

China and The India-Pakistan War

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TWO WORLDS

By Raya Dunayevskaya, Chairman National Editorial Board

Ramifications of the Watts Revolt

(Editor's Note: The column below is excerpted from a Perspectives Report delivered to a Conference of News & Letters Committees held over the Labor Day week-end. 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 just how "isolated" Watts was. What all the analysts fail to grasp is that the Negroes in Watts gained their strength, not because they were isolated, but because they acted collectively. It was a disciplined strength. Thus, despite all talk against "Whitey" (and some beatings) not a single white who happened into the area was shot at, excluding, of course, the cops, but then these are the most hated representatives of the exploitative, prejudiced, vicious power structure.

CLASS AND RACE

No, it was not the Negro who was isolated; it was the white power structure that was isolated. And within 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 cliché 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 reconstitute itself inside the new forms." And so it is with the present misuse of the concept, "class."

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

It was not for purposes of releasing the creativity of the masses—class and race—that the class structure of society was suddenly "discovered." Rather, it was an adventurist attempt to make the people who were in revolt forget what was new: the self-discovery of their own creativity; the confidence in mass power; the differentiation from all others—the Negro middle class as well as the absentee landlords, the absentee grocery owner as well as the self-appointed but equally absent leaders.

In a word, the new discoverers of the class basis of revolt aimed at nothing less than to stop the mass search for new beginnings in leadership, in action, in theory.

NEW BEGINNINGS IN THEORY

Yes, theory. Listen: "We don't belong to any organization. We meet in the street and talk. When it happened, we knew what we wanted and we knew what we would do about it. We'll start all over again if we don't get it."

"We haven't lost a thing, and now we know where it hurts Whitey."

"I would do it all over again even if my own house burns alongside Whitey's store; my house was no good nohow."

"We have the power to upset the city, break it wide open. We got the power."

The revolt was both spontaneous and conscious of itself. Moreover, where, in the revolt in Harlem, which likewise was spontaneous (although not as thoroughgoing), Maoists at least tried to claim credit, in Watts they were nowhere around. Nor were the Du Bois clubs. Nor, for that matter, were the established civil rights organizations, although these, at least, showed after the events.

Yes, the revolt was a stride toward theory. It ended one phase of activity and began a new one. The new stage is far more fundamental than a question of violence vs. non-violence as a method of struggle. The genuine leap was not in the tactics of struggle but in the achievement of consciousness of self, of being able to make generalizations like "we know now where Whitey hurts" and thus to take the first step in the construction of universals about a new society. But it is a first step only, and, though a gigantic stride, it is not the end but a beginning. The point at issue now is not so much: what is next in activity, but what is next in thought. Without being able to make what philosophers call a category out of their experience, that is to say, to be able to conclude that it is not just an experience, but a stage in cognition, in ideas, the experience itself will not become part of an emerging revolution either in fact or in thought.

The experience otherwise can be taken over by others, by those

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L.A. Eyewitness Report

THE WATTS REVOLT: BOTH A WARNING AND A CHALLENGE

(Editor's Note: The two reports printed below are from a Negro CORE activist, and a white minister—both of whom were working in Watts before and during the recent revolt. Father Sam was one of two white "men of the cloth" able to work in Watts all through that period. More on Watts appears in READERS' VIEWS on pp 4 and 5. Our analysis of the Watts Revolt appears in TWO WORLDS, column 1 on this page.)

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 Los Angeles CORE. An anonymous caller said that a riot was developing at Avalon Blvd. and that Negroes were stoning the police. A quick check revealed that everyone seemed to feel the whole thing would be over by the time anyone got there anyway. But by the time the 11 o'clock news came on, a very shocked Los Angeles heard that the riots had spread.

A RED HOT CORE

I took the freeway and approached the riot area from the south. You felt like you were approaching the heated center of a red hot core. Ten or 12 blocks from the center, which was now Imperial and Avalon, little knots of people stood on the corners, or in front of their homes and talked quietly. Nearer the center, the crowds grew bigger and the talk louder. Three blocks from the center the corners were filled and the people spilled into the side streets.

I parked my car and continued on foot. When I asked people what had happened I was told that "the cops came down and beat up a fellow and a woman like they always do."

At the very center of Imperial and Avalon I saw a tight knot of police, about 25, packed close together. Someone threw a bottle and some of the cops broke away and ran in my direction. People started running past me, but I stood there thinking the police would know I had not thrown the missile. Then I realized I was black too, and they would not bother to ask questions, so I turned and ran too.

I got in my car to head home, but drove back toward the center of the fighting instead. Most of the men standing on the corner across from the cops had stones, bits of concrete, or bottles in their hands. Then I heard for the first time the battle-cry that was to designate the enemy:

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Fire of Revolt Was Purifying

By Morris Samuel, Priest-Worker

Los Angeles, Calif.—The helpless, the poor, the badly-educated can solve their own problems if given the chance and the means, no less than the rich and the educated. If the ordinary citizen's part is limited only to voting—if he is incapable of initiative and unable to influence the political, social and economic structure surrounding him—he is a second class citizen.

Voting rights and public accommodations are not the problems in Los Angeles. But the ability for an individual or a group or a community of black people to determine their destiny in the democratic process has been denied in the Los Angeles Negro community.

THE GUILTY

It has been denied by the Los Angeles Police Department, well-

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—SNCC Photo

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 emphasize the vote, 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 boss from calling them "n---r".

Cotton Hands in Tenn. Join Union

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

Negro civil rights workers say that the workers intend to stage a massive strike in three west Tennessee counties "just when it gets time to pick cotton." This is at the end of September and the beginning of October.

The union has its lists of demands ready to present, which they expect the farmers to meet, says the chairman of the Union, unless they are willing to see the workers "turn their backs on them" just when the cotton is ready to pick.

On one occasion I had 12 people walk in and tell me that their whole laundry plant, with the exception of one man, had gone on strike. After listening to these people I learned that they earned one cent a shirt and half a cent a dress. This meant that these women had to iron 100 shirts to make \$1. They had to iron 200 dresses to make \$1. They worked from 6 a.m. to 6 p.m. with no overtime.

WHO CAN HELP?

As the people talked I recognized how desperate they were, and how little I could help them. They went to organized labor. 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 organized 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

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WORKER'S JOURNAL

By Charles Denby, Editor

Bureaucrats Wheel and Deal

The result of the last election at Chrysler Local 212 is being paid off by the production workers three-fold. No one would believe a union ever existed in this shop. Workers are speeded up beyond what is humanly possible. They are being threatened every day. They are being reprimanded, given days off, handed foreman reports, and some are being fired solely because it is impossible to keep pace with those machines and those lines. Yet there is not one word from a union steward or committeeman. They are afraid to take a position for fear they will be fired, too. The local officers don't even exist so far as the workers know.

One white worker with seniority dating back to 1929 was taken to the superintendent's office to be fired because his boss claimed he couldn't do a production job. This is an old man who does repair work. While they were in the office, workers on his floor said that if he was paid off they would strike. When the company saw that they meant it, they put the old man back to work. Now they are asking the older workers to retire, or to get off welding jobs. If they accept this offer, it means they will go into the streets and probably never get back to work again.

The recent union election in UAW Local 212 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 of the officers from Local 742 were put on the payroll of the International, or given special positions on the payroll of Local 212. This was done to head off any strong opposition caucus. But the following year the workers from both locals who were opposed to the Reutherites, organized a Rank and File caucus and everyone of their delegates got elected to go to the UAW Convention that year.

THE SAME DIFFERENCE

They attracted rank and file workers in the shop, although the leadership of the Rank and File caucus had the same kind of bureaucrats as the leadership of the Green Slate caucus. The only reason they were in a different caucus at all was because there was no place for them in the Reuther caucus. Most workers did not know this, however, and supported them. But, as the saying goes, time will tell—and everything became very clear after the election two years ago, when the Rank and File candidate was elected President of the Local. Several months later, this wheeling and dealing bureaucrat joined the Reutherite Green Slate. Many rank and file workers were shocked when they heard it.

What all the union bureaucrats are concerned about most is their control over the workers, and keeping a job that will keep them out of the shop. Most workers feel the Green Slate controls now without any opposition, and they can all tell you that it is a sad day in any union when there is no opposition. The officers are never in the union hall when you need them. They will curse you when you have a just grievance. They tell you what you had better do if you want to continue to work in the shop. They play politics with every grievance you bring to them. One worker told us that the President of the local had just agreed on a speed-up for the workers at the old Briggs Co., using as his excuse that the Company was not making enough profit and would otherwise move the jobs out of the state. This bogey-man of moving-out has given union leaders the perfect excuse for not having to do anything about working conditions, safety hazards or speed-up.

DEVILS TURN ANGELIC

The bureaucrats train their stooges to call anybody in opposition to them a no-good SOB. But as soon as these "no-good SOB's" join up with the Green Slate they become holy and righteous. The Rank and File candidate who won the Presidency two years ago was a devil then. But he is an angel now. When workers talk about what is happening to the Uncle Toms in the South today, many think that is what is needed to be done to those in the union here. The difference seems to be that those in the shop sell out for the promise of a job in the Local or maybe a job in the International. In the South the Uncle Toms sell out for something not quite so far-ranged—maybe just a few dollars now.

Some workers say that the local officers spent more to win the last election than ever before, and mainly to defeat the Recording Secretary. It is rumored that the Green Slate spent thousands of dollars. There were beer joints all around the plants where workers could come in and get free drinks in return for promises for their votes. This plant had many thousands of workers. After the election, signs were posted in the plant telling the workers to come to the victory celebration, where there would be more free drinks.

One older worker said, "Victory for what? They had almost no opposition. Now they talk about victory? When have we seen a notice calling for a union meeting? I haven't seen more than two or three in the past two years. There are never signs talking about our working conditions in this plant."

