

# THE TRUTH

ABOUT THE  
WATTS

SUMMER FESTIVAL



-creek, July, 1972

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- o How does the Watts Festival hustle the Black Community?
- o Why has the festival committee never made public financial statements to the Black Community?
- o Why has the sheriff's department and the L.A.P.D. never revealed the total number of persons arrested during festivals?
- o What was the original purpose of the festival?
- o Who benefits from the festival?

IF YOU CANNOT ANSWER THESE QUESTIONS NOW, YOU WILL BE ABLE TO AFTER READING--

"THE TRUTH ABOUT THE WATTS SUMMER FESTIVAL"

This inquiry is dedicated to the eternal memory of 39 ruthlessly slaughtered members of the Black Community, at the hands of homicidal police and military agencies, seven years ago.

It is also a Revolutionary salute to the lives and egalitarian conduct of two fallen comrades, Melvin X (assassinated June 6, 1970 by local repressive forces) and Ndugu Bidi (killed in an explosion July 2, 1970 outside the notoriously brutal Compton police garrison).

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The concept of a "Watts Summer Festival" was originally conceived by a handful of impassioned Black Nationalists in late February, 1966 when barely six months had lapsed since the historic "Watts Riot" of August '65. The celebration, or rather festival as it has since come to be known, was to mark the first anniversary of the Rebellion, and would have two essential features or aims:

First, it was to commemorate the achievements of the uprising--namely, the privilege and daring of those who burned and "looted"

-the wide participation and unprecedented unity of those who defied and fought police, sheriff deputies, state highway patrolmen, and national guardsmen

-the gaining of international attention and concern for local injustices and misery

-and the new form and intensity of struggle pitted against the unrelieved exploitation and terror of the Black Community by unscrupulous merchants, landlords, massive unemployment, criminally inadequate welfare, dishonest politicians, racist judicial processes, police lawlessness and other inhuman agencies and institutions far too numerous to list here.

Second, it would be an occasion to memorialize, honor and pay tribute to those 39 members of our community whose lives were unmer-

cifully snuffed-out--from the six-year old boy to the 63-year old man. In fact, it was at such an afternoon Memorial service in honor of Brother Malcolm X (ruthlessly assassinated a year earlier---and who had himself predicted 1965 to be the most explosive year of the decade) that the festival concept was born and casually pondered. These initial architects of the "celebration to mark and rejoice at the momentum and daring of the uprising"and "memorialize and pay tribute to its Black victims" would suffer bitter disappointment later. For there were others, including some of those who sat among them that somber Sunday afternoon in February of '66, who would steal the concept, claim it as their own, distort its real value and purpose and create the most corrupt, self-serving, counter-revolutionary political instrument to ever rise and threaten the Los Angeles Black Community in recent history---the "Watts Summer Festival."

## THE FACTS

### The Blood-Stained Circus Tent

The most carefully guarded secret of officious festival administrators has been the annual festival arrest data, including number of arrests, the sex and age of those taken into custody, the classification of charges, and the final dispositions. The truth of the matter is that the festival area, especially Will Rogers Park, is used as a training and testing ground for dry-runs in crowd monitoring and control, civil disturbance conditioning, arrest procedures under simulated riot conditions and experimentation with anti-riot equipment by local law enforcement agencies. Sheriff's deputies, for example, saturate and encircle Will Rogers Park in groups of four or in cars, harassing, intimidating and terrorizing almost everyone they do not directly threaten, brutalize and/or place under arrest. The unusually heavy flow through the area at festival time of narcotics, trip juice, liquor and various other incapacitating concoctions make the unwary and the defenseless easy prey for homicidal police and sheriff's deputies. Last year, reliable grapevine estimates put the five-day arrest toll at fifteen hundred. Another source surfaced eleven hundred and thirty-two as the number taken prisoner. In any event, both these figures are staggering. The '65 Rebellion precipitated over four thousand arrests--but for alleged mob violence, looting, and insurrection. Here are figures revealing more than a quarter and nearly half of that number arrested for attending a peaceful festival, intent merely upon having a good time. There has never been one rock thrown, one cop sniped, or one window smashed during a festival. Why then so many arrests? The festival organizers, the sheriffs and police departments

could never rationally and satisfactorily explain it, that is why the six festival arrest totals to this day have remained a secret. It is obvious that the community reaction would be one of outrage, charges of misconduct and barbarism would be levelled from all quarters---in essence, it would revive old criticisms and open the door to fresh, more determined attacks against law enforcement immorality and repressive policies.

