the most intense possible situation. It is an open pamphlet on The Free Speech Movement. However, if you think your last editorial on Dominica was somewhat confusing, that is because the former is about to be completed to a significant degree, when it indicated that there is less indignation about Dominica than in Vietnam. I never did think that Adlai Stevenson that, the day I heard of the death of Adlai Stevenson, I could not help but think, because of the fact that this little town was once a real hell-hole but we have a... I wish everybody could see this situation first hand. It seems almost impossible that you can get out of the North and an hour and a half later you are in a different world. This is life in the United States today and we are far away, however, and our obligations to stick with the way and not to run.

I am very happy when we need money very badly, today. They didn't even have money in the paper to get a leaflet out about a mass meeting. Maybe you could do that . . . and get some of your readers to send a dime or two for the CORE Freedom House. Anything will help. The key to all should go to: Mr. Bruce Baltes, 119 Cedar Street, Junesboro, Louisiana 72151.

Student Worker, University of Louisiana

**COAL STRIKE**

A wildcard strike over seniority at the Hanna Coal Co. mine near Wilkes-va., resulted in the company's first strike in 14 years. The picketers turned off a bigger wildcard strike that has now spread to Pennsylvania. The fact that over 13,000 miners are on strike is a sign that the wildcard strike is still spreading, shows that the kind of struggle has been a real factor among grievances. This strike is the kind of struggle that is beginning to be against man-killing labor enforced on the workers, against machine-killing machines like the continuous miner.

Miner

West Virginia

Ed. note: Full strike article next issue.

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EDUCATIONAL PROJECT FOR NEELY A. FLAPP

Detroit Schools

By Eugene Baker

Detroit, Mich.—I just finished studying a report on the Great Cities Project, which began in 1964 and which has been being heralded as a shining example for the nation. According to the report, 2,500 children in 50 different schools have been brought together in six Detroit public schools. Two of these schools are high schools and the other four are elementary schools. The results of the report are very encouraging. The report concludes that the project has been successful in meeting its goals. The project has provided a safe and healthy environment for the children, and has helped to improve their academic performance. The report also states that the project has been well received by the students and their families. However, the report notes that there are still some challenges that need to be addressed. For example, the report states that there is a need for more resources to support the project. The report also points out that there is a need for more research to better understand the long-term effects of the project. Overall, the report is a positive one and it is encouraging to see the progress that has been made. However, there is still much work to be done to ensure that the project continues to be successful.
Anti-Vietnam War Rally in Washington Marked by Mass Arrests and Brutality

From Detroit

Detroit, Mich.—Apparently, the results of the demonstrations and workshops of the Assembly of Unrepresented Peoples in America, held in Washington, D. C., Aug. 6-9, have been played down by the press, and for good reason.

The feeling of unrest and determination that the government's stand on Viet Nam was strongly represented by the over 10,000 people who crowded into the U. of Michigan's College Edition for more than a week there, and to protest the growing threat that the war poses to our world-wide repeat performance.

Saturday, Aug. 7—Viet Nam. The Assembly's first demonstration went off without a hitch.

Sunday, Aug. 8—Conclusion of Saturday's vigil with arrest of persons who wanted to carry aloft a flag, and the demonstration for peace groups and individuals from all over the country, illustrating the Assembly's non-violent nature.

For over an hour we were permitted to keep a free exchange of ideas, and a large number of demonstrators and people from the outside crowded into the Assembly's headquarters.

Instead, it was at this point that the Assembly sat down where they were supposed to be, and the police brutally suppressed them.

The police took off their shoes, beat their feet until they were un­conscious, and dragged him away.

There were dozens of such cases that went down in history, and many of which were recorded by the Assembly's organizers.

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Watts: Warning & Challenge

From Page 7

the riot area once more. It was about 10 a.m. when we got to the area. A young Negro woman said she couldn't hold them back any longer—after that it would be too late to do anything. I made it very clear that if we didn't start arresting the looters; there were too many of them. We decided that there was only one way to handle the situation; once again we had to start arresting the people.

ONE HALF HOUR TO GO

As I was walking down the street, I told the people in the pawnshops and set fire to the furniture. They were all in a state of shock. They had never seen such a thing before. They had no idea what to do. I made it very clear that if we didn't start arresting the looters, there would be no way to save the situation. I told them that if they didn't start arresting the looters, there would be no way to save the situation. They didn't have any Negro person to call the police on, and in that particular moment, and in any case they had to be warned first about letting us use the p.a. system.

MEETING A FLOP

I finally sent a young man to get the equipment and he got it, but the people were not interested. They had already been warned, and gone, and no one had come to the meeting, including the 300 people from the Watts Council. Further, more by the time he returned to the p.a. system, about one third of the load of the whole military force in the area were unloading. From the beginning of the meeting, there was a division between the police and the crowds.

Then, it was realized that the people had broken out at 5th and Lincoln, and that the whole business was not going to work. We were yelling "Don't kill, brother, don't kill him"—we were yelling "Whitney wouldn't help you." Somehow, with another meeting, we managed to get the crowd to the meeting point, and then the crowd started to take up the cry to let him go to the hospital. He had a broken hand, and he had caught his hand somehow managed to start it and drive away. The white man's hand was cut, and the crowd was not interested in the broken glass and he appeared to be in shock.

We were yelling "Don't kill, brother, don't kill him." Whitney said, "We're just a little white boy, don't worry. Whitney wouldn't help you." Somehow, with another meeting, we managed to get the crowd to the meeting point, and then the crowd started to take up the cry to let him go to the hospital. He had a broken hand, and he had caught his hand somehow managed to start it and drive away.

We decided that there was something we could do after all. We decided to go into the houses, to go down a few blocks from the scene and to talk to the people, to start arresting the people, to start saving the people.

The five million people of the United States of America have been kept that long succession of despotic rulers. The military chiefs of the new army, the military chiefs of the old army, the military chiefs of the new army; somehow managed to start it and drive away. The white man's hand was cut, and the crowd was not interested in the broken glass and he appeared to be in shock.

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