A younger white worker said, "I'm sick of these bureaucrats. The next caucus I ever will be part of will have to be one made up of rank and file production workers, with no bureaucrats allowed. Every name on the slate will have to be one that never appeared before! Maybe then we can find somebody with some principles, who wants a change in this local and won't sell the rest of us out the day after he is elected. I'm going to spend the rest of my time searching for that kind. The resentment against the leaders is so strong in this union that all we need to do is get together and I feel sure it will spell the end to the domination over workers by the Reuther Green Slate machine."

Wake Up — You Sleepyheads

Glasgow, Scotland — The royal ship, "Britannia," ties up at Aberdeen docks and 20 men constructing a new deep sea berth are told that Her Majesty must sleep undisturbed. A workman told a reporter, "There was a whine from the derrick we were using and it might have been noisy if they were not used to it."

On board, and in pyjamas, was that whiz kid of production and export drives—the man who tells industry to get its "finger out", the Duke of Edinburgh. What a howl would have gone up if those

20 men had held up production by going on strike. The DAILY EXPRESS would have sung its usual hymn of hate.

Strangely silent was Scotland's most backward industrial correspondent, Jack MacGill. Bombastic little moraliser, Ray Gunter, didn't even rise from his bed of nails. Where have all the Aberdeen Socialists and Communists gone? To the bottom of the sea for all the good they are. Not a cheep was heard, or a protest made at the obnoxious insolence of the royal lazybones.

African Socialism Is The Term Used To Hide Truth

By Nyaswaco

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

Basically, this society is so constituted that each of its members is protected by what might be called group insurance, a phenomenon issuing from the voluntary and full cooperation of each member of the society. Each member of the society is a participant.

ALL WORK TOGETHER

There are two kinds of participation. The first relates to the common ownership of such things as mosques, grave yards, the village commons, the market place, the bridge across a stream, the road or path leading to the farms. These things are built and maintained by all. There are fixed times in the year when each job has to be done, but allowance is made for emergencies so that no trouble arises when the job has to be done before the fixed time.

The second concerns an individual's property or possessions. The farmer might need more hands for his ploughing or harvest; the neighbor next door might need a new roof for his house. In each case he can ask the help of the members of the community and they will render their service free of charge. He will do the same for them, of course, when they need him.

In this same way, possessions like cattle, land and savings are not just meant by the possessor to be his. They are his property, true, but his as a holder of a sacred trust for their sparing use and for aiding his needy brethren. What is therefore involved here is "let's all share in each other's lives and happiness and misery."

ACTIVE NEUTRALITY

With the coming of independence, African countries in their search for a new identity in a world divided into two large camps, decided on the strategy of a middle road. This neutrality is not passive like Sweden's; it is active neutrality, based on the dictates of a clear conscience concerning each issue, each situation that is subject to controversy between East and West or among the nations of the world.

Africans sought to clothe these bare lines of their new policy with more African properties. They brought to world forums not only their ideas and decisions but a portrayal of their once-repressed culture in the form of clothes, music and art. Moreover, seeing that a socialism lies at home which can give more meaning to their professed neutralism, the phrase African Socialism was coined to draw attention to it.

They have succeeded, in drawing attention to it, but they have not succeeded in accommodating this socialism with their governments and administration. Instead, they have continued the programs of the colonial days by merely expanding them. There is a lot of talk about the unique goodness of African socialism. But none gets any good from so-called African socialism in practice — except maybe the politicians.

SAFE PROGRAM

Recently, the Kenya government drew up a comprehensive plan and called it African socialism. The program was hailed here in America as a product of African ingenuity. Between the

lines, one can feel that Americans gave a sigh of relief with its appearance. I don't blame them. The welfare programs of Britain and the Netherlands imported into an African country called Kenya, are nothing to worry about.

They do not do away with the disparity in the standard of living and the amount of income between the office clerk and the peasant, the labourer and the minister of government. Instead, a new breed of middle and upper class groups arises in a society that has never had classes to worry about.

The worth of the human being was also important. The weaknesses and limitations of each and every one of us was recognized and given protection by the collective concern of the whole society.

This situation still exists in the rural areas, and given proper direction will thrive. But the urban areas lack the spirit or the inclination. The educated African today is a careerist and a social climber.

CONDITIONS DENY SOCIALISM

The use of the term, African Socialism, for any of the present systems of government now in Africa, is meaningless. There is no African socialism in a system under which the peasant continues to work for a whole year to get the equivalent of an office worker's salary for one month; a system which keeps the peasant down while nurturing a middle class of material inclinations, a middle class whose very existence testifies to the same old problem more formally known as capitalism.

It is still the age-long story of man's exploitation of his fellow man, of man's inhumanity to his fellow man; a system which asks the farmer to feed the administrator and sustain his country's economy at a very low pay for him; a system which seeks the establishment of a society of bureaucrats; a system in which the ministers of government raise their salaries, cut the pay for the workers, and leave the farmer with his low income.

A Monster in Fleet Street

By LESLIE FORSTER

Glasgow, Scotland—Idle it would be to recount all over again the harrowing details about a city called Hiroshima. This horror of horrors will be remembered as such by world humanity until the sands of time run out. But not so by the literary hooligan, John Gordon of the Sunday Express. In his column, "Current Events," he had this to say:

"Twenty years ago 'the bomb' dropped on Hiroshima. The sentimentalists are wailing what a terrible thing that was to do to the poor dear Japanese. Well I for one have no sorrow about it all. The Japanese were a fanatically brave enemy, but they inflicted diabolical tortures on those who fought them—including our own men—and the cruelties they practised are unforgivable even now. So far as I am concerned they got what they deserved."

No word of compassion here. Not a single teardrop for all the little innocents: the Japanese babes and children who perished in the holocaust. This is an alien voice. This is not a man. This is a monster.

HISTORY OF BLOOD

Inside the Max Aitken "penitentiary" there are some queer birds with odd and twisted ideas.

Workers Push As Wilson Muddles

Glasgow, Scotland — We have reached a stage when the shop stewards in many cases are being driven into struggle by the rank and file. This is true, particularly with the Transport and General Workers' Union, where ordinary officials are not elected but appointed by the national executive.

The more obedient shop stewards are the most likely to be appointed. Most of those entering the motor industry from among the "unskilled" workers have no previous experience of trade unionism and the new shop stewards become, in many cases, carried away with ambition.

RANK-AND-FILE PUSH

In the "skilled" unions the Communist shop stewards are following the line of searching for unity with the Labour Party, and, consequently, voice the same sentiments on planning and production. They talk the same language as the Daily Worker which concentrates, almost entirely, on the American action in Vietnam.

So while the struggle in the workshops becomes intensified, the initiative, in most cases, comes from the rank and file. Some of the struggles are very interesting.

WILSON'S MESS

Meanwhile Wilson has landed in an awful mess. He is desperate to avoid the logic of his support for American policy in Vietnam. Unless negotiations of some kind are started, he may be asked to give more than verbal support to the President's policy. Now that Australian troops are involved, we are nearer that stage.

Wilson wants American troops in Asia to help him in his desire to hold British possessions there, but he doesn't want to send troops to Vietnam. He cannot afford them, and it would split the Labour Party from top to bottom. It could bring the Government down unless he managed to get the support of the Tories. As things are, we are not far from a general election.

By their reckoning, cruelties and barbarism began with the Japanese and the Germans. What incredible rubbish. The British Book of Kings is splattered with blood from cover to cover. Queen Elizabeth owes her position to the violence of her ancestors who kept their crowns and sceptres by means of dungeons dark and gallows tall, by rack, thumbscrew, flails, dagger, sword and all.

Didn't Oliver Cromwell ride into Ireland, turn the shamrock red and every piece of land into a cemetery? The "Black and Tans" upheld the glorious tradition. We seem to remember an American town named Andersonville, at the time of the Civil War, where soldiers were tortured and starved to death. The Yankees slaughtered Indians and Mexicans with barbaric impunity in the name of "sweet libertie." The Spanish Conquistadores slaughtered the proud Incas. Years later, General Franco improved on their methods.

DON'T COME HOME

Czar after Czar exterminated all opposition. Stalin wiped out almost all who attended a party congress. Adolph Hitler borrowed from Stalin. So it goes on with not one country a whit better than another. Those who stand for genocide place themselves outside the human family. John Gordon, please don't come home.

LBJ's Sickening Comparison

Detroit, Mich.—When the President of the United States says that the actions of the Negroes in Los Angeles and the actions of the KKK in the South are the same thing, it is enough to make any serious-minded person sick.

As a whole, Negroes are law-abiding citizens. In fact, whenever they break the most minor law they are severely punished. In many cases they are punished even without breaking any law. The KKK on the other hand, has been lynching and murdering Negroes, men, women and children alike, for 100 years.

Before the Los Angeles riots were even over, two civil rights workers in Hayneville, Ala., were gunned down by a white KKKer, who killed one and seriously injured another. A few hours later, this white man was free, having merely said he was a deputy sheriff.

It was after President Johnson made the statement that he was going to open war on the Klans that were even bolder. They openly publicize their meetings, but the President hasn't mentioned his war on them since the outrage against Mrs. Liuzzo's murder—except to say that the Negroes in Los Angeles were just like them.

Meanwhile, the KKK gets bolder in the North, as well. One woman who works in a GM plant in Detroit said that derogatory signs about Negroes kept appearing in the women's rest room. Finally a white woman came in and admitted that she was the one who put the signs up. She said she sends \$25 a month down South to the KKK to "help keep you N—s in your place."

One of the Negro women rushed to grab her, but others held her back until the white woman could get away. Before she left she told them not to bother re-

Strike Farce Clear to Steelworkers

Pittsburgh, Pa. — I didn't think that there would be a steel strike because all of the reasons the company was giving out for not being able to meet the demands were a big farce.

In fact, while every newscaster was talking about the big "deadline" and people everywhere else were wondering would there or wouldn't there be a strike, the men in the mill all knew just exactly what was going to happen. We all figured that they would go down to the wire, and then pretend that it was all settled at the very last minute. But nobody in the mill was worrying about a thing.