Are the systematic arrests of those who attend the festivals brutalized? Are some later released, rather than booked? What offenses are they alleged to have committed? How many were able to raise bail? How many must remain in jail awaiting trial? How many could afford adequate legal representation? How many of those arrested were young women? How many were minors? How many were fined, given probation, or sent to the county jail? How many were given indefinite state prison sentences? These questions must be answered by those responsible for the abducting, ransoming and persecuting of festival victims.

Since it is common knowledge, that at least 75% of all Black men in the curfew area already have police records, it is likely stiff penalties were meted out to them. Many join the broken and desperate captives that fill the state prisons. Profits from state prison labor in California exceed \$125,000,000 annually, and are second in earnings only to the state's aerospace industry. The more than sixty per cent minority inmate population are agricultural and industrial slaves--forced to labor at gunpoint for two to sixteen cents an hour. The scum referred to as the California "corrections" system, reputed to be the third largest in the world, is a modern day institution of slavery in its most advanced and subtle form. Prisoners are warehoused, experimented on, and forced into involuntary servitude---uncompensated labor. The plantation armed overseer in the saddle in the 1860's is no different than a guard in a

Soledad or Wayside guntower in the 1970s. It must be clearly understood that the yearly festival arrests contribute their share ultimately, of cheap human labor to the human wastebaskets of San Quentin, Tracy and C.I.W. The county jail, Sybilbrand and Juvenile Hall, are in reality but a stone's throw in space and time from the broken men and women in the state's prisons.

From the second festival in '67 until the one last year festival events and attractions have been confined primarily to Will Rogers "Memorial" Park. No one in the Black Community probably knows or cares who he was, and would certainly not waste their time and energy finding out. But Will Rogers was a racist, ultra-conservative, anti-communist, peckerwood cowboy who loved and defended America, but despised its Black inhabitants. The naming of the park in his memory is a symbolic white assertion addressed to the Black Community---we shall command and you shall obey! Will Rogers was not more Cherokee Indian than he was Irish anyway--he was a racist, super-white American who detested Black people and "our" park should not bear his name.

It came as no surprise to learn that the festival actually had to "rent" the park last year for \$14,000 with \$1,000 later deducted as a "humanitarian gesture" by the Department of Parks and Recreation. In years previous to last year's festival, the park was "rented" for \$2,500 but when the \$135,000 grant to the festival from Model Cities became public the rental fee was raised. Thirteen thousand dollars of outstanding festival debts resulted from use of the park!

The festival since its inception has been as successful economically and as profitable politically to our enemies as Christmas. During the Christmas holidays, the

white, disarming, passive--nonviolence of Christianity tightens its grip on an apprehensive yet impressionable Black Community. The Department of Water and Power increases its profits from elaborate Christmas light decorations, while the same merchants that survived '65 and some of the enterprising new ones, maximize their profits by raising the price of inferior or worthless merchandise. Festival time too, is like Christmas time--trifling, almost valueless, cutrate novelties together with harmful beverages and foodstuffs are peddled at the park by "unlicensed" and unaccountable con-artists and Black power pimps. Those fly-by-night festival and rally hustlers sell everything from stale popcorn and 50% water, pork-hot dogs to "personalized"astrological forcasts and Black balloons.

The festival, too, is a panorama of the most unusual and reprehensible political combinations; the dope-man and the businessman with arms extended over one another's shoulders sizing up the crowd, local "militant" celebrities posing for photographs with corrupt public officials, scantily-outfitted, cause-button wearin' white whores with double-O-soul and the Black undercover cop with the neighborhood snitch together---patting their feet and bobbin' their heads to the rhythm of the conga drums.

Ironically, booths and concession stands during the first two festivals ('66 and '67) cost only \$50.00. Since that time the charge for booths skyrocketed to \$250.00 to \$300.00 to help pay for the rental of the park.

The once familiar overflow crowds of patronizing, guilty white liberals that fearlessly swarmed the first couple of festivals have stayed away in recent years. An unsuspecting few manage to wander into the nauseating disorder but the atmospheric tension quickly drives them away. Not unlike Blacks, whites who attend the festival, are either

foolish in the extreme or wicked. They are there to exploit or submit to exploitation; to either line their own pockets at someone else's expense, or surrender their wallets at someone else's request; and to inflict injuries or sustain them---this unfortunately is the dual character of the festival crowd. The two main targets of the Rebellion seven years ago were unquestionably the merchants and the police----white authority and white exploitation. Yet the festival appears to be an effort to revive them. Those vivid recollections of our dead and wounded, the brutality and detention and the more than four thousand captive hostages are seemingly re-enacted on a smaller scale at annual festivals.

#### The Slave Auction Block

Beauty pageants, or competition in public expositions for rewards, do nothing to prepare our people for struggle ----they are counter-productive and counter-revolutionary. The beauty not only of the Black woman, but of the community does not have to be exhibited or paraded across a stage in search of attention or acceptance, particularly in a decadent white world. A single Black woman is just not the standard of beauty among a race of people where beauty abounds. Therefore no person or group has the sanction or right to rate one Black woman over another. Max Factor faces and miss america style contests are a no-no in the Black Revolutionary World.

Although women selected for the court are supposed to reflect the women of Watts, two-thirds of the pageant finalists last August were enrolled in college with the other third holding high-paying jobs in business and other

professional categories. This is not representative of the poor and usually despondent condition of young Black women in not only Watts, but throughout the United States. Too many Black women are unemployed, barely surviving on inadequate welfare, forced into prostitution or drug addiction, employed in a "sweat-shop" or as a domestic, in prison, or caught-up in the day-to-day drudgery of having to manage a home with inadequate resources.

The only place competition has in our lives is the competition between us the oppressed, and America our oppressor---not between the smile, poise, and "awareness" of our own reflections. Thirty-nine Black people did not die and more than 4000 go to jail so that a parade queen could visit Universal Studios, racist Disneyland, and Kenya and Ethiopia---two of the most reactionary governments on the African continent. It has been learned that Tanzania, though not part of the scheduled tour was visited, but the progressive socialist government there did not officially receive pageant representatives.

Twyla Wells and particularly Essiebea Hayes are beautiful and responsible sisters in many ways, but they are a big disappointment in others. Since the pre-planning stages of last year's festival, they have silently and without a struggle allowed the festival to refuse even the most nominal ongoing assistance to Black prisoners in the state. Those pseudo-Black traitors on the festival board claimed that support of prisoner's struggles was political activity---and their by-laws prevent the festival from engaging in "political activity." The intensity of reality is that all festival activity is political, whether providing a free public forum for the police, politicians, and businessmen, or sending the pageant queen to Africa. The festival articles of incorporation, filed May 9, 1968,

included in the statement of purpose and powers that it would "use the proceeds of the Watts Summer Festival, and any monies received by the corporation, to identify and serve the needs of the community...." Are not Black men and women in prison a part of our community? Inmates are not aided in their life and death struggles by one afternoon of pageant entertainment at Chino, they need assistance and solid continuous interaction with the world beyond their cells. The historic Supreme Court decision to abolish the death penalty has spared the lives of 600 men throughout the country--and fully 1/6th of these are on death row in California alone. Humane and socially responsible formations in the community can be recognized by their duty-bound dedication to guide and defend the race, especially that portion of our community held in captive-detention.

#### The Mind Contaminators

The mass media, i.e. television, newspaper, and radio stations, have unsurprisingly given tremendous support to past festivals. One t.v. network even broadcasts live, in "living color" coverage of the entire Miss Watts Beauty Pageant. The special inclusion of important festival niggers and events in their programming is of course designed to endear the hosting media to a presently hostile and race-conscious minority community (outnumbered by whites in the county by only 2 to 1 according to the last census) and is known in the business world as "good public relations." It is clear that the negative and pacifying role of t.v. in our lives is what their support for the festival is intended to conceal. More of us are sought out to do commercials because it enables the sponsors to peddle more of their "new" "wonder" products in the Black Community.

It is no accident that in almost all of the weekly series to promote Black superstars---their role is that of the police. Mission Impossible, N.Y.P.D., I Spy, and Mod Squad are all not-so-subtle "police acceptance drives" in our community. The government and other racist and capitalist sponsors hope to persuade the Black Community to excuse past police terror and accept current police occupation. They want us to accept police and government agents as human, fair, hardworking public servants and guardians of the law. As long as we permit the airing of trash like the Mod Squad, that helps to dignify and recruit Black informers, we are aiding in the counter-insurgency of our own communities.