For one thing, they always have to make provisions in the mill before a strike to let the furnaces cool down. Before a strike you can see the special company men coming around to inspect this or that, and get everything ready. But this time nobody was making any preparations at all.

Most of the men at Homestead figured the reason the strike was out was because the company had time to make their profits on the extension and they didn't want to take any chances of letting the foreign market get an inroad on their market. The men also felt that the President wasn't going to use the Taft-Hartley Law because that would certainly lose the labor vote, and he didn't want to risk that.

The men didn't know what the company and union were really bargaining about—whether it was money, working conditions, pensions, vacations, or what. But the one thing they all knew was that the strike would not come off.

—Steelworker

porting her to the company, because there were many fellow KKKers in the plant, and some held high positions with the company.

The President can talk about "Peace" all he wants to—at the same time that he is rushing troops all over the world to wage war—but so long as heads of governments just keep talking about "peace" and let hate groups continue to murder, intimidate, and brutalize human beings in their own countries, peace is pretty abstract.

So far as the Negro people are concerned, Johnson's peace is only for the other class, not for them. That is why, when Johnson throws around the words, "We Shall Overcome", we wonder: just who is it he wants to overcome?

Workers Give Facts on Work

Morgantown, W. Va.—The employees of the Department of Sanitation and the local Human Rights Commission recently joined forces to put some matters before the attention of the citizens here.

The Sanitation workers, it seems, had been accused of laying down on their jobs, and some of the city councilmen were calling for replacement of the Superintendent (a Negro) and part of his crew (also all Negroes).

The employees were angry enough to pack their trucks and go home, but instead they got some help to circulate a "Fact Sheet" which they distributed throughout town. The facts they publicized were these:

• A \$27,000 deficit (the difference between income from sanitation fees and costs of garbage collection) in the Sanitation Fund was being blamed on the men, and the Superintendent had been instructed to lay off a truck and crew. When three men (equivalent to another crew) were sick, the Department was not permitted to hire temporary help. Collections were supposed to be kept up with the cut-down force. The lunch period for employees was cut from an hour to 30 minutes, so that they had to eat cold or store-bought lunches at their trucks with dirty hands.

• The "laying down on the job" accusation had been supported by the statement that only 71 truckloads of garbage were taken to the municipal dump that week, compared to an average of between 98-120 per week in 1964. But "truckload" last year was very different. Half of last year's equipment was open-body trucks, hauling three or four loads of unpacked garbage a day. There were only four mechanical packer trucks. Now the equipment includes 18-yard packers hauling the equivalent of three open-truck loads in one trip, and there are six mechanical trucks.

• Approximately \$3,000 in collection costs per year were added when a new area was annexed, but only \$5,000 in fees were brought in. Yet the Sanitation men were expected to make up this \$3,000 difference. Moreover, present rates were established years ago, while most costs have gone up since then. The Department employees were therefore being expected to increase their efficiency (speed up) to compensate for inflation!

The matter is far from over, but the sanitation workers did win some benefits from the fight that the city council had started. The city even hired some white workers on the garbage trucks to integrate the force but some didn't last very long. The work was too hard and dirty, and the pay was too low.

Southern Unions

(Continued from Page 1)
very serious charges against unions. Labor must recognize that this does them great harm.

In all parts of the country I visited, people were actively working towards making this world better for people. It gave a warm feeling to see so many people trying to deal honestly with themselves.

The one most discouraging factor I encountered was the evasiveness and opportunism—and the outright dishonesty—of Organized Labor. I had hoped that men who were once rank and file labor men might understand and sympathize with the struggle being carried on in the South by the Mississippi Freedom Labor Unions and the Tennessee Freedom Labor Unions.

RANKS UNDERSTAND

The one most encouraging thing we encountered, on the other hand, was the assistance and encouragement we received, not from Organized Labor, but from the workers themselves. It seems that these are the people who understand best that the Negroes' struggle in the South helps everyone gain a little more freedom.

We of the Student Non-Violent Co-ordinating Committee will continue to struggle along with, and attempt to assist, the people who are bringing an end to racial discrimination. It is obvious to most of us that racism, and the economic and political problems we face, can only be dealt with by some basic and fundamental changes in the way the system relates to people. Democracy means people participating in decision-making.

Democracy means people from all over the South who have organized into Freedom Labor Unions and have refused to work for \$3 a day any longer. They are demanding \$1.25 an hour minimum wage.

Please send contributions for this new project to help organize the Freedom Labor Unions to: SNCC, 360 Nelson SW, Atlanta, Georgia.

ON THE LINE

Workers and Families Don't Count in Chrysler Plant Move

By John Allison

The Highland Park plant gave birth to the Chrysler Corporation and there is much history of the corporation in the plant. The first shock the workers received was the closing of Plant 3. This caused wholesale confusion. We exposed the way the union handled the transfer of workers to other departments of the factory. This was a bad experience for the workers.

Now the second shock within the same year has come to the workers at Highland Park. We now know that Chrysler HP plant is leaving Michigan for Ohio. This act of the corporation brings back bad memories of Hudson-Motors and Packard Motors and others when they faded from the Detroit scene.

IN BOOM AND BUST

What is the hardest thing for the workers to understand is that when Hudson and all the rest faded from our town and left suffering workers without jobs, the excuse given by the companies for all the misery they had caused was that we were in a Recession, and Williams, a Democrat, was Governor of the state.

Now Chrysler is leaving while we are in the midst of a Boom, and George Romney, a Republican, is Governor of the state. Apparently, it makes no difference whether it is Boom or Bust.

The capitalists are all the same. They care nothing for the working class. And they will not hesitate one moment to show the whole world how they treat their workers. Chrysler, Ford, G.M.—they are all alike. They will move anywhere for cheap labor and low taxes.

PROFITS, MORE PROFITS

It just seems like their appetite for profits and more profits can never be satisfied. We know that the federal government gave the corporations a big, juicy sugar loaf to suck on when the corporation taxes were cut, and they got another plum from the

state when it cut corporation taxes.

We know that corporation profits roll up new records with every day that goes by—we read about it in the newspapers, hear about it on the radio and TV, and know it in our bones when we get through with fighting the speed of that production line every day.

But the fact is that we don't have a thing to say about this move. The kings had their rights in the old days, the corporations have their rights today—but the workers and their families still have their rights to get.

WORKERS DON'T COUNT

It makes no difference that there are workers here who have given 10 or 20 or 30 or even 35 years of their labor to the corporation. It makes no difference that most of the 3500 workers here are homeowners, have lived most or all of their lives here, have their children going to school here, have roots in the community that grew from long and hard experience. So far as the workers and their families are concerned, it just makes no difference.

The question now is: What to do? A lot of the older workers in the plant—and the average age of the workers at Chrysler Highland Park plant is about 47 years old—are planning to retire early. That is, the ones who can do so. For the others, there is the choice of moving to the new plant the company is planning to build in Maumee, Ohio, or taking their chances in the Chrysler labor pool.

Moving to Ohio means tearing up old roots, old friendships, and this will be hard and expensive. So far as the labor pool is concerned, this is the general Chrysler labor pool provided for in the contract. You go to the pool, and are called to work at other Chrysler plants according to seniority and ability to do a job. And as every worker knows, the corporation has a million and one ways that they can keep a worker out of a job if they have anything at all against him or her.

And that's another thing. There are probably as many women working at Chrysler Highland Park as there are in any other shop in the city. While it may not be the major aim of the company to get rid of these women, it has been trying to do so for a long time, and now they will probably succeed in this aim with this move.

TIME TO ACT

The same thing holds for the older workers, who have also been the targets of the company. The corporation wants those young ones; they have more years left to drain the work from. But the contract provisions make it tough for the company to get away with outright firing of an older worker who has put in all those years in the plant. Now, with this move, the company will also at least partially succeed in knocking out some of these older men.

That's the way this system works. We've seen it happen before. Now it's about time that the workers started to do something to change this so we can have something to say about what we need for ourselves and our families.

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Editorial

China and the India-Pakistan War

Every ruler from 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 power struggle in Asia with ideological embellishments.

If you'd listen to President Johnson, you would think that his barbarous acts in Vietnam are only ways to make Vietnam—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 ultimatum to India to dismantle its border posts or suffer "the consequences," you would think that the latest extension of the India-Pakistan war over Kashmir was the world ideological struggle, and not only against American imperialism, but also against Russian "revisionism." Thus, on Sept. 17, the New China News Agency blared out the following editorial:

"The Soviet leaders and U.S. imperialism treat the India reactionaries as their darling child, and not just today. Kennedy, Khrushchev and Nehru long ago became partners in a company. Two of the three founders of Kennedy, Khrushchev, Nehru & Co. are dead and the third has fallen from power.

"Their successors are trying hard to keep the failing concern going."

POWER IN ASIA

At the same time, Premier Kosygin, who hadn't yet informed the Russian people about China's ultimatum to India, had invited both Shastri and Kahn to come to Russia and discuss "peaceful co-existence" which is supposed to solve all problems left unsolved both by hot and cold wars.

As for Shastri, he has become as adept in fashioning a winged phrase as any ruler, East or West, and it is thus in the name of "democracy against fascism" that he is depriving the people of Kashmir of their right to self-determination!

Not to be outdone, Ayub Kahn is playing the game of being on all sides at the same time, from "American democracy" to "Chinese socialism"; whether in collusion with China or not, he is allegedly engaging in a war with India only for the latter's "glory" for "India cannot be a great power in Asia without Pakistan." (See "Our Life and Times," p. 8.)

Power in Asia is the question. Whether you take Vietnam or Kashmir as point of departure, it is the riches of the continent, and not the ideologies used to justify war, that are at stake. The aim of the ruling powers is to oppress the Asian peoples for 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 yet one more reminder that the national movements, like World War II itself, did not solve the fundamental problem of reconstructing society on non-exploitative foundations.

The only thing that is new in China's loud-mouthed threat to broaden this conflict by its own incursions into Indian territory is the care with which it makes sure not to attack the real world power—United States. Ever since the Korean war ended, it has more often than not backed off from a direct confrontation with the United States, be that over Quemoy and Matsu islands or Vietnam and India.

MAO GLORIFIES WAR

In his attempt to reduce social revolution to military conquest—"political power grows out of the barrel of a gun"—Mao has had his Minister of Defense, Marshal Liu Piao, attempt to transform Mao's military theory of encircling the cities into a universally applicable strategic concept: "Taking the entire globe, if North American and Western Europe can be called 'the cities of the world,' then Asia, Africa, and Latin America constitute 'the rural areas of the world.' . . . Everything is divisible. And so is this colossus of U.S. imperialism. It can be split up and defeated. The peoples of Asia, Africa, Latin America and other regions can destroy it piece by piece, some striking at its head and others at its feet . . . War can temper the people and push history forward."

Underlying the hallucination of "encircling" the United States as well as the eagerness to help "war push history forward" is Mao's total lack of confidence in the proletarian revolution: "Since World War II the proletarian revolutionary movement has for various reasons been temporarily held back in the North American and West European capitalist countries, while the people's revolutionary movement in Asia, Africa and Latin America has been growing vigorously. In a sense, the contemporary world revolution presents a picture of the encirclement of cities by the rural areas."

In the concept of "people's" revolution, Mao includes "also the national bourgeoisie and other patriotic and anti-imperialist democrats." Considering the vigor of the proletarian revolts in state-capitalist societies calling themselves Communist, beginning, shortly after the death of Stalin, with the June 17, 1953 East German revolt, through the Hungarian Revolution of 1956, and "the strikes and trouble-making incidents" within China itself, it is no wonder Mao prefers dealing with such sterling democrats as the King of Nepal and General Ayub Kahn of Pakistan as the greater "patriots." (Some one ought to tell him that "the Negro people's revolution" in America is 90 per cent working class in composition.)

Where Mao's eyes are not glued on the United States, they are on Russia. And so we now hear that it is evidently not he who retreated just now in India, but that the "Khrushchev revisionists" have come to the rescue of U.S. imperialism just when it is most panic-stricken and helpless in its efforts to cope with people's war . . . They submit to the nuclear blackmail of the U.S. imperialists . . . and (have fond dream of Soviet-U.S. cooperation to dominate the world . . . In diametrical opposition to the Khrushchev revisionists . . . the revolutionary people never take a gloomy view of war."

WARS AND REVOLUTIONS ARE NOT SYNONYMOUS

Maoist theory notwithstanding, wars and revolutions are not synonymous. They are opposites. Wars are the natural outcome of exploitative social orders and only prove that state-capitalism in China differs in no basic way from private capitalism in the United States. Although China has, for the moment, stepped back from expanding the India-Pakistan war into a general Asian war, there is nothing to stop some other incident from unloosing World War III.

On the other hand, a social revolution tears the old exploitative order out, root and branch. Thus the idea of freedom and the struggle for it become indivisible. Such a way of life, and only such a way of life, has no need of wars to assure revolution's victory, and put destiny in the hands of the working people themselves. —R.D.

Readers'

THE REVOLT IN WATTS

It wasn't a riot, it was a civil revolt. The people out there had to do something. They felt some of the same things I feel.

Other ways are not close to them. They don't see that other ways have any effect. Most people in the area of Watts have not had a chance to see the Caucasian race. They only see those who come in to do business, who are in there to make money. The first building burned, and some of the others, were where people have had very hard times.

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

Negro Youth Watts, Calif.

* * *

I want to know how come people who do not live in the neighborhood are considered so-called leaders? Just because you are a minister you are 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 went down to Watts to the Westminster Neighborhood Association Center, where Father Sam works. He is one of two white men of the "cloth" who were in Watts all through the revolt.

He took me around a square block between 103 and 102 Sts., pointing out the buildings that were burned out, and 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 although the man who owns it is very much hated. Father Sam said it was not burned because most people in the community had their belongings in there.

A large Food Giant store that should have burned wasn't, because the company put two Negro police guards on duty to protect it, and the people wouldn't hurt these two guards. Safeway was burned to the ground, and a lot of independent food stores as well.

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

He is the only white man at the Center. He said he would like to have a class in Negro history taught at the Center, as they were taught in the Mississippi Freedom Schools.

Core Worker Los Angeles

* * *

One of the Negroes interviewed here said, "when you turn the other cheek, and you get hit on that one, too, then what?" He said he was not going to turn his cheek any more.

Not too long ago the Los Angeles police department suspended one of the men on their force, Michael Hannon, for being a member of a civil rights organization. If he had

been a member of one of the hate-organizations, the John Birch Society, or the White Citizens Council or the KKK, nothing would have been said.

The Birch Society has been reported to have infiltrated police departments throughout the country. These are the elements who administer "law and order" upon the Negro community. They are the ones who have forced the Negroes into the position where there is nothing left for them to do but fight back.

Reader Los Angeles

* * *

A lot of white people get confused because they keep wondering who speaks for the Negro people. Wilkins may say something and the whites think it sounds fine, but they are confused because so many Negroes reject anything Wilkins says, since he represents something that has no connection with their life at all.

Hungry people often think they have nothing in common with the people who are never hungry, and don't have to worry constantly about how their family is going to keep on surviving. That is what finally blew up in Los Angeles.

White Activist Detroit

* * *

Some of the Negroes who are holding high positions and were the first to attack the rioters and call for their punishment do not seem to understand that the only reason they are where they are today is because of the activities of the common Negroes and the civil rights movements. Yet they have no relationship with the working class and poor Negroes who are still on the bottom fighting.

Steel Worker Pittsburgh

* * *

Police brutality everywhere makes you mad. You begin to wonder what the world is coming to. Recently a cop here caught a boy and held him with one hand and shot him through the spine. The boy is paralyzed for life. It is sickening to hear things like this.

When the young teenage colored 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 civil rights people. I don't mean just the leaders, but the CORE Negro members who wanted to talk to the "rioters" and stop the burning without sounding just like the white liberals and everybody else who wanted to stop it.

The Negro leadership wanted the people off the streets so they could begin discussions. That's exactly what they have already had too much of. 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 malpractice, and things just continue to go their merry way.

But as soon as the riots broke out, the fear of God was finally evident in the white power structure.

White Activist Los Angeles

* * *

I believe the events in Los Angeles, if they did anything, pointed to a real failure in the civil rights movement.

Civil Rights Activist Berkeley

* * *

THE FREE SPEECH MOVEMENT

Your recent pamphlet on The Free Speech Movement and the Negro Revolution is not only outstanding reporting, but is worthy of much repeated reading. It really needs to be studied, and not just read.

The multiversity student is indeed as isolated as the assembly line worker. This is because their exploiters do not regard them as human beings — and degradation such as this must be removed whether it is in the classroom or in the factory!

Steady Reader Illinois

* * *

My copy of your newest pamphlet came today and it is really excellent! I don't know how you can put it out for just 50c. It was an excellent idea to include "Marx's Debt to Hegel" in a permanent form this way. I hope it will have a great success.

Friend New York

* * *

You cannot imagine how happy I was to see the new pamphlet. It was excellent, informative, invaluable. Please keep up the good work, and thank you for all you are doing in the struggle for true freedom.

Student California

* * *

We have just translated and published a study pamphlet on Raya Dunayevskaya's original studies on the Russian economy. It is part of a series we intend to do. The next one will include the translation of her lecture on Alienation, which was an Appendix to your own pamphlet on the Free Speech Movement and the Negro Revolution. These articles are much needed for study here.

Teacher Japan

* * *

I liked the Free Speech Movement pamphlet very much (except for the appendix on Hegel, which I thought was a beside-the-point, "artificial" article.) I am sure that it will sell well in university groups here.

Reader Vancouver

* * *

I have read every account I could of the Berkeley Revolt, but yours was by far the most outstanding. Peculiarly, this is not so much because of the excellent articles on the Revolt itself, but because of the Appendix on Alienation by Raya Dunayevskaya, which made more sense out of the events of the entire past year in this country than any of

Views

the direct "analyses" possibly could.

No wonder it was the lecture that the students requested more than any other on her lecture tour last year. When and where will she be lecturing on campuses this year?

Student
Ohio

* * *

EDITOR'S NOTE: Raya Dunayevskaya's national lecture tour this year will be limited to March. The itinerary is not yet completed and those interested in inviting her to their localities may write to her c/o NEWS & LETTERS, 8751 Grand River, Detroit, Mich. 48204.

* * *

VIETNAM & DOMINICA

I think that the push for increasing civil rights legislation as the sugar-coated shroud for escalation of the war in Vietnam is the most incisive point made in the pamphlet on The Free Speech Movement.

However, I think your last editorial on Dominica was somewhat of an overstatement, when it indicated that there is less indignation about Dominica than Vietnam because the former is acknowledged to be in the American sphere of influence while the latter is not. I don't think the "new radicals" are affected that way. I think it is just that the bloodiness, viciousness and violent murder are (at least in magnitude) greater in Vietnam than in Dominica.

Teacher
Canada

* * *

Much of my activity recently has consisted of helping to organize two "teach-ins" here, and to speak in open forum on Vietnam and the Dominican Republic. I have not joined hands with the Communists in vulgar anti-Americanism, however. I simply felt that something had to be said while the situation got more nightmarish every day.

One can criticize (and one does) the strategy of a protest so restricted and elitist as this academic protest has been. One can see that the government has been playing a cat and mouse game with the professors, culminating in the debacle of a Morgenthau yielding ground he didn't earn to a Bundy who sounds like some kind of ex-academic State Dept. phonograph record. But, despite all this, something had to be said, and that was the only open channel.

Instructor
Philadelphia

* * *

If I were LBJ I'd be embarrassed as hell to have to keep saying how everyone is behind the war in Vietnam, and then have to pass a surprise law that after midnight nobody can get out of going by getting married.