At least the claims of racist news telecasters like Putnam and Reddin that they are "friends of the Negro community" are disbelieved, but what about radio station KGFJ? KGFJ is guilty of the deliberate and blatant suppression of news of the critical developments in the Black World. This not so obvious supporter of the festival and enemy of the community is worse than Radio "Free" Europe. KGFJ radio has the widest, most receptive Black audience in the city. Yet it is owned and run by white racists, while its compromising community-sell-out editorial positions are meant to reflect liberal political interest in the struggle of Black people. KGFJ plays "slavery music" around the clock, pauses several minutes each hour to air carefully censored, government favored news, and promotes "this is progress" when there has been no progress. This ruthless distraction encourages young Black people to memorize the "top ten" hits, but know nothing of the fierce armed-struggles in the southern half of the African continent; know nothing of the science of revolution and its necessity; or nothing of the history of determined Black resistance in this genocidal country. It would be improper,

though not pointless by any means, and slightly beyond the scope and limitations of a festival expose', to pursue further criticisms of all its media sponsors in this article---so it will be cut short here. It must be understood though, that the L. A. Sentinel, the L. A. Times, KBCA, KTYM-FM radio, numerous "throw-away publications," and heretofore unmentioned media are not without malevolent future schemes and vicious past practices. It may be that they will be fully criticized later, in a separate addendum, subsequent to the completion of this article and dependent upon the future demands of the inquiry.

#### The Financial and Political Profiteers

While it is claimed that the 15-member festival board does not receive salaries, this practice does not apply to the executive director and executive secretary who receive year-round salaries. None of these live in Watts, by the way, not even one member of the fifteen member board of directors, the executive director, or the executive secretary. Yet when they bring "their" festival to Watts, they all manage to speak so eloquently and confidently of "our community" and "our festival." They are no more a part of the misery and oppression that chokes the life of the Watts community, than they are a part of the Black Liberation Struggle.

According to a leaked financial disclosure, normally unobtainable from annual festivals, total festival expenditures during the first 1/4 of this year were \$25,213.17. Bear in mind that over half of this amount, \$13,473.36, was consumed by officer, employee and consultant salaries (three or four part-time staff members also receive pay but only from June thru August, while volunteers constitute the balance of festival personnel). If these recent



quarterly figures are any reflection of average year-round festival expenditures, we must assume that every year more than half of the festivals budget has lined the pockets of its administrators.

Tommy Jacquette, who was once thought to be one of the most promising insurgents in the city, fell by the "way-side" and betrayed community interests the day the festival began. He contends that the festival is better-off confined to Will Rogers Park because the "sheriff's deputies are not as fascist as the L.A.P.D." Tommy Jacquette as festival executive director is a bigger sucker and turn coat than any other person in the festival conspiracy.

In August two years ago, the festival was publicly hailed by prominent repressive lawman Charles O'Brian, Chief Deputy Attorney General. He congratulated the festival, of course, "for a major effort toward good community relations and promotion of the public peace." Mayor Sammy Yorty has always showered the festival with his blessings, but rarely have notorious police officials of such rank been among its well-wishers.

Last year, "operating funds" could not be raised to have the festival. The festival committee was bailed out with \$135,000 from the Model Cities Program, a massive multi-million dollar, counter-revolutionary conspiracy in the government's pacification arsenal. It is not surprising also, that key Black traitors on the Model Cities payroll participate in festival decision-making processes as well.

One of the entries in last year's festival parade was the Century Freeway Project's relocation van. The joint Century-Industrial Freeway Project will displace over two

thousand "curfew area" Black families---many of whom have already been forced to not only vacate their homes, but witness the wreckers demolish them. Black people never consented to the freeway project. We know it is not being constructed for our benefit anyway. Even more foul is that our opinions as to whether a freeway should or should not be built were never even solicited.

Let us examine some of the other sponsors of past festivals and pin-point the motive for their participation:

-Coca-Cola, which reported over 725 million dollars in gross profits for 1970 alone, has plants throughout the world including three locations in racist South Africa where Blacks who are the majority earn less than one-sixth the wages of whites for the same labor, has consistently sponsored the annual festival Junior Olympics. In this way, i.e. giving away free cokes and identifying with community interest events, Coca-Cola assumes it has bought protection for its "ghetto" plants, reinforced its image, and guaranteed continuing profits from Black consumers until the next festival materializes. Coca-Cola does not even underwrite the costs of the trophies awarded to winners in the competition. Pepsi-Cola and R.C. Cola also play a similar but less conspicuous role in the festival.

-Let's look at Schlitz, the second largest brewer in the united states and a staunch festival supporter. We already know the incapacitating, pacifying effects of alcohol on our

people, and the huge profits the liquor industry reaps in the Black Community. Schlitz reported over 349 million in net sales for 1968. It isn't difficult to understand Schlitz's motives as a festival sponsor. An even more alarming revelation is that Schlitz like the other sponsors contribute nothing to the festival--and have always hustled the Black community in much the same way. Burgermeister, Hamm's and countless whiskey and cheap wine dealers see to it that the festival supports their enormous alcohol traffic and profits as well.