The thousands of young people that rushed to the altar to beat the deadline was really far more tragic than it was funny, although I did have to laugh at the reporter who interviewed one of the young couples who didn't get there in time. They weren't the least concerned, he reported—because the young man had both an educational and a physical deferment anyway!

Yes, sir, this certainly is one big popular war!

Technician
Philadelphia

* * *

There are wars and oppression everywhere on our earth, it seems. And no matter where a crisis looms anywhere, it seems as if the U.S. is right there in the middle of the mess.

The role of Red China makes it pretty easy for the U.S. to pretend we are only in Vietnam to fight against Communism, but it beats me how they thought they could get away with the same line when they invaded Dominica.

There were darned few Communists in that country when their revolution started, anyway. But by now it seems that the U.S. has managed to create quite a few down there. I am beginning to become convinced, in fact, that the U.S. does more for Communism, and drives more people into their arms, than the Communists could ever hope to do!

Auto Worker
Detroit

* * *

I never did think that Adlai Stevenson was any great "liberal," but I am convinced that his heart attack was the direct result of having to defend American policy in Vietnam against everything sensible and human that was in him.

Observer
Boston

* * *

I could not help but think, the day I heard of the death of Adlai Stevenson that he would miss World War III. Lucky him!

Student
Wisconsin

* * *

FROM ITALY

As you know, Italy has always had the biggest Communist Party (organizationally) and it looks like it is going to have in the near future the biggest Chinese Communist Party. Their literature and booklets are numerous and well edited here. The content is poor, but for the mass of the members of the Communist Party, who have a very poor Marxist preparation (if any at all), their writings appear revolutionary and they have the sympathy of a lot of supporters.

At present their propaganda is directed against the "American imperialists" and is conducted on the line, "Let's volunteer for Vietnam" (by which they mean "for the Viet Cong").

The pressure has had its effect even on old fighters and the voices against this direction are not very strong. We cannot tell what will be the future developments.

Friend
Italy

* * *

SOUTH USA

The people in one of the counties in Alabama had been asking for a library for years and years, but the whites down there didn't seem to think they needed any. Then your organization and other civil rights groups from the North began sending literature on labor and the Negro, and other books, and the people started their own li-

brary with the books that were coming in.

One of my friends there wrote me that there was so much interest in these books that some of the whites asked to read them too. As soon as they saw what the Negroes were reading, they decided maybe they needed a library after all. Now they are rushing to get one started for them.

Amused
Detroit

* * *

Some 46 Negro children who had registered to go to the all white high school in Hayneville were given a test, and all but five were rejected. All the parents were then threatened that if they complained they and their children would meet the same fate as the white minister who was killed by the so-called special deputy there.

But the week after the cold-blooded murder of that civil rights worker in Hayneville, the Negroes called a mass meeting in that county. As the meeting got underway, several carloads of KKKers came driving up to the Church with guns in hand, pointed at those assembled in the church. Some Negro soldiers on leave rushed out, guns in their hands, and the KKK cars disappeared.

Correspondent
Alabama

* * *

From the time I worked here this summer until now when I just got back, there has been tremendous progress, but because of the fact that this little town was once a real hell-hole, we still have a long way to go. I wish everybody could see this situation first hand. It seems almost impossible that you can get on a plane in the North and an hour and a half later you are in a different world. This is life in the United States today, however, and our obligations are to stay and fight and not to run.

These people need money very bad. Today they didn't even have money to buy paper to get a leaflet out about a mass meeting. Maybe you could pass along our appeal for help, and get some of your readers to come up with a dime or two for the CORE Freedom House. Anything will help. All correspondence should go to: Mr. Bruce Baines, 119 Cedar Street, Jonesboro, Louisiana 71251.

Student Worker
Louisiana

* * *

COAL STRIKE

A wildcat strike over seniority at the Hanna Coal Co. mine in Moundsville, W. Va., resulted in the company's firing of six miners — which in turn set off a bigger wildcat strike that has now spread to Ohio and Pennsylvania. The fact that over 11,000 miners are out in sympathy, and that the wildcat strike is still spreading, shows that the miners have plenty of other grievances. This strike is one way of showing how much we are against man-killing labor sweated out of us by man-killing machines like the continuous miner.

Miner
West Virginia

* * *

Ed. note: Full strike article next issue.

Two Worlds

Ramifications of the Watts Revolt

(Continued from Page 1)

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

THE THIRST "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. It is not easy to bypass the "radical" leaders, 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 the disposal of "the party" as the proletariat is at the disposal of capital.

Earlier I spoke of my opposition to absentee leaders. Let me assure you they are worse when they are present. And let me further assure you that, in my analysis of these leaders, I used the word, "the Party," advisedly. 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 dogma that the masses are backward and it is therefore necessary "to lead them." Theory remains a prerogative of the leadership. In that way these intellectuals bring into whatever organization they belong to, the capitalistic division between mental and manual labor.

Instead of this, what is of the essence if we are to realize freedom, not in a distant tomorrow, but in an approaching today, is an attitude that is adamant against being rent asunder between 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 in any way diverted from participation in the Negro Revolution, why we state in our Perspectives:

Since the postwar strikes, that is to say, 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 with the 1960 sit-ins and has gained momentum ever since. This is the most important development not only for an American Revolution but also for world developments since it touches both the basic relationship of a proletarian West to the East and a black revolution's impact on, and relationship to, the Afro-Asian-Latin American world. Therefore, to divert in any way from this development is, Marxistically speaking, criminal.

Surprised at Mao's "spiritual atom bombs"? Amazed at his thesis that "political power grows out of the barrel of a gun"? Shocked at his accusation that Russian Communism is "aiding American imperialism" in Asia, and at his attempts to make war into a way of life?

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Price: \$5.95

News & Letters

VOL. 10, NO. 6

Aug.-Sept., 1965

News & Letters is published every month except during the summer months when issues appear June-July, August-September, by News & Letters, 8751 Grand River, Detroit 4, Michigan. Telephone: TYler 8-7053. Subscription: \$1 for 12 issues; single copy—10c; for bulk order of ten or more—6c each.

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YOUTH

FSM Trials Try To Destroy Growing Student Solidarity

By Eugene Walker

Los Angeles — The Free Speech Movement has had its trial and "justice" has been done. The FSM is quiet for the moment, and I would like to look at what the State was seeking to destroy by the trial and how it attempted to do so.

From a couple of hundred students working in Civil Rights, the movement grew to thousands actively participating and discussing Civil Rights, then expanded to analyze their role in the very university they attended: the university's and thus their own relation to the outside world, Civil Rights included. The student who carried the sign "I am a UC student. Please don't fold, spindle, or mutilate me," signified the sense of alienation the students felt.

CO-OPERATION ATTACKED

As the movement moved from phase to phase, it became a co-operative movement of students feeling a new sense of mass power capable of challenging those who ran the University. It was this co-operative movement of thousands of students which the State sought to destroy.

The arrests were ordered by the highest political authority in the State, the governor. The charge, trespassing, may seem like a simple criminal one, but the trial was a most political one.

To start with, a jury trial had to be eliminated as there was a chance for acquittal. How was this basic right taken away? The judge, Judge Crittenden, told the defendants that if they insisted on a jury trial, he would break up the defendants into 80 different groups and import judges from all over the state, some quite reactionary, to try the case. But if the defendants would waive jury trial, he would grant a consolidated trial—which the FSM wanted in order to tell its story to the public.

JUDICIAL DOUBLE CROSS

The defense moved for a consolidated trial, which the judge promptly denied, explaining for the press that one jury would have to make 2,000 separate verdicts (800 defendants, each with two or three charges). There could be no "individual justice." Then the defendants filed by one at a time to waive jury trial. After this, Judge Crittenden reversed himself and granted a single consolidated trial. As we shall see, "individual justice" was no problem for him.

In this process of individual jury waivers which took several days, the judge could not resist, when Mario Savio's turn came, launching into a long speech about the sacredness of jury trial and asked Mario if he fully understood what he was doing. This after Crittenden had engineered the elimination of a jury trial. At this point Savio replied, "I fully understand the shameless hypocrisy to which this court has been reduced," and drew two days in jail for contempt of court.

The trial now droned on. After the verdict, the judge, who throughout the trial had excused the defendants from being present at all times, ordered all of them back under bail forfeiture and bench warrants.

THE CATCH: PROBATION

Now real "individual justice"—differential sentencing—came into play. The leadership, Savio, Weinberg, Rossman, et al, would have sentences of two and three months while the rank and file sentences were 10 days suspended. But the real catch was the probation, one and two years probation during which they could not participate in "illegal" sit-ins, demonstrations and so forth. The state was determined to discourage future activity, especially acts of mass civil disobedience. But now the co-operative action

of the students, "the community of protest" as one of the Free Speech Movement students called it,** began to move again. Hundreds of the arrested students have denied the terms of probation and have chosen to go to jail rather than have their activity in civil rights or in the University limited by the State.

It is with this co-operative action of the students that the future of the Free Speech Movement rests.

* Information on the trial comes from an article by Marvin Garson in *The Trial*, a Free Student Union Publication.

** Michael P. Lerner from *The Trial*.

Detroit Schools

Educational Project for Needy A Flop

Detroit, Mich.—I just finished studying a report on the Great Cities Project, which began in depressed areas and is now being heralded as a shining example for the nation. According to the report, tremendous programs have been instituted in inner-city schools here.

As a teacher in one of the most disadvantaged high schools, I must confess that so far as I can see, nothing has changed. Students still stumble through a myriad of courses which fail to reach them or teach them, with a succession of seemingly disinterested teachers, most of whom are themselves numbed by a tremendous overload of work. **STUDENTS SUFFER**

Classrooms are so full that only a very few of the pupils could possibly get the personal attention they need. None of my teacher-acquaintances in other schools speak of any benefits derived from the Great Cities Project either.