-McDonnell Douglas Corporation also has a foothold in the festival pacification effort. Not only are they unfair to minorities when it comes to hiring, promotions, and who's to be laid-off, they also manufacture the F-4 Phantom Jets and Skyhawks that help the illegal State of Israel further oppress homeless Palestinian refugees and Arab North Africans in their just struggle for land and freedom. Over 4,000 Phantom Jets had been manufactured by the first of last year.

-The Watts Manufacturing Company is in fact a subsidiary of Aero-Jet General. It may be a festival parade showpiece on the one hand, but on the other it is a government defense contractor and an integral part of the militaristic American war machine.

-Sears does a lot of business in the Black community so they too support the festival. Their assets last year totaled more than 7 1/2 billion dollars of which an unbelievable proportion was extorted from the Black Community.

A complete list of all festival sponsors and parade participants has always been denied interested members of the community. Fortunately though, many of the businesses, organizations, agencies, and individuals are known, but unfortunately few researchers have taken the time to document their vicious policies and practices. Investigations into these "operations" and individuals should include among its findings the following information: the identities and political complexions of the members of the directorate or governing body, annual earnings, hiring and promotion policy, nature of business or operation, and how the profits are apportioned. If the sponsor is not a business but a political entity in the strictest sense of the term--who benefits from it and who is exploited by it should be the objective of the research or investigation. Among those festival sponsors not thoroughly investigated are the following: Bank of Finance, "Black" insurance companies, Disneyland, furniture stores, Pacific Telephone, Thrifty Drugs, shoe and department stores, motion picture industries, t.v. and radio stations, supermarket chains, funeral homes, elected officials and social 'dis'-service agencies.

#### Repressive Terror

The festival provides propaganda and recruitment booths for the police and sheriff's department in an effort to present them as human, friendly, and protective. Festival organizers have deluded themselves into thinking that the cowardly executions of thirty-nine of our own 7 years ago, and countless others since, have been excused or forgotten. Many of the '65 Rebellion casualties were intoxicated, unarmed, handcuffed or in some cases unconscious before being shot through their backs. Running barricades and returning gun-fire were exceptions and not the rule. The shoot-to-

kill mentality is what guided savage police, sheriff deputies, and national guardsmen in their 144-hour assault on the Black Community.

Let's have a look at police activity in the "curfew area" in the 7 years since the Rebellion:

-Specialized riot-training, development of the Special Weapons and Tactical Squad (S.W.A.T. squad); urban military tactical deployment of personnel; counter-sniper techniques, equipment, and marksmen; build-up of force level from 5,500 minions in '65 to well over seven thousand presently; and police reserves or the "posse" waiting in the wings.

-The "official" withdrawal, a couple of years ago, of the L.A.P.D. from freeway patrol responsibility and subsequent re-assignment of the approximate 80 former freeway units to Black and Chicano areas of the city.

-The proposed police heliport to be built and strategically located in the "curfew area."

-The accelerated and expanded use of the criminal conspiracy section (C.C.S.), C.I.D., police infiltrators, informers, agent provocateurs and the mod squad to increase frame-ups, raids, fratricide, subversion of community groups and assassinations of community tacticians.

-Plans for an additional traffic court building because the one on Wall Street doesn't make us captives or extract our bails (ransoms) and fines fast enough.

Those five Black people murdered by police at the festival one bloody night four years ago are not unremembered--

including one of the five who bled to death on the steps of the L.A.P.D.'s Watts sub-station. Nor is the murder of Leonard Deadwyler for rushing his pregnant wife to the hospital; or 18-year old Gregory Clarke executed while hand cuffed and face down on the sidewalk because "he didn't fit the car;" or Vietnam veteran Jerry Lee Amie shot 25 times for "prowling" in his own front yard; or the bullet riddled, half-clothed body found last November, of Sister Sandra Pratt, ruthlessly executed during her eighth month of pregnancy; or the body of Brother Melvin X "discovered" fifty miles east of the city with bullets in his face and neck. How can anyone justify police participation in a "community" festival? The sheriff's Department is equally brutal and criminal. They perform almost all festival arrests, they too took lives and warehoused captives during the '65 Rebellion, and they have repeatedly made calculated and unprovoked, barbaric attacks upon the struggle of our neighbors in the east-side Chicano communities.