But perhaps I am being too harsh. After all, our school did get one remedial reading teacher for 2,700 students. When she came last year she found she could handle about 40 students a day. Unfortunately over 2,000 students needed help. The results of the tests she gave were hushed up quickly; for example, the fact that in one 11th grade class only three pupils passed a 5th grade reading test.

We were also promised a few books for the classroom, although I have no idea where we will have room for them. With 35 students in a classroom which should have no more than 15, it would be hard to find the space for a decent-sized bookshelf. Moreover, since most classrooms have students ranging in ability from the 3rd to the 12th grade, it becomes an almost overwhelming task to find the right books for each student, especially when the average teacher has 170 students a day.

"NO ONE CARES"

Most high school teachers have

five classes a day, with about 35 students jammed into each classroom. They have, in addition, two secretarial or police duties, and one 35 minute period to prepare for the next day's lessons and correct papers from previous days. It is obvious that there is no time at all to spend with students themselves. It is no wonder that 12th grade pupils, when polled as to their biggest criticism of the school system, answered that "no one cares about us here."

A tremendous amount of money has been spent on research, and even more has been wasted on non-essential or worthless material. How many years does it take to find out that children learn better in smaller classrooms and with more individual attention?

The development of adequate reading skills is probably the most difficult educational problem in depressed areas. In some of the elementary schools it was decided to use reading material in which some of the white faces in the books were painted brown, in an effort to create greater interest in the reading material. The effort was a dismal failure, because the textbooks still failed to deal with the facts of life.

Many of the Negro children didn't even want to identify with the Negro children in the textbooks because they had learned very early in life that our society valued white skin and blond hair as signs of "beauty" and "worth." More important, the antiseptic, happy, untroubled home life of the characters and the environment was just as remote from these children as that in the old Dick and Jane series.

NO CULTURE?

One of the biggest reasons for the fiasco of most educational programs in depressed areas is that they look upon the people as having no culture. How wrong could they be! These children have culture far richer than many other Americans. They have a language, food, dances an environment, and an attitude towards life which is all their own.

But instead of taking advantage of these differences, most educators try to shove a new culture down the throats of these children as if they are filling up a void, as if they are giving them a culture where none existed before. And the students rebel every step of the way.

"GOOD RIDDANCE"

Meanwhile, as new schools are built in the inner-city area they are wholly inadequate and overcrowded by the very first day the doors are opened. The schools continue to do nothing to adapt to the special needs of deprived children. There are no services for students with home problems although these problems often keep them in school physically but absent mentally. There is no help for the ready-to-drop-out student except a "good riddance" and a sigh that there will be one less student to care for.

Except for remedial classes which the students are too embarrassed to go to, there is no help for the student who is poor in reading. As for his other courses, there is no help at all.

There are few teachers, he feels, who really care whether he stays in school or not. In short the students who feel "no one cares" about them find very little to change their view.

Bogalusa: The Terror and Rewards

Bogalusa, La.—I had to get to Bogalusa by driving straight through it and on into New Orleans. I wanted very much to get off the bus at Bogalusa, mainly so I wouldn't miss the march scheduled there that day, but I had been given strict orders not to.

I asked three times, in fact, but I obeyed my instructions, and found out when I finally got there why CORE had been so strict about it. It seems a white man had got off the bus in Bogalusa about two weeks earlier and had been unwise enough to ask a white cab driver to take him to the civil rights headquarters. He wound up with two broken arms and other very serious injuries.

The people at the CORE number I called when I got to New Orleans told me a car was just about to leave for Bogalusa, and would pick me up. I felt fortunate that the driver was one of the Negro veterans of the struggles there. One of the other girls in the car with us was a girl who had given up college to stay in the struggle in the South. She was almost starving, and had been at the office hoping to find a place to sleep for that night. I bought her dinner.

The most dangerous place between Bogalusa and New Orleans is a little town called Sun. It is a small place, with a jail. The jail has a flat roof, and a broiling sun beats on it all day. Nobody wants to end up there. So you drive through Sun at a speed so fast you hope they won't even see you whizzing by.

The normal highway speed there, for example, is 80; but, as soon as he could, our driver speeded it up to 100. I don't like to drive fast anywhere—but under the circumstances in Sun, I didn't make one protest.

THE DEACONS

In Bogalusa I met the Deacons for the first time. They act solely as guards and chauffeurs for the civil rights workers. They never initiate raids on the Klan or even retaliate against the Klan raids. Their policy is not one of retaliation, but self-preservation.

The town has two Negro sections, divided by a white section. Without protection you couldn't get from one Negro section to the other, even in broad daylight. At night you don't even try.

The first morning I was in town we picketed some of the establishments on Main Street,

and I lost my glasses and my watch, which I had given to one of the young boys to keep in his pocket for me. During the picketing he got punched in the nose by a white by-stander and he forgot he was non-violent and knocked the man down. He was terribly embarrassed about it, and he wound up in jail, with my glasses and watch, which I assume were confiscated by the police.

He really knew all the non-violent techniques very well, and as soon as he got out of jail, CORE made sure to refresh his memory by making him the one to rehearse the techniques with all the new people who were arriving. He rehearsed us well, but with a very sheepish grin. **STATE TROOPERS ON GUARD**

The Deacons were not in evidence while we were picketing. They drove us to the picket lines and back home again, but if we were attacked while on the line, we had been instructed to stay non-violent and go to jail.

The people who guarded us on the picket line were the state troopers. At times I counted no less than 14 troopers guarding two of us. And this was at the time that the number of troopers was actually being reduced. They were training fish and game wardens, about 200 of them, to take their place, because the Governor thought the crisis had passed.

It was a unique experience for me, a peaceful white Northerner, to find myself, by necessity, being guarded on the public streets by an army of uniformed men carrying sub-machine guns.

The scene, repeated again and again before my eyes, was of some 200 smiling and gayly singing United States citizens, the majority of them teens and sub-teens, hurrying down a dusty road in a residential section of this small Louisiana city. As they passed by the rows of unpainted, white-owned and Negro-inhabited "shotgun houses" (three unplastered rooms placed together, end to end, behind the front porch like a row of boxes) the Louisiana State Troopers hurried to keep pace, and two helicopters marked with Army insignia circled constantly overhead. Obviously the thought of attack on these cheerful but determined marchers is a possibility not at all remote.

What unspeakable change in the way of life of the community are these people seeking? The

overthrow of the forces of law and order? The subversion of public and private morality? Yes, insofar as that so-called law and order is brutal and unjust, and the morality is a false and corrupt one. They are, indeed, committed to revolutionary changes.

CHANGES SOUGHT

Some of the changes sought involve the most basic necessities of human life and well-being, such as normal medical services and protection from physical attack.

The so-called Civil Rights Workers are considered to be the sworn enemies of decent society. For example, the clinic of the Medical Commission for Human Rights located in one small Louisiana community is prevented from using the services of any volunteer physician who is licensed to practice in the state of Louisiana, since the last one who came in was forced to leave hurriedly under threat of death.

New civil rights workers are instructed never to accept medical attention from any white doctor while in Bogalusa. No matter how sick you might be, your health would in all probability be worse after than before, if you did.

There is not a Negro doctor, nurse, or dentist in the entire town. Doctors in the two local hospitals may arbitrarily refuse to admit, treat, or even see a Negro patient. This common practice, contrary to the most elementary standards of human compassion recently resulted in the death of a respected elderly Negro woman.

Under such circumstances, brutality administered or sanctioned by officials and law enforcement agencies are accepted methods of controlling the Negro community. The officials in control of policy-making may be encouraged to improve equal law enforcement in time by uncompromising court decree, backed by threat of heavy fines.

In Bogalusa, for example, as soon as they began to realize they could be fined \$100 a day they began to wonder about their long immunity from the federal laws. Once the Federal District Judge Christenberry ruled against them, they began to plead every half hour on the radio for the population to stay away from the demonstrations. It wasn't our lives they cared about, of course, but the money they might lose.

(Continued next month)

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Two Reports

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 Washington, D. C., Aug. 6-9, have been played down by the press, and for good reason. The feeling of unrest and critical concern with the government's stand on Viet Nam was strongly represented by people from all over the nation—New York, Berkeley, Philadelphia, Los Angeles, Madison, and Detroit, to name a few.

There were also many people there for civil rights and peace, to add to the general atmosphere of concern for the direction in which Johnson is leading our country.

CONTINUOUS ACTIVITY

Activities for the four days were: Friday, Aug. 6—A spontaneous all night vigil at the main entrance to the White House to commemorate the 20th anniversary of the dropping of the atomic bomb on Hiroshima, and to protest the growing threat of a world-wide repeat performance.

Saturday, Aug. 7—Viet Nam, peace, and civil rights workshops throughout the day on the grounds of the Washington Monument, and another spontaneous, all night vigil completely surrounding the White House.

Sunday, Aug. 8—Conclusion of Saturday's vigil with arrests of 34 people, many of whom were needlessly beaten during and after the arrests. To protest this, a spontaneous picket was held all day by, at one point, over 500 people. Educational workshops were also continued.

Monday, Aug. 9—March on the Capitol by 800 people to read a declaration of peace from the Assembly of Unrepresented Peoples to the people of Viet Nam, followed by the arrests of 316 people for holding our Assembly on the sidewalk when our path to the steps was blocked by the police.

FORM COORDINATING COMMITTEE

The four day meeting of the over two thousand registered accomplished four main things. First of all, a committee was formed to co-ordinate the activities of and provide communication between all the "end the war in Viet Nam" groups from around the nation.

Secondly, the 20 workshops gave everyone an excellent opportunity to learn about things not usually found in text books. Subjects ranged from Puerto Rico and the Dominican Republic to the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party and the Free Speech University movement, as well as Viet Nam.

A third accomplishment was the unified act of representing the feelings, from around the nation, of opposition to the government's policies and actions in Viet Nam. However, during our march on the Capitol, resulting in the largest case of mass arrests in Washington since World War II, Johnson still stated that he felt that 100% of the American people were in agreement with his policies in Viet Nam.

ALL WERE EDUCATED

Lastly, the four day meeting was a personal educational experience for everyone that

came. The police brutality and the injustice of the courts (sentences of three days, five days, 30 days and 90 days were handed out for the same offenses) opened the eyes of many people who, before these four days, had dealt mainly with the idealistic side of life.

Despite the fact that we were all dedicated to the principles of non-violence, we were attacked on all fronts. Two members of the American Nazi Party threw red paint on us. A marine attacked one of our picket members. But this we expected.

We didn't anticipate the extent of brutality by Federal Security Police. One policeman walked up to a girl with a long red pony tail, wrapped his hand around it twice, and dragged her to the police van, pulling much of her hair out—scalp and all.

To protest the violence, a Bishop of the Church of England went limp in front of the van. The police took off his shoes, beat his feet until he was unconscious, and dragged him away. There were dozens of such cases of needless, uncalled for, brutality, many of which were recorded by T.V. film cameras and reporters.

BASIC RIGHTS VIOLATED

But, the main issue isn't a question of police brutality. It is one of the basic foundation of democracy—our rights of peaceful assembly, the freedom of speech, and the freedom of the press.

Why were we arrested and beaten for trying to assemble peacefully on the Capitol grounds to express our views? What happened to the T.V. films of police brutality? Why didn't the press of the nation cover this side of the march?

If the present power structure can so successfully squelch what is happening in front of the Capitol, how much easier is it for them to completely distort what is really happening in Viet Nam, the Dominican Republic, and other "battlefronts" around the world?

From Baltimore

Baltimore, Md.—On Aug. 9, 1965, another facade of American democracy was demolished. There was a rally in the Sylvan Theater of the Washington Monument at which we enacted the principles of participatory democracy. All decisions pertaining to the forms and content of civil disobedience were discussed and decided upon. The consensus was not a pre-ordained one, nor was it manipulated by a clique that tried to give the gathering a sense of decision-making. It was derived by all of us. If there was a substantial minority opinion on any issue a new decision had to be derived.

The police agents and reporters present seemed puzzled by this activity. It seemed incomprehensible to them.

MARCH ON CAPITOL

After the rally, we marched down the Mall toward the Capitol. In my vicinity was a handful of Japanese journalists who were mostly students, and the chaplain of the Columbia University. The police told us that Third Street was the boundary, but the march kept proceeding toward its goal. Then a new boundary line was

established. This time it was First Street. There the front line was assaulted by a group of out-of-uniform members of George Lincoln Rockwell's Nazi Party, with cans of red paint. Several newspaper reporters were also assaulted with the paint, including Andrew Gloss of the N.Y. Herald Tribune. The police politely arrested the Nazis, and they were charged only with disorderly conduct and fined ten dollars.

As we grouped around the side of the Capitol, seeking to get to the steps to read Declarations of Peace, we were met by a phalanx of several hundred police. Bob Moses and Staughton Lynd were immediately arrested and the electricity of the sound equipment was cut off. The Establishment apparently believed that if the so-called leaders were arrested, it would demobilize the entire Assembly.

Instead, it was at this point that the Assembly sat down where they were and began their Assembly of Unrepresented People. Declarations of Peace were read by peace groups and individuals from all over the country, illustrating the continental nature of the Assembly.

For over an hour we were permitted to conduct the meeting, but when a few individuals insisted upon their Constitutional right to petition Congress, they were suppressed by a charging, almost hysterical team of trained riot-police. Five non-violent citizens were greeted as if they were an armed force invading the Capitol.

POLICE BRUTALITY

The demonstrators were beaten and hustled into a police bus. Going limp was viewed as a personal affront to the police. One individual trying to protect his head accidentally touched a policeman. He was charged with assaulting a policeman which carries a potential sentence of several years imprisonment. Another demonstrator who is frequently involved in D. C. protests almost had his eye gouged out.

The tactic appeared to be that an early display of police brutality would scatter the Assembly. Instead, it only increased the dedication of the crowd. One woman who came to retrieve her daughter was so startled by what she saw that she said she had to remain to protest what she considered to be Nazi-style treatment of political objectors.

Demonstrators were tossed into police vans like hunks of meat. At the police station they were left to sweat from half an hour to an hour in the police vans in over 100 degree heat. One of those who fainted from heat exhaustion was Andrew Gloss, the reporter, who had been arrested because the red paint on his clothes led police to believe he was a member of the Assembly. He wrote about the brutality in the Herald Tribune, but every other paper refused to describe the police actions.

In the next couple of days a mass of kangaroo trials were conducted. Sentences varied according to the bias of each of the three judges. One judge mockingly and contemptuously inquired what was Antioch College. The sentences ranged from \$100 to \$500 fines and from three to 90 days in jail with no options. There are still many left in the D. C. jail. Contributions to a bail fund can be sent to the Washington Summer Project, 819 Independence Ave., S. E., Washington, D. C.

Fire of Revolt was Purifying

(Continued from Page 1)
fare people, black and white bourgeoisie, and in a direct way by the white Christian Church. By the police department which is free from corruption, but deals in the sphere of human relations like the Spanish inquisition; by the welfare people who deal like the Pharisee with the jot and tittle of the law; by the black and white bourgeoisie who bury their heads in sand like the ostrich; and by those of the Christian faith who forget their leader walked, lived, and died in the streets and not behind an altar.

Because of their failure the problem becomes economic. Black and white together is passe. Integration is only a word. It appears the only way a black man is going to be seen in the society is if he can buy his way into the power structure. One would like it to be different, but we must deal with the world as it is, not as we would like it to be. We may like to be idealists, but reality is the warp and wool of our daily existence.

There is one other group that has failed, too—the civil rights organizations! Like the above mentioned groups (except for SNCC) they have failed in the nitty gritty. After the glamour of picket lines and the drama of civil disobedience, they have

melted into the background. Since they have not been in the community, they have not reflected the most surface problems facing the Negro population. I am reminded of the refrain, "When will they ever learn—when will they ever learn."

'IT WAS A REVOLT'

And so the word is "Burn, baby, burn." The frustration of the people who have been called monkeys, drunks, hoodlums, reared its head. To some people the action was a riot, a holocaust. To those who know, it was a revolt, a purifying fire. The voice crying in the wilderness, "How long, how long?"

The aftermath—enter the academician with his survey; the politician with his committee; the theologian with his judgement; the newsman with his yellow journalism; but damn few with the understanding that this is a revolution. And the action is not in a survey, a committee, a pulpit, or a newspaper, but in the streets.

Where do we go from here? The community alone can determine this. The white and black bourgeoisie can send money. They can possibly help with their presence—but not on a short range basis. This time it is for keeps.

Watts: Warning & Challenge

(Continued from Page 1)

"Whitey." Several people yelled it and there was a crash of glass, probably an automobile window.

As I headed toward the freeway two fellows, each with bricks in his hand, stopped to see if I was white or Negro. I realized for the first time how dark the night was, and how dirty my windshield. Then I heard the magic words that released me. "Brother" said one. "Blood" said the other.

A few feet further on I heard the hated word, "Whitey," and again the crash of glass behind me. A driver passed me a little later, his right window completely broken out. He seemed dazed, trying to figure out what had happened. Two blocks farther on the streets were deserted and quiet like any other night.

LEADERS HELPLESS

The next day I was to help with some leaflets and went to the United Civil Rights Commission office. I found out that there was a hastily called community meeting at the public park in the riot area. Present before the TV cameras were the local civil rights leaders, representatives of local government, the County Human

Relations Chairman and staff. Each person was drumming for his own pet project: the removal of Police Chief Parker, the Poverty Program, etc. Everybody talked a lot, but nobody said anything—except the kids.

Along the walls were a number of Negro youths who seemed to be in the tow of some Negro social workers and probation officers. When it came time for the youths to speak, one of them, obviously a gang leader, said, "You have got to give them something." He said the people he knew demanded an act of good faith from the city fathers. Something that showed them things would be different. Nobody understood him.

I felt that if this meeting ended without some act of good faith forthcoming, the city—or at least this section of it—was doomed. The one thing I could think of was for the police to pull out and turn the job over to a citizen force made up of young black men of the community.

I had no standing as a leader, however. Even Don Smith, Chairman of L. A. CORE, was purposely not called on to speak. So my little plan never got beyond my

Continued on Page 8)

The Free Speech Movement and the Negro Revolution

by Mario Savio Eugene Walker
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Watts: Warning & Challenge

(Continued from Page 7)
head. The meeting broke up and everyone knew there was plenty of trouble ahead.

"WHITEY" WON'T GO FOR IT

The next morning, Friday, I went to the CORE office to pick up another friend and head for the riot area once more. It was about 10 a.m. when we got to Will Rogers Park. There we found Don Smith, several newsmen, a couple of people from city agencies—all trying to use one telephone in the park office. The place had the air of a wartime command-post.

A young man came running in to tell us that the crowds were forming at 103rd St. and Compton, two blocks away, and that unless something was done the crowds were going to burn down the area. A young Negro woman from Westminister was with two or three hundred kids and she said she couldn't hold them back any longer. I thought of my little plan of yesterday.

We asked the young woman to march the youths to Will Rogers Park, while the rest of us tried to get the crowd forming on 103rd to come too, for one large demonstration where we could present our idea. Some youths were sitting in the park and one was whittling. I asked him, "What would you think of the idea of the cops pulling out for the next couple of nights and you and your friends policing the area? Would they go for it?"

"Alright," he said, still whittling while the crowd formed on one corner and the police on the other, "but Whitey will never go for it."

ONE HALF HOUR TO GO

It was clear that there was not much time to get something done—after that it would be too late. We needed a public address system to announce the meeting, so at first we tried to get one from the nearest police station.

I made it very clear that if we did not get the p.a. system in a half hour, the whole place would go down. I asked a policeman about it and he said he thought they would give us the horns. I do not know why, but they did not.

While I was walking back down 103rd there was a white Catholic priest on the street, who was well known in the area, and he was not touched. He was urging everyone to attend the meeting at 11:30. He was the bravest man I ever saw.