The fire department too has equipment and community relations booth at the festival every year. The fire department is beyond a doubt our sworn enemy too. Not only because their role is the protection and preservation of property---racist, genocidal, and exploitative commercial and institutional properties. They don't protect us. If they did, they would have condemned the rat-holes and fire traps before we moved into them---they would burn 'em down themselves. The fire and police departments are like the two sides of a coin, they compliment each other. That's why they consume more of the city's budget than its other agencies and departments. Their responsibility is to extinguish industrial fires, and save racist white businesses, institutions, and the racists themselves. Six hundred buildings were set ablaze in the '65 Revolt but only 200 were "gutted" completely. Had it not been for interference

from the fire department, we would have had a larger and more significant victory. The fire department is in business to "protect and serve" our enemies as much as the police do--they too only use the forum the festival provides to peddle their "family rescue image" in the Black Community.

### The 7-Year Lie

The South L. A. Rebellion did not start in Watts, nor was it confined to Watts. One-hundred Sixteenth Street and Avalon Boulevard, the location of the incident that "triggered" the rising, is not even in Watts. In technical terms the geographic expanse of Watts is an infinitesimal 2.6 sq. miles--yet the curfew was imposed over a 46 to 54 sq. mile area. The police and the faggot Mayor Sam reported that only 15% of the residents in the affected area "actively" participated in the Rebellion. The strategic assumptions of "15%" as opposed to the more realistic "overwhelming participation" are obvious. This government is waging two wars against Black people---and this "two-war national policy" operates at state and local levels as well. One war is to ruthlessly root out those who have actually taken up arms, to publicly discredit, to isolate, and destroy them. The other war's objective is to convince the "undecided" Blacks that they are the faithful majority and the only "responsible" leadership of their race. Therefore, they should cooperate in the repression, and systematic slaughter of their peers; thereby, gaining enough white and official sentiment to improve conditions once the "troublemakers" among their race are imprisoned or dead. This second form of war is also called "pacification" and "counter-insurgency." The Indo-Chinese people are its most lucid and predominant victims in the world today.

The futile attempts of "officials" to confine the outbreak strictly to "Watts" or "15%" was an attempt to disavow Black dissatisfaction and insurgency as a near county wide reality. The Rebellion covered an area "larger than the entire city of San Francisco and one and a half times the area of the island of Manhattan." And so, one must live in "Watts," for example, to qualify for aid from most "anti-poverty" agencies. Festival Pageant contestants must live in Watts. Black "leaders" must be born, raised, and "discovered" in Watts. The truth is that the Rebellion would not have gained the momentum it did, had there not been massive participation throughout the curfew area and beyond. The rising hosted few spectators--there was room in the streets for participants only. Martin Luther King was hounded out of Watts and Dick Gregory was shot in the leg for trying to halt the Rebellion. Fed-up and enraged Black people cursed and stoned the police from toddlers to expectant mothers, from civil service workers to domestics from "respectable citizens" to the Brothers in the streets. Gangland geographic divisions together with unsettled antagonisms were submerged during the emergency, and opposition gangs unceremoniously joined forces for the first time. Slausons, Gladiators, Businessmen, Twenties, Outlaws and Huns, alike, often fought and burned as one. The Rebellion reflected the magnitude of frustration and despair of an entire people. Heroic community defenders received injuries at not only 103rd Street, but at Washington and Central, Vernon and Broadway, on the far Eastside in Pasadena, Compton, Willowbrook, 79th and Central, the Pueblos, Manchester and Broadway, the Nickersons, and far away Long Beach. The "Watts" Festival then is as much a misnomer as the "Watts" Rebellion itself. We must become politically mature enough to understand that to express out of ignorance the phrase "Watts" Rebellion is to strengthen the foundation of this 7-year absurdity---this

7-year lie. The sinister scheme of local and federal government together with the mass-media to convince the world that the Rebellion was confined only to "Watts" and "15%" was to accomplish aside from the "two war theory"--- two additional important objectives. The first was to assure critics of American domestic policies in the international arena that oppression, deprivation, and dissatisfaction among Black "citizens" was limited to a small neglected few in a relatively small area of only one of its cities. The second objective, of course, was to later justify only having to subsidize improvements in an undersized area designated as Watts as opposed to the advancement of the entire county-wide and ultimately continental Black population.

#### Counter-Insurgency and Pacification

The ecstatic insurgence of those six unforgettable days in August, precipitated a government counter-effect that has handicapped our struggle to this day. Even before the smoke-filled charred remains of half-burned buildings had been torn down or boarded-up, and before the ashes of structures completely gutted had time to be blown into littered streets by soft desert breezes---federal pacification and counter-insurgency specialists had literally "saturated" the area. "Resident opinion polls," "area improvement feasibility studies," and "community action agencies" were floated to assure the "ghetto" of government concern and assistance. The two most important government "fronts" planted in the area before the end of that year and funded with the largest sums of money were Westminster Neighborhood Association, Inc. (W.N.A.I.) and the Watts Labor Community Action Committee (W.L.C.A.C.). Westminster received an initial \$800,000,

O.E.O. grant, and W.L.C.A.C. an initial \$1,000,000 funding from labor unions, O.E.O. and the Department of Labor. Westminster launched opportunistic Black power hustlers like Ernest Priestly, Bob Simmons, Booker Griffin and Tommy Jacquette into political stardom. Westminster was so successful at curbing Black militancy and preventing another "riot" that its re-funding in 1967 of additional grants totaled over a million dollars. W.L.C.A.C. projected Ted Watkins as chairman of their board of directors and he soon became a top political kingpin in the Black Community. W.L.C.A.C. hires hundreds of poor community youth during the summer months at slave wages; once they accept the disgraceful wage they are compelled to labor for fear of losing all or part of it. The work crews perform the most menial and often meaningless tasks. They are made to whitewash telephone posts, clear vacant lots, march in rigid formation to community "beautification" work sites as if they were junior boy scouts, and finally they are terminated at summer's end when the government determines that the likelihood of Rebellion has passed. During the summer of 1968, hundreds of unsuspecting Black youths were taken to Camp Roberts, a huge military garrison in Northern California and instructed to "renovate" the camp and ready it for occupancy. Those who refused were severely disciplined. Rumor has it that the camp is a potential concentration camp for the detention of Black people since the army had abandoned it years previously. Fortunately, the kids were returned--but suppose they hadn't been? We have forgotten too quickly the internment of America's Japanese during the Second World War---111,000 Japanese were interned in California alone.

Westminster, of course, does not exist today, but you can be assured that its abortive designs and its creation of instant community "leaders" and spokesmen following the August upheaval have hindered the Revolutionary thrust

til this day. W.L.C.A.C., true to its nature, still exists and hopes to forever keep the rebellious, unorganized, and desperate masses of our people from being set into irreversable motion.

One after another they surfaced---US, Operation Bootstrap, Sons of Watts, Young Men for Total Democracy (Y.M.T.D.), Self-Leadership for All Nationalities Today (S.L.A.N.T.), and the Opportunities Industrialization Center (O.I.C.). All appeared before 1965 had ended, and represented only a small fraction of the more than one hundred and fifty new groups that would "instantly" emerge before the commencement of the new year. Most of these groups would publicly take credit for generating the Rebellion and even forecast impending more devastating ones in order to acquire notoriety and eligibility for "the buck." Eligible "leaders" and groups received financial rewards for dampening hostility among incendiary youths, reestablishing community faith in the "mandated" authorities protecting the personnel and operations of remaining commercial properties and public institutions, and assisting authorities in all measures designed to insure "stability" and prevent future outbreaks.

It is necessary to define particular terms or concepts since their appearance in this inquiry has been quite frequent. To be ignorant of their meaning and roles in our lives is not only political-irresponsibility, it is political suicide.

-Pacification: the convincing of a subject, exploited people that they have nothing to gain, no cause, and no right to ever use arms and force against those who violently and unmercifully oppress them and condemn them to a life of poverty and misery.

-Counter-insurgency: "those military, paramilitary, political, economic, psychological and civic actions taken by a government to defeat.... revolt or insurrection."

During 1966 alone E.Y.O.A. floated an "impressive" 6-1/2 million dollars worth of "fronts" in the curfew area. The Black "credentialed class" as expected were transformed overnight into "militant" spokesmen for any and all rebels. Money flowed, but it never reached the endless lines of hungry public housing children, it only lined the pockets of its self-serving administrators. Operation Headstart got underway that same year with more than 2-1/2 million dollars in state and federal "endowments" while N.A.P.P. and the Watts Manufacturing Company joined the "pacification effort" with one million dollars each in pilot grants. National magazine feature stories and network t.v. promoted Ron Karenga's government-sponsored, pacifying, fratricidal Black cultural obsession from L. A. into every potential "curfew area" in this country. The influx into the area of scores of similar state and federaly funded programs in the years since the Rebellion have allowed and been used to justify intensive high level investigations into the evolution of an increasingly uncompromising and politically-conscious community. This woeful tale of pacification and counter-insurgency does not end here, for the story is without end. But the traitorous Louis Tackwoods on the take today will be on the run, or the blade end of the knife tomorrow. The masked torturers and assassins of innocent Black people today will be the spineless Ron Karenga's of tomorrow---afraid of their own kind, and talking to their blankets in the captive night.