As I was walking down the street I told everyone I saw that there was a meeting at the park at 11:30, and they answered, "Yes brother," and went on their way. It was almost comical, for by this time there were a lot of people with guns taken from the pawnshops. Here I was, stopping a man with guns in his arms to tell him about the meeting. He'd answer, "OK, brother," and we both knew he had no intention of being there.

By this time police cars were cruising into the area, but not even attempting to intercept or arrest the looters; there were too many of them, about 1,000. I saw unbelievable things, like a cop with a riot gun just standing on the street while the people ran past him with guns in their hands. He didn't dare do a thing to stop them.

When I got back to the Community Center at Will Rogers Park I recalled that the UAW had a public address system, so I called them. I told the lady on the phone that we had an emergency situation in Watts and that in about half an hour the whole business district would go up in smoke. There might still be a possibility of averting this if we could get the p.a. system in time and preferably brought down by a Negro.

They didn't have any Negro people in the office at that particular moment, and in any case they had to check with someone first about letting us use the p.a. system.

MEETING A FLOP

Finally I sent a young man to get the equipment and he got it. But by this time 11:30 had come and gone, and no one had come to the meeting, including the 300 kids from Westminister. Furthermore, by the time he returned with the p.a. system, about six bus loads of cops (and only two men out of the whole six busloads were Negro) had arrived on the scene and were unloading. From the moment of this confrontation between the police and the crowds, that was it.

The radio reported that rioting had broken out at 55th and Avalon, so we set out for there. On one side street people were watering their lawns and clipping their hedges. In the park, couples sat on the grass and talked. And two blocks away two overturned cars were burning and a liquor store near the corner was on fire.

SOME LIVES SAVED

Just then a white driver either wandered into the intersection or was trying to get out. Someone yelled "Whitey" and threw a rock into his windshield while the crowd converged on his car. In a minute all the windows were broken and someone was inside beating him. Don Smith, Cleveland Wallace, and I ran over and began begging and shoving the crowd away. The white man's arms were bloody from the broken glass and he appeared to be in shock.

We were yelling "Don't kill him, brother, don't kill him" — and the crowd turned and yelled back, "Whitey wouldn't help you." Somehow, with another CORE member and a minister, we managed to get the crowd away from the white man and then the crowd started to take up the cry to let him go to the hospital, and he got in his car and somehow managed to start it and drive away.

We decided that there was something we could do after all. We could save a few lives. So we went down a few blocks from the intersection and stationed ourselves to turn back any cars with white people in them.

We felt drained, but there was another feeling all during the riot. When we walked the streets where the police were beaten and ineffective I felt for the first time in all my life in America like a free man. This is a hell of a condemnation of this country.

NOT A RIOT, BUT A WAR

By Saturday morning there was a clear division in Watts. There were the fighters, an army of youngsters 18 to 25, the age of all armies. These were the ones who fought the police, knocked off all the pawnshops and set fire to the businesses. They did very little looting. The looting was done by older people.

My feeling is that this was not a riot, but a war. A small war for limited objectives. First was the destruction of the police force as an object of intimidation instead of law enforcement. Second was the destruction of alien white business as a parasitical force in the Negro Community. Both objectives were won. This is not withstanding the killing of over 30 Negroes after the arrival of the Guard.

Finally, I feel that this was just a tremor which revealed the presence of an impending volcano. If the country undertakes a herculean effort to alleviate the accumulated wrongs to the Negro people we may escape disaster. But this effort should have been undertaken yesterday. How we can arrange that with yesterday gone may be our undoing.

Our Life and Times

By Peter Mallory

Tragedy of India-Pakistan War

No issue in the newly erupted war between India and Pakistan serves the interests of the working people of either country. It is true that self-determination for Kashmir, the territory over which the two countries are fighting, was not granted it by newly-independent India. But it is equally true that Pakistan's war at the time of India's finally winning its independence from the British empire could be of help only to the "divide and rule" policy of imperialism.

Ever since the division of what was once a united land, the military dictator, Ayub Kahn of Pakistan, even as the more democratic but equally bourgeois Nehru of India,

used religious differences to cover up the desire for territory, and caused the death of countless thousands in both countries. This is what Shastri inherited from Nehru at a time when India had been further weakened by the war against it from the side of China, which presently encourages Pakistan in its adventure.

A further irony in this war is that both sides are using weapons supplied by both Russia and the United States intended as weapons against Mao's China. Mao Tse-tung stands to gain most from this war since it weakens both countries in what Mao considers to be "his" world.

The workers of the world

have nothing to gain from a victory by either side, or, for that matter, by any eventual victory of Mao's China. The only thing that can possibly be achieved is the extension of the war in Asia to the point where it becomes World War III. What the Communist Party of Indonesia is accomplishing in supporting Sukarno in offering military aid to Pakistan is to further confuse the issues and to prove itself faithful disciples of Chinese Communism's substitution of imperialist war for social revolution. The American working people must oppose all military solutions, striving for fraternization among the people, and against the ruling classes.

Yemen

The civil war in Yemen, which has been going on for several years, has been settled by the two outside forces that have kept it going, Nasser of Egypt and King Feisal of Saudi-Arabia. Within less than 48 hours, Nasser, who has maintained a 50,000 man Army in Yemen supporting the republicans, and King Feisal, who has poured men and material into the Royalist cause, sat down and settled all issues.

Egypt will withdraw its army over the next 10 months and the Saudi's agreed to stop helping the royalists. No one asked either side in Yemen what they thought, since they were not present at the "peace conference."

The five million people of Yemen are 90% illiterate and have been kept that way by a succession of despotic rulers. The present peace will hardly change the situation; once again a small country has become a pawn between two larger countries, without any regard for the will of the people.

Red China

Swimming, under Mao Tse-tung, has become a national sport involving millions. Like everything in China, nothing should be wasted—including one's swimming talents.

Last month 748 people swam in the coastal waters near Canton—making a one way trip to the Portuguese colony of Macao and freedom.

J. Edgar Hoover

It has been stated openly and publicly that the foreign policy of J. Edgar Hoover has prevailed over that of Lyndon B. Johnson. The issue was the proposed consular treaty with the Soviet Union, which had the endorsement of the U. S. State Dept.

Hoover, on March 4, testified before the House appropriations committee that the signing of the treaty meant that Soviet intelligence services realized, "a cherished goal." Secretary of State Rusk, on July 30, testified to the opposite, calling the treaty, "an important development" in relations with the Soviet Union that was advantageous to the United States.

Hoover's attack on American foreign policy was taken up by right wing groups such as the "Liberty Lobby" who sent out 160,000 letters to their friends, who in turn de-

luded the Senate with Hoover's complaints.

Right wing Republicans Hickenlooper, Mundt and Williams, along with their Democratic counterparts Lausche and Dodd, joined Hoover's attack.

Unwilling to face defeat by failing to obtain the two-thirds majority needed in the Senate to ratify a treaty, L.B.J. permitted the Hoover right wing to carry the day and withdrew the bill.

Santo Domingo

An uneasy peace, after five months of struggle, has settled over the Dominican Republic. A compromise government to be headed by Hector Garcia-Godoy has been appointed by the O.A.S. with the consent of both sides.

He now, without an army of his own, faces the armed forces of the U. S. invaders, the military clique of General Antonio Imbert Barreras and the armed forces of the rebels. To maintain an armed truce is one thing, to build a government based on popular support is quite another. Garcia-Godoy has proven only one thing so far: he can serve equally well on either side of the barricades, as his service with both Trujillo and Juan Bosch testify. Lacking any kind of popular support among the masses, he can be nothing but a tool of the strongest military group.

The alleged "peace" was brought about when the U. S. refused to continue to pay the bills for the "military junta" headed by General Barreras. When the same group is "appointed" by Garcia-Godoy as the military chiefs of the new government, then the U. S. can continue their payments while the junta "mops-up" its enemies.

When the American intervention started, even they could find only 58 people who they claimed to be "communists." Now it is obvious to all observers that thousands have joined political parties that owe their allegiance to Peking, Havana or Moscow. The people of Santo Domingo are not to blame for finding their political choices so limited. People seeking freedom from oppression will hardly embrace the political philosophy of the invader of their country, be he from either Washington or Peking.

Cuba

Early Castro policy called for an armed people as the best safeguard for his revolu-

tion. Everywhere in the country, armed militia men and women were to be seen on the streets.

A number of incidents have been reported where these guns were used to shoot at Castro and his friends. As of Sept. 1, Castro has ordered all guns turned in.

Ramiro Valdes, Minister of Interior for Castro, stated in a recent radio speech, "We must fight against internal espionage, acts of terrorism and attempted assassinations," which lets the cat out of the bag on the reason for calling in all arms in the hands of a bitterly disappointed population.

Apparently Castro cannot trust even his own army, since Radio Havana keeps warning, "All citizens must turn in their combat weapons, civilians must take arms to police stations and soldiers to military headquarters."

Zambia

The new nation of Zambia, formerly Northern Rhodesia, under the leadership of Kenneth Kaunda, is in a fortunate position regarding its copper exports, which amount to about \$400 million per year and which will support the plans to develop the economy of the country.

The small fly in the ointment is the transportation of coal to smelt the ore and the export of the copper which must take place over the Rhodesia Railroad passing through the segregationist countries of Southern Rhodesia and Mozambique, the latter a Portuguese colony. The threats of the white racists in these countries has created interest in building a new railroad through Tanzania to the port of Dar-es-Salaam.

President Julius Nyerere of Tanzania has a team of engineers from Peking on the scene surveying a route, which Kaunda refuses to let enter his country. Both countries want the new railroad, which the World Bank and the U. N. advise against. England and the U. S. have offered funds for a survey.

While this could become another incident like the Dulles bungling of the Aswan dam in Egypt, the need for a new railroad, free from intervention on either side of the Bamboo Curtain or American "containment," is a prime necessity for the development of Zambia.