Genuine instruments for the political expression of Black sentiment continues to be stifled or silenced through

frame-ups, prison sentences, exile and assassination. Corrupt political influences continue to misguide vast numbers of our powerless people. And the acute lack of housing, jobs, justice, educational resources, recreation facilities, health care, and adequate welfare is just as severe today, six festivals and seven years since the Rebellion, as it was in '65. There has been no progress ---despite countless self-serving official surveys and academic studies. Beginning with the once widely publicized 19-volume, 250 thousand dollar McCone Commission report and continuing through to the more than 300 similar "reports" and "findings" from the end of '65 to the present. Despite state and federal level promises of **action and a better life**, conditions in the 46 - 54 sq. mile "curfew area" have steadily worsened.

## THE CONCLUSION

The festival and all its reactionary trappings continue to press forward---unchallenged and unmolested. The proliferation of annual, government encouraged "pacification festivals" during the hot "restless" months have impeded the Revolutionary transformation of not only L.A.---but Hunters Point, Detroit, and Harlem to name just a few incendiary "curfew areas," are similarly victimized. Any careful analysis of federal festival strategy will undoubtedly show that pacification is pacification whether its couched in the language of summer day camp, the Festival in Black, or the Watts Summer Festival itself. The substantiation of these findings will unmask counter-insurgency whether its camouflaged as aerial "crime" reconnaissance, police-community relations, a "special" area census, or the basic car plan.

The obvious objective of this accumulation of revelations, accusations, and indictments is to set into irreversible motion, a justifiably angry, yet unusually passive community. The festival violates and seeks to undermine the most fundamental laws of Revolutionary Struggle and human advancement. In the past, years of silence has extended our sanctions to it and placed us at its mercy. But the consistency and intensity of these truths must shatter and entomb the festival for all time to come.

There will probably be voter registration booths at the festival again this year, although there's no one to vote for. Isaac Hayes, who has repeatedly in his Memphis hometown used his popularity to help police quash Rebellion, will be this years festival parade marshal. Pseudo-militant, political opportunists such as Walter Bremond, Celes King, Booker

Griffin, and Senator Mervyn Dymally, are as anti-community as the misguided terror of the "crypts." The Hoover **Re-development** Project, which is a 40-acre, 90 million dollar undertaking to expand the white U.S.C. campus is still swallowing up the Black Community. U.S.C. is a festival supporter and enemy institution. In fact every individual, organization, agency, and business that operates independent of the control and interests of the Black Community is our enemy. It is therefore, an urgent necessity that we begin to determine, create and control political and social forces in this city with a view toward positive acceleration of our struggle in the future. For too long we have accepted personalities and programs rather than concepts. For too long we have allowed the "official" press to appoint our "leaders" and character assassinate our tacticians. We must also come to grips with the overwhelming and unfortunate divisiveness of organizational diversity, political immaturity and overall disorganization within the "curfew area." The festival is not the only enemy institution in our midst, enemy formations come in all sizes, forms and color combinations.

If these political and strategic assumptions are indeed rooted in reality, new and more sophisticated Revolutionary forces need to develop and emerge. Not only should new forces be healthy, rational and committed; superior skill, "intestinal fortitude," and a high degree of specialization are of equal importance. The lessons of history for us have been both numerous and painful. But the necessity for developing a winning strategy and repaying traitors and open enemies in their own coin is mandated by our new reality. Once these truths are grasped the festival will be swept away, just as surely as the cowardly assassins of Melvin X will rest beneath the sod once they are known. The festival will fail, just as its fraudulent hustlers hoped that Brothers like Ndugu Bidi would fail.

The task now before the insurgent forces within the city is to forge a sound Revolutionary strategy and adhere to it.

Only action and deeds are capable of uniting us with those we are sworn to liberate, and avenging those we love. If psychological and technical preparations in our neighborhoods for the next phase of our struggle is complete, the police reactions to our activities will be but a spectacle of "repressive inefficiency." The mistakes of the August Rebellion and the 7-years since, must never again be repeated, for we must mature, and our struggle must evolve from an abstraction to a reality. Reformist appeals and pressures are useless. Revolution in all its intensity and decisiveness is the ultimate remedy. We must struggle untiringly to hasten the day when armed struggle will become the official line of our people. The seizure of power is an absolute and incontestable necessity. Power, and power alone must become our collective strategic objective, all else is subordinate to it---including our very lives. The next snipers and guerillas will be real and not imaginary. The next fires will be the uncontrollable ones!